The Effects of Rater Sex Ratee Sex, and Applicant Attire on Personnel Selection

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(ABSTRACT)

The impact of attire on assessments of job applicants was investigated by creating three dress conditions for two male and two female ratees. A formal, intermediate, and casual condition were portrayed for each of the four stimuli. Stimuli were rated on six dimensions relevant to performance as a retail department store manager in a between-subjects design.

Results indicate that the role of attire in estimates of performance depends on the sex of the rater and the sex of the ratee. Dissimilar ratings were obtained from males and females who assessed individuals in a particular dress condition. These results indicated that the hypothesized main effects for dress and rater sex were overly simplistic. The implication of this finding for future research is discussed.

Findings also suggested the importance of including a reasonable range and portrayal of attire in studies of this type. The inclusion of an intermediate apparel condition showed that raters prefer this attire over formal wear under certain rating conditions. The importance of this finding for future attire reseach designs is discussed.

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Introduction

The impact of interpersonal cues on the validity of personnel selection poses a serious problem to industry. Resource constraints faced by all organizations demand discrimination of the employee with the highest potential productivity from a pool of applicants. This concern, coupled with the legal consequences of using invalid selection techniques, points to the importance of controlling the influence of extraneous variable on assessments of job-relevant abilities.

Research in this area has focused on the selection interview, since subjective judgments made in this situation may be especially prone to rater biases. The present research considers resistance to extraneous influences and attention to relevant information as a function of rater sex, investigating male and female rating styles. The influence of ratee sex on applicant assessment is also investigated, since this variable may influence a rater's assessment. Finally, applicant attire is utilized as an easily manipulated means to alter first impressions, in order to measure the effects of particular interpersonal cues on males' and females' assessments of job capabilities.

First impressions and the selection interview

Initial assessments which rely on the use of subjective estimations of a ratee's traits and capabilities are prone to particular rater errors. For example, many attributions which go beyond available objective information are made in forming a first impression of a person, and may color subsequent ratings of job-related capabilities (Vielhaber & Gottheil, 1965). Since interviewers typically appraise people whom they have never met before the interview, the literature on impression formation has practical implications for the interview situation.

The work of Solomon Asch (1946) is the foundation for many impression formation studies. In his classic work, he presented two groups of subjects with slightly different trait descriptions of a person. The individual was described as "intelligent, skillful, industrious, warm, determined, practical and cautious" to Group 1. Group 2 was given the identical list except that the adjective cold was substituted for warm. Both groups of subjects were asked their impression of the person described in a paragraph. They were required to choose, from a list of bipolar adjective pairs, the words which best depicted the target.

Asch found that trait evaluations of ratees differed as a function of the "warm" versus "cold" descriptive term. In their written evaluations and trait assessments,

subjects made attributions about each of the two described persons that extended well beyond available information. In other words, they attributed behaviors to the targets in the absence of any substantiating information.

This finding is relevant to personnel decision-making. Research in selection of employees has used the studies which grew out of Asch's work to evaluate the role of initial impression formation in personnel selection decisions.

Experiments in the personnel selection interview tradition support the notion that many appraisals are made in the minutes following an applicant's entrance and introduction to the interviewer. In fact, one researcher estimated that selection decisions are made within the first four minutes of interactions with an applicant (Mayfield, 1964). A related finding was more recently reported by Farr (1973). He found that assessors make selection decisions early during the presentation of information about the applicant. Farr reasoned that the assessor attends to initial information and applicant cues, forms a opinion, and disregards subsequent communication. In other words, information that is presented early in the interview receives more attention from the rater than subsequent information.

This suggests that the impact of first impressions may be especially salient in evaluations of personnel during

interviews. Some empirical reports provide evidence for this hypotheses. Farr (1973) and London and Hakel (1974) have documented the extensive influence of general, impressionistic evaluations on appraisals. London and Hakel embedded a selection test score, as an indicator of "true" job-related ability, in a context of less job-relevant information. They examined the degree to which assessors used the score to evaluate applicants. They concluded that the assessor's general guideline seemed to be, "When the selection test is failed, forget the applicant: when the selection test is passed, forget the test and evaluate the applicant using other tools". The test score appears to have been used to separate applicants into crude rejection or acceptance categories, but was disregarded in making finer distinctions among acceptable applicants. The findings that relevant, objective information may be disregarded in making a final selection decision, and that decisions may occur early in the course of an interview, emphasize the importance of controlling irrelevant influences on ratings.

Another way in which ratings may be affected is through the use of stereotypes to judge applicants. For example, if the sex or appearance of applicants does not fit the rater's idealized conception of the optimal applicant, ratings may be altered. One study showed that raters may believe that a male candidate is more suitable than a

female candidate for a managerial position, even though the qualifications of the two are identical (Dipboye, Fromkin, & Wilback, (1975). Furthermore, assessments of a stimulus person's abilities may change as a function of apparel. For example, estimates of a counselor's expertise are enhanced by formal attire (Cash & Kehr, 1978). Ratings of applicant capabilities supposedly based on objective criteria may be contaminated by such influences. Higgins and Rholes (1976), for example, reported that final evaluations of ratee abilities are often altered as a result of erroneous, preconceived stereotypes.

With such a variety of rater biases in operation, findings which reveal the limited validity of interviews as a selection device come as no surprise. In an extensive review of the literature, Schmidt (1976) examined 174 sets of ratings of 96 specific traits typically assessed in an interview. Of these traits, only "sociability" was with reasonable validity and reliability. Despite the suggestion that interviews be utilized to assess this trait alone (Farr, 1973) the latest review (Arvey & Campion, 1982) reports that interviews are still widely used to select employees for a variety of jobs.

Because interviewing persists as a means to evaluate prospective employees, the use of interviewers who are less susceptible to judgmental biases is important. Available research suggests that rater sex is a possible mediator of

the effects of extraneous variables in particular ratings of applicant abilities. A review of this literature reveals relevant sex-related discrepancies in rating styles.

Rater sex differences in applicant assessment

Investigations of rater sex differences in person perception have yielded seemingly contradictory findings. This may be a result of the different procedures used to measure sex differences in attributions made about targets. Research has issued both written descriptions and photographs to elicit attributions from subjects. Since the findings from these two types of studies often differ, rater sex effects may be dependent on the mode of stimulus presentation. In addition, the discrepancy between reported rater sex effects may be due to study-specific characteristics. Interpretation of rater sex differences should be made with caution, since only a small number of studies have examined the role of this variable in personnel selection. A review of the studies using written versus photographic stimuli reveals the discrepancies in reported rater sex effects.

When using written applicant information to compare ratings made by males and females, women generally are found to make relatively extreme estimations of abilities and traits (Arvey & Campion, 1982: London & Popowski, 1976). In other words, males tend to use the middle of the

rating scale when assessing applicants on several dimensions. Females' ratings show greater variation across rating dimensions; their assessments typically do not show the central tendency often apparent in males' ratings. Often, researchers who state this finding explain the difference in terms of leniency error on the part of female raters. However, other studies suggest alternative explanations.

Early research which attempted to trace the cause of these comparatively immoderate ratings by women showed that women raters' assessments are more extreme when they express high confidence in the quality of their ratings (Wallach & Rogan, 1959). For example, in a study by London & Popowski (1976) subjects were promoted with written behavioral descriptions of "typical employees" of two companies, Company A and Company B. The description of the average employee of each company included such statements as "is a good organizer" and "likes taking responsibility". Males and females were asked to rate the favorability of the representative applications on 30 eight point adjective scales. A second measure was used to estimate the overall performance of the typical applicant of both companies. A measure of rater confidence in all of the ratings obtained.

In the second phase of the study, raters were given a detailed description of the daily activities of one

particular Company A and Company B employee. Both descriptions were written to project neutral favorability. The specific applicants were rated using the same scales and measures used in evaluations of the "average" applicant.

London and Popowski found that ratings given by females were higher than ratings given by males. Females also expressed more confidence in evaluations of specific employees than in ratings of "average" applicants. This difference was not found for male raters. London and Popowski argued that these sex differences are important factors in the accuracy of selection decisions, but they did not provide an empirical basis for rater-sex accuracy comparisons.

Lay (1970) provided such a measure in his investigation of rater accuracy in making interpersonal attributions. Rater sex was examined as a possible influence on accuracy in his study. In his design, subjects were asked to make attributions about target persons on the basis of personality statements which had been endorsed by the targets. Under conditions of low information, raters were given two descriptive personality statements endorsed by each target. In high information conditions, four descriptive statements of each target were provided. All statements were selected from four basic scales of the PRF.

The experimental stimuli consisted of forty personality statements. Some of these were highly related to the statements endorsed by the targets. Other statements were also related to the descriptive predictors, but their relationship was more difficult to infer from the earlier information. Subjects were first asked to read the self-descriptive statements of the two targets in order to form a general impression of them at this point. The raters were asked to read over the forty personality statements and to predict whether each target had answered "true" or "false" to these items. In addition, subjects were asked for their confidence in each of the forty judgments.

The ratings revealed that female raters made more extreme inferences in the limited information condition than males. In addition, females tended to be more accurate than males when making personality predictions. Further analyses showed that male and female raters also differed on other dimensions. When rater certainty was compared, female judges expressed more confidence in their predictions than male judges. This ex-related difference was greatest when extreme inferences were required for prediction of the targets' answers. Lay concluded that females may be more sensitive to inferential relationships, and this enables them to be more confident in their predictions.

An important effect revealed that female subjects were to make tenuous inferences in the face of limited information than male raters. In other words, even though female raters were more willing to make relatively extreme personality attributions when provided with limited ratee information, these attributions were not unfounded.

A second area in the investigation of rater sex effects contrasts with the findings which have used written information as stimulus material. As noted, female raters assign more extreme ratings than men in judgments made from written applicant descriptions, and this often co-occurs with high confidence in ratings. However, rating patterns are more conservative when females are asked to make trait or ability attributions from applicant's photographs alone. Research in this area shows a marked tendency for women to make more conservative ratings than men in making attributions from photographs. In additions, females change their assessments less as a function of appearance manipulations. Several studies illustrate this difference.

Hamid (1969) was one of the first researchers to explore the effects of ratee appearance and rater sex on trait evaluations. He found that women are less responsive to manipulations than male raters. For example, while male evaluators rated a female stimulus as more intelligent when she wore glasses, ratings made by women were not as affected by this manipulation. Overall, Hamid found that

ratings made by females were less changeable, less stereotyped, and more conservative than males' ratings. In this experiment, female raters' assessments showed a resistance to effects of appearance manipulations.

In Hamid's study, a target person dressed in a shirt and blouse was presented to raters. Hairstyle, glasses, and makeup were manipulated. After viewing the target, raters were asked to estimate the ratee's skirt length in each appearance condition. Males' estimations of the skirt length were to some extent dependent on the three manipulated variables. The skirt length "rose" when the ratee wore makeup and a more casual hairstyle, and "lengthened" when the female wore a more conservative hairstyle, no makeup, and glasses. In contrast, women's estimations of the subject's skirt length were relatively constant and accurate across conditions. Their ratings of the target persons showed comparatively high observational accuracy. Additionally, females estimations of skirt length showed less variation across raters as a function of the appearance manipulations.

Caution should be used in interpreting the results. Hamid's experiment of rater resistance to appearance manipulations does not necessarily enhance observational accuracy. Instead, assessments made from appearance cues may be affected by several variables. Therefore, generalizations from this single experimental setting

should be conservative. A related study provided by Miller (1978) demonstrated a different rater sex effect. When the experimenter manipulated the attire of counselor, responses of male and female subjects were compared on several dimensions of counselor performance. Males' ratings of counselor trustworthiness and ability to help clients with dating problems were influenced by the clothing manipulation. This effect was not found for female raters.

The research of Hamid and Miller has obvious implications for personnel selection. Women seem to perceive certain aspects of appearance more accurately than males. More importantly, they remain less susceptible than men to influences of particular appearance manipulations. This may, within limits, reduce the impact of interpersonal cues on assessments of job capabilities.

One extraneous influence on applicant rating is seemingly persistent, regardless of rater sex. Sex-role stereotyping of job applicants seems to pervade ratings by both male and females. This bias may affect the perceived suitability of a candidate for a non-traditional job position. Studies which capture perceived traits of males and females offer an explanation for this negative rating effect.

A classic study by the Brovermans (1972) revealed the traits with which raters characterize males and females.

Raters of both sexes perceived males as relatively higher on independent and objective. In contrast, females were viewed as significantly more submissive, excitable, and emotional than men. It seems reasonable to assume that these stereotypic "female" traits would be deemed inappropriate for demanding, typically male dominated work roles. Indeed, ratings of the perceived suitability of both sexes for such jobs reveals the negative impact of sex-role stereotyping on applicant assessments.

Dipboye (1975) examined the impact of ratee sex in evaluations of managerial applicant resumes. Ratee sex was varied while holding job qualifications constant. Professional interviewers, as well as student raters, took part in the assessment. In the rating procedure, subjects were presented with twelve resumes. These were systematically varied with regard to applicant sex and scholastic standing. After reading the applicant's resume, raters made evaluations of overall job suitability. Evaluators were also asked to rank order the applicants in terms of job compatibility.

An analysis of the ratings and rankings of suitability revealed that male applicants were rated more favorably than females. Even when the qualifications of the male and female applicants were identical, the probability that a male would be ranked above a female with equal qualifications was .62, significantly greater than the .50

probability of chance. This finding demonstrated that the professional interviewers were not immune to the tencency to discriminate on the basis of ratee sex. The use of sex-role trait attributions was suggested as a source of this sex discrimination.

In a related study, Rosen and Jerdee (1974) examined sex discrimination in four managerial job settings. Ratings of male and female applicants for the position of laboratory manager, purchasing manager, personnel manager, and financial manager, were obtained under two experimental conditions. In the first condition, the job was portrayed as relatively difficult and demanding. The second job description consisted of less challenging routine tasks.

Perceptions of applicant sex were manipulated by preparing two resumes for each of the four positions. These were identical with the exception of the applicant's name. One form was supposedly submitted by "Mrs. Phyllis Lewis", while the other resume contained the name "Mr. Philip Lewis". The male or female application was rated by male business students. Subjects received either the demanding or routine version of the four job descriptions.

Applicant ratings were obtained on four job dimensions. Overall applicant suitability, ability to handle technical aspects of the job, potential for long service to the organization, and potential for fitting in

well in the organization were assessed. Raters also indicated acceptance or rejection of the applicant.

Information from all four managerial conditions was pooled. Ratings indicated that the female ratee was chosen significantly less often the male for the managerial position. While the female was accepted 59% of the time, the male applicant was accepted 71% of the time. Overall suitability ratings assessments of technical ability, potential for long service to the organization, and potential for fitting in well with the organization also received significantly lower assessments in the female applicant condition finding provided empirical support for the notion that women are evaluated less favorably than males when applying for certain male-dominated occupations.

An additional finding revealed that the tendency to unfairly discriminate on the basis of sex was especially marked when the job was described as demanding. While females were accepted 72% of the time when the job was described as demanding. On contrast, male applicant acceptance rates were not affected as strongly by the job description manipulation. Males were accepted 76% of the time for the routine job, and 65% of the time for the time for the demanding job. Therefore, ratings of applicants were lowest when the applicant was female and the job described as relatively demanding.

Rosen and Jerdee concluded their discussion by stating that their findings show the impact of sex-role stereotypes on selection. They emphasized, however, that their results were drawn by using a male subject pool. However, subsequent research using male and female subjects have reported similar findings.

The work of Cash et. al. (1977) serves as an example. They utilized thirty-six male and thirty-six female personnel consultants as subjects in their study. The suitability of male and female job candidates for masculine, feminine, and neutral occupations was explored in an effort to further define the nature of sex discrimination. Applications containing information were identical, with the exception of the applicant's name. "John Wilson" was used to indicate the male applicant, and "Janet Wilson" was used on the female's application.

The job candidates were considered for two masculine jobs, two feminine jobs, and two neutral jobs. Masculine occupations were: automobile salesman and wholesale hardware clerk, while telephone operator and receptionist constituted the feminine job conditions. Motel desk clerk and photographic darkroom assistant were used as neutral occupations. Each personnel consultant evaluated either the male or female applicant for each of the six occupations. The evaluations were measured in terms of three dependent variables: overall qualification level of

the applicant, predicted success of the applicant if hired, and a measure of raters' recommendation for hiring.

The data revealed a significant main affect for applicant sex in the masculine occupation condition. Male applicants were rated more highly than equally qualified females on all dependent measures: overall applicant qualifications, overall recommendation and predicted success. Further examination of the ratee sex effect show the extent of its influence.

Males were viewed as equally qualified for masculine, feminine, and neutral occupations. However, female applicants were rated as most qualified for feminine occupations. Ratings were significantly lower when females applied for neutral occupations, and were lowest in the masculine occupation condition. Therefore, while the perception of male applicant qualifications was seemingly unaffected by sex-dominance of the occupation, females were seen as most qualified for the sex-role compatible occupations of telephone operator and receptionist.

In terms of the estimated success of the applicant if hired, female ratee assessments were most favorable for sex-congruent occupations. Predictions of success in the neutral occupation condition were somewhat lower, while estimations of success in masculine job conditions were lowest. Ratings of the male job candidate's success did not differ significantly between masculine and neutral

occupation conditions. However, assessors predicted that males would be significantly less effective in feminine occupations.

Hiring recommendations for male and female applicants followed a similar rating pattern. Females received the most favorable recommendations when applying for the feminine jobs. Neutral occupational conditions resulted in lowered recommenda- tions, and females received the lowest recommendations when applying for masculine occupations. On the other hand, recommendations for male job candidates did not differ significantly when applying for masculine and neutral jobs. Recommendations were lower, however, when males applied for feminine occupations.

In summary, Cash found applicant sex and sex-dominance of occupations to be significant influences on personnel selection and assessment. The authors noted that sex-role stereotypes may restrict women to sex-congruent occupations to a greater extent than male applicants. This effect was not moderated by rater sex.

This finding was supported by a similar study by Cohen and Bunker (1973). They examined the perceived suitability of male and female applicants for masculine and feminine occupation, providing raters with an application containing ratee information and a transcript of an interview of the job candidate. All information concerning the applicants was identical, with the exception of applicant sex. This was manipulated by the name given on the application.

The authors chose a relatively subtle manipulation when choosing sex-stereotyped jobs. The masculine occupation chosen was personnel technician, while the feminine occupation was editorial assistant. Pilot studies showed that these were perceived as male-dominated and female-dominated occupations, respectively.

One hundred and fifty job placement officer served as subjects, and evaluated either the male or female applicant. Ratings of job-related abilities as well as applicant traits were obtained. The job abilities rated were the following: ability to express ideas, quality of work record, demonstrated initiative, interest in working for the organization, job-related experience and training, and knowledge of the occupation. An additional item requested the rater's final hiring decision concerning the applicant. A 29-item trait scale was also used to capture perceived applicant characteristics. Subjects were asked to work quickly when filling out this questionnaire, answering on the basis of their first impression of the applicant. These traits fell within four main dimensions: potency, activity, evaluation, and competency of the applicant.

An analysis of rater hiring decisions revealed that ratees were chosen more frequently for sex-congruent occupations. While females were endorsed with greater frequency for the editorial assistant position, males were

favored for the personnel technician job. Ratees were viewed as better candidates when applying for sex-congruent jobs.

An attempt was made to discover which, if any, of the six job dimensions accounted for a significant portion of the variance in the selection decisions. Perceived applicant experience accounted for a large portion of the variance in evaluations of males applying for personnel technician and editorial assistant positions. Desire to work for the company also contributed a significant portion of the variance in selection of male editorial assistants. When variance in selections decisions of female editorial assistants was examined, none of the six job dimensions explained any significant portion. However, when evaluating females of the position of personnel technician, the "knowledge of job" dimension rating accounted for nearly 40% of the variance in hiring decisions.

Ratee sex effects were also apparent in the trait evaluations. While no main effect emerged as a function of job type, ratings on five of the twenty-nine items significantly varied ratee sex. Females were perceived as wiser, more consistent, friendly, interesting and confident than males. In addition, a significant Job X Sex interaction revealed that applicants were viewed as more competitive when applying for sex-role incongruent jobs than when applying for sex-role congruent jobs. In other

words, male editorial assistant job candidates and female personnel technician job candidates were seen as relatively competitive individuals.

In summary, Cohen and Bunker's findings suggest that sex discrimination may function subtly in personnel selection. While females were ascribed more favorable traits than males, females were actually discriminated against when applying for a sex-role incongruent job. This implies that negative stereo- typing may not emerge in trait assessments, yet may alter personnel decisions.

Although Title 7 and Equal Employment Guidelines prohibit discrimination on the basis of applicant sex, these studies suggest that negative stereotypes may function to hinder employment of females for nontraditional occupations. The impact of ratee sex on selection decisions suggests that conceptually unrelated applicant information may significantly alter personnel assessment. The control of such variables is an important issue in the validity of selection techniques.

Contamination of job applicant ratings may stem from different sources. The investigation of appearance variables as influences on ratings shows that they may significantly alter applicant ratings. Particular attire manipulations may change estimations of a ratee's traits and capabilities. Because this variable is easily manipulated and controlled, it is ideal for studies

investigating the role of interpersonal cues in the assessment procedure.

A way to test the impact of conceptually unrelated information on applicant ratings is to manipulate this easily controlled aspect of appearance while holding job qualifications constant. If female raters attend to objective job information more than the comparatively subjective and extraneous information conveyed by attire, their ratings on job-relevant dimensions should change less than males' assessments as a function of the dress manipulations.

Studies in this area suggest that males' and females' assessments may be differentially affected by applicant dress. However, the pattern of this rater sex effect is somewhat difficult to predict. Researchers have shown that male and female raters often use different traits when making attributions about stimulus people in a particular costume (Hamid, 1972; Rollman, 1978). Thus, while research suggests that women modify their evaluations of applicant abilities less than men as a function of attire manipulations, different trait rating patterns may render direct comparisons between the sexes difficult. The complex role of rater sex in person perception is evidenced in the Rater Sex X Attire X Trait interactions which have emerged in some studies. A review of the research in this area reveals similar findings in a variety of experimental settings.

Effects of attire on applicant assessment

In a recent review of the publications on attire's impact on impression formation, Davis (1984) stated that "serious, systematic, empirical research has been slow in development" (p. 334). This diversity is apparent in the variety of methodological approaches among the relevant studies. While some experimenters (Douty, 1963; Hamid, 1968,1969) have manipulated attire in stimulus photographs, others have chosen more indirect methods of assessing the influence of apparel. For instance, some researchers have manipulated a target's attire and asked raters to interact with the person (Kerr & Dell, 1976, Rollman, 1977). Typically, raters in these studies confront a professional in one of two or three dress conditions. After interacting with the target, subjects are asked to make personality and ability attributes. In both types of study, significant variations in rater assessments of the target are attributed to changes in attire. Although this variety in the means used to measure attire's impact has resulted in reduced replications of reported specific effects, it has provided several different perspectives on this issue. This diversity becomes apparent in a review of the studies to date.

One of the earliest investigations of attire's effect on person perception was conducted by Douty (1963). She manipulated attire to create four dress conditions for each

of four stimulus persons. Estimations of each stimulus person's socioeconomic status and personal traits were obtained. In a control condition, Douty obtained ratings made from the costumes alone. Raters were asked to make attributions about the kind of person who would wear each of the 16 costumes.

Douty hypothesized that ratings of persons wearing the outfits would be highly correlated with ratings of the outfits alone. In other words, attire would play a significant role in person perception. Results of the study supported this hypothesis. For some stimulus persons, raters' impressions changed as a function of attire, and these changes were highly similar to ratings of the costumes alone. In other words, socioeconomic ratings and trait attributions were similar regardless of whether a costume was worn by a person or the costume alone was rated.

A related study conducted by Hamid (1968) also asked raters to make attributions about ratee photographs. Eight color magazine photographs of models in different dress conditions were used as stimulus materials. An attempt was made to hold the physique and hair color of the models constant. The dependent measures were the following ten traits: sophisticated, snobbish, conventional, physically attractive, intelligent, practical, shy, immoral, religious and unimagina- tive. Subjects were asked to rank the eight stimuli in the order which most typified each concept.

An analysis of the rankings revealed a significant main effect for ratee attire. Women who wore bright dresses with high hemlines were consistently typified as more physically attractive and immoral that were conservatively dressed models. Apparently, attire influenced inferences made about personal characteristics of the models, in the absence of additional information.

In his next study, Hamid (1969) investigated rater and ratee sex effects as well as attire manipulations in person perception, creating four dress conditions for each sex: uniform, working, casual, and evening dress. The uniformed dress condition for the female target consisted of a beret, gym suit, stockings, white blouse and tie. The males' costume in this condition was a cap, shirt, jersey, short trousers, and long socks. In the working clothes dress condition, females wore a sloppy jersey and slacks, and males were clad in an old rugby jersey and dirty jeans. Females wore a bright dress with no stockings in the casual condition, while males wore an open-necked shirt and long slacks. Evening dress was characterized by a fashionable, bright dress for the female target and a dark suit and tie for the male. These four attire manipulations for the male and female subjects resulted in a total of eight experimental dress conditions.

Thirty male and thirty female subject rated photographs using ten adjective dimension scales. These bipolar

measures were adopted from Osgood's impression formation measure: pleasant-unpleasant, interesting-dull, youthful-mature, relaxed-tense, honest-dishonest, good-bad, happy-sad, beautiful-ugly, active-passive, and hot-cold. Subjects indicated their impression of the stimulus person by using these measures.

A significant main effect for dress and ratee sex emerged in the ratings. Assessments were more favorable for male and female stimulus persons wearing causal or evening clothes, rather than a uniform. Further analyses revealed complex interactions of attire, rater, sex, and ratee sex. A Stimulus Sex X Subject Sex interaction was described as a tendency for evaluators to make more extreme assessments of ratees of the opposite sex. In addition, a Subject Sex X Dress Interaction was defined as a tendency for male evaluators to change their assessments more than female raters as a function of ratee dress. In other words, males' ratings of stimuli were more affected than female assessors' ratings by the attire manipulations. Finally, a Stimulus Sex X Dress Interaction showed that ratings of female stimuli were more extreme than ratings of males in the casual, working clothes, and evening attire conditions. In other words, ratings of female targets were more favorable than those of male targets in evening attire and casual attire. Assessments of female stimuli were significantly less favorable than ratings of male targets

in the uniform dress condition. The findings of this study suggest caution in interpreting attire research which does not include rater and ratee sex as variables. Effects of clothing manipulations may be moderated by these factors.

Another line of research in this area of person perception has examined the influence of attire on perceptions of specific professions. Occupations examined by researchers include professor, counselor, interviewer, political campaigner, and manager. These studies suggest that attire plays an important role in initial estimations of job-related traits and abilities across many areas.

The effects of attire on students' perceptions of instructors was investigated by Rollman (1977). Students were asked to make attributions about a male and female teacher in one of three attire conditions. Photographs were taken from the neck down of the models in the three conditions, providing a casual, moderate, and formal dress condition for the male and female stimuli. Subjects were asked to make attributions about the kind of professor who would wear the kind of attire portrayed. Ten positive teacher characteristics were used as dependent measures. Ratings were compared across dress conditions for each target.

The significant results of the study showed that students' perceptions of a male or female instructor's traits may be modified by attire. The male teacher in the

casual condition was perceived to be sympathetic, friendly, and flexible in relating to students. In the moderate dress condition, the male professor was seen as most stimulating and clear. The formally dressed male was characterized as knowledgeable and well-organized. Apparently, different costumes evoked a particular set of attributions.

Ratings of the female professor in the three dress conditions were similar, but not identical, to assessments of the male stimulus. The female in casual dress was described as sympathetic, friendly, and flexible. Moderate dress evoked an attribution of clarity, while the formally dressed female was seen as well-organized and well-prepared. These findings suggest that students change their attributions regarding male and female professors as a function of ratee attire. Further studies suggest that this effect is not limited to the role of professor, but may extend to other occupations as well.

Miller (1978) investigated the impact of apparel on clients' estimations of counselor expertise, utilizing male and female targets. Two dress conditions were created for each counselor. In an informal dress condition, both models wore blue jeans, tennis shoes, and t-shirt. For the formal condition, the male wore a suit, a shirt with tie, and leather shoes, while the female was clad in a tailored pant suit, shirt, and leather shoes. Four videotapes of a

counselor and client interaction were prepared, resulting in four experimental conditions: male counselor/informal attire, male counselor/formal attire, female counselor/informal attire, female counselor/formal attire. Seventy-three male and 151 female undergraduates assigned ratings under on of these conditions or in a control condition.

The instrument used to measure the effects of the attire manipulation contained a total of 47 items. Fourteen of these were multiple-choice questions which concerned the clients overall expectations of the counselor's behavior. Fifteen items required subjects to estimate the counseling outcome. Counselor attributes were measured on 13 items, and five items concerned the rater's overall impression of the counselor. The data showed that females' ratings of the male and female counselors did not change significantly as a function of ratee attire. Certain ratings, however, of male subjects varied as a function of counselor dress. Estimations of the counselors' ability to help clients with problems of sexual functioning and dating, and perceptions of the counselors' trustworthiness changed across dress conditions for male raters. Once again, the impact of attire on person perception may vary with rater sex.

In a study which investigated the impact of attire on ratings of female interviewers, Kerr and Dell (1976)

allowed subjects to actually interact with the target in an interview, creating a comparatively realistic experimental situation. Subjects were told that the researchers were interested in roommate affiliation and that they would be interviewed in order to provide this information. The interview was conducted by a female in one or two dress conditions. The clothing manipulation consisted of a professional and a casual dress condition. In the professional condition, the interviewer wore either a dress or a tailored pant suit with hose and dress shoes. Makeup was worn, and the hair was neatly styled. In the casual condition, the interviewer wore clean blue jeans, casual shirt, and little makeup. The hair was styled naturally.

Baraks and LaCrosse's Counselor Rating Form, containing items relating to perceived expertness and attractiveness of the target person, was used to assess attire's influence. After subjects completed the interview, they were asked to evaluate the stimulus person on several dimensions. The data revealed that attire had a significant influence on perceived counselor expertness. In the formal dress condition, ratings were sifnificantly higher than in the informal dress condition. Attire apparently affected perceptions of this counselor attribute, even when subjects had prolonged interaction with the target.

Other researchers have used similarly realistic experimental methodologies in assessing attire's impact on perceptions of professional capabilities. A study of the effect of appearance on attitudes toward political campaigners (Darley & Cooper, 1972) provides an excellent example. In this experiment, "deviant" and "conventional" dress conditions for the bogus campaigners were created. In the deviant dress condition, targets were clad in dungarees and an army jacket. These targets had beards and their hair was long. Conventionally dressed campaigners wore sports clothing, and their hair was short. Two campaigners served as models of the deviant clothing, and two were clad in conventional dress.

Each of the four experimental confederates approached an average of 281 shoppers in a mall. The targets attempted to distribute political leaflets to shoppers in the area. The leaflet contained a neutral political message, in order to control its effect on the study. In this phase of the study, the researchers compared the amount of leaflets accepted and read by shoppers across the campaigner dress conditions. the conventionally dressed targets were more successful in persuading shoppers to accept the political leaflet. In addition, many shoppers who accepted a leaflet from the campaigner in deviant attire threw it away unread. Therefore, the hypothesis that conventionally dressed campaigners would be more

successful in transferring political information was supported.

In the second phase of the study, the campaigners were seated behind desks in a shopping mall. Those in deviant dress were seated behind one desk, while the two conventionally dressed males were seated at a different desk. Each of the two types of campaigners purposely supported a different candidate for a position at a local radio station. In front of the desk were the campaigners in deviant dress were seated, a banner read, "Vote for Joe Cooper". In front of the conventionally dressed campaigner's desk, a banner read, "Vote for Art Warren". The campaigners did not solicit votes from shoppers passing by their table, but simply sat behind the desk, in full view of the passers-by.

After shoppers passed this area, a female confederate approached them and asked them to fill our a questionnaire. This measured the shoppers' perceptions of the candidate supported by either the deviant or conventional campaigners. No information about the fictitious candidates was given. Supposedly, the most salient information available was the appearance of each candidate's campaigner.

An analysis of the questionnaires revealed that the candidate supported by campaigners in deviant attire was rated as significantly more liberal than the candidate of

the more conventional campaigners, as revealed in a measure of perceived radical-reactionary tendencies. Darley and Cooper concluded their study by stressing the crucial role of attire in attainment of two goals: successful transmission of political information by campaigners and conveying one's particular political attitudes or orientations to others.

Another line of research has investigated the importance of attire in the assessment of managerial qualifications. Rucker et al. (1981) tested the hypothesis that a certain style of clothing would be seen as most appropriate for a female manager. The researchers based this study on recommendations made by popular career apparel experts. Attire consultants such as John T. Molloy (1977) suggest that managers should wear a very specific type of apparel in order to achieve an image of maximal competence and professionalism. However, these recommendations are often made without reference to empirical research. Rucker sought to test the recommendations often found in popular literature.

The researchers asked male and female subjects to rate a female in each of twelve outfits. Subjects were asked to indicate their first impression of the female as an applicant for twelve occupations. Each occupation listed was accompanied by a 9-point scale, anchored with "good impression" at one end and "bad impression" on the other.

The status and sex dominance of the occupations were varied. Three were high status, male-dominated positions: lawyer, pharmacist, and physician. Three low status, male-dominated positions were mail carrier, bartender, and parking attendant. Three high status, female-dominated positions were nurse, school teacher, and librarian. Secretary, telephone operator, and hairdresser served as low-status, female-dominated occupations. The female in each of the twelve outfits was evaluated for every position. The subjects were 36 male and 36 female introductory psychology students.

The data showed that form-fitting, layered outfits were favored for high-status jobs. Therefore, the suggestion of apparel experts, which recommends a tailored suit as most appropriate for a high-status job interview, received empirical support. It is interesting to note, however, that females received more favorable impressions when applying for female-dominated positions, regardless of outfit. This trend was especially prominent in the ratings by male evaluators. Therefore, even though wearing a particular outfit may improve the favorability of impressions, it does not alleviate signs of sex discrimination.

In a related study, Taylor, Mendel, and Bownas (1984) investigated the effects of apparel on assessment of female managerial candidate qualifications. A casual and a formal

dress condition were created for this study. In the casual condition, the female wore a clinging sweater dress and makeup. The hair was worn long and curled. In the formal condition, the female wore a grey wool skirt and blazer and a dressy blouse. Makeup was minimal, and the hair was worn in a bun. Glasses were also worn in this dress condition.

A videotaped interview with the candidate was prepared for each dress condition. The script and interviewer were held constant across conditions. Information pertinent to each of six job-relevant capabilities was contained in the interview.

The dependent variables were six job-related dimensions: interaction facilitation, motivation, communication skills, task facilitation, knowledge of job, and professional demeanor. Each dimension was defined on a separate page, and was accompanied by either a behaviorally anchored rating scale or a graphic rating scale. Only the professional demeanor dimension contained definitional language relevant to applicant appearance.

Results of the study revealed a significant main effect for attire. Professional demeanor was affected more as a function of the dress manipulation than the remaining five dimensions. However, regardless of the rating format used, all ratings of the female in casual attire were lower than in the formal dress condition.

This finding lends support to the recommendations for conservative appearance which appear in the popular media. The managerial applicant who was dressed informally received lower rating on job-related dimensions as compared to the conservatively dressed applicant, even though the two were equally qualified. This suggests that a formal self-presentation is more beneficial for a female managerial interviewee than a casual one.

To summarize the effects of apparel on impression information: it is apparent that dress serves as an significant information cue in person perception. Although this effect may be modified by rater and ratee sex, an overall evaluation of this area of research supports the importance of attire in interpersonal assessment. Therefore, the modification of clothing in an experimental setting allows one to assess the effects of conceptually independent information on applicant assessment.

Summary

Research in personnel psychology typically provides raters with applications alone in order to examine sex differences in rating styles. This methodology may capture rater-ratee sex effects on assessments of stated abilities, but does not incorporate the impact of viewing an applicant on the selection procedure. Perhaps a photographic

supplement increases the realism of the experimental rating situation. Applicants often encounter potential employers in an interview or in a meeting before their qualifications are assessed, and the initial impression formed from seeing the applicant may affect later ratings. The inclusion of a photograph with an application may serve as a crude basis for assessing the impact of this effect. Therefore, a photograph is an analogy for the first moments of an interview by simulating the effect of first viewing an applicant.

In the context of viewing a potential applicant, attire provides information which may be unrelated to an applicant's job qualifications. Rater and ratee sex have not been thoroughly examined as potential variables in reactions to this interpersonal cue. An investigation of potential differences in rating styles between the sexes, as measured through differences in applicant assessments, and interactions of dress with rater sex and ratee sex may clarify the impact of these factors on personnel selection.

The present study is a exploratory effort to investigate basic differences in male and female rating styles in job candidate appraisal. Attire is manipulated, and the role of rater sex in reactions to this variable is measured. In addition, the impact of dress on estimations of certain job capabilities and ratee traits is measured.

Three levels of dress were included in this study: casual, intermediate, and formal attire. Two female and two male targets were photographed in each of the three dress conditions.

Only one photograph, portraying a male or female in one dress condition, was viewed by each subject.

Twelve males and twelve females served as subjects in each of the following twelve experimental conditions: Male 1/casual attire, Male 1/intermediate attire, Male 1/formal attire, Male 2/casual attire, Male 2/intermediate attire, Male 2/formal attire, Female 1/casual attire, Female 1/intermediate attire, Female 1/formal attire, Female 2/casual attire, Female 2/intermediate attire, Female 2/formal attire.

Raters were asked to assess the applicants on six job dimensions and twenty-one traits. A measure of rater confidence in ratings and a global performance estimate of the applicants were also obtained. Finally, the raters were asked to indicate the degree to which they would explore each of the six job dimensions in an interview with the applicant. A higher rating on this scale indicated that raters had doubts about the ratee's abilities on this dimension.

In summary, the purpose of this study was to investigate the roles of attire, rater sex, and ratee sex in personnel evaluations. Three dress conditions were

included in an effort to measure attires' impact by presenting a broader, more realistic range of clothing to evaluators. Reactions to dress as a function of rater sex and ratee sex were also evaluated. After reviewing the relevant research in attire and rater sex effects, two hypotheses were formed.

Hypotheses:

Rater Sex

H_1 Males' ratings of applicants would change more than females; ratings as a function of the attire manipulation.

Attire

H_2 For the male and female ratees, favorability of scores on the job dimensions and on estimations of the applicants success if hired will follow this pattern:

$$D_1 > D_2 > D_3$$

where D_1 = formal dress

D_2 = intermediate dress

D_3 = casual dress

(Main effect for dress)

No hypotheses were postulated concerning the level or pattern of traits attributed to ratees in certain dress conditions. None were formed to predict the impact of

rater sex on trait attributions. Lack of research in these areas makes these predictions difficult.

Method

Subjects and Experimental Stimuli

Subjects were three-hundred and thirty-eight introductory psychology students. These participants were told that the study examined how people's backgrounds affect their perceptions of job candidates. The rating session lasted approximately thirty minutes.

The experimental stimuli consisted of photographs of two male and two female applicants, all in their early twenties. The targets attempted to maintain the same expression across dress conditions, and were photographed with a blank stare in an attempt to control any effects due to facial expression.

Questionnaires

The rating packet given to each subject contained a job description, the applicant's photograph and completed application, and a rating form with directions. The first experimental instrument, the job description, defined the duties of a Retail Department Store Manager. This was adapted from the Dictionary of Occupational Titles. Subjects were asked to read the description prior to rating

the applicant in order to appreciate the necessary job qualifications.

Two applications were prepared for the experiment. They were identical with the exception of the applicant's name. On one form, the name "Mary Burton" was give, while the second form listed "John Burton" as the applicant. These applications provided raters with information concerning the ratee's education, extracurricular interests, and biographical data. In addition, a final item asked the applicant to state why he/she was qualified for the job. This was answered in a two-paragraph response.

After reading the job description and application, subjects were asked to evaluate the photographed ratee using the job dimension and trait rating forms. The order of the dimension scale and trait scale was counterbalanced in an attempt to control order effects.

The job dimension form contained sex occupational qualifications. These dimensions were developed in a previous study (Taylor et al. 1984) for evaluators of a similar job. These variables were seen as critical aspects of performance in the managerial position. These dimensions were defined, and assessors were asked to rate the applicant on each criterion by using a five-point Likert scale. The dimensions to be rated included knowledge of job, task facilitation, interaction

facilitation, communication skills, motivation, and professional demeanor. Only the last dimension contained language relevant to appearance.

The adjective scale contained twenty-one traits, and subjects were asked to rate how well each item described the applicant. The scale was designed to measure only seven traits Three additional measures were taken. The first asked raters to estimate the overall performance of the applicant if hires, and the second obtained a measure of rater confidence in their ratings. Both questions were answered using a five-point Likert-type scale. A final item asked subjects to indicate how much they would explore each of the six dimensions if given the opportunity to interview the applicant. This question was designed to pinpoint doubts about the applicant's abilities in specific areas.

Procedure

Subjects were assigned to one of the twelve experimental conditions shown in the following chart. In each condition, the raters viewed either a male or a female applicant photographed in one of the three attire conditions. Two male and two female targets were used to portray the casual, intermediate, and formal dress styles. Previous research frequently portrayed stimuli in either a formal or a casual dress condition. In essence assessors were asked to choose between a ratee in dishevelled attire

or in very conservative attire. No alternatives were available as a comparison. Because of this omission, the studies may not have revealed the most "appropriate" clothing for the examined occupation. However, these studies often extended the results of their two-option study to state that the favored formal attire was most appropriate for the occupation. By including an intermediate dress condition, it was hoped that rater's opinions of appropriate attire would be sampled more adequately. It may be noted that the casual condition was portrayed in neat yet informal clothing. This dress seemed to create a more realistic alternative for applicant clothing. A description of the clothing worn will clarify each of the three dress dimensions.

In the casual condition, Female Applicant 1 wore red cotton slacks, and a short-sleeved, striped sports shirt. Female 2 wore grey slacks and a long-sleeved oxford-cloth blouse in this condition. In the intermediate attire condition, Female 1 wore a printed burgundy dress, while Female 2 wore a grey and blue striped dress. In the formal condition, Female 1 wore a grey wool suit and white blouse, while Female 2 wore a blue wool suit and white blouse.

For the male casual wear condition, Male Applicant 1 wore a dark blue, striped sports shirt and white cotton slacks. Applicant 2 wore a blue short-sleeved shirt and khaki slacks. The intermediate condition was characterized

by a green sports coat, khaki slacks and tie for Male Applicant 1, and a blue sports coat, khaki slacks and tie for Applicant 2. In the formal wear condition, Male Applicant 1 wore a dark blue suit, while Male Applicant 2 wore a grey pinstripe suit.

Twelve male and twelve female raters participated in each of the twelve resultant experimental conditions. An additional condition provided a control for experimental comparisons. Subjects in this condition based ratings on the application alone (photograph withheld). In the control group, twelve males and twelve females rated the male applicant, while the same number of raters assessed the female applicant.

Subjects were run in groups of twelve. Six males and six females rated one of the four targets in each session. Half of the raters were instructed by a female experimenter and half by a male, in an effort to control effects due to experimenter sex. The entire study was based on between-subjects assessments of the experimental stimuli. The experimental conditions comprises a 2 (Ratee Sex) x 2 (Rater Sex) x 3 (Dress) factorial design.

Results

Because each of the three dress conditions was modeled by two males and two females, an analysis which would detect differences due to a particular target person was

necessary. The initial analyses were stimulus person x Rater Sex x Dress analyses of variance. Ratings within the male stimulus person condition and ratings within the female stimulus person condition were analyzed separately. Table 1 shows that no consistent subject effect occurred.

Two significant interactions emerged in subject comparisons. A Rater Sex x Subject effect occurred in evaluations of female stimuli on only one dimension, interaction facilitation. In evaluations of male stimuli, a similar effect emerged on the same dimension. However, this interaction did not occur in any of the five remaining dimensions, nor did any other significant interactions of the independent variable occur.

Only one main effect for subject emerged in the analysis of six job dimensions, an overall performance estimation, and a measure of rater confidence in the assessments. This resulted from disparate assessments of task facilitation for the two male stimuli. Since the variance accounted for by this isolated effect was minimal, .74, and the majority of the subject F ratios were not significant, the data were collapsed across same-sex stimuli for further analyses.

Table 1

Analysis of Variance-Subject Effects
Female Stimuli

Source of Variation	TF			KJ			PD			M			CS			IF		
	MS	F	Sig F	MS	F	Sig F	MS	F	Sig F	MS	F	Sig F	MS	F	Sig F	MS	F	Sig F
Main Effect																		
Subject	0.17	0.33	0.567	0.11	0.10	0.748	0.69	0.86	0.355	1.36	1.68	0.197	2.01	2.55	0.112	0.41	0.46	0.499
2-Way Interactions																		
Rater Sex x Subject	0.17	0.33	0.567	0.69	0.65	0.423	1.00	1.24	0.267	0.03	0.03	0.853	0.34	0.43	0.512	4.09	4.57	0.034*
Dress x Subject	0.19	0.37	0.693	2.42	2.25	0.109	2.63	3.27	0.041*	0.96	1.19	0.307	0.44	0.56	0.569	0.48	0.53	0.588
3-Way Interactions																		
Rater Sex x Dress x Sub.	0.53	1.00	0.371	0.22	0.20	0.819	0.81	1.01	0.368	0.09	0.11	0.895	2.11	2.69	0.072	0.00	0.00	0.997

Male Stimuli

Main Effect																		
Subject	0.56	0.94	0.334	0.01	0.01	0.929	0.01	0.01	0.930	1.56	2.07	0.152	2.78	4.50	0.036	0.30	0.36	0.552
2-Way Interactions																		
Rater Sex x Subject	1.56	2.61	0.109	1.17	1.36	0.245	1.17	1.31	0.254	0.06	0.08	0.774	0.69	1.13	0.291	5.28	6.35	0.013*
Dress x Subject	0.58	0.97	0.380	1.86	2.16	0.119	1.05	1.17	0.312	0.25	0.33	0.719	0.30	0.48	0.618	0.40	0.48	0.623
3-Way Interactions																		
Rater Sex x Dress x Sub.	1.58	2.64	0.075	1.78	2.07	0.131	0.55	0.61	0.543	1.00	1.33	0.269	0.84	1.36	0.260	0.61	0.73	0.482

* $p < .05$

Assessment of the Overall Effects of the Experimental Manipulations on Job Dimension Ratings

Ratings

In an attempt to examine general effects of dress, rater sex, and ratee sex on these performance assessments, multivariate tests of significance were employed. Anovas examined significant differences between profiles of job dimension ratings within each experimental cell. As seen in Table 2, a significant effect emerged for stimulus attire. Significant differences across treatment conditions were also revealed in four interactions: Rater Sex x Dress, Rater Sex x Ratee Sex, Ratee Sex x Dress, and Rater Sex x Ratee Sex x Dress. In contrast, the multivariate analysis of variance revealed no significant effects in the control group. The results are listed in Table 3. Findings in the experimental group were clarified with further analyses of variance for each job dimension.

At this point, an analysis was needed to determine the relationship between the six job dimensions. Pearson product-moment correlations revealed coefficients ranging from .07 to .45. The average correlation between dimensions was .25. These results are listed in Table 4. In view of this analysis, the job dimensions were treated as independent variables, and were analyzed separately. This aided the interpretation of experimental findings and their relationship to the predicted results. The job

Table 2

Experimental Group

Wilk's Multivariate Test of Significance

Effect	Approx. F	Sig. of F
Ratee Sex	.76	.605
Dress	2.67	.002*
Rater Sex	1.13	.347
Rater Sex x Ratee Sex	2.40	.028*
Dress x Ratee Sex	1.99	.023*
Rater Sex x Dress	3.05	.000*
Rater Sex x Dress x Ratee Sex	2.00	.023*

*$p < .05$

Table 3

Control Group

Wilk's Multivariate Test of Significance

Effect	Approx. F	Sig. of F
Rater Sex	.99	.434
Ratee Sex	.19	.963
Rater Sex x Ratee Sex	.96	.452

Table 4

Pearson Product-Moment Correlations Between Job Dimensions

	TF	KJ	M	PD	CS	IF
TF	1.0000					
KJ	0.1806	1.0000				
M	0.1573	0.1110	1.0000			
PD	0.1988	0.2170	0.4552	1.0000		
CS	0.2833	0.1353	0.4239	0.2969	1.0000	
IF	0.3036	0.0736	0.3151	0.2419	0.4412	1.0000

dimensions were defined as conceptually independent entities. Examining each separately allowed the experimenter to interpret the effects of dress, rater sex, and ratee sex on job evaluations with greater specificity.

An Analysis of Each Performance Dimension

Task Facilitation

This dimension was defined as the ability to "maximize the performance of subordinates by recognizing those with specialized knowledges or capabilities and placing them in appropriate positions within the organization". An analysis of variance compared ratings of this dimension as a function of rater sex, ratee sex, and applicant attire. Assessments of this managerial capability reflected a three-way interaction of the independent variables: Dress x Rater Sex x Ratee Sex. The analysis of variance for this dimension may be seen in Table 5. The means under each condition were plotted to aid interpretation and each interaction was examined in terms of the simple effects of each component.

The Rater Sex x Ratee Sex x Dress interaction is displayed in Diagram 1. Overall, there was a tendency for assessors to rate more favorably in opposite-sex rating situations across dress conditions. An analysis of ratings of male and female subjects was conducted with rater sex was held constant.

Table 5

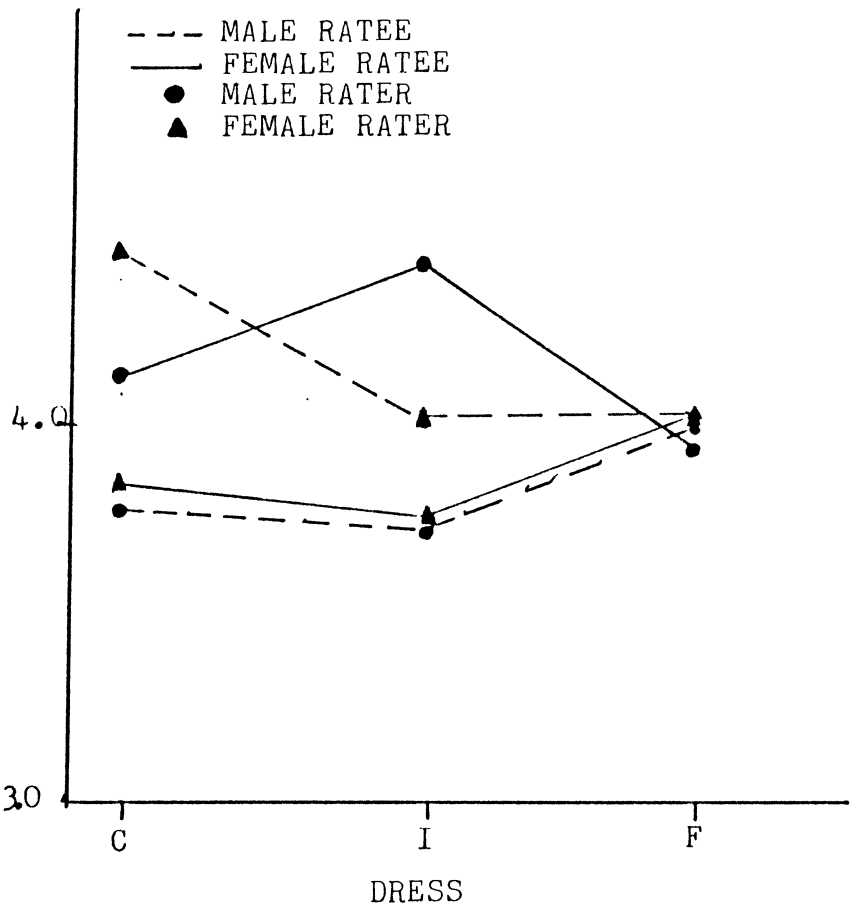
Analysis of Variance

Task Facilitation by Rater Sex, Dress, Ratee Sex

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F	Sig. of F
Main Effects	0.56	0.14	0.25	0.909
Rater Sex	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.000
Dress	0.44	0.22	0.39	0.677
Ratee Sex	0.13	0.13	0.22	0.640
2-Way Interactions	9.21	1.84	3.24	0.007
Rater Sex x Dress	1.75	0.88	1.54	0.217
Rater Sex x Ratee Sex	6.13	6.13	10.76	0.001*
Dress x Ratee Sex	1.33	0.67	1.17	0.311
3-Way Interactions	5.08	2.54	4.47	0.012*
Rater Sex x Dress x Ratee Sex	5.08	2.54	4.47	0.012*
Explained	14.86	1.35	2.37	0.008*
Residual	157.08	0.57		
Total	171.94	0.60		

*p < .05
n = 288

DIAGRAM 1



TASK FACILITATION:

RATER SEX X RATEE SEX X DRESS INTERACTION

Results of the one-way analyses of variance showed that, although opposite-sex assessments were generally more favorable across dress conditions, male and female raters were differentially affected by ratee attire. Means assigned by raters were differentially affected by ratee attire. Means assigned by raters were examined within each dress condition as a function of ratee sex. One way anova revealed the significant findings. Females' assessments of males and females differed significantly only in the casual dress condition. Males were assigned a mean rating of 4.4 while females received an average rating of 3.83. Males' ratings did not reflect a similar pattern. When means were compared for male raters' assessments, a significant difference occurred only in the intermediate dress condition. While female stimuli were given a mean rating of 4.4, the average score for male stimuli was 3.71. Therefore, male and female raters reacted differently to the attire manipulation. Females' assessments of ratees were more disparate in the casual dress condition, while males' ratings showed the greatest difference in the intermediate dress condition.

Additional analyses clarified these differences which resulted in the interactive effects. Ratee sex was held constant and ratings were analyzed as a function of rater sex. Assessments of females differed significantly as a function of rater sex only in the intermediate attire

condition, while female raters of males differed as a function of rater sex only in the casual dress condition. While female assessors assigned an average rating of 4.4 to males in casual attire, males assigned a rating of 3.8 to same-sex raters. The overall pattern of means and the significance of the comparisons may be seen in Table 6. In contrast, the effects of rater sex and ratee sex were not significant in the control group ($p<.05$). The analyses of variance for the control group may be seen in Table 7.

Knowledge of Job

This job dimension was defined as an ability to apply basic managerial and administrative skills. An educational background in management was also a descriptor of this job capability. When an analysis of variance was performed, a three-way interaction of the independent variables occurred. The nature of this effect was revealed through further comparisons (See Table 8).

A complex Dress x Rater Sex x Ratee Sex interaction also characterized ratings on this dimension. Diagram 2 displays the patterns of means across experimental conditions.

The overall pattern of ratings assigned to females across dress conditions was similar for male and female raters. However, while females' ratings of female ratees did not differ significantly as a function of attire, males' ratings reflected a significant effect for dress.

Table 6

Task Facilitation
Rater Sex x Ratee Sex x Dress Interaction

		Dress Condition					
		Casual		Inter.		Formal	
	Ratee Sex	F	M	F	M	F	M
Rater Sex	Male	4.125	3.792	4.417	3.708	3.917	3.958
	Female	3.833	4.417	3.708	4.000	4.042	3.917

Significant Contrasts:

For Male Raters: The means assigned to male and female ratees differed significantly in the intermediate dress condition. $F = 11.171$, $p = .0017$.

For Female Raters: The means assigned to males and females within each dress condition differed significantly only in the casual dress cells. $F = 8.874$, $p = .0046$.

For Male Ratees: Ratings differed as a function of rater sex in the casual dress condition. $F = 7.238$, $p = .0099$.

For Female Ratees: Ratings differed as a function of rater sex in the intermediate dress condition. $F = 8.995$, $p = .0044$.

Table 7

Analysis of Variance

Task Facilitation by Rater Sex, Ratee Sex

Control Group

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F	Sig. of F
Main Effects	1.04	0.52	1.07	0.349
Rater Sex	1.02	1.02	2.11	0.153
Ratee Sex	0.02	0.02	0.04	0.836
2-Way Interactions				
Rater Sex x Ratee Sex	0.52	0.52	1.07	0.305
Explained	1.56	0.52	1.07	0.368
Residual	21.25	0.48		
Total	22.81	0.48		

n = 48

Table 8

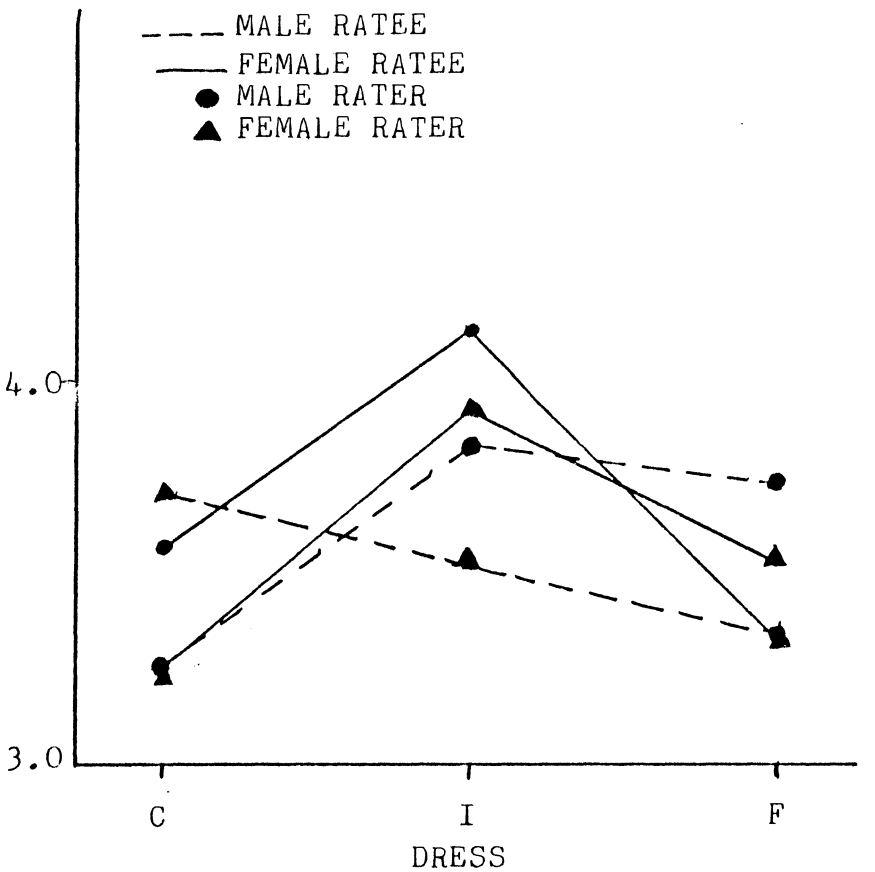
Analysis of Variance

Knowledge of Job by Rater Sex, Dress, Ratee Sex

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F	Sig. of F
Main Effects	10.33	2.58	2.64	0.034
Rater Sex	0.78	0.78	0.80	0.372
Dress	9.38	4.70	4.79	0.009*
Ratee Sex	0.17	0.17	0.17	0.677
2-Way Interactions	4.16	0.83	0.85	0.516
Rater Sex x Dress	1.19	0.59	0.61	0.546
Rater Sex x Ratee Sex	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.953
Dress x Ratee Sex	2.97	1.48	1.52	0.222
3-Way Interactions	6.47	3.23	3.30	0.038*
Rater Sex x Dress x Ratee Sex	6.47	3.23	3.30	0.038*
Explained	20.96	1.91	1.95	0.034
Residual	270.12	0.98		
Total	291.07	1.01		

*p < .05
n = 288

DIAGRAM 2



KNOWLEDGE OF JOB:

RATER SEX X RATEE SEX X DRESS INTERACTION

Males rated females more favorably in intermediate than in formal attire. The comparisons between dress means were not significant. Comparisons were made using Tukey's criteria for significant post-hoc comparisons.

Although the level of ratings differed as a function of rater sex in two of the three conditions, none of the differences were statistically significant. In the casual and intermediate dress conditions, males assigned slightly higher raters to the female subject than did female raters. In the formal dress condition, ratings given by males and females were more similar. However, when the means were compared using a one-way anova, no statistically significant results were found.

When male raters were assessed, differences in both the pattern and level of ratings emerged as a function of rater sex. Females viewed males clad in casual attire more favorably than when the applicant wore intermediate or formal attire. The means for these groups are 3.7, 3.54, and 3.3, respectively.

None of these means were significantly different. In comparison, male raters assigned the highest rating (3.83) when the male wore intermediate attire. Ratings were slightly less favorable when the subject wore casual attire (3.79). Ratings were lowest when the male wore casual attire (3.25). However, when rater sex was held constant and means were compared across dress conditions using

Tukey's criteria, no significant contrasts emerged for the male ratee. The rating assigned to the male depended both on the rater's sex and the dress condition. The means for this interaction are listed in Table 9.

This may best be explained by examining ratings within ratee sex. When ratee sex was held constant, and means within each of the three dress conditions were analyzed as a function of rater sex, no significant differences emerged in the analysis of variance. When rater sex was held constant and ratings were subjected to an analysis of variance, no differences as a function of ratee sex emerged within each dress condition.

Once again, ratings on this job dimension were not affected by rater sex or ratee sex. As seen in the analysis of variance, Table 10, the means in this dimension did not differ significantly as a function of these two variables.

Professional Demeanor

The definition of this job dimension was as follows: "Recognizes and conforms in manner, appearance and style to the demands of the various groups (e.g. supervisors, subordinates, customers, sales representatives) with whom the job requires contact." This dimension was of special interest since it was the only item which explicitly referred the rater to an applicant's appearance. The

Table 9

Knowledge of Job
Rater Sex x Ratee Sex x Dress Interaction

		Dress Condition					
		Casual		Inter.		Formal	
	Ratee Sex	F	M	F	M	F	M
Rater Sex	Male	3.583	3.250	4.125	3.833	3.333	3.792
	Female	3.250	3.708	3.917	3.542	3.542	3.333

Significant Contrasts:

Males' assessments of females differed as a function of dress. Ratings were significantly higher in the intermediate than in formal dress. $T = 2.744$, $p = .009$ (Tukey's HSD used). The comparisons within dress condition did not differ significantly as a function of rater or rater sex.

Table 10

Analysis of Variance

Knowledge of Job by Rater Sex, Ratee Sex

Control Group

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F	Sig. of F
Main Effects	0.41	0.20	0.14	0.869
Rater Sex	0.08	0.08	0.05	0.814
Ratee Sex	0.33	0.33	0.22	0.638
2-Way Interactions				
Rater Sex x Ratee Sex	0.08	0.08	0.56	0.814
Explained	0.50	0.16	0.11	0.952
Residual	65.16	1.48		
Total	65.66	1.39		

n = 48

impact of attire on this dimension was apparent in a Dress x Rater Sex interaction. These effects are listed in Table 11, an analysis of variance table.

A significant Rater Sex x Dress interaction is shown in Diagram 3. Apparently, males and females reacted differently to the three dress conditions. When males' ratings across the three dress conditions were compared, an overall significant F was found. The following pattern means emerged: casual - 3.73; intermediate - 4.02; formal - 3.52. Males evaluated applicants wearing intermediate attire more favorably than in any other dress condition. The contrast between assessments made of applicants wearing formal attire and those wearing intermediate attire differed significantly in the male rater condition, when compared using Tukey's criteria.

Females' ratings did not reflect a similar trend. When dress means were compared within this condition, two significant contrasts occurred. Females viewed those in casual dress least favorably, assigning a mean rating of 3.44. An analysis using Tukey's criteria shows that this mean significantly differed from ratings of the intermediate (3.89) and formal (4.08) attire conditions. The means of the formal and intermediate dress conditions did not differ significantly.

This indicates that, while males reacted negatively to formal attire, females' ratings were not significantly

Table 11

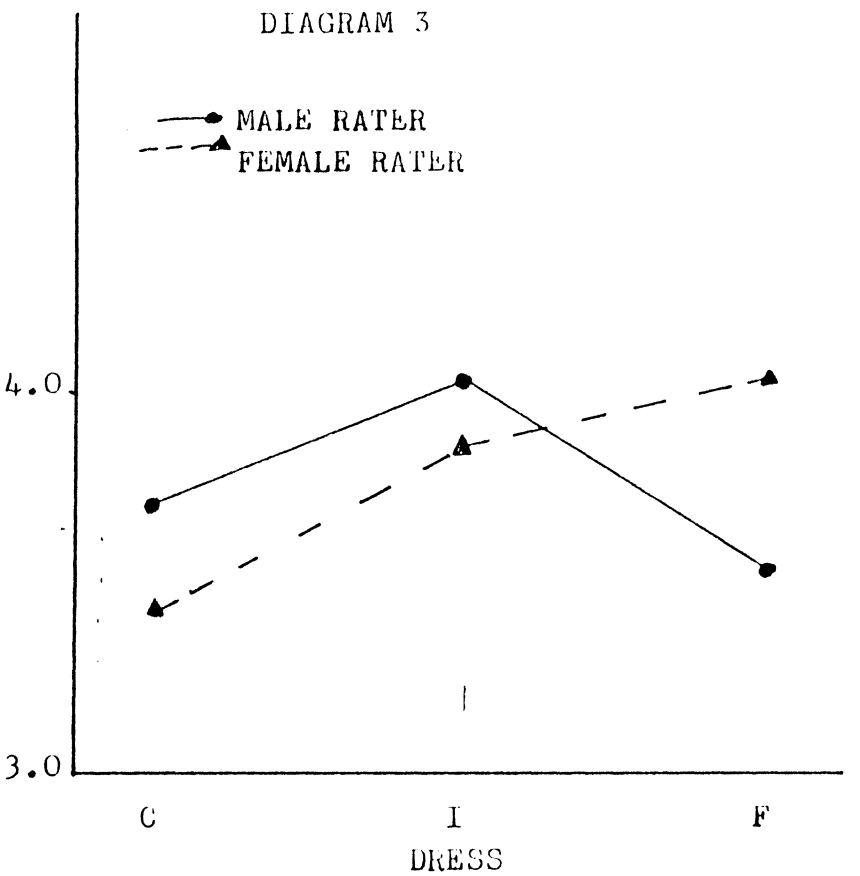
Analysis of Variance

Professional Demeanor by Rater Sex, Dress, Ratee Sex

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F	Sig. of F
Main Effects	7.15	1.79	2.08	0.084
Rater Sex	0.17	0.17	0.20	0.657
Dress	6.81	3.41	3.96	0.020*
Ratee Sex	0.17	0.17	0.20	0.657
2-Way Interactions	13.89	2.78	3.23	0.007
Rater Sex x Dress	9.84	4.92	5.73	0.004*
Rater Sex x Ratee Sex	1.25	1.25	1.46	0.228
Dress x Ratee Sex	2.80	1.40	1.63	0.198
3-Way Interactions	2.97	1.48	1.73	0.180
Rater Sex x Dress x Ratee Sex	2.97	1.48	1.73	0.180
Explained	24.01	2.18	2.54	0.005*
Residual	237.21	0.86		
Total	261.22	0.91		

*p < .05
n = 288

DIAGRAM 3



PROFESSIONAL DEMEANOR:

RATER SEX X DRESS INTERACTION

affected in this condition. Instead females' ratings were lowest when the ratee wore casual attire.

The largest discrepancy between raters, assessments occurred in the formal dress condition. When individual dress conditions means were analyzed by rater sex in one-way anova, the formal dress condition yielded the only significant comparison. As stated, males' ratings in this condition yielded a mean of 3.52, while the average rating assigned by females was 4.08. Therefore, dress seems to affect ratings differently, depending on the kind of apparel worn and the sex of the assessor. The means for this interaction are plotted in Table 12. Table 13 shows the analysis of variance for the control group. Means did not differ significantly as a function rater sex or ratee sex.

Motivation

A Rater Sex x Dress interaction also occurred in ratings of this job dimension, as shown in Diagram 4. This significantly affected estimations of an applicant's "desire to get ahead and a willingness to put forth high levels of effort to accomplish both short-term demands and long-term career goals." As revealed in the analysis of variance, Table 14, the impact of attire was, to some degree, dependent on rater sex.

Ratings made by male assessors followed this pattern: casual (4.0); intermediate (4.45); formal (3.58). Post-hoc

Table 12

Professional Demeanor
Rater Sex By Dress

	Dress Condition		
Rater Sex	Casual	Inter.	Formal
Male	3.73	4.02	3.52
Female	3.44	3.89	4.08

Significant Contrasts:

For Male Raters: Means of the intermediate and formal condition, T = 2.639, p = .010 (Tukey's HSD utilized).

For Female Raters: Means of the casual and formal, T = 3.53, p = .001. Means of the casual and intermediate, T = 2.597, p = .011 (Tukeys HSD utilized).

Within dress condition, means differed as a function of rater sex only in Formal Attire F = 8.335, p = .0048.

Table 13

Analysis of Variance

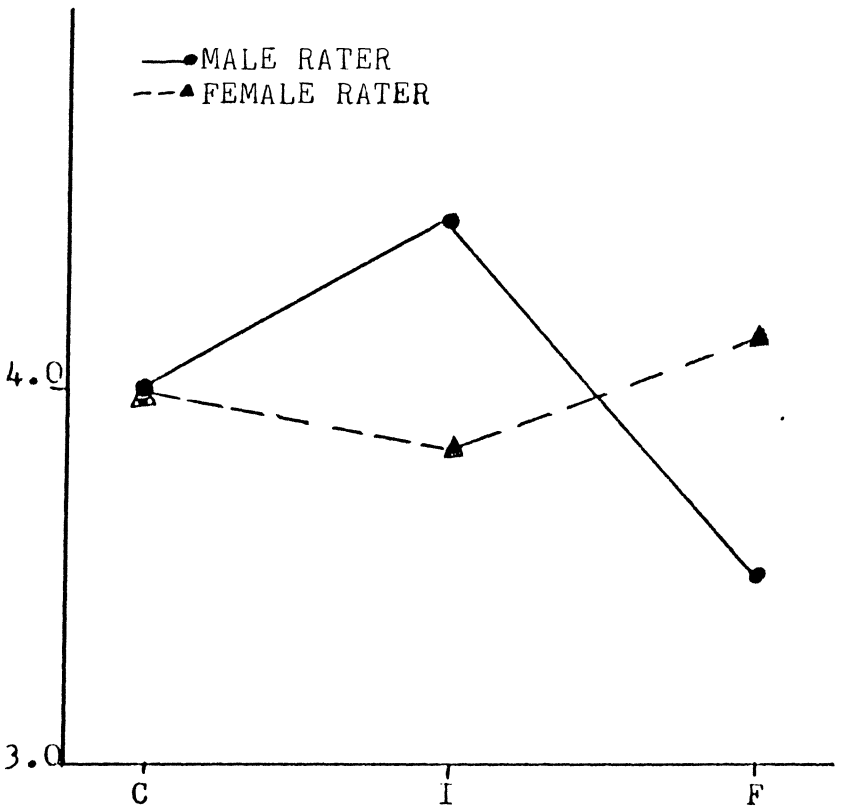
Professional Demeanor by Rater Sex, Ratee Sex

Control Group

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F	Sig. of F
Main Effects	1.33	0.66	1.34	0.271
Rater Sex	1.33	1.33	2.68	0.108
Ratee Sex	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.000
2-Way Interactions				
Rater Sex x Ratee Sex	0.75	0.75	1.51	0.225
Explained	2.08	0.69	1.40	0.256
Residual	21.83	0.49		
Total	23.91	0.50		

n = 48

DIAGRAM 4



MOTIVATION:

RATER SEX X DRESS INTERACTION

Table 14

Analysis of Variance

Motivation by Rater Sex, Dress, Ratee Sex

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F	Sig. of F
Main Effects	4.50	1.13	1.45	0.218
Rater Sex	0.03	0.03	0.04	0.841
Dress	4.38	2.19	2.82	0.061
Ratee Sex	0.09	0.09	0.11	0.738
2-Way Interactions	18.74	3.75	4.83	0.000*
Rater Sex x Dress	15.77	7.89	10.16	0.000*
Rater Sex x Ratee Sex	0.17	0.17	0.22	0.640
Dress x Ratee Sex	2.80	1.40	1.80	0.167
3-Way Interactions	3.55	1.77	2.29	0.104
Rater Sex x Dress x Ratee Sex	3.55	1.77	2.87	0.104
Explained	26.79	2.44	3.14	0.001*
Residual	214.21	0.78		
Total	240.99	0.84		

*p < .05
n = 288

comparisons showed that the contrast between the casual and intermediate dress conditions was significant, as was the contrast between the intermediate and formal conditions. This finding was not discovered when the rater was female. The means for casual, intermediate, and formal attire were 4.0, 3.85, and 4.125, respectively. Once again, males and females reacted differently to the attire manipulations. None of the dress comparisons in the female rater conditions proved to differ significantly when Tukey's post-hoc criterion was employed.

Comparisons between means defined by rater sex were made within each dress condition. Two contrasts were significant when the differences were analyzed using one-way anova. Males' ratings of subjects in intermediate attire were more favorable than those assigned by female raters (male mean rating - 4.45; female mean rating - 3.8). Females reacted more favorably to formal attire (4.1) than did males (3.58) when assessing this job dimension. As in the professional demeanor dimension, females assigned higher ratings than males as a function of formal attire, while males gave higher appraisals to those in intermediate attire. Mean ratings within this job dimension are listed in Table 15. In Table 16, results on this job dimension are listed for the control groups. No significant differences emerged for the ratee sex and rater sex variables.

Table 15

Motivation
Rater Sex by Dress Interaction

	Dress Condition		
Rater Sex	Casual	Inter.	Formal
Male	4.000	4.458	3.583
Female	4.000	3.854	4.125

Significant Contrasts:

For Male Raters: Means of the casual and intermediate condition, T = 2.86, p = .0005 (Tukey's HSD utilized). Means of the intermediate and formal, T = 4.601, p = .0001 (Tukey's HSD utilized).

Within dress condition, significant contrasts as a function of Rater Sex:

Intermediate: F = 11.14, p = .0012
Formal F = 8.606, p = .0042

Table 16

Analysis of Variance

Motivation by Rater Sex, Ratee Sex

Control Group

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F	Sig. of F
Main Effects	0.54	0.27	0.31	0.732
Rater Sex	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.877
Ratee Sex	0.52	0.52	0.60	0.441
2-Way Interactions				
Rater Sex x Ratee Sex	0.52	0.52	0.60	0.441
Explained	1.06	0.35	0.41	0.746
Residual	37.91	0.86		
Total	38.97	0.82		

n = 48

Communication Skills

"The ability to communicate clearly, concisely, grammatically, and in a well-organized manner" characterized this job dimension. A significant Dress x Ratee Sex interaction was discovered in the analysis of ratings on this dimension. The source of the interaction is apparent when the means assigned to male and female ratees are examined. These comparisons are listed in the analysis of variance, Table 17.

A one-way anova tested differences due to dress within the male and female ratee conditions. For the male ratee condition, the casual condition received a mean rating of 4.14. Applicants in intermediate attire received an average score of 4.18, and those in formal dress received a mean assessment of 4.25. Post-hoc tests showed that none of the contrasts within these means were significant below the .05 level. However, female ratee scores were significantly impacted by dress. Their mean scores in casual, intermediate, and formal attire were 4.06, 4.35, and 3.72, respectively. Tukey's contrast showed that the means between intermediate and formal attire differed significantly. Females wearing intermediate attire received higher evaluations than when they wore formal clothing.

The differences between ratee assessments across dress conditions were evaluated by comparing means within each

Table 17

Analysis of Variance

Communication Skills by Rater Sex, Dress, Ratee Sex

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F	Sig. of F
Main Effects	5.79	1.45	2.01	0.093
Rater Sex	0.42	0.42	0.58	0.445
Dress	3.84	1.92	2.67	0.071
Ratee Sex	1.53	1.53	2.13	0.146
2-Way Interactions	10.37	2.07	2.88	0.015*
Rater Sex x Dress	2.38	1.19	1.66	0.193
Rater Sex x Ratee Sex	2.17	2.17	3.02	0.083
Dress x Ratee Sex	5.81	2.91	4.04	0.019*
3-Way Interactions	2.13	1.07	1.48	0.229
Rater Sex x Dress x Ratee Sex	2.13	1.07	1.48	0.229
Explained	18.29	1.66		
Residual	198.46	0.72		
Total	216.75	0.76		

*p < .05
n = 288

attire condition through one-way analyses of variances. One significant contrast was found. When the assessments given to male ratees were examined, their evaluations were significantly higher than females' in the formal dress condition. While females received an average rating of 3.72, males were assigned a rating of 4.25. The findings in this dimension may be summarized by saying that formal attire seemed to play a greater role in assessments of males than of females. Table 18 provides a listing of the means discussed and Diagram 5 provides a plot of those means. Table 19 shows that, as on other dimensions, rater sex and ratee sex did not significantly impact assessments in the control group.

Interaction Facilitation

On this dimension alone, only main effects altered scores of applicants. Both dress and rater sex moderated estimations of the ability to "encourage open communication and good interpersonal relationships between employers." The significance of these effects may be viewed in Table 20. The impact of each variable was explored through separate analyses.

Tukey's post-hoc comparisons examined differences among dress means. For casual attire, the mean rating was 3.91. It dropped slightly to 3.81, in the intermediate condition. The contrast between these means was not significant. In the formal condition, ratings fell to

Table 18

Communication Skills
Dress x Ratee Sex Interaction

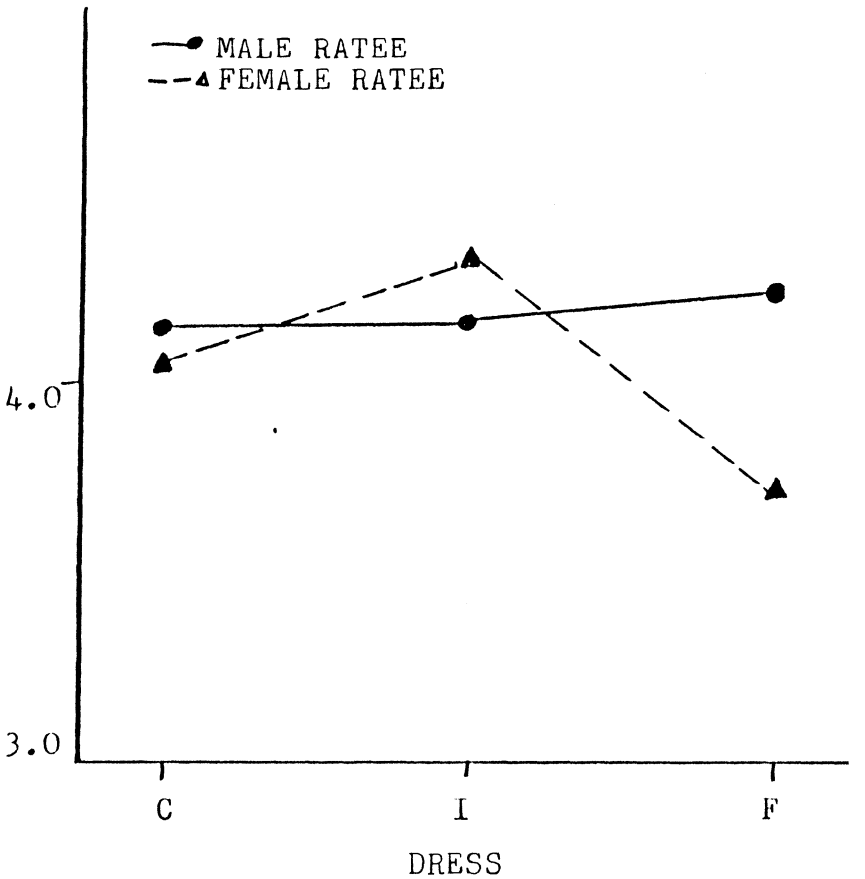
	Dress Condition		
Rater Sex	Casual	Inter.	Formal
Female	4.063	4.354	3.729
Male	4.146	4.188	4.250

Significant Contrasts:

Within Ratee Sex: Females - intermediate-formal T = 3.310, p = .001 (Tukey's HSD utilized).

Within Dress Condition: Formal attire F = 8.444, p = .0046.

DIAGRAM 5



COMMUNICATION SKILLS:

DRESS X RATEE SEX INTERACTION

Table 19

Analysis of Variance

Communication Skills by Rater Sex, Ratee Sex

Control Group

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F	Sig. of F
Main Effects	0.41	0.20	0.49	0.613
Rater Sex	0.33	0.33	0.79	0.378
Ratee Sex	0.08	0.08	0.19	0.658
2-Way Interactions				
Rater Sex x Ratee Sex	0.08	0.08	0.19	0.658
Explained	0.50	0.16	0.39	0.756
Residual	18.50	0.42		
Total	19.00	0.40		

n = 48

Table 20

Analysis of Variance

Interaction Facilitation

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F	Sig. of F
Main Effects	12.00	3.00	3.43	0.009
Rater Sex	3.99	3.99	4.57	0.033
Dress	6.47	3.24	3.70	0.026
Ratee Sex	1.54	1.54	1.76	0.186
2-Way Interactions	6.19	1.24	1.42	0.218
Rater Sex x Dress	2.24	1.12	1.28	0.279
Rater Sex x Ratee Sex	2.21	2.21	2.52	0.113
Dress x Ratee Sex	1.76	0.88	1.01	0.366
3-Way Interactions	1.22	0.61	0.70	0.498
Rater Sex x Dress x Ratee Sex	1.22	0.61	0.70	0.498
Explained	19.42	1.77		
Residual	237.78	0.87		
Total	257.19	0.91		

*p < .05
n = 288

3.56. The contrast between this mean and the mean in casual dress was significant. Ratees received significantly lower ability ratings on interaction facilitation when wearing formal rather than casual attire. Means for this main effect are listed in Table 21 and are plotted in Diagram 6.

The ratee sex effect was shown as a tendency for females to assign higher ratings than males to applicants on this dimension. This finding was apparent across ratee sex and dress conditions. Collapsing across ratee sex and dress, the overall mean assigned by females was 3.87, while males assigned a mean of 3.64. To further explore this effect, the role of rater sex within experimental dress conditions was examined through one-way analyses of variances. The largest and only statistically significant difference due to rater sex occurred in the formal dress condition. Female raters assessed ratee more favorably than males under this condition.

Further one-way anovas revealed that the differences between males' and females' assessments were significant when the ratee was male, but not in the female condition. Again, the sex effect was defined by comparatively favorable ratings given by female raters.

In summary, females rated applicants more favorably than did male assessors. This overall pattern is seen

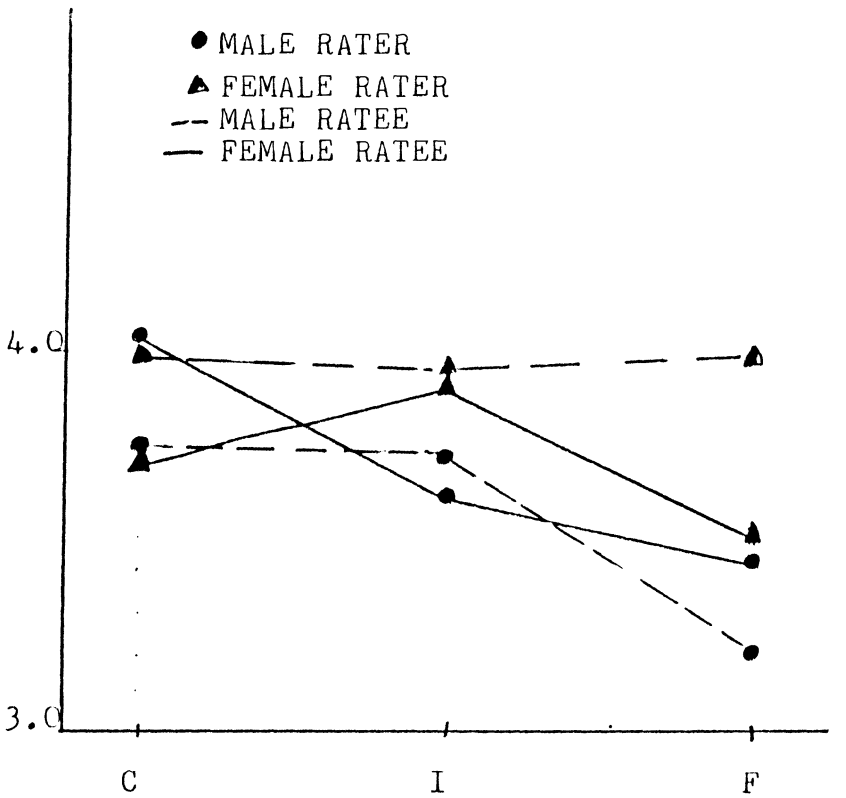
Table 21

Interaction Facilitation
Main Effect for Dress

Ratee Sex	Casual	Inter.	Formal
Female	3.915	3.770	3.375
Male	3.917	3.833	3.750
Mean	3.916	3.802	3.562

Significant Contrast for Dress: Casual-Formal T = 2.539, p = .012 (Tukey's HSD utilized).

DIAGRAM 6



INTERACTION FACILITATION:
MAIN EFFECT FOR RATER SEX

across the means recorded in Table 22. These means are graphed in Diagram 7.

It must be emphasized that this effect was not consistent across the job dimensions. It surfaced only in ratings of interaction facilitation. In addition, a main effect for sex was not disclosed by multivariate analysis performed earlier. The importance of the impact of female rater behavior on ratings did not receive strong support. Consistent with the other dimension ratings, rater sex and ratee sex did not significantly influence ratings in the control group. The results of this analysis of variance may be viewed in Table 23.

Global Ratings of Performance

As revealed in the analyses of variance, no significant effects emerged for attire, rater sex, or ratee sex. Table 24 shows the results of this analysis. In addition, no significant effects emerged for rater sex or ratee sex in the control groups' assessments. This analysis is shown in Table 25.

Ratings of Confidence in the Assessments

When males and females were asked to indicate confidence in their ratings, no significant difference emerged as a function of attire, rater sex, or ratee sex. Results of this analysis may be seen in Table 26. In addition, the control groups' ratings did not differ as a function of rater sex or ratee sex. This analysis of

Table 22

Interaction Facilitation
Main Effect for Rater Sex

Overall Mean for Male Raters: 3.67
Overall Mean for Female Raters: 3.84

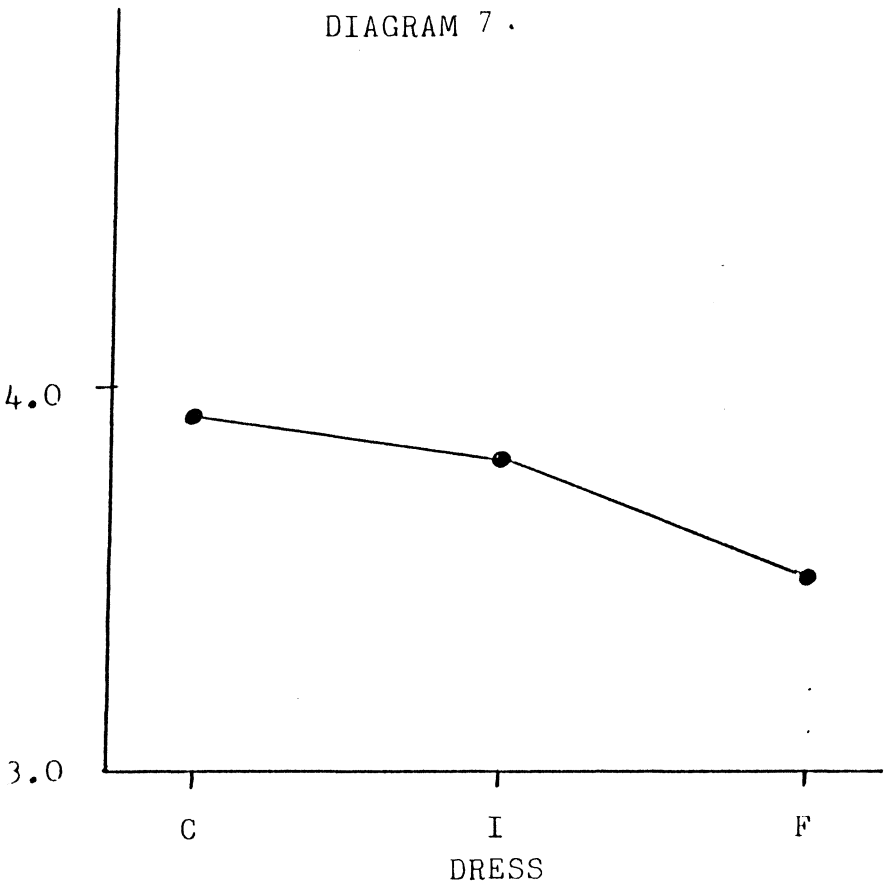
		Casual		Inter.		Formal	
	Ratee Sex	F	M	F	M	F	M
Rater Sex:	Male	4.087	3.750	3.625	3.708	3.458	3.250
	Female	3.750	4.083	3.917	3.958	3.500	4.042

Significant Contrasts

Dress: Formal dress assessments - Females' ratings were higher than those of male raters, $F = 2.047$, $p = .044$.

Ratee Sex: Females assessments of male ratees were significantly higher than males assessments $F = 6.521$, $p = .012$.

DIAGRAM 7.



INTERACTION FACILITATION:

MAIN EFFECT

Table 23

Analysis of Variance

Interaction Facilitation by Rater Sex, Ratee Sex

Control Group

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F	Sig. of F
Main Effects	0.41	0.20	0.19	0.82
Rater Sex	0.08	0.08	0.07	0.78
Ratee Sex	0.33	0.33	0.30	0.58
2-Way Interactions				
Rater Sex x Ratee Sex	0.75	0.75	0.69	0.411
Explained	1.16	0.38	0.35	0.784
Residual	47.83	1.08		
Total	49.00	1.04		

n = 48

Table 24

Analysis of Variance

Performance by Rater Sex, Dress, Ratee Sex

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F	Sig. of F
Main Effects	2.36	0.59	1.19	0.313
Rater Sex	0.31	0.31	0.63	0.425
Dress	2.02	1.01	2.05	0.131
Ratee Sex	0.03	0.03	0.06	0.801
2-Way Interactions	1.34	0.26	0.54	0.743
Rater Sex x Dress	1.06	0.53	1.08	0.341
Rater Sex x Ratee Sex	0.03	0.03	0.06	0.802
Dress x Ratee Sex	0.24	0.12	0.24	0.781
3-Way Interactions	1.95	0.97	1.97	0.141
Rater Sex x Dress x Ratee Sex	1.95	0.97	1.97	0.141
Explained	5.65	0.51	1.04	0.410
Residual	134.18	0.49		
Total	139.84	0.49		

Table 25

Analysis of Variance

Performance by Rater Sex, Ratee Sex

Control Group

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F	Sig. of F
Main Effects	1.04	0.52	0.92	0.406
Rater Sex	1.02	1.02	1.80	0.186
Ratee Sex	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.849
2-Way Interactions				
Rater Sex x Ratee Sex	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.849
Explained	1.06	0.35	0.62	0.602
Residual	24.91	0.56		
Total	25.97	0.55		

n = 48

Table 26

Analysis of Variance

Confidence by Rater Sex, Dress, Ratee Sex

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F	Sig. of F
Main Effects	0.56	0.14	0.28	0.885
Rater Sex	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.964
Dress	0.21	0.10	0.21	0.80
Ratee Sex	0.35	0.35	0.72	0.396
2-Way Interactions	4.18	0.83	1.69	0.136
Rater Sex x Dress	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.982
Rater Sex x Ratee Sex	0.02	0.02	0.04	0.826
Dress x Ratee Sex	4.14	2.07	4.19	0.016
3-Way Interactions	0.64	0.32	0.65	0.519
Rater Sex x Dress x Ratee Sex	0.64	0.32	0.65	0.519
Explained	5.39	0.49	0.99	0.45
Residual	134.17	0.49		
Total	139.57	0.49		

n = 288

variance is reported in Table 27. The theoretical basis for inclusion of this item suggested that, in some instances, confidence of males differs from that of females. However, this study provided no support for this theory.

Trait Analyses

In view of the rater sex effects which emerged in the job dimension analyses, the trait ratings were separated by sex and factor analyzed. The results revealed different factor loadings for male and female raters. While both male's and female's ratings fell into six factors, traits fell into different categories for males and females for four of the six factors. In other words, male and female raters utilized the traits in different ways when classifying applicants. These differences are clarified when factor loadings in the control and experimental conditions are examined for each sex.

Two of the factors which emerged in females' assessments under experimental conditions were identical to factors which emerged in the male raters' experimental assessments. One factor, characterized by assertive, confident, and self-assured, was revealed in ratings made by both sexes. This is labeled "confidence" in the tables depicting the factor loadings. A second factor "conservatism" was also characterized by identical traits in males' and females' ratings. Prudence and conservatism

Table 27

Analysis of Variance

Confidence by Rater Sex, Ratee Sex

Control Group

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F	Sig. of F
Main Effects	1.41	0.70	1.78	0.180
Rater Sex	1.33	1.33	3.35	0.074
Ratee Sex	0.08	0.08	0.21	0.649
2-Way Interactions				
Rater Sex x Ratee Sex	0.33	0.33	0.83	0.36
Explained	1.75	0.58	1.46	0.237
Residual	17.50	0.39		
Total	19.25	0.41		

n = 48

loaded on this factor. At this point, the ratings of males and females diverged. The remaining four factors which emerged in both within-sex assessments were dissimilar.

The females' ratings within the experimental group are depicted in Table 28. As seen, the four main factors were labeled reliability, thoughtlessness, indescretion, and permissiveness. The first factor was composed of the traits friendly, reliable, approachable, responsible, sociable, dependable and careful. Thoughtlessness was defined by emotional, tempera- mental, lax, thoughtless and excitable. Indiscretion was defined by lenient and incautious. Impulsive and permissive loaded on the factor permissiveness. Volitility was identified by emotional and excitable. These factors contrast not only with males' ratings, but with females' ratings within the control group as well.

Females' ratings in the control groups fell into a dissimilar structure. Five factors emerged in this condition. The first factor included these traits: friendly, lenient, permissive, lax, and excitable. This factor is representative of an overall "Inefficiency" dimension. A person possessing these traits would be perceived as sociable, yet incapable of exercising control over situations. The second factor encompassed the following traits: assertive, approachable, confident, sociable, self-assured. This seems to connote an

Table 28

Varimax Rotated Factor Matrix

Females Experimental

Reliability	Thoughtlessness	Confidence	Conservatism	Indiscretion	Permissiveness
friendly 0.66842	emotional 0.46231	assertive 0.46298	conservative 0.59581	lenient 0.47772	impulsive 0.40393
reliable 0.75829	temperamental 0.50970	confident 0.84513	prudent 0.67169	incautious 0.59067	permissive 0.56936
approachable 0.59709	lax 0.36271	self-assured 0.67720			
responsible 0.58240	thoughtless 0.67744				
sociable 0.57445	excitable 0.55134				
dependable 0.67441					
careful 0.64662					

"Extroversion" dimension, typical of an outgoing, confident individual. The third factor included these traits: reliable, conservative, responsible, prudent, dependable, and careful. These traits are descriptive of an overall "calculating" dimension. One possessing these traits would handle situations in a logical, reasonable fashion. The fourth factor could be viewed as an "Instability" personality dimension. Impulsive, emotional, and incautious were defining traits of this factor. Finally, the last factor emerged as a "Capricious" dimension. Thoughtless and temperamental loaded on this factor. In summary, factor loadings in the control condition differed from those under the experimental condition. The omission of the applicants photograph resulted in a unique factor structure. Factor loadings are recorded in Table 29.

An examination of the factors which emerged from males' ratings reveals the dissimilarity from females' assessments. First, the traits "reliable", "responsible", "dependable", and "careful" loaded on one factor. This contrasts with females' ratings, since females' assessments of these traits fell into different factors. A third factor was defined by these traits: impulsive, permissive, incautious, temperamental, lax, and thoughtless. These traits could be subsumed under a "Careless" dimension. The next factor consisted of the traits: assertive, confident, and self-assured. The "Confidence" factor was followed by

Table 29

Varimax Rotated Factor Matrix

Females Control

Inefficiency	Extroversion	Calculating	Instability	Capricious
friendly 0.73605	assertive 0.77524	impulsive 0.61142	impulsive 0.61142	temperamental 0.60830
lenient 0.49769	approachable 0.59612	emotional 0.71417	emotional 0.71162	thoughtless 0.61169
permissive 0.87378	confident 0.68587	responsible 0.79081	incautious 0.74797	
lax 0.70227	sociable 0.59950	prudent 0.62710		
excitable 0.55582	self-assured 0.84932	dependable 0.59397		
		careful 0.80736		

a fifth factor. The fifth was characterized by the traits "emotional" and "excitable". This "Volatile" dimension was succeeded by a sixth and final factor. The traits "conservative" and "prudent" loaded on this factor. (As noted earlier, an identical factor emerged in females' ratings and was entitled "Conservatism".) The factor analyses of the males' experimental rating are shown in Table 30.

As in the females' ratings, males' assessments emerged in different factors when the control group was analyzed. Although six factors also appeared in the control group, they were characterized by different traits. The first factor consisted of these traits: friendly, reliable, approachable, responsible, sociable, dependable, and careful. These traits define a capable. The second factor included the traits "assertive", "incautious", "confident", and "excitable". These adjectives seemed to express an "Insolent" dimension. The third factor, defined by "impulsive", "lenient", "emotional", "lax", and "self-assured", could be named the "Rash" dimension. Fourth, "conservative" and "thoughtless" comprised a separate dimension. This "Illogical" dimension was followed by a fifth factor. The fifth included "permissive" and "prudent". The defining trait was the latter adjective, so this factor was entitled "Prudent". Last, "temperamental" loaded highly on a sixth factor.

Table 30

Varimax Rotated Factor Matrix

Males Experimental

Capable	Accessible	Careless	Confidence	Volitility	Conservatism
reliable 0.64629	friendly 0.57841	impulsive 0.42416	assertive 0.60493	emotional 0.75354	conservative 0.64105
responsible 0.77758	lenient 0.37257	permissive 0.53882	confident 0.68437	excitable 0.37495	prudent 0.40172
dependable 0.70047	approachable 0.67912	incautious 0.50947	self-assured 0.78490		
careful 0.38023	sociable 0.71683	temperamental 0.60911			
		lax 0.57056			
		thoughtless 0.53984			

This final factor was defined by the single adjective.

Again, ratees' assessments in the control condition were not comparable to ratings in the experimental condition. Although six factors characterized males' ratings in the control and experimental condition, the nature of these factors differed. Dissimilar factor loadings characterized the traits under experimental and control conditions. The factor loadings for males' assessments are listed in Table 31.

Dissimilar traits defined the factors which emerged from males' and females' ratings. This could result from the manner in which males and females perceived the interrelationships between the traits. Evidently, the males clustered traits in a different fashion than females when asked to characterize the applicants. In other words, males and females used the traits in a different manner when characterizing the same stimulus person. This provides some support for the findings reported by Hamid (1972) and Rollman (1978). As mentioned earlier, they found that the trait attributions made by males and females often differ. This sex difference has practical applications for personnel selection decisions. If males and females evaluate the same applicant in a different fashion, a ratee`s personality evaluation may depend, to some degree, on the sex of the evaluator. The different factors which emerged in the analysis of males' and

Table 31

Varimax Rotated Factor Matrix

Males Control

Capable	Insolent	Rash	Illogical	Prudent	Temperamental
friendly 0.67114	assertive 0.84870	impulsive 0.83888	conservative 0.65191	permissive 0.55629	temperamental 0.77644
reliable 0.74925	incautious 0.71382	lenient 0.71062	thoughtless 0.86786	prudent 0.77067	
approachable 0.77398	confident 0.72764	emotional 0.52267			
responsible 0.64043	excitable 0.53642	lax 0.54033			
sociable 0.42525		self-assured 0.55688			
dependable 0.71784					
careful 0.66143					

females' assessments indicate that thrit evaluations may be moderated by rater sex. This difference may emerge in any rating session when tratits are the dependent variable. Initial assessments of potential workers and performance assessments are only two instances when trait ratings may be affected. This line of research warrants further experimentation before definite conclusions may be reached. However, the findings in this area suggest that rater sex may play a significant role in assessments of personnel.

Correlation of Job Dimension Ratings with Final Job Dimension Assessments

The final six items on the rating scales asked assessors to indicate the degree to which they would explore each of the job dimensions in an interview because they had doubts about the applicant's abilities. As seen in Table 32, a consistent negative correlation emerged between ratings on the dimensions listed under this heading and assessments of ability on each dimension. In other words, there was a tendency for raters to express less doubt about an applicant's ability on a dimension which had received a positive rating. This tendency occurred on each dimension.

Table 32

Pearson Correlation Coefficients

	Correlation	(n)	P
KJ-KJ2	-0.40	n=285	P=0.00
IF-IF2	-0.38	n=283	P=0.00
PD-PD2	-0.32	n=285	P=0.00
M-M2	-0.39	n=285	P=0.00
TF-TF2	-0.30	n=285	P=0.00
CS-CS2	-0.37	n=285	P=0.00

Discussion

Throughout the analyses of the job dimensions, a consistent pattern of ratings emerged. Males' assessments expressed a definite preference for intermediate attire over casual or formal attire. When the applicant was female, this effect was emphasized, as revealed in Rater Sex X Ratee Sex X Dress interactions in ratings of task facilitation and knowledge of job and Rater Sex X Dress interactions on professional demeanor and motivation. It is interesting to note that this effect occurred across four of the six job dimensions, and was not dependent on the nature of the dimension which was rated.

The conclusion that may be drawn from these results is that, within the confines of this study, applicants do not improve their ratings by wearing formal attire when the assessor is male. Ratings are more favorable when intermediate attire is worn. However, since the raters were primarily college freshmen and sophomores, the generalizability of these findings may be limited.

It is interesting to note that these results are incompatible with the suggestions of many popular career apparel experts. The clothing used for the formal attire conditions was chosen with the specific recommendations of these popular advisors in mind. The intermediate dress conditions contained apparel which was not recommended or was considered inappropriate by such authors. However, no advantage for formal attire emerged in these analyses.

The ratings of female assessors did not follow this pattern. Their ratings seemed to depend on the type of job dimension under consideration. An overall assessment of these ratings supports this conclusion.

On ratings of task facilitation, females evaluated males more positively when they wore casual attire. Since this may depend on a managers ability to relate to workers, females viewed males as more effective when they dressed informally.

On ratings of professional demeanor, females evaluated applicants in formal attire more favorably than did male raters. This effect was also obvious in assessments of motivation. These dimensions reflect an applicants knowledge of how to dress for the job, and willingness to put forth effort in order to succeed. Formal attire may be considered a positive indicator in both instances. In ratings of interaction facilitation, females assigned significantly higher ratings to applicants in formal attire than did male raters. However, they did not judge applicants more favorably in this dress condition. The means indicate that those in formal attire were not perceived as having superior compatibility to foster good relationships with employees. Again, success on this dimension may depend on one's ability to relate well to workers. Those in formal attire may not be viewed as approachable by subordinates.

In summary, the hypotheses relating to rater sex and dress effects seem too simplistic. The type of attire which evokes positive evaluations may depend on the sex of the assessor as well as the dimension rated. This point has not been investigated in previous research on attire.

This study also emphasizes the importance of including a realistic alternative to formal and casual attire in person perception studies. In the past, only these two extreme conditions were tested. When evaluators assigned more positive ratings to the formally dressed stimulus, researchers often concluded that this clothing was the optimal attire to wear if one wished to be evaluated favorably. However, the results of this study indicate that an intermediate or a realistically presented casual condition may be favored over more formal clothing. Providing raters with a reasonable range and portrayal of attire alternatives is an important factor in determining the role of this variable in assessments of other's traits and abilities.

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APPENDIX

Directions

This is a study of how people's backgrounds affect their perceptions of job candidates. You will be asked to rate an applicant for the job of retail department store manager. I have enclosed a job description for you to read carefully to help you understand this job. I have also provided a folder containing an application form for a particular candidate. After you have read the job description, please read the entire application before you begin any ratings.

Use the opscan with the corresponding number, and follow the directions on the next pages to rate the applicant. When you have rated the candidate on all 35 questions, check your opscan to make sure you have not omitted any of the items.

If you have any questions, please ask for assistance.

JOB DESCRIPTION
Retail Department Store Manager

The responsibilities of this position include:

- Directing and coordinating the activities of specialized departments within the store by working with subordinate managerial personnel.

- Implementing pricing policies for store merchandise.

- Coordinating the activities of non-merchandising departments such as advertising, purchasing, and credit with those of the merchandising departments in order to minimize costs and maximize profits.

- Developing and implementing, through subordinate managerial personnel, policies and procedures for store and departmental operations and customer and community relations.

- Negotiating or approving contracts negotiated with suppliers of merchandise or with other establishments providing security, maintenance, or cleaning services.

- Reviewing operating and financial statements and departmental sales records to determine merchandising activities that require additional sales promotion, clearance sales, or other sales procedures in order to turn over merchandise and achieve profitatility of store operations and merchandising objectives.

For Office Use Only	
Possible Work Locations	Possible Positions

For Office Use Only	
Work Location_____	Rate_____
Position_____	Date_____

APPLICATION
FOR
EMPLOYMENT

(please print plainly)

To applicant: We appreciate your interest in our organization and assure you that we are sincerely interested in your qualifications. A clear understanding of your background and work history will aid us in placing you in the position that best meets your qualifications and may assist us in possible future upgrading.

PERSONAL Date:_____

Name_____ Social Security #_____
Last First initial Last initial

Present address_____ Tele. No._____
No. Street

_____
City State Zip

How long have you lived at above address?_____

Previous address _____
No. Street City State Zip

How long did you live there?_____

To applicant: READ THIS INTRODUCTION CAREFULLY BEFORE ANSWERING ANY QUESTIONS. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibits discrimination in employment practice because of race, color, religion, sex or national origin. P.L. 90202 prohibits discrimination on the basis of age with respect to individuals who are at least 40 but less than 65 years of age. The laws of some States also prohibit some or all of the above types of discrimination. A mark in the line adjacent to the question indicates that the requested information is needed for a bona fide occupational qualification, national security laws, or other legally permissable reasons.

___ Are you over the age of twenty-one?_____ If no, hire is subject to verification that you are of minimum legal age.

___ Sex: M___ F___ ___Height:_____ft. _____in. ___Weight: _____lbs.

___ Marital status: Single_____ Engaged_____ Married_____ Separated_____
Divorced_____ Widowed_____

___ Date of Marriage_____ ___Number of dependents including yourself_____

___ Are you a citizen of the U.S.A.? yes

___Indicate dates you attended school:

Elementary_____ High School_____ College_____
From To From To From To

Other (Specify type of school)_____ _____
From To

___ Have you ever been bonded? no If yes, on what jobs?_____

Employer may list other bona fide occupational questions on lines below:

_____

_____

Do you have any physical defects which preclude you from performing certain kinds of work?_____ If yes, decribe such defects and specific work limitations_____

Have you been convicted of a crime in the past ten years,excluding misdemeanors and summary offenses?_____ If yes, describe in full_____

Have you had a major illness in the past 5 years?_____ If yes, describe

Have you received compensation for injuries_____ If yes, describe _____

RECORD OF EDUCATION

School

**Elementary _____
Name and Address
Check Last Year Completed 5 6 7 XX Did you Graduate?_____

**High School _____
Name and Address
Course of Study _____ Check Last Year Completed 1 2 3 XX
Did You Graduate?_____ List Diploma or Degree _____

**College _____
Name and Address
Course of Study _____ Check Last Year Completed 1 2 3 XX
Did You Graduate?_____ List Diploma or Degree _____

**Other Michigan State University,
(Specify) Name and Address
Course of Study Human Factors - Applied Check Last Year Completed 1 X 3 4
Did You Graduate?_____ List Diploma or Degree _____

Please list any extracurricular activities (service organizations, clubs, etc.) in which you were a participant.

Please list any honors or offices held

Full scholarship at University of Maryland

MILITARY SERVICE RECORD

Were you in U.S. Armed Forces? _____ If yes, what Branch?_____

Dates of duty: From _____ To _____
Mo Day Yr Mo Day Yr

Rank at discharge _____

What method of transportation will you use to get to work?_____

Position(s) applied for_____
Rate of pay expected $_____per week

Would you work Full-Time_____. Part-Time_____
Specify days and hours if part-time_____

Were you previously employed by us?_____ If yes, when?_____

List below all present and past employment, beginning with your most recent

Name and Address of Company
and Type of Business _____

From _____ To _____ Weekly Starting Salary _____
Mo Yr Mo Yr Weekly Last Salary _____
Name of Supervisor_____
Reason for Leaving _____
Describe in detail the work you did:
training manager - I was required to conduct orientation sessions for new employees, and to arrange on-the-job training for them. I developed and implemented these programs.

Name and Address of Company
and Type of Business _____

From _____ To _____ Weekly Starting Salary _____
Mo Yr Mo Yr Weekly Last Salary _____
Name of Supervisor_____
Reason for Leaving _____
Describe in detail the work you did:

Research Assistant - Dr. Paul Sipala and I worked on the effects of stress on perceptual accuracy. Literature reviews and computer analyses of data were duties included in this assistantship.

Name and Address of Company
and Type of Business _____

From _____ To _____ Weekly Starting Salary _____
Mo Yr Mo Yr Weekly Last Salary _____
Name of Supervisor_____
Reason for Leaving _____
Describe in detail the work you did:

May we contact the employers listed above? yes If not, indicate by No. which one(s) you do not wish us to contact _____

PERSONAL REFERENCES
(Not Former Employers or Relatives)

Name and Occupation	Address	Phone Number
Placement Officer	Dept. of Human Resources Easton, MD.	
professor	Univ. of Md. Psychology Dept.	
" professor	Michigan State U. Psychology Dept.	

Are there any experiences, skills, or qualifications which you feel would especially qualify you for work with the Company?

Although I have not been directly exposed to the duties required of this position , I have fulfilled managerial requirements in my job as training director. I learned to instruct groups of employees who were unfamiliar with a task by explaining the work clearly to them. This communication skill is vital to any management-related job, and I think that this is one of my strongest assests.
In addition, developing the training programs called for planning, evaluating, and reviewing ways to meet employee needs. Again, this is a vital part of good management.
I would be very interested in directing the activities of workers, and I think my experience in monitoring employee progress and giving concise instructive feedback has prepared me for this job.

The facts set forth above in my application for employment are true and complete. I understand that if employed, false statements on this application shall be considered sufficient cause for dismissal. You are hereby authorized to make any investigation of my personal history and financial and credit record through any investigative or credit agencies or bureaus of your choice.

Signature of Applicant

Rating Instructions

As you begin to rate the candidate, mark two things on the applicant's opscan sheet. First, write your ID number in the ID box at the top of the sheet, and fill in the corresponding circle under each number. Fill in all nine digits, including any leading zeroes. Second, indicate your sex in the "FORM" box, by filling in the "A" circle if you are male, and the "B" circle if you are female.

The following list contains 21 terms which can be used to describe people. Please rate how well each term describes the applicant, using the scale provided below. Refer to the job description and the application folder as often as you like in making these ratings.

|1 - |Not at all descriptive| of the applicant
|2 - |Slightly descriptive| of the applicant
|3 - |Moderately descriptive| of the applicant
|4 - |Descriptive| of the applicant
|5 - |Very descriptive| of the applicant

1. friendly
2. impulsive
3. lenient
4. reliable
5. emotional
6. assertive
7. conservative
8. approachable
9. permissive
10. incautious
11. responsible
12. temperamental
13. prudent
14. confident
15. lax
16. sociable
17. thoughtless
18. excitable
19. dependable
20. careful
21. self-assured

Below is a list of six qualifications or job dimensions which are important for success in the managerial position you are considering. First, read each definition carefully, and then use the scale at the top of the page to rate how well you think the candidate would perform in each qualification. Refer to the job description and application folder as often as you like as you make your ratings.

Level of candidate's qualification

1	2	3	4	5
Poor	Fair	Average	Good	Excellent

122. |Task Facilitation| - maximizes the performance of subordinates by recognizing those with specialized knowledges or capabilities and placing them in appropriate positions within the organization.

123. |Knowledge of Job| - applies basic managerial and administrative skills, and has an educational background in this area.

124. |Professional Demeanor| - recognizes and conforms in manner, appearance, and style to the demands of the various groups (e.g., supervisors, subordinates, customers, sales representatives) with whom the job requires contact.

125. |Motivation| - exhibits a strong desire to get ahead and a willingness to put forth high levels of effort to accomplish both short term demands and long term career goals.

126. |Communication Skills| - communicates clearly, concisely, grammatically, and in a well organized manner.

127. |Interaction Facilitation| - encourages open communication and good interpersonal relationships between employees.

28. Estimate the overall performance of this applicant if hired for this position, using the scale below.

1	2	3	4	5
Poor	Fair	Average	Good	Excellent

29. Rate how confident you feel that your ratings are correct and accurate, using the scale below.

1	2	3	4	5
very unconfident	unconfident	neither	confident	very confident

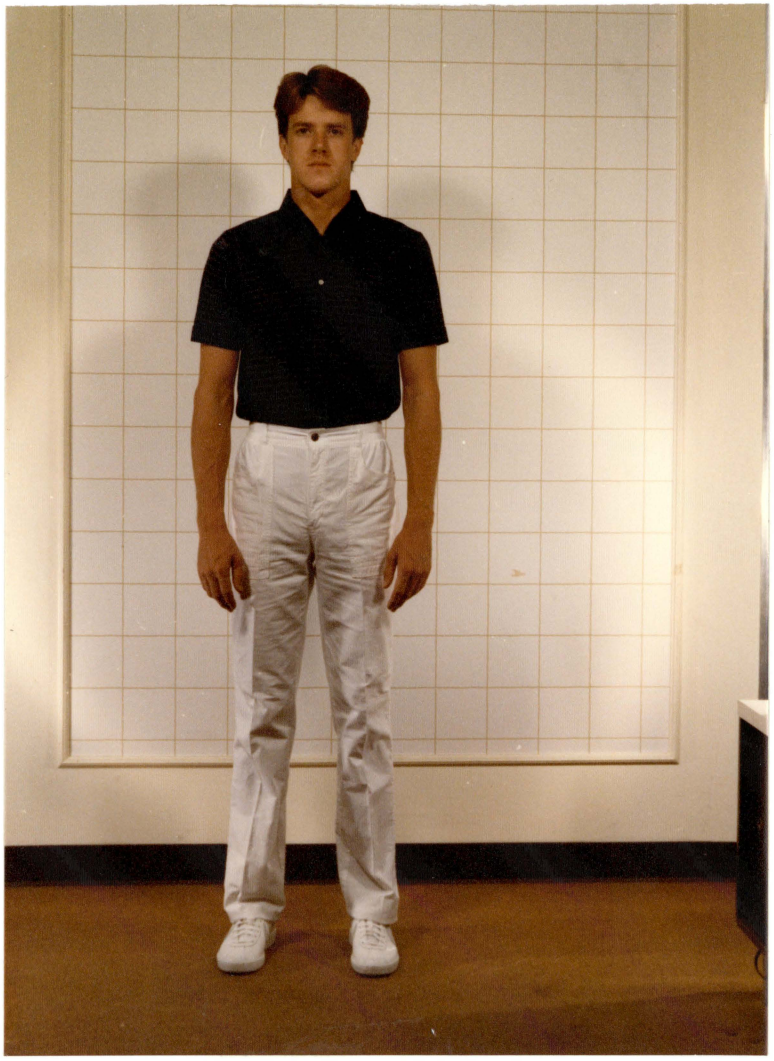
Rate how much you would explore each of the following dimensions in an interview with the applicant because you have doubts about the candidate's abilities in this area.

1	2	3	4	5
needs no exploration				needs much exploration

30. Task Facilitation
31. Knowledge of Job
32. Professional Demeanor
33. Motivation
34. Communication Skills
35. Interaction Facilitation

Female I - Casual

Female II - Casual



Male I - Casual

Male II - Casual

Female I - Intermediate

Female II - Intermediate

Male I - Intermediate

Male II - Intermediate

Female I - Formal

Female II - Formal

Male I - Formal

Male II - Formal

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