

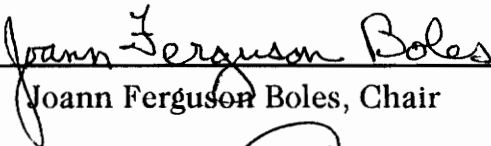
JURORS' EVALUATIONS OF THE EFFECT OF CLOTHING ON THE CREDIBILITY OF
FEMALE ATTORNEYS

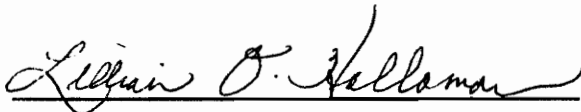
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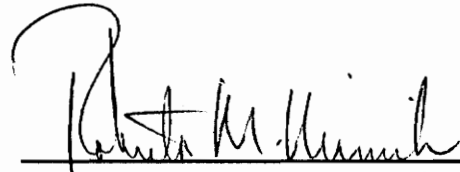
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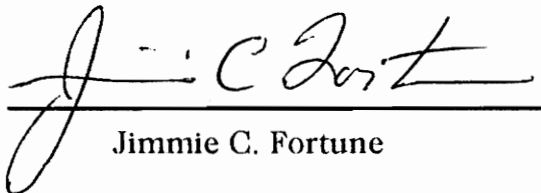
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THE EFFECT OF CLOTHING ON JURORS' EVALUATIONS OF THE CREDIBILITY OF
FEMALE ATTORNEYS

by

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(ABSTRACT)

The purpose of this study was to determine which garments worn by a female stimulus attorney would most often convey impressions of the attorney's credibility to jurors in Montgomery County, Virginia. The study involved a comparative analysis of various colors/color combinations, silhouettes and interior design lines of courtroom apparel to determine which garments and components thereof most often convey impressions of the attorney's credibility to the jury.

Eleven garments were evaluated to determine which garment most often conveyed positive impressions of the stimulus attorney's credibility. The garment components were evaluated in order to determine which was the strongest predictor of jurors' evaluations of a female attorney's credibility based on clothing. Jurors' gender, age, and income level were also evaluated to determine characteristics that made a difference in judgments of credibility.

Jurors viewed pictures of the same stimulus attorney in 11 different garment combinations and subsequently evaluated them on a semantic differential to measure credibility based on the measure employed by Bassett (1979). Each garment was classified in terms of the three garment components: color/color combinations, silhouette, and interior design lines. Each component was classified as traditional, moderately traditional, or non-traditional. Statistical analyses revealed that jurors considered a garment traditional in color and silhouette, and moderately traditional in interior design lines the most credible. In addition, the color of the garment was

found to be the most influential garment component on credibility evaluations. Age was the only demographic of differentiation in jurors' evaluations of attorney's credibility via clothing.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In an article that appeared in the November 1907 issue of *The Ladies' Home Journal*, businesswomen were advised against dressing in an excessively feminine manner as it would make them appear ridiculous. For the same reason they were advised against dressing in an excessively masculine manner. Today professional women, especially attorneys, find themselves faced with a dilemma not unlike that of working women in 1907; determining the appropriate compromise between femininity and masculinity of dress.

Recently, female attorneys have been receiving advice regarding their professional attire for the courtroom. Due to the immense amount of publicity generated by several cases as well as the advent of televised courtroom proceedings, attorneys' apparel in the courtroom has received much attention. The O.J. Simpson pre-trial hearing and pre-trial motions were receiving much media attention as this study was beginning. The case was being broadcast by Court TV, CNN and major networks. Marcia Clark, the lead prosecutor, changed her appearance between the time of the pre-trial hearing and the actual trial. This change, which encompassed hairstyle as well as clothing, was interpreted as a change from an overall "hard" appearance to a softer, more feminine one.

Lind, Boles, Hinkle, & Gizzi (1984) indicated that female attorneys in first impression situations face difficult decisions regarding the selection of courtroom attire that conveys impressions of authority to the jury. "Wardrobe consultants generally agree that the woman who is perceived as trying to look like a man loses rather than gains authority. On the other hand, if the blouse [worn under a skirted suit] is not tailored it can look overly feminine." (Lind et al. 1984, p.92).

According to Forsythe (1993) during the 70's when women began entering previously male-dominated occupations *en masse*, they were advised by consultants, occasionally in the form of popular literature, to select clothing that resembled the male business suit. In other words to select clothing that reflected masculine attributes, i.e., the conservative navy suit. Popular literature however, seldom supplied empirical evidence to endorse the advice. Forsythe further stated that while clothing is an extremely noticeable nonverbal communication cue that may indicate much about the wearer, it is only one of the cues relevant to impression formation. Additionally Forsythe suggested that the impact of clothing cues is diminished as additional knowledge is gained about the wearer.

In the Fall of 1992 the researcher interviewed female law students attending universities in the eastern United States. A problem was revealed regarding the availability of appropriate courtroom attire. Suits were said to be either "too boxy" and masculine or too flamboyant and thus comical. Designers and manufacturers may be unaware of female attorneys' specific needs regarding appropriate courtroom apparel.

One of the main goals of an attorney is to present a case to the judge and/or jury in such a manner that the attorney's client will receive the desired verdict. As a result, the judge and the jury must have a positive impression of the attorney's credibility. Although credibility is an acknowledged problem for all attorneys, females have an additional problem associated with the legal profession and gender stereotypes. Male judges have exhibited biased behavior toward female attorneys in the courtroom (Eich, 1986; Torry, 1994). Additionally, research has shown that female attorneys may attempt to counteract such biased behavior by wearing specific types of neckwear in the courtroom in order to influence the judge and jury's perception of the attorney's authority (Lind et al., 1984).

Robert Wells, a communication consultant, also stressed the importance of conveying positive impressions of credibility. Wells asserted that jurors make credibility

evaluations based on the attorney's display of expertness, trustworthiness and dynamism. Expertness is defined as the attorney's ability to appear "...competent, intelligent, authoritative, trained, experienced, skilled, informed, professional, and a valid source of information..." (Wells, 1985, p. 69). In order to convince the jury of the attorney's expertness, the attorney must display "...general intelligence and ability, training, experience and qualifications with respect to law; and accuracy and validity as sources of information..."(Wells, 1985, p. 69). Furthermore, jurors have personal beliefs about the appearance of attorneys. Therefore an attorney must look the part in order to be judged credible (Wells, 1985).

Matlon (1985) suggested that an attorney's apparel should convey a combined image of professionalism and warmth according to the personality of the attorney. For instance, if an attorney has a warm personality/manner, apparel should be selected which reinforces the impression of professionalism. In contrast, if the attorney's personality/manner is professional, apparel which reinforces the impression of warmth should be selected. Neatness and good grooming habits are also recommended as enhancers of credibility.

Recommendations for enhancing both professionalism and warmth have included the wearing of a traditional two-piece suit, cotton or silk blouses, closed toe shoes with heels less than or equal to 2 1/2 inches, a conservative belt, and limited jewelry. To convey impressions of professionalism, the wearing of a matching skirt and jacket in solid colors, stripes or small plaids of a wool, wool blend or summer fabric in gray, off white, beige or navy blue is suggested. Blouses may have bows or pleats and should be white or light blue in color (Matlon, 1985).

To convey impressions of warmth, the wearing of a contrasting skirt and jacket or a dress with or without a jacket in solids, small plaids or stripes of a wool or wool blend in

shades of brown, gray, blue or rose is advised. The blouse may be of a blue, pink, light rose or light green fabric. In addition, the blouse may have bows, pleats, ruffles, or soft ties with a normal neckline (Matlon, 1985, p.193).

Sannito and McGovern (1985), postulate that an attorney's image of efficiency begins with clothing. Attorneys are advised to wear well-tailored garments to convey impressions of skill and precision. This recommendation is based on the informal assumption that when viewing an attorney who is meticulously dressed and well groomed, the observer will deduce that the attorney is methodical and meticulous in preparations as well (Sannito & McGovern, 1985, p.179).

Smith and Melandro (1985) provided a checklist for female attorneys with regard to the appearance factors that increase the perception of credibility. Classic, conservative clothing is recommended, e.g., traditional two-piece suits of high quality. Trendy suits, pantsuits, three-piece suits and suits with contrasting jackets and skirts are to be avoided as are all types of vests. Traditional fabrics such as woolens and wool blends are deemed appropriate for suits. Fabrics that wrinkle easily should not be worn nor should non-traditional fabrics such as ultra-suede. Acceptable suit patterns include solids and subtle plaids. Classic pinstripes, and unusual or very pronounced patterns are to be avoided. Silk and cotton are deemed acceptable fabrics for blouses but shiny fabrics such as polyester should not be worn. Male-looking accessories such as ties should be avoided as should ruffles. Furthermore, attorneys are advised against wearing designer clothing and accessories. Extreme skirt lengths should also be avoided as should extra-long sleeve lengths.

The authors also suggested that "The most damaging look for a female attorney is the imitation-male look..."(Smith & Melandro, 1985, p.32) and "...anything that projects an imitation-male look should be avoided...." (Smith & Melandro, 1985, p.33). In addition,

the authors advised that full emphasis should be on the attorney's face as opposed to her clothing. "The rule of thumb for a female attorney is to wear very classic and traditional clothing. Perceptions of both credibility and professionalism are much higher when this type of clothing is worn." (Smith & Melandro, 1985, p. 34)

A September 1994 article by Parnes that appeared in the *Charleston News and Courier*, revealed that Marcia Clark, the lead prosecutor from the O.J. Simpson case had received criticism regarding her courtroom apparel during the preliminary hearing. A law professor from Loyola Law School said that four women had informed him that they thought the prosecuting attorney's skirts were both too short and too tight (Parnes, 1994).

Parnes suggested that credibility is the basis for a dress code in a conservative atmosphere such as the courtroom. In the same article Susan W. Miller, a Los Angeles career consultant suggested that attorneys for both the prosecution and the defense in a high profile case should dress as conservatively as possible. Furthermore, Miller suggested that failure to wear proper attire may cause an attorney to be taken less seriously by opposing counsel or a judge, either of which could effect the case (Parnes, 1994).

In the same issue of the *Charleston News and Courier*, Ellen Anderson advised that common sense as opposed to fashion sense should influence courtroom clothing selection. J. Stephen Schmutz, a general practice attorney recommended a conservative mode of dressing, avoiding non-serious or flashy styles. Kate Cunningham, an assistant solicitor, concurred with this viewpoint adding that the courtroom should reflect a formal atmosphere. Cunningham also stated that when women begin appearing in pants and shorts the formal atmosphere is lost. In Cunningham's office the unofficial dress code, which is that female attorneys do not wear pants to court, is passed on to new female attorneys (Anderson, 1994).

In late November of 1994, an article appeared in the law section of the *New York Times* addressing the importance of looking the part of an attorney. Vivian Berger, the Vice Dean of Columbia Law School stated that clothing can harm an attorney's image. The author of the article, Andrea Higbie, suggested that although the legal profession has a dress code, the rules are unspoken. In addition, as dressing inappropriately can sabotage a female attorney with regard to promotions and court cases, dressing correctly can actually aid an attorney. Image consultants and successful attorneys agreed that attorneys should appear refined and clothing that reflects this quality should be selected. Higbie recommended that female attorneys select tailored suits and combine them with sophisticated hairstyles and make-up. In the same article, Donna Karan, an apparel designer in New York, stated that the 90s suit for women is softer than the 80s suit in that it does not attempt to reflect aggression quite so openly. However, Karan added that the 90s suit should not be so soft as to appear sloppy. Also contained in the article was a statement by Camille Lavington, a New York corporate image consultant. Lavington suggested that attorneys need to dress conservatively in deference to the very nature of their occupation.

Karen Berndt, a former corporate attorney, believed that extra attention to appearance could be as beneficial as additional case preparations. She also suggested that as men attain higher status, they dress to reflect this and respect and listen to women who dress in a similar manner. Sara Moss stated that as a female attorney she preferred to appear attractive but at the same time did not want her appearance to be distracting to her audience (Higbie, 1994).

Image consultants and attorneys concur that evidence is ultimately more important than clothing, however, they agree that appearance should not be left up to chance. Andrea Heiman of the *Los Angeles Times* suggested that judges have the power to make decisions

regarding acceptable dress and that they agree on the importance of courtroom apparel. Although some judges may not be affected by clothing, others indicated that they are affected by the appearance of others in the courtroom. One judge from Los Angeles suggested that it is impossible to remain unaffected by the "...dress, behavior, and hygiene..." of someone who appears in court (Heiman, 1993, p. E-7).

Due to the emergence of Court TV and the publicity generated by high profile cases, attorneys have become more visible. As a result, the need for empirical evidence regarding courtroom apparel that conveys impressions of credibility has also emerged as an important issue. Further research in this area would be beneficial in that colors, silhouettes and interior design lines of actual garments worn by female attorneys in court could be analyzed in order to determine their effects on jurors' impressions of the attorney's credibility. The results of such a study could provide female attorneys with information to be used to counteract courtroom bias through the selection of apparel that conveys impressions of credibility. In addition, the results could aid designers and manufacturers in the development and provision of clothing for female attorneys that aids in the establishment of credibility.

This research has the following objectives: (1) The determination of female attorneys' garments and the components thereof which specifically communicate impressions of credibility to the juror. The garments used in the research were drawings of actual garments worn by female attorneys in United States courtrooms during 1993 and 1994. (2) The determination of the existence of a relationship between jurors' demographic characteristics (age, gender, and yearly household income level) and jurors' perceptions of the credibility of female attorneys with respect to the attorney's clothing.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The selection of appropriate courtroom apparel to be worn by female attorneys in order to convey impressions of credibility to the jurors has a varied body of related literature. This chapter reviews studies and articles that serve as a foundation for the present research. The topics covered are: recommendations for female attorneys with regard to courtroom apparel, credibility of the message source and clothing influences on perceptions of source credibility, theories relevant to impression formation, and clothing factors relevant to impression formation.

One function of an attorney is to present a case to a jury in such a manner that the client will receive the desired verdict. Nonverbal communication may be as important as verbal communication in this respect (Lind et al., 1984). Studies involving the use of clothing as a nonverbal communication cue provide relevant literature regarding the determination and interpretation of the role of clothing in human behavior and, more specifically, in the decision making processes. The construct of source credibility is also important to attorneys in that evaluations of a source's credibility by jurors may be made as a result of both verbal and nonverbal communication cues. Studies on the credibility of various message sources provide information regarding the components comprising credibility (Bassett, 1979; Birnbaum, 1984; Harp, Stretch & Harp, 1981; O'Neal & Lapitsky, 1991; Wells, 1985). In addition, research has investigated the relationship between clothing and the impressions formed regarding the wearer (Damhorst, 1990; Davis, 1987; Forsythe, 1988; Lennon, 1988; Lind et al., 1984, Thomas, 1971). Interview situations have been analyzed with regard to the clothing of the interviewee, the gender of

the interviewer, the color of the interviewee's clothing and impressions of competence (Damhorst & Reed, 1986).

Research was also conducted which addressed the specific relationship between the attorney and her apparel (Bendelow, 1987; Hodgson & Pryor, 1984; Lind et al., 1984; Matlon, 1985; Sannito & McGovern, 1985; Smith & Melandro, 1985). These studies supply *apropos* literature that served as a foundation for the present research. The occurrence of gender-biased behavior in the courtroom as exhibited by judges and male attorneys toward female attorneys has also been discussed (Eich, 1986; Torry, 1993).

Recommendations for Female Attorneys with Regard to Apparel

In a 1986 article Judge William Eich discussed the issue of gender bias in the courtroom. He cited examples that demonstrated the manner in which judges and male attorneys discredit a female attorney in the eyes of the jury. This was done by drawing attention to her apparel/appearance and thus her gender. Reiterated, the attorney was addressed as a female and not as an attorney. Eich also asserted that bias was widespread among attorneys and within courtrooms across the country.

Gender biased behavior in the courtroom was specifically addressed in an article by Torry (1993) in which male judges discussed their experiences with, and observations of, gender biased behavior. One judge stated that he thought he was being kind by complimenting a female attorney on her appearance, neglecting to realize the possible damage being done to her credibility.

Female attorneys must not only deal with the stereotypical attitudes of males, but also with those of other females. Hodgson and Pryor (1984) pointed out the prevalence of sex role stereotypes with regard to legal proceedings. The authors conducted an experiment in which the subjects, 84 male and 84 female speech students at the University of Central

Florida, were divided into two groups. Control subjects, 23 females and 22 males, were exposed to the closing arguments from a simulated "breaking and entering case"; the treatment subjects read a two page summary of the case and heard the audiotaped closing remarks of either a male or female "defense attorney." Subjects also received a copy of the closing arguments to read and were given post-tests to evaluate the attorney and verdict.

Results showed that only three of the 45 control subjects correctly stated that the attorney's gender had not been specified while the remaining 42 erroneously indicated that the attorney in the case had been male. These results suggested the occurrence of sex role stereotyping. Additionally, the female attorney was rated lower by women on half of the credibility scales and the male attorney was "hired" significantly more often than was the female attorney. The study also suggested, based on findings, that "...a female attorney is well advised to devise strategies of communication designed to build her credibility as a competent, reliable source of information" (Hodgson & Pryor, 1984, p. 485). The findings from this study served as partial justification for the present study.

In a study by Lind et al. (1984) one such strategy, the utilization of clothing as a nonverbal communication cue, was addressed. One hundred former jurors served as the subjects for the study which took place in Blacksburg, Virginia. Subjects were shown pictures of the same female "attorney" in which neckwear styles were varied. Subjects were then asked to select the most appropriate neckwear to establish the female attorney's authority through appearance/clothing. Authority was evaluated in terms of: knowledgeableability, confidence, influence, trustworthiness, reliability, capability, professionalism and efficiency. Ten neckwear styles in three neutral colors were shown along with a control picture of a skirted suit without neckwear. Although the control suit received an overall positive response from subjects, the responses were more positive when some form of neckwear was worn. The neckwear style that received the most

positive reaction for authority was brown and resembled a softer version of a man's tie. The least positive reaction was given to a crisp bow, which reflected the current fashion, thus implying that following current fashion may not be in the best interests of female attorneys attempting to establish their authority.

Lind et al. (1984) also considered subjects' gender, age, education and income levels in relation to evaluations of a female attorney's authority. Only age and gender produced statistically significant differences. Results revealed that men were overall more positive in their ratings of the various styles of neckwear than were women. The age of the respondent also appeared to have an effect on some of the ratings. In specific, 25- to 35-year-olds rated the male-style of tie negatively on both influence and reliability, suggesting that the wearer would possess neither of these qualities. No significant differences with regard to education were discerned. Although subjects with incomes between \$20,000-30,000 per year evaluated all of the neckwear lower than the other groups and subjects with incomes of over \$30,000 per year rated all of the neckwear higher than did the other groups, differences related to income were not statistically significant. Results of this study seem to indicate that a female attorney may use particular accessories and styles of accessories in the establishment of authority in the courtroom.

Damhorst and Reed (1986) studied interview situations in an effort to determine the effects of the gender of the interviewer and the color of the interviewee's clothing on the interviewer's impressions of the interviewee's competence. In terms of character/sociability and in terms of potency and competence, male subjects rated female job applicants wearing jackets in dark colors more favorably than female job applicants wearing jackets in light colors.

Credibility of the Message Source

O'Neal and Lapitsky (1991) investigated the effect of clothing as a nonverbal communication cue on evaluations of the message source's credibility. The study dealt with the credibility of the message source in an advertisement and the viewer's intent to purchase based upon the ad. The appropriateness/inappropriateness of dress was manipulated in the ads. The subjects viewed photographs of the manipulations and then responded to 20 questions regarding the credibility of the source. A Likert-type scale was used to measure the evaluations of credibility. Results indicated that with regard to appearance, credibility ratings of the message source were higher when a garment that was consistent with the task being performed was worn. These results serve to re-emphasize the importance of wearing appropriate apparel for specific tasks, e.g., courtroom appearances.

Harp, Stretch and Harp (1981) also studied the effect of clothing on credibility. The study analyzed viewers' evaluations of television news anchorwomen's credibility based on dress. The subjects were 177 females and 123 males between the age of 16 and 77 with a mean age of 37. The subjects viewed one of nine 60-second "newscasts" featuring the same newscaster. Subjects then responded to a questionnaire that asked subjects to indicate their age, gender, education, employment status, amount of time spent watching newscasts per week, preferred style of dress (conservative, trendy, casual) and family income level. The subject was then asked to evaluate the newscaster's credibility in terms of sincerity, believability, attractiveness, intelligence, competence, interest and honesty. The nine newscasts were varied in terms of the newscaster's clothing according to conservative dress, trendy dress and casual dress. Attempts were made to ensure that in the nine newscasts other communication cues were as similar as possible. Results indicated that

when the conservative style of dress was worn, the newscaster received the highest credibility evaluations.

Bassett (1979) studied the effects of source attire on judgments of credibility. Four components of credibility were evaluated: potency, character, composure, and competence. Each component was further divided to reveal 11 scale items: potency (timid-bold, meek-aggressive, impotent-powerful), character (awful-nice, bad-good, unjust-just, unfriendly-friendly), composure (anxious-calm, tense-relaxed), competence (unqualified-qualified, inexpert-expert). Slides of individuals in high and low status clothing were shown to subjects who then rated the slides based on the credibility scales. No significant difference was noted for potency or composure for women wearing high status clothing which consisted of a dress, hose, heels and jewelry. However, women wearing high status clothing received higher scores on character and competence than did women wearing low status clothing, which consisted of an inexpensive skirt, blouse and shoes. Neither hose nor jewelry were worn with the low status clothing. These findings indicate that "clothing status" influences viewers' perceptions of the wearer's credibility. In addition, the wearing of high status clothing positively influences viewers' perceptions of the wearer's character and competence. The findings further illustrate the importance of selecting appropriate clothing as it pertains to the establishment of credibility. The credibility components in the instrument became the basis for a similar instrument in this study.

In addition to appearing credible an attorney must also be persuasive. A 1984 article by Linz and Penrod in the *Law and Psychology Review*, addressed attorney persuasiveness in the courtroom. The authors suggested that the factors associated with persuasiveness include credibility, attractiveness and power. In addition, the authors posited that individuals who reflect these factors may be considered more persuasive. The authors further submitted that the opening statement is one of the most important stages in

a trial as it is the first time the attorney speaks directly with the jurors about the specific details of the case. In addition, the authors suggested that jury verdicts tend to agree with first impressions made during opening statements. One aspect of the context of the opening statement is, of course, the clothing. Making a good first impression may create a "halo effect" in which the juror considers the attorney's future actions/information in terms of the positive first impression (Linz & Penrod, 1984).

Mary Bendelow, Ph. D., a communication specialist and attorney image consultant, suggested, based upon experience, that the credibility of a case is frequently related to the credibility of the attorney. An attorney is constantly being evaluated with regard to credibility; prospective clients evaluate attorneys during interviews, opposing attorneys evaluate one another during trials and judges and jurors continually evaluate attorneys throughout the course of a trial. Dr. Bendelow also asserted that judgments of an attorney's credibility are, to a large extent, based upon nonverbal communication cues (Bendelow, 1987).

According to Dr. Bendelow four components of credibility are: competence, dynamism, likability and trustworthiness; and individuals demonstrating all four components are perceived as highly credible. Competence is comprised of cognitive and communication skills. Personal appearance is one dimension through which competence may be expressed. The personal grooming and appearance of an attorney make an impression on the observer before the attorney begins verbal communication. High quality clothing and neatness imply an attorney's competence. Dark suits, often with subtle stripes, demonstrate authority and conservatism to observers, whereas flamboyant fabrics tend to denote artificiality. According to Bendelow, dynamism, which can be manifested in two respects, power and animation, relates to vigorous and assertive behaviors. A key contribution of dynamism is the display of involvement in the proceedings. Likability

relates to the use of voice and body language. This is also related to clothing as clothing enhances or impedes this action, i.e., garment tightness and body movement.

Trustworthiness refers to an individual's reliability as a valid source of information. Dress and accessories can directly affect impressions of the wearer's trustworthiness. As noted previously in the Lind et al. study (1984) in which subjects evaluated accessories (various styles of neckwear), 25- to 35-year-olds rated the male-style of tie negatively on both influence and reliability, suggesting that the wearer would possess neither of these qualities (Lind et al., 1984).

With regard to color and fiber content of a garment, earth tones add to impressions of sincerity as do natural fibers. Simplicity with regard to decoration (jewelry as well as clothing and other accessories) is recommended as a contributor to impressions of candidness whereas excessive use of accessories may undermine impressions of trustworthiness (Bendelow, 1987). It should be noted that Marcia Clark, the lead prosecutor in the O.J. Simpson case was criticized for appearing too hard and aggressive. To counter this criticism, she changed her hair and clothing styles. Again re-emphasizing the importance and the effect of clothing on the formation of impressions.

Several theories exist which seek to explain how individuals assimilate information and communication cues from other individuals/situations and form impressions regarding the qualities previously discussed, i.e., credibility. The following section addresses Person Perception Theory, a theory particularly relevant to the present study regarding the formation of impressions of an observed individual or behavior.

Theories Relevant to Impression Formation

Impression formation is the manner or procedure through which a perceiver makes an analysis or a decision regarding the individual being observed. Several theories

have been formulated to explain the process(s) that an individual might use in order to form an impression of another individual. According to Kaiser (1990, p. 34-35) cognitive consistency theories in psychology suggest that an individual will endeavor to consolidate the internal consistency of cognitive categories. As clothing is central to nonverbal communication and interaction, individuals strive for consistency between clothing and identity, clothing and other appearance cues, and clothing and situations. According to Davis and Lennon (1988) Social or Person Perception Theory is a primary theoretical perspective with particular relevance to the study of clothing and human behavior. Due to its relevance, Person Perception Theory, serves as a theoretical framework for this study.

Person Perception Theory

Social cognition, which refers to the use of cognitive processes when interacting with other persons, is of particular interest in that social cognition seeks to explain how persons assimilate information received from stimuli in order to make decisions regarding the stimuli. Person Perception Theory, one aspect of social cognition, addresses the process by which an individual knows and thinks about others, specifically how one knows and thinks about another person's characteristics. Person perception involves three types of variables: observer, object person, and context or situational. Normally, an observer uses more than one attribute or cue to make inferences about an individual or situation. In addition, the cues upon which an observer focuses vary with culture (Taguiri, 1954, chap. 5).

During an evaluation, an observer may also consider the role of the object person. An observer may also pay particular attention to the object person's intentions. In addition, assessments may be influenced by the relationship between the observer and object person, in specific, feelings the observer has for the object person. Status differences between the

observer and the observed may negatively influence the type of qualities to be attributed as well. Age, too, may be a factor in that the ability to discern increases with age and social interaction. In contrast, immediate responses to stimuli seem to decrease with age. In general, gender of the observer may also effect assessments as women seem to be more likely to draw inferences than do men (Taguiri, 1954, chap. 5).

Typically, the observer has two reference points from which to gain an understanding of the intentions and attributes of another: the object person and the context or situation in which the object person is observed. Typically the object person is observed within a particular context or situation. As a result, judgments may be made based upon the simultaneous use of information from both reference points. The object person when viewed singularly permits the observer to form impressions in which there exists a general agreement. The physical appearance of the object person may provide information that the observer may use to make decisions and/or judgments regarding the object person, e.g., posture, facial expressions, voice, clothing. However, it should be noted that based upon any given stimulus more than one interpretation may be made.

Prior knowledge on the part of the observer may also affect or influence judgments, often diminishing the number of alternative interpretations that could have been made. In addition, roles may affect judgments in that certain behaviors may be considered normal for a particular role and very abnormal for other roles (Taguiri, 1954, chap. 5).

The context when viewed singularly may also allow for the formation of impressions regarding the object person. The context or atmosphere may contain other individuals who may be useful sources of information about the object person. The observer may, in fact, be considered a member of the environment or context and as such may be interacting with the object person.

It should be noted that it is difficult to separate an individual from a situation or context; however, when viewed separately the object person and situation permit consistent but vague assessments. In contrast, when considered in conjunction with one another they can provide definitive assessments. In essence, by merging the object person cues and the situational cues, an observer can make operative assessments in many typical situations. When the cues reinforce one another by providing complimentary or redundant information, the likelihood of making an accurate assessment is increased. In contrast, when dissension exists among the cues, observers demonstrate less conviction and confidence in assessments. Observers can usually resolve discrepancies among cues by selecting an alternative behavior or reason that explains the conflict or source thereof. The observer tends to pay particular attention to the interactions of the object person and the situation. When viewed in this respect, this interaction functions as an important information variable.

Person Perception Theory as it Relates to the Present Study

The juror (observer) was asked to make assessments about a stimulus female attorney (object person) in a courtroom setting (context or situation). The juror may have paid particular attention to the perceived intentions of the attorney. In addition, the assessments of the juror may have been influenced by jurors' demographics (gender, age, and income level), the juror's perception of the role of the attorney, and any prior knowledge or feelings the juror has for female attorneys. Attorney variables as well may have influenced the assessments made by the jurors. All variables, with the exception of the clothing of the stimulus female attorney, were held constant on the female attorney. The context was also represented in this study as a constant.

According to Irwin Birnbaum, a trial attorney and professor of law at Syracuse University, the attorney's best opportunity to establish credibility is during their first interaction with the jury. In order to make a good impression on the jury, an attorney must convey an impression of credibility. As the majority of litigation is the result of one side being more believable than the other, impressions of credibility are of vital importance. According to the tenets of central trait theory, if an attorney can initially establish credibility with the jurors, it is possible that additional positive traits will be assigned to the attorney by the jury in future interactions (Birnbaum, 1984).

Clothing Factors Relevant to Impression Formation

Numerous studies have attempted to show the influence of clothing and appearance on the perception of personality as well as on the perception of character traits (Damhorst, 1990; Davis, 1987; Forsythe, 1988; Lennon, 1988; Lind et al., 1984). Damhorst (1990) reviewed studies involving the classification of information through dress. In addition, she provided a framework to aid researchers in the study and interpretation of the influence of dress as a form of nonverbal communication. Damhorst suggested that in addition to dress, context of perception, stimulus person, and perceiver may influence transmission of messages.

Early studies have attempted to discover the effect of type of clothing on the perception of individuals (Douty, 1963; Rosencranz, 1962). Douty (1963) conducted a study in which six groups of 15 subjects viewed a slide of a woman in a particular costume and then rated her on the basis of socioeconomic status and personal characteristics. Results indicated that type of clothing appeared to influence perceptions of character and socioeconomic status. Similarly, Rosencranz's study found that individuals were very aware of clothing, in that clothing was ascertained to be a salient cue in the evaluation of

others. These findings imply that a woman may manipulate her clothing in order to influence others' perceptions of herself.

Summary

The literature included in this chapter addressed Person Perception Theory and its relevance to the present study. The literature also addressed the establishment of credibility in the courtroom, and made suggestions for women regarding appropriate professional attire. Recommendations were included which pertain to dressing in a moderately traditional and conservative manner in order to produce positive impressions of competence and credibility. These suggestions lead to additional research questions.

Women are advised to dress in a moderately traditional manner. However, as more women enter the legal profession and other previously male-dominated professions, new or additional recommendations for professional women may not only be necessary but also useful. Research is needed to determine the effects certain colors/color combinations, silhouettes, and interior design lines of female attorneys' garments will have on jurors' perceptions of a female attorney's credibility.

CHAPTER 3

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The purpose of this study was to determine which garments worn by a female stimulus attorney would most often convey impressions of the attorney's credibility to jurors in Montgomery County, Virginia. The study involved a comparative analysis of various colors/color combinations, silhouettes and interior design lines of courtroom apparel in order to determine which garments and components thereof most often convey impressions of the attorney's credibility to the jury.

Objectives

Objective 1

The determination of female attorneys' garments and the components thereof which specifically communicate impressions of credibility to the juror. The garments used in the research were drawings of actual garments worn by female attorneys in United States courtrooms during 1993 and 1994.

Objective 2

The determination of the existence of a relationship between jurors' demographic characteristics (age, gender, and yearly household income level) and jurors' perceptions of the credibility of female attorneys with respect to the attorney's clothing.

Research Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1

When worn by a female attorney in a courtroom, a garment in traditional colors/color combinations with a traditional silhouette and moderately traditional interior design lines (CtStIm) will convey impressions of credibility to a jury more often than will a garment with either moderately traditional or non-traditional colors/color combinations, moderately traditional or non-traditional silhouettes and traditional or non-traditional interior design lines.

Hypothesis 1A

There will be a relationship between the color/color combinations of a female attorney's garment and jurors' evaluations of the female attorney's credibility.

Hypothesis 1B

There will be a relationship between the silhouette of a female attorney's garment and jurors' evaluations of the female attorney's credibility.

Hypothesis 1C

There will be a relationship between the interior design lines of a female attorney's garment and jurors' evaluations of the female attorney's credibility.

Rationale, Hypotheses 1, 1A-1C

Studies of female businesswomen have shown that suits that appear moderately masculine with regard to color and structural lines produced impressions of competence in interviewers and often resulted in a favorable decision to hire (Damhorst & Reed, 1986; Davis, 1987; Forsythe, 1988, 1990). Furthermore recommendations have been made that female attorneys not break with tradition in the courtroom and therefore should dress in a skirted suit and use accessories to suggest professionalism and competence (Anderson, 1994; Higbie, 1994; Lind et al., 1984; Matlon, 1985; Parnes, 1994; Sannito & McGovern, 1985; Smith & Melandro, 1985).

Hypothesis 2A

There will be a relationship between jurors' gender and their evaluations of a female attorney's credibility.

Hypothesis 2B

There will be a relationship between jurors' age and their evaluations of a female attorney's credibility.

Hypothesis 2C

There will be a relationship between jurors' income level and their evaluations of a female attorney's credibility.

Rationale, Hypotheses 2A-2C

Gizzi (1979) considered subjects' (jurors) age, gender, education level and income level to determine the existence of an influence upon perceptions of a female attorney's authority based on clothing. Findings of the study revealed the possible existence of relationships between age, gender, and income level and subjects' impressions of a female attorney's authority with regard to clothing. Lind et al. (1984) also found a relationship between age, and gender of subjects and impressions of a female attorney's authority with respect to her neckwear.

Assumptions

With other nonverbal communication cues (same attorney, same pose) held constant in this research, jurors will base their impressions of an attorney's credibility upon clothing. Jurors will honestly report their impressions of a female attorney's credibility with respect to the attorney's clothing.

Limitations

The data were collected from a sample of jurors in Blacksburg, Virginia, a small, college town, and Christiansburg, Virginia, also a relatively small town both located in Southwest Virginia. Accessibility to and availability of jurors influenced sample size as did juror cooperation with regard to participation in the study.

The garments studied were selected from among those worn by actual female attorneys in United States courtrooms in 1993 and 1994. The garments were replicated on a stimulus attorney. Taped segments of actual trials on Court TV that occurred during 1993 and 1994 were utilized in order to obtain the garments. Only a select number of garments were used in the study.

CHAPTER 4

PROCEDURE

The study took place in the Fall of 1994 in Blacksburg and Christiansburg, Virginia. The following sections will address the sample, instrument, data collection and data analysis.

Selection of Sample

Irwin Birnbaum, a trial attorney and associate law professor at Syracuse University, contended that the court considers jurors to be fact finders, jurors view themselves as searchers of the truth and, as a result, jurors are the experts of credibility evaluation. In September of 1994, the clerk's office of Montgomery County, Virginia was contacted to obtain the names of those individuals selected as prospective jurors from 1993-1994. One hundred jurors were sought for the study. Based on the information on the lists those individuals living or working within a 25 mile radius of the Virginia Tech campus were contacted by the primary researcher to determine if the individual had actually served as a juror. Once an individual indicated that he/she had fulfilled the pre-established criteria regarding study participation (lived or worked within a 25 mile radius of the Virginia Tech Campus and had served as a juror in Montgomery County, Virginia within the last five years) the researcher then gave a brief synopsis of the study and inquired if the individual would be willing to participate in the study. If a juror was willing to participate, an appointment was scheduled in which a trained data collector would meet the juror and administer the questionnaire individually. This individual administration elicited a 92% return on the questionnaires.

Instrument

In July of 1994, Court TV, a cable television company that broadcasts court cases, was contacted to determine which cases within the last two years had been tried by female attorneys and had been made into trial stories. Trial stories are condensed versions of actual courtroom cases generally of one to two hours in duration. The Menendez and Bobbit cases as well as the Simpson pre-trial hearing had all been made into trial stories, and had been tried by female attorneys within the last two years. There were three female attorneys in the Menendez case, two in the Bobbit case and one in the Simpson hearing.

Copies were acquired of all three trial stories in order to obtain views of the garments worn by actual female attorneys in actual courtroom trials. The garments were then replicated on a stimulus attorney. As the Simpson case was beginning in September of 1994 and no trial story was available at the time of data collection, taped portions of network coverage of the Simpson case were used to obtain garments to be used in the study.

In order to hold nonverbal communication cues other than clothing constant, i.e., hair style/color, make-up, facial expression, posture/body language, jewelry, a stimulus attorney was developed using a graphics computer. The stimulus attorney was Caucasian as were all of the female attorneys in the three trial stories. The stimulus attorney had an average build, with average color hair (medium brown), and average length hair (above-the-shoulder). The attorneys in the trial stories were typically shown behind a podium. As a result, the stimulus attorney was shown from the waist up behind a podium to provide a courtroom context.

The image of the attorney was duplicated so that each garment that met the following criteria could be drawn on the attorney. In order for a garment to be included in the study, it had to be worn in a trial setting by one of the six female attorneys in one of the

trial stories or by the female attorney in the Simpson case in taped portions of the televised coverage of the Simpson case. The garment had to be shown in such a manner that the color/color combinations, silhouette and interior design lines of the garment were visible from the front and could be seen from the waist up.

Each tape was previewed and initial observations of the possible garments to be used in the study were made. A slow motion Video Cassette Recorder (VCR) was used to obtain views of usable garments. Forty-seven garments were deemed acceptable to be considered for use in the study according to the criteria previously established. Of the 47 garments, 33 were from the Menendez trial story, 4 were from the Bobbit trial story and 10 were from the Simpson trial story and the televised coverage of the trial.

The silhouettes and interior design lines of each of the 47 garments were drawn on the stimulus attorney. These black and white drawings were then scanned into a computer design system. After the drawings were stored in the computer color was added to the garments.

The garments were then analyzed in order to develop operational definitions that could be used to categorize and describe the garments and garment components. Three common components were identified in all of the garments: color/color combinations, silhouette, and interior design lines. In addition, each of the three components was analyzed and three classifications were developed for each component: traditional, moderately traditional, and non-traditional. The conceptual framework for these designations parallels the terms *traditional* with masculine and *non-traditional* with feminine, placing *moderately traditional* between the two. Aspects of traditionalism were selected for use in the definition of the garment components based on recommendations in the literature which suggested that attorneys not break with tradition in their selection of courtroom apparel. Furthermore, in the development of the definitions of each component,

traditional, moderately traditional and non-traditional qualities were conceived in terms of the traditional male business suit. For example, traditional colors/color combinations are those which are considered typical male business suit colors/color combinations e.g., navy, charcoal. The following operational definitions were derived to evaluate and sort the garments in order to select those garments from the original 47 to be used in the study.

Operational Definitions

Color/Color Combinations of Garments

Traditional colors were brown, navy and neutrals (except white). Moderately traditional colors refer to shades and hues of colors other than neutrals. Non-traditional colors were tints of non-neutral colors, and white. Printed or patterned surfaces were also considered non-traditional. In addition, a garment's initial color/color combinations classification of either traditional or moderately traditional was altered to non-traditional if the color combination of the jacket and blouse was not consistent with the typical male business suit, e.g., darker outer garment worn with a lighter shirt or blouse.

Silhouette of Garments

The silhouette of a garment referred to the outline of a garment. A traditional silhouette referred to a garment with long, straight sleeves, and non-waist defining jackets. A moderately traditional silhouette is a garment with long, straight or shirt-type sleeves, and slightly waist defining jackets. A non-traditional silhouette referred to a garment with other types and lengths of sleeves, and waist defining jackets or tops.

Interior Design Lines of Garments

Interior design lines were the structural lines within the silhouette of a garment. Traditional interior design lines were jackets with lapels, a collar and set-in sleeves. Moderately traditional interior design lines are other jackets, tops that look like jackets from the waist up with front openings, and/or necklines below the midpoint of the upper chest. Non-traditional interior design lines refer to dresses or tops that do not open at center front as do jackets, garments without front openings, and/or garments with asymmetrical openings.

The following paragraph addresses additional operational definitions used in the study. *Credibility* refers to the ability to inspire belief in another. *Potency*, which refers to the ability to achieve a particular result, *character* which refers to the disposition of an individual, and *competence* which pertains to having adequate abilities or qualities, are all considered components of credibility. *Structural lines* are the stitched seams, gathers, pleats, darts, and tucks of a garment that give it shape.

Following the completion of the garment evaluations, the operational definitions were applied and each garment was assigned a six-letter code reflecting the classification (traditional [t], moderately traditional [m], and non-traditional [n]) of each garment category (color/color combination [C], silhouette [S], interior design lines [I]). For example, if a garment was traditional in terms of color/color combination, non-traditional in silhouette and moderately traditional in interior design lines, the code would be: CtSnIm.

The garments were then sorted into groups according to the six-letter codes. Seventeen six-letter code groups were identified. Frequencies of occurrence were calculated for the six-letter code groups and the three individual classifications of the three garment categories. The sum totals for the six-letter codes of the garments and for

garment's individual classifications/categories are shown in Tables 1 and 2 respectively. The codes and classifications that occurred with the greatest frequency are shown in bold.

Table 1 Six-Letter Codes of Garments and Frequency of Occurrence

Six Letter Code	Frequency of Occurrence
CnSnIn	2
CnSnIm	1
CnSmIt	2
CnStIm	5
CnStIn	2
CnStIt	2
CmSnIn	1
CmSmIm	3
CmSmIt	2
CmStIm	1
CmStIt	3
CtSmIn	1
CtSmIm	7
CtSmIt	4
CtStIn	1
CtStIm	5*
CtStIt	5
Total number of groups: 17	Total number of garments: 47

*Denotes the combination upon which Hypothesis 1 was based.

Table 2 Garment Categories/Classifications and Frequency of Occurrence

	Color	Silhouette	Interior Design Lines
Non-traditional	14	4	7
Moderately traditional	10	19	22*
Traditional	23*	24*	18
Totals	47	47	47

*Denotes the combination upon which Hypothesis 1 was based.

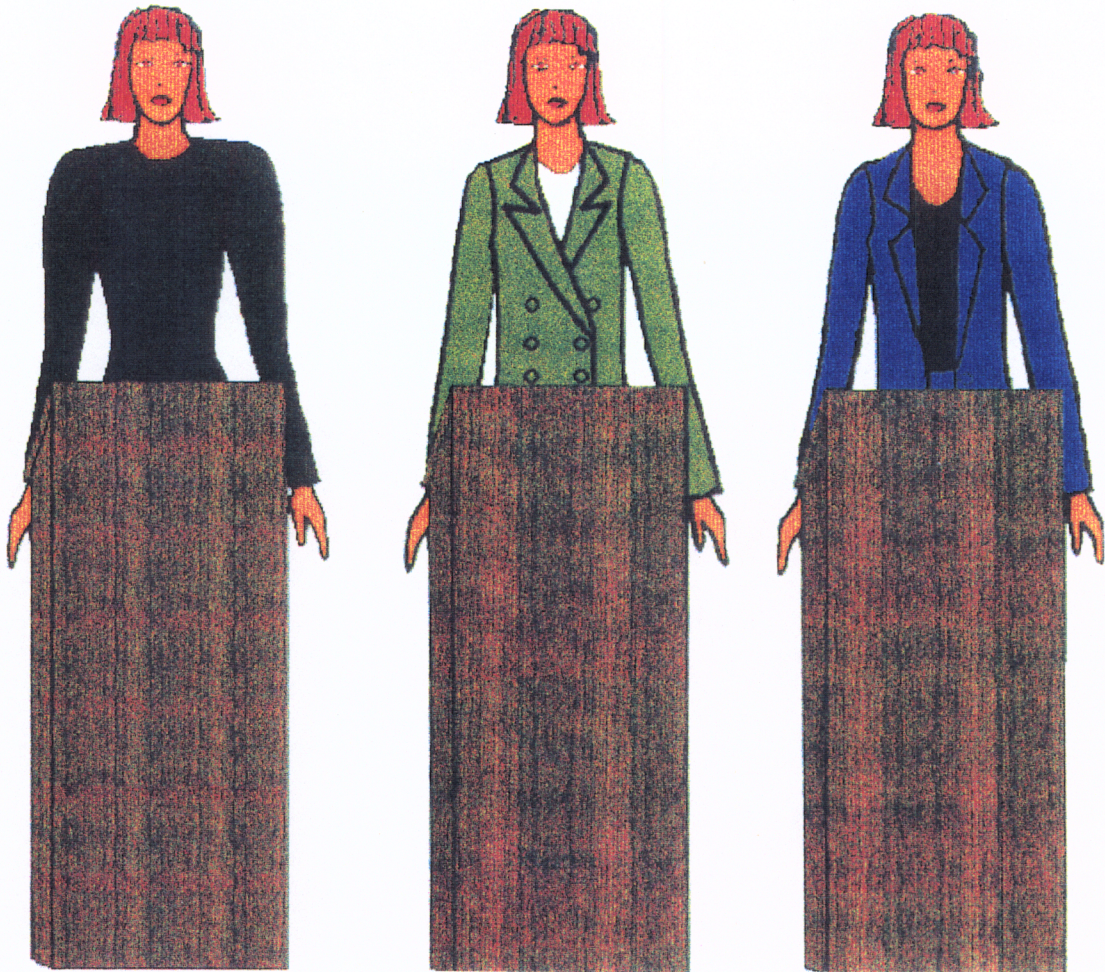
As a result of the frequency of occurrence calculations for the individual classifications of each category, the following research hypotheses were formulated: hypotheses 1, 1A, 1B, and 1C.

Seventeen six-letter code groups existed following the initial sorting as shown in Table 1. Eleven of the 17 groups had at least two garments corresponding to the six-letter code. On the basis of this finding, it was decided that 11 garments would be included in the study to be evaluated by the jurors in an effort to maintain jurors' target completion time of the questionnaire. Consequently, six groups were eliminated from consideration. Each combination group was evaluated and it was determined that a group was to be eliminated if it were similar to or closely resembled another group. As a result of these evaluations, the six groups that were deemed similar were eliminated.

Once the eleven six-letter code groups to be represented in the study had been selected, each group was independently evaluated in an effort to select the garment to represent the group. The first step in this process was to eliminate within-group duplications. If two or more garments within a group were similar, the garment with a distinguishing characteristic was selected and the other was eliminated from consideration for use in the study. After duplications were eliminated, the garment that was deemed the most characteristic of each group was selected to represent the group. In addition, an effort was made to ensure that each classification was represented at least once in the study, i.e., Ct, Cm, Cn, St, Sm, Sn, It, Im, and In.

Again, this reduction (from 17 groups to 6 groups) was performed in order to allow the completion time of the questionnaire to remain within the target time limit of 15-20 minutes. The combinations that were selected to be used in the study were: CmSnIn, CmStIt, CnStIt, CtSmIm, CtStIm, CtStIt, CnStIm, CtSmIn, CmStIm, CnSnIn, and

CnSmIt. Figures 1-4 show the female attorney and the 11 garment combinations with corresponding numbers 1-11 and six-letter identification codes.



Attorney 1

CmSnIn

Attorney 2

CmStIt

Attorney 3

CnStIt

Figure 1 Images of Attorneys 1-3 and Six-Letter Identification Codes



Attorney 4

CtSmIm

Attorney 5

CtStIm

Attorney 6

CtStIt

Figure 2 Images of Attorneys 4-6 and Six-Letter Identification Codes



Attorney 7

CnStIm

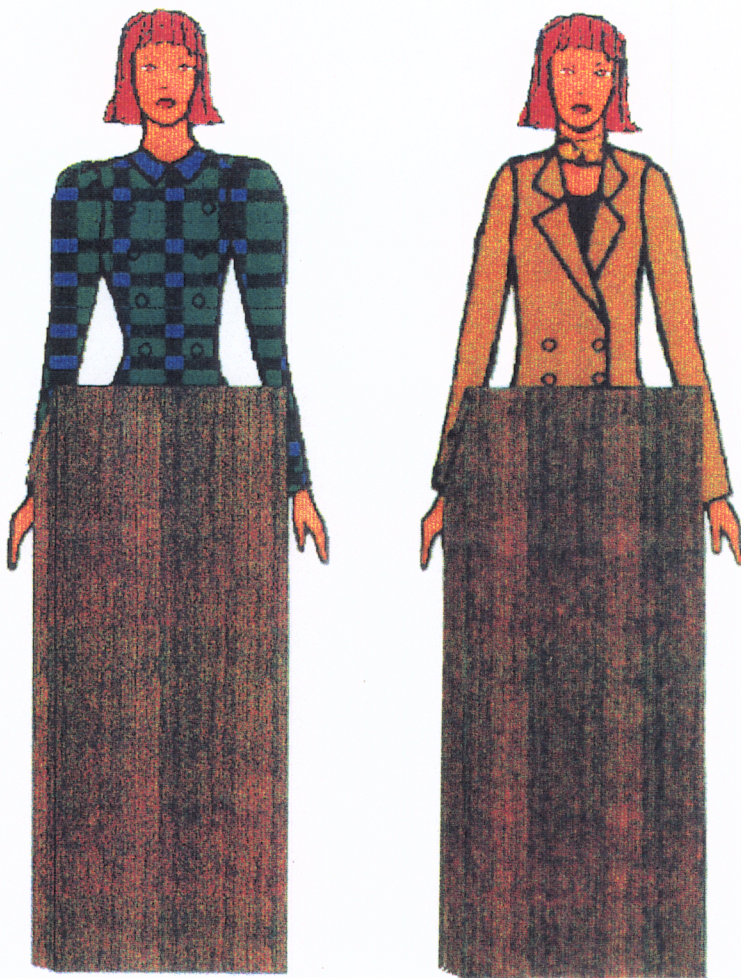
Attorney 8

CtSmIn

Attorney 9

CmStIm

Figure 3 Images of Attorneys 7-9 and Six-Letter Identification Codes



Attorney 10

CnSnIn

Attorney 11

CnSmIt

Figure 4 Images of Attorneys 10 &11 and Six-Letter Identification Codes

Table 3 provides a list of the garments by number and the corresponding six-letter identification code. *C* refers to color/color combinations of garments, *S* refers to silhouette of garments and *I* refers to interior design lines. The lowercase letters *t*, *m*, and *n* correspond to the classifications of traditional, moderately traditional and non-traditional respectively, of each garment component, i.e., a garment traditional in color, with a moderately traditional silhouette and non-traditional interior design lines would have the six-letter identification code: CtSmIn.

Table 3 Female Attorney Number and Six-letter Identification Code

Attorney Number	Six-letter Identification Code
1	CmSnIn
2	CmStIt
3	CnStIt
4	CtSmIm
5	CtStIm
6	CtStIt
7	CnStIm
8	CtSmIn
9	CmStIm
10	CnSnIn
11	CnSmIt

Garment 1 was classified as moderately traditional in color and non-traditional in silhouette and interior design lines, CmSnIn. The garment was a fitted, forest green dress with a jewel neckline and long, full sleeves that were fitted at the wrist. **Garment 2** was classified as moderately traditional in color and traditional in silhouette and interior design lines, CmStIt. The garment was an olive green, double breasted, long-sleeved jacket with a notched collar worn with a white jewel neck blouse. **Garment 3** was classified as non-traditional in color and traditional in silhouette and interior design lines, CnStIt. The garment was a royal blue, long sleeved jacket (not buttoned) with a notched collar and a black shell with a slightly scooped neckline. **Garment 4** was classified as traditional in color and moderately traditional in silhouette and interior design lines, CtSmIm. The garment was a black, fitted, long-sleeved jacket with a jewel neckline and a center front button closure. **Garment 5** was classified as traditional in color and silhouette and moderately traditional in interior design lines, CtStIm. The garment was a charcoal gray, long-sleeved, collarless jacket (not buttoned) with a jewel neckline worn with a white jewel neckline blouse. **Garment 6** was classified as traditional in color, silhouette and interior design lines, CtStIt. The garment was a navy blue, long-sleeved jacket (not buttoned) with a notched collar worn with a white, turtleneck blouse. **Garment 7** was classified as non-traditional in color, traditional in silhouette and moderately traditional in interior design lines, CnStIm. The garment was a deep fuchsia, long-sleeved, double breasted jacket worn with a fuchsia blouse with a slightly lowered, scoop neckline. **Garment 8** was classified as traditional in color, moderately traditional in silhouette and non-traditional in interior design lines, CtSmIn. The garment was a semi-fitted, black, v-neck vest and a white v-neck, notched collar blouse with long, full sleeves fitted at the wrist. **Garment 9** was classified as moderately traditional in color, traditional in silhouette, and moderately traditional in interior design lines, CmStIm. The garment was a red, long-sleeved, v-neck

jacket with two patch pockets and a center front button closure. **Garment 10** was classified as non-traditional in color, silhouette, and interior design lines CnSnIn. The garment was a fitted, navy blue and forest green plaid dress with a navy blue, traditional shirt collar. The dress also had buttons along the princess lines of the bodice and long, full sleeves that were fitted at the wrist. **Garment 11** was classified as non-traditional in color, moderately traditional in silhouette, and traditional in interior design lines, CnSmIt. The garment was a slightly fitted, long-sleeved, double breasted loden jacket. The jacket was worn with a black scoop-neck shell and a black, gold and loden print scarf that was tied at choker level on the neck.

Jurors responded to a 12 page questionnaire, the first page of which contained questions addressing jurors' demographics. Pages 2-12 each contained: a picture of the same stimulus attorney wearing one of the 11 different garments selected for inclusion in the study, a semantic differential scale to evaluate the attorney's credibility, a semantic differential scale to evaluate an attorney in general, and a question asking the juror to indicate whether they would hire the attorney to represent them in court. These last two portions of the questionnaire, the semantic differential that evaluated female attorneys in general and the question regarding decision to hire, were eliminated due to jurors' difficulty associated with the completion of these two portions.

The jurors' age, gender and income level had previously been determined to have a significant effect upon perceptions of a female attorney's authority by Gizzi (1979). On the basis of these findings, jurors were asked to indicate their gender, age and yearly household income according to the following scales similar to those used by Lind et al. (1984): gender (1=Male, 2=Female), age (1=18-25, 2=26-35, 3=36-45, 4=46-55, 5=56-65, 6=over 65), yearly household income level (1=less than \$10,000, 2=\$10,001 to

\$20,000, 3=\$20,001 to \$30,000, 4=\$30,001 to \$40,000, 5=\$40,001 to \$50,000, 6=\$50,001 to \$60,000, 7=\$60,001 to \$70,000, 8=more than \$70,001).

Pages 2-12 of the questionnaire each contained a picture of the same stimulus attorney wearing one of the 11 garments selected for inclusion in the study as well as a semantic differential scale evaluating credibility, a semantic differential evaluating female attorneys in general and a question asking the juror to indicate whether or not they would hire the attorney (see Appendix for a copy of the instrument). Again, these two portions of the questionnaire, the semantic differential that evaluated female attorneys in general and the question regarding decision to hire, were eliminated due to jurors' difficulty associated with the completion of these two portions. Each juror received written instructions regarding completion of the questionnaire and a trained data collector was available to answer questions. Data collectors were instructed to answer jurors' questions about the study in an unbiased manner in order to avoid influencing jurors' responses to the questionnaire. The semantic differential scale used to evaluate jurors' perceptions of a female attorney's credibility was based on the following literature.

A study by Bassett (1979) used 11 sets of bipolar adjectives to evaluate source credibility based on source attire. These adjectives were the foundation for the development of the written portion of the instrument used in the present study. However, slight modifications were made in the present study. The word *powerless* replaced the word *impotent* from Bassett's study due to anticipated definition problems by jurors. In addition, the words *inexpert/expert* were inadvertently replaced by *inexperienced/experienced*. The eleven sets of bipolar adjectives from the present study were as follows: unqualified-qualified, meek-aggressive, unjust-just, powerless-powerful, inexperienced-experienced, tense-relaxed, timid-bold, bad-good, awful-nice, unfriendly-friendly and anxious-calm. Each set of bipolar adjectives was separated by the following adverbs, extremely, quite,

slightly, neutral, slightly, quite, and extremely, which were used to evaluate the female attorney's credibility based on the attorney's clothing. Bassett's study used a four-area semantic differential scale to evaluate credibility: potency (timid-bold, meek-aggressive, impotent-powerful), character (awful-nice, bad-good, unjust-just, unfriendly-friendly), composure (anxious-calm, tense-relaxed) and competence (unqualified-qualified, inexperienced-expert). In order to provide increased accuracy in terms of evaluation, the areas of composure and competence were combined in the present study. In addition, the order of appearance of the attorneys was varied from juror to juror to prevent the order of appearance from having an effect on credibility evaluations.

Data Collection

Data collection was scheduled for November of 1994. Two training sessions were conducted in late October and early November of 1994, in which 12 data collectors received instruction regarding the administration of the questionnaire. Data collectors, members of a business/marketing fraternity at Virginia Tech, were briefed about the study. They were then instructed to give jurors' a brief synopsis of the study and to answer jurors' questions in an unbiased manner in order to avoid influencing responses on the questionnaire. For the same reason data collectors were further instructed not to discuss specific details of the study until the juror had completed the questionnaire. In addition, they were not permitted to meet with jurors of the opposite sex to administer the questionnaire unless it was in a public location e. g., restaurants, libraries.

Data Analyses

For statistical purposes the six-letter code was translated into a three-digit code for data entry that signified the classification of each component. The first digit represented the

classification (traditional, moderately traditional and non-traditional) of the color/color combinations, the second and third digits represented the classifications of the silhouette and interior design lines respectively. Traditional was designated by 1, moderately traditional and non-traditional were designated by 2 and 3 respectively. For example a garment traditional in color/color combinations, moderately traditional in silhouette and non-traditional in interior design lines, CtSmIn, would have a three-digit code of 123.

Seventy-four questionnaires were administered. Of the 74 questionnaires administered, 68 were deemed usable. The remaining 6 were eliminated due to insufficient information, yielding a 92% response return. After the responses from the 68 questionnaires were analyzed, totals were calculated for each questionnaire. Analyses were conducted following these calculations to ascertain the number of jurors comprising each group within each demographic characteristic. Following is a list of the demographic characteristics and the number of jurors comprising each group within each characteristic: **gender**, male 30, female 38; **age**, (18-25)-2, (26-35)-18, (36-45)-18, (46-55)-15, (56-65)-11, (over 65)-4; **income**, (less than \$10,000)-1, (\$10,001-\$20,000)-11, (\$20,001-\$30,000)-14, (\$30,001-\$40,000)-8, (\$40,001-\$50,000)-11, (\$50,001-\$60,000)-9, (\$60,001-\$70,000)-6, (over \$70,001)-8. As a result of these analyses, two age groups were eliminated in two-way ANOVA of credibility between jurors' age and the clothing of the individual attorney, (18-25)-2, and (over 65)-4. Additionally, one income group was eliminated from two-way ANOVA of credibility between jurors' income level and the clothing of the individual attorney, (less than \$10,000). The basis for these eliminations was that fewer than five jurors comprised these groups.

Testing of Research Hypotheses and Analyses

A mixed research design was employed to allow for the analysis of jurors' demographic characteristics in relation to credibility evaluations. In addition, a mixed research design permitted an analysis of jurors' credibility evaluations in relation to the garments and the individual components thereof. As a result of the mixed research design, various statistical analyses were employed, descriptive statistics, two-way ANOVA, and one-way ANOVA.

Hypothesis 1

Descriptive statistics were used to determine which garment combination (color/color combinations, silhouette, and interior design lines in terms of traditional, moderately traditional, and non-traditional) was the most credible according to jurors' responses on the questionnaire. Means of jurors' responses were calculated for each attorney to determine the garments that received the highest credibility evaluation.

Hypotheses 1A-1C

ANOVA was used to determine the existence of a relationship between jurors' evaluations of a female attorney's credibility and a) color/color combinations of the female attorney's garment, b) the silhouette of the female attorney's garment, and c) the interior design lines of the female attorney's garment. For example, two-way ANOVA was conducted between color/color combinations and silhouette, between silhouette and interior design lines, and between interior design lines and color/color combinations. The individual components were also analyzed in terms of jurors' credibility evaluations in one-way ANOVA.

The interior design lines of the attorney's garment and their effect on jurors' evaluations of the female attorney's credibility were addressed in Hypothesis 1C. The research design did not accommodate a complete testing of this hypothesis. The research design was in effect self-limiting due to the fact that only 11 garments were tested in order to maintain the jurors' target completion time of 15-20 minutes. As a result all garment combinations were not represented and as such this did not allow for the testing of all possible three-digit garment combinations.

Two kinds of ANOVA tests were used. A full range test was used in two-way ANOVA between color and silhouette in which a 3x3 factorial design was employed. A partial test was used in two-way ANOVA between color and interior design lines and between silhouette and interior design lines in which a 2x2 factorial design was utilized. A partial test was necessary as all possible combinations of interior design lines were not represented. As a result of this a 3x3 factorial design was not possible. Therefore, only a partial test was permissible.

The eleven garments were evaluated in two respects, as the total garment and as the individual components thereof i.e., color/color combinations, silhouette, and interior design lines. The total garments were evaluated in two-way ANOVA with jurors' gender, age, and income level. These analyses were performed to determine the existence of relationships between jurors' gender, age, and income level and jurors' perceptions of the credibility of the attorney based on the attorney's clothing. The individual components of each garment, color/color combinations, silhouette, and interior design lines, were analyzed with one another and with jurors' credibility evaluations in two-way ANOVA. Both one-way and two-way ANOVA were used to analyze jurors' evaluations of the female attorney's credibility. Two-way ANOVA was used to determine the existence of relationships between the components of the attorney's garments and jurors' credibility

evaluations as well as the existence of interactions between the garment components. For example in Hypotheses 1A-1C two-way ANOVAs were performed between color and silhouette, between silhouette and interior design lines, and between color and interior design lines. One-way ANOVA was used in conjunction with two-way ANOVA as a result of the dictates of a mixed research design. Hypotheses 1A-1C were also analyzed in one-way ANOVA as two-way ANOVA did not allow for a complete testing of Hypothesis 1C as indicated previously.

Hypotheses 2A-2C

ANOVA was used to determine whether a relationship existed between jurors' evaluations of a female attorney's credibility based on her clothing and a) jurors' gender, b) jurors' age, and c) jurors' income level. Two-way ANOVA was conducted for Hypothesis 2A between the clothing of the female attorney and jurors' gender, for Hypothesis 2B between the clothing of the female attorney and jurors' age and for Hypothesis 2C between the clothing of the female attorney and jurors' income level.

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS

The purpose of this study was to determine which garments worn by a female stimulus attorney would most often convey impressions of the attorney's credibility to jurors in Montgomery County, Virginia. The study involved a comparative analysis of various colors/color combinations, silhouettes and interior design lines of courtroom apparel in order to determine which garments and components thereof most often conveyed impressions of the attorney's credibility to the jury. The following sections include the findings of the study listed by hypothesis.

Jurors

The following is a list of the demographic characteristics and the number of jurors comprising each group within each characteristic: **gender**, male 30, female 38; **age**, (18-25) -2, (26-35)-18, (36-45)-18, (46-55)-15, (56-65)-11, (over 65)-4; **income**, (less than \$10,000)-1, (\$10,001-\$20,000)-11, (\$20,001-\$30,000)-14, (\$30,001-\$40,000)-8, (\$40,001-\$50,000)-11, (\$50,001-\$60,000)-9, (\$60,001-\$70,000)-6, (over \$70,001)-8. As a result of these analyses, two age groups were eliminated from two-way ANOVA of credibility between jurors' age and the clothing of the individual attorney, (18-25)-2, and (over 65)-4. Additionally, one income group was eliminated from two-way ANOVA of credibility between jurors' income level and the clothing of the individual attorney, (less than \$10,000). The rationale for this elimination was that fewer than five jurors comprised each of these groups.

Hypothesis 1

When worn by a female attorney in a courtroom, a garment in traditional colors/color combinations with a traditional silhouette and moderately traditional interior design lines (CtStIm) will convey impressions of credibility to a jury more often than will a garment with either moderately traditional or non-traditional colors/color combinations, moderately traditional or non-traditional silhouettes and traditional or non-traditional interior design lines.

Garment Combination

On the basis of jurors' responses on the semantic differential scale, means indicated that Attorney 5, (see Figure 2, p. 33) CtStIm, was rated the highest with regard to credibility evaluations based on clothing and Attorney 9, (See Figure 3, p. 34) CmStIm, was rated the lowest. A garment traditional in color/color combinations and silhouette with moderately traditional interior design lines was considered the most credible by former jurors. On the basis of these findings, there was a failure to reject Hypothesis 1. When worn by a female attorney in a courtroom, a garment traditional in colors/color combinations with a traditional silhouette and moderately traditional interior design lines (CtStIm) will convey impressions of credibility to a jury more often than will a suit with either moderately traditional or non-traditional colors/color combinations, moderately traditional or non-traditional silhouettes and traditional or non-traditional interior design lines.

Attorney 6, CtStIt, (see Figure 2, p. 33) received the second highest credibility rating by jurors followed by attorneys 2, CmStIt, and 8, CtSmIn, respectively (see Figures 1 and 3, pages 32 and 34). Attorneys 1, CmSnIn, and 10, CnSnIn, respectively (see

Figures 1 and 4, pages 32 and 35) were ranked ninth and tenth out of 11 in terms of credibility. Figure 5 shows the attorney credibility ratings by jurors.

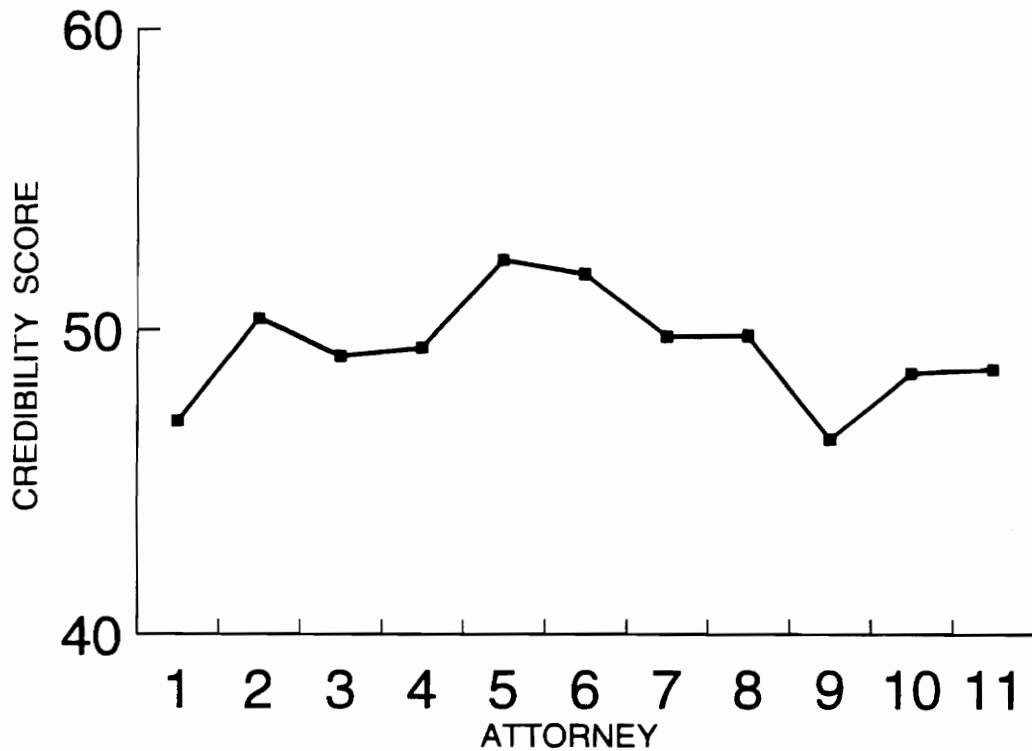


Figure 5 Attorney Credibility Ratings by Jurors, N=68 (N=67 for #1, 5, 7)

Hypotheses 1A-1C

Evaluations of the female attorney's credibility in terms of the color/color combination, silhouette, and interior design lines of the female attorney's garment.

Hypothesis 1A

There will be a relationship between the color/color combinations of a female attorney's garment and jurors' evaluations of the female attorney's credibility.

Color

Results of two-way ANOVA between the color and silhouette of the female attorney's garment revealed that color had a significant effect on jurors' evaluations of the female attorney's credibility, $F=5.466 @ p<.05$. This finding indicates that jurors evaluated the credibility of the female attorney differently based on the color of the attorney's garment. Two-way ANOVA between color and interior design lines of a female attorney's garment again showed color to have a significant effect on juror's evaluations of a female attorney's credibility $F=3.702 @ p<.05$. This finding also suggests that the color of a female attorney's garment affected jurors' evaluations of a female attorney's credibility.

Results of one-way ANOVA for color revealed that the color of a female attorney's garment again had a significant effect on jurors' evaluations of a female attorney's credibility as evidenced by an F -value of 4.53 @ $p<.05$. In other words, the color of a female attorney's garment influenced jurors' evaluations of a female attorney's credibility. On the basis of these findings, there was a **failure to reject Hypothesis 1A**.

Hypothesis 1B

There will be a relationship between the silhouette of a female attorney's garment and jurors' evaluations of the female attorney's credibility.

Silhouette

Silhouette of a female attorney's garment was analyzed in conjunction with both color and interior design lines in two-way ANOVA. Silhouette was found to have a significant effect upon jurors' evaluations of a female attorney's credibility in two-way ANOVA with color, $F = 5.153 @ p<.05$. However, it was not found to have a significant

effect either in two-way ANOVA with interior design lines, $F=.919 @ p>.05$, or in one-way ANOVA, $F\text{-value } 2.735 @ p>.05$. As a result, **Hypothesis 1B was rejected.**

Hypothesis 1C

There will not be a relationship between the interior design lines of a female attorney's garment and jurors' evaluations of the female attorney's credibility

Interior Design Lines

The interior design lines of a female attorney's garment were not found to have a significant effect on jurors' evaluations of a female attorney's credibility. An $F\text{-value}$ of 1.465 @ $p > .05$ was calculated for two-way ANOVA with color, $F=.012$ was calculated for two-way ANOVA with silhouette and one-way ANOVA yielded an $F\text{-value}$ of 1.600 @ $p>.05$. These findings suggest that the interior design lines of a female attorney's garment did not exert an influence on jurors' evaluations of a female attorney's credibility. Consequently, **Hypothesis 1C was rejected.**

However, it should be noted that only a partial testing of this hypothesis in terms of two-way ANOVA was possible due to the research design. In effect, the research design was self-limiting in that in order to allow the jurors' target completion time to remain within 15-20 minutes, all possible three-digit garment combinations could not be represented and those garment combinations that were selected for use in the study were selected on the basis of their representativeness and their contribution to the study. In order to fully test this hypothesis there needed to be additional interior design line designations that could be tested with different color and silhouette designations. As these combinations did not occur, a complete testing did not occur.

Analyses were conducted for color, silhouette and interior design lines. Results of the analyses imply that color exerted the strongest impact on jurors' evaluations of a female attorney's credibility.

Hypotheses 2A-2C

Evaluations of the female attorney's credibility in terms of jurors' demographic characteristics, gender, age and income level. ANOVA and descriptive statistics were used to determine the existence of relationships between jurors' demographic characteristics and their evaluation of the female attorney's credibility.

Hypothesis 2A

There will be a relationship between jurors' gender and their evaluations of a female attorney's credibility.

Gender of Jurors

As tested in ANOVA, male and female jurors were not significantly different from one another in terms of their evaluations of the female attorney's credibility. Male jurors rated the attorneys slightly above the mean (49.55, 49.39 respectively) whereas female jurors rated the attorneys slightly below the mean (49.26). Results of the gender-specific ratings of the female attorney's credibility are shown in Figure 6.

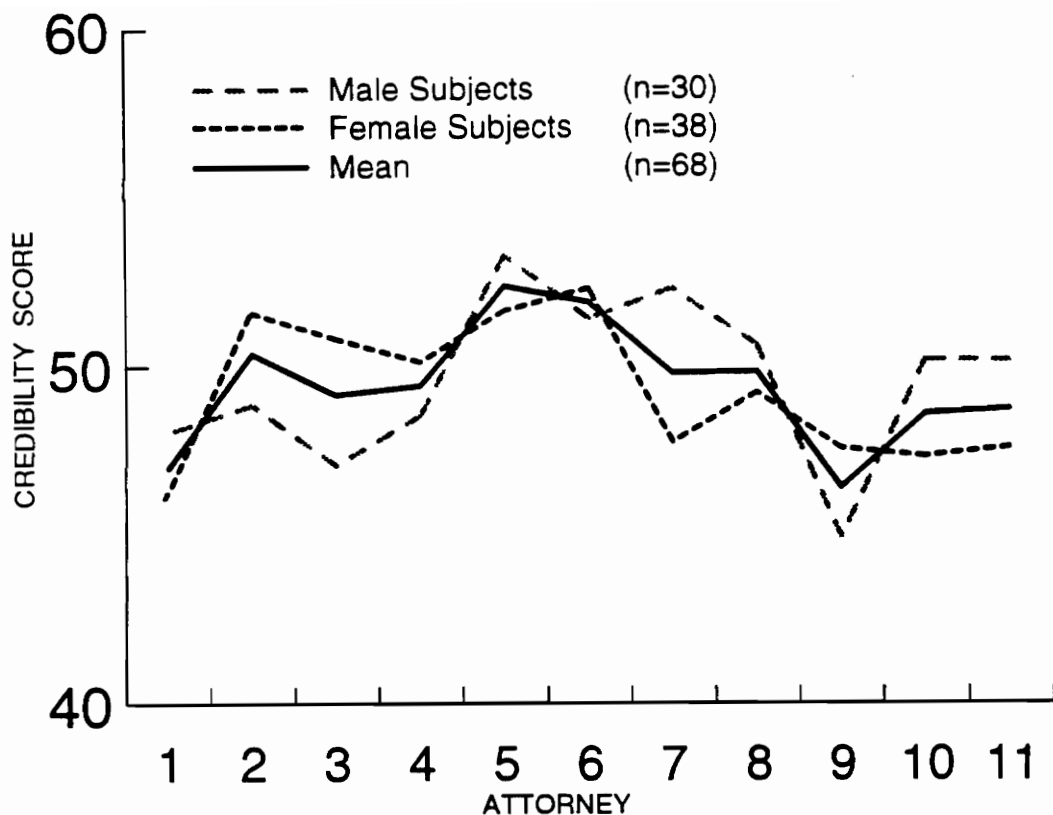


Figure 6 Jurors' Ratings of the Female Attorney's Credibility-Gender-Specific

Results of two-way ANOVA between the clothing of the female attorneys (six-letter code) and the jurors' gender in terms of the jurors' evaluations of the female attorney's credibility yielded F -values of 2.502 @ $p < .05$ and .187 $p > .05$ respectively. These findings suggest that the clothing of the female attorney had a significant effect on jurors' evaluations of the attorney's credibility whereas gender of juror did not. These findings further imply that male and female jurors were not significantly different from one another with respect to evaluations of a female attorney's credibility based on her clothing. Findings reveal that as a sample, male and female jurors evaluated the female attorney's credibility differently based on clothing as evidenced by the credibility evaluations. In other words, based on clothing, the sample evaluated at least one attorney differently than the

rest with regard to credibility. On the basis of these findings, **Hypothesis 2A was rejected.**

Hypothesis 2B

There will be a relationship between jurors' age and their evaluations of a female attorney's credibility.

Age of Jurors

Age-specific ratings reflected a greater difference between age groups than did gender-specific ratings between the genders. Jurors between the ages of 56-65 rated the attorneys the most credible (52.12) whereas jurors between the ages of 36-45 rated the attorneys the least credible (46.82). In addition, two-way ANOVA between jurors' age and the clothing of the female attorney indicated that jurors' evaluations of the attorney's credibility based on the attorney's clothing differed across age groups, $F=2.064 @ p<.05$. The clothing of the individual attorney also appeared to have an impact on jurors' credibility evaluations, $F=10.045 @ p<.05$. Figure 7 shows the results of the age-specific ratings of the female attorney's credibility. Figure 8 shows the three garment combinations that were selected as the most credible by each age group.

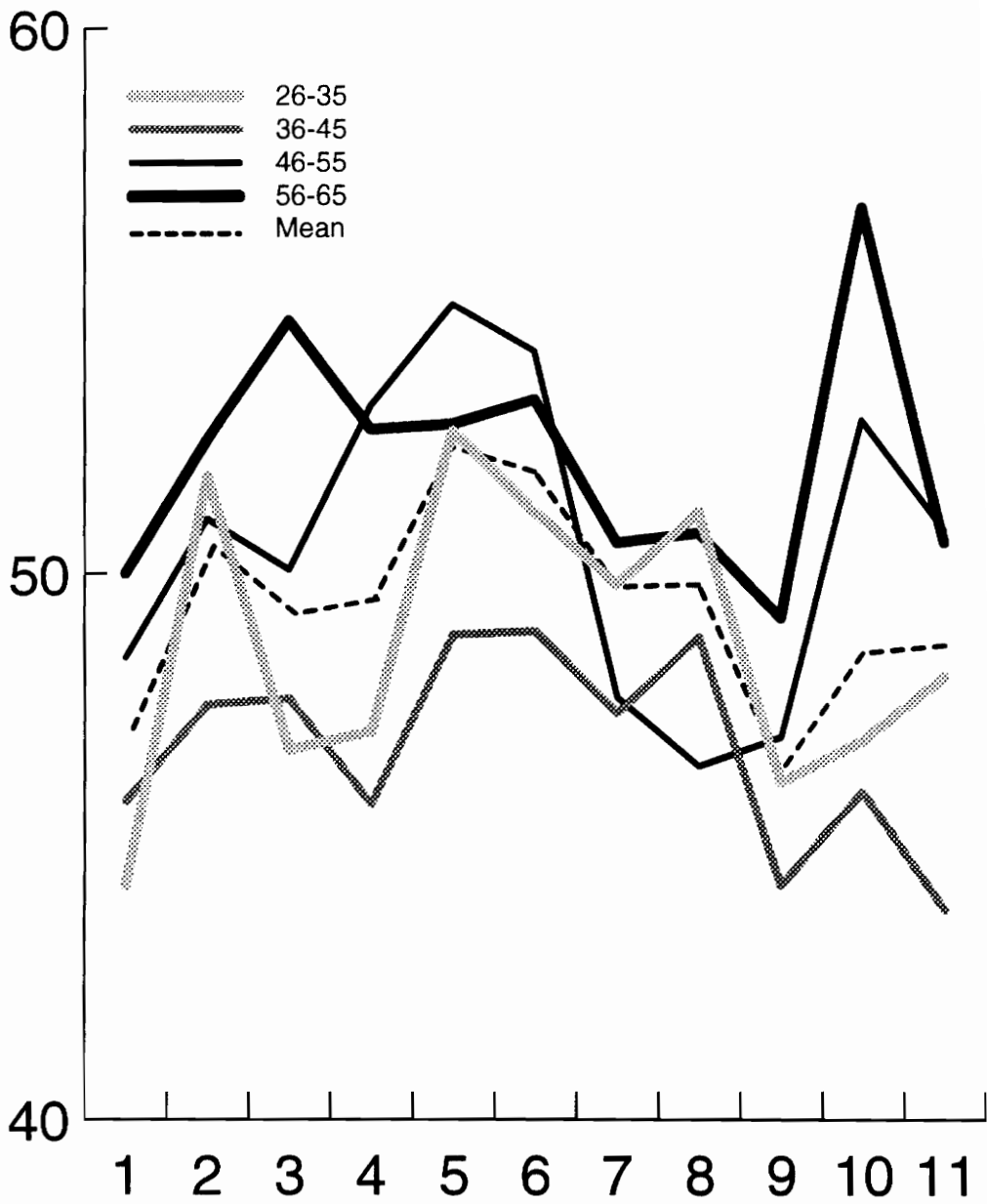


Figure 7 Jurors' Ratings of the Female Attorney's Credibility-Age-Specific

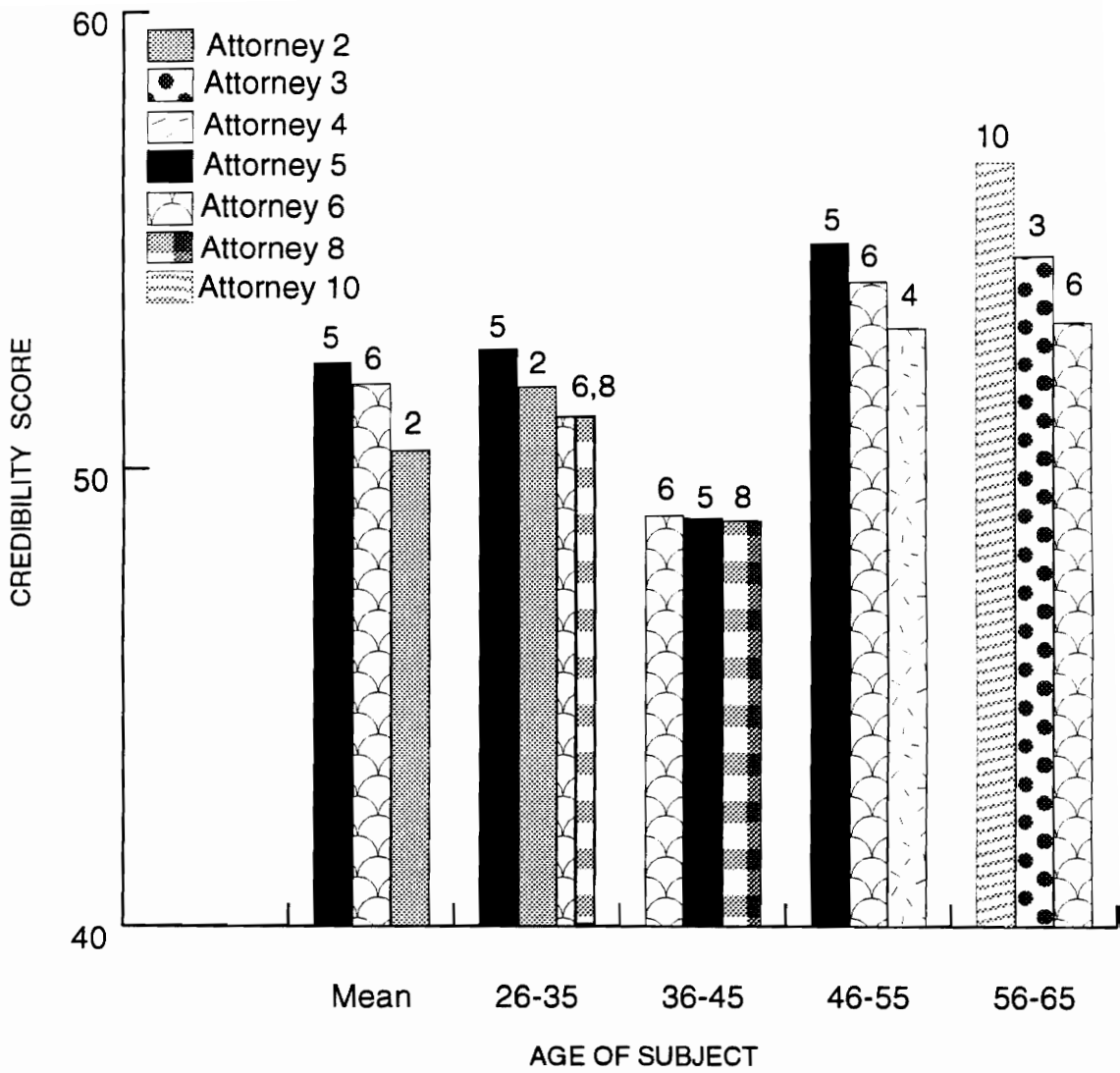


Figure 8 Three Most Credible Garment Combinations by Age Group

Two-way ANOVA was also used to analyze the clothing of the female attorney and jurors' age in terms of credibility evaluations. Findings from two-way ANOVA indicated that the clothing of the female attorney had a significant effect on jurors' evaluations of a female attorney's credibility, $F=2.064 @ p<.05$. Age of juror was also found to have a significant effect on jurors' evaluations of the female attorney's credibility, $F=10.045 @ p<.05$. These findings imply that at least one age group evaluated the female attorneys differently than another group in terms of credibility; jurors from different age groups were found to be significantly different from one another with regard to evaluations of the female attorney's credibility. In effect, different aged jurors viewed the female attorney's clothing differently in terms of impressions of credibility. As a result of these findings, there was a **failure to reject Hypothesis 2B**.

Hypothesis 2C

There will be a relationship between jurors' income level and their evaluations of a female attorney's credibility.

Income Level of Jurors

In terms of credibility evaluations, jurors with incomes between \$20,001-\$30,000 were the most favorable in that overall, they rated the female attorneys the highest in terms of credibility evaluations (50.18) followed by jurors with incomes greater than \$70,001 (50.13). The lowest credibility evaluations were received from jurors with incomes between \$60,001-\$70,000 (47.59). Results of the income-specific ratings of the female attorneys are shown in Figure 9.

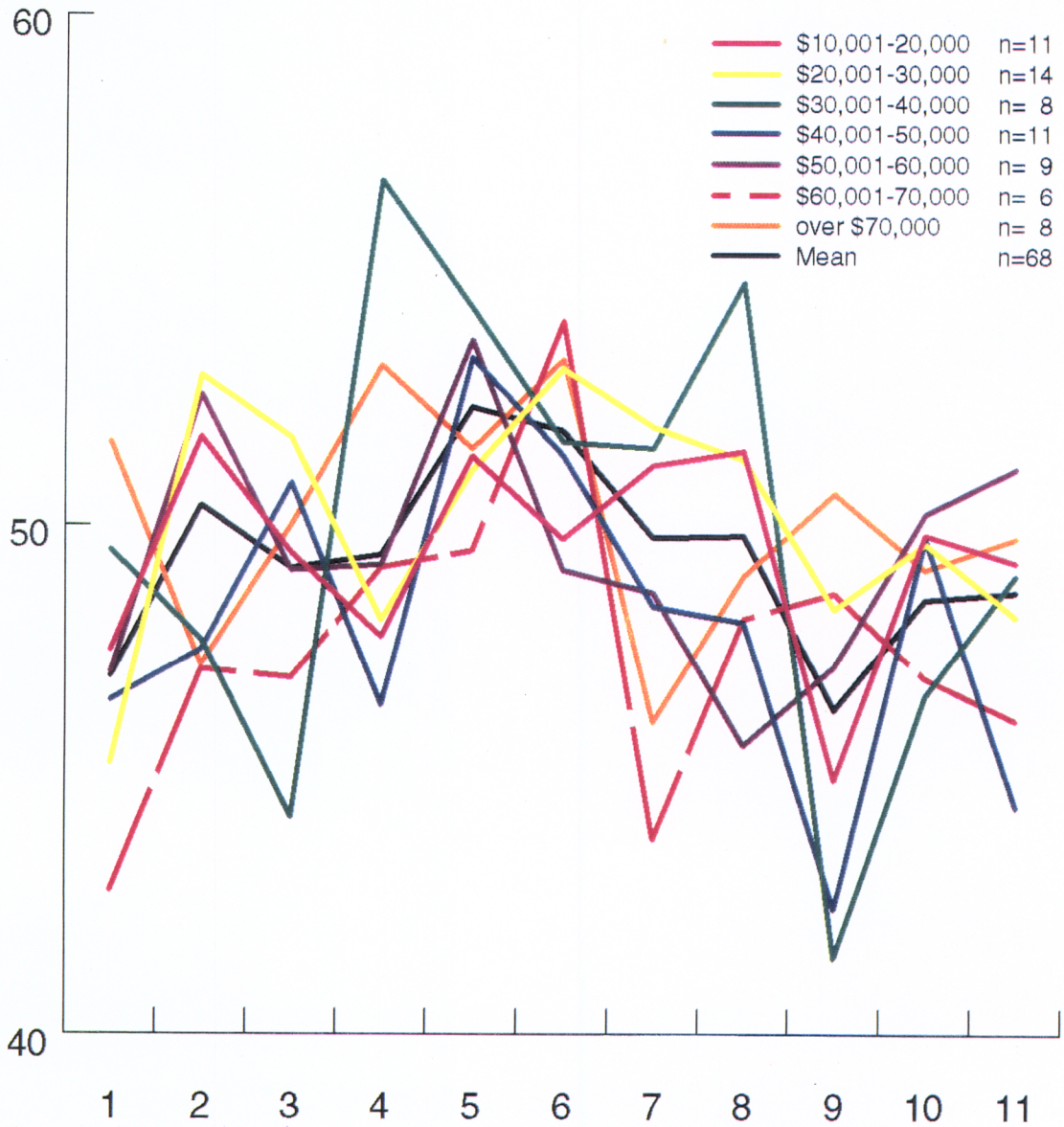


Figure 9 Jurors' Ratings of the Female Attorney's Credibility-Income-Specific

The clothing of the female attorney was considered with income of juror in a two-way ANOVA. When income of juror was analyzed with the clothing of the female attorney, income was not found to have a significant effect on jurors' evaluations of a female attorney's credibility, $F=1.179 @ p>.05$. However, results of two-way ANOVA between the clothing of the female attorney and income of jurors suggested that jurors evaluated the attorney's credibility differently based on the clothing of the female attorney, $F=2.232 @ p<.05$.

These findings imply that jurors' income level did not significantly effect their evaluation of the female attorney's credibility in that jurors with different income levels were not found to be significantly different from one another in terms of evaluations of a female attorney's credibility. Additionally, results showed that with respect to credibility the female attorneys were evaluated differently by the sample based on the clothing of the female attorney. Results suggest that jurors saw different levels of credibility in the garments. As a result of the findings from of the analyses performed **Hypothesis 2C was rejected**.

Table 4 shows the significant and non-significant relationships detected as a result of the statistical analyses. Table 5 shows the hypotheses and the decisions regarding the rejection of the hypotheses or the failure to reject the hypotheses.

Table 4 Significant & Non-significant Relationships

N Non-significant	C Color/Color Combinations	AC Attorney's Clothing
SG Significant	S Silhouette	G Gender of Juror
	I Interior Design Lines	A Age of Juror
		IC Income of Juror

Statistical Procedure	Credibility
two-way ANOVA S-C	SG
two-way ANOVA C-S	SG
Interaction	N
two-way ANOVA I-C	N
two-way ANOVA C-I	SG
Interaction	N
two-way ANOVA I-S	N
two-way ANOVA S-I	N
Interaction	N
two-way ANOVA G-CA	N
two-way ANOVA CA-G	SG
Interaction	N
two-way ANOVA CA-A	SG
two-way ANOVA A-CA	SG
Interaction	N
two-way ANOVA CA-IN	SG
two-way ANOVA IN-CA	N
Interaction	N
one-way ANOVA C	SG
one-way ANOVA S	N
one-way ANOVA I	N

Table 5 Hypotheses-Rejection & Failure to Reject

Hypothesis	Reject	Failure to Reject	Measurement @ p<.05
1		X	Descriptive Statistics
1A		X	one-way ANOVA
1B	X		one-way ANOVA
1C	X		one-way ANOVA
2A	X		two-way ANOVA
2B		X	two-way ANOVA
2C	X		two-way ANOVA

Summary of Results

Garments

The garment that was traditional in color, traditional in silhouette and moderately traditional in interior design lines, CtStIm (Attorney 5) was evaluated by jurors as the most credible (52.31). Following is a listing of the garments in order of credibility evaluations from highest to lowest. Attorney 5 received the highest credibility score, 52.31, Attorney 6, CtStIt received a credibility score of 51.85, followed by Attorneys 2, CmStIt, 50.38, and 8, CtSmIn, 49.79 respectively. Attorney 7, CnStIm, received a credibility score of 49.74 followed by Attorneys 4, CtSmIm, 49.41 and 3, CnStIt, 49.15. Attorney 11, CnSmIt, received a score of 48.68 while Attorneys 10, CnSnIn, and 1, CmSnIn, received credibility scores of 48.54 and 47.02. Attorney 9, CmStIm, received the lowest overall credibility rating with a score of 46.37.

Garment Components

Garment color was found to have a significant effect on jurors' evaluations of a female attorney's credibility based on a relationship between the color/color combinations of a female attorney's garment and jurors' evaluations of the female attorney's credibility, $F= 4.53 @ p<.05$. Neither silhouette nor interior design lines were found to have a significant effect on jurors' evaluations of a female attorneys' credibility as indicated by one-way ANOVA in which an F -value of 2.735 @ $p>.05$ was reported for silhouette and an F -value of 1.600 @ $p>.05$ was reported for interior design lines. However, silhouette was perceived to have a greater effect than interior design lines based on the two-way ANOVA with color, $F=5.466 @ p<.05$.

Juror Demographic Characteristics

When juror demographics were each individually paired with the clothing of the attorney, only the jurors' age made a significant difference in jurors' evaluations of the female attorney's credibility. Gender of the juror was not found to have a significant effect on evaluations of a female attorney's credibility as evidenced by two-way ANOVA with the clothing of the female attorney, $F=.187 @ p>.05$. Findings revealed that jurors' age had a significant effect on evaluations of a female attorney's credibility. Jurors from different age groups evaluated the female attorney's differently in terms of credibility, $F=10.045 @ p<.05$. Jurors with different incomes were not significantly different from one another in terms of evaluations of the female attorney's credibility, $F=1.179 @ p>.05$.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Discussion of Results

The garment combination CtStIm, (Attorney 5) which was traditional in color and silhouette and moderately traditional in interior design lines was evaluated as the most credible by jurors. The garment was a charcoal gray, long-sleeved, collarless jacket (not buttoned) with a jewel neckline and a white blouse with a jewel neckline underneath. It was expected that this garment would receive the highest credibility evaluation based on observations of actual female courtroom attorneys, the advice of attorneys and image consultants and literature which recommend the wearing of traditional, conservative, garments, the wearing of garments which are not distracting to an audience, and the wearing of garments which do not show a large amount of skin (Anderson, 1994; Bendelow, 1987; Harp, Stretch, & Harp, 1981; Heiman, 1993; Higbie, 1994; Lind et al., 1984; O'Neal & Lapitsky, 1991; Sannito & McGovern, 1985; Smith & Melandro, 1985; and Wells, 1985).

Color was discovered to be the component of a female attorney's garment that had a significant impact on jurors' evaluations of a female attorney's credibility. Two-way ANOVA with both silhouette and interior design lines revealed that color had a significant effect on jurors' evaluations of a female attorney's credibility. Furthermore, one-way ANOVA indicated that color had a significant effect on jurors' evaluations of a female attorney's credibility. This was expected and as a result of this expectation, during the initial planning stages of the study, color was the component given the most consideration in that it was the first component of a garment to be evaluated when categorizing the

garments. In addition, color was evaluated first in terms of developing a method for the classification/categorization of the garments to be used in the study.

Two-way ANOVA between silhouette and color indicated that silhouette also had a significant effect on jurors' evaluations of a female attorney's credibility. However, two-way ANOVA between silhouette and interior design lines did not reveal a significant effect nor did one-way ANOVA. It is possible that color accounted for a large percentage of the variance in two-way ANOVA with silhouette. This is evidenced by the findings from ANOVAs conducted for color in which color was consistently shown to have a significant impact on jurors' evaluations of the female attorney's credibility. In contrast, silhouette was not shown to have a significant impact in any other ANOVAs except with color.

With respect to interior design lines, neither two-way ANOVA nor one-way ANOVA revealed a significant effect for interior design lines on jurors' evaluations of a female attorney's credibility. The findings for silhouette and interior design lines were partially expected in that both were thought to exert some influence on jurors' evaluations of a female attorney's credibility. However, neither silhouette nor interior design lines were expected to exert as much of an influence as color. As such, both received consideration during the initial classification/categorizations of the garments used in the study. All garments were evaluated in terms of color, silhouette, and interior design lines. On the basis of the research findings, of the three garment components evaluated, color which demonstrated significance in all tests was considered to be the strongest predictor of jurors' credibility evaluations, followed by silhouette which demonstrated significance in one test and interior design lines which showed no significance in any test. The findings of this study support various tenets of Person Perception Theory. As indicated in Person Perception Theory, an individual may use the clothing of an observed person to make decisions about the observed person. The findings from the present study suggest that

jurors used the clothing of the female attorneys to make judgments regarding the credibility of the attorney.

The garment that received the highest credibility evaluation was, as expected, traditional in both color and silhouette and moderately traditional in interior design lines. Three of the four garments that were rated the most credible were traditional in both color and silhouette. This, too, was expected as a result of findings from previous studies (Harp, Stretch & Harp, 1981; Lind et al., 1984; O'Neal & Lapitsky, 1991). It should also be noted that the four combinations that received the highest credibility evaluations, 5, CtStIm, 6, CtStIt, 2, CmStIt, and 8, CtSmIn, all had a white blouse visible under a darker outer garment. This garment combination of a white shirt worn beneath a dark outer garment is reminiscent of the traditional male business suit. As a result jurors may have extrapolated impressions of credibility typically associated with the male business suit to the female attorney wearing a similar, albeit female version of the male business suit. The researchers noted this combination of a dark outer garment and white blouse beneath during the initial classification of these garments. The findings further suggest that color can be considered the garment component that permits the least amount of manipulation with regard to conveying impressions of credibility i.e., manipulating from traditional to moderately traditional or non-traditional.

Of the four garments that received the highest credibility evaluations, variations from traditional occurred once in color to moderately traditional, once in silhouette to moderately traditional and twice in interior design lines, once to moderately traditional and once to non-traditional. Three of the four most credible garments were traditional in color suggesting that jurors perceive traditional colors as more credible than moderately traditional or non-traditional colors. The same may be said of silhouette. The component that seemed to exert the least amount of influence on credibility evaluations was the

interior design lines, suggesting that interior design lines may be slightly modified without risk of negatively influencing credibility evaluations.

In addition, the top four garments in terms of credibility evaluations shared a common thread in that each garment consisted of a white blouse worn beneath a darker outer garment. This combination of colors is reminiscent of the traditional male business suit that pairs a white or light colored shirt with a darker jacket. It may also be noted that Attorney 8, CtSmIn, which received the fourth highest credibility evaluation, (white blouse worn beneath a black vest) received higher credibility evaluations from younger jurors, 26-35 and 36-45 year-olds. This suggests that younger jurors perceived this garment as more credible than did older jurors, possibly due to the contemporary look of the vest/shirt combination. In addition, it is possible that jurors who rated this garment as more credible may have done so because they believed that the wearer had removed the jacket in order to "get to work". Conversely, it is possible that jurors who rated this garment as less credible may have viewed the removal of the jacket as too casual or informal and therefore less credible.

Of the three demographic characteristics of jurors that were considered in the study, age was the characteristic in which the most significant effect was noted with regard to evaluations of credibility based on clothing. However, it was not expected that age would be the only characteristic to show a significant effect on jurors' evaluations of a female attorney's credibility. Gender and income level were both expected to be influential as well based on the findings of Lind et al., (1984) and Gizzi (1979). Person Perception Theory also suggests that gender may make a difference in terms of judgments regarding an observed person. According to Person Perception Theory, females tend to be more likely to draw inferences than males (Taguiri, 1954, chap. 5). On the basis of this it seemed likely that females would view clothing differently than males in terms of the impressions

being conveyed. However, as previously stated, male and female jurors were not found to be significantly different from one another in terms of evaluations of a female attorney's credibility, nor were jurors with different income levels. Again, these findings were not expected as Gizzi (1979) had found all three demographic characteristics, gender, age, and income level, to have significant effects on evaluations of a female attorney based on clothing. However, it is possible that in the last ten years (Lind study took place in 1984), jurors' impressions of women's role in the work force and jurors' impressions of women's appearance in the workplace may have changed. As a result, the genders may have more or less consistent ideas regarding the professional appearance of female attorneys. In addition, the difference between jurors' impressions of credibility and authority may have affected how jurors evaluated a female attorney. In the study by Gizzi in 1979 and in the study by Lind et al. in 1984 female attorneys were interested in sending authority messages while in 1995, both male and female attorneys were interested in sending impressions of credibility.

There are several relevant findings from this study. First, it has been shown that clothing exerts an influence on evaluations of a female attorney's credibility, as evidenced by ANOVA in which the clothing of the female attorney was evaluated differently in terms of credibility. Color was found to be the most salient component of a female attorney's garment followed by silhouette and interior design lines. As a result, color can be considered the garment component that permits the least amount of manipulation with regard to conveying impressions of credibility while interior design lines are the most manipulatable without disturbing the credibility judgment. For example colors should remain in the traditional category, i.e., charcoal and navy. Interior design lines may be more varied to include dresses or tops that do not open at center front and garments that have asymmetrical openings. Second, when considering the gender, age, and income level

of jurors, age of juror was determined to be the demographic characteristic of jurors that differentiated judgments of a female attorney's credibility. As such, female attorneys may consider the age of the juror when selecting courtroom apparel in an effort to select the apparel that will convey positive impressions of the attorney's credibility to the target age group.

Both designers and manufacturers with professional women as their target market, in particular female attorneys, should produce garments that are traditional in both color and silhouette and varied in interior design lines. As indicated previously, female attorneys have indicated difficulties associated with purchasing appropriate courtroom apparel. In order to meet the needs of this market, designers/manufacturers may use the findings and information provided by this study.

Recommendations for Future Study

Future studies may obtain a larger sample in order to provide additional information. This could be accomplished by using registered voters as the subjects as potential jurors are selected from registered voters. The research could also be conducted in various geographical regions simultaneously in order to determine if there are differences in credibility evaluations based on where jurors live and/or work. Urban versus rural locations could also be considered. Additional demographics of jurors could also be considered, for example occupation or ethnic background. Additional garment combinations could be considered as opposed to the 11 tested in the present study. Specific types of attorneys could also be evaluated, e.g., defense versus prosecution. In addition, male and female attorneys' clothing could be evaluated simultaneously.

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CHAPTER 7

JOURNAL MANUSCRIPT

Designing Courtroom Apparel for Female Attorneys: Clothing, Credibility and Jurors

Due to the immense amount of publicity generated by several recent court cases as well as the advent of televised courtroom proceedings, female attorneys' apparel in the courtroom has received much attention. Lind, Boles, Hinkle, & Gizzi (1984) indicated that female attorneys in first impression situations face difficult decisions regarding the selection of courtroom attire that conveys impressions of their authority to the jury. More recently, interviews conducted in the Fall of 1992 with female law students attending universities in the eastern United States revealed a problem with regard to the availability of appropriate courtroom attire. Designers and manufacturers may be unaware of female attorneys' specific needs with regard to appropriate courtroom apparel. This study proposed to develop some criteria for the design of such apparel by asking jurors to evaluate the credibility of the wearer based on the garments.

As jurors make the ultimate decision in American courtrooms, they were selected as the most appropriate evaluators of the effect of an attorney's courtroom apparel. Two previous studies in a series of studies that have used jurors as evaluators of attorneys' character through clothing variations have also found that various juror demographics affect evaluations. Gizzi (1979) considered jurors' age, gender, education level and income level and evaluated their influence on perceptions of a female attorney's authority based on clothing. Findings of the study revealed significant differences related to age, gender, and income level. Lind et al. (1984) also found a significant difference in jurors' ratings attributable to age and gender.

Conversations with 40 partners in a large Honolulu law firm revealed that in the 90s, impressions of credibility concerned both genders. As such, credibility was selected as the message to be measured in this study. Numerous studies have attempted to show the influence of clothing and appearance on the perception of personality as well as on the perception of character traits (Damhorst, 1990; Damhorst & Reed, (1986); Davis, 1987; Forsythe, 1988; Lennon, 1988; Lind et al., 1984). Studies on the specific character trait of credibility of various message sources have shown that source attire influences impressions of credibility (Bassett, 1979; Birnbaum, 1984; Harp, Stretch & Harp, 1981; O'Neal & Lapitsky, 1991; Wells, 1985).

Many of the recommendations regarding the selection of courtroom attire come from secondary and popular sources that are often the result of clinical experience and behavioral expertise in psychology. The following recommendations come from literature based on clinical experience. Matlon (1985) recommends that an attorney's apparel should convey a combined image of professionalism and warmth according to the personality of the attorney. Neatness and good grooming habits are also recommended as enhancers of credibility. Sannito and McGovern (1985), postulated that an attorney's image of efficiency begins with clothing. Attorneys are advised to wear well-tailored garments to convey impressions of skill and precision. When viewing an attorney who is meticulously dressed and well groomed, the observer may deduce that the attorney is methodical and meticulous in preparations as well (Sannito & McGovern, 1985, p.179). Smith & Melandro (1985) authors of a book addressing communication in the courtroom also recommend a traditional, conservative appearance.

Theoretical Framework

Social cognition, which refers to the use of cognitive process when interacting with other persons, is of particular interest in that social cognition seeks to explain how persons assimilate information received from stimuli in order to make decisions regarding the stimuli. Person Perception Theory, one aspect of social cognition, addresses the process by which an individual knows and thinks about others, specifically how one knows and thinks about another person's characteristics. Person perception involves three types of variables: observer, object person, and context or situation. Normally, an observer uses more than one attribute or cue to make inferences about an individual or situation.

The observer (juror) was asked to make assessments about an object person (stimulus female attorney) in a particular context or situation (courtroom setting). The juror may pay particular attention to the perceived intentions of the attorney. In addition, the assessments of the juror may also be influenced by observer variables, such as their own gender, their age, their income, their perception of the role of the attorney, and any prior knowledge or feelings they have for female attorneys. Object person variables may also influence assessments by the jurors. As a result of this, all variables except clothing were held constant on the female attorney (object person). The context in this study was also held constant.

Colors, silhouettes and interior design lines of actual courtroom garments worn by female attorneys were replicated on a stimulus attorney and then analyzed to determine their effects on juror's perceptions of the attorneys' credibility. The results provide designers with garment criteria and female attorneys with decision making information when selecting courtroom apparel.

Objectives

This research has the following objectives: (1) The determination of female attorney's garments and the components thereof which specifically communicate impressions of credibility to the juror. The garments used in the research were drawings of actual garments worn by female attorneys in United States courtrooms during 1993 and 1994. (2) The determination of the existence of a relationship between jurors' demographic characteristics (age, gender, and yearly household income level) and jurors' perceptions of the credibility of female attorneys with respect to the attorney's clothing.

METHODOLOGY

The Jurors as Observers

The subjects comprising the sample had formerly served as jurors. A list was obtained which contained the names of those individuals selected as prospective jurors from 1993-1994. Those individuals selected as prospective jurors from 1993-1994 that were living or working within a 25 mile radius of the Virginia Tech campus were contacted by the primary researcher to determine if the individual had actually served as a juror.

The sample was composed of 38 females and 30 males. Two jurors indicated their age to be between 18-25, 18 jurors indicated their age to be between 26-35, 18 jurors indicated their age to be between 36-45, 15 jurors indicated their age to be between 46-55, 11 jurors indicated their age to be between 56-65, and 4 jurors indicated their age to be over 65. With regard to income level, 1 juror indicated an income level of less than \$10,000/year, 11 jurors indicated an income level between \$10,001-20,000/year, 14 jurors indicated an income level between \$20,001-30,000/year, 8 jurors indicated an income level of \$30,001-40,000/year, 11 jurors indicated an income level between \$40,001-50,000/year,

9 jurors indicated an income level between \$50,001-60,000/year, 6 jurors indicated an income level between \$60,001-70,000/year and 8 jurors indicated an income level greater than \$70,001/year.

The Instrument for Measuring Credibility

Credibility of the message source was the dependent variable in the study. The first page of the questionnaire addressed juror demographics, gender, age, and income level. Pages 2-12 each consisted of a picture of the same female attorney (Caucasian, average build, above-the-shoulder-length, medium brown hair) wearing one of the 11 garments selected for use in the study, and a semantic differential scale to evaluate credibility. Eleven sets of bipolar adjectives patterned after those used by Bassett in a 1979 study of source credibility based on source attire were used in the present study. Modifications were made to customize the instrument for use with the jury members. Since a potential juror is selected from all registered voters, the authors chose to view the reading level as eighth grade which is the standard practice of newspapers and the extension service in their publications which also target the general population. The word *powerless* replaced the word *impotent* from Bassett's study to clarify the definition. Additionally, the words *inexpert/expert* were replaced by *inexperienced/experienced*. The eleven sets of bipolar adjectives from the present study were as follows: unqualified-qualified, meek-aggressive, unjust-just, powerless-powerful, inexperienced-experienced, tense-relaxed, timid-bold, bad-good, awful-nice, unfriendly-friendly and anxious-calm. Each set of bipolar adjectives was separated by the following adverbs, extremely, quite, slightly, neutral, slightly, quite, and extremely (see Appendix for a copy of the instrument). The order of appearance of the attorneys was varied from juror to juror to prevent the order of appearance from having an effect on credibility evaluations.

The stimulus attorney was developed in the following manner. In July of 1994, Court TV, a cable television company that broadcasts court cases, was contacted to determine which cases within the last two years had been tried by female lawyers and had been made into trial stories. Trial stories are condensed videos of actual courtroom cases generally of one to two hours in duration. The Menendez and Bobbit cases as well as the Simpson pre-trial hearing had all been made into trial stories and had been tried by female lawyers. There were three female lawyers in the Menendez case, two in the Bobbit case and one in the Simpson hearing.

Copies were acquired of all three trial stories in order to obtain views of the garments worn by actual female lawyers in actual courtroom trials. These views were then replicated on a stimulus attorney for use in the study. As the actual trial of the Simpson case was beginning in September of 1994 and no trial story was available at the time of data collection, taped portions of national coverage of the Simpson case were also used to obtain garments to be used in the study.

In order to hold nonverbal communication cues other than clothing constant, i.e., hair style/color, make-up, facial expression, posture/body language, jewelry, a stimulus lawyer was developed using a graphics computer. The stimulus attorney was Caucasian as were all of the female attorneys in the three trial stories mentioned, had an average build and had medium brown, above-the-shoulder-length hair (average color and length). Although policies may vary among courtrooms, in the trial stories used, the attorney typically stood behind a podium. As a result, the stimulus attorney was shown behind a podium to simulate the context of the three trial stories.

Garments worn by the six female attorneys on the three trial story tapes purchased from Court TV were examined. The garments selected were shown in such a manner that

front upper body views of the garment were visible and could be re-drawn on the stimulus attorney behind the podium.

Each tape was previewed and initial observations of the possible garments to be used in the study were made. A slow motion Video Cassette Recorder (VCR) was used to obtain views of usable garments. Forty-seven total garments were deemed usable: Menendez (33), Bobbit (4), Simpson trial story and national news coverage (10).

Once the 47 garments that were deemed usable had been identified, the silhouettes and interior design lines of each garment were drawn on the stimulus lawyer. These black and white drawings/duplications were then scanned into a CAD graphics computer design system. After the drawings were stored in the computer, necessary silhouette or interior design line corrections were made to the garments and color was added.

The garments were then analyzed in order to develop operational definitions that were used to categorize and describe the garments and components thereof. Three common components were identified in each of the garments: color/color combinations, silhouette, and interior design lines. In addition, each of the three components was analyzed and three classifications were developed for the components: traditional, moderately traditional, and non-traditional. The conceptual framework for these designations parallels the terms *traditional* with masculine and *non-traditional* with feminine placing *moderately traditional* between the two. In the development of the definitions of each component, traditional, moderately traditional and non-traditional qualities were conceived in terms of the traditional male business suit. For example, traditional colors/color combinations are those which are considered typical male business suit colors/color combinations e.g., navy, charcoal. The following operational definitions were derived to evaluate and sort the garments.

Color/Color Combination of Garments

Traditional colors were brown, navy and neutrals (except white). Moderately traditional colors referred to shades and hues of colors other than neutrals. Non-traditional colors were tints of non-neutral colors, and white. Printed or patterned surfaces were also considered non-traditional. In addition, a garment's initial color/color combination classification of either traditional or moderately traditional was altered to non-traditional if the color combination of the jacket and blouse reversed the typical male business suit, e.g., darker outer garment worn with a lighter shirt or blouse.

Silhouette of Garments

The silhouette of a garment refers to the outline of a garment. A traditional silhouette refers to a garment with long, straight sleeves, and non-waist defining jackets. A moderately traditional silhouette is a garment with long, straight or shirt-type sleeves, and slightly waist defining jackets. A non-traditional silhouette refers to a garment with other types and lengths of sleeves, and waist defining jackets or tops.

Interior Design Lines of Garments

Interior design lines were the structural lines within the silhouette of a garment. Traditional interior design lines were jackets with lapels, a collar and set-in sleeves. Moderately traditional interior design lines are other jackets, tops that look like jackets from the waist up with front openings, and/or necklines below the midpoint of the upper chest. Non-traditional interior design lines refer to dresses or tops that do not open at center front as do jackets, garments without front openings, and/or garments with asymmetrical openings.

The following paragraph addresses additional operational definitions used in the study. *Credibility* refers to the ability to inspire belief in another. *Potency*, which refers to the ability to achieve a particular result, *character*, which refers to the disposition of an individual, and *competence* which pertains to having adequate abilities or qualities, are all considered components of credibility. *Structural lines* are the stitched seams, gathers, pleats, darts, and tucks of a garment that give the garment its shape.

Following the completion of the garment evaluations, the operational definitions were applied and each garment was assigned a six-letter code reflecting the classification (traditional [t], moderately traditional [m], and non-traditional [n]) of each garment category (color/color combination [C], silhouette [S], interior design lines [I]). For example, if a garment was traditional in terms of color/color combination, non-traditional in silhouette and moderately traditional in interior design lines, the code would be: CtSnIm.

Seventeen six-letter code groups existed following the initial sorting. Eleven of the 17 groups had at least two garments corresponding to the six-letter code. On the basis of this finding, it was decided that 11 garments would be evaluated by jurors in the study in order to maintain jurors' target completion time of the questionnaire, 15-20 minutes. Each of the 17 six-letter code groups was evaluated and it was determined that a group was to be eliminated if it were similar to or closely resembled another group. As a result of these evaluations, 11 groups remained and the six groups that were deemed duplicates were eliminated.

Once the 11 six-letter groups to be represented in the study had been selected, each group was independently evaluated to select the garment to represent the group. The first step in this process was to eliminate within-group duplications. If two or more garments within a group were similar, the garment with a distinguishing characteristic was selected

and the other was eliminated from consideration for use in the study. For example, if two navy suits were similar but one had a blouse with a plain shirt collar and the other had a collar with a decorative edge, the latter was selected. After duplications were eliminated, the garment that was deemed the most representative of each group was selected to represent the group. In addition, an effort was made to ensure that each classification was represented at least once in the study, i.e., Ct, Cm, Cn, St, Sm, Sn, It, Im, and In.

The combinations that were selected to be used in the study were: CmSnIn, CmStIt, CnStIt, CtSmIm, CtStIm, CtStIt, CnStIm, CtSmIn, CmStIm, CnSnIn, and CnSmIt. Figures 1-4 show the 11 clothing combinations of the female attorney, the six-letter identification code and the corresponding numbers, 1-11.



Attorney 1

CmSnIn

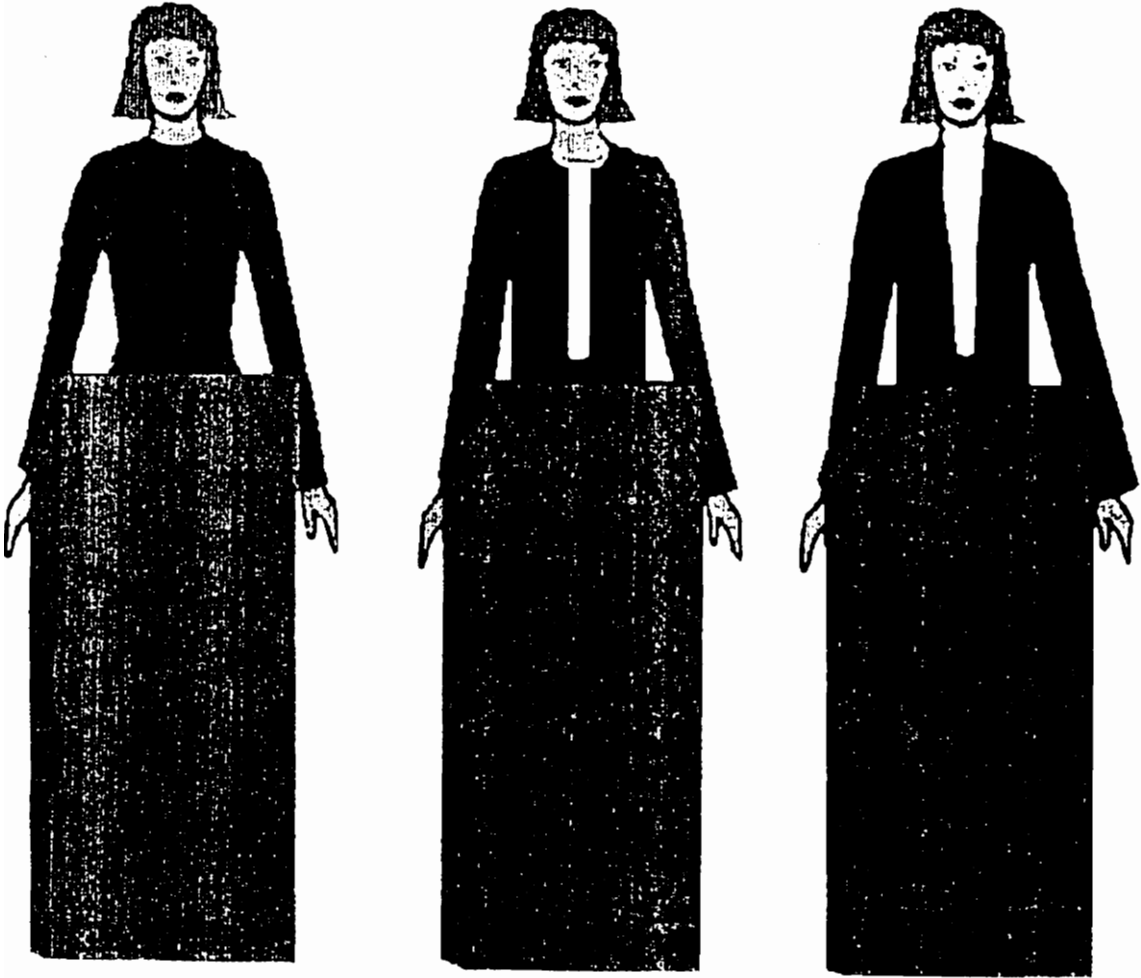
Attorney 2

CmStIt

Attorney 3

CnStIt

Figure 1 Images of Attorneys 1-3 and Six Letter Identification Codes



Attorney 4

CtSmIm

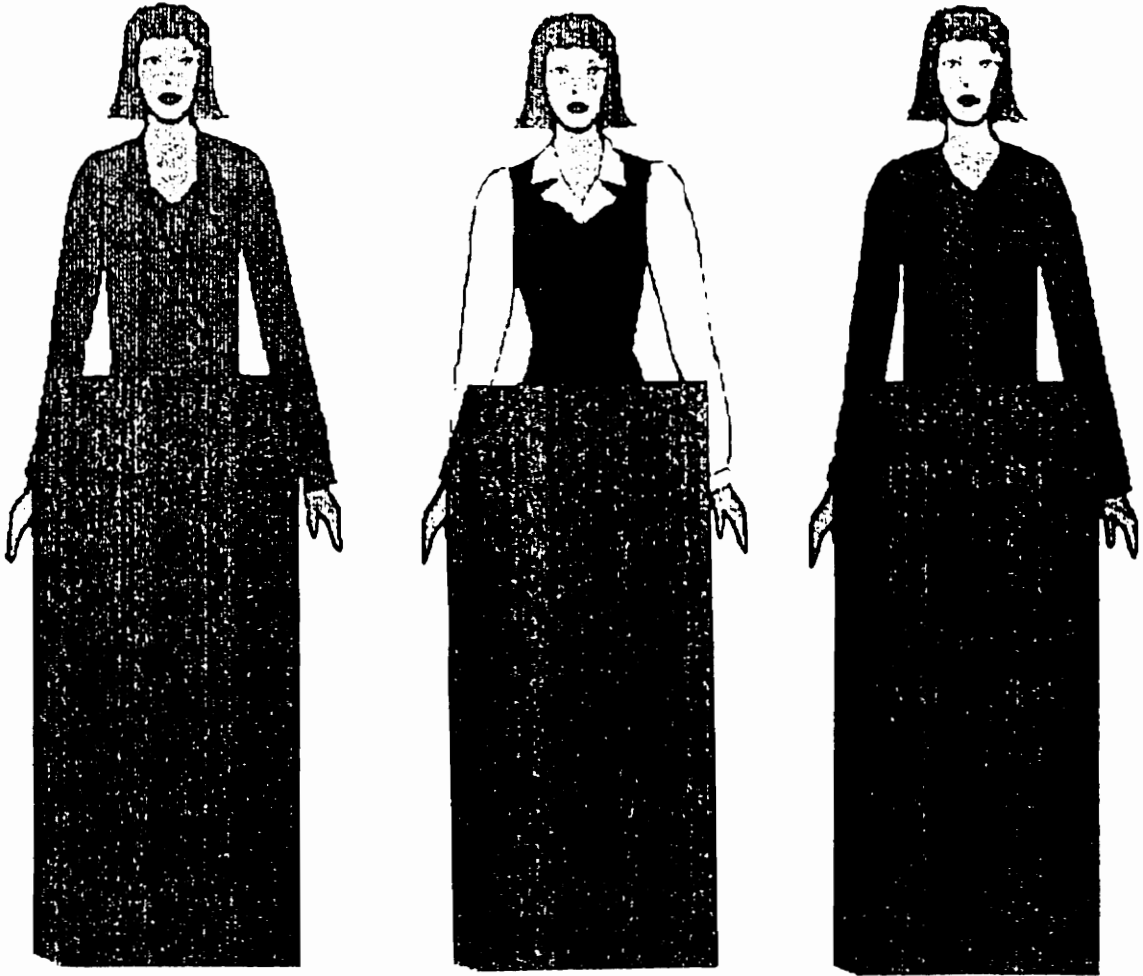
Attorney 5

CtStIm

Attorney 6

CtStIt

Figure 2 Images of Attorneys 4-6 and Six Letter Identification Codes



Attorney 7

CnStIm

Attorney 8

CtSmIn

Attorney 9

CmStIm

Figure 3 Images of Attorneys 7-9 and Six Letter Identification Codes



Attorney 10

CnSnIn

Attorney 11

CnSmIt

Figure 4 Images of Attorneys 10 & 11 and Six Letter Identification Codes

Garment 1 was classified as moderately traditional in color and non-traditional in silhouette and interior design lines, CmSnIn. The garment was a fitted, forest green dress with a jewel neckline and long, full sleeves that were fitted at the wrist. **Garment 2** was classified as moderately traditional in color and traditional in silhouette and interior design lines, CmStIt. The garment was an olive green, double breasted, long-sleeved jacket with a notched collar worn with a white jewel neck blouse. **Garment 3** was classified as non-traditional in color and traditional in silhouette and interior design lines, CnStIt. The garment was a royal blue, long sleeved jacket (not buttoned) worn with a notched collar and a black shell with a slightly scooped neckline. **Garment 4** was classified as traditional in color and moderately traditional in silhouette and interior design lines, CtSmIm. The garment was a black, fitted, long-sleeved jacket with a jewel neckline and a center front button closure. **Garment 5** was classified as traditional in color and silhouette and moderately traditional in interior design lines, CtStIm. The garment was a charcoal gray, long-sleeved, collarless jacket (not buttoned) with a jewel neckline worn with a white blouse with a jewel neckline. **Garment 6** was classified as traditional in color, silhouette and interior design lines, CtStIt. The garment was a navy blue, long-sleeved jacket (not buttoned) with a notched collar worn with a white, turtleneck blouse. **Garment 7** was classified as non-traditional in color, traditional in silhouette and moderately traditional in interior design lines, CnStIm. The garment was a deep fuchsia, long-sleeved, double breasted jacket worn with a fuchsia blouse with a slightly lowered, scoop neck. **Garment 8** was classified as traditional in color, moderately traditional in silhouette and non-traditional in interior design lines, CtSmIn. The garment was a semi-fitted, black, v-neck vest worn with a white v-neck, notched collar blouse with long, full sleeves fitted at the wrist. **Garment 9** was classified as moderately traditional in color, traditional in silhouette, and moderately traditional in interior design lines, CmStIm. The garment was a red, long-

sleeved, v-neck jacket with two patch pockets and a center front button closure. **Garment 10** was classified as non-traditional in color, silhouette, and interior design lines CnSnIn. The garment was a fitted, navy blue and forest green plaid dress with a navy blue, traditional shirt collar. The dress also had buttons along the princess lines of the bodice and long, full sleeves that were fitted at the wrist. **Garment 11** was classified as non-traditional in color, moderately traditional in silhouette, and traditional in interior design lines, CnSmIt. The garment was a slightly fitted, long-sleeved, double breasted loden jacket. The jacket was worn with a black scoop-neck shell and a black, gold and loden print scarf that was tied at choker level on the neck.

Data Collection

If a juror agreed to participate in the study, an appointment was scheduled with a trained data collector in order for the juror to complete the questionnaire. A trained data collector administered the questionnaire which contained written instructions regarding completion of the questionnaire. The trained data collector was also available to answer jurors' questions. However, data collectors had been instructed to answer questions in an unbiased manner in order to avoid influencing jurors' responses to the questionnaire.

DATA ANALYSES

A mixed research design was employed. Statistics included descriptive statistics, two-way ANOVA, and one-way ANOVA. Descriptive statistics were used to rank the attorney's garments in terms of credibility. Credibility rankings were mean scores of each composite garment. ANOVAs, both one-way and two-way, were used to determine whether there was a significant relationship between credibility and any of the garment components (color/color combinations, silhouette, interior design lines).

A full range test was used in two-way ANOVA between color and silhouette in which a 3x3 factorial design was employed. A partial test was used in two-way ANOVA between color and interior design lines and between silhouette and interior design lines in which a 2x2 factorial design was utilized. A partial test was necessary because all possible combinations of interior design lines were not represented. Therefore a 3x3 factorial design was not possible permitting only a partial testing.

The total garments were evaluated in two-way ANOVA with jurors' gender, age, and income level. These analyses were performed to determine the existence of relationships between jurors' gender, age, and income level and jurors' perceptions of the credibility of the attorney based on the attorney's clothing.

RESULTS

Seventy-four questionnaires were administered. Of the 74 questionnaires administered, 68 were deemed usable. The remaining 6 were eliminated due to inadequacy of information, yielding a 92% response rate.

Credibility

On the basis of jurors' responses on the semantic differential scale, mean scores indicated that attorney 5, CtStIm, was rated the highest with regard to credibility evaluations based on clothing and attorney 11, CnSmIt, was rated the lowest. A garment traditional in color/color combinations and silhouette with moderately traditional interior design lines was considered the most credible by former jurors. The top four garments in terms of credibility evaluations were: CtStIm (Attorney 5), CtStIt (Attorney 6), CmStIt (Attorney 2), and CtSmIn (Attorney 8). The garments in the middle range were CnStIm (Attorney 7), CtSmIm (Attorney 4), CnStIt (Attorney 3), and CnSmIt (Attorney 11). The garments that received the lowest credibility evaluations were CnSnIn (Attorney 10), CmSnIn (Attorney 1), and CmStIm (Attorney 9). Images of all of the attorneys are shown in Figures 1-4, pp. 80-83.

Garment Components

Results of two-way ANOVA between the color and silhouette of the garment revealed that color of the garment had a significant effect on jurors' evaluations of the female attorney's credibility, $F=5.466 @ p<.05$. This finding indicates that jurors evaluated the credibility of the female attorney differently based on the color of the attorney's garment. Two-way ANOVA between color and interior design lines of a female attorney's garment again showed color to have a significant effect on juror's evaluations of

a female attorney's credibility, $F=3.702 @ p<.05$. This finding also suggests that the color of a female attorney's garment affected jurors' evaluations of a female attorney's credibility.

One-way ANOVA was also performed in order to individually evaluate the effect of color, silhouette and interior design lines of a female attorney's garment on jurors' evaluations of a female attorney's credibility. Results of one-way ANOVA for color yielded an F -value of $4.53 @ p<.05$. These ANOVAs indicate that the color of a female attorney's garment had a significant impact on jurors' evaluations of the female attorney's credibility.

Silhouette of a female attorney's garment was analyzed in conjunction with color and with interior design lines in two-way ANOVA. Two-way ANOVA with color indicated a significant effect for silhouette upon jurors' evaluations of a female attorney's credibility, $F=5.153 @ p < .05$. However, it was not found to have a significant effect on evaluations of a female attorney's credibility either in two-way ANOVA with interior design lines, $F=.919 @ p>.05$, or in one-way ANOVA, $F=2.735 @ p>.05$. It is possible that color accounted for a large percentage of the variance in two-way ANOVA with silhouette. This is evidenced by the findings from ANOVAs conducted for color in which color was consistently shown to have a significant impact on jurors' evaluations of the female attorney's credibility. In contrast silhouette was not shown to have a significant impact in any other ANOVAs except with color.

Interior design lines were evaluated in conjunction with both color and silhouette of a female attorney's garment in two-way ANOVA as well as in one-way ANOVA. None of the analyses revealed significant effects for interior design lines on jurors' evaluations of a female attorney's credibility. The following F -values were calculated for interior design lines corresponding to analysis with color, analysis with silhouette and one-way ANOVA,

$F=1.465$, $F=.012$, and $F=1.600$ @ $p>.05$. Results indicated that the interior design lines of a female attorney's garment did not have a significant influence on jurors' evaluations of a female attorney's credibility.

The relationship between the interior design lines of a female attorney's garment and jurors' evaluations of the female attorney's credibility could not be fully tested because the research design did not accommodate complete testing. The research design was, in effect, self-limiting in that in order to allow the jurors' target completion time to remain within 15-20 minutes, all possible three-digit garment combinations were not represented. Those garment combinations that were selected for use in the study were selected on the basis of their representativeness and their contribution to the study.

Juror Demographics

Evaluations of the female attorney's credibility in terms of jurors' demographic characteristics, gender, age and income level.

Results of two-way ANOVA between the individual clothing of the female attorneys and jurors' **gender** on jurors' evaluations of the female attorney's credibility yielded F -values of 2.502 @ $p<.05$ and $.187$ @ $p > .05$. These findings suggest that the individual clothing of the female attorney had an impact on jurors' evaluations of the attorney's credibility based on clothing whereas the jurors' gender did not. In other words as a sample, the jurors saw a difference in the credibility of the attorney based on clothing. However, the gender of the juror did not have a significant impact on jurors' credibility evaluations of the female attorney. Results of the gender-specific rankings of the female attorneys are shown in Figure 5.

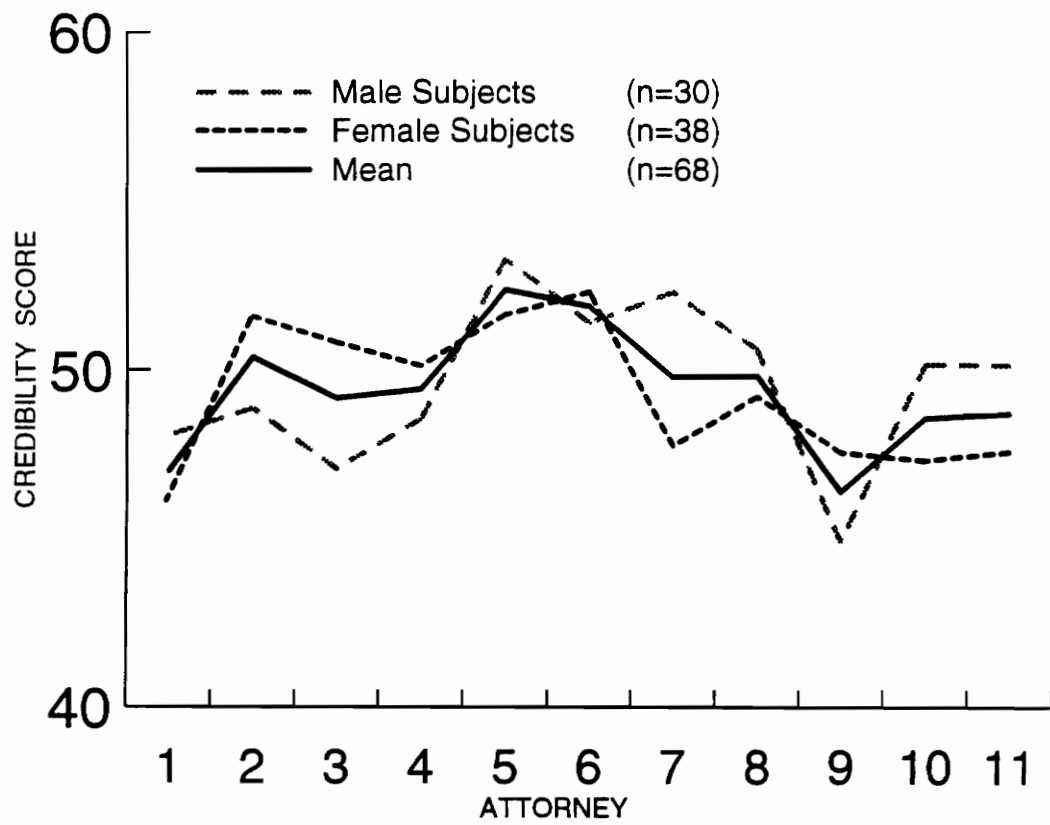


Figure 5 Jurors' Ratings of the Female Attorney's Credibility-Gender-Specific

The individual clothing of the female attorneys was also analyzed in relation to jurors' **age** in terms of credibility evaluations. Findings from two-way ANOVA indicated that the individual clothing of the female attorney did not have a significant impact on jurors' evaluations of a female attorney's credibility, $F=1.310 @ p>.05$, while jurors' age did, $F=3.278 @ p<.05$. These findings imply that at least one age group evaluated the female attorneys differently than another group in terms of credibility. In effect, jurors from different age groups evaluated the credibility of the female attorney differently based on the clothing of the female attorney. The youngest age group (18-25) and the oldest (over 65) were eliminated from consideration as each group contained fewer than five jurors. Figure 6 shows the age-specific rankings of the female attorneys and Figure 7 shows the top three attorneys in terms of credibility evaluations by each age group.

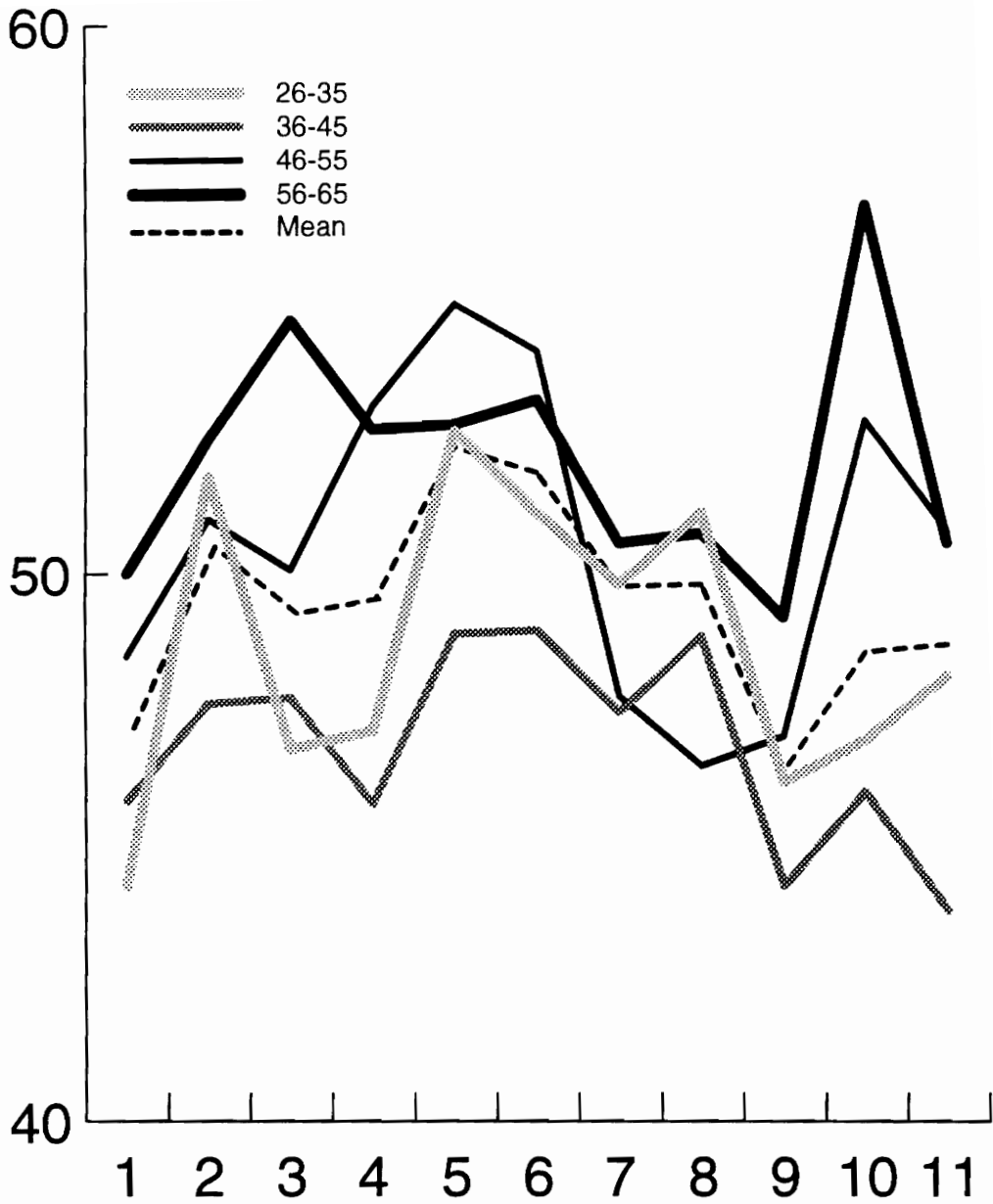


Figure 6 Jurors' Ratings of the Female Attorney's Credibility-Age Specific

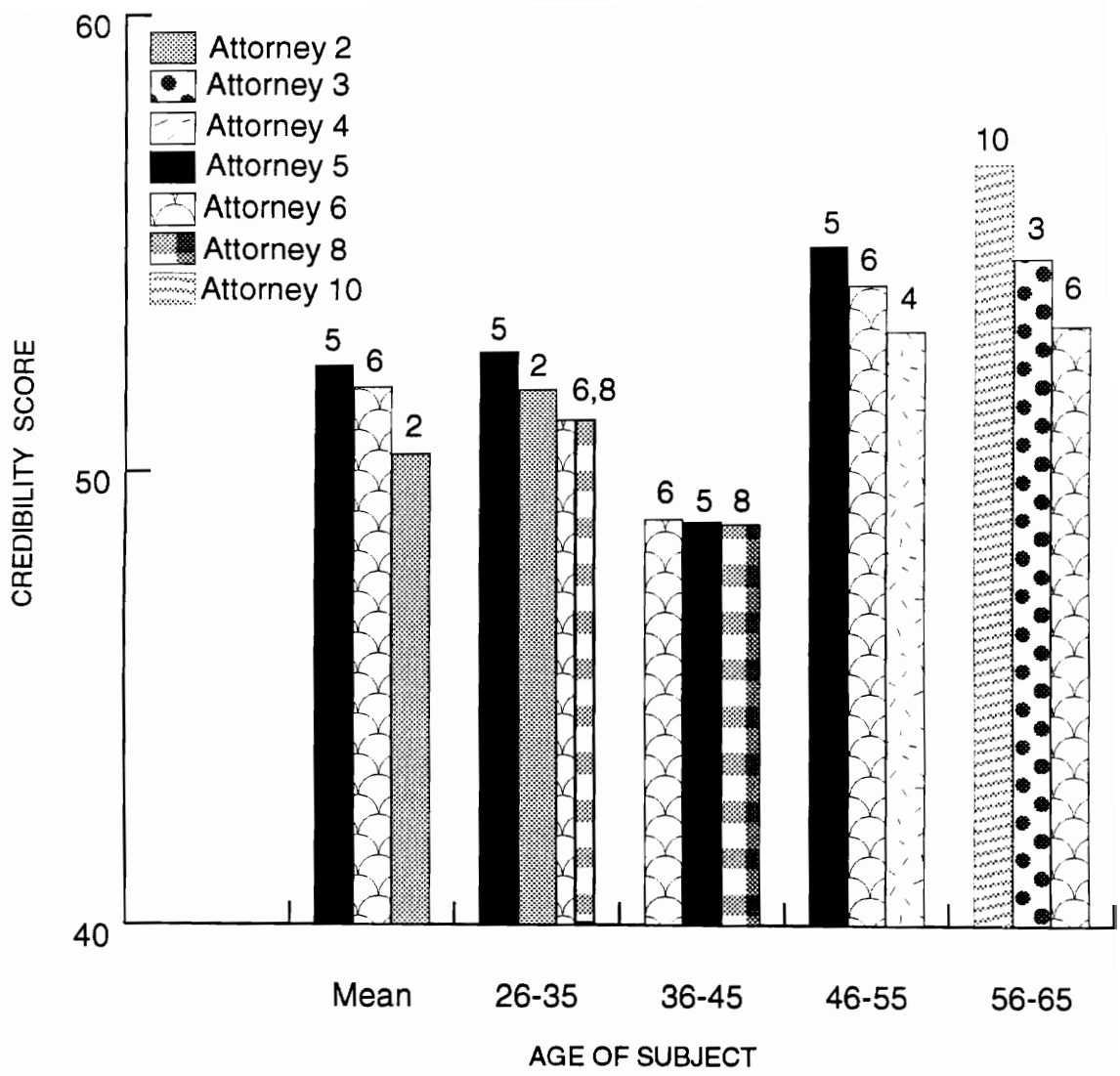


Figure 7 Three Most Credible Garment Combinations by Age Group

The individual clothing of the female attorneys was considered in a two-way ANOVA with **income** of jurors. Results suggest that the individual clothing of the female attorneys had a significant effect on jurors' evaluations of a female attorney's credibility $F=2.232 @ p < .05$. The attorneys were evaluated differently by the entire sample in terms of credibility suggesting that the individual clothing of the female attorney had an apparent impact on jurors' credibility evaluations of the female attorney. However, jurors with different income levels were not significantly different from one another in terms of evaluations of the female attorney's credibility based on clothing, $F=1.179 @ p > .05$. Results of the income-specific rankings of the female attorneys are shown in Figure 8.

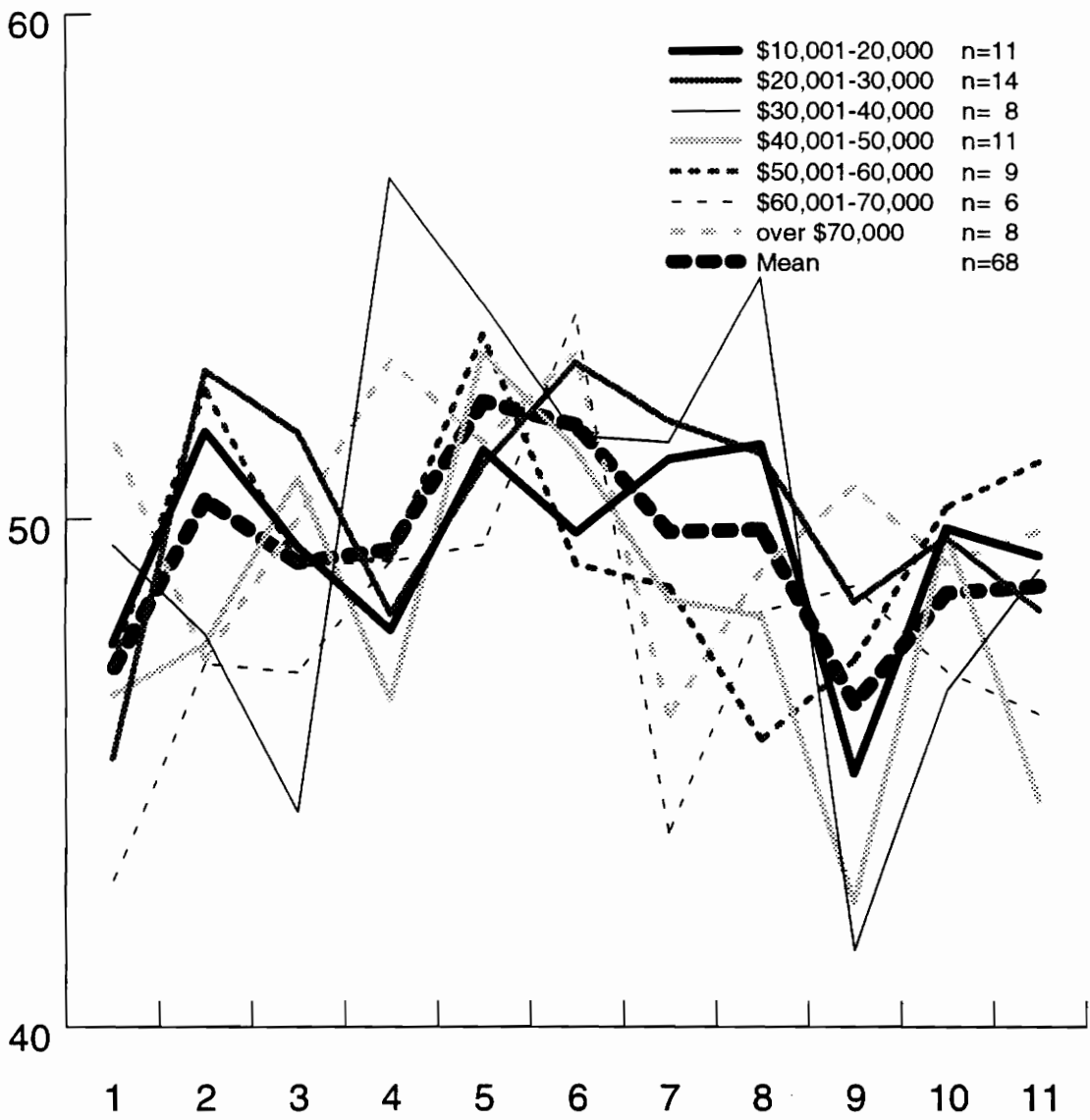


Figure 8 Jurors' Ratings of the Female Attorney's Credibility-Income-Specific

Discussion of Results

The garment combination CtStIm, which was traditional in color and silhouette and moderately traditional in interior design lines was evaluated as the most credible by jurors. This was expected based on observations of actual female courtroom attorneys, the advice of attorneys and image consultants and secondary literature which recommended the wearing of traditional, conservative, tailored garments (Anderson, 1994; Harp, Stretch, & Harp, 1981; Heiman, 1993; Higbie, 1994; Lind et al., 1984; O'Neal & Lapitsky, 1991; Sannito & McGovern, 1985; Smith & Melandro, 1985; and Wells, 1985). Three of the four garments that were rated the most credible were traditional in both color and silhouette. This, too, was expected as a result of initial observations of actual female courtroom attorneys, findings from previous studies (Harp, Stretch & Harp, 1981; Lind et al., 1984; O'Neal & Lapitsky, 1991) as well as recommendations from image consultants and female attorneys which advised the wearing of suits in traditional, conservative colors, i.e. navy and charcoal (Anderson, 1994; 1987; Harp, Stretch, & Harp, 1981; Heiman, 1993; Higbie, 1994; Sannito & McGovern, 1985; Smith & Melandro, 1985; and Wells, 1985).

It should also be noted that the four combinations that received the highest credibility evaluations, 5, CtStIm, 6, CtStIt, 2, CmStIt, and 8, CtSmIn, all had a white blouse visible under the outer garment. This garment combination of a white shirt worn beneath a dark outer garment is reminiscent of the traditional male business suit. As a result jurors may have extrapolated impressions of credibility typically associated with the male business suit to the female attorney wearing a similar albeit female version of the male business suit. The findings further suggest that color can be considered the garment component that permits the least amount of manipulation with regard to conveying

impressions of credibility in terms of traditional versus moderately traditional or non-traditional.

Color was the component of a female attorney's garment found to have a significant effect on jurors' evaluations of a female attorney's credibility. Two-way ANOVA with silhouette and with interior design lines indicated that color had a significant effect on jurors' evaluations of a female attorney's credibility. Furthermore, one-way ANOVA indicated that color had a significant effect on jurors' evaluations of a female attorney's credibility, $F\text{-value} = 4.53 @ p < .05$. This was expected and therefore, during the initial planning stages of the study, color was the component that was considered first in the evaluation of the composites.

Two-way ANOVA between silhouette and color indicated that silhouette also had a significant effect on jurors' evaluations of a female attorney's credibility. However, when silhouette and interior design lines were considered in two-way ANOVA neither silhouette nor interior design lines were found to have a significant impact on jurors' evaluations of a female attorney's credibility. Additionally, silhouette was not found to have a significant effect in one-way ANOVA. Two-way ANOVA and one-way ANOVA conducted with interior design lines did not reveal a significant effect for interior design lines on jurors' evaluations of a female attorney's credibility. The findings for silhouette and interior design lines were partially expected in that both were thought to exert some influence on jurors' evaluations of a female attorney's credibility, although not as much as color. Of the three garment components, color was found to be the strongest predictor of jurors' credibility evaluations, followed by silhouette and interior design lines in order of descending influence as evidenced by ANOVAs. When a female attorney is selecting garments and seeks to express individuality, interior design lines are less likely to affect credibility

while silhouette may or may not affect credibility. It is best to avoid altering the color from traditional in order to avoid altering impressions of the wearer's credibility.

The findings of this study support various tenets of Person Perception Theory. As indicated in Person Perception Theory, an observer may use the clothing of an observed person to make decisions about the observed person. The findings from the present study suggest that jurors used the clothing of the female attorneys to make judgments regarding the credibility of the attorney.

Of the three demographic characteristics of jurors that were considered in the study, age seemed to be the characteristic in which the most apparent effect was noted with regard to evaluations of credibility based on clothing. However, it was not expected that age would be the only characteristic to show a significant effect on jurors' evaluations of a female attorney's credibility. Gender and income level were both thought to have been influential as well based on the findings of Gizzi (1979). In addition, the study by Lind et al. (1984) also suggested that jurors' gender would be influential. Person Perception Theory also suggests that gender may make a difference in terms of judgments regarding an observed person. According to Person Perception Theory, females tend to be more likely to draw inferences than males (Taguiri, 1954, chap. 5). On the basis of this it seemed likely that females would view clothing differently than males in terms of the impressions being conveyed. However, as previously stated, male and female jurors were not found to be significantly different from one another in terms of evaluations of a female attorney's credibility, nor were jurors with different income levels. However, it is possible that in the last ten years (Lind study took place in 1984), jurors' impressions of women's role in the work force and jurors' impressions of women's appearance in the workplace may have changed. As a result, the genders may have more or less consistent ideas

regarding the professional appearance of female attorneys just as they were consistent in their concern regarding conveying the same impression to jurors, that of credibility.

Implications exist not only for the female attorney but also for the designer/manufacturer of professional womenswear. In order to positively convey impressions of credibility to jurors, female attorneys may wear garments traditional in color and silhouette and moderately traditional in interior design lines. In addition, the age of the juror has been shown to effect evaluations of a female attorney's credibility based on clothing. As such, female attorneys may consider the age of the juror when selecting courtroom apparel in an effort to select the apparel that will convey positive impressions of the attorney's credibility to the target age group.

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Appendix

Written Portion of the Instrument

Please respond to the following questions by circling the appropriate letter.

1. Please indicate your gender.

- A. Male
- B. Female

2. Please indicate your age.

- A. 18-25
- B. 26-35
- C. 46-55
- D. 46-55
- E. 56-65
- F. Over 65

3. Please indicate your yearly household income.

- A. Less than \$10,000
- B. \$10,001-20,000
- C. \$20,001-30,000
- D. \$30,001-40,000
- E. \$40,001-50,000
- F. \$50,001-60,000
- G. \$60,001-70,000
- H. More than \$70,001

Please evaluate the credibility of this lawyer based on the scales below by placing an X in the space corresponding to the response you feel is appropriate.

Please complete each scale for each lawyer.

Credibility

extremely quite slightly neutral slightly quite extremely

unqualified	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	qualified
mEEK	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	aggressive
unjust	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	just
powerless	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	powerful
inexperienced	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	experienced
tense	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	relaxed
timid	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	bold
bad	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	good
awful	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	nice
unfriendly	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	friendly
anxious	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	calm

Competent Lawyer

extremely quite slightly neutral slightly quite extremely

fast	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	slow
hot	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	cold
strong	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	weak
fair	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	unfair
valuable	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	worthless
large	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	small
clean	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	dirty
heavy	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	light
good	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	bad
active	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	passive

IMAGE
OF
ATTORNEY

Would you hire this lawyer to represent you in court?

VITA

Name: Lori Ann Cunningham

Permanent Address: 6906 Heritage Way, Charleston, West Virginia 25312

Date of Birth: July 10, 1970

Place of Birth: Charleston, West Virginia

Major: Clothing & Textiles with a Specialization in Apparel Design

Degree & Date to be Conferred: Master of Science, May 13, 1995

Educational Institutions Attended	Dates	Degree & Date
Wake Forest University Winston-Salem, North Carolina	8/88- 5/92	B.A. Studio Art, May 1992 B.A. Spanish, May 1992
Virginia Polytechnic Institute & State University Blacksburg, Virginia	8/92- 5/95	M.S. Clothing & Textiles, May 1995

Positions Held:

Graduate Assistant, Department of Clothing & Textiles, Virginia Tech,
Fall 1994

Design Intern, Adrienne Vittadini Collection, New York, Summer 1994

Sales Associate, Victoria's Secret, Charleston, West Virginia, Holidays
1993

Assistant Curator, Oris Glisson Historic Costume & Textile Collection,
Virginia Tech, Spring 1993 & 1994

Seamstress, Wedding Belles & Tails, Spring Hill, West Virginia, 1989-
1990

