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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

The business suit: does it do 'the business'? Examining emotional, cognitive and physical effects of wearing a symbolic garment

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Award date: 2019

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The Business Suit: Does it do 'The Business'?

Examining Emotional, Cognitive and Physical Effects of Wearing a Symbolic Garment

By

Anne Elizabeth Turner

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the University's requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

September 2018



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Applicant:

Anne Turner

Project Title:

Investigating undergraduates' perceptions of wearing a business suit to Job interviews; A focus Group study.

This is to certify that the above named applicant has completed the Coventry University Ethical Approval process and their project has been confirmed and approved as Medium Risk

Date of approval:

06 May 2015

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Project Reference Number: P47127

Acknowledgments

This thesis represents a journey that has taken me from thinking that it might be a good idea to have a hobby, to achieving a goal I did not believe possible – completing my thesis. None of this would have been possible without the patience, support, tolerance and love that Mark, Sebastian and Phoebe have shown me, this is for you guys.

Actually, starting a PhD would not have been possible if it had not been for the encouragement and faith that Gail Steptoe-Warren had in my ability to succeed with this journey. You have been a friend and mentor and gave me the 'push' I needed to attain what I didn't believe was possible.

I also owe my supervisory team a debt of gratitude, Becki Jenks, Gail Steptoe-Warren and Douglas Howat, you have each taught me so much, I will always be grateful for your patience and time.

This journey has led me to work with and be surrounded by people who were intrinsic to my experience and have helped me in so many ways. Members of the Doctoral school including; Lottie, Kat, Andy, David, and Hannah to name but a few, have each shown kindness and support throughout my years of study, thank you. A special thank you has to go to James Bartlett. I may never understand Bayesian statistics, but your support, kindness, humour and knowledge has helped me to get this job done.

Finally, as part of the Business and Occupational Psychology MSc team at Coventry University, I am part of a team whose kindness, consideration and support has shown no bounds. Maria, Anthony, Thomas, Sophie, Andre and Gail, thank you.

This Research was funded by the Centre for Psychology, Behaviour and Achievement, Coventry University, Studentship award.

ABST	TRACT	13
CHAI	PTER 1. THE BUSINESS-SUIT: DOES IT DO 'THE BUSINESS'?	15
TERM	IINOLOGY WITHIN THIS THESIS	15
1.1.	Introduction	15
1.2.	Exogenous factors associated to clothing	17
1.2.1.	Social Cognition Theory (SCT)	17
1.2.2.	The Purpose of Clothing	18
1.2.3.	Appearance Cues and Clothing	19
1.2.4.	First Impressions and Personality traits (Including Social Perception Th	eory)22
1.2.5.	Impressions made through 'snapshot' images	24
1.3.	Symbolic Clothing	26
1.3.1.	Meanings attached to clothing	26
1.3.2.	Formal Clothing	29
1.3.3.	The Business Suit	31
1	.3.3.1. Business Suit or Business Casual: What is the Difference?	33
1.3.4.	Perception: Self and Other's	36
1.4.	Chapter Summary	39
CHAI	PTER 2. CLOTHING-ASSOCIATED BEHAVIOURS AND EMOTIONS	S40
2.1.	Endogenous Factors Associated to Clothing	40
2.1.1.	Affectivity and Clothing	40
2.2.	Sensory Perceptions and Clothing	42
2.2.1.	Sensory Perception Formation and Unconscious cues	42
2.2.2.	Clothing Choice and Mood versus Mood and Clothing Choice	44
2.2.3.	Chapter Summary	47
CHAI	PTER 3. THE BUSINESS SUIT IN CONTEXT – EMPLOYMENT	
INTE	RVIEWS; 'A SCARY PROCESS?'	49
3.1.	Introduction	49
3.2.	Research Context – The Employment Interview	51
3.2.1.	Interviews' 'Unique' Context	51

3.2.2.	Interviews as an Interactional Processes	53
3.2.3.	Elements of the Interview	53
3.3.	Anxiety	54
3.3.1.	Definitions of Anxiety	54
3.3.2.	Sources of Anxiety	55
3.3.3.	Anxiety - Trait or State?	56
3.3.4.	Interview Anxiety	60
3.3.5.	Test-Taking Anxiety	61
3.3.6.	Chapter Summary	64
CHAI	PTER 4. ENCLOTHED VERSUS EMBODIED COGNITION	66
4.1.	Enclothed Cognition: The Source	66
4.2.	Clothing's Effect on Cognition: New Findings	68
4.3.	Clothing: Social Distance and Power	69
4.4.	Power and Emotions	71
4.5.	Posturing Power	72
4.6.	Synthesising Theories: Symbolic clothing and Power Postures	75
4.7.	Aims of the Research	81
CHAI	PTER 5UNDERGRADUATES PERCEPTIONS OF WEARING A BUS	SINESS
SUIT:	: A QUALITATIVE APPROACH	84
5.1.	Introduction	
5.2.	Summary	88
5.3.	Methods	89
5.3.1.	Recruitment and Remuneration	89
5.3.2.	Participant Population	89
5.3.3.	Pilot Study Methodology	91
5.	.3.3.1. Participants and Recruitment	91
5.	.3.3.2. Stimulus Images	91
5.	.3.3.3. Results	92
5.4.	The Focus Group Methodology	93
5.4.1.	Triangulation, Mixed Methodology	93
5.4.2.	Focus Groups	95
5.4.3.	Participants and Recruitment	96

5.4.4.	Pro	cedure	97
5.4.5.	Mat	erials and Measures	97
5	.4.5.1.	Equipment and Venue	97
5	.4.5.2.	Demographic sheet	9 7
5	.4.5.3.	Business-suit Image Questionnaire	97
5	.4.5.4.	Semi-structured interview questions	98
5.4.6.	Ana	lysis	99
5.4.7.	Resu	ults	101
5	.4.7.1.	Focus Group Tasks	101
5.4.8.	The	mes	102
5	.4.8.1.	Theme 1: Enclothed Behaviours	102
5	.4.8.2.	Theme 2: Business-suit as a tool	102
5	.4.8.3.	Theme 3: Social 'Norms' and Tradition	103
5	.4.8.4.	Theme 4: Context Congruence	104
5	.4.8.5.	Theme 5: Garment-associated Traits	105
5	.4.8.6.	Theme 6: Adaptations and Flexibility	105
5	.4.8.7.	Theme 7: Control of Emotions	106
5.4.9.	Ove	rarching Theme and Sub-themes	106
5.5	Disc	cussion	107
5.5.1.	Sum	nmary	110
5.5.2.	Lim	itations	111
Chap	ter 6.	EXPERIMENTAL APPROACH: EXPLORING THE EFFECTS OF	
_		G A SYMBOLIC GARMENT	113
6.1.	Cha	pter Overview	113
6.2.	Intr	oduction	114
6.3.	Sum	ımary	119
6.3.1.	Rese	earch Hypotheses	121
6.4.	Met	hodology – Study 2	123
6.4.1.	Desi	gn	123
6.4.2.	Part	ticipants – Recruitment, Remuneration and Ethics	124
6.4.3.	Mat	erials	124
6	.4.3.1.	The Business-suit jacket (BSJ)	124

6.4.3.2. Interview Simulation Rooms	125
6.4.3.3. Video-recording Equipment	126
6.4.3.4. Interview Question Schedule	126
6.4.3.5. Interviewer Training	126
6.4.4. Measures	127
6.4.4.1. Trait anxiety - IPIP Big-five Personality Factor Markers	
6.4.4.1.1. Issue Related to Responding to the Measure	129
6.4.4.2. Cognitive Aptitude Test (CAT)	
6.4.4.3. Professional Self-Perception scale (PSP)	
6.4.4.4. State anxiety - Single Question Self-Report Anxiety Measure (SRA)	
6.4.4.5. Measure of Anxiety in Interviews (McCarthy and Goffin 2004)	
6.4.4.6. Mood Measures - PANAS – X (Watson and Clark 1994)	
6.4.4.7. Physiological Measure of Arousal - Finger Pulse Oximeter	
6.4.4.7.1. Baseline Measurement Protocol and Data Preparation	
6.4.4.7.2. Finger Pulse Oximeter Data Analysis	
6.4.4.7.3. Finger pulse Oximeter Raw Data Preparation	
6.4.5. Procedure	136
6.4.6. Data Preparation: General - Study 2 and 3	138
6.4.6. Data Preparation: General - Study 2 and 3	
•	139
6.4.6.1. Median Split: Emotional stability (ES)	139
6.4.6.1. Median Split: Emotional stability (ES)	139 141
6.4.6.1. Median Split: Emotional stability (ES)	139141141
6.4.6.1. Median Split: Emotional stability (ES) 6.4.7. Results 6.4.7.1. Enclothed cognition behaviour; is this evidenced in a BSJ? 6.4.7.1.1. Data Preparation and Analysis	139141141
6.4.6.1. Median Split: Emotional stability (ES) 6.4.7. Results 6.4.7.1. Enclothed cognition behaviour; is this evidenced in a BSJ? 6.4.7.1.1. Data Preparation and Analysis 6.4.7.1.2. Results of Analysis	139141141141143
6.4.6.1. Median Split: Emotional stability (ES) 6.4.7. Results 6.4.7.1. Enclothed cognition behaviour; is this evidenced in a BSJ? 6.4.7.1.1. Data Preparation and Analysis 6.4.7.1.2. Results of Analysis 6.4.7.2. Higher Primes Equal Higher CAT scores?	
6.4.6.1. Median Split: Emotional stability (ES) 6.4.7. Results 6.4.7.1. Enclothed cognition behaviour; is this evidenced in a BSJ? 6.4.7.1.1. Data Preparation and Analysis 6.4.7.1.2. Results of Analysis 6.4.7.2. Higher Primes Equal Higher CAT scores? 6.4.7.2.1. Data Preparation and Analysis	
6.4.6.1. Median Split: Emotional stability (ES) 6.4.7. Results 6.4.7.1. Enclothed cognition behaviour; is this evidenced in a BSJ? 6.4.7.1.1. Data Preparation and Analysis 6.4.7.1.2. Results of Analysis 6.4.7.2. Higher Primes Equal Higher CAT scores? 6.4.7.2.1. Data Preparation and Analysis 6.4.7.2.2. Results of Analysis	
6.4.6.1. Median Split: Emotional stability (ES) 6.4.7. Results 6.4.7.1. Enclothed cognition behaviour; is this evidenced in a BSJ? 6.4.7.1.1. Data Preparation and Analysis 6.4.7.1.2. Results of Analysis 6.4.7.2. Higher Primes Equal Higher CAT scores? 6.4.7.2.1. Data Preparation and Analysis 6.4.7.2.2. Results of Analysis 6.4.7.3. Trait-anxiety's Effect on Enclothed Cognition Behaviour	
6.4.6.1. Median Split: Emotional stability (ES) 6.4.7.1. Enclothed cognition behaviour; is this evidenced in a BSJ? 6.4.7.1.1. Data Preparation and Analysis 6.4.7.1.2. Results of Analysis 6.4.7.2. Higher Primes Equal Higher CAT scores? 6.4.7.2.1. Data Preparation and Analysis 6.4.7.2.2. Results of Analysis 6.4.7.3. Trait-anxiety's Effect on Enclothed Cognition Behaviour 6.4.7.3.1. Data Preparation and Analysis	
6.4.6.1. Median Split: Emotional stability (ES) 6.4.7.1. Enclothed cognition behaviour; is this evidenced in a BSJ? 6.4.7.1.1. Data Preparation and Analysis 6.4.7.1.2. Results of Analysis 6.4.7.2. Higher Primes Equal Higher CAT scores? 6.4.7.2.1. Data Preparation and Analysis 6.4.7.2.2. Results of Analysis 6.4.7.3.1. Trait-anxiety's Effect on Enclothed Cognition Behaviour 6.4.7.3.1. Data Preparation and Analysis 6.4.7.3.2. Results of Analysis	
6.4.6.1. Median Split: Emotional stability (ES) 6.4.7. Results 6.4.7.1. Enclothed cognition behaviour; is this evidenced in a BSJ? 6.4.7.1.1. Data Preparation and Analysis 6.4.7.1.2. Results of Analysis 6.4.7.2. Higher Primes Equal Higher CAT scores? 6.4.7.2.1. Data Preparation and Analysis 6.4.7.2.2. Results of Analysis 6.4.7.3. Trait-anxiety's Effect on Enclothed Cognition Behaviour 6.4.7.3.1. Data Preparation and Analysis 6.4.7.3.2. Results of Analysis 6.4.7.3.3. Results of Analysis 6.4.7.4. Interview Anxiety (IA) and Interview Appearance-anxiety (IAA)	
6.4.6.1. Median Split: Emotional stability (ES) 6.4.7. Results 6.4.7.1. Enclothed cognition behaviour; is this evidenced in a BSJ? 6.4.7.1.1. Data Preparation and Analysis 6.4.7.1.2. Results of Analysis 6.4.7.2. Higher Primes Equal Higher CAT scores? 6.4.7.2.1. Data Preparation and Analysis 6.4.7.2.2. Results of Analysis 6.4.7.3. Trait-anxiety's Effect on Enclothed Cognition Behaviour 6.4.7.3.1. Data Preparation and Analysis 6.4.7.3.2. Results of Analysis 6.4.7.4. Interview Anxiety (IA) and Interview Appearance-anxiety (IAA) 6.4.7.4.1. Analysis and Data Preparation – IA.	
6.4.6.1. Median Split: Emotional stability (ES) 6.4.7. Results 6.4.7.1. Enclothed cognition behaviour; is this evidenced in a BSJ? 6.4.7.1.1. Data Preparation and Analysis 6.4.7.1.2. Results of Analysis 6.4.7.2.1. Higher Primes Equal Higher CAT scores? 6.4.7.2.1. Data Preparation and Analysis 6.4.7.2.2. Results of Analysis 6.4.7.3. Trait-anxiety's Effect on Enclothed Cognition Behaviour 6.4.7.3.1. Data Preparation and Analysis 6.4.7.3.2. Results of Analysis 6.4.7.4.3. Interview Anxiety (IA) and Interview Appearance-anxiety (IAA) 6.4.7.4.1. Analysis and Data Preparation – IA 6.4.7.4.2. Results of Analysis - IA	
6.4.6.1. Median Split: Emotional stability (ES) 6.4.7. Results 6.4.7.1. Enclothed cognition behaviour; is this evidenced in a BSJ? 6.4.7.1.1. Data Preparation and Analysis 6.4.7.1.2. Results of Analysis 6.4.7.2.1 Higher Primes Equal Higher CAT scores? 6.4.7.2.1. Data Preparation and Analysis 6.4.7.2.2. Results of Analysis 6.4.7.3. Trait-anxiety's Effect on Enclothed Cognition Behaviour 6.4.7.3.1. Data Preparation and Analysis 6.4.7.3.2. Results of Analysis 6.4.7.4. Interview Anxiety (IA) and Interview Appearance-anxiety (IAA) 6.4.7.4.1. Analysis and Data Preparation – IA 6.4.7.4.2. Results of Analysis - IA. 6.4.7.4.3. Interview Appearance-anxiety (IAA)	

	6.4.7.5.1. Analysis and Data Preparation	150
	6.4.7.5.1. Results of Analysis	150
6.4	4.7.6. Does Wear a BSJ Affect Mood?	152
	6.4.7.6.1. Data Preparation and Analysis	152
	6.4.7.6.2. Results of Analysis	152
6.4	1.7.7Pulse-rate Measures of Physiological Arousal	154
	6.4.7.7.1. 'Test Anxiety' (CAT)	154
	6.4.7.7.1.1. Data Preparation and Analyses	154
	6.4.7.7.1.2. Results of Analysis	154
	6.4.7.7.2. 'Interview Anxiety' – Pulse Rate	156
	6.4.7.7.2.1. Data Preparation and Analysis	
	6.4.7.7.2.2. Results of Analysis	156
	6.4.7.7.3. Arousal across the 'Interview Simulation'	
	6.4.7.7.3.1. Data Preparation and Analysis	
	6.4.7.7.3.2. Results of Analyses	157
6.4.8	Discussion	160
6.4.9.	Limitations	171
6.4.10.	Chapter Summary	173
6.4.11.	Reflection	
Chapt	er 7. ENCLOTHED VERSUS EMBODIED COGNITION	
7.1.	Chapter overview	178
7.2.	Introduction	178
7.3.	Research Hypotheses	183
7.4.	Methodology - Study 3	184
7.4.1.	Design	
	Participants and Remunerations and Ethics	
	Measures	
	4.3.1. IPIP Big-five personality Factor Markers – Goldberg (1992)	
	4.3.2. Visual Analogue scale of Anxiety (VAS)	
	4.3.4. 'Me/not-me task' – Response latency Reaction to Trait Adjectives Task	103
	4.3.5. Posture Manipulation	196
	1.5.5. 1 Obtato Pianipalation	
	Materials and Equipment	187
7	Materials and Equipment	187
	4.4.1. The Business Suit Jackets	187188
7.4		187188188

7.4.6.	Data Analysis	189
7.4.7.	Data preparation	189
7.5.	Results – Study 3	190
7.5.1.	Trait Adjective Task: Does Prime Affect Detection Rates?	190
	.5.1.1. Data Preparation and Analysis	
	.5.1.2. Results of Analysis	
	Response Time, Trait Adjectives: Does Priming Affect Reaction Time?	
	.5.2.1. Data Preparation and Analysis	
7.	.5.2.2Results of Analysis	192
7.5.3.	Examining the Effect of Priming on State-Anxiety change	195
	.5.3.1. Data Preparation and Analysis	
7.	.5.3.2. Results of Analysis	195
7.5.4.	Examining the Effect of Priming on Mood Levels	198
7.	.5.4.1. Data Preparation and Analysis	198
7.	.5.4.2. Results of Analysis	199
7.6.	Discussion	200
7.6.1.	Chapter Summary	203
7.6.2.	Limitations	206
C I	4 O GENERAL DISCUSSION	•••
_	oter 8. GENERAL DISCUSSION	
8.1.	Introduction	208
8.2.	Summary of Main Findings	208
8.2.1.	The Focus Group – Study 1	208
8.2.2.	Experimental Stage – Studies 2 and 3	210
8.2.3.	Enclothed or Embodied Cognition?	213
8.3.	Evaluation of the Research and Theoretical Implications	
8.3.1.	Theoretical Implications	
8.4.	Limitations of the Research and Future Possibilities	
8.5.	Final Remarks	
Keter	ences	224

List of	Figures	page
Figure 1	Hierarchy of Themes and Their Interrelations	101
Figure 2	Data Representing CAT Scores by Jacket-Group	142
Figure 3	Mean SRA Levels by 'Jacket-Group'	151
Figure 4	Mean Pulse-Rate Differences	159
Figure 5	Inter-relationship between business-suit, social distance behaviour and	power
	perspectives	179
List of	Tables	
Table 1	Table of Thematic Analysis Themes	Appendix 11
Table 2	Table of Professional Self-Perception, 'jacket-group' and CAT Scores	143
Table 3	Table of Mean CAT scores by Emotional Stability Group	144
Table 4	Table of Mean Interview-anxiety by 'jacket-group'	146
Table 5	Table of Mean Interview-anxiety by 'jacket-group' and Emotional Stab	ility
(Group	147
Table 6	Table of Mean Interview Appearance-anxiety by 'jacket-group' and	d Emotional
S	tability Group	148
Table 7	Table of Mean Negative Affect by 'jacket-group' and Emotional Stabili	ity 153
Table 8	Table of Mean Pulse-Rate During CAT by 'jacket-group' and	1 Emotional
S	tability Groups	155
Table 9	Table of Mean Pulse-Rate during Interview by 'jacket-group' and	d Emotional
S	tability Groups	156
Table 10	Table of Mean Pulse-Rate differences	158
Table 11	Table of Pulse-Rate at Five Stages of Interview Simulation	159
Table 12	2 Table of Detection Rate of Trait Adjectives	191
Table 13	Table of Mean Reaction Time of Trait Adjectives	193
Table 14	Table Mean Reaction Time by 'prime-group'	193
Table 15	Table of Mean Visual Analogue Scale by 'prime-group'	196
Table 16	Table of Mean Visual Analogue Scales by 'prime-group' ES	197
Table 17	7 Table of Mean Negative Affect by 'prime-groups' and Emotional Stabi	ility
G	Groups, Pre and Post-Prime	199

List of App	pendices	page
Appendix 1	Certificate of Ethical Approval	262
Appendix 2	Certificate of Ethical Approval	263
Appendix 3	Certificate of Ethical Approval	264
Appendix 4	Twenty Suit Images – Pilot Study	265
Appendix 5	Pilot Study Information Sheet	267
Appendix 6	Six Suit Image	268
Appendix 7	Focus Group Mediator Prompt Questions	269
Appendix 8	Focus Group Transcript	270
Appendix 9	Focus Group Handout	280
Appendix 10	Focus Group De-Brief	282
Appendix 11	Thematic Analysis Table of Themes	283
Appendix 12	Jacket Placement Images	284
Appendix 13	Study 2 Interview Schedule	285
Appendix 14	50-Item Big-Five Factor Markers Questionnaire- Study 2	286
Appendix 15	50-Item Big-Five Factor Markers Questionnaire- Study 3	288
Appendix 16	See Appendix 34	310
Appendix 17	Professional Self-Perception Scale	289
Appendix 18	Self-Report Anxiety Question	290
Appendix 19	Measure of Anxiety in Selection Interviews Questionnaire	291
Appendix 20	PANAS-X Scale	292
Appendix 21	Finger-Pulse Oximeter Output Image	293
Appendix 22	Participant Information Sheet Study 2	294
Appendix 23	Consent Form - Study 2	296
Appendix 24	Participant Demographic Sheet - Study 2	297
Appendix 25	Participant De-Brief Form – Study 2	298
Appendix 26	PANAS-SF Scale	300
Appendix 27	Trait Adjective Rating Scale	301
Appendix 28	Visual Analogue Scale Image	302
Appendix 29	Computer Task Image	303
Appendix 30	Power Posture Diagram	304
Appendix 31	Participant Information Sheet – Study 3	305
Appendix 32	Participant Consent Form – Study 3	307

Appendix 33	Participant Debrief Form Study 3	308
Appendix 34	Cognitive Aptitude Test	310
Appendix 35	Statistical Data Tables	316

Abstract

The effect of clothing on wearers has been examined for decades, resulting in some understanding of clothing's purposes and effects. The topic is broad and diverse, with the phenomena only partially evidenced to date. Recently, wearing symbolic clothing has been linked to behaviours relating to the garment's symbolism. This enclothed cognition model requires the wearer to acknowledge the garment's symbolism for garment-related cognitive processes to be enhanced. However, wearing clothing is a holistic experience, with sensory input derived from haptic, tactile, and environmental perceptions, based on cultural, behavioural and interactional references. Seminal research surrounding enclothed cognition theory was challenged by the present thesis, which also aimed to extend enclothed cognition theory to an alternative garment (business-suit) and include a congruent context (employment interview). This had not previously been incorporated in the literature yet was argued to be intrinsic to wearers' experience of symbolic clothing, therefore this research addressed this void.

The target population were undergraduates, yet literature reporting their opinions regarding wearing business-suits was contrary. Prior to testing the effects of suits on wearer's behaviour, a mixed-methods approach was adopted, and undergraduates' opinions were sought via a focus group. Five undergraduates participated, resulting in a thematic analysis reporting undergraduates' sophisticated understanding of a business-suit's usage. Seven themes, and an overarching theme of 'symbolic garment' was achieved, demonstrating multiple uses and attributes linked to a business-suit and a proposal for an 'enclothed behaviours' model.

Adopting a quantitative approach and addressing a void in current literature that had previously been based on self-report findings, wearing a symbolic garment was directly tested for its effect on cognition, mood and anxiety. Eighty-three participants in a between-subjects study: wearing, seeing or having no contact with a business-suit (jacket – BSJ) and priming garment-related traits, were measured on enclothed cognition (cognitive aptitude test), trait-anxiety, interview-anxiety and mood whilst having physiological arousal levels measured. A further novel approach not previously addressed in enclothed cognition literature was the incorporation of a context (an employment interview).

Results showed that wearing a BSJ significantly affected trait-task scores but could not be differentiated from seeing a BSJ. State-anxiety and mood were not significantly affected by wearing a BSJ and priming participants to the BSJ's symbolism had minimal effect and could not support Enclothed Cognition Theory. The context affected behaviour more than wearing a BSJ on some measures, as did trait personality (emotional-stability) levels. A pattern in the data demonstrated emotional-stability affected BSJ wearers, suggesting sensory perceptions to stimulus was interpreted 'concretely' or 'abstractly' depending on participants' emotional stability levels. Participants low in anxiety adopted a less 'filtered' processing style and wearing a BSJ, were argued to be 'overloaded' with sensory and

perceptual input. A model of 'enclothed behaviours' was further proposed to encapsulate the multidimensional effects of wearing symbolic clothing.

This research subsequently tested effects of structural aspects of the BSJ (enclothed cognition) comparing them to postured effects (embodied cognition) that mimic the jackets' effects on the body. A within-subjects design tested 30 participants on reaction-time (RT) and detection rate (DR), (Me/Notme) trait-adjective task, and measures of mood and anxiety. Results reported no significant difference between being primed with a BSJ compared to adopting a power-posture on RT and DR, anxiety or mood change. These findings are the first to test and demonstrate that wearing a BSJ affects wearers in a similar way to embodying power, therefore priming was linked to 'wearing' rather than simply 'perceiving' via the clothing worn.

The studies presented in this thesis were the first to challenge enclothed cognition's authors insistence on 'explicitly' priming wearers to garment-related traits. A further novelty of this research was it assessed the impact of context on wearer's behaviours. Additionally, BSJ's inherent qualities were examined in an approach that was the first to directly compare embodied cognition to enclothed cognition, resulting in further support for a proposed model of 'enclothed behaviours.' Additionally, in targeting undergraduates as participants, an examination not previously undertaken via a focus group study was able to confirm their opinions regarding wearing a business-suit to work and for interviews. This both clarified contrary literature and offered support for designing graduate-employability interventions that could advise on employability skills and the benefits of wears business-suits to interviews. Literature had not been previously made the link between wearing symbolic clothing and subsequent effects on wearers, resulting in a multidimensional experience of 'enclothed behaviours', influenced by the garment's physical, perceptual, and contextual components. Indeed the 'Business-suit did do the business.'

Keywords: Enclothed cognition, embodied cognition, business-suit, employment interviews, sensory perceptions, 'abstract', 'concrete' processing styles 'enclothed behaviour'

Chapter 1. The Business Suit - Does it do The Business? Examining emotional, cognitive and physical effects of wearing this symbolic garment.

Terminology within this thesis

The business suit – formal wear, formal, professional, smart, suits, 'Sunday best' Clothing – garments, styles, fashionable, outfit, smart-casual

1.1. Introduction

This thesis focuses on examining a symbolic garment, the business-suit and the impact it has on how wearers behave and feel. Although empirical interest surrounding the business-suit has been abundant in reporting how observers and wearers view this type of clothing that is linked to its many attributes. These attributes are associated to its formality (worn to formal occasions) and professional associations, due to it being commonplace in business environments and worn by traditional 'professions' (Medicine, Law and Finance). What is also know about the business-suit relates to the many perceptions (linked to its formality and professional connections) that wearers and observers perceive. However, what is unclear is the full effects of wearing a business-suit on behaviours, and if the benefits of wearing this garment, (feelings of self-confidence, intelligence, competence), are channelled through perceptions or through a different sensory system (the business-suit's physical effect on the body) (Behling and Williams 1991; Lü and Chen 2013; Hannover and Kühnen 2002; Kwon 1994; Peluchette and Karl 2007). Furthermore, contemporary research has begun to argue that the symbolism of particular garments enhanced garment-related behaviours when the garment was worn, and the garment's symbolism was apparent to the wearer. Yet whether this is apparent for a business-suit jacket had not previously been evidenced until very recently, when a particular cognitive process was linked to wearing 'formal clothing' (Slepian et al. 2015). Furthermore, wearing a business-suit has also been linked to improved negative emotions, however, these like perception literature tended to be anecdotal or self-report evidence rather than examining a causal link between the two (Kwon 1994; Moody et al. 2010).

Investigating whether wearing a business-suit enhances garment-related behaviour, moderates negative mood and anxiety were amongst the aims of the present research. In addition to the effect of perceptions upon behaviour, a business-suit's effect upon the body was also examined. The close association and overlap in traits associated of both embodied power and formal clothing suggests there may be some link. Therefore, examining whether a business-suit (jacket) mimics the effect of posturing power was examined.

In order to examine these questions, it was necessary initially to return to what is known about clothing's effect upon wearers. Therefore, one of the first objectives was to examine the effects of 'exogenous' and 'endogenous' elements of clothing on wearers' behaviours. For instance, Kwon (1991:41) first referred to clothing in terms of exogenous and endogenous factors that affect differing aspects of a wearer's experience. Kwon (1991) explained exogenous factors as external stimuli, such as environmental conditions, social and physical activities, (discussed in depth in Section 1.2), conversely, endogenous features of clothing were internally orientated towards factors such as mood, personality traits and emotional states (discussed in Chapter 2) (Kwon 1987; 1991).

Through evaluating what is known about clothing's effect on both 'wearers' and 'observers', Chapter 1 comprises a review of theories including; social cognition theory (Fiske and Taylor 1991) impression formation and social perception theory (Zebrowitz and Collins 1997). With this review aimed at establishing further understanding of the effects of clothing (in general), how perceptions are gained, whilst perceptions surrounding a business-suit are discussed in terms of its effect on both wearer and the observer. However, focus is placed on identifying emotional or behavioural effects on wearers.

In providing a discussion of endogenous influences surrounding clothing, Chapter 2 will extend previous literature's exploration of the effects of wearing a business-suit on emotions, mood and cognitive processes (Kang et al. 2013; Kwon 1987, 1991; Slepian et al. 2015). This second chapter also introduced enclothed cognition theory (Adam and Galinsky 2012) which contributes to this thesis's theoretical framework. Further to its introduction, enclothed cognition theory is discussed in terms of testing the model's prediction to an alternative symbolic garment to the one used by Adam and Galinsky (2012), a business-suit, and the incorporation of a context, of an employment interview simulation.

1.2. Exogenous Factors Associated to Clothing

1.2.1. Social Cognition Theory (SCT)

Individuals constantly attempt to understand their behaviours and thoughts and those of others (Johnson et al. 2002). This allows for attributions of personal emotions and beliefs to be inferred upon others' behaviours, with observations being interpreted to form a basis for understanding others' intentions, internal states and predict behaviour (Bem 1972; Zebrowitz and Collins 1997). For instance, Zebrowitz and Collins (1997) proposed that even the internal states of 'strangers' can be assessed using external cues, using appearance to aid the process. Appearance, clothing and behaviour are accurate means by which impressions and subsequent judgments are reached, yet, they can be context and situation dependent (for example SCT -Fiske and Taylor 1991; Johnson et al. 2002:125). Judgments of confidence, competence and credibility can be judged within seconds of a meeting when clothing cues are available (Bixler, Scherrer and Dugan 2000). Livesley and Bromley (1973) argued that a temporal sequence, beginning with cue selection, explained impression formation. Cue selection entails observers choosing specific prompts with which to make inferences about individual's general and personal traits. However, this explanation may be questionable due to the dependence upon observers' interpretation being subjective (Hogg and Vaughan 2005) suggesting individuals choose cues that are align to themselves (for example SCT - Fiske and Taylor 1991).

A historical methodological problem with investigating impression-formation suggested forming impressions was subject to research biases. In particular, many studies that were subsequently reviewed (Damhorst 1990), reported that researchers only required the impression formed by clothing to be assessed using personality trait scales rather than participants giving free-responses (Damhorst 1990). Therefore, only personality traits were linked to clothing cues within the impression formation process (Damhorst 1990; Naumann et al. 2009). Conversely, when participants were allowed free-response formats, they used fewer personality traits and incorporated other facets of an individual instead, such as behaviour (SCT Fiske and Taylor 1991). Furthermore, Damhorst (1990) reported that using free-response formats achieved a more extensive array of information about individuals and an understanding of exactly what information individuals incorporate to form impressions (Burns and Lennon 1993; Damhorst 1990; Littrell and Berger 1985).

An extension of 'free-response' studies assessed exactly 'which' and 'how many' appearance and clothing cues were incorporated into forming impressions (Johnson et al. 2002). Participants believed that the cues they utilised were the same ones' observers used to evaluate them, which was found to be the case (Johnson et al. 2002), however, this suggests that chosen cues are subjective and are related to many influences, race, culture and social construction (Fiske and Taylor 1991; Zebrowitz and Collins 1997). However, Johnson et al.'s (2002) results also reported that appearance and clothing were the main cues respondents used to gain and make inferences about multiple components of 'target' individuals (personality traits, behaviours and activities, attitudes, feeling and mood) (Johnson et al. 2002), this appears subjective, but demonstrates the diversity of information garnered from clothing cues. Furthermore, chosen cues are driven by individual differences and experiences, resulting in what Mead (1934 Cited in Scott 2015) referred to as 'the looking glass self'. In other words, 'self-concept' is derived from seeing oneself through others' behaviours and conversely attributing personal feelings to others through their observed behaviour (Bem 1972; Johnson et al. 2002; Zebrowitz and Collins 1997).

1.2.2. The Purpose of Clothing

Evidence introduced in the previous section demonstrated the value that is placed on clothing cues to highlight and make inferences regarding potential interactions. However, clothing is a fundamental and necessary practise for most humans, manifested through clothing's many diverse practises and applications (Crane 2000; Sabath 2004). Some garments are used to adorn and embellish the body, others to protect the body from the elements or the environment (Crane 2000; Warwick and Cavallaro 2001). James (1890 cited in Scott 2015:7) suggested further clothing usage, proposing that clothing is an 'external manifestation of self' recognising that an individual's relationship with clothing was more than for mere protection. Clothing is also utilised as a medium for self-expression and emotional comfort (Frith and Gleeson 2005; Kang et al. 2013; Kwon 1991).

The many purposes that underlie different clothing types has been well documented (Crane 2000; Sabath 2004; Warwick and Cavallaro 2001). As has a large quantity of literature discussing the historical development of clothing. This development has included clothing's usage for protection, conveyor for instance, status and rank (Rucker et al. 1999; Twigg 2009),

indicator of power (Sabath 2010), intelligence (Behling and Williams 1991; Kwon 1994a) and professional traits (for example; confidence, knowledgeability, honesty) (Karl et al. 2013; Kwon and Johnson-Hilleary 1998; Peluchette and Karl 2007). Howlett et al. (2012) argued clothing is a 'multi-faceted' means through which many messages and behaviours are conveyed, interpreted by observers (e.g. SCT Fiske and Taylor) and satisfies wearers' emotional and environmental needs (King and Vickery 2013; Twigg 2010; Scott 2015). Therefore, clothing acts as a generic source of diverse information for wearers and observers.

1.2.3. Appearance Cues and Clothing

The multiple uses of clothing mentioned previously, and the cues they provide, offers comprehensive information that allows quick and effective judgements to be formed (Fiske and Taylor 1991; Hogg and Vaughan 2005). However, although society discourages making judgements about individuals based on appearance, this medium is adopted whenever available (Johnson et al. 2002). For example, facial processing is one of the foremost components of appearance that is scrutinised, with multiple emotions and behaviours anticipated through the adaptive process of assessing elements such as facial expressions Öhman (2002). These include i.e. ensuring survival by automatically decoding stranger's expressions for intent (also: Dimberg, Thunberg and Elmehed 2000). Additional elements such as facial attractiveness is also fundamental to successful procreation and survival (Öhman 2002), individuals judged as 'attractive' receive more positive evaluations for many attributes (for example; interesting, outgoing, warm and good).

Facial expression and attractiveness are amongst the foremost elements scrutinised within novel encounters, with overall attractiveness and physical qualities (e.g. social perception theory) closely following and comprising an array of components (Hooley and Yates 2015; Öhman 2002; Park 1986: Zebrowitz and Collins) 1997). Posture, grooming, accessories and clothing each impact overall impressions of attractiveness (Bar et al. 2006; Hooley and Yates 2015; Naumann, Vazire, Rentfrow and Gosling 2009) resulting in individuals being more positively perceived, which can impact affiliations, romance and careers (Hogg and Vaughan 2005; Hooley and Yates 2015). For example, Heilman and Stopeck (1985) reported attractive male executives were considered more competent and more likely to be offered employment. Whilst Hooley and Yates (2015) reported that attractiveness aided career progression,

proposing that individual's attractiveness (from a western perspective) included elements such as interpersonal and aesthetic skills and beauty, all determinants of both positive interpersonal responses and career success (Warhurst and Nickson 2007). Additionally, a component of individuals' overall appearance, clothing, is also symbolic of multiple salient 'meanings' from which observers achieve further information (Hooley and Yates 2015; McArthur and Post 1977 cited in Hogg and Vaughan 2005:61). Furthermore, clothing choice is the wearer's decision, which offers additional information regarding for instance, their values, personality and alliance to social groups. Each interpreted through clothing and increasing observers' ability to make accurate judgments (Crane 2000; Debaix 2002; Hogg and Vaughan 2005; Hooley and Yates 20145; Sabath 2004).

Whilst these studies illustrate the value placed on appearance-based impressions, the findings failed to consider situations in which novel encounters and subsequent first-impressions can be manipulated. In circumstances such as employment interviews, where appearance matters (Warhurst and Nickson 2007). Yet, if behaviours such as a smile, is accepted as the physical embodiment of internal emotions, this will be accepted as a component of the individual and assessed accordingly. Similarly, clothing can also be manipulated to create a positive impression.

The central role played by appearance within impression-formation has been well documented (Hooley and Yates 2015; Johnson et al. 2002; Sabath 2004). However, impression-formation processes that encompass both dynamic and static cues achieve a more accurate impression of an individual (Naumann et al. 2009; Zebrowitz and Collins). Amalgamation of directly observable 'static' elements, which include facial features, posture and clothing, are often enhanced with prior knowledge concerning an individual (Johnson et al. 2002). For example, 'primary effects' model argued that the initial visual stimulus affects the subsequent impression formed (Asch 1949; Kelley 1950). However, cue choice differs between individuals and contexts (Zanna and Hamilton 1972). Thus, initially chosen cues are subjective and relate to the importance the observer places upon them, (Zanna and Hamilton 1972).

Interpreting appearance cues are also explained by some stereotype theories. Stereotype-related cues include for example, gender, group membership and beliefs (Ory, Hoffman, Hawkins, Sanner and Mockenhaupt 2003) each, able to influence impression-formation. Widely held assumptions regarding individuals' personality, behaviours and attitudes are based on the consistency of available information aligning with stereotypes (Ory et al. 2003; Brewer

1988 cited in Zebrowitz and Collins 1997:205). Stereotypical information is non-static, developing and evolving to accommodate change (Crane 2000) and clothing cue variation due to 'fashion trends' can be easily updated (Sabath 2004). For example, recent changes in societal attitudes towards stereotyping children's gender through clothing, resulted in shop-chains adopting a gender-neutral policy, resulting in some high street shops no longer displaying and labelling clothing by gender stereotypes for example 'girl's' versus 'boy's' clothing, or by colour (Chaplain 2017). Such practices result in 'updating' a 'children's clothing' stereotype or schema.

Appearance schemas are cognitive schemas enabling mental representations regarding attributes, behaviours and personality to be readily accessed from appearance and clothing cues (Fiske and Taylor 1991; Brewer and Lui 1989). Hannover and Kühnen (2002) exemplified this by reporting that cues attained from wearing clothing styles (formal vs casual) directly activated schema-related information. Furthermore, even when cues are tenuous or vague, schemas complete the voids where knowledge is lacking, with preconceptions and cognitive templates aiding in gaining understanding (Hogg and Vaughan 2005; Fiske and Taylor 1991). This may be particularly pertinent when a meeting is 'zero-acquaintance' or brief. The ability to form an impression is often the sole opportunity to form a judgment, the medium of clothing offers multiple 'messages' in this context (Crane 2000; Warwick and Cavallaro 2001). As previously stated, these may not always be accurate, but are driven by individuals' need to attach meaning to individuals and their behaviours.

Consequently, the evidence offered for discussion demonstrates, that humans are both 'hardwired' and have developed means of gathering and interpreting information about others based on available visual cues. The interpretation behind this information will however, be affected by many factors, including cultural and individual differences; these require consideration when generalising clothing's effect on impression formation. However, in order to form a comprehensive understanding of the underlying mechanisms involved in both perceiving and conveying garment-related attributes the following section will incorporate further empirical literature surrounding 'first-impression-formation' from physical appearance and how impressions derived directly from clothing predicts personality traits and behaviours (e.g. SPT Bem 1972; Zebrowitz and Collins 1997).

1.2.4. First Impressions and Personality Traits (Including Social Perception Theory)

Prior to examining the effects of clothing on wearer's behaviours, it is important to understand the multidimensional effects of clothing and the extent to which clothing is relied upon as a basis for various subsequent outcomes. For instance, if as Mead (1934 Scott 2015) (previously introduced) argued, individuals make inferences about others' behaviours from personal reflection, which forms the source of information. However, impressions and subsequent judgements are more stably formed from accumulated stimulus, preconceptions and inferences (Bar, Neta and Linz 2006; Fiske and Taylor1991). For example, social perception theory (Bem 1972) reviewed by Zebrowitz and Collin (1997), proposed that traits are effectively attributed to prompts such as physical cues; non-verbal behaviours, stereotypes, and appearance (including; clothing, grooming, attractiveness).

Regardless of their source, impressions are rapid, unconscious and intuitive, and can be achieved from a 'mere glance' (Ambady, Bernieri and Richeson 2000). Within novel social interactions 'first impressions' are formed within minutes of meeting (Bar et al. 2006; Olivia and Todorov 2010a) and are accurate for many constructs such as personality traits (Ambady et al. 2000; Naumann et al. 2009; Wall, Taylor, Dixon, Conchie and Ellis 2013; Zebrowitz and Collins 1997). This ability suggests that humans are predisposed to utilise visual evaluations as a survival mechanism (Bar et al. 2006; Carney, Colvin and Hall 2007). Amalgamating multiple 'static' visual components and 'dynamic' non-verbal behaviours forms a composite impression of an individual (Hooley and Yates 2014; Naumann et al. 2009; Nguyen et al. 2014).

As previously introduced, personality judgments are common among the initial attributes that observers attempt to assess (Damhorst 1990; Zebrowitz and Collins 1997). Furthermore, with the inclusion of both static (clothing) and dynamic cues (facial expression, physicality and posture) additional personality-relevant information is available and personality judgements become accurate (Naumann et al. 2009; e.g. SPT Zebrowitz and Collins 1997). 'Observers' are not required to talk or interact with strangers for an extensive array of information to be garnered from 'wearers' clothing (Howlett et al. 2012). However, in utilising clothing and appearance cues to gain insight into personality 'types', some traits are more recognisable than others, in particular extraversion and neuroticism (Wall et al. 2013).

However, trait judgments are often context dependent. For example, 'internet chats', which are commonplace (Chapman and Rowe 2002), demonstrate that some traits such as conscientiousness and openness are more easily recognisable, whilst extraversion required more visible cues to gain effective judgments (Wall et al. 2013). Naumann et al.'s (2009) results were congruent with Wall et al.'s (2013), both reporting static appearance-based cues (clothing) provided effective indicators of many personality typologies, yet, if context was included, broader and more relevant information was attained to formulate personality judgements. If individuals wear a business-suit in an office environment, the context would heighten the likelihood that 'professional' traits were attributed to that individual (e.g. SCT Fiske and Taylor 1991; Peluchette and Karl 2007). Whilst, incongruence can cause distress or confusion for either party (Goffman 1990). The socially constructed relevance and associations individuals form between clothing and situations is also due to individuals' personality typology. More extrovert types may happily standout in a crowd, by wearing noticeable or incongruent clothing, whereas more introverted individuals may experience discomfort and prefer to align to cultural social norms or group identities (Debaix et al. 2002; Scott 2015). Dressing in a manner that is not congruent with an individual's personality may therefore cause psychological distress Peluchette et al. 2006).

Findings from such studies proposed that accuracy in attributing a personality typology was relatively high for certain personality traits: extraversion (Carney et al. 2007; Naumann et al. 2009) and neurotiscm (Wall et al. 2013). This was due to these traits being more 'visible' than others; 'flamboyance' in behaviour and clothing are assumed to be visual markers of extroversion (Crane 2000; Zebrowitz and Collins 1997), conversely, observing individuals' posture, behaviours or conservative clothing or 'dulled' demeanour suggests a neurotic personality (Wall et al. 2013).

Cues attained from clothing are however, effective in representing not only personality types, but also indicators of internal states (Bem 1972; Clayton, Lennon and Larkin 1987 cited in Kwon 1994a:33). Whilst some traits are recognisable from clothing cues, for example: formal clothing and conscientiousness (Albright, Kenny and Malloy 1988), red clothing and approach behaviour (Elliot, Greitemeyer and Pazda 2013) and sexual orientation (Holliday 2001), this demonstrates the close association between how personalities can be expressed through clothing and the ability of observers to recognise personality through clothing. This may not be straightforward; however, it must be considered that what is offered through visual cues, (i.e. clothing) may not be a true representation of an individual. Individuals may be dressing to

enact a 'role'. Again, some consideration should also be made of the context in which the clothing and personality evaluations are being made. Fiske and Taylor (1991) SCT argue that not only is context important, but social interactions as a consequence of the context is often reciprocal and context led and is intrinsic to understanding social behaviour. This theory is quite broad, however, does illustrate that cues such as clothing are not isolated and are interpreted in terms of further environmental prompts.

The literature discussed has offered robust support for effects of non-verbal and clothing cues to predict personality typologies and exhibit the efficacy of clothing to aid communication of implicit traits. The following section will offer a review of further literature to extend this discussion and introduce evidence arguing that even static 'images' are effective means through which individuals can be accurately evaluated and discussing the essentiality of clothing within this medium.

1.2.5. Impressions Made Through 'Snapshot' Images

The use of photographic/digital images are argued to be unrealistic portrayals of individual which fail to offer non-verbal cues necessary for effective impression formation (Damhorst 1990). However, various technology-based mediums and static 'images' are increasingly utilised to convey 'snapshots' of individuals within forums such as on-line friendship groups, dating web-sites and 'virtual meetings' (Bar, Neta and Linz 2006; Howlett et al. 2012; Naumann et al. 2009; Siibak 2009; Wall et al. 2013).

On-line forums encourage individuals to upload personal images to validate textual profile information (Ellison, Heino and Gibbs 2006). Additionally, the purpose behind many friendship and romance-orientated web-sites is to attract and form on-line friendships and/or romantic liaisons (Myspace, Friendster). Therefore, images and profiles are required as optimal representations of individuals (Ellis et al. 2006; Howlett et al. 2012; Naumann et al. 2009). However, dynamic cues are not available in images, unlike face-to-face interactions that benefit from; subtle change of eye contact, positive body orientation (Ellison et al. 2006; Howlett et al. 2012; Nguyen et al. 2014). Although research such as Naumann et al.'s (2009; also - SPT Zebrowitz and Collins 1997) argued that certain personality typologies are judgable from static cues when devoid of additional ones, in real-life applications such as online-friendship sites, there is textual information to add further information.

Although literature provides support for personality information being successfully conveyed via digital/photographic formats (Bar et al. 2006; Behling and Williams 1991; Naumann et al. 2009), however as discussed previously, literature that proposed information that included dynamic cues resulted in more effective evaluations being made (Damhorst 1990; Elliot et al. 2013; Ellison et al. 2006; Naumann et al. 2009). Yet, when available information is reduced, static cues such as clothing, becomes more salient (Chapman and Rowe 2002; Naumann et al. 2009; Riggio et al. cited in Naumann et al. 2009:1663).

Furthermore, settings that incorporate on-line interactions, for example, technology-mediated interviews (video-conferencing), dynamic cues are often restricted compared to face-to-face interactions (Chapman and Rowe 2002; Chapman, Uggerslev and Webster 2003). Yet non-verbal behaviours are generally limited to 'waist up' images, thereby reducing the number of cues available. Behaviours and conversations can be subject to time-delays (Chapman and Rowe 2002), where micro-second delays can result in parties having to adopt compensatory conversational structures such as longer pauses or altering conversational styles (for instance turn-taking) (Chapman and Rowe 1997). However, within online platforms clothing offers a stable medium through which effective cues are attained and incorporated within impression formation (Ellison et al. 2006; Naumann et al. 2009) and guides subsequent interactive behaviours (e.g. SCT Fiske and Taylor 1991; Goffman 1990).

The previous sections have introduced relevant literature in order to gain understanding of 'how' and 'what' cues are incorporated within impression-formation processes, concluding that both static and dynamic cues are intrinsic to the process (Naumann et al. 2009), whilst context and social interactions should also be considered (e.g. SCT – Fiske and Taylor 1991). Additionally, clothing played a salient role in this process, particularly when the medium is devoid of physical or displayed, limited interactions. Clothing, therefore is a stable and enduring means through which multiple messages are conveyed (Damhorst 1990; Entwistle and Wilson 2001; Moody, Kinderman and Sinha 2010; Sabath 2004).

In order to further 'unpack' components of clothing that 'message' observers, the following section introduces clothing as a 'symbolic' construct which represents meanings and behaviours. This section will examine some of the many meanings that are attached to, and are representative of prevalent items of clothing, exemplified through discussing a doctor/scientists' white coat and a business-suit.

1.3. Symbolic Clothing

1.3.1. Meanings Attached to Clothing

As previously determined, clothing is a robust medium through which individuals are judged based what they wear. Meanings are attached to visible, tangible artefacts (clothing) from which characteristics and behaviours are inferred (Bem 1972; Zebrowitz and Collins 1997). This practise is societally constructed, resulting in the development of clothing-associated meanings (Crane 2000; Twigg 2010). Forums such as media or social interactions ensure continuity, with clothing's constant usage and constant updating aiding the process (Bem 1972; Crane 2000; Entwistle and Wilson 2001; Goffman 1959, cited in Riggio 1990). Symbolic meanings are achieved from clothing, not only as static observable objects, but from using these 'objects' within social interactions (Goffman 1990; Pratt and Rafaeli 1997).

The symbolism attached to items of clothing is often an impassive process, an intentioned and manipulated action. Individuals deliberately enrich the impressions they convey, and similarly acknowledge and decode messaged meanings (Bem 1972; Goffman cited in Riggio 1990). For instance, Goffman (1959) proposed that clothing is a medium through which information is 'channelled' to observers with interpretations and meanings extracted and construed according to context (also SCT Fiske and Taylor 1991). Therefore, clothing's role within interactions results in perceptions and reciprocal behaviours forming mutually and contextually relevant 'understanding' (Fiske and Taylor 1991; Goffman 1959). However, only when all parties recognise the meanings do they retain their relevance within the interaction (Davis 1984; Schlenker 1975).

Symbolic garments are arguably all items of clothing, and do not have to be blatant (a Judge's wig and robes, or a military uniform). They can manifest as a subtle gesture made through wearing clothing in a certain way. A neck-scarf tied in a particular manner can broadcast diverse messages such as gang-affiliation or simply be self-expression (Debaix, Decrop and Cabossart 2002; Hethorn 1994). Self-identity and group-identity are often expressed through wearing symbolic clothing, resulting in individuals identifying with a group or collective and adopting particular clothing as a means of being recognised as a group member (i.e. football supporters, religious affiliations, gang membership, uniforms, designer brands) (Debaix et al. 2002; Fennis and Pruyn 2007; Pratt and Rafaeli 1997; William and Bendelow 1998).

Wearing 'team-clothing' (football shirts) is often an attempt to demonstrate group/team affiliation through clothing practices (Arnould and Price 2000). Individuals actively utilise the symbolism of clothing for personal purposes, including self-presentation (Debaix et al. 2002). Schlenker (1975; 1980) proposed that individuals self-present by using symbolic artefacts (clothing and accessories). This creates an impression of identity with others, whilst attempting to gain validation and a 'self-concept' through interacting with individuals who acknowledge what was 'messaged' and thereby validating their identity. Debaix et al. (2002) proposed that through group adhesions and unification (wearing 'team-colours'), behaviours were also unified, including; chanting, gesturing and whistling (also SCT Fiske and Taylor 1991). However, what Debaix et al. (2002) were unable to clarify was if unification of behaviours were conscious. If unconscious, this would suggest that embodying certain clothing prompts related behaviours and symbolic outcomes, for example, 'football supporter' behaviour. However, wearing clothing that symbolises group identity, not only affects observable behaviours, but wearer's attitudes and beliefs too (Crane 2000; Derbaix et al. 2002).

Goffman's (1959; cited Riggio 1990) self-presentation theory adopted a different approach, proposing that identity is transmitted and displayed through concrete and deliberate components (clothing, artefacts) that symbolise individuals' identity. Yet, these components are contextual and dependent on specific audiences, in specific settings (Goffman 1990). Goffman (1959) argued that meanings and understandings are 'acted-out' or experienced within social interactions with 'concrete' symbols, 'props' (clothing) utilised to 'enact' an impression. This potentially demonstrates the lack of understanding or tolerance some individuals have for others, whom they do not understand or know how to interact with, therefore, clothing item can cause confusion and may result in prejudice if interactions are not reciprocal (SCT - Fiske and Taylor 1991).

Different garments hold different inherent meanings that are entrenched within cultures and societies (Crane 2000; Sabath 2004). For example, a priest's robes, comprising white collar, black shirt, suit or mantle, ensures easy identification of related roles and represents their practices, (humility, religiosity, reverence) (Renteln 2004). Additionally, institutions (religious, military, hospitals), often indicate organisational hierarchy through embellishments adorning higher-status clothing i.e. a 'Bishop's purple' or a doctor's White coat (Pratt and Rafaeli 1997). Therefore, in order to exemplify the effects of symbolic clothing on behaviours and attitudes, a garment which has received great empirical attention within western cultures - the doctors' white coat is discussed.

Doctors', scientists' and medical professionals' white coat is historically representative of their respective professions, and synonymous with practices and traits that wearers possess (Hochberg 2007). The purpose and appearance of a white coat within medicine and science aided the development of its symbolic status. The original purpose of a white coat was for medical practitioners to be perceived as 'pure' and 'clean' (antiseptic and moral), symbolised by the colour white (Hochberg 2007). Utilisation of a white coat became universal for medical professionals from its inception towards the end of the nineteenth century, due in part to a desire to change attitudes that medical practitioners were 'charlatans' (Hochberg 2007). Additionally, a consultation with a medical professional (doctor/surgeon) was viewed as formal occasions with doctors practicing wearing a white coat, resulting in a stereotype becoming rooted in social referencing (Gooden et al. 2001).

The strength of the symbolism of this garment was highlighted in recent practises within United Kingdom National Health Service medical centres with the discontinuation of wearing a white coat (Bond et al. 2010). However, this change was contrary to doctors' and patients' preferences (Au, Khandwala and Stelfox 2013; Gherardi et al. 2009; Kanzler & Gorsulowsky 2002). Furthermore, doctors' and patients' opinions and behaviours have been affected by its cessation (Gooden et al. 2001; Petrilli et al. 2014). For instance, Gherardi et al. (2009: 522) reported patients believed doctors in formal clothing were 'intimidating' and 'pretentious', yet still preferred white coats being worn. In contrast, Gooden et al. (2001) reported that white coats improved communication between patients and doctors, with patients subsequently being more compliant (Petrilli et al. 2014). However, this latter finding may be due to a link between white coats and hospital hierarchy, such as doctors' inferred power (Pratt and Rafaeli 1998). This was arguably one of the motives behind hospital management discouraging the practice (Bond et al. 2010; Burger, Wijewardena, Clayson and Greatorex 2011). However, Hochberg (2007) proposed that wearing white coats reminded doctors of their professional duties and upkeep of their Hippocratic Oath and 'healing practices'.

Regardless of the practice of wearing white coats within UK medical institutions being discontinued, its symbolism has not fully dissipated (Gooden et al. 2001; Mancia 2009; Oxtoby 2015). A body of literature had focused on various effects of seeing white coats being worn; for example, 'white-coat-syndrome', a phenomenon in which patients exhibit raised blood-pressure when in the presence of doctors (Mancia et al. 2009), 'White coat effects' (Brase and Richmond 2004) and effects of wearing a white coat on cognitive processes (Adam and Galinsky 2012; Van Stockum and DeCaro 2014; Womack 2016). Furthermore, Adam and

Galinsky (2012) recognised the garment's symbolism and 'power', reporting that individuals wearing a white coat displayed enhanced garment-related trait behaviours. This manifested through wearers 'embodying' the garment's symbolism and illustrated the 'power' of symbolic clothing on subsequent behaviours (Adam and Galinsky 2012). There needs to be consideration however that although recent research Adam and Galinsky (2012; Van Stockum and DeCaro 2014; Womack 2016) were dependent on the symbolism of white coats to support enclothed behaviour theories, this may be time-limited due to white coats' use no longer being prevalent in medical environments.

Enclothed cognition is a relatively new area of research since the inception of the present research and has begun to reveal outcomes of wearing symbolic clothing, particularly the white coat (Adam and Galinsky 2012; Van Stockum and DeCaro 2014; Womack 2016). Furthermore, Adam and Galinsky's (2012) enclothed cognition theory was incorporated within the framework of the present research and is evaluated in Chapter 2. However as previously introduced, the garment of focus within this research is the business-suit. In order to integrate literature surrounding white coats and business-suits, illustrating how associated attributes are often contextual, the following section discusses literature relating to the business-suit and its association with professional traits and impressions formed by observers, representing its symbolism.

1.3.2. Formal Clothing

The original, terminology for a business-suit was 'formal wear' (Debretts 2015) and was derived from the outfit's origins as clothing that was worn for 'formal' meetings and occasions (funerals and weddings,). Consulting a doctor/medical professional was, and often still is, regarded as a formal meeting (Brase and Richmond 2004; Furnham, Chan and Wilson 2014). Furthermore, formal clothing for everyday wear was the practice of 'professional' institutions, due mainly to being impractical for carrying out manual tasks and its construction impacting and restricting body motion (Crane 2000), but also its status as 'Sunday best' (Crane 2000; Slepian et al. 2014).

Whilst previously discussing doctors' clothing (Section 1.3.1.), it was recognised that an additional influence on perceived 'doctor's/medical professionals' status included them wearing formal clothing (worn with/without a white coat) (Brase and Richmond 2004;

Furnham et al. 2014; Hochberg 2007). The unison of these garments, business-suit and white coat, became, and remained popular with patients until recently (Au et al. 2013; Brase and Richmond 2004; Kanzler and Gorsulowsky 2002), patients perceived doctors as more 'knowledgeable', 'competent' and 'honest' when wearing a business-suit compared to casual clothing (with or without a white coat) (Brase and Richmond 2004; Kanzler and Gorsulowsky 2002).

Although casual clothing within workplace contexts were reported as increasing perceptions of 'sociability' and 'friendliness' (Cardon and Okoro 2009; Kwon and Johnson-Hilleary 1998), doctors wearing formal clothing (with/without white coats) were perceived as 'approachable' by their patients (Petrilli et al. 2014) with patients more likely to share personal and sensitive information (Petrilli et al. 2014). However, casually dressed doctors were perceived as friendly, but less competent (Barrett and Booth 1994). Somewhat in contrast to Petrilli et al.'s (2014) findings, reports from workplace contexts argued that business-suits decreased perceptions of approachability and communication (Lightstone et al. 2011; Peluchette and Karl 2007; Peluchette, Karl and Rust 2006), Whilst, Furnham et al. (2014) proposed that differing perceptions of the same garment were a result of differing contexts. This may be a result of particular workplace's emphasis on a dress-code; if none exists then no value will be placed on clothing. Conversely, seeing individuals from organisations such as financial institutions and a medical environment both wearing a business-suit, expectations include 'professionalism' and 'competence' in both individuals (Peluchette and Karl 2007; Peluchette, Karl and Rust 2006), however, their practises would not be expected to be the same within their respective contexts (Furnham et al. 2014). This illustrates the pervasive nature of these outfits; however, consideration of context is important as garment attributes differ between different circumstances.

Furthermore, some trait overlap is apparent regardless of where suits are worn, ('self-confidence', 'competence', 'professionalism', 'intelligence') (Barrett and Booth 1994; Kwon and Johnson-Hilleary 1998; Peluchette and Karl 2007), whereas 'knowledgeability', 'approachability' and 'friendliness' differed between contexts (Cardon and Okoro 2009; Kwon and Johnson-Hilleary 1998; Peluchette and Karl 2007) this was accepted as demonstrating universal perceptions associated to business-suit exists, whilst further perceptions are influenced by the environment.

1.3.3. The Business Suit

In order to return focus to the garment incorporated within the present thesis, the discussion examined how business-suits achieved symbolism and retained culturally constructed meanings through longevity and common usage (Aldrich 2007; Crane 2000).

Contemporary suits have changed little since their incorporation into men's clothing at the end of the nineteenth century (Aldrich 2007; Debretts 2015). Lapels, collars and trouser width follows strict rules regarding their shape and proportion. This is often fashion-led, yet the styling of business-suits has not strayed far from its original format (Aldrich 2007; Crane 2000). Women's wear has also incorporated business-suits since its inception and was often a means through which women conveyed androgyny or 'male' traits (Warwick and Cava 2001; Crane 2000). The colour range of business-suits is restricted and 'conservative' within business environments, with navy through grey to black being usual (Crane 2000).

However, the impression suits convey, for instance, power, status, and professionalism have also been retained alongside the suits' styling (Carney et al. 2002; Warwick and Cavallero 2001). The business-suit comprises jacket and matching trousers, and for men it is generally accompanied by a stiff-collared shirt and tie. Women incorporate a shirt or blouse under jackets and can wear skirts as opposed to trousers. Suits are constructed of fabrics (fine weave wool, wool mix, and manmade fibres) able to retain a smooth and 'uncreased' appearance. The outer jacket layer does not generally show body-form such as extreme contours, but 'skims' over the chest, waist, hips, from a shoulder line that incorporates shoulder-enhancement (n.d. Turner). Shoulder-enhancement involves adding to the width and height of the jacket at the top of the shoulders and is dictated by fashion-led trends, with extreme widths and heights being aligned to masculine or 'power' looks (Crane 2000; Sabath 2004). The amount of shape, (contouring over the torso, arms and legs) that jackets/trousers/skirts provides the wearer, is also fashionled, but has not changed greatly from the garment's original principles (Aldrich 2007). Furthermore, the business-suit, kept within design and tradition-led limitations, reinforces its utility as i.e. symbol of respect, status and professional attributes, both within society and organisations (Debretts 2015; Peluchette and Karl 2007; Pratt and Rafaeli 1997).

The incorporation of shoulder enhancement (shoulder pads) and the careful placement of the sleeve seam gives the impression of an upright and 'positive' posture (shoulders up and back) and does not generally require adjustment to the posture of the wearer to achieve this

appearance (Aldrich 2007; Cuddy et al. 2002). Therefore, appearance achieved by business-suits are often aligned to power, dominance and masculinity (Carney et al. 2002).

Proposing that a business-suit carries only positive attributes to wearers is failing to take account of alternative views about wearing this style of clothing in workplaces. For example, Peluchette et al. (2006) proposed 'appearance labour' was the amount of physical and psychological effort individuals put into being dressed in a certain way for work, for example following or adapting to dress-codes. Dress-codes can also be interpreted as an enforced 'uniform', which may not offer wearers physical or psychological comfort (Kwon 1991). Although this discussion has shown the business-suit in a somewhat positive light, its effects on wearers can be negative and requires acknowledgement. For example, the comfort level of clothing (formal versus casual) was shown to negatively affect exam performance (Bell et al. 2005). Whilst, being forced to wear types of clothing impinge upon self-expression and self-identification (Hooley and Yates 2015). However, the purpose of the present research was to look at the effects of wearing a business-suit, and accordingly both negative and positive effects on wearers are considered.

In returning to positive attributes associated to wearing a business-suit, literature had proposed that business-suit 'wearers' self-perceive included; 'confidence', 'competence' and 'power' (Karl et al. 2013; Kwon 1994a; Peluchette, Karl and Rust 2006) and are identical to those perceived by 'observers' (Cardon and Okoro 2009; Furnham et al. 2014; Kwon and Faber 1992; Lightstone et al. 2011) they are also the same traits that individuals who adopt a positive posture (shoulders back, upright stance) self-perceive and convey to others (Carney, Cuddy and Yap 2010; 2015; Welker, Oberleitner, Cain and Carré). However, the impact of the jacket's inherent qualities; structure, haptic and physical effects rather than its symbolism within this process is unclear and will be the focus of the investigation detailed in Chapter 7.

Business-suits have received a similar level of empirical attention as has the doctor's white coat, illustrating both garments ubiquity and prevalence. Much of the literature focused on the business-suit's incorporation within workplace environments and employment interviews (McCarthy and Goffin 2004; Karl et al. 2013; Rafaeli et al. 1997) and associated perceptions (Behling and Williams 1991; Damhorst 1990; Karl et al. 2013; Kwon 1991; 1994; Kwon and Johnson-Hilleary 1998; Lightstone et al. 2011). This has resulted in a large quantity of literature focusing on garment-associated perceptions that are associated to this context (Kwon 1994a; Karl et al. 2013; Peluchette et al. 2006; Peluchette and Karl 2007). However, although the use

of the business-suit outside of traditional professions has somewhat diminished (Cardon and Okoro 2009; Furnham et al. 2014), arguably, due to adopting less formal dress-codes (Franz and Norton 2001; Lightstone et al. 2011), the business-suit is still regularly worn within business environments and employment interviews, thus maintaining its symbolism and association with professional attributes (Cardon and Okoro 2009; Kwon 1994; Kwon and Johnson-Hilleary 1998; Peluchette and Karl 2007).

A further confound identified in the literature was that of the sample that has historically been incorporated within investigations. Although it is clearly relevant to examine a valid population on the construct of interest, this does not always allow findings to be generalised. For example, perceptions associated to business-suits had mainly be garnered from workplace participants (Karl et al. 2013; Peluchette and Karl 2007; Rafaeli et al. 1997) or post-graduate students, often within a faculty or on a course related to occupational and business interest (Cardon and Okoro 2009; Carr et al. 2009; Kwon and Johnson-Hilleary 1998). These findings cannot fully be deemed universal if they do not considered cohorts such as undergraduates. Undergraduates are generally heading to employment in graduate level jobs, which suggests a level of associated behaviours and knowledge (Ruetzler et al. 2011). Therefore, their understanding of associated perceptions is important. If a mismatch occurs between their views of formal clothing, for example, reduced positive perceptions, they may miss the opportunity to convey professional behaviours effectively (Cardon and Okoro 2009; Hall and Bernardino This issue was addressed in Chapter 5, in which perceptions and beliefs of 2006). undergraduates towards wearing a business-suit to a graduate interview was explored.

Furthermore, the prevalence of casual clothing styles within organisations has initiated documentation of perceptions attached to its use (Cardon and Okoro 2009). This has resulted in interest being shown in the effect of wearing 'business-casual' compared to 'business-formal' clothing. This, therefore requires some attention in order to clarify differences and highlight the continued strength of business-suits to associate with particular traits.

1.3.3.1. Business Suit or Business Casual: What is the Difference?

Prior to introducing the association between the business-suit and 'professional' traits, it is important to address the societal shift that has been evidenced in the past three decades towards wearing less formal clothing in business environments (Franz and Norton 2001; Lightstone et

al. 2011; Karl et al. 2013). The introduction of less formal dress-codes within business organisations has resulted in changes to some workplace behaviours, e.g. nonverbal communications and increased interactions between professionals and clients (Franz and Norton 2001; Furnham et al. 2014; LaSala and Nelson 2005), reduced status differences and reinforced corporate values (Beechler and Yang 1994). However, organisations may view these changes as beneficial (Peluchette and Karl 2007), whilst changes to employees' perceptions may not be positive and have negative psychological consequences.

For example, feelings of reduced status and professionalism can be felt with changed attire (Cardon and Okoro 2009; Kang et al. 2010; Lightstone et al. 2011). Contrary to suggestions that wearing business-casual has become universal, alternative evidence proposed a reversion back to wearing business-suits (Lightstone et al. 2010). Cited as a reaction to the 'demise' of the dot.com and hi-tech companies, recent worldwide economic instability and employees needing to convey attributes and status to secure tenure (Karl et al. 2013; Lightstone et al. 2011). Changes to dress-codes are still prevalent and have not as yet reached a consensus (Topham-wood 2017). The full effects of adopting business-casual styles are not fully realised or understood. However, differences between clothing styles and what is known thus far, does reinforce the status of business-suits as being symbolic of stable professional traits. It was therefore important to explain the differences between business-suits and business-casual styles that resulted in changes in perceptions, particularly when context and job roles remain constant.

Business-casual clothing comprises jacket ('sports jacket') and trousers/skirt, often in different fabrics/texture/patterned fabrics and a soft-collared shirt/blouse or tie-less shirt being worn (Kwon and Johnson-Hilleary 1998) from business-suit, (as described previously, comprising trousers, matching jacket, worn with shirt and tie). Both outfits are somewhat comparable, they include structured jackets and trousers (not made of denim or stretch fabric) retaining an uncreased appearance, or in the case of a suit a 'pressed' appearance with a crease down centre front and rear of trousers (Topham-Wood 2017). Both outfits are clean, and 'groomed' looking and worn with shoes (not sports shoes). However, regardless of these differences there remains a difference between the two outfits and their associated attributes (Cardon and Okoro 2009; Kwon and Johnson-Hilleary 1998; Lightstone et al. 2011). Although the outcome of replacing a business-suit with business-casual styles is not yet fully apparent (Kwon and Johnson-Hilleary 1998; Topham-wood 2017), evidence has begun to report increases in 'sociability' whilst 'power' traits are reduced (Cardon and Okoro 2009; Kwon and Johnson-Hilleary 1998; Topham-woods 2017).

An example of this trend was recently seen in a major Unites States financial institution, J. P. Morgan, a company who stringently adhered to a business-suit dress-code, then introduced a more casual clothing policy for employees in 2016. J. P. Morgan argued they wanted to align employees with clients' clothing styles and sought to appear more approachable as an organisation (Bart 2016). Early commentators of this change (Bart 2016; Topham-Wood 2017) proposed that this caused a dilemma for employees, in particular, women. Highly conscious of their need to convey 'professionalism' compared to their male counterparts, female employees believed they portrayed this via their clothing (Topham-Woods 2017). This is due to females dressed in business-suits not holding the same status as their male counterparts in many professional sectors (Furnham et al. 2014). Therefore, females are likely to want to hold on to practices that enable them to compete and align with male-dominant and professional traits.

Kwon and Johnson-Hilleary (1998) had previously recognised the differing perceptions that wearers gained from business-suits compared to business-casual styles, as had Cardon and Okoro (2009). In investigating perceptions of professional attributes associated with three clothing styles: business-suit, business-casual and casual, attributes such as 'friendliness' were conveyed through business-casual clothing, whilst traits of 'authoritativeness' were associated to business-suit (Cardon and Okoro 2009; Peluchette and Karl 2007; Peluchette, Karl and Rust 2006). However, the purpose of Cardon and Okoro (2009) examination was to examine what business students preferred to wear. Reporting their preference was for working for companies with business-casual clothing policies; reasons included, comfort and flexibility. regardless of personal preference, students fully understood traits a business-suit projected (authoritativeness, intelligence and competence) that business-casual did not. However, Cardon and Okoro (2009) investigated professional traits within a sample in which most participants had some employment or experience within a business environment, therefore participants had already been exposed to workplace schematic information. Kwon and Johnson-Hilleary (1998) had reported differing results; business students preferred wearing business-suit to work and were fully cognisant of clothing's' effect on associated perceptions in the workplace. However, Cardon and Okoro (2009) argued that graduates needed to choose their outfit cautiously when entering the workplace, as what they wore projected particular characteristics that may be inconsistent with what they should portray for a particular job-role (Cardon and Okoro 2009).

The above section described and reviewed literature that illustrated different associations made to the business-suit and its potential 'replacement', business-casual clothing (Bart 2016; Cardon and Okoro 2009; Kwon and Johnson-Hilleary 1998; Lightstone et al. 2011). The consensus in the literature proposed that to-date, business-casual style is not a replacement for the business-suit, but an alternative, with differing attributes attached to it (Cardon and Okoro 2009; Karl et al. 2013; Kwon and Johnson-Hilleary 1998; Lightstone et al. 2011). Acknowledging the effects of differences in workplace clothing styles and associated perceptions has enabled the discussion to begin to unpack some context-related perceptions that comprise the business-suit's symbolism. Therefore, the following section will extend this dialogue and discuss perceptions formed by wearers and observers in an organisational context. Additionally, this discussion will also consider wearers' behaviours associated to these perceptions.

1.3.4. Perception: Self and Other's

Business-suit wearers are perceived as having attributes including; status (Fortenberry, Maclean, Morris and O'Connell 1978; Lapitsky and Smith 1981), competence (Douglas and Soloman 1983; Kwon and Faber 1992), managerial abilities (Forsythe 1988), intelligence and scholastic achievement (Behling and Williams 1991; Damhorst 1985; Kwon 1994; Kwon and Faber 1992), professionalism (Kwon and Faber 1992), professional attributes (Karl et al. 2013; Kwon and Johnson Hilleary 1998; Peluchette and Karl 2007) which equally applies to self-perceptions. Although much of this, and associated literature, is far from contemporary, what is apparent from current literature is that perceptions are unchanged since their original compilation (Hooley and Yates 2015; Karl et al. 2013; Peluchette and Karl 2007; Slepian et al. 2014). Due to this stability, in terms of both self-perceptions and observer's perceptions, researchers Peluchette and Karl (2007) compiled an aggregate scale relating to business-suit's perceived traits and competencies. The scale's usage has been prevalent in related research, as well as incorporated into the present research presented in this thesis, due to its comprehensive coverage of traits (Cardon and Okoro 2009; Hannover and Kühnen 2002; Kang, Sklar and Johnson 2012; Karl et al. 2013; Slepian et al. 2014).

Furthermore, research that had not incorporated Peluchette and Karl's (2007) 'professional self-perception scale' had compiled their own (Franz and Norton 2001; Furnham et al. 2014;

Kwon and Johnson-Hilleary 1998; Lightstone et al. 2011), yet these were underpinned by the same empirical literature (Behling and Williams 1991; Damhorst 1990; Douglas and Soloman 1983; Forsythe 1985; Kwon 1994a/b; Kwon and Faber 1992; Peluchette and Karl 2006; Soloman and Schopler 1982; Rafaeli et al. 1997; Rucker Anderson and Kangas 1999). The result of these scales was a consistent compilation of trait adjectives (or synonyms, Hannover and Kühnen 2002) that referred to 'professional' attributes linked to the business-suit from, both wearer's and observer's perspectives.

Having established that there is consistency in business-suit associated traits, the effect of perceptions on wearers' behaviours was also relevant. For example, recent literature evidence had begun to demonstrate direct effects of wearing particular clothing relating to associated traits on subsequent cognitive processes. (Adam and Galinsky 2012; Slepian et al 2015; Van Stockum and DeCaro 2014). This research had begun to illustrate the direct consequence of wearing symbolic clothing on behavioural effects.

In a similar approach Clayton, Lennon and Larkin (1987) argued that mental constructs are formed regarding expected behaviours and traits, achieved from observable characteristics and behaviours of others or referenced to the self (Bem 1972). Kwon (1994a) added that individuals amass personal mental constructs concerning different modes of clothing and behaviours that are congruent with the context in which they were worn. Furthermore, Hannover and Kühnen (2002) reported that individuals wearing business-suits perceived themselves differently from when they wore casual clothing. Hannover and Kühnen (2002) argued that this was due to different clothing styles 'priming' garment-related trait knowledge (schemas) that influenced self-descriptions and wearers subsequent behaviour.

Priming research has consistently reported a causal link between various behaviours following exposure to a prime. For example, constructs such as test-anxiety and test performance were reduced when participants were psychologically primed with self-perceived 'competence' (Lang and Lang 2010). Yet, priming effects on behaviour can be more fundamental. For instance, body orientation, such as posing in a particular position (Galinsky, Magee, Inesi and Gruenfeld 2006; Huang, Galinsky, Gruenfeld and Guillory 2010), the ergonomics of a driving position (Yap, Wazlawek, Lucas, Cuddy and Carney 2013:2285) or contextual priming (Berger, Meredith and Wheeler 2008). An alternative approach argued that simply being exposed to an 'artefact' triggered behaviour consistent with its symbolism (material priming, Kay et al. 2004).

However, in terms of clothing, empirical literature (Adam and Galinsky 2012; Bem 1972; Kwon 1994a; Clayton et al. 1987; Hannover and Kühnen 2002) offered varying explanations as to how garment-related perceptions, such as professionalism, confidence, authority (Peluchette and Karl 2007) are accessed and accommodated to inform subsequent responses. What was not clear was whether behaviours are affected purely by perceptions (Behling and Williams 1991; Kwon 1994). The literature supports the premise that behaviours are a direct result of garment-related perceptions 'sociability traits' versus 'power traits' resulting from wearing business or business-casual clothing (Kwon and Johnson-Hilleary 1998). Yet, few studies have provided evidence for performance-based effects, due to reports tending to be anecdotal. For example, perceptions of enhanced workplace productivity due to wearing business-suits are not substantiated by performance evidence but were solely gained through employee's perceived increased productivity (Peluchette and Karl 2007). Additionally, employees who perceive themselves to be more authoritative (Karl et al. 2013) when wearing a business-suit may believe they act in a more authoritative manner, but there is no supportive literature that has recorded increases.

There have however been some advances since the beginning of the present research, although these have focused on cognitive performance rather than professional competencies associated to clothing. Adam and Galinsky's (2012) study had been seminal in examining the effects of symbolic clothing and wearers' perceptions of this symbolism on garment-related task performance. This has subsequently been supported by further studies also examining symbolic clothing and behaviour (Slepian et al. 2015; Stockrum and DeCaro 2014; Womack 2016). These studies did not all explicitly 'prime' wearer's perceptions to garment-associated traits but measured task performance whilst wearing a symbolic garment (Van Stockrum and DeCaro 2014). This suggests that there may be further mechanisms responsible for heightened task performance other than acknowledging garment-related perceptions.

1.4. Chapter Summary

The literature reviewed in the present chapter related to effects of clothing 'in general' and latterly to a business-suit as a symbolic garment. Support was also derived from literature that argued clothing was a potent and enduring medium through which meanings and understandings are conveyed and attained (Cardon and Okoro 2009; Moody et al. 2010). A further recognised theme within this chapter was that wearers' perceptions of garment-related traits were often gained through socially constructed, inter/intra-personal, garment and context-related interactions (Bem 2007; Crane 2000; Goffman 1990; Sabath 2004). Additionally, enactment of garment associated roles and behaviours were often a consequence of perceptions cued from wearing a certain garment (Karl et al. 2013; Kwon and Johnson-Hilleary 1998; Peluchette and Karl 2007; Rafaeli et al. 1997). Some of the evidence was however anecdotal, proposing that wearers believed their behaviour change was consistent with their perceptions (Behling and Williams 1991; Peluchette and Karl 2007).

However, the present chapter also offered an introduction to contemporary research that has begun to report direct effects of wearing symbolic clothing on behaviours (Slepian et al. 2015; Van Stockum and DeCaro 2014; Womack 2016). This research and findings will be introduced in depth in Chapter 4, however, a further component relating to the effects of clothing on wearers that was introduced, is clothing's' impact on emotions (Adam and Galinsky 2014; Kang et al. 2013; Kwon 1991, 1994; Moody et al. 2010). Therefore, in order to evaluate the effects of clothing on mood, emotions and cognition Chapter 2 will discuss and review relevant literature in greater depth. Therefore, endogenous factors (internal states) (Kwon 1991) also required reviewing to understand their impact on wearers' behaviour, these will be reviewed in detail in chapter 2.

Chapter 2. Clothing-associated Behaviours and Emotions

2.1. Endogenous Factors Associated to Clothing

2.1.1. Affectivity and Clothing

The literature offered in Chapter 1 enabled recognition of clothing as a conduit for social, personal, interactional and cultural information transfer (Exogenous factors) (Crane 2000; King and Vickery 2013; Kwon 1991, 1994a; Peluchette and Karl 2007; Twigg 2010). However, exogenous elements of clothing also impact endogenous factors (internal elements): mood, predispositions and relationships with clothing (Kwon 1991). For example, Sontag and Schlater (1982) argued that psychological and physical relationships are formed via clothing (environmentally and socially), with clothing acting as a proxy for experiencing a range of sensory perceptions, emotions and behaviours (King and Vickery 2013; Lü and Chen 2013).

Likewise, Johnson et al. (2002) discussed clothing in terms of a 'micro-environment' for the body. Proposing that clothing was responsible for transferring affective components to the wearer, including: haptic, textural and sensory elements, each affecting the wearers' experience (also: Delong et al. 1986; Hoefer, Handel, Muller and Hammer 2016; King and Vickery 2013; Sontag and Schlater 1982). Even individuals who declare they have 'no interest' in their appearance interact with their clothing through its direct contact with their skin (Twigg 2007). However, the process of sensory-associated perceptions is often unconscious, yet the impact can be profound (King and Vickery 2013; Kwon 1994a; Lü and Chen 2013; Moody et al. 2010).

For example, Sontag and Schlater (1982; Sontag and Lee 2005) recognised the strong influence of clothing on wearers' 'perceived quality of life', arguing that clothing was an intrinsic and powerful component, that was indicative of individuals' representation of 'self'. Quality of life was therefore impacted by the measure of an individual's relationship between the self and their clothing (Kang et al. 2010; Sontag and Schlater 1982; Sontag and Lee 2005). Furthermore, clothing offered wearers a direct link between their moods, perceptions and attitudes (King and Vickery 2013). However, this process is subjective and for this association to fully manifest, wearers must have some awareness of psychological and physical proximity with their clothing (King and Vickery 2013). Furthermore, Sontag and Schlater (1982) proposed that individuals scoring high in 'proximity of clothing to self' (PCS), perceived clothing as a component of the self, with 'self' established and validated via their clothing.

Through this 'selfhood' clothing becomes symbolic of individuals' attitudes, moods and identity, including their relations to their subjective environment (Sontag and Schlater 1982, 2005). Kwon (1994b) offered support for a link between clothing and self, adding that emotions were contingent on the clothing worn and was often context orientated (Kwon 1994b; Rafaeli et al. 1997; Twigg 2007) with congruence between each factor assisting in positive outcomes.

Furthermore, Moody et al. (2010) argued that clothing was chosen to cope with emotions, environments and social circumstances. However, choosing clothing as 'preferred' or 'favourite' items offered wearers a medium with which to control and/or express feelings. Kwon (1991; 1994) supported this stance, arguing that clothing choice affected individual's mood. Adding that when experiencing negative mood individuals made more effort with their clothing choice than when their mood was positively valenced, as a means of 'managing' outcomes (Kwon 1991). Kwon (1991) had also considered self-consciousness (public and private, Buss 1980 cited in Kwon 1991) proposing that private self-consciousness manifested through an individual's awareness of 'inner' personal feelings and moods rather than the awareness of self in public contexts (public self-consciousness, Buss 1980 cited in Kwon 1991). Therefore, individuals unconsciously chose clothing to protect their 'inner-self' when experiencing negative mood states, which manifested through individuals choosing psychologically comfortable clothing as opposed to clothing for purposes such as social importance or its ability to attract attention (Kwon 1991). Kwon (1991) interpreted this as a psycho-physical response or 'psychological insulation' when negative mood was experienced and when 'self' was perceived as a social object (public self-consciousness).

Numerous sensory and physical components impact wearers' emotions and perceptions garnered from stimuli directly achieved through the 'wearing experience' (Debaix et al. 2002). Furthermore, perceptions were discussed in Chapter 1. in terms of perceived attributes associated to clothing attained visually (Johnson et al. 2002; Naumann et al. 2009). However, visual perceptions are not the only sensory pathway through which insights are gained and schemas accessed. Therefore, to further understand the influence of perceptions upon affectivity, the following section will evaluate explanations of how perceptions are gained and interpreted when the stimulus is derived from sources other than visual ones.

2.2. Sensory Perceptions and Clothing

2.2.1. Sensory Perception Formation and Unconscious cues

Tactile sensory sensations inform individuals of potential dangers (varied temperatures, pain), whilst also offering sources of pleasure (comfort, warmth, proximity) (Passer and Smith 2007). Sensory inputs are a fundamental part of life, such that deprivation of tactile contact can result in emotional, social and physical deficits in humans (Harlow 1958 cited in Passer and Smith 2007:125). Clothing is the closest element to the body and sensations that are derived from clothing, have an impact on physical and psychological well-being and emotions (Kang et al 2010; Kwon 1991, 1992, 1998; Kwon and Parnham 1994). Tactile information is received as a perception of touch sensations and an integration of 'insights' from sensory stimuli (Passer and Smith 2007). This culminates in engaging cognitive processes to interpret information and assimilate it with existing knowledge, producing an interpretation of the original stimuli (Smith and Kosslyn 2007). 'Top-down' processes interpret any sensory stimuli and incorporates it with higher-order knowledge to align it with existing information, concepts and expectations (Passer and Smith 2007:130).

Regardless of the source, or type of information, acknowledging and understanding clothing constructs (tactility, attributes, status, group membership or skills, Kwon and Faber 1992; Rafaeli et al. 1997; Rucker et al. 1999), requires mental representations to be processed. Thus, novel stimuli are evaluated against, and combined with pre-existing cognitive schemas (Bem 1972; Hannover and Kühnen 2002; Passer and Smith 2007). Explanations as to how these are developed include individuals' schemas, shaped from childhood; observing others' attitudes and behaviours which assist in the formation and update of representations (Smith and Kosslyn 2007). For example; observational learning (Bandura 1986) mirroring emotions (Ramachandran 2004), language and socialisation and experiencing the stimulus itself (Frith and Gleeson 2008; Zajonc 1968).

Furthermore, clothing constructs are easily accessed via visual, or interactional cues (Goffman 1959; Hannover and Kühnen 2002; Passer and Smith 2007), however, stimuli gained from wearing clothing is often non-visual and unconscious (Chinen et al. 2004; Lü and Chen 2013; Twigg 2007). Chinen et al. (2004) examined electroencephalograph readings (EEG) alongside self-assessment manikins (SAM) in order to provide evidence that conscious emotional responses to clothing often contradicts unconscious reactions measured via psychophysical

responses (EEG readings). Additionally, Horiba et al. (2000) reported incongruences between self-report clothing comfort responses and those attained from EEG recordings. Similarly, Hoefer et al. (2016) recorded EEG outputs regarding affective sensations from different fabrics on skin, arguing that skin-fabric interactions took two forms, 'active', touch with the hand, and 'fabric feel', when it comes into contact with the skin (brushed across the forearm). This resulted in multiple sensory experiences, including; fabric compression, tensile strength and friction (Hoefer et al. 2016). Hoefer et al. (2016) argued that the vast quantity of research to date reflected subjective reporting of the effects of fabric on skin rather than how the body actually responds. To address this, Hoefer et al. (2016) solely utilised brain activity data (EEG recordings), culminating in the authors reporting that different fabrics (man-made versus synthetic) and differing textures (ribbed versus smooth) each produce different brain responses.

These findings (Hoefer et al. 2016; Lü and Chen 2013) supported a proposition that the experience of wearing clothing was not always overtly or consciously acknowledged, and the way in which clothing/fabric felt was often an unconscious and sometimes misconstrued experience. For example, the subjective reaction to the 'feel' can be positively reported whilst brain responses suggest the opposite (Crane 2000; Chinen et al. 2004; Lü and Chen 2013). Wearing garments of a particular structure or fabric type may affect wearers' emotions and behaviours through subliminal sensory influences. This could differ from how individuals would behave if they were consciously aware of this sensory stimulus, or how they believe they should behave due to the symbolism they attach to garments (Kang et al. 2010; Rafaeli et al. 1997).

However, rather than being reliant upon unconscious stimulus for emotions and behaviours, mood is often consciously acknowledged, and clothing behaviours actively incorporated to ameliorate negative emotions (Kang et al. 2010; Moody et al. 2013). The following section will discuss empirical evidence that examined the effect of mood on clothing choice and clothing's effect on mood.

2.2.2. Clothing Choice and Mood versus Mood and Clothing Choice

Mood is a transient state that can be positively or negatively valenced, affected by multiple influencers both physical and psychological (Watson, Clark and Carey 1988). Furthermore, mood is argued to be affected by clothing from the moment it is in contact with the body (Moody et al. 2010). There has been consistent support for the premise that individuals express their feelings and reinforce their mood through their clothing choice (Frith and Gleeson 2008; Kallstrom 2009; King and Vickery 2013), often manifesting as a direct result of the need to satisfy varying personal requirements. For example, thermophysiological comfort (Hoefer et al. 2016), abate self-consciousness (Kwon 1991, 1992; Kwon and Parnham 1994; Soloman and Schopler 1982), to assist with situation congruence (Adomaitis and Johnson 2005; Douglas and Soloman 1983) and to enact role associated behaviours (Furnham et al. 2014; Pratt and Rafaeli 1997). However, whereas thermophysiological reactions can be measured pragmatically, self-report measures that most of studies had utilised cannot always be accepted as an objective means to measure the phenomena.

Clothing behaviour literature has offered evidence relating to the association between clothing and mood (Frith and Gleeson 2008; Kang, Johnson and Kim 2013; Kwon 1991, 1994b; Kwon and Parnham 1994) and examined the effect of perceived mood on clothing selection, reporting that participants who were experiencing negative mood states (feeling insecure) choose 'favourite' clothing to mediate their mood. This supported research that argued individuals in a psychologically 'uncertain' state tended to wear 'favourite' clothing to boost morale and reduce depression. With 'favourite' clothing offering a diverse breadth of comforting factors and individuals choosing clothing for physical and psychological comfort (Dubler and Gurel 1984). Additionally, Kwon (1991:43) proposed that whatever the negative mood state was (i.e. depressed, insecure or unwell), each state resulted in participants attempting to protect their 'inner feelings' through clothing choice (Kwon 1991).

Kwon (1991) further argued that individuals often chose physically comfortable clothing to avoid emotions such as social-anxiety. For example, inconspicuous and physically comfortable clothing offers 'joint benefits' by providing wearers with what Kwon (1991) termed 'psychological insulation'. Furthermore, clothing's social importance was diminished when individuals experienced a negative mood state, suggesting that social function was not the foremost reason for choosing clothing when mood was negatively valenced (Kwon 1991).

Although the above research did highlight the link between clothing and how it affects mood, what was also apparent was that this association was often indirect. This point was exemplified by Kwon (1991) who reported that clothing was used to alter levels of self-consciousness and subsequently altered wearers' mood (also: Sontag and Lee 2005). Furthermore, clothing was often used to target a particular problem, such as camouflaging a body area that caused personal distress or embarrassment (Frith and Gleeson 2008; Kwon and Parnham 1994). Additionally, Kang et al. (2010:48) reported an indirect relationship between wearing clothing and altering mood, which affected levels of social-appearance anxiety. This suggested that the higher an individual's social appearance-anxiety, the more important clothing choice became in functions such as self-assurance and camouflage. This was also consistent with Subhani, Hasan and Osman's (2011) findings as they proposed that mood was a reflexive response to clothing preferences which incorporated elements of the garment including design, quality of fabric and colour, each affecting wearers' mood; this manifested through wearers' being satisfied by how they believed they looked (Subhani et al. 2011).

Choice of clothing also played an important role in the relationship between clothing and mood, with Moody et al. (2010) and Kang et al. (2013) incorporating personality factors as predictors of clothing style preference, proposing that personality type also impacted clothing choice, which then resulted in mood change. Personality had been discussed previously in terms of clothing's ability to inform observers of personality typology. Personality type affects clothing choice, as well as the purpose clothing is used for (reduce social-anxiety, camouflage) (Kang et al. 2010; Moody et al. 2013). Therefore, personality factors are often identifiable through individuals' clothing (Naumann et al. 2009), shown to effect clothing choice (Kang et al. 2013; Moody et al. 2010) and to predict mood and emotions (Pervin 1996 cited in Moody et al. 2010). Thus, offering support to the premise that clothing choice is an intrinsic, tangible and stable means through which individuals convey traits and manage emotions (Moody et al. 2010).

An alternative approach to mood changes and clothing, placed clothing choice as a result of mood, rather than as an influencer. For example, individuals who experienced negative mood, often choose clothing to alter it (Kwon and Parnham 1994). Similarly, individuals choose clothing daily to moderate and manage their emotions (Kang et al 2010; Kwon and Shim 1999). Likewise, clothing choice is viewed as a strategic process that 'manages' self-perceptions relating to appearance and results in less appearance-anxiety and reduced negative mood (Frith and Gleeson 2008). Moody et al. (2010) viewed clothing choice as a 'daily task' that resulted

from a desire to i.e. create feelings of togetherness with other people, create an impression (when desired) and control mood.

Although mood change, and clothing choice has been discussed, a further factor argued to influence this interaction is context (Kwon 1994a; 1991). Several authors had argued that a particular clothing type, such as workplace clothing, allowed individuals to dress to enact a 'role' and 'perform' (Goffman 1990; Kang et al. 2010; Kwon 1994b; Pratt and Rafaeli 1997) yet, this may involve a concept previously introduced, 'appearance labour', in other words causing conflict between what individual's would prefer to wear and what they believe they should wear (Cutts et al. 2015; Peluchette et al. 2006). This is commonplace in workplace environments where individuals may prefer to wear clothing for 'psychological insulation' (Kwon 1991) when their mood is low but are required to wear certain clothing as a dress-code dictates (Cardon and Okoro 2009; Furnham et al. 2014; Lightstone et al. 2010; Rafaeli et al. 1997). Conversely, as previously introduced, wearing clothing that is context-congruent may override some negatively valenced moods and emotions that 'appearance labour' may have prompted (Adomaitis and Johnson 2005; Kwon 1994b; Peluchette et al. 2006). Additionally, enhancing perceptions of work-place attributes and behaviours, achieved through clothing may also assist this process (Karl et al. 2013; Peluchette and Karl 2007). However, Rafaeli and Pratt (1993 argued that clothing served dual purposes; control by the organisation and/or to convey an organisational identity or hierarchy. However, individuals should strike a balance between their emotional needs and the dictates of their workplace environment when attempting to moderate their mood (Rafaeli and Pratt 1993).

2.2.3. Chapter Summary

As discussed within this chapter, mood is viewed as a transient state, susceptible to change from exogenous factors (Kwon 1991; Kwon and Parnham 1994; Watson, Clark and Carey 1988). The literature highlighted that clothing influences mood states, proposing that its effects are profound and pervasive, affecting individuals both consciously and unconsciously (Chinen et al. 2004; Lü and Chen 2013; Moody et al. 2010). Furthermore, clothing was commonly chosen and utilised as a medium to control, influence and protect inner emotional states (Kwon 1991).

Clothing's effect on individuals' mood is multidimensional and contingent on many factors such as clothing preference, secondary states (social anxiety, self-consciousness), 'psychological insulation', comfort and contextual factors (Cutts et al. 2015; Kang et al. 2013; Kwon 1991, 1994b; Kwon and Parnham 1994; Moody et al. 2010). To 'unpack' all of the elements that affect this relationship is not deemed achievable within one research project. Furthermore, a business-suit may not be an individual's initial preference, clothing choice may be for a style that i.e. better reflects self-identity or is more comfortable (Cardon and Okoro 2009; Peluchette and Karl 2006; Sontag and Lee 2004), however, these factors could be outweighed by alternative 'positive' attributes associated to a business-suit such as situation-congruence and heightened self-perceptions of traits that are intrinsic to successful employment interview behaviours and feelings of power in an congruent environment (Carney et al. 2010; Furnham et al. 2014; Kang et al. 2010; Karl et al. 2013; Kwon 1994a; Peluchette and Karl 2006).

The benefits of wearing a business-suit may be achieved unconsciously yet manifest through participants reporting positive changes in their mood and is subsequently demonstrated in their levels of physiological arousal. This latter component, of arousal, is associated to anxiety, an emotional response commonly experienced during events such as employment interviews and 'testing situation' (Andrews and Borkovec 1988; Carney et al. 2002; McCarthy and Goffin 2004). However, anxiety can manifest as trait or state constructs, with both affecting individuals' behaviours and varying due to a context (Barlow 2002; Endler 1997; Endler et al. 1991; McCarthy and Goffin 2004).

As previously introduced, the context for the research in Study 2 was an employment interview simulation, which acted as a garment-congruent context and introduced to examine behaviours and emotions when wearing the business-suit. However, without first examining literature

related to employment interviews, associated behaviours and emotions in this context, a fuller understanding of any effects of wearing a business-suit would not be achieved. Therefore, the following chapter (Chapter 3) will introduce and review literature surrounding the employment interview and its effect on individuals, with attention focusing on anxiety within this context.

Chapter 3. The Business Suit in Context – Employment Interviews; 'a scary process?'

3.1. Introduction

The business suit's usage and symbolism were introduced and discussed in Chapter 1, in particular, as a garment that is commonly worn in organisational settings and generally worn in the process of gaining employment (Debretts 2015). Clothing is generally chosen with an occasion or context in mind and attempting to gain physical and psychological comfort through the choice that is made (Cardon and Okoro 2009; King and Vickery 2013; Kwon 1991). Employment interviews are such events, resulting in individuals being motivated to dress in a style that serves several functions, including being context-congruent and aligning with social expectations (Adomaitis and Johnson 2005; Cutts et al. 2015). Furthermore, interviewees may attempt to achieve some psychological control over the situation (which is generally beyond their control) through clothing choice and image management (Cuddy et al. 2015; Kwon and Parnham 1994; Rockawin 2012).

Applicants often choose their clothing in order to be compatible with an organisation's culture and to convey relevant attributes to potential employers (Cutts et al. 2015; Hall and Berardino 2006; Hooley and Yates 2015) with the symbolism of a business-suit within employment interviews assisting in this process (McCarthy and Goffin 2004). However, as previously discussed, the business-suit represents context-related traits, which includes 'respect' and 'formality' for the occasion (Furnham et al. 2014; McCarthy and Goffin 2004; Rucker et al. 1999) and professional traits (professionalism, intelligence, confidence) which also serve to enhance context-relevant social interactions (Behling and Williams 1991; Cardon and Okoro 2009; Furnham et al. 2014; Goffman 1990; Karl et al. 2013; Kwon 1991, 1994; Kwon and Johnson-Hilleary 1998; Peluchette and Karl 2007).

Much of the evidence discussed in Chapter 1 recognised that business-suit wearers are generally mindful of the attributes they broadcast (Cardon and Okoro 2009; Cutts et al. 2015; Karl et al. 2013), assimilating and accessing mental constructs of garment-related traits, believing that these will convey a positive impression and have a positive effect on their subsequent behaviour (Cardon and Okoro 2009; Hannover and Kühnen 2002; Karl et al. 2013; Kwon and Johnson-Hilleary 1992). Therefore, the employment interview context was chosen as a context in which business-suits are commonly worn (Debretts 2015), and the need to

demonstrate garment-related traits (professionalism, knowledgeability and intelligence) is regarded as intrinsic to the process (Feiler and Powell 2013; Hooley and Yates 2015). Interviewee's approaching an interview and wearing a business-suit benefit from enhanced professional self-perceptions and context-congruence (Adomaitis and Johnson 2005; Peluchette and Karl 2006, 2007). Additionally, utilising this context within Study 2 allowed this research to examine behaviours related to the situation in greater detail and the effect of wearing a business-suit had on them.

Furthermore, the introduction of a context has theoretical and methodological implications. Testing the effects of an 'item' is more effective and more likely to demonstrate an effect when the environment is conducive to the 'item' (Meiselman, Johnson, Reeve and Crouch 2000). Furthermore, if the environment is incongruent with the 'item' of interest, further confounds often effect the outcomes (Bell et al. 2005). For example, Bell et al. (2005) examined the effects of clothing comfort on exam performance within a quasi-naturalistic environment, an undergraduate examination hall. The authors argued that the phenomena of interest are more generalisable and meaningful when carried out in its 'natural' environment, particularly when compared to a laboratory setting, in which much research takes place (Bell et al. 2005). Furthermore, an attempted replication of enclothed cognition theory, was argued to be unsuccessful due to a lack of environmental congruence, therefore, incorporating an interview simulation this confound was avoided (Womack 2016).

Employment interviews are 'unique' events associated with increased tension, mainly due to interviewees' anticipation of the evaluatory element of the process (Carless and Imber 2007; Cook et al. 2000; Feiler and Powell 2013; McCarthy and Goffin 2004). Moreover, applicants are expected to perform, socially and behaviourally, to promote observable and internal propensities (Cook et al. 2000; Feeney et al. 2015; Feiler and Powell 2013; McCarthy and Goffin 2004). Therefore, in order to examine how the symbolism of the business-suit affects wearers in this context regarding these components, the following sections will introduce employment interviews and evaluate literature relating to what is known about the effects of this situation on interviewee behaviours.

Furthermore, within what is regarded as a high-arousal context, employment interviews (McCarthy and Goffin 2004, 2005; Rockawin 2012; Tross and Maurer 2008) many emotions are experienced, (McCarthy and Goffin 2004; 2005), with effects on applicants being anxiety orientated (Feeney et al. 2015; Feiler and Powell 2013; McCarthy and Goffin 2004, 2005;

McCarthy et al. 2013). Additionally, interviews are often responsible for heightened 'state' anxiety, demonstrated in feelings of anxiety and tension, then replaced by 'relief', when the interview is completed, (McCarthy and Goffin 2004; Rockawin 2012; Tross and Maurer 2008). However, individuals' predisposition to anxiety as a permanent personality trait, must also be considered as this impacts individuals' ability to function effectively within this context (Endler and Kocovski 2001). Researchers including Endler (1987; Endler and Kocovski 2001; McCarthy and Goffin 2004) supported an interactional model's explanation of anxiety in which the influence of both trait and state dimensions of anxiety are combined. This model will also be evaluated in the following sections and its relevance to an interview context discussed.

3.2. Research Context – The Employment Interview

3.2.1. Interviews' 'Unique' Context

The employment interview is arguably 'unique' due to its cueing of multi-dimensional behaviours and emotions (Huffcutt et al. 2011). Furthermore, the context's 'uniqueness' is due to the multiple challenges interviewees face and the many behaviours they are expected to display (Huffcutt et al. 2011; McCarthy and Goffin 2004). For example, interviewees are required to interact effectively with 'strangers' and offer a verbal résumé of their attributes and skills, respond to complex questioning and articulate personal and job-related characteristics, all in a manner that impresses the interviewer (Sieverding 2009).

Much of the existing literature had focused on examining particular aspects of employment interview process, including its validity and efficacy to select and retain effective employees (Feiler and Powell 2013; Huffcutt and Arthur 1994; Cook et al. 2000) and to predict work performance (Christiansen et al. 2005). However, this has often neglected the interviewees' perspective (Huffcutt et al. 2011; Nikolaou and Judge 2007). Huffcutt et al. (2011) addressed this void by examining interviewees' interview performance, with 'performance' being viewed as a mediator between a candidates' attributes and subsequent interviewer ratings. Interviewee performance was often ineffectively assessed due to inconsistent interviewer's evaluations which resulted in interviewees' behaviours often being misinterpreted (Huffcutt et al. 2011).

Huffcutt et al. (2011) had agreed with McCarthy and Goffin's (2004) assertion that the interview context is an 'exceptional' one that incorporates multiple behavioural, 'performances' and emotional variables, and failure in any one of them can disrupt a successful outcome (Feiler and Powell 2013; McCarthy and Goffin 2004). These 'disruptive' variables can however, be related to either interviewer or interviewee characteristics, or both (Huffcutt et al. 2011).

There are numerous confounds that can affect interview interactions. Purkiss` et al. (2006) argued that employment interviews are subject to implicit biases that can disrupt effective decision-making. For instance, overt demographic differences shown to affect interviewers' choices (race and stereotypes) (Posthuma et al. 2002), can also be derived from subtle cues such as an applicant's accent or name, yet can still bias interviewers' decisions (Purkiss et al. 2006). In addition to prejudices affecting outcomes, many interviewer attributes affect interviewee evaluation and interview dynamics (Chapman and Rowe 2002).

Variables that affect dynamics include; interviewer's personality (Carless and Imber 2007; Wall et al. 2013), interview medium (face to face versus technology based) (Chapman and Rowe 2002) and appearance and clothing (Hooley and Yates 2014; McElroy, Summers and More 2014). Additionally, interviewers also differ in their ability to judge performance (Doherty, Ebert and Callendar 1986; McCarthy, Hrabluik and Jelley 2009), interviewee commitment (Kinicki, Lockwood, Hom and Griffeth 1990) and process interview information effectively (Graves 1993). Graves (1993) argued that interviews are procedures entrenched in information processing, therefore, if errors occur within an interviewer's encoding, retrieval or integration of novel information with existing schematic knowledge, valuable applicant information can be miss-evaluated.

Findings such as these, demonstrate that interviews are not straightforward processes, the assumptions often tend towards the interviewee being vulnerable to weaknesses that impinge upon their 'performance' and interview outcomes. However, the findings provided above, suggest otherwise, that interviewers are equally liable to affect the outcome of an interview.

3.2.2. Interviews as an Interactional Processes

Interview contexts are interactional events that take place between applicant and interviewer(s) (Goffman 1959). Interactional variables can affect individuals' thoughts and behaviours (Goffman 1959, 1990) as both parties visually evaluate one another instantly and gain a 'lasting impression' (Bixler et al. 2000; Dion et al. 1972; Wall et al. 2013). Furthermore, social interactions are entrenched in joint understandings and cues to 'mutual' behaviours, resulting in involved parties performing a contextual 'role' and enacting a part within a mutual performance (Goffman 1990). This performance is reciprocally effective, unless it is asymmetrical; if either party does not possess knowledge of the protocols or shared behaviours, then the interaction is compromised (Davis 1984; Goffman 1990). Additionally, perceptions of the demeanour of one of the parties (interviewer) can affect the emotional valence of the other party (applicant) and vice versa (Kohn and Dipboye 1998). If the interviewer is perceived negatively; biased, terse, unhappy, or unpleasant, interviewee anxiety can increase and affect the subsequent interaction (Carless and Imber 2007).

3.2.3. Elements of the Interview

Employment interviews are generally viewed as a popular selection method by interviewers and interviewees and are widely used (Ryan, McFarland, Baron and Page 1999; Tross and Maurer 2008). However, the process can have an adverse effect on applicants, with either the process, the medium, or components within it being viewed negatively, often resulting in interviewee anxiety or decreased mood (Hausknecht et al. 2004; McCarthy et al. 2013; Nikolaou and Judge 2007). Furthermore, when interviews are perceived as being equitous, interviewee motivation improves and can result in interviewees feeling encouraged to perform better (Chapman et al. 2003; McCarthy et al. 2013). Perceiving the process as fair also assists applicants in viewing an organisation positively, which is strived for by recruiters who are keen to entice 'attractive' applicants (for instance; organisational branding) (Edwards 2009; Hausknecht, Day and Thomas 2004; McCarthy et al. 2013; Macan, Avedon, Paese and Smith 1994). Conversely, some aspects of the interview process are construed negatively by applicants and may include interviewees having adverse opinions or reactions to certain elements of the process, including psychometric or situational tests (Arvey, Strickland, Drauden and Martin 1990; Hausknecht et al. 2004; Kohn and Dipboye 1998; Nikolaou and

Judge 2007). These can result in inducing or increasing interviewee anxiety, which in turn can affect test scores, interviewers' judgments and interview outcomes (Carney et al. 2002; Feiler and Powell 2013; McCarthy et al. 2013).

Prior literature focusing on anxiety within employment interviews tended to identify negative effects of anxiety on emotional and behavioural components within the process (Graves 1993; Huffcutt et al. 2011; McCarthy and Goffin 2004; McCarthy et al. 2013; Rockawin 2012). However, addressing an alternative focus, and in order to gain further understandings of the mechanisms that induce anxiety within this context, the following section will firstly concentrate the discussion on models of anxiety, valenced towards evaluative situations such as interviews and test situations. The discussion will then lead towards introducing the model of interview-anxiety proposed by McCarthy and Goffin (2004) which is relevant to the present research for its theoretical support within the framework of Study 2 (Chapter 6).

3.3. Anxiety

3.3.1. Definitions of Anxiety

Perceived threats from an individuals' environment or mental representation (Barlow 2002) can result in feelings of apprehension and tension as a natural adaptive response (Mathews 1990; Passer and Smith 2007). However, when these feelings are disproportionate (frequent, intense) and everyday functions are disrupted, anxiety becomes a diagnosable anxiety disorder (Passer and Smith 2007). Anxiety is a ubiquitous and complex human response mechanism involving several components that can present as solitary or interrelated features (psychological, somatic and cognitive) (Maloney, Sattizahn and Beilock 2014; Owens et al. 2012; Passer and smith 2007). Arguably, part of every-day life, anxiety can be interpreted positively or negatively according to an individual's dispositional differences (Maloney et al. 2014). Additionally, anxiety can be utilised to heighten performance when perceived favourably and contextually congruent when reaching an optimal level, but detrimental when distorting or biasing representations (Barlow 2002; Cassady and Johnson 2002; Endler and Kocovski 2001; McCarthy and Goffin 2004).

The general term 'anxiety' has been used to describe an 'ensemble of components' in non-clinical populations as, 'affective', 'cognitive', 'physiological' and 'behavioural' (Barlow 2002). Barlow (2002) proposed that emotional symptoms ('subjective emotional') includes feelings of tension and apprehension, whilst cognitive components manifest as feelings of an inability to cope and 'worrisome' thoughts towards a threat (Barlow 2002; Mathews 1990). Responses to these feelings manifest physiologically and behaviourally and can include increased heart rate, blood pressure, breathing and muscle tension, nausea and digestive malfunctioning and evasion or task impairment/disruption (Barlow 2002).

Further effects of anxiety, equally debilitating, include disrupted cognition (Cassady and Johnson 2002; Hartley and Phelps 2012; Owens, Stevenson, Hadwin and Norgate 2012; 2014), negative feelings of tension, apprehension and worry (Mathews 1990) and perceived emotional arousal (Schwarzer 1984). In everyday situations these are not necessarily detrimental, but in testing and evaluative contexts such as academic tests or interviews, these can have negative outcomes on performance (Arvey et al. 1990; Cassady and Johnson 2002; Feiler and Powell 2013; Mathews, Panganiban and Hudlicka 2011; Rockawin 2012; McCarthy et al. 2013). A testing and evaluatory situation are one example of the foundation of anxiety, often within employment interviews. However as previously stated, anxiety can be induced from multiple sources, with differing outcomes and requires discussion in order to gain a fuller understanding of its prevalence and effects.

3.3.2. Sources of Anxiety

There have been several approaches to anxiety that have differed in their emphasis and explanation. Sarason (1982) for example, argued that anxiety manifests through individuals' perceived inefficacy or difficulty in managing threats, real or imagined. Whereas individual differences in the perception of an anxiety-stimulus and interpretation of physiological arousal influences subsequent reactions (Maloney et al. 2014). Furthermore, differences in individuals' motivational styles can also affect interpretation and reaction to perceived or real threats. 'Approach-motivational' individuals are likely to interpret and respond to 'threatening' stimuli and a physiological reaction as a challenge, rather than a threat (Maloney et al. 2014). Additionally, Beck, Jiao, Pang and Servatius (2010) reported that a predisposition to avoidant behaviour was a predictor of a risk of developing anxiety disorders. Therefore, individual

differences affect the way information or stimulus gets interpreted and determines subsequent reactions (Beck et al. 2010).

In an alternative explanation of individual differences and anxiety Spielberger (1966) defined conceptual anxiety as dichotomous, as state anxiety, a transitory emotion, or trait, as an individual's predisposition to respond to stimuli in a consistent manner. This is pertinent to the present research due to Study 2 (Chapter 6) incorporating an anxiety-inducing context, and interview, along with additional attempts to increase participants' state-anxiety levels, via several means (for example; mock video recording, timed aptitude test). These interventions are intended to increase state-anxiety and will be measured accordingly (Endler and Kocovski 2001). However, this measurement would be pointless if individuals' predisposition to anxiety was not also measured and considered.

Although there is strong support for different theories of anxiety, trait, state and cognitive (Beck and Clark 1997; Sarason 1982; Spielberger 1966) these theories do not consider the influence of a situation in which multiple dimensions are involved that directly affect individuals (Huffcutt et al. 2011; McCarthy and Goffin 2004). To address this, the following section will introduce literature relating to trait and state-anxiety and the Interactional Model of Anxiety proposed by Endler et al. (1991; Endler and Edwards 1985; Endler and Kocovski 2001) which considers individuals' predispositions to anxiety (personality trait) and the context (state).

3.3.3. Anxiety - Trait or State?

Anxiety has been conceptualised as 'unidimensional' constructs, either dispositional, a trait (a product of a person), or a situational state, relevant to the context or circumstance (Sarason 1982 cited in Cassady and Johnson 2002:271; Spielberger 1966 cited in Endler and Kocovski 1999:232). Spielberger (1966) argued that stimuli could be an external stressor or an internal source, resulting in a reaction to physiological arousal or cognitive perceptions with appraisal of the stimuli resulting in inducing an anxious reaction or no reaction. Individual differences in appraisal levels reflects how 'anxiety-prone' individuals are (Spielberger 1966). However, Beck (1991; Beck and Clark 1997) regraded anxiety as a biopsychosocial response which incorporated affective, biological and cognitive components. Arguing that anxiety was a derivative of adaptive fear responses and proposed it had a psychological rather than physical

basis. Information processing of a 'threat', whether automatic or strategic, underpins the subsequent behavioural or emotional reaction (Beck and Clark 1997). Furthermore, Beck (1991) proposed that anxiety disorders resulted from defective cognitive systems in which input is continually interpreted as 'danger', resulting in automatic thoughts and perceptions being negatively valenced as 'threats'. Additionally, 'threat' perceptions coincide with distorted information-processing, triggering physiological and affective components associated to anxiety (Beck and Clark 1997). Although this theory was based on cognitive components of anxiety, Beck's (1991) theory had considered the influence of negative interpretations of physiological arousal. However, Beck (1991) did not fully differentiate state from trait dimensions, instead arguing that interpretation of stimuli could be transient or permanent. Beck (1983; Beck and Clark 1997) also recognised the 'automaticity' of information processing, suggesting that reactions to threats were often unconscious processes. In consideration of this point, measures of anxiety within Study 2 (Chapter 6) included a measure of physiological arousal to record 'unconscious' symptoms of anxiety.

Physiological anxiety manifests in one or multiple physical symptoms; increased cardiovascular responses, elevated blood pressure, headaches, digestive and excretory system problems, increased perspiration, nausea, with these symptoms causing further anxiety for some individuals when they are focused upon (Vitasari, Wahab, Herawan et al. 2011). However, arousal is not always consciously perceived and some situational stimuli (state-anxiety) triggering anxiety-related reactions that are unnoticed (Carney et al. 2002). Therefore, when measuring somatic arousal instruments such as finger pulse-rate oximeters are regularly used and will be utilised in study 2 (Chapter 6) in the present thesis. This will give an indication of the arousal of participants they may not be aware of and subsequently indicate subliminal responses to the interview simulation and any unconscious effects of wearing a business-suit upon them.

Finger pulse-rate oximeters are a common-place, non-invasive method of monitoring arterial oxygen saturation and pulse-rate (Profis 2014). By using a light-emitting diode (LED) and a photodetector, an estimate of oxygen molecules within haemoglobin are calculated based on the amount of infrared and red light that passes through vascular beds.

Various methods of measuring pulse-rate were considered for Study 2 (Chapter 6), such as wrist monitors and 'chest strap' monitors. Wrist monitors utilise LED and sensors to illuminate capillaries to measure the blood-flow frequency beats per minute (BPM). However, for optimal readings the monitor and the wearer should remain completely motionless; this includes no muscle tensing or sweating (Profis 2014). Furthermore, when blood reaches the wrist, the BPM rate is often reduced and therefore does not reflect true heart rates (HR) (Profis 2014). Conversely, 'fingertip' pulse-rate oximeters were found to maintain an accurate BPM (Zaroff cited in Profis 2014). This measure will address the effect of physiological arousal due to anxiety, the source, or predisposition to experiencing anxiety also requires consideration, particularly within the interview simulation incorporated into Study 2 within this thesis.

In returning to theories of anxiety that underpin both psychological and physical manifestations of anxiety, an alternative and comprehensive approach to anxiety that was offered by Endler et al. (1991; Endler and Kocovski 2001; Endler, Edwards, Vitelli and Parker 1989) and had subsequently been adopted by other researchers (Martens, Vealey and Burton 1990; McCarthy and Goffin 2004) required further discussion.

Within their interactional model, acknowledgement of both an individual's predisposition to anxiety, (the likelihood that they appraise the stimulus negatively) and contextual contributions (the context) were considered (Endler and Kocovski 2001). The level of threat is therefore subjective and context-dependant (Endler and Edwards 1985; Endler and Kocovski 2001) for example, employment-interviews are contexts in which anxiety can be induced in individuals who are not predisposed to trait-anxiety. Conversely, trait-anxious individuals may not experience negative (anxiety) reactions to the event (McCarthy and Goffin 2004). McCarthy and Goffin (2004) adopted interactional anxiety theory within their model of interview-anxiety (Measure of Anxiety in Selection Interviews - MASI), arguing that interviews are particular events in which anxiety is prevalent and is triggered by multiple sources (also: Huffcutt et al. 2011; Rockawin 2012).

Additionally, Endler (1983 cited in Endler and Kocovski 2001) had extended their interactional model to conceptualise both trait and state-anxiety as multidimensional constructs. This resulted in the model including four facets of trait anxiety: social evaluation, physical danger, ambiguous and daily routines and two facets of state anxiety: cognitive worry and autonomic-emotional and were included in Endler's Multidimensional Anxiety Scale (EMAS) which considered both trait and state anxiety constructs as continuous rather than dichotomous

(Endler 1991; Endler et al. 1989; Endler and Kocovski 2001). Furthermore, the scale considered individual's perception levels to stressful situations as accounting for the 'state' element of the model. Endler et al. (1991) argued that the EMAS was an alternative to previous anxiety measures (Spielberger 1983 – State-Trait inventory STAI) which had failed to account for the complete concept of anxiety and much like many other constructs (personality, depression) offers a more effective continuum explanation (Endler and Kocovski 2001). This proposal has been supported by literature showing that individual differences exist in predispositions to experiencing anxiety in specific situations (Endler et al. 1991; Cassady and Johnson 2002; Gaudron and Vignoli 2002; Owens et al. 2014).

Somewhat in support of this stance, Judge et al. (2014) proposed that personality traits and states were both subjective and situation dependent. This was also supported by Fleeson's (2012) whole trait theory which arises from individual differences in how reactions to environmental and internal stimuli is interpreted. However, Judge et al. (2014) had viewed state and trait personality in terms of its effect on workplace behaviour, including motivation and goal perusal (approach/avoidance orientation), which has a contextual link to the present thesis, however by including McCarthy and Goffin's (2004) Measure of Interview Anxiety within the framework, their support had relied upon Endler et al.'s (1991; Endler and Kocovski 2001) Interactional theory of personality to explain interview behaviour, therefore this will be focused upon in the present thesis.

Endler et al. (1991) supported the interactional model of anxiety by illustrating that state-anxiety is the result of the interaction between a specific dimension of trait-anxiety (social evaluation) and similarity to a threat stimulus (perception of being in an evaluative situation). Therefore, if congruence exists between an individual's predisposition to a particular trait dimension and a threat, increase in state-anxiety is highly predicted (Endler and Kocovski 2001). Furthermore, what was noteworthy was although Endler's (1975 cited in Gaudron and Vignoli 2002) model was proposed more than half a century ago, the model is still incorporated into contemporary literature (Feeney et al. 2015; Gaudron and Vignoli 2002; McCarthy and Goffin 2004) and had not varied vastly from its original explanation. The model is therefore considered within the theoretical framework of Study 2, as being intrinsic within McCarthy and Goffin's (2004) interview-anxiety theory, which explains the interactions that are expected to be seen in the interview simulation incorporated in Study 2 of the present thesis (Chapter 6).

McCarthy and Goffin's (2004) adoption of the interactional model of anxiety within their measure of interview anxiety (MASI), was argued to account for the unrivalled context of an employment interview. Introduction to McCarthy and Goffin's (2004) interview-anxiety model is provided in the following section.

3.3.4. Interview Anxiety

McCarthy and Goffin (2004) regarded face-to-face interviews as anxiety inducing experiences for interviewees, arguing that effects of anxiety are brought about and affected by multiple components of emotions and behaviours, both state and trait. They proposed that five dimensions of anxiety affect interviewee's interview performance (communication, appearance, social, performance and behavioural anxiety) which were incorporated into their scale (McCarthy and Goffin (2004). Experiencing one, or several of these dimensions was recognised as compromising interview performance, often resulting in distorted evaluations of interviewees (Huffcutt et al. 2011; McCarthy and Goffin 2004). For example, a candidate's capacity to convey their ability to undertake a job role may be veiled by behaviours directly affected by interview-anxiety, (poor communication or social anxiety) rather than a lack of competencies (Cook et al. 2000).

To remedy some anxiety-based problems, coaching and behavioural interventions have produced some favourable results (Maurer et al. 2001; Speas cited in Huffcutt et al. 2011: Rockawin 2012). For instance, candidates exhibited more effective question responding and improved verbal skills after undertaking coaching interventions (Latham and Budworth 2006; Tross and Maurer 2008). However, Campion and Campion (1987) reported that some behaviours could be improved, whilst negative emotional reactions to interviews (for instance, anxiety) were not reduced by coaching.

Somewhat in support of this stance, McCarthy and Goffin (2004) argued that their construct of interview-anxiety demonstrated the stability of various components within their model. Further proposing that some elements were impervious to interventions and resistant to change (McCarthy and Goffin 2004). Huffcutt et al. (2011; McCarthy and Goffin 2004) also voiced that a predisposition to anxiety can be a determining factor of interview-anxiety, particularly when predispositions to high levels of anxiety are prevalent regardless of context.

Furthermore, As previously discussed, McCarthy and Goffin (2004) adoption of an interactional approach to anxiety, accounted for both trait and state anxiety in an interview context (Endler 1997). The model was rationalised to be effective in accommodating the 'uniqueness' of the interview situation in which state and trait-anxiety are prevalent and dynamic (Huffcutt et al. 2011; McCarthy and Goffin 2004). However, the model may not fully accommodate the full effects of anxiety within this context.

A contextual anxiety that McCarthy and Goffin (2004) incorporated within their model was 'test-taking' anxiety (Cassady and Johnson 2002; Owens et al. 2012; 2014). The purpose of giving test-taking anxiety further attention within the present chapter was two-fold; firstly, tests of varying types are regularly incorporated into selection processes and likewise will be included into Study 2 (Chapter 6). Additionally, interviews are seen as 'testing' and 'evaluative' situations (McCarthy and Goffin 2004). However, McCarthy and Goffin (2004) may not have fully appreciated the effect of test-related anxiety, as although they acknowledged this form of anxiety, tests were not included in the development of their model. Therefore, the following section will review literature related to test-taking anxiety and consider its potential influence on interviewee behaviour.

3.3.5. Test-Taking Anxiety

Tests, of varying forms (i.e. mathematical, cognitive, and verbal) have each been shown to induce anxiety (Cassady and Johnson 2002; Owens et al. 2012, 2014), whilst undertaking tests are commonplace within academia and employment assessments, these are contexts in which individual's behaviours such as performance, abilities and attributes are scrutinised (Huffcutt et al. 2011; Macan et al. 1994; McCarthy and Goffin 2004). Cassady and Johnson (2002) had focused on test-taking within academic environments, reporting that high levels of cognitive test-anxiety (worry and intrusive thoughts) resulted in lower test scores. However, they also reported that moderate levels of physiological arousal (emotionality – physical symptoms) were associated with increased test performance (Cassady and Johnson 2002). Although too much physiological arousal could be distracting – just enough, and the effects were facilitating (Geen 1980 cited in Cassady and Johnson 2002).

Moreover, examining employment interview contexts Feiler and Powell (2013) supported McCarthy and Goffin's (2004, 2005) proposals that anxiety had a negative impact on interview performance. Although evidence has not yet fully established whether interview-anxiety is related to subsequent job performance (Feiler and Powell 2013), interview-anxious applicants are unlikely to be offered a second interview or job offer and therefore are unable to evidence job performance (Cook et al. 2000). Furthermore, anxious interviewees' performance was likely to achieve lower interviewer ratings, resulting in employers' failing to identify appropriate candidates (Feiler and Powell 2013; Sieverding 2009). For example, experiencing anxiety can often be witnessed in tremors, verbal difficulties and speaking errors, resulting in negative assessment from interviewers (Feiler and Powell 2013; McCarthy and Goffin 2004).

Cognitive components of test-taking anxiety are often present in evaluative and performance-based situations such as sports performance and interviews (Feiler and Powell 2013; McCarthy and Goffin 2004. 2005; Smith et al. 2007; Maloney et al. 2014). Mathews (1990) investigated test-anxiety measurement protocols, reporting that most used a questionnaire format. Mathews (1990) argued that this compounded several underlying factors that could affect anxiety levels. For example, individuals were made aware of somatic symptoms of their anxiety when questioned about them, resulting in disturbed cognitive functioning from e.g. intrusive thoughts (worry) (Mathews 1990). Cassady and Johnson (2002) also discussed worry, arguing that the full extent of worry on cognition was generally underestimated within evaluative contexts. This was exemplified by the prevalence of competing and intrusive thoughts, lack of confidence in test performance, consideration of failure, concerns about evaluation and test unpreparedness, each being common beliefs associated with higher levels of test-taking anxiety and decreased test performance (Cassady and Johnson 2002; Hembree 1988; Sarason 1984).

Whereas, Huffcutt et al. (2011) proposed that anxious interviewee's cognitive processes (for instance, long-term memory) is impaired when in stressful situations such as interviews, this often results in interviewees failing to deliver pertinent information effectively. Disruption to working memory capacity (WMC) due to cognitive interference also affects test anxious individuals (Owens et al. 2014), as does the effect of cognitive overload on short-term memory (Kirschner 2002 cited in Bell et al. 2005). Similarly, the adverse impact of negative affect and anxiety (worry) on central executive function in test contexts, is exemplified by interviewees' inability to respond to questioning (qualifications or situational practises) when required to (Huffcutt et al. 2011; Owens et al. 2012). Furthermore, Bell et al. (2005) reported that interference from environmental sensory stimuli stimulus such as clothing comfort, also affects

test outcomes. If discomfort due to clothing was experienced during a test, this was reflected in lower test scores (Bell et al. 2005).

Furthermore, changes in test outcomes due to anxiety suggest that traits such as Intelligence Quotient (IQ) are malleable rather than a stable construct, or at the very least susceptible to change or interruption (Cassady and Johnson 2002). Intelligence quotient (IQ) has been studied intensely, with various measures available (i.e. Cattell – 16PF (1989), Costa and McCrae (1992), Stanford-Binet SB – 4 (1986), Wechsler – WAIS-R (1981) and each test having its own scale of measuring IQ (Carter 2008). While scales differ, IQ is arguably a constant in an individual's cognitive development, varying until they are approximately thirteen years of age. Development then slows, showing little change after eighteen years of age (Breslau, Chilcoat, Susser, Matte, Liang and Peterson 2001). However, socioeconomic and familial factors can affect the rate and direction of IQ development (Breslau et al. 2001).

Although, IQ generally stabilises once it has developed, individuals' IQ score can be affected by various factors. Carter (2008) proposed that practicing IQ tests can improve scores. However, Jaeggi, Buschkuehl, Jonides and Shah (2011) argued that it is possible to improve some aspects of IQ such as fluid intelligence, however, Jaeggi et al. (2011) added a cautionary caveat, proposing that most fluid intelligence exhibits increased performance only when working memory (WM) is targeted for improvement and as WM underpins many other processes then targeting WM enhances further constructs.

As discussed previously in the present chapter, research has demonstrated that both test taking-anxiety and maths-anxiety can adversely affect performance (Cassady and Johnson 2002; Ergene 2003). Furthermore, academic performance in general, is hampered by high levels of cognitive anxiety (i.e. apprehension and worry) resulting in a negative correlation between cognitive anxiety and performance (Andrews 1991; Soler 2005). The intention of presenting participants with a cognitive aptitude task in Study 2 will achieve dual goals, firstly to attempt to authenticate an employment selection protocol in which similar instruments are commonplace, but also to examine enclothed cognition behaviours, as the cognitive task will act as a garment related task.

3.3.6. Chapter Summary

In introducing an employment interview simulation in the present chapter, the objective was initially to evaluate and discuss the 'multidimensional' nature of this particular event (Huffcutt et al. 2011; McCarthy and Goffin 2004). A further objective was to 'set the scene' in which the business-suit can be assessed in an environment in which this garment is commonly worn. Furthermore, this context is one in which particular behaviours are prevalent (dimensions of interview-anxiety) and congruence between a business-suit to this context is present (McCarthy and Goffin 2004). For instance, by adding a garment-congruent context, negative effects due to incongruence can be diminished (Adomaitis and Johnson 2005). Furthermore, context had not previously been included in an enclothed cognition study therefore, its addition was intended to illustrate further effects of wearing a symbolic garment, such as reduction of context-related emotions, whilst also demonstrating that enclothed cognition theory should consider contexts (Womack 2016).

The large body of evidence presented in this chapter had illustrated the 'unique' emotional and psychological effects of employment-interviews on interviewees and the delicate balance between perceived cues and their interpretation. Discussions that had been presented in chapters 1 – 3 have also highlighted the 'power' of the business-suit to cue associated perceptions which translate to a context in which positive 'professional' attributes are highly desired and assist participants in undertaking interviews with less emotional damage (Sieverding 2009). This will however, only be the case if positive perceptions from the business-suit are attained, the route of attaining perceptions is unclear. For instance, perceptions may be attained via visual garment-cues (introduced in Section 1.2.3.) that form fast and accurate impressions (Hannover and Kühnen 2002;), interactions between interviewer and interviewee, whereby the symbolism of the garment is enhanced by the interaction and the garment's 'value' becomes apparent from the interaction (Goffman 1959 cited in Rigger 1990) or from traits associated to the business-suit that have been social or culturally constructed (Kwon 1994; Karl et al. 2013; Peluchette and Karl 2007).

Alternatively, these cues may come from unconscious sensory stimulus, due solely to the experience of wearing a business-suit. This concept was discussed previously (Section 2.2) in terms of the unconscious effects of clothing (Chinen et al. 2004; Lü and Chen 2013). The accounts offered so far have not given any indication as to whether these explanations are isolated or mutually necessary. However, what has not been considered fully is the 'embodied'

effect of the garment on behaviour. Therefore, embodied cognition theory (Barsalou 1999) will be evaluated in the following chapter to gauge its contribution to the enclothed cognition theory and how it may explain clothing-related behaviour.

Chapter 4. Enclothed versus Embodied Cognition

4.1. Enclothed Cognition: The Source

Enclothed cognition theory was previously introduced in (Chapter 2), with the emphasis of the discussion directed towards clothing's symbolism and the subsequent effects on behaviours of wearing a symbolic garment (Adam and Galinsky 2012). However, enclothed cognition theory was based upon two key elements, the second of which also requires attention, embodied cognition theory (Barsalou 1999).

Adam and Galinsky (2012) had based the framework for their enclothed cognition model on an extensive body of literature surrounding the interplay between mind and body that argues for states of the body's influence on cognition (gestures, actions, posture) (Huang et al. 2010; Galinsky, Gruenfeld and Magee 2003; Park et al. 2013; Wilson A. and Golonka 2013). For example, environmental sensory stimulus (clothing), effects the body directly, via multiple corporeal channels, with clothing acting as an 'agent' (King and Vickery 2013; Twigg 2000). Whilst, embodied cognition theory (Barsalou 1999) proposed that bodily 'actions' (sensorimotor systems) facilitate and/or initiate cognitive responses congruent with the action. Further explanations cited both physical and psychological domains as intrinsic to embodied cognition (Borghi and Cimatti 2010; Pecher and Zwann 2008; Wilson M. 2002). In other words, embodied cognition approach argues that sensorimotor information that is real (physical, action) or perceived (auditory, visual) or introspective (affect, metal states) can trigger behaviours (Barsalou 2008; Bombari et al. 2017).

The effects of embodied cognition are often exemplified in simple acts such as washing hands; the act of hand-washing reportedly alleviates 'impure thoughts' (immoral behaviour), with researchers theorising that the abstract concept of 'cleansing' was cognitively and physically facilitated by the action of hand-washing (Reuven, Liberman and Dar 2013). An additional exemplar from associated research had addressed the effects of Botulinum Toxin on emotions. Often used to reduce 'frown' lines (associated with 'sad', 'depressed' and 'distressed' expressions), 'Botox' was reported to reduce depression (Finzi and Wasserman 2006; Hennenlotter et al. 2008). Through constraint of 'frown' muscles, emotional feed-back systems were inhibited and associated emotional responses were not triggered and thus not experienced (Finzi and Wasserman 2006). These examples demonstrate the effect of physical changes upon psychological changes (emotions) however, Rachman (1994) argued that actions such as hand-

washing was not just a physical action, it was also a symbolic mental construct played out through the action.

Adam and Galinsky (2012), recognised clothing's symbolism and that clothing affects others behaviour, proposing that the effects of embodied cognition, with clothing as the physical manipulant, could affect wearers' behaviours. Adam and Galinsky (2012:919) argued that whilst there is much research that documents the effects of clothing on observers (also see discussion in Section 1.2.3.), there is a paucity of literature that addresses the 'powerful' effects of clothing on wearers' behaviours. The authors had also argued that there was 'inconsistent' evidence focusing on individuals' clothing-perceptions and subsequent behaviour (Adam and Galinsky 2012).

However, their discussion referred to clothing in 'general', compared to the more focused discussions presented in this thesis. For example, the evaluation of literature presented in Chapter 1 (section 1.4.5.) was able to counter Adam and Galinsky's (2012) assertion by offering robust evidence supporting an aggregate of perceptions that were strongly attached to a particular garment, (business-suit) (Cardon and Okoro 2009; Karl et al. 2013; Peluchette and Karl 2007). Furthermore, direct behaviour linked to perceptions was not however, evidenced, therefore, somewhat in parallel to Adam and Galinsky's (2012:919) argument that evidence to connect clothing perceptions and behaviour was 'scattered' and scarce, a conclusion made from section 1.4.5. had also surmised that the direct effect of clothing on wearers' behaviour was limited.

Some evidence was offered by the authors however, which was somewhat of a 'secondary' effect of clothing (Adam and Galinsky 2012). Evidence was cited by the researchers that illustrated behaviours were a consequence of clothing. For example, individuals wearing nurses' uniforms were found to be less likely to administer electric shocks compared to those wearing large hoods and capes (Johnson and Downing 1979; Zimbardo 1969 cited in Adam and Galinsky 2012). However, within this study clothing had been incorporated in order to assess deindividuation of participants and examine their pro versus anti-social behaviour. However, the authors (Johnson and Downing 1979) were unable to support a deindividuating effect, in other words cues achieved through participants adopting anonymity/non-anonymity with a group did not affect behaviours (administering electric shocks), yet clothing type did. The authors had argued that clothing type was a direct cue to prompt behaviours (Johnson and Downing 1979).

Furthermore, although this study, and similar (i.e. Stanford Prison Experiment, Haney, Banks and Zimbardo (1973), incorporated clothing to authenticate the context, clothing was 'secondary', within these experiments, however, clothing provided powerful cues to related schematised behaviours in both examples (Adam and Galinsky 2012; Haney, Banks and Zimbardo 1973; Johnson and Downing 1979). It was this association between the cues to behaviours that clothing provided and the embodied effect of having a garment upon the body that Adam and Galinsky (2012) unified and theorised as enclothed cognition theory. Although studies are emerging surrounding enclothed cognition, Adam and Galinsky's (2012) seminal model did not include further measures that affect behaviours, (emotions and context). Womack (2016) recognised that context may affect enclothed cognition behaviours and the robust evidence offered in previous chapters (chapters 1 - 3) had argued that perceptions gained from wearing clothing in particular environments had a strong effect on how individuals believed they behaved. This was accepted as demonstrating that that the original enclothed cognition model was too simplistic to encapsulate the full effects of wearing symbolic clothing isolated from a context.

4.2. Clothing's Effect on Cognition: New Findings

Evidence focusing on the physical effects of wearing symbolic clothing has begun to recognise certain behaviours and cognitive processes (Adam and Galinsky 2012; Slepian et al. 2015; Van Stockum and DeCaro 2014) and emotions (López-Pérez et al. 2016). Contemporary research had identified precise cognitive processes that were affected by particular garments (López-Pérez et al. 2016; Slepian et al. 2015; Van Stockum and DeCaro 2014; Womack 2016). However, a problem with these findings was that there was no consistency in what they were measuring (different cognitive processes). For example, wearing 'formal clothing' was reported to increase 'abstract' cognitive processing, suggesting that clothing affected how events, people and artefacts were interpreted (Trope and Liberman 2010; Slepian et al. 2015; Smith and Semin 2007). A different symbolic garment, a doctor's white coat, was argued to increase attentional control (Van Stockrum and DeCaro 2014) as had been originally reported by Adam and Galinsky (2012). However, this later study reported that although increased attentional control was evidenced, problem-solving processes were simultaneously hindered by wearing the garment (Van Stockum and DeCaro 2014).

The development in enclothed cognition theory is beginning to illustrate further effects of wearing 'formal' clothing as opposed to the original 'white-coat', concurrent with highlighting exact cognitive behaviours and outcomes. For example, formal clothing was shown to increase abstract information processing and social-distance in relation to feelings of 'closeness' to others. Participants' feelings of 'power' (associated to social distance) was argued to mediate the reported effect of abstract processing (Slepian et al. 2015). This was interpreted as formal clothing acting as an intermediary to increased social distance, which subsequently predicted increased abstract processing. Therefore, formally dressed individuals process stimuli, actions, artefacts or situations in a way that includes broader, more holistic mental representations (Slepian et al. 2015).

Furthermore, within Slepian et al.'s (2015) findings, the authors had argued that perceived power (feeling powerful) was a result of wearing a business-suit. Although, this is not a new concept, literature had long since made this connection (see: Crane 2000; Davis 1984; Scott 2015), however, Slepian et al.'s (2015) study offered confirmatory evidence for the direct effect of wearing business-suits on cognitive processes rather than perceptions associated to wearing a business-suit and power. Additionally, amongst the evidence offered in previous chapters (Chapters 1-3) reviews of literature had not included social distance's link to wearing a business-suit and its effect on subsequent behaviours (Slepian et al. 2015). Therefore, further comprehension of social distance's relations with power and clothing behaviours required further definition and discussion.

4.3. Clothing: Social Distance and Power

Researchers had commonly adopted a widely cited definition of power as "... asymmetric control over valued resources...", (French and Raven 1959 cited in Galinsky et al. 2006: 1068; Magee and Galinsky 2008; Magee and Smith 2013) or "the ability to control outcomes" (Fiske, Cuddy and Glick 2007). Definitions also include for instance, power over individuals or groups and refer to associated behaviours that exemplify 'power' behaviours. These include: increased politeness and interactions that are 'impersonal' and serve to regulate and create social behaviours such as social distance and avoid intimacy (Bogardus 1933 cited in Matthews and Matlock 211:185; Stephan and Liberman 2010). Furthermore, wearing a business-suit can inadvertently increase these behaviours with less 'approachability' and 'friendliness' attributed to wearers (Damhorst 1990; Gooden et al. 2001; Karl et al. 2013). This results in individuals

perceiving social and psychological distance between themselves and/or individuals or groups dressed in this manner. In particular, when cues such as clothing styles are available to indicate traits and behaviours and include for example, status, power or group affiliation (Debaix 2002; Matthews and Matlock 2011; Rucker et al. 1999), any subsequent interactions can become asymmetrical (Magee and Smith 2013).

Magee and Smith (2013) argued that when one party is dressed 'formally' and another is not, social asymmetry arises. Symbolic attributes associated to the formally dressed individual (authoritative, self-confident, intelligent and powerful) causes observers who are not similarly dressed, to feel judged and distanced (Magee and Smith 2013). Furthermore, when individuals 'embody' a business-suit schematic knowledge of garment-related attributes are triggered and made more readily available (Hannover and Kühnen 2002; Karl et al. 2013; Kwon 1994; Peluchette and Karl 2007). This also results in wearers perceiving increased social distance and an imbalance of power in their favour (Cardon and Okoro 2009; Trope and Liberman 2010; Magee and Smith 2013). This often manifests as 'high-powered' individuals feeling less dependent on 'low-powered' individuals for whatever resource or outcome is at stake (Magee and Smith 2013). Additionally, 'empowered' individuals power, attained through powerorientated clothing perceptions or embodied power (posture) are: more approach/action oriented (Galinsky, Gruenfeld and Magee 2003), seek more risk (Anderson and Galinsky 2006) are more goal orientated (Galinsky et al. 2003) and engage in more abstract thinking (Slepian et al. 2015; Smith and Trope 2006), resulting in further heightened perceptions of the individual's power by observers.

Social distance and 'actioned power' have also been linked; for example, muscular states (expansive posture) have been associated with both constructs, along with several further positive outcomes. These include; adopting power-postures resulting in reduced anxiety (Cuddy et al. 2015), reduced cortisol levels, (associated to stress reduction) (Carney et al. 2010), maintenance of positive mood (Nair et al. 2014) and increased abstract processing (Huang et al. 2011; Slepian et al. 2015; Smith and Trope 2006). Additionally, traits linked to the business-suit are the same as those linked to individuals adopting power postures (Carney et al. 2015; Slepian et al. 2015) and positive mood (Kwon 1991; Nair et al. 2014). Therefore, it is proposed that an inter-relationship exists between symbolic clothing (business-suit jacket) embodied power and positive affectivity which may explain some of the behaviours relating to wearing a business-suit, increased enclothed cognition (Adam and Galinsky 2012; Slepian et

al. 2015) and embodied cognition effects (Carney et al. 2010; Cuddy et al. 2015; Latu et al. 2017; Marzoli et al. 2013; Wilson and Golonka 2013).

4.4. Power and Emotions

Previous sections in this chapter had briefly introduced power postures and discussed the similarity with the positive effects attained from wearing a business-suit. Both garment and posture have been associated with reduced anxiety and decreased negative mood (Carney et al. 2010; Nair et al. 2014). In addition, evidence for the positive benefits of embodied cognition was also discussed, resulting is a further link between embodied cognition, power posture and the business-suit (Carney et al. 2010, 2015; Cuddy et al. 2015; Yap et al. 2013). In order to understand these associations, further examples were evaluated.

For example, positive effects of embodied cognition, other than cognitive processes, were exemplified in literature findings such as Kraft and Pressman (2012), reporting that 'smiling' participants had lower heart-rate levels during an anxiety-inducing task. Participants in the same study induced to smile (holding a chop-stick in their mouth), along with 'natural smilers' reported less decrease in positive affect during stressful trials. Whilst in a different approach to support EC, Welker et al. (2013) investigated the effects of posture, reporting no significant difference between 'positively' postured (upright and shoulders back) and 'slouched' (negative posture) participants' negative mood levels. However, the authors did report the effect of posture had a significant negative impact on the extent and valance of mood when participants were 'positively' postured (Welker et al. 2013).

Furthermore, a review of existing literature had reported further benefits of embodying or perceiving power. Individuals are: more optimistic (Anderson and Galinsky 2006), feel more personal agency (in charge/control of their body) (Galinsky et al. 2006), generally 'feel good' (Keltner, Gruenfeld and Anderson 2003) and assists emotional expression (Berdahl and Mortorana 2006 cited in Carney et al. 2013). Alternatively, there are negative aspects to embodied power that also requires reporting. For example, powerful individuals are more likely to cheat (Yap et al. 2013), engage in criminal behaviour (Pryor, LaVite and Stoller 1993 cited in Carney et al. 2013), are involved in infidelity (Lammers et al. 2011) and are moral hypocrites (Lammers, Stapel and Galinsky 2010).

Furthermore, Carney et al. (2013) incorporated a social evaluation context (Trier Stress Test), in which to examine effects of postured power, reporting that power-postured participants exhibited fewer stress-responses, non-verbal behaviours and less self-reported stress in this situation. However, power did not assist in mediating what the authors termed 'cognitive overload', instead they concluded that any 'stress-buffering' effects of power, within stressful contexts, may be limited to affective rather than cognitive processes (Carney et al. 2013). Affectivity was of interest within the research presented in this thesis and the effect of the business-suit and power posture will be examined in Chapter 8 and examine the effects of embodying power compared to 'enclothed' power to mediate mood, as proposed by Carney et al. (2013), power will be examined for its ability to act as an 'emotional buffer'.

4.5. Posturing Power

An additional approach to embodied cognition theory included findings from psychological and physical manipulations of power. Prior research had examined the effects of incorporating 'power' primes prior to a task (Carney et al. 2010; Galinsky et al. 2006; Park, Streamer, Huang and Galinsky 2013), or for the duration of the task (Briñol et al. 2009; Latu et al. 2017; Nair et al. 2014) utilising differing methods to achieve 'priming'. For instance, primes were manifested as direct body manipulation, such as adopting a 'powerful' posture, (Bohens and Wiltermuth 2012; Carney et al. 2010; Huang 2011; Park et al. 2013) or as a psychological state, such as generating power perspectives. For example, Galinsky et al. (2003:455) required participants to adopt an imaginary hierarchical role as a 'manager' or 'subordinate' or recall a time when they perceived power over others (Galinsky et al. 2003: 457; Galinsky et al. 2006), whilst others formed a 'fist' (Fischer et al. 2011) or mimicked power-orientated photographic poses (Arnette and Pettijohn 2012; Carney, Cuddy and Yap 2010). However, explicit (physical) power manipulation (posture, making a fist), was argued to produce stronger effects than psychological primes (imaginary roles) (Carney et al. 2010).

In an alternative approach, Yap et al. (2013) demonstrated that body configuration due to incidental environmental influences also affected thoughts and behaviours. Postures imposed through the ergonomics of 'everyday' objects, such as car driving seats, were shown to impact driving behaviour. For instance, individuals who inadvertently adopted an expansive driving position committed more driving offenses during a driving simulation task (Yap et al. 2013:2285). Additionally, the manufacturer of vehicles, available driving seat space and status

of vehicle brand, were shown to negatively affect the number of parking violations (parking tickets) the car driver received. Results suggested that higher status, large cars and expansive driving-seat areas, induced 'dishonest' (driving associated) behaviours (Yap et al. 2013).

Further effects of physical power, had shown that power-postured participants generate more power-related words and power-orientated behaviours (moving an annoying object without permission) (Gruenfeld and Anderson 2003; Magee and Galinsky 2008), have increased power-related thoughts (Huang et al. 2011), action orientation (taking action towards a goal or desire) (Galinsky, Gruenfeld and Magee 2003; Huang et al. 2011), carry out corrupt behaviour (Lammers, Galinsky, Dubois and Rucker 2015) and are more creative (Galinsky et al. 2008). Additionally, when participants were naïve to the purpose of the study or were in a more 'natural' social context, then embodying power became more pronounced (Carney, Cuddy and Yap 2015).

Carney, Cuddy and Yap (2010), somewhat controversially (Jonas et al. 2017), claimed that expansive postures increased subjective feelings of power, testosterone levels, tolerance to risk and decreased cortisol levels. The study was provocative mainly due to the claims made by the authors, but also due to its failure to be replicated (See reviews: Carney, Cuddy and Yap 2015; Jonas et al. 2017). Although reports of some aspects of the study for instance, changes in hormone levels were unreliable (Ranehill et al. 2015; Ronay, Tybur, Huijstee and Morssinkhof 2017) further elements of the research offered insight and development of what had been a seminal research topic, resulting in the formulation of a 'power-posture' hypothesis (Carney, Cuddy and Yap 2010).

In relation to the research in this thesis, previous researchers had examined the effect of priming individuals in a power-posture prior to a 'demanding' employment interview (Carney et al. 2015; Klaschinski, Schnabel and Schroder-Ade 2017). This research was particularly pertinent, as the study examined the effect of adopting a power-posture prior to an interview, then assessing judgements of applicant hireability and dominant behaviour. Feeling 'powerful' resulted in psychological and behavioural changes that improved performance in this evaluative and stressful situation (Cuddy et al. 2015). The initial study (Study 2) in this thesis, did not incorporate a power perspective per se, but it was anticipated that power would be derived from wearing a business-suit, in particular the jacket due to its inherent structure and was the antecedent to perceived or behavioural power (feeling and acting powerful).

However, Cuddy et al.'s (2015) results were explained as cognitive processes and goal-orientated behaviours being enhanced by perceptions and/or embodiments of power, resulting in individuals feeling or appearing more, for example, 'intelligent' and 'organised' (Carney et al. 2015). Carney et al. (2010) also argued that power reduced self-reported stress, anxiety and cortisol levels, whilst increasing testosterone levels. However, the effects of power-posture on cortisol and testosterone levels have not been reliably validated (Jonas et al. 2017; Cesario, Jonas and Carney 2017; Ranehill et al. 2015), whilst, alternative evidence reported that a combination of high testosterone and low cortisol had often been found in individuals in high-status social hierarchies (Sherman, Lerner, Josephs, Renshon and Gross 2015) and with higher trait 'dominance' (Mehta and Josephs 2010).

A link to these two hormones (cortisol and testosterone) and 'self-assertive' and 'dominant' behaviours is also gaining 'importance' due to its association with e.g. social competencies. Although 'social competency' is a broad term that refers to an individual's capacity to interact socially, this topic is receiving increasing attention (Weisinger 1998 cited in Klaschinski et al. 2017:56) in particular, for the value it holds as a job-success predictor and as a competency within employment selection (Hunter and Hunter 1984; Huffcutt and Arthur 1984). Interestingly, social competency due to increased hormone levels, and associations to power and dominant behaviours, appears to be in contradiction to social distances' presence as a consequence of power and power-related clothing (Slepian et al. 2015).

The discussion within Chapter 4 recognised a link between bodily posturing and perceptions surrounding the concept of power (physically or psychologically induced) (Carney et al. 2010, 2015; Cuddy et al. 2015; Galinsky et al. 2006; Yap et al. 2013). Perceptions of power can be incidental or planned, yet its effect has been shown to affect the same behaviours and emotions as that of business-suit wearers. This association between power-posturing and wearing a business-suit is intriguing, therefore attempting to differentiate the two, is one of the aims of the present research. Examining the close association between the business-suit and postured-power, in terms of shared traits and behaviours will enable further understanding of the inherent properties of a business-suit to be extended.

4.6. Synthesising Theories: Symbolic clothing and Power Postures

Chapters 1 and 2 reviewed literature relating to endogenous and exogenous elements of clothing (Kwon 1991) in order to gain a greater understanding of the diverse functions of clothing as environmental and psychological protectors (Crane 2000; Kwon 1991), as social messenger (Bem 1972; Debaix et al. 2002; Twigg 2010; Zebrowitz and Collins 1997), and as a source of contextual and garment-related perceptions (Furnham et al. 2004; Kwon 1991). A further point identified from the literature was clothing's enduring capacity to provide a conduit through which attributes and personality judgments are achieved regardless of the medium (face-to-face, photographs and web-image) (Bar et al. 2006; Chapman and Rowe 2003; Johnson et al. 2002; Naumann et al. 2009). Additionally, clothing perceptions, particularly focusing on the business-suit, were found to be consistent for both wearers and observers, suggesting a ubiquitous and socially constructed system of communicating multiple garment-related meanings, resulting in wearers connecting to associated traits (Bem 1972; Furnham et al. 2014; Kang et al. 2010; Kwon and Faber 1992; Lightstone et al. 2010; Twigg 2010).

These multiple meanings and behaviours represented by clothing are often utilised to convey constructs such as attributes, emotions and affiliations (Debaix et al. 2002; Fennis and Pruyn 2007; Howlett et al. 2012; Pratt and Rafaeli 1997). Although, arguable all clothing is symbolic, some clothing is more influential and representative of garment-associated attributes and behaviours than others (Adam and Galinsky 2012; Debaix et al. 2002; Karl et al. 2013; Kwon 1994a). The garment of focus in the present research, a business-suit, was discussed at length in order to evaluate its inherent qualities through its appearance, its structure, sensory qualities and its symbolism (Goffman 1991; King and Vickery 2013; Lightstone et al 2010; Lü and Chen 2013). Additionally, the consistency of perceived traits provided support for attributes related to a business-suit's symbolism, to support the use of a composite of traits as a 'prime' in the forthcoming Study 2 (Chapter 6) (Damhorst 1990; Kwon 1991; Kwon and Faber 1992; Peluchette Karl and Rust 2006; Peluchette and Karl 2007).

A further point that is recognised from of literature offered in Chapter 1 within this thesis, was that when individuals are dressed context-congruently, negative affect, and anxiety was reduced (Adomaitis and Johnson 2005; Kwon 1994). Furthermore, empirical literature supported the premise that business-suit wearers form garment-relevant mental representation of professional behaviours: 'confident', 'professional', 'intelligent' (Behling and Williams 1991; Damhorst 1990; Karl et al. 2013; Kwon 1994a/b; Peluchette and Karl 2007), resulting in

heightened beliefs that they convey and behave in a perception-congruent manner (Karl et al. 2013; Kwon 1994a; Peluchette and Kwon and Johnson-Hilleary 1998; Peluchette and Karl 2007; Peluchette et al. 2006). To further extend this area of enquiry, one of the aims of the present research was to investigate an area that had not previously been examined, the effect of wearing a business-suit on cognitive, emotional and behavioural responses within an employment interview. Previous literature had examined these constructs, but not in combination, or with a view to assessing the effect of the business-suit, upon them. Therefore, in order to fill a gap in the literature this is one of the intentions of the present research presented in this thesis.

Furthermore, the employment-interview's 'uniqueness' (McCarthy and Goffin 2004; Huffcutt et al. 2011) and wearing symbolic clothing within this context, is expected to prompt wearers and observers to behave in a certain way (Brase and Richmond 2004; Cardon and Okoro 2009; Furnham et al. 2014; Petrilli et al. 2014; Slepian et al. 2015; Van Stockum and DeCaro 2014). Both interview-anxiety and anxieties related to individuals (state and trait) are expected to be heightened in this context, whilst positive effects of wearing a business-suit, reflecting its symbolism, are anticipated to be observed in the negative effects of the context being reduced. Adam and Galinsky (2012) offered an explanation for wearers' responses, proposing that enclothed cognition behaviour was a direct result of individuals 'embodying' (wearing) the symbolism of the garment, whilst consciously acknowledging its attributes. However, the authors had not included a context, unlike Study 2 in the present thesis in which an employment-interview simulation was incorporated. Therefore, this context not only adds a more applied setting and an attempt to authenticate the experience for participants, its inclusion is also one in which the garment is congruent and has been proposed to aid in reducing negative emotional effects associated with the context (Adomaitis and Johnson 2005).

Additionally, from the body of reviewed literature regarding business-suit associated traits, it was recognised that the foremost and most generic were 'intelligence' and 'confidence' (Behling and Williams 1991; Damhorst 1990; Kwon 1994a; Kwon and Faber 1992; Kwon and Johnson Hilleary 1998; Peluchette and Karl 2007). Therefore, a further objective of this research was to test enclothed cognition theory's prediction to this alternative and equally common-place garment, a business-suit. Its examination within the model will enable levels of garment-related self-perceptions to be assessed for their influence on performance of a garment-related task (Brase and Richmond 2004; Franz and Norton 2001; Karl et al. 2013; Slepian et al 2015). Although the original model of enclothed cognition had incorporated a

doctor's white coat, extending the model to a business-suit was viewed as a development, due in part to contemporary literature having recently included 'formal clothing' within an enclothed cognition model (Slepian et al. 2015). However, Adam and Galinsky's (2012) original model had not considered how symbolic garments effect emotions and how emotion may affect symbolic behaviours. By examining both the effect of wearing a symbolic garment on emotion, and emotion's influence on symbolic garment-related behaviours, presented in Study 2 (Chapter 6) of this research, will fill a further void that had not been previously addressed in the literature and extend enclothed cognition theory to consider emotions within the model.

Existing literature had argued that garment-related perceptions are heightened when a garment is context-congruent (Kwon 1994a; Karl et al. 2013; Peluchette et al. 2006; Peluchette and Karl 2007). Therefore, to accommodate this premise, Study 2 incorporated an interview 'simulation' in order to assess business-suit wearers' behaviours and emotions. Adding an 'applied' setting also allowed insight into the business-suit's influence on wearers' perceptions and garment-related task performance (Adam and Galinsky 2012; Peluchette and Karl 2007). Adam and Galinsky (2012) lack of context resulted in the present thesis's research aims to propose that the full effect of enclothed cognition cannot be comprehensively explored without acknowledging that context may affect behaviour (Womack 2016). Therefore, wearing a business-suit in a relevant setting will be incorporated into Study 2, Chapter 6 in the present thesis, and should assist in reducing confounds that may be due to an incongruent environment. Whilst also allowing context-associated behaviours to be assessed (Adomaitis and Johnson 2005; Womack 2016).

Having introduced perceptions associated to the business-suit and their effect upon wearers, a further discussion explored unconscious effects of clothing on wearers' emotions and behaviours. For example, reported emotions were often found to be contrary to unconscious reactions towards an item of clothing (Chinen et al. 2004; Lü and Chen 2013). Similarly, unconscious effects of clothing can affect wearers' mood and emotions (Dubler and Gurel 1984; King and Vickery 2013; Rafaeli et al. 1997) or as a means of mediating negative affect (Frith and Gleeson 2008; Kallstrom 2009; King and Vickery 2013; Kwon 1991; Kwon and Parnham 1994). Previous research has not directly measured the effect of wearing a business-suit on mood when the garment was context-congruent and was within a context that holds clothing practices as important (employment-interviews) (Adomaitis and Johnson 2005;

Debretts 2016; Hooley and Yates 2015; Kwon and Faber 1992; McCarthy and Goffin 2004). Therefore, Study 2 (Chapter 6) intended to address this void in the literature.

Chapter 3 focused upon introducing employment-interviews and discussed what was argued to be a 'dynamic' event that prompted interviewees to experience many negative behaviours, (McCarthy and Goffin 2004; McCarthy 2015). Anxiety focused foremost in the discussion, however, it was acknowledged that an interactional approach to anxiety offered a comprehensive explanation for both trait and state anxiety's interaction within this context (Endler 1987; Endler and Kocovski 2001; McCarthy and Goffin 2004; Sarason 1984). Whilst McCarthy and Goffin (2004) accepted this model of anxiety as being able to explain anxiety experienced by interviewees, they argued strongly for the 'uniqueness' of the interview situation and its associated behaviours.

However, the full extent of interview's 'uniqueness' may not be fully accounted for within the interactional model and may veil particular manifestations of anxiety, such as self-report (state) anxiety and any (often) subliminal physiological reactions of anxiety (Huffcutt et al. 2011; McCarthy and Goffin 2004; Maloney et al. 2014). Therefore, in order to identify some differential effects of trait and state-anxiety on participants' behaviour levels, both constructs were measured further in Study 2 (Chapter 6). Furthermore, within Study 2 (Chapter 6) trait-anxiety levels were assessed through the incorporation of a personality measure of emotional stability (Goldberg 1992). Rather than attempt to disseminate the interactional model, which is not the intention of the research reported in this thesis, the present research intended to acknowledge the argued 'uniqueness' of the interview context, yet also consider participants' predisposition to anxiety (trait measure) (McCarthy and Goffin 2004). Therefore, multidimensional 'interview-anxiety' was measured and a 'personality trait' measure in order to compare several aspects of anxiety.

Anxiety has been shown to greatly affect cognitive processes and performance in 'testing' and evaluative situations (Andrews 1990; Cassady and Johnson 2002; Ergene 2003; Huffcutt et al. 2011; Owens, Stevenson, Hadwin and Norgate 2012; Owens et al. 2014). However, the impact of the symbolism of the business-suit on wearers was proposed to be a mediator to some of the negative emotional effects associated to the context (Adam and Galinsky 2012; Kwon 1994a). Arguably, due to inherent and positive attributes associated with a business-suit (confidence, competence, intelligence, and congruence), which should override some negative and anxiety-inducing effects of the situation. This has not previously been isolated in the literature,

therefore, Study 2 (Chapter 6) directly addressed this void. The impact of this examination has implications for individuals in 'testing' and 'evaluatory' situations (interviews, cognitive tests). Demonstrating a causal link between wearing a business-suit and reduced context-related anxiety would enable interventions to be designed to counter these negative consequences.

The reviewed literature also supported the proposition that individuals wearing a business-suit will experience less interview-anxiety, reduced negative mood and state anxiety, due to embodying garment-associated 'professional' traits that enhance e.g. confidence and context-congruence (Karl et al. 2013; Peluchette and Karl 2007). This should be evidenced in business-suit wearers showing increased professional self-perceptions levels along with reduced interview-anxiety levels (McCarthy and Goffin 2004; Peluchette and Karl 2007). Rating perceptions acted as an explicit prime to garment associated traits and provided an indication of their influence on behaviours.

By measuring garment-related perceptions within Study 2 (Chapter 6) this also enabled a direct measure of perceptions' impact on context-related anxiety to be assessed. This was novel and will contribute to the literature surrounding both interview behaviour and the interview-anxiety model (McCarthy and Goffin 2004) which had not previously measured the extent of 'priming'. The impact of gaining this knowledge will assist in adding to the interview-anxiety literature and provide a basis for designing interventions that could direct interviewees towards understanding how their interview clothing could benefit interview-anxiety reduction and interview outcomes. Additionally, Adam and Galinsky (2012) incorporated a 'prime' task within their original enclothed cognition theory yet did not gauge its efficacy to prime participants. Measuring the extent of garment and context-related perceptions will directly address this and offer an indication of its 'value' within the model.

Individuals are not always consciously aware of any effects of anxiety that they may be experiencing. For example, physiological arousal due to anxiety may be subliminal and not acknowledged by an individual (Barlow 2002). Therefore, in order to assess the effect of wearing a business-suit on levels of physiological arousal as an indicator of anxiety, pulse-rate readings were recorded throughout Study 2, during the interview simulation presented in Chapter 6. The Interview-anxiety scale (MASI McCarthy and Goffin 2004) includes a dimension of behavioural anxiety, yet the intention of measuring pulse-rates was to record unconscious physiological arousal. Again, due to the anticipated effect of professional perceptions being heightened in business-suit wearers (Behling and Williams 1991; Damhorst

1990; Cardon and Okoro 2009; Karl et al. 2013; Peluchette et al. 2006; Peluchette and Karl 2007) and due to situation congruence (Adomaitis and Johnson 2005; King and Vickery 2013; Ruetzler et al. 2011) physiological arousal was expected to be lower and subject to less variation throughout the interview experience for individuals wearing a business-suit. The consequence of any physiological arousal recorded via pulse-rate, should also give an indication of any inherent effects that the business-suit may impose on wearers, additionally the effect of physiological arousal for those not wearing a business-suit (control group) can also be considered in terms of the interview context for its influence on anxiety levels.

The present chapter has evaluated the second component of enclothed cognition theory, embodied cognition. This second component links states of the body directly with cognitive processes (Huang et al. 2011; Galinsky, Gruenfeld and Magee 2003; Park et al. 2013). Through these processes environmental and psychological effects, (clothing, mental representations), trigger emotional and behavioural responses. Items such as clothing provides unconscious sensory stimulus to the wearer, as do the ergonomics of 'incidental' and 'every day' artefacts that impose upon the body's structure and senses, effecting subsequent behaviours (Lü and Chen 2013; Yap et al. 2013). Therefore, the effect of wearing a business-suit may be similar to what the body experiences when influenced to be posed, or intentionally adopting a power-posture.

In addition to this recognition, the evaluation of the literature in the present chapter also identified that traits and cognitive processes associated to the business-suit were also associated to 'power' perspectives, in other words when perceptions of power are perceived via thoughts, muscular/body manipulation or the environment (Slepian et al. 2015). Power had previously been associated to wearing formal clothing, yet the precise cognitive processes that formed the link had not been clearly demonstrated. For instance, wearing formal clothing was directly linked to social distance, and abstract thinking, which was then shown to mediate perceived power (Slepian et al. 2015; Gooden et al. 2001). The act of being separated from others (social distance) by the clothing worn, may be explained by the stance clothing instils upon the wearer, in the case of the business-suit, upright posture with shoulders slightly back (Aldrich 2007). This not only conveys power to observers but also to the wearer, but may not always be intentioned, more a consequence of wearing the garment.

Power was seen to be associated to further constructs linked to the business-suit and vice versa. For example, perceived power (mental representations) or embodied power (via posture) both trigger perceptions of i.e. 'confidence', 'power' and 'intelligent' as does wearing a businesssuit (Carney et al. 2010; Peluchette and Karl 2007; Slepian et al. 2015). Additionally, behaviours positively affected by wearing a suit such as anxiety-reduction and enhanced mood are similarly affected by embodying power (Carney et al. 2010; Nair et al. 2014). Therefore, this apparent overlap of traits and behaviours as a consequence of embodying power or a business-suit requires examination. Evidence from the power-prime literature was robust and offered a strong argument for priming participants prior to undertaking various measures (Carney et al. 2010; Galinsky et al. 2006; Park, Streamer, Huang and Galinsky 2013). Therefore, the effect of embodied power, (a power prime) through posture, compared to the prime of wearing a business-suit will be examined in Chapter 8 of the present thesis. Comparing postured power and a business-suit for differences had not previously been undertaken. Additionally, assessing the effect of both a power-posture compared to the business-suit will enable further understanding of the ability of the business-suit to affect emotions and behaviour and thus offer further understanding of their effect on behaviour.

4.7. Aims of the Research

The aims of the research within this thesis was to 'unpack' the overarching enquiry which was to gain insight into 'how the clothes individuals wear affects how they behave and feel.' This was carried out by directly testing the effects of wearing a business-suit on behaviour and emotions (Chapter 6). However, a consideration for testing variables is the population who are to be examined. As previously introduced (Section 1.4.3.1.) the present research incorporated an undergraduate sample, for their 'general' workplace inexperience and limited number of graduate-level interviews they have undertaken.

Furthermore, undergraduates' views, experience and understanding of the use and value of the business-suit within interviews was somewhat 'assumed' and not fully known, with evidence to date being somewhat contradictory (Bridgestock 2006; Hall and Bernardino 2006; Ruetzler et al 2011). Therefore, the aim of Study 1 (presented in Chapter 5) of this thesis, was to gain an understanding of the perceptions of undergraduates to wearing a business-suit to an employment interview and within the workplace. Contrary literature surrounding this topic has not demonstrated whether undergraduates value this type of clothing in this particular

context. In gaining clarification of undergraduates' views and beliefs the present gap in the literature will be filled. Furthermore, acknowledging undergraduates' views also enables interventions to be designed, updated and directed towards individuals who may be naïve to the value of the business-suit in these environments.

The intention of Study 2, presented in Chapter 6 of this thesis, was to test enclothed cognition model's prediction that embodying a symbolic garment and acknowledging its symbolism would enhance garment-related behaviour, and thus extend enclothed cognition theory to an additional symbolic garment. However, currently the model has been devoid of emotional measures such as anxiety and mood, yet these constructs are viewed as necessary within the analyses due to their close association with both the garment and the context, this gap is filled by examining the enclothed cognition model when emotions are included and assessment of the effect of the symbolic garment upon them is measured. The inclusion of mood and anxiety variables was also required in order to demonstrate that the original enclothed cognition model may have been too simplistic an explanation for behaviours linked to embodying symbolic clothing.

Additionally, a business-suit is commonplace within employment interview contexts, where emotions are often negatively valenced (Huffcutt et al. 2011; Kang et al. 2013; Lightstone et al. 2011). Scrutinising the effect of a business-suit on mood and anxiety within this context will assist in gaining a comprehensive understanding of the effects of wearing this particular symbolic garment (business-suit) in this particular environment. The present research therefore filled a void in the literature that had not to date explicitly tested these variables.

Furthermore, previous research had reported wearers' perceptions of reduced anxiety and enhanced mood when wearing a business-suit as a measure of perceived improved emotions. However, this was based on subjective self-reports, research had not directly tested a business-suit's effect on mood and anxiety and although incorporation of a mood scale in Study 2 was 'self-report' and therefore subjective, the scale was argued to be a reliable and a valid indicator of mood (Watson and Clark 1992). However, to capture the effect of wearing a business-suit on anxiety, a physiological arousal measure (finger pulse-oximeter) was incorporated into Study 2 in order to assess subliminal reactions to a symbolic garment. This addressed a further void in the literature that had not previously tested reactions to wearing a business-suit in an interview, on mood and somatic arousal levels.

In order to investigate the effects of wearing a symbolic garment (business-suit) on emotions and behaviour it was recognised that enclothed cognition theory incorporated embodied cognition to explain behaviours (Adam and Galinsky 2012). However, the inherent qualities of a garment may not be accessed via explicit priming to a garment's traits, priming may be more direct, such as via the inherent qualities of the garment (Chinen et al. 2004; Moody et al. 2010). Furthermore, the association between a business-suit and power perspectives is strong, with overlaps in several associated behavioural benefits (Carney et al. 2010, 2015; Galinsky et al. 2006; Yap et al. 2013). Therefore, Study 3 (Chapter 7) presented in this thesis examined differences in the benefits of adopting a power posture compared to wearing a business-suit on cognitive response, emotions and behaviour. As such the study would provide evidence for the physical effects of the garment on the body and a comparison to adopting a posture that mimics what a suit jacket does to the body. This will extend embodied literature to a direct comparison between clothing and posturing in order to assess differences and similarities between the two conditions.

Chapter 5. Undergraduates Perceptions of Wearing a Business Suit: A Qualitative Approach

5.1. Introduction

Chapters 1 – 4 reviewed empirical literature surrounding clothing in general and focused on the business-suit as a symbolic garment. Within the reviewed literature various behaviours and emotions were argued to be closely linked to business-suits. These behaviours required further examination in order to satisfy the stated aims of the present thesis (see Section 4.5.). Furthermore, the context of an employment interview simulation was surmised to be an appropriate context in which to investigate the topic, extend previous research and fill voids in the literature. However, what was not evaluated was the target population's attitudes and how these may impact the outcome of any research.

Furthermore, business-suits are an established clothing style, commonplace in the workplace and worn to undertake employment interviews, (Crane 2000; Debretts 2016; Kang, Sklar and Johnson 2012; Karl et al. 2013; Peluchette and Karl 2007; Peluchette et al. 2006). Much of the support linking professional perceptions with the business-suit was achieved from workplace environments (Farnham et al. 2014; Karl et al. 2013; Peluchette and Karl 2007) or from students who had associations with the workplace (part-time post-graduate students) (Cardon and Okoro 2009; Lightstone et al. 2011), whilst contemporary employment interview literature were derived from both students' and employees' perspectives (Cardon and Okoro 2009; Cutts et al. 2015). This suggests that knowledge of 'professional' perceptions and behaviours are attained through social semiotics; work-experience, peer's dress codes, work-place policies and social interactions (Aghaei et al. 2017; Furnham et al. 2014; Goffman 1990; Rafaeli et al. 1997). Each of these may therefore impact individuals' beliefs and expectations, resulting in linking business-suits with workplace traits. Alternatively, undergraduates, who are the target sample, are an appropriate population with which to investigate this topic as they are generally more workplace naïve, and have not accrued the aforementioned experiences and interactions, and have mainly undertaken part-time or service industry jobs (Lightstone et al. 2011).

Employment interviews are generally an intrinsic part of the process to gain employment. To date, evidence surrounding undergraduates' opinions regarding wearing business-suits during interviews has been contrary; one approach arguing that undergraduates do not see the practise as important, whilst opposing literature argues they understand its necessity in the workplace

(Cutts et al. 2015; Ruetzler et al. 2011). It is therefore important to assess undergraduates' opinions of the practise of wearing a business-suit and associated self-perceptions, as they are highly likely to undertake interviews close to graduation. Additionally, undergraduates' opinions and beliefs are valued, and would assist in informing interventions and guidance for future student employability programmes to assist their transition from 'student' to 'graduate employee'. A focus very much on many universities' agenda (Cutts et al. 2015; Myson 2018; Ruetzler et al. 2011).

There appears to be an impasse between undergraduates' attitudes and those of business representatives about interview clothing. For example, Ruetzler et al. (2011) examined undergraduates' beliefs as to which attributes they believed were important to convey to potential employers. Reporting undergraduates did not believe wearing a business-suit was important, whilst in contrast business representatives did. Cutts et al. (2015) countered this view by arguing that undergraduates had a clear and sophisticated knowledge of how they needed to transition their appearance via their clothing and grooming when preparing for interviews and the workplace. Alternatively, Cardon and Okoro (2009) reported on post-graduate students' clothing preference, reporting that students' preferred wearing 'casual-business' clothing, yet, they fully appreciated that a business-suit conveyed more appropriate impressions to employers and signalled 'professionally-orientated' traits.

Furthermore, graduates and employers agree that the title 'graduate' is a proxy for 'intelligence', over and above additional knowledge skills and abilities (KSA) they may possess. Therefore, by targeting graduates for recruitment, recruiters assume 'intelligence' is a forgone conclusion (Finch et al. 2016). Business-suits are also strongly correlated with perceptions of intelligence, it would therefore seem beneficial to undergraduates to make them aware of the utility of this association (Behling and Williams 1991; Cardon and Okoro 2009).

Teijeiro et al. (2013; Stewart, Wall and Marciniec 2016) each proposed that undergraduates' interview-attribute ratings were incongruent with those of employers. Employers looked to recruit graduates who understood organisational cultures and practises including professional dress (Hall and Bernardino 2006). Bridgestock (2009) supported this view, arguing that under/graduates needed to attain professional behaviours to be 'work-ready' whilst being able to demonstrate attributes such as intuitive or instinctual skills, which is often problematic (Holden and Hamblett 2007; Jackson 2016; Teijeiro et al. 2013). For instance, some practises fall into categories such as skills or competencies that are measurable and readily evidenced,

however, implicit knowledge of professional behaviours are less easily attained and measured (Stewart et al. 2016; Teijeiro et al. 2013). Although not classed as 'soft skills' (non-technical, applied skills) that are desire, employers value 'professionalism' (Stewart et al. 2016) which involves what could be termed as 'softer' skills. These include actions such as dressing appropriately and turning mobile phones off during meetings (Bridgestock 2009; Ruetzler et al. 2011; Stewart et al. 2016).

Universities regularly embed employability skills into their degree programmes and collaborate with professional bodies to align these with industry's requirements (For example, Coventry University and the Chartered Management Institute CMI, Myson 2018). Additionally, practises such as mock interviews and coursework presentations within assessments, assist in undergraduates attaining 'work-ready' aptitudes (Hall and Berardino 2006; Ruetzler et al. 2011). Cutts et al. (2015) asserted that formal clothing was essential for interviews, whilst Hooley and Yates (2014) added that 'dressing well' in an organisational context is a 'career image competency', with appearance being an intrinsic and valued attribute that can enhance career success. However, this attribute may need to be attained through advice or experience in the workplace and not be possessed by work-place-limited students (Ruetzler et al. 2011).

One explanation for undergraduates' negative attitudes towards wearing a business-suit may be that they commonly enter Higher Education institutions directly from Further Education and have not developed understandings of some professional behaviours (clothing and appearance management), instead enjoying more casual and self-expressive styles (Crane 2000). For instance, the percentage of first-year undergraduates under 18 years of age in 2013/14 was 52.3%, under 19 years 19.7% and 21 – 24 years of age 7.3% (Higher Education Statistics Agency 2016), showing an overall younger sample group. If undergraduates undertake employment during this period it is likely to be service-industry employment which often entails wearing uniforms (British Education Council UK 2016; Crane 2000; Lightstone et al. 2011) therefore, gaining an understanding of 'workplace' clothing is not achieved.

Congruent with these statistics Lightstone et al. (2011) examined employers' expectations of employee clothing, reporting that younger employees, typically between 18-31 years old were likely to wear uniforms or casual clothing. Additionally, a 'hangover' from casual dressing practises incorporated by the dot.com companies of the late 1990-2000s may also have influenced undergraduates' perceptions (Lightstone et al. 2011; Tapia 2004). Perceptions of a 'casual' attitude to workplace clothing may have been derived from 'dress-down' practises

incorporated by Human Resource departments in the last decade, which are arguably beginning to wane, yet are still present in some industries and may have left impressions of casual workplace dress-codes (Gutierrez and Freese 1999; Lightstone et al. 2011).

The commonality of face-to-face interviews in the UK, was discussed in Chapter 1 of this thesis, proposing that impressions are quickly formed from applicant appearance (Bar et al. 2006; Howlett et al. 2012; Naumann et al. 2009), offering recruiters an indication of applicants' personality, attributes and often a signal of congruence with the organisation's philosophy (Barrick, Shaffer and De Grassi 2009; Howlett et al. 2012; Jackson 2016; Naumann et al. 2009). However, undergraduates have limited 'entry-level' interview experience, due in part to not having yet graduated, or having the time around their study to gain full-time employment experience.

Furthermore, the evidence is ambiguous as to exactly what undergraduates believe is the value of wearing a business-suit to interviews (Bridgestock 2009; Cutts et al. 2015; Hall and Berardino 2006; Howlett et al. 2012; Ruetzler et al. 2011). The consensus appears to be that employers desire 'softer' professional behaviours (such as knowing how to dress for a professional environment), whilst undergraduates' views are mixed. Clarification of this point was essential and offered an indication of the sample populations' understanding and opinions towards the business-suit, its symbolism and usage within a particular context (employment interviews).

Furthermore, it was essential that clarity on the topic was achieved prior to the experimental stage of this thesis. The information gained was intended to aid in the subsequent empirical investigations. Gaining undergraduates' opinions and beliefs were therefore essential for two reasons; firstly, understanding their views would indicate whether or not they acknowledged traits associated to the symbolism of the business-suit. If they did not, and had no understanding of garment-related traits, their incorporation in the experimental studies presented in Chapters 6 and 7 of this thesis could compromise the results. The second valuable element of gaining undergraduates' opinions was to contribute to developing interventions that assist students' transition into the workplace in terms of guidance and knowledge regarding wearing appropriate clothing.

5.2. Summary

The aim of Study 1 was to adopt a 'semi-deductive approach' to gaining undergraduates' opinions and beliefs. From the reviewed literature, it was apparent undergraduates' opinions towards wearing business-suits to interviews was inconsistent (Hall and Berardino 2006; Ruetzler et al. 2011; Stewart et al. 2016). In order to take a current gauge of students' views and fill a void in the literature to offer clarity and to take a qualitative approach, not previously used, a focus group methodology was adopted.

Prior to undertaking an experimental approach and testing participants' reactions to a businesssuit (Chapter 6 and 7), it was important to adopt an approach that was appropriate to gaining a 'qualitative' outcome. Opinions and beliefs are constructs that are captured through methods that engage a non-positivist approach (Braun and Clark 2013:31). Therefore, by adopting a constructivist position, it was proposed that undergraduates' beliefs, meanings and understanding of a phenomenon related to a certain context (from their standpoint) would be revealed and over and above what a survey/questionnaire could achieve. Additionally, a focus group offers an environment in which free conversation and interaction with others is encouraged. This is unlike an interview format, which may achieve less fruitful responses to the questions. What was required from Study 1 was a broad understanding of how undergraduates relate to, perceive and utilised business-suits in their world, therefore the focus group format enabled this examination (Burr 2002). Furthermore, adopting a qualitative 'constructionist' approach was further argued to be essential for the phenomena and context of interest, which is: socially constructed, related to social interactions and achieved through 'systems of meaning' relating to the environment it resides in (Burr 2003; Gergen 1985, 1999 cited in Braun and Clark 2013:30).

However, this was not the sole epistemological stance for Study 1, focus groups are regarded as appropriate methods for this type of enquiry (Braun and Clark 2013) whilst, the outcome will also assist in underpinning the overarching research question; 'to examine the effects on undergraduates of wearing a business-suit', this approach therefore includes an inductive component. Kidder and Kline (1987) refer to this as a small 'q' approach to qualitative methodology, particularly when the study contributes to, and is an antecedent to, a larger quantitative study, as was the case with Study 1 in the present thesis (Coyne and Calarco 1995).

The second aim of the focus group study was more direct and explicit. Participants were requested to list attributes they associated with wearing or seeing a business-suit to interviews.

Both the opinions, and garment-associated perceptions were essential to the subsequent examination of effects of wearing a business-suit (discussed in full in Chapter 7). For instance, confirmation of any professional attributes undergraduates perceived to be associated to themselves or others wearing a business-suit were required in order to 'update' previously collated scales (Peluchette and Karl 2007) and integrate any 'novel' traits into the scale that undergraduates had offered. As was previously discussed (and will be expanded upon in the following sections 5.3.2.), undergraduates are a somewhat unique sample due to their 'general 'lack of work-place/organisational experience and will therefore offer a more 'naïve' or underdeveloped understanding of the phenomena. This sample are therefore 'targeted' rather than gained through convenience.

The research question, Study 1:

1. To examine the beliefs and understandings of undergraduates to wearing a businesssuit to an employment interview and the workplace.

5.3. Methods

5.3.1. Recruitment and Remuneration

Participants were recruited via Coventry University, UK, Psychology Department research recruitment site, SONA systems. Participants were required to be English speaking and be full-time undergraduates on Coventry University Psychology course. Participants received 120 course credits for their participation, which constituted part of their course requirement.

5.3.2. Participant Population

Undergraduates were involved in all studies within the research presented in this thesis, therefore the following discussion was relevant to all studies (Chapters 5, 6 and 7).

The use of students in research has been a contentious issue for several decades (Peterson 2001), due to undergraduates being incorporated and targeted as the sample population in studies within this thesis (Chapters 5, 6 and 7), it was important to evaluate the effect of their

involvement upon outcomes. For instance, Peterson's (2001) meta-analysis of research using student participants did find differences between them and non-students. Effect sizes and directionality of results differed between populations, resulting in Peterson (2001) emphasising the importance of replicating studies using both groups. Assumptions were also made that the findings of such studies lacked both internal and external validity and reduced generalisability (Sears 1986). Heinrich, Heine and Norenzayan (2010) agreed with this point, further proposing that much human behaviour research was derived from WEIRDs (Western, Educated, Industrialised, Rich and Democratic Societies). Additionally, Jones (2010) proposed that psychologists rely on WEIRD populations to make generalised claims about what drives human behaviour. This was further demonstrated by Arnett's (2008) review of research from 2003-2007, from the USA, United Kingdom, Canada, reporting that 96% of subjects were WEIRDs.

In contrast, some support for incorporating students in research was offered by Calder, Phillips & Tybout (1981). Calder et al. (1981) and Peterson (2001) each proposed that if the outcome was theory based then students as participants were applicable, if the research outcome was applied research then findings from student cohorts could not be generalised. An interesting viewpoint was offered by Carlson (cited in Peterson 2001), who proposed that 'students are unfinished personalities' and as such generally lack life experience, are of a younger age group and therefore differ from non-students in many areas both behaviourally and psychologically, and as such being favourable for some research topics. The argument offered by Carlson (cited in Peterson 2001) supports the use of students in the present thesis. One reason they were targeted for participation was as Carlson (cited in Peterson 2001) had purported. Additionally, Sears (1986) had proposed that students are more likely to have opinions that are not fully formulated, are more compliant to authority, have stronger cognitive skills and unstable peer group relations, all of which he argued, could affect their use as 'subjects' and might distort understanding of human behaviour.

Peterson (2001) reported that assumptions are often made supporting the incorporation of students in research as homogeneity of findings 'translates' into hypothesis tests which were 'stronger' due to decreased extraneous variables. Arguably, some extraneous variables were decreased in the present research, and in particular for Study 1. For example, length of time of exposure to professional clothing (work experience), the source and organisational cultures are less likely to be apparent within an undergraduate cohort which may have resulted in some distortion of their opinions. Although Peterson's (2001) report may be a rather naïve opinion

and be too far removed from 'normal', as according to Henrich et al. (2010) in attempting to understand human psychological and behavioural variations, from a WEIRDs (sub-population), a claim of universality should not be made. As discussed above, whether the research is 'theoretical' rather than 'applied' may impact directly upon the choice of participant (Calder et al. 1981; Peterson 2001). The present research is both theoretical and applied in terms of the research enquiry and the population targeted - undergraduates. Therefore, their incorporation is appropriate and necessary, offering clarity to an inconclusive enquiry and filling the void in literature that to-date failed to directly address undergraduates' behaviours and emotions in the context of an interview scenario (focus group) and Study 2 (Chapter 6).

5.3.3. Pilot Study Methodology

Material for the main focus group study was gained through an undergraduate poll requesting undergraduates to choose six images of business-suit wearers from a choice of twenty. The poll measured the choice made by undergraduates, in order to recognise any potential ambiguities at an early stage (McCleod 2007), such as a particular trend in the chosen business-suit styles, (Fashionable, style, tone). Therefore, undergraduates' choice of images was gained prior to examining an alternative group of undergraduates' opinions, to avoid the stimulus being an extraneous variable.

5.3.3.1. Participants and Recruitment

Level-one undergraduates agreed to take part in the survey, (N = 198, mean age 19.18 months, SD = 2.57). Undergraduates were invited to volunteer during a lecture break-time.

5.3.3.2. Stimulus Images

Images were achieved by requesting Google search-engine to generate images of 'business suits.' The images had to be 'copyright free' and show an image of a male of female wearing a business-suit - either trousers, jacket, shirt, skirt and tie/no tie. Twenty images were gained and filtered to avoid distinct features such as; 'fashionable', 'gendered' or 'culturally specific' imagery that complied with the definition of a business-suit (Appendix 4). Two further coders

agreed the choice of ten male and ten female images on the basis that they were 'generic' representations of business-suits and met the definition requirements. Images were cropped and sized for consistency but were not distorted or reproportioned. Images were assigned codes: female = 1F, 2F, 3F and male = 1M, 2M, 3M. Images were then printed in black and white format, to avoid colour preference bias (Lind 1993), using a standard 'inkjet' printer (up to 5000dpi), and printed on standard A4 white, multi-purpose 80g/m² printing paper (Appendix 4). All images had the head area removed to avoid potential bias from facial processing (i.e. Öhman 2002) and impression formation (Berry cited in Bar, Neta & Linz 2006:269). By eliminating the face judgements were less likely to be made regarding including: race, gender and attractiveness (Segrest et al. 2006; Posthuma, Morgeson & Campion 2002; Avery & Campion 1982, respectively), this action aligned with previous research (Behling and Williams 1991).

Participants were invited to take part in the survey which gave a brief description of the purpose of the study, showing their consent by completing the form. The survey requested Participants: "Please look at each of the attached images of individuals wearing suits – please indicate which three male and three female images you would expect/imagine seeing being worn in the 'workplace' (the workplace meaning, an office/organisation/public service/industry-based company)". (See appendix 5)

5.3.3.3. Results

Nine cases were eliminated due to incomplete responses, N = 189, the remaining cases were analysed using IBM SPSS (Statistics 22) analysis package, multiple response frequency. Female and Male choices were determined by those achieving the highest frequency. Female choices; image 1F = 18.3%, 6F = 16.4%, 10F = 15.9%. Male choices; image 3M = 16.7%, 6M = 18.8%, 8M = 15.7%. The six chosen images became 'stimulus material' for the subsequent focus group study. (See Appendix 6)

5.4. The Focus Group Methodology

5.4.1. Triangulation, Mixed Methodology

Due to the nature of the research question presented in Section 5.2. of this thesis and the requirement of Study 1 to initially adopt a 'semi-deductive' approach and effectively respond to the research question, a focus group methodology was incorporated. This chosen approach gained beliefs and perceptions of undergraduates to wearing a business-suit to employment interviews (i.e. Braun and Clark 2013). The justification for the use of a focus group method was due to the initial stage of this thesis's research being an exploratory qualitative approach. It was intended that having achieved undergraduates' opinions and subsequent thematic analysis (TA) methodology, the research can progress to the quantitative experimental stage of this research.

Although a quantity of literature had argued that quantitative and qualitative approaches, i.e. 'mixed methods', within research are incompatible, (i.e. Reichardt and Rallis cited in Migiro & Magangi 2011), much of the original debate had been based around the premise that the origins of any philosophical paradigms should underpin whatever the study of interest was. The main debate appeared to centre on how two opposing philosophies 'fit' together. Reichardt & Rallis (cited in Migiro & Magangi 2011:3758) suggested that this did not always have to be the case, alignment between paradigms and methods did not have to be inherently linked. Additionally, Hammersley (1998:163) proposed that many of the differences used to defend the use of one or other approaches were in fact similar, and if used together 'balanced out' confounding problems and increased validity.

Mathison (1988), as a proponent of mixed methods, proposed that mixing methodologies improved research practice, assisted researchers to conceptualise their studies and enhanced the validity of their findings. However, Mathison (1988) referred to Jick's (1979) viewpoint in the discussions; Jick (1979) had proposed that arguing that inherent biases would be eliminated with the use of mixed methods, was an assumption and not the case. Jick (1979 cited in Mathison 1988:14) had also argued that problems that are 'assumed' to be eliminated, may in fact be compounded Further, Jick (1979 cited in Mathison 1988:14) asserted that such approaches are often effective, but only if each method did not share the same weaknesses. Mathison (1988) proposed that it should be acknowledged that results attained by researchers are not necessarily 'truths' about what is being investigated, but 'different domains of

knowing'. Furthermore, the author asserted that researchers should understand that triangulation 'strategy' did not make sense of the phenomenon being investigated, it was the researcher who did this Mathison (1988). Hammersley (1998) proposed that using multiple methods, then the 'precision' of data should be offered as a support, as 'numeric' data is not open to misinterpretation. However, Hammersley (1989) further proposed that 'precise' data can be as robust within qualitative methods as quantitative and argued that 'verbal' data can be as worthy of analysis as 'numeric' data. Attride-Sterling (2001) argued for 'transparency', proposing that by adhering to precise methodological protocols robust and credible results can be attained through qualitative approaches. The present study offered full and detailed information and explanation as to why particular protocols were adopted and whilst a quantitative approach was required for the experimental stage of the present research, the initial adoption of a qualitative approach took Kidder and Kline's' (1987) line of argument, proposing that the focus group was a precursor to larger quantitative studies (Studies 2 and 3).

Different disciplines require different outcomes in their research; positivist paradigms in areas such as commerce and marketing, (i.e. tourism: Decrop 1999) considers 'reality' as 'objective', a concrete concept from which to generalise statistical findings and make predictions of outcomes and behaviours. Conversely, interpretative approaches to phenomena, such as constructivists, attempt to understand reality from a socially constructed stance, in a specific and sometimes unique situation (Decrop 1999). It is an in-depth understanding of the dynamics of a social phenomenon that qualitative researchers strive for as an outcome (Attride-Sterling The incorporation of both quantitative and qualitative approaches was intended to 2001). expand and explore new concepts and incorporate the benefits of both approaches and understand a research problem more completely (Creswell cited in Migiro & Magangi 2011:3757). Combining methodologies are now common-place, and in merging approaches it is hoped that an understanding of a topic can be attained from differing perspectives and offer 'richer' data (Migiro & Magangi 2011). Denzin (cited in Jick 1979: 602) defined a combination of methodologies which investigates the same phenomena as 'triangulation' with Hoque, Covaleski & Gooneratne (2013) expanding upon this definition, by adding that triangulation takes many forms, but mainstream research generally employs methodological triangulation involving the use of differing research methods to investigate the same facet of a research problem (Hoque, Covaleski and Gooneratne 2013).

In order to fulfil the initial research question in this thesis (Section 5.2.) exploring perceptions and opinions of undergraduates' to wearing a business-suit to an employment interview and in the workplace, analysis of the narrative gained from a focus group was undertaken. The appropriate analysis, gained from a constructivist philosophy and an inductive and deductive enquiry, utilised thematic analysis (TA) to analyse data. The second phase of the research, which addressed further aims of this thesis, was to test differences in emotions and behaviours of participants under different conditions; therefore, an experimental methodology was utilised. These will be comprehensively discussed and described in: Chapter 5 (Study 1), Chapter 6 (Study 2) and Chapter 7 (Study 3) of this thesis.

5.4.2. Focus Groups

Focus Groups are a commonly used methodology for exploring 'beliefs' and 'opinions' of various phenomena and novel concepts from target populations (Braun and Clark 2006). The aim of the current study (Study 1) was to address the research question and examine attitudes and beliefs of undergraduates to wearing business-suit in interviews and the workplace. To examine and understand undergraduates' 'knowledge base', their opinions and beliefs were required through a forum in which discussion is encouraged (Braun and Clark 2006). Various methods are available, such as interviews, case-studies and observations etc. however, rather than gaining explicit responses through e.g. a questionnaire survey, reaching an understanding of the phenomena from those who experienced the phenomena was the goal of Study 1. (Kitzinger 2005; Vaismoradi, Turunen and Bondas 2013).

Both, Robinson (1999) and Kitzinger (2009) asserted that focus groups access feelings regarding the topic that are not available through other approaches. Furthermore, focus group methodology enables a specific topic or subject to be expressed through individuals' own dialogue and different forms of communication e.g. joking, arguing, teasing, etc. (Kitzinger 2005) or as a collective conversation (Kamberelis and Dimitriadis (2008). Stewart et al. (2009) supported this stance, adding that focus groups are 'flexible tools', able to extract opinions surrounding a particular subject.

Although a focus group methodology was adopted, a semi-structured format was incorporated within it. This was due to the topic question being theory driven from the literature discussed in Chapters 1 - 3 and allowed specific research questions to be addressed (Braun and Clark

2006). Semi-structured formats also allow some guidance to be given from the moderator should it be required (Morgan 2002). Robinson (1999) viewed focus groups as a form of interview which allows participants to reflect and respond to questions with others' opinions or 'cues' from moderators allowing a continuum of dialogue focused around the topic. This approach was appropriate to Study 1, cues were provided through the photographic images of business-suits (see Appendix 6) and prompt questions were available for guidance from a moderator (see Appendix 7).

The ideal number of participants suggested by Krueger and Casey (2009; Braun and Clark 2013) is between six and twelve, resulting in a 'carefully planned discussion', that is manageable and generates a 'rich' discussion (Braun and Clark 2013). Liamputtong (2011) suggested that groups simply had to involve more than one participant in order to collect data. However, in concordance with Liamputtong (2011) Study 1 attempted to recruit ten participants, to achieve a 'turnout' of six to eight, allowing for no-shows and cancellations (Liamputtong 2011).

5.4.3. Participants and Recruitment

Coventry University Psychology department undergraduates were invited to take part in a focus group study. The study was approved by Coventry University Ethics Committee and conformed to BPS guidelines (BPS 2016) (Appendix 1).

Advertised on HLS Sona-system Research Recruitment web-site, which is a compulsory element of their course requirement, the study gave volunteers 60 participation credits for their time. A maximum of ten participants was requested, six responded and five participants arrived to take part, (two females and three males) (N = 5). Age ranged from 19 to 26 years (M = 21.8, SD = 2.68 years).

5.4.4. Procedure

Participants were given an information sheet explaining the purpose and study topic, they were then informed that the discussion would be digitally voice-recorded, and the subsequent dialogue transcribed and analysed (Appendix 8). On giving signed consent participants were given a demographic form to complete prior to the discussion and a 'professional trait list sheet' to complete during the focus group (Appendix 9). When the moderator felt that the discussion was completed, and all prompt questions had been answered participants were debriefed (Appendix 10) and thanked for their time.

5.4.5. Materials and Measures

5.4.5.1. Equipment and Venue

The focus group discussion was recorded using a digital voice-recorder. The focus group study took place in a meeting room on Coventry University campus. The location was chosen to be easily accessible to participants and a familiar setting. Easy access, facilities, such as lavatories and drinks were available (Braun and Clark 2013).

5.4.5.2. Demographic sheet

A questionnaire pack requested participants' demographic information, the number of jobs/interviews they had experienced, age and whether participants had worn a business-suit previously.

5.4.5.3. Business-suit Image Questionnaire

A second questionnaire contained a sheet showing six images – three females, three males wearing a business suit (Appendix 6). The images were gained through a pilot study survey (discussed in 5.3.3.), focus group participants were instructed to undertake two tasks prior to commencement of the discussion. Task 1. "Please look at the six photos below of people wearing business-suits, imagine they are attending an 'attractive' job interview. Please list as

many competencies, traits and behaviours that you think are associated to someone dressed like this. Task 2. "Please look at the six photos below of people wearing business-suits, imagine you are attending an 'attractive' job interview dressed in a similar suit. Please list as many competencies, traits and behaviours that you think are associated to you dressed like this. Participants were instructed that they could complete the lists throughout the course of the focus group discussion. (Appendix 9)

5.4.5.4. Semi-structured interview questions

The focus group incorporated a semi-structured interview format, with a list of topic orientated questions. Braun and Clark (2013) asserted that designing question guides is essential as part of the focus group stimulus material. The questions should be designed to cover the range of issues that participants needed to discuss yet act as prompts to elicit 'general' discussion and stimulate participants. Questions were initially compiled and then rated by five research associates, with the purpose of attaining generic questions surrounding the topic and aligned to the overall research question. Inter-rater-reliability for questions reported intra-class coefficient of .712, (Shrout and Fleiss 1979) which met the 'acceptable' lower limit for reliability within thirty generic questions (Cronbach 1988). The incorporation of research associates to rate the general and context-related questions, was to avoid biases within the questions. The researcher had a great deal of experience and knowledge of clothing practises therefore, to maintain the focus group's alignment to the topic, using questions that associates rated as 'generic' (yet topic orientated) intended to avoid bias and maintain academic rigour. The questions surrounded the topic were orientated towards the images provided from the pilot study and 'generalised' questions. For example: 'How do you think the people in the picture feel dressed in business suits' and 'Do you think it matters what you wear to job interviews?' (Appendix 7).

The duration of the focus group was 32 minutes, 45 seconds.

5.4.6. Analysis

A thematic analysis (TA) method was used to interpret the recorded dialogue following the guidance of Braun and Clark (2013). TA enabled themes and sub-themes to be identified within the data corpus and an overarching theme defined the findings. The present focus group's analysis was both inductive and deductive, with theories introduced in Chapters 1 - 4 of this thesis forming the framework from which the enquiry was initiated. Furthermore, the resulting themes and overarching theme supported further examination of the phenomena; 'enclothed behaviours' (Braun and Clark 2013). The focus group was designed to be a precursor to a quantitative study and was therefore seen as achieving this aim. No further replica study was planned for two reasons. Firstly, the number of participants were argued by Liamputtong (2011) and Kruger and Casey (2009) to be an adequate number to attain any 'beliefs' surrounding a topic of interest, by the population of interest, secondly Braun and Clark (2013) argued that when a subject discussion appeared 'saturated' and the questions satiated then further enquiry was not necessary.

In order to further demonstrate academic rigour, the advised direction of Braun and Clark's (2013) six-stage process of data analysis data was adhered to for guidance as closely as possible, but without being prescriptive (Braun and Clark 2013:201). The analytic process entailed transcribing the dialogue and comprehensively reading and re-reading the data corpus to gain familiarity with the interaction and assign initial 'notices' and thoughts from these initial readings. The data underwent complete coding (Braun and Clark 2013:206), due in part to the discussion being based upon research questions and theory, which placed the entire dataset open to analysis. Additionally, subsequent selection of pertinent parts of the data corpus could take place at a later stage (e.g. in the analytic process). The second stage of the process entailed units of text with the same concerns being grouped together, with patterns of semantically similar content organised into 'categories' and given provisional definitions and then codes. At this stage an indication of the valence of the conversation began to become clearer, as was intended during this stage (Braun and Clark 2013). Units of dialogue could be included in more than one category and to ensure that a name, definition and a body of data were available to support each category, the data was systematically reviewed further, and codes refined (see Appendix 11). Coding was researcher-derived with a theoretical approach being taken from the research question (Braun and Clark 2013). At this stage researcher's interpretative analysis and collating of codes, along with data extracts, were organised

according to themes, sub-themes and overarching themes that had begun to form relationships. The fourth stage entailed reviewing the themes that had been identified. This process required intensive questioning as to whether preliminary themes should be combined, removed or split. The data within these themes were also required to be 'meaningful' and cohesive, yet also enable themes to be distinct. Stage five 'refining and defining' (Braun and Clark 2013), which entailed continuous interpretative analysis to strengthen identified themes. Names were refined along with a working definition in order to define each theme concisely and ensure its distinction from alternative themes. Through this process a satisfactory outcome was the observed overall 'story' that had developed.

The analysis achieved forty-five categories grouped into seven themes, four sub-themes and an 'overarching theme' of 'Symbolic Garment' (see Table 1, Appendix 11). The themes were hierarchical, with three being seen as having more influence on the overall concept, and the overarching theme relating to all themes. The themes are reported in hierarchical order, (i.e. three higher themes then four lesser themes), but not in order within their group. The final sixth stage, which transforms and interprets the analysis of the data is presented below (5.4.8.) where extract examples are given that relate to the themes, research question and literature (Braun and Clark 2013).

Secondary coding was carried out to ensure reliability of coding and maintain academic rigour, however, not to test the ability to generate the same results. Reliability in its broad term was not possible in the present research, as to replicate the focus group with different participants and different researchers in an attempt to generate the same results, conflicted with an underlying philosophy of qualitative research (Yardley 2000 cited in Braun and Clark 2013). Inter-rater reliability can also be problematic within this methodological approach as coding cannot be assumed to be totally objective. However, as was previously discussed, the main researcher had experience in clothing and organisational contexts which may have biased their ability to recognise and be impartial to features that may not have been as poignant to another researcher. Although, complete impartiality may not have been possible considering the topic and the prompt questions that were involved. However, in order to ensure 'transparency' in the TA process it was deemed essential to involve a secondary coder to attempt inter-coder reliability and assist the 'validity' of the analysis process and attempted to avoid researcher bias. Rather than achieve an inter-rater reliability coefficient, for the reasons mentioned previously, both researcher and research associate (second coder) took a discursive approach and reviewed the codes, themes, sub-themes and overarching theme. Some differences were apparent, these were not in the codes that had been formed, and were very similar, but mainly in the definition and naming of themes, which after discussion had taken place these were agreed.

5.4.7. Results

5.4.7.1. Focus Group Tasks

The compilation of traits that undergraduates associated to wearing a business-suit from the 'prompt' images (Appendix 6) confirmed that traits were 'current' and aligned with those presented in Peluchette and Karl's (2007) professional trait self-perception scale and 'intelligence' (Behling and Williams 1990; Bowman 1992; Kwon 1994). Each participant's list was studied for word content, as either single adjectives or adjectives within a phrase and directly compared to those of Peluchette and Karl's (2007) scale. Any word not directly matching a listed word e.g. "smarter" was subjected to an 'online' thesaurus search (Collins Thesaurus 2016). In this instance, smarter was given as a synonym of 'cleverer', 'shrewder' and 'cannier' which was interpreted by three independent coders to represent 'intelligent'.

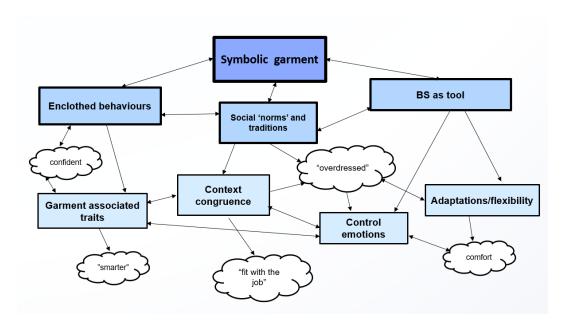


Figure 1. Hierarchy of themes and their interrelationships

(Key to diagram; Overarching theme at top (darker colour), with hierarchical position moving down the diagram (lighter colours). 'Clouds' represent sub-themes and arrows indicate directional relationships between overarching theme, themes and subthemes).

5.4.8. Themes

5.4.8.1. Theme 1: Enclothed Behaviours

Focus group participants believed that wearing a business-suit for interviews would, and did, make them feel and behave "more confident", "... It makes you think differently as well ... it's going to want to make you want to make the effort to hold yourself, speak up a bit better" and "You do feel more professional". In wearing business-suits participants reported "... Feel like, I'd like, [sic] I was going to do better" and "... be smarter", "...stand taller", resulting in feeling "more confident". Participants also acknowledged that wearing a business-suit enhanced their behaviours, believing that not wearing a suit to an interview, when it was appropriate to do so, they would feel "less mature" and "... You'd feel you're already behind everybody else." When others were not dressed appropriately, participants believed those people would "... they'd feel a bit intimidated". Furthermore, they believed that different clothing induced different behaviours, for instance, one participant said "...if you're wearing normal clothes, its normal habits and normal mind sets rather than ..."

5.4.8.2. Theme 2: Business-suit as a tool

Wearing a business-suit was seen by respondents as a 'tool' used within interview situations, conveying to interviewers a positive impression of themselves. Face-to-face interviews rely on first-impressions (Howlett et al. 2012) and the subsequent interaction to inform interviewers about for instance, personality (e.g. SCT Fiske and Taylor 1991; Naumann et al. 2009). The focus group discussion supported this, participants showing awareness of the need to make "good impressions" by wearing a business-suit in order that employers perceived interviewees as having positive attributes and skills. "The interviewer will see a better version of you...", "... shows as well that you are educated" and "First impression is important on job interviews [sic] so you're trying to look as best as you can". The discussion revealed that participants believed that both interviewee and interviewer recognised interview dress codes, with both parties acknowledging the role of the business-suit in interview contexts. "...its tradition that we go and put an interview suit on..." The impressions participants attempt to convey were controlled and managed with participants believing that they could and did adapt these according to job contexts. One participant adapted her outfit to 'fit' the dress code of the jobrole she was applying for. For less formal jobs — "So not like [sic], necessarily a full suit, but

always a jacket". Participants were clear about what the business-suit provided for them in interview contexts, also how they could adapt it.

5.4.8.3. Theme 3: Social 'Norms' and Tradition

Focus group participants discussed wearing a business-suit to work, interviews and formal occasions. They agreed that wearing a business-suit was a traditional practise, "...It's a tradition that we go and put an interview suit on", "it just feels like tradition ...people have been doing it so long..." And "It's the norm isn't it, to dress up for an interview". The group acknowledged the importance of wearing a business-suit for formal occasions and when asked about its individual elements they all agreed that it was the jacket that made individuals look and feel formally dressed. When pressed further on the subject of the jacket they said; "That's the formal bit ...", "... suit jacket, like a jacket and stuff" and "So not like, [sic] necessarily a full suit, but always a jacket". Participants approached wearing business-suits as everyday work-wear with less enthusiasm. They discussed the necessity of having to adapt the businesssuit to be appropriate to the dress codes of particular companies. One participant had experienced a job in which he was required to wear a "minimum" of suit-trousers, shirt and tie. But he added that all employees accepted the practice and therefore did not question it. Another participant had worked in a hospital where she was required to "...your hair up and bare below elbows ..." Although no dress code information had been circulated prior to her interview, she had pre-empted workplace requirements by dressing accordingly. She believed that she had shown she was acknowledging and complying with their expectations.

Seeing individuals on campus wearing a business-suit was not seen as unusual even if their personal style of dressing was very casual. Participants assumed anyone wearing a business-suit was 'management', related to the university but carrying out an alternative role to students or lecturers. If lecturers wore suits, this was deemed "unusual" and the group saw them as less approachable. However, this would not deter them from engaging with them, but they would approach them more tentatively.

5.4.8.4. Theme 4: Context Congruence

Wearing situation-congruent clothing was believed to be important for participants. When they were asked how they or others may feel if dressed inappropriately for interviews, responses ranged from "... feel very self-conscious", "overdressed", "I would feel embarrassed that I was the only one who was not wearing suit [sic]", this extended to "... depends if they are dressed the same, they probably feel a bit intimidated, if obviously someone else is dressed up". One female participant mentioned "But I'd rather be overdressed than underdressed..." and expressed that "looks" could be manipulated to be more or less formal. Participants believed that being congruent with the situation, the interviewer and the other applicants was important. One participant expressed "I'd feel, not so good ..." referring to an interviewer wearing casual clothing to undertake an interview. Another participant explained that they would prefer to talk to an interviewer who was also wearing a business-suit and that this would make him feel more "respect" for the situation and the connection with the interviewer. If participants were the only ones not wearing a business-suit, they commented "... You know if you don't (wear a business suit) you'll look all out [sic] (of the group), so you feel more comfortable, like, to fit with everybody else". Yet, when asked about further attributes that might be associated to the garment they believed they should receive and deserve "more attention". Male participants reported that even if they had dressed slightly differently to other interviewees, e.g. in a business-suit, they (participant) should get more "attention" as it showed they had made more effort.

When asked how they would feel wearing a business-suit on university campus, for instance, to lectures, they said they would feel "overdressed", "silly' and "a bit anxious". Clear boundaries were drawn as to where and when a business-suit could be worn, "I wouldn't wear a business-suit to go shopping..." A female participant believed that a business-suit could be more flexible for women than did the men. Women could adapt suits to be "de-dressed". One female remarked "... it's easier to de-dress something, than up-dress something" and a male commented "you wear suits to weddings and funerals and stuff – you wouldn't go clubbing in one ... ".

5.4.8.5. Theme **5**: Garment-associated Traits

Symbolic meanings associated to the business-suit were acknowledged by all participants, often indirectly expressed yet, traits associated were inherent in many comments. "They see you as more professional" and "...show as well that you are educated", these comments aligned with adjectives collated in task 1 and 2 i.e. "...confident", "competent" and "smarter". Kwon (1991; 1994a; Peluchette and Karl 2007) argued that these competencies were linked with seeing a BS worn in the workplace. Further Karl et al. (2013) reported self-perceptions of professional traits included these sentiments in wearers. Schemas and abstract mental constructs are accessed and linked to wearing particular types of clothing (Hannover and Kühnen 2002) with the context influencing perceptions (Rafaeli et al. 1997).

5.4.8.6. Theme 6: Adaptations and Flexibility

Embodying clothing can elicit latent somatic sensations (Lü and Chen 2013); participants were keenly aware of the importance of wearing formal clothing (business-suit) for particular occasions (Weddings, funerals interviews). Any physical discomfort from the clothing was ignored and surpassed by the desire to be context-congruent, and show respect for the situation, "... If it's just for the interview it doesn't really need to be comfortable ..." Another participant commented "...ladies' formal clothes are less comfortable than normal clothes ..." and "I don't think I'd like to wear a full suit everyday". Participants thought that wearing a businesssuit in the workplace would require its adaptation to incorporate comfort whilst still adhering to dress-codes or a 'standard of dress'. Female participants discussed wearing a dress under a jacket rather than a shirt and skirt for everyday work wear. Female participants both anticipated adapting their outfits for different context. For example, changing elements of the outfit for either work or socialising. Furthermore, females felt they had more choices with which to adapt their "look" ".... you'd be wearing trousers and shirt ..." Females could choose a style of dress that was "less fitted" whereas male participants acknowledged that they had less flexibility and were restricted to elements within their outfit, such as shirt and tie, but saw this as "what was required" in an office environment and accepted it.

5.4.8.7. Theme 7: Control of Emotions

Participants were aware of positive and negative feelings that were a result of wearing a business-suit. One participant said, "I feel good in the suit [sic]..." In a different vein, several times participants expressed they felt distress due to the context or the incongruence between other interviewees, "Feel very self-conscious" and "I would feel embarrassed that I was the only one who was not wearing suit [sic]...", "...so I'd feel like, feel a bit weird". When the interviewer was not dressed in a business-suit, participants were also upset, "I'd feel not so good [sic]" and if they were not in an interview or a work context they felt negatively towards the business-suit, "I would be feeling a bit anxious, I wouldn't wear a business suit to go shopping, just to make me feel a bit more confident". Participants had a clear idea of when and where they would one, they used it to heighten emotions and avoid situations in which wearing a business-suit would cause them distress.

5.4.9. Overarching Theme and Sub-themes

Several sub-themes were captured from the data for example, 'overdressed', 'comfort', 'confident' and 'smarter'. Each sub-theme formed a 'pattern' within several themes but was not felt to constitute a theme. It did however capture specific aspects which were more than a code, often occurring in several. The overarching theme that encapsulated all the themes within the data was called 'symbolic garment'. Each of the recognised themes were underpinned by this theme.

5.5 Discussion

The literature discussed in Chapters 1 – 4 of this thesis and introduced at the beginning of the present chapter recognised that evidence regarding undergraduates' beliefs about wearing a business-suit to an interview was ambiguous. Ruetzler et al. (2011) reported that undergraduates believed it lacked importance, whilst Hall and Berardino's (2006) review of literature also supported this stance. Contrary evidence was offered by Cutts et al. (2015) who discussed students' transition into the workplace, arguing that undergraduates had a broad knowledge of professional behaviours such as wearing business-suit and followed this by asserting undergraduates believed a business-suit was necessary to offer a positive first-impression. In order to evaluate which approach should be supported, i.e. whether undergraduates perceive the business-suit's presence as important within interviews and the workplace the focus group sought to clarify this.

Thematic analysis (TA) of the data corpus exposed seven themes (Figure 1 page 101). The themes identified from coded data strongly suggested that participants understood, manipulated and used business suits for many purposes within an interview and workplace context. For instance, wearing a business-suit was seen as a 'tool' (Theme 2.), utilised by wearers within interviews to convey a positive impression of "themselves" to interviewers. Furthermore, faceto-face interviews rely on first-impressions (Howlett et al. 2012) and offers cues to interviewers of e.g. personality and traits through clothing (Naumann et al. 2009; Peluchette and Karl 2007). Undergraduates were aware of this and discussed "putting on" a business-suit, which was construed as being a physical act which produces psychological change (Adam and Galinsky 2012; Barsalou 1997; Slepian et al. 2015). Furthermore, participants saw the business-suit as a tool which changed others' impressions. This was illustrated in respondents" referring to interviewers as: "The interviewer will see a better version of you" when wearing a businesssuit, thus aligning to professional perception theories such as Peluchette and Karl (2007; Peluchette et al. 2006). Undergraduates acknowledged traits associated to the garment but also expressed how they adapted and managed the business-suit to accommodate the context and adapt their behaviours accordingly. One participant modified her outfit to 'fit' the dress code of the job-role she was applying for. If the target job was less formal participants would alter their appearance with changes to elements of the outfit, or with accessories. (Cutts et al. 2015; Hooley and Yates 2014; Karl et al. 2013).

Traits associated to the business-suit and the basis for these perceptions were addressed in Theme 3. Participants exhibited a clear understanding that a business-suit was associated to traits such as confidence, professionalism and intelligent (Kwon 1994; Karl et al. 2013; Peluchette and Karl 2006). This was supported by the lists of traits they complied during the focus group. The lists were comprehensive and supportive of Peluchette and Karl's (2007) 'professional perception scale'. However, this demonstrated that participants had preconceived perceptions of traits associated to this garment (Hannover and Kühnen 2002).

An alternative theme, Theme 1, was interpreted as explaining further outcomes of wearing a business-suit, but in this instance, it was behaviours rather than perceptions that were changed. Participants talked of physical changes happening when they wore a suit, describing actions such as "...stand taller...", "...speak up better..." and "...hold yourself better..." The subsequence of this was that they believed emotions were also positively affected. Participants reported they felt more confident and felt "...good..." wearing a business-suit. An interesting connection was recognised here, as reports of the business-suit inducing participants to hold themselves better and previous empirical literature findings. For example, a quantity of literature argued that positive posture (upright stance) effects emotions and behaviours (Carney, Cuddy and Yap 2010), improves interview outcomes (Cuddy, Wilmuth and Yap 2015; Lammers et al. 2013) and increases feeling of confidence, power and enhanced mood (Cuddy et al. 2015). This point is noteworthy for its demonstration of how participants had reported some physical effects of wearing a business-suit. This will be discussed in further detail in Chapter 7.

Although positive emotions were gained through wearing a business-suit, undergraduates were aware of the garment's congruence with the context and that emotions could be affected. The need to be similar to, but at the same time, 'better' than other applicants was apparent. However, this could be explained by participants being constantly vigilant of 'cues' to expected practises and behaviours within a particular situation (Aghaei et al. 2017; Goffman 1990; Naumann et al. 2009). Although participants accepted the business-suit as an indicator of professional competencies, i.e. status and respect (Kwon 1994a; Rucker et al. 1999), participants were also aware of its relevance and effect of being worn in an interview context. When they, or other applicants were incongruently dressed (either overdressed or underdress), participants reported they felt self-conscious, embarrassed and anxious (Sontag and Schopler 1985; Pratt and Rafaeli 1997). Rafaeli et al. (1997) reported similar findings, as had Adomaitis and Johnson (2005) each arguing that incongruence between context and clothing can cause

distress and feelings of depression. In addition, participants had clear beliefs as to where and when a business-suit should be worn. For example, Theme 5 discussed 'tradition and social 'norms'. Clear guidelines were expressed, as to where and when a business-suit was appropriate. "...I wouldn't wear a business-suit to go shopping in..." and "...you wouldn't go clubbing in one ...". Additionally, participants were aware of what the business-suit did for them within a particular context (Cutts et al. 2015).

Although participants understood perceptions and behaviours associated to a business-suit, they were also conscious of the garment's constraints upon them. However, if they were only attending an interview, both males and females were not concerned with physical discomfort (Crane 2000; Lü and Chen 2002), the 'value' of wearing a business-suit on impression formation, (Forsythe et al. 1985; Naumann et al. 2009), context congruence (Adomaitis and Johnson 2005; Rafaeli et al. 1997) and showing respect for the situation' (Howlett et al. 2012) far outweighed any physical discomfort (Bell et al. 2005).

Dressing for interviews was perceived as an important facet of the interview process. Cutts et al. (2015) proposed that undergraduates saw interview appearance and clothing as important as a means to convey positive impressions of multi-faceted traits. Participants believed that employers looked for indicators of applicants' potential job performance (Cook 2000) incorporating applicants' experience and qualifications alongside 'cues' from clothing of their 'professional' practises (wearing 'professional clothing'). Cues were offered through social semiotics and culturally constructed 'codes' (Aghaei et al. 2017; Burr 2007; Hannover and Kühnen 2002; Twigg 2000), which undergraduates fully understood. This was exemplified in Theme 5. and was explained through participants' acknowledgement of dress-codes and behaviours that were 'established' and 'traditional', protocols and 'interview-schemas' which were not questioned, but simply accepted (Debretts 2015; Hannover and Kühnen 2002; Rafaeli et al. 1997).

5.5.1. Summary

The purpose of the present focus group study was to assess the current beliefs of undergraduates towards wearing a business-suit, this was deemed as successfully achieved. The outcome of the thematic analysis (TA) provided support for undergraduates having an informed knowledge of wearing a business-suit to an interview and in workplace contexts. This providing support for Cutts et al.'s (2015) argument that they had a sophisticated understanding of these practises. This countered some previous literature that had argued undergraduates did not believe it was important to wear this style of clothing to interviews (Ruetzler et al. 2011). Furthermore, themes realised from the TA exhibited the diverse manner in which undergraduates made sense of the business-suit in terms of its use. Undergraduates modified its component parts (jacket, trousers and skirt), accepted it as necessary and traditional and utilised and understood its 'value'. 'Enclothed' behaviours' and emotions were reported, with a clear link made between wearing a business-suit and subsequent feelings and behaviours (Adam and Galinsky 2012; Stockum and DeCaro 2014). Participants believed their emotions and behaviours were changed when wearing a business-suit. They further acknowledged that these were also affected by context (Rafaeli et al. 1997).

Undergraduates were vigilant of their environment, looking for cues with which to compare and adapt their emotions and behaviours, realising that incongruence had negative emotional and behavioural consequences (Adomaitis and Johnson 2005; Rafaeli et al. 1997; Goffman 1990). They were also informed and receptive to the 'symbolism' of the business-suit and the positive attributes they believed they conveyed when wearing one. Participants perceived "putting on" a business-suit as a physical manifestation of psychological and physical changes.

Changes to the business-suit, such as adaptations and accessories did not compromise the 'effect' of the garment, with consensus that the 'jacket' element of the outfit conveyed a clear message to observers of associated attributes 'it's all about the jacket'. For instance, respondents felt that the business-suit jacket was the element that was 'symbolic' of behaviours, emotions and practises. Realising the jacket as the 'key' component of the outfit and 'symbolic' of attributes both professional and contextual, was relevant to the present Thesis. An overarching theme of 'Symbolic Garment' related the business-suit to emotions and behaviours and practises, supporting the operationalisation of the business-suit jacket (BSJ), referred to as the BSJ in subsequent chapters.

These findings will contribute to the literature to clarify undergraduates' understanding and expression of practises surrounding wearing business-suit within an interview and work-place context. Additionally, the task incorporated into the focus group session, was required to affirm the professional self-perception scale (Peluchette and Karl 2007) and research findings of (i.e. Behling and Williams 1991; Bowman 1992) which included 'intelligence' as a trait associated to business-suits. No novel attributes were offered by participants, therefore Peluchette and Karl's (2007) scale was incorporated within the quantitive methodology in studies 2 and 3 discussed in full in Chapter 6 and Chapter 8 respectively.

5.5.2. Limitations

The topic of interest was believed to have been satiated with the one focus group study (Bloor et al. 2001; Morgan 1997). However, having gained a 'satisfactory' outcome, may have exhibited some bias on the part of the researcher. The outcome was viewed as 'satisfactory', therefore no further focus group was believed to be required, however, further studies may have resulted in different conclusions. Although, it is often unavoidable not to incorporate some subjectivity to the research process (Braun and Clark 2013:36). In order to achieve research transparency and acknowledge the reflexivity of the researcher, as previously introduced, data was subjected to coding by a second coder. Although, carried out as a discussion rather than employing statistical analysis, the outcomes and observed patterns of each researcher were compared, and codes and themes were mutually agreed. This was to attempt to address any potential researcher bias and maintain academic rigour. However, it was essential that all research was transparent, and to this end the research process sought to be as impartial as possible. Furthermore, gaining a consensus from associate researchers regarding the prompt questions that were used, was also an attempt to avoid bias from the researcher.

The sample size of five participants was argued to be an optimal size to gain a 'rich' discussion (Braun and Clark 2013:115), alternative researchers argue for between four to twelve (Kruger and Casey 2009). However, although the focus group did include an age group that represented an average 'student population', further elements of this population were not represented, such as racial and cultural diversities. An appropriate size and time duration were included for the intended purpose (Braun and Clark 2013) and the study effectively served as a pre-cursor to the subsequent quantitative studies (Coyne and Calarco 1995).

For future, or similar studies the inclusion of different faculties' student participants are recommended. Not only would this achieve a potentially more 'global' 'student opinion', but different faculties often have different entrenched cultures that may affect the outcome. For instance, Business and Law Schools may already have some awareness of dress-codes and behaviours within organisational practises due to their focus on the expected employment areas in which graduates are likely to work in compared to faculties such as art and drama, who may have a more liberal approach to clothing.

Chapter 6. Experimental Approach: Exploring the Effects of Wearing a Symbolic Garment

6.1. Chapter Overview

The purpose of the present study (Study 2) was to examine the effects of wearing a symbolic garment, a business-suit jacket (BSJ) on enclothed cognition behaviour. Empirical literature was previously discussed and evaluated in terms of the impact of symbolic clothing on individual's behaviours and emotions (Chapters 1-4), also recognising the 'powerful' effects of wearing clothing 'in general', and then specifically focused on wearing a business-suit and its behavioural benefits. Part of the power of clothing stems from attributes individuals believe clothing signifies, therefore, much of the existing literature reviewed in previous chapters of this thesis regarding the business-suit focused on perceptions of traits that wearers believe they 'embodied' and conveyed to observers (Karl et al. 2013; Kwon 1994; Peluchette and Karl 2006; 2007).

Furthermore, Chapter 4 was able to clarify previous literature's inconsistent evidence concerning undergraduates' opinions regarding wearing a business-suit. The outcome of a focus-group dialogue analysed through thematic analysis (TA) demonstrated that undergraduates understood and practiced wearing business-suits and were fully cognisant with business-suit-associated traits, behaviours and emotions (Cardon and Okoro 2009; Cutts et al. 2015; Hannover and Kühnen 2002; Kwon 1991). Participants also felt increased feelings of 'confidence', 'intelligent' and 'professionalism' and reduced feelings of anxiety when wearing a BSJ, particularly in garment-congruent contexts such as interviews, (e.g. Cutts et al. 2015; Lightstone et al. 2011).

In order to examine the effects of wearing a business-suit on behaviours, as has previously been introduced, a garment-congruent context was incorporated into Study 2, an employment interview simulation. This context had been discussed extensively in Section 3.3.4. and was included in Study 2 in order to examine emotions that are commonplace in an interview situation e.g. state-anxiety, trait-anxiety, interview-anxiety, self-report anxiety, physiological anxiety/arousal and negative mood and examine the effect of wearing a BSJ upon them (Carney et al 2002; Kang et al 2010; Kwon and Hilleary-Johnson 1998; McCarthy and Goffin 2004). These requires further expansion and will be introduced further.

6.2. Introduction

Adam and Galinsky's (2012) proposal (introduced in section 4.1.) for an enclothed cognition model, argued that individuals 'embodying' (wearing) a garment, whilst simultaneously acknowledging the garment's symbolism, experienced increased garment-related behaviours. As previously introduced, their theory had been derived from a unification of symbolic clothing research and embodied cognition theories (Barsalou 1999; Behling and Williams 1991; Damhorst 1990; Kwon 1994). Furthermore, Adam and Galinsky (2012) had recognised that the garment they investigated, (doctor's white coat) was entrenched in symbolic meanings which assisted in facilitating the enclothed cognition effect. The strength of the symbolism attached to a white coat, was reviewed in Section 1.4.2. and was argued to be equal to the symbolism attached to a business-suit.

This was one of the reasons for choosing this garment in the present research. However, in addition to the meanings attached to business-suits, Chapters 1 – 3 in the present thesis, also recognised the emotional benefits of wearing this garment, i.e. anxiety-reduction and mood elevation (Lightstone et al. 2011; Kang et al. 2013) and heightened positive perceptions associated with wearing it. For instance, a large body of literature had evidenced professional traits, or 'perceptions' that are linked to the business-suit (Karl et al. 2013; Kwon 1994a; Kwon and Faber 1992; Peluchette and Karl 2007), therefore this garment was viewed as an 'established' and commonplace symbolic garment appropriate to test the predictions of enclothed cognition theory upon.

The original enclothed cognition model (Adam and Galinsky 2012) had not been replicated or adapted until recently and was therefore somewhat undisputed. However, since the initiation of the research presented in this thesis, several studies had begun to investigate differing cognitive processes argued to be affected by wearing different symbolic garments (López-Pérez et al. 2016; Slepian et al. 2015; Stockum and DeCaro 2014). This recent research has begun to differentiate cognitive processes such as working memory capacity (Stockum and DeCaro 2014) global processing (Slepian et al. 2015) and empathy (López-Pérez et al. 2016), each construct being shown to be affected by wearing a white laboratory coat or a business suit. These studies demonstrated that by targeting a particular garment (white coat or business suit), these garments had both positive and negative outcomes on certain behaviours and thus expanded upon what is currently known about the effect of wearing symbolic clothing.

However, in returning to the original and 'seminal' enclothed cognition model, one of the key points that Adam and Galinsky (2012) had insisted was intrinsic to their theory was that participants should be primed to the garment's symbolism, concurrent with wearing the garment, then enclothed cognition would manifest. In an alternative approach, Hannover and Kühnen (2002) had not examined participants' cognitive abilities per se, instead they examined the ease with which participants accessed clothing-schemas. Participants were required to complete a task in which they accepted/rejected clothing adjectives relating to how they described themselves 'at the present time'. The researchers' manipulation was that participants wore formal or casual clothing styles. From the results Hannover and Kühnen (2002) proposed that wearing particular clothing styles assisted in 'easy-access' to cognitive clothing-schemas. They asserted that 'knowledge activation' was a direct result of the type of garment worn; for instance, more formally-orientated adjectives received effective responding when the garment was congruent with the adjectives. Therefore, garments acted as a cue to relevant clothing representations (Hannover and Kühnen 2002). What was noteworthy, was that although no explicit prime was included in their study, participants did experience visual stimulus from 'incidentally' seeing themselves in a mirror. This, arguably acted as a prime within this study and therefore simply wearing a garment style, cannot be argued to be the only avenue through which schematic clothing related information was accessed. However, the study did contribute to the framework of the present thesis through demonstrating that access to schematic representations is enhanced when wearing congruent clothing.

Furthermore, Adam and Galinsky's (2012) study consisted of participants 'connecting' with the symbolism of a garment (white coat) by writing their thoughts and feelings towards it. Adam and Galinsky (2012) argued that 'connection' was necessary to ensure the symbolism of the garment was made 'explicit' to participants, rather than 'assuming' acknowledgement of the garment's symbolism had been achieved. However, Adam and Galinsky's (2012) study did not assess or report the content of participants' writings, for instance the extent of any 'connectedness' between participant and garment. The authors' assertion that their method of priming was 'effective' and 'necessary' was therefore 'assumed' and not measured (Adam and Galinsky 2012:920). Womack (2016) replicated Adam and Galinsky's (2012) study without incorporating a prime and failed to support the original results (see discussion in 4.2.). However, Womack (2016) argued that this was due to the context in which the study took place being incongruent to the garment they tested, rather than priming issues.

The purpose of the initial experimental study (Study 2) presented in the present chapter, was designed to demonstrate that enclothed cognition behaviour could be extended to an alternative garment, a business-suit. However, this had recently been evidenced by Slepian et al. (2015), with the authors measuring respondents' perceived clothing formality (when compared to peers) as well as levels of abstract processing and social distance (Slepian et al. 2015). However, their protocol had not included any prime, in part due to the authors not attempting to replicate Adam and Galinsky (2012). However, Slepian et al. (2015) had recognised and evidenced the psychological power of clothing and its effect on cognitive processes which was achieved with the use of a 'self-report' 'on-line' survey. Slepian et al.'s (2015) investigation, was devoid of an explicit prime, however, the authors were able to report significant results for wearing formal clothing on a particular cognitive process (abstract processing). Furthermore, within their methodology Slepian et al. (2015) had required participants to compare their own clothing style to that of their peers. This requirement arguably, acted as a cue to process and potentially 'prime' participants to mental representations of clothing styles, (their own and others'), this may have acted as a 'prime'.

However, the often-latent influence of priming, was demonstrated by Van Stockum and DeCaro (2014:76) who had also considered the role of incidental priming that may have occurred in Adam and Galinsky's (2012) original study (testing a lab-coat in a laboratory setting). They proposed that participants were cued by the 'label' attached to a symbolic garment. For instance, both Adam and Galinsky (2012 and Van Stockum and DeCaro (2014) utilised 'white laboratory coats', verbally describing them as either a 'painter's coat' or a 'doctor's coat'. Conversely, Van Stockum and DeCaro (2014) were purposely parsimonious with the use of these labels, arguing that labels could trigger associated implicit garment-associated behaviours (Hass 2014 cited in Van Stockum and DeCaro 2014: 76).

An additional noteworthy point concerning Adam and Galinsky's (2012) insistence on priming participants to the symbolism of a garment, focused on the researchers differentiating primes between their studies conditions. For instance, participants who 'saw' (and not wore) a white laboratory coat were required to write about how the garment might look on 'themselves', whilst participants 'wearing' the white laboratory coat wrote about how it looked on others. Consequently, personally identifying with a garment, without wearing it, ('see' condition) was argued by Adam and Galinsky (2012) to be responsible for increased garment-related behaviour due to priming effects (Berger et al. 2008), whilst actually wearing and connecting

with the garment's symbolism, they argued resulted in greater garment-related behaviour, that of enclothed cognition.

The result of differentiating the prime between conditions may have distorted the results, for instance, participants were required to access a 'self' schema in 'see' group, which was different to accessing 'other' schema in the 'wear' group (Kang et al. 2010; Kay et al. 2004; Kwon 1994; Peluchette et al. 2006). This method of priming participants (identifying with 'self' versus 'other') was replicated by López-Pérez et al. (2016) with the authors' findings supporting Adam and Galinsky's (2012) model. However, the replicating authors reported on different behaviours; pro-social behaviour and vicarious emotional responding was affected by enclothed cognition rather than a cognitive task (López-Pérez et al. 2016). Yet, these differing priming conditions and alternative literature made it difficult to accept and generalise the authors' insistence on the value of priming (Adam and Galinsky 2012).

The true value of priming is unclear from the available evidence, however, in view of the intention of the present research to test the enclothed cognition's prediction on wearing a business-suit, and the evidence provided from literature that had included a prime (Adam and Galinsky 2012; López-Pérez et al. 2016) and avoiding possible confounds, all participants in Study 2, regardless of the condition to which they are assigned, were required to rate professional self-perceptions as a means of being primed to the garment's symbolism. Requesting participants to assess whether they possess a particular attribute required them to directly access schematic information that relates to the business-suit and the interview context. This assessment not only ensures consistency across all manipulation groups, (no contact with a BSJ, seeing a BSJ or wearing a BSJ), it also provided a measure of what the garment's symbolism or the interview context contributed to enclothed behaviour. This was operationalised with the use of the professional self-perception scale introduced in Section 1.4.5. (Peluchette and Karl 2007), simultaneously allowing the level of the prime to be gauged, along with any effect of priming on garment-related behaviour to be assessed (Adam and Galinsky 2012; Kay et al. 2004).

Furthermore, in response to the robust body of evidence evaluated in the initial chapters of this thesis (Chapters 1-4), it was also recognised that context affects clothing behaviours (Adomaitis and Johnson 2005; Debaix et al. 2002; Fennis and Pruyn 2007; Karl et al. 2013; Kwon 1994a; Kwon and Johnson-Hilleary 1998). This differs from the original enclothed cognition study that was laboratory based (Adam and Galinsky 2012), and Womack's (2016)

unsuccessful replication study that had taken place in a class-room and not a laboratory. Furthermore, a laboratory setting has medical/scientific associations, which could be argued to be congruent with wearing a white laboratory coat. Therefore, the laboratory context in Adam and Galinsky's (2012) study may have assisted in participants forming associations to the garment's symbolism from the environment, in addition to the actual 'prime' participants undertook (writing task). Alternatively, Womack's (2016) class-room setting was incongruent with a white laboratory coat that was used, consequently Womack (2016:98) proposed that the incongruent context may have caused the contrary results, further proposing that environments need to match the garment for effects to be evidenced (also: Kwon and Hilleary-Johnson 1998).

The incorporation of a context (rather than a laboratory setting) in Study 2 (an employment interview simulation), had responded to evidence that had previously examined perceptions and behaviours of business-suit wearers in employment-interview and work-place environments (Forsythe et al. 1985; Karl et al. 2013; Kwon 1994b; Peluchette and Karl 2007). Additionally, adding an interview simulation aided the extension of enclothed cognition theory to examine effects of wearing a business-suit, with context included. For instance, as previously noted, prior research evaluated in Chapters 1 – 4 had evidenced the link between wearing a business-suit and feelings of associated traits ('professional', 'self-confident' and 'intelligent') with conclusions being drawn that garment-associated perceptions were affected by the context in which they were perceived (Adomaitis and Johnson 2005), thereby resulting in reductions in anxiety and negative mood. Therefore, it was proposed that if garments were considered without inclusion of the context, then a comprehensive understanding of the effect of wearing a business-suit would not be achieved.

Furthermore, by incorporating an interview simulation into Study 2 it was anticipated that behaviours associated to both a business-suit and employment-interviews would be more prevalent, thereby enabling identification of any effects of the business-suit upon these behaviours to be easier to identify (Adomaitis and Johnson 2005; Kwon 1991; Rafaeli et al. 1997). Specifically, in simulating an employment-interview, certain interview-associated behaviours were expected to be increased, such as interview-anxiety (IA) (McCarthy and Goffin 2004). This was viewed as advantageous to Study 2, as incorporating a garment-congruent setting may affect the expression of some behaviours (professional self-perception levels). Whereas interview anxiety would manifest naturally (McCarthy and Goffin 2004) along with other anxieties, also related to interviews (state-anxiety) or participants predisposition (trait-anxiety).

Although Adam and Galinsky (2012) required 'explicit' priming to the garment's symbolism within the framework of their model, this may not be the manner in which perceptions are gained. For instance, perceptions are transmitted through many senses: haptic, somatic, emotional and cognitive processes, which can result in wearers 'embodying' the symbolism of the garment as opposed to attaining symbolic knowledge through more overt means (Adam and Galinsky 2012; King and Vickery 2013; Rafaeli et al. 1997; Soloman and Schopler 1982). Therefore, alternative and potentially 'latent' processes may be responsible for enclothed cognition behaviours. It is these 'alternative' potential sources of primes that will be also examined in Study 2, along with investigating the psychological benefits of wearing a BSJ.

6.3. Summary

The aim of Study 2 was to contribute to gaining further understanding of the effects of 'how the clothing individuals wear affects how they behave and feel'. This was sought through initially testing an enclothed cognition model's prediction to an alternative symbolic garment, a BSJ. Testing the effect of wearing a BSJ, concurrent with priming participants to the garment's symbolism, and on garment-related task performance, fills a void in the literature that had not directly tested an enclothed cognition model on an alternative symbolic garment. Furthermore, the business-suit, is current, relevant and continues to be commonplace within many formal settings, whereas the doctors' white coats' presences in the UK has greatly diminished.

Different studies had offered contrary evidence as to whether priming is essential for enclothed cognition behaviour to manifest (Slepian et al. 2015; Van Stockum and DeCaro 2014; Womack 2016). Further studies had included an environmental prime or context, some of which went unacknowledged (Hannover and Kühnen 2002; Slepian et al. 2015). Therefore, in order to test whether explicit priming was required for enclothed behaviour to be evidenced, participants were primed to garment-related traits by rating 'professional' self-perceptions. In addition, the extent of the prime was measured to offer the first evidence in the enclothed cognition literature of the extent of priming's effect on enclothed behaviour that had not previously been addressed.

By including a particularly stressful, yet garment congruent environment (employment interview simulation), participants were likely to be affected by individual differences in traitanxiety. This environment was viewed as a 'testing' and evaluatory one, in which for example,

psychometric tests are commonplace, therefore, individual differences were expected to affect performance on these types of measures (Cassady and Johnson 2002; Endler 1987). Enclothed cognition theory had not considered individual differences on performance of garment-related tasks (Adam and Galinsky 2012; Cassady and Johnson 2002), furthermore, they had also not tested their research within an 'applied' setting. Therefore, to address gaps in the literature that had not previously incorporated a context, the present research included one, also examining the effect of individual differences in trait-anxiety on garment-related task performance.

The interview simulation context enabled related behaviours, such as interview-anxiety (McCarthy and Goffin 2004) to be examined (Study 2) and the effect of the BSJ on these behaviours to be tested directly. The effect of wearing a BSJ and its symbolism within a congruent situation (interview) had not been tested previously. Study 2 in the present research filled this gap in the literature and attempted to provide direct evidence of the effect of wearing a symbolic garment (BSJ) on 'multidimensional' interview anxieties. However, individual differences in trait-anxiety, which affects behaviours within this context, also required consideration, to extend knowledge of the effect of wearing a BSJ when personality traits are considered; this has not been directly addressed in previous literature.

The manipulation in the present study (Study 2) required some participants to wear a BSJ which directly affects appearance. Whilst the BSJ is situation-congruent and its related symbolism was argued to aid in reducing interview appearance-anxiety, this has not previously been investigated. As discussed previously, interviews can be affected by trait-anxiety, consequently this also required consideration (McCarthy and Goffin 2004). Therefore, testing the effect of wearing BSJ on interview appearance-anxiety addressed a void in the literature to provide further evidence of the effect of clothing on particular behaviours.

Prior literature had made an effective argument that wearing a BSJ had a positive effect on anxiety and mood (see Chapters 1 - 3) (Lightstone et al. 2011; Kang et al. 2013). In order to directly address evidence that had previously been 'self-report' or anecdotal, Study 2 aimed to directly evidence a causal effect of wearing a symbolic garment (BSJ) on reduced anxiety and negative mood. However, measures were taken within an anxiety-inducing context, consequently trait-anxiety levels also required consideration for their influence on emotions.

Due to the disparity within previous research findings as to the value of priming participants to a symbolic garment's symbolism, and evidence demonstrating latent effects of clothing on perceptions and behaviours (Lü and Chen et al. 2013; Slepian et al. 2015; Womack 2016). This

was accepted as questioning priming's source and proposing that primes may come from wearing the garment, through sensory and physical channels rather than through direct priming to its attributes. Consequently, further examination was required to 'unpack' how wearing clothing directly effects behaviour. Additionally, the 'embodied' element within enclothed cognition model was apportioned less relevance than garment symbolism. To address evidence and to demonstrate unconscious effects of wearing a BSJ, in particular within a stressful situation, arousal levels were measured during particularly stressful stages of the interview process (cognitive aptitude task and face-to-face interview) and across the interview simulation experience, with individual differences in anxiety considered (Cassady and Johnson 2002; Lü and Chen et al. 2013). This was novel, and evidence of the effect of the BSJ on wearers' behaviour contributes to the literature and was intended to provide evidence of unconscious effects of clothing.

6.3.1. Research Hypotheses

Subsequent to the aims of the present research detailed in Section 4.7. the following hypotheses were made:

- Ho1. Participants wearing BSJ and primed to the garment's symbolism will report significantly higher scores in a garment-related trait task (cognitive aptitude task) compared participants seeing or having no contact with a BSJ.
- Ho2. BSJ wearers' higher cognitive aptitude task scores will be significantly related to higher prime levels (garment-related traits).
- Ho3. Trait-anxiety will have a significant effect on enclothed cognition behaviour. Lower cognitive task scores will be reported for high trait-anxious participants compared to those low in trait-anxiety group.
- Ho4. Low trait-anxious participants wearing a BSJ and being primed to the garment's symbolism will report lower interview-anxiety compared to high trait-anxious participants, and those seeing or having no contact with a BSJ.
- Ho5. Low trait-anxious participants wearing a BSJ and being primed to the garments symbolism will report lower interview appearance-anxiety compared to high trait-anxious participants, and those seeing or having no contact with a BSJ.

- Ho6. Participants wearing a BSJ, low in trait-anxiety will report significantly lower self-report anxiety (state-anxiety) compared to high-anxious participants seeing or having no contact with a BSJ.
- Ho7. Participants wearing a BSJ, lower in trait-anxiety will report significantly lower negative mood compared to high-anxious participants seeing or having no contact with a BSJ.
- Ho8. Participants wearing a BSJ and being low in trait-anxiety will report lower pulse-rates during the cognitive aptitude task compared to high anxious participants seeing or having no contact with a BSJ.
- Ho9. Participants wearing a BSJ and being low in trait-anxiety will report lower pulse-rates during the face-to-face interview stage, compared to high anxious participants seeing or having no contact with a BSJ.
- Ho10. Wearing a BSJ and being low in trait anxiety participants will show less variation in pulse-rates across the interview simulation compared to high anxious participants or those seeing or having no contact with a BSJ.

6.4. Methodology – Study 2

6.4.1. Design

The between-subjects design employed an independent variable (IV) with three levels (Jacket group: no jacket (NJ), see jacket (SJ), wear jacket (WJ)).

Dependant variables (DV) measured at one time point after participants were randomly assigned to a 'jacket group' included:

DV - cognitive aptitude task (CAT)

DV and covariant factor - Professional Self-perception Scale (PSP)

DV and covariant factor - Trait-anxiety, emotional stability (ES) with two levels (low ES (LES) high ES (HES))

DV - Single question self-report anxiety (SRA)

DV – Interview-anxiety (IA)

DV – Interview Appearance-anxiety (IAA)

DV – Negative mood (negative affect (NA))

Within-subjects dependent variables measured at more than one time-point included:

- DV Pulse-rate readings ('PRtime') were recorded at five 'stages' of the 'interview experience'. PR at baseline (PRBASE), PR during pre-interview questionnaires stage (PRPRE), PR during cognitive aptitude test (CAT) (PRCAT), PR during the interview stage (PRINT) and PR during post-interview stage (PRPOST).
- DV Pulse-rate (PR) differences (variation) calculated between each 'stage' and summed to achieve 'PRdiffTOTAL' (regardless of the direction (+/-) of the variation in PR (see table 10).

6.4.2. Participants – Recruitment, Remuneration and Ethics

Eligibility for participation in Study 2 required participants to be able to speak English and be undergraduate members of the Coventry University Psychology department and to have not taken part in the focus group study (Study 1).

Coventry University, UK, Psychology undergraduates (N = 83), 63 females and 20 males (age M = 20.05, SD = 3.17) participated. Participants were recruited via Coventry University's research site SONA-systems, participants responded to an advertisement offering an 'interview experience'. Participants were aware that they would be undertaking a video-recorded interview and have their pulse-rate recorded throughout the study. However, they were not made aware of the jacket manipulation prior to arrival. All participants were awarded 120 research participation credits for taking part. In order to increase situational (state) anxiety and offer an incentive (as no 'job-offer' existed) participants were informed they would be awarded an extra twenty credits for a 'good interview performance'. However, interview performance was not actually assessed, and all participants were awarded the extra credits. Written consent was gained from each participant prior to commencement without knowledge that they may be asked to wear a business-suit jacket. However, any participant who refused the jacket would have still been included in the study in 'no jacket' grouping.

Coventry University Ethics Committee approved this study and the study complied with BPS recommendation (2016) (see Appendix 2).

Please refer to full discussion regarding the use of 'undergraduates as participants' in Section 5.3.2.

6.4.3. Materials

6.4.3.1. The Business-suit jacket (BSJ)

All jackets used in the studies presented in this thesis (and used as exemplars in Study 1, Chapter 5) complied with a certain design (shape and features), fit (contouring the body) and colours were consistent in order not to influence participants' personal colour preferences (Roberts, Owen and Havlicek 2010). All jackets met the same design criteria and were: 'structured' (reinforced with internal interlining and a modest shoulder support to retain

garment shape), with 'notched' (cut out shape) slim to medium width collar and lapels, incorporating two or three buttons, centre front-opening and tailored pocket flaps. Jackets were made of plain-weave, light-weight suit fabrics in black or very dark grey fabric. Jackets were available for females' in sizes 8 to 20 and males' chest 34inch to 48inch (see Appendix 12). Jackets were given to participants after researcher's visual assessment of their size and gender was made. Participants who arrived for the study wearing a BSJ would be asked to remove it and if required given an alternative BSJ if they had been allocated to 'wear-jacket' group. This would avoid a confound of familiarity to their own garment that may have affected behaviours. However, this did not occur.

6.4.3.2. Interview Simulation Rooms

Study 2 took place on Coventry University campus and utilised three 'office' rooms. The rooms were chosen to simulate a 'workplace' rather than a 'laboratory' setting. 'Office' rooms were adjacent to one another and were accessed from a main corridor which enabled minimal contact with incidental distractions. Room 1 – this room was for participants to sit for the premeasurement period and the baseline pulse rate measurement, therefore the room only contained a desk and chair. Room 2 - participants sat in front of a desk and completed 'preinterview' questionnaire pack and the timed cognitive ability test (CAT). Room 3 - two desks were placed opposite each other at 2.5 metres. Adjacent to the interviewer's desk (right-hand side) was a tripod and video camera. Adjacent to the interviewee's desk was a filing cabinet, to positioning a jacket in the 'see' jacket condition (SJ).

Participants who were assigned to group 2, SJ, were in the presence of a BSJ placed on a coathanger, at 2.5 metres away from participant's chair, at a 45°degree angle to the left-hand side of their direct line of vision (when seated at the desks in room 2 and 3) (Appendix 12). The jacket was in place prior to participants entering rooms 2 and 3 in the SJ condition. In the 'nojacket' (NJ) condition, there was no exposure to a jacket in any room.

6.4.3.3. Video-recording Equipment

SONY (model DCR – SX15 'Handycam') was placed 70 centimetres to the right-hand side of the interviewer's desk, facing interviewees, in Room 3. The video-recorded was positioned on a tripod raised to 130 centimetres from the floor. In order to give the impression that the interview sessions were being recorded the camera was directed towards the 'interviewee'. The camera screen was opened by the interviewer who then pressed the 'record' button when commencing the interview, although no actual recording was made.

6.4.3.4. Interview question schedule

Interview questions were compiled by generating thirty generic interview style questions appropriate to graduate-level interviewees, incorporating enquiries as to interviewees' skills, competencies, aspirations and experience. The thirty questions were reviewed by four research associates to gain inter-rater-reliability in order to reduce the questions to ten, representing 'general' interview questions (Appendix 13).

6.4.3.5. Interviewer Training

Due to the commitment involved in interviewing and carrying out each study, three different interviewers interviewed participants. All were male of similar age (M = 21.86, SD = 2.12) with English as their first language and all members of Coventry University Psychology Faculty HLS. Prior to interviewing, interviewers were trained to deliver and await responses to the questions with limited (but not devoid) of non-verbal behaviour. This meant not making direct eye-contact, smiling only on arrival and completion of the interview and not making encouraging or prompting facial expressions. All interviewers were requested to wear a non-patterned shirt and plain, or striped tie, waist-up only was seen by participants.

6.4.4. Measures

6.4.4.1. Trait anxiety - IPIP Big-five Personality Factor Markers

Spielberg (1972) made a distinction in the construct of anxiety, arguing anxiety can be a stable personality trait, and a transient state, as reactions to certain stimuli. Trait-anxiety is an individual's proneness to anxiety 'generally' as a permanent personality trait. Due to the context within the first experimental study (Study 2, Chapter 6) incorporating an anxiety-inducing context (interview experience) it was important to evaluate whether this context was responsible for changed anxiety levels or an individual's predisposition to anxiety and does wearing a BSJ affect this. Rather than screening participants at the initial contact stage (participant registration) eliminating high trait-anxious participants, examining the effects of a BSJ on anxiety (state and trait constructs) required assessment. Although the discussion in Chapter 3 offered an introduction to anxiety, the purpose of this further discussion is to relate and review trait-anxiety to instruments that measure it.

Spielberg (1972) argued that instruments of measurement should differ for each construct of anxiety. Whereas Zeidner (2008:427) argued that many studies exclusively used self-report methodologies which can distort results. Therefore, to overcome potential biases in measuring anxiety, Studies 2 and 3 (Chapters 6 and 7 respectively) incorporated a measure of trait-anxiety via a personality scale of emotional stability (ES) 'The 50-item IPIP Big-five personality factor Markers' (Goldberg 1992). Although this does not eliminate the potential for self-report problems, the scale exhibits good reliability and validity (.88 - .9) and is used extensively in research (Garcia, Aluja and Garcia 2004; Goldberg 2018) (Appendix 14).

Differing instruments are available each claiming to measure the construct of anxiety: Beck Anxiety Inventory (BAI) - Beck, Brown, Epstein and Steer (1988): State-Trait Anxiety Inventory (STAI) - Spielberger (1983). However, although these instruments possess good psychometric properties and demonstrate strong convergent and discriminant reliability (Zeidner 2008), some researchers argue that measures, (BAI) should be used cautiously (Creamer, Foran and Bell 1995). The main criticism being the closeness of anxiety symptoms to depression and panic disorder symptoms (see: Creamer et al. 1995; Cox, Cohen, Direnfeld and Swinson 1996). Creamer et al. (1995) further argued that alternative scales showed the two constructs overlap. Using such scales e.g. the BAI within a normal population (as is the aim of the present research) could be argued to result in a lack of construct validity.

Therefore, in order to overcome the apparent shortfalls in other scales to accurately measure trait-anxiety, Study 2 utilised Goldberg's (1992) 'Big Five' scale, which is regularly used in psychological testing as a valid and reliable instrument (Cronbach 1998). Collectively, the 'Big Five' is intrinsic to several versions of personality instruments (John, Donahue and Kentle 1991: Costa and McCrae 1992; Goldberg 1992) as the five broad dimensions of personality traits, Extraversion (or Surgency), Agreeableness, Conscientiousness, Emotional stability (or Neuroticism) and Openness to experience (or Intellect/Imagination).

Some scales are reduced to offer briefer alternatives but have been argued to often be too brief for purpose, however this is dependent upon what is intended to be measured for instance, global personality constructs or brief 'insights' into personality types (Rammstedt and John 2006). Therefore, short-phrase scales offered by Goldberg's Scale (1992) was believed appropriate for Study 2 (and Study 3, Chapter 7) and not being as large as some scales (i.e. Costa and McCrae 1991) yet retaining good validity and reliability (Goldberg 1992). Other measures within Study 2 and 3 comprised one-word adjectives, (i.e. PANAS – X, Watson and Clark 1992) and professional self-perception scale, (Peluchette and Karl 2007) therefore, rather than solely being reliant on single adjective scales, which may cause response bias or 'fatigue' (Furnham 1986) the short phrase scale was proposed as an effective alternative.

The effects of anxiety can manifest both psychologically and physiologically and can be viewed as a constraint or an asset (Cassady and Johnson 2002). Therefore, the 'stressful' interview context and methodology incorporated in Study 2, required levels of participants' trait-anxiety to be assessed alongside investigating the effects of 'state' induced anxiety on behaviours. For example, Eysenck (2002) defined neurotic individuals as characterised by higher levels of negative affect, anxiety and depression, although not at a clinical level. Furthermore, 'neurotic' individuals exhibit low thresholds of reactivity to perceived threats, which results in an inability to control their reactions to even minor stressors.

Goldberg (1992) supported the Big five markers of personality and was in general agreement with the categories that were offered which considered the early works of Tupes and Christal (1961 cited in Garcia 2004) offering five, over three or sixteen factor scales that other measures offered (Cattell 1957; Digman 1990; Eyseneck 1967 cited in Zuckerman et al. 1997). However, Goldberg (1992) was attempting to achieve a measure that was reliable, efficient to administer, with the assurance that each of the domains of personality were effectively

represented within the instrument. Its use and reliability have also been supported empirically in varying forms and languages (Garcia et al. 2004).

Furthermore, as previously discussed (Section 3.3.3.) Endler (1987; Endler et al. 1991) proposed that in specific anxiety-inducing context (interviews) 'global' individual differences are ineffective measures of the individuals, particularly as they react to the context inconsistently to their trait disposition. Therefore, a measure of emotional stability is the only construct on interest within the present research rather than all five personality constructs.

6.4.4.1.1. Issue Related to Responding to the Measure

Due to a formatting problem and the printing of the scale in Study 2, which was not identified until after data collection, many participants responded to only thirty out of the fifty questions. This was due to twenty questions being printed on the back of a page (double-sided printing). However, as all personality constructs were equally distributed throughout the fifty questions, an indication of participants' personality trait was assessed from the thirty responses. Furthermore, Rammstedt and John (2007) had argued that measuring personality could be accomplished in less than one minute, via a ten-item Big Five Inventory Scale (BFI). However, this shorter scale should be used with slight caution and is dependent upon what was intended to be measured. For instance, if the intention was to assess personality traits in some depth the scale is not effective (Rammstedt and John 2007). Gosling et al. (2003) had also provided a five and ten-item BFI scale, arguing that although psychometric properties may be diminished the scales retained good reliability and validity (Rammstedt and John 2007). Each scale was constructed by using a composite of traits in larger versions and diminished to a few adjectives. Therefore, it was with some confidence that the thirty completed responses in Study 2 were still analysed for BFI trait measure of emotional stability.

6.4.4.2. Cognitive Aptitude Test (CAT)

Professional traits associated to the BSJ were supported by literature that was introduced in chapters (1 - 4) (Behling and Williams 1991; Damhorst 1991; Karl et al. 2013; Kwon 1991; Kwon 1994a/b; Peluchette and Karl 2007). One trait that was an aggregate of several others and frequently referred to in the focus group reported in Chapter 5 of this thesis and empirical literature was 'intelligence' (Behling and Williams 1991; Damhorst 1992; Kwon 1994a), another was 'confident' (Bowman 1992; Bieling and Williams 1991; Kwon and Faber 1992; Peluchette and Karl 2007). To operationalise these traits and assess the impact of 'embodying' a BSJ, a cognitive aptitude test (CAT) was argued to encompass measures of both traits and was included in Study 2.

The cognitive task was described as an 'advanced IQ' test (Carter 2008) and was is aimed at individuals at 'graduate level' education and designed to be 'challenging' to undertake. The instrument was not incorporated to assess participants' IQ levels; however, the number of correct responses did indicate a level of intelligence. The test was a means of attaining a score of 'correct answers' and a score of 'attempts', incorporating an inverse efficiency score (IES) (Townsend and Ashby 1983), subsequently achieving a 'matrix' score representing i.e. confidence (the number attempted) and intelligence (the number correct).

In presenting the CAT to participants as an 'IQ' test it was intended to further increase participants' 'state' anxiety. It was expected that some participants may be affected by 'test anxiety' and others by 'maths anxiety', whilst the pressure of the situation would also affect further participants and these anxieties could be encapsulated in the measures to assess the effect of the BSJ upon them.

The CAT incorporated within Study 2 included a variety of mathematical, verbal and spatial ability and logical analysis (Carter 2008) For example: "Select two words that are synonyms, plus an antonym of these two synonyms, from the list of words – choke, force, thrive, toil, wither, burgeon, strive". And, "19, 20, 21, ?, ?, 26, 28, 32, 33, 40, which two numbers should replace the question marks? Participants were instructed to "please complete as many questions as you can as accurately as you can in a ten-minute timed period...." A ten-minute time-frame, in which participants were instructed to complete as many questions as possible, correctly (Appendix 34).

6.4.4.3. Professional Self-Perception scale (PSP)

The Focus group undertaken in Study 1 (Chapter 5) produced lists compiled by participants during the 'focus group' task. The lists reflected undergraduates' perceptions of business-suit related traits (discussed in Chapter 5). All the traits listed by participants were present in Peluchette and Karl's (2007) Professional self-perceptions scale and no additional 'perceptions' were reported; therefore, the original scale was subsequently used in Study 2 presented in the current chapter of this thesis.

Furthermore, several published studies have incorporated Peluchette and Karl's (2007) scale (Cardon and Okoro 2009; Karl, Hall and Peluchette 2013) or used closely related trait lists (Hannover and Kühnen 2002; Kwon 1994a), it was therefore reasoned to be an appropriate measure with which to gauge undergraduates' acknowledgement of the symbolism of the BSJ within Study 2 of this thesis.

Study 2 required participants to rate sixteen traits within Peluchette and Karl's (2007) Professional self-perception scale. Participants were required to respond to the following statement: 'To what extent do you associate yourself with the following work-related competencies at this moment in time?' the sixteen competencies included: authoritative, influential, powerful, self-confident, competent, professional, hardworking, productive, trustworthy, dependable, agreeable, friendly, cheerful, approachable, creative, inspired. Participants rated competencies as: 1 = very little or not at all, 2 = a little 3 = moderately, 4 = quite a bit, 5 = extremely. The total achieved was viewed as being the level of a participants' relations to professional competencies. (Appendix 17).

6.4.4.4. State anxiety - Single Question Self-Report Anxiety Measure (SRA)

The interactional model of anxiety (Endler 1997; Endler and Kocovski 2002) had been previously introduced in this thesis (Chapter 3) and had also been adopted by McCarthy and Goffin (2004) to explain trait and state anxiety in interview situations. Furthermore, in introducing and investigating effects of wearing a symbolic garment (BSJ) on anxiety levels all possible effects and any reduction due to the BSJ required consideration.

Individual differences in the way an 'experience' is perceived, i.e. as a 'threat' or a 'challenge', also affects subjective reporting (Maloney et al. 2014). Indication of participants' subjective

anxiety was required, and the use a single question instrument was proposed as appropriate for this purpose. For the assessment of state-anxiety, a single-question format offered a quick, subjective and easily achieved method to attain reliable approximation of a construct (Gill, Jones, Zou and Speechley 2012; Gosling et al. 2003; Rammstedt and John 2007; Weller, McDonald, Kehler and Tough 2011).

The single self-report anxiety question was included in the questionnaire pack pre-interview, the instruction sheet initially gave participants a definition of anxiety; "anxiety is the feeling of worry, apprehension, unease, nervousness, tension, misgiving, stress, foreboding etc., which is often felt when in a situation or thoughts of being in a situation that has an uncertain outcome". Participants were then required to respond to the following; "On a scale of 1 to 5 please indicate the extent to which you are feeling anxious right now prior to undertaking the interview stage of this study", 1 = no anxiety whatsoever, 2 = a little anxious, 3 = some anxiety, 4 = feeling anxious 5 = feeling very anxious (Appendix 18).

6.4.4.5. Measure of Anxiety in Interviews (McCarthy and Goffin 2004)

Whilst undertaking tests are argued to induce anxiety in some participants (Cassady and Johnson 2002) employment interviews are proposed to induce anxiety in most individuals (McCarthy and Goffin 2004). An extensive discussion regarding interview-anxiety was offered in Chapter 3 in which the MASI scale was briefly introduced, this section will give detail of the scale that was not previously provided. The interview anxiety scale comprises five separate dimensions: communication, appearance, social, performance and behavioural anxiety. The scale was designed to fill a void in available instruments due to previous scales being ineffective measures of this multi-dimensional construct (McCarthy and Goffin 2004).

McCarthy and Goffin's (2004) scale were developed and tested using both student and professional participants, with the authors proposing that their model was an effective and inclusive instrument for the multi-dimensional construct of interview-anxiety. The scale reports good reliability and internal consistency, and regardless of any temporal adjustment, internal consistency between 0.69 and 0.83. Additionally, the scale can measure each dimension separately, or as a whole (Feeney, McCarthy and Goffin 2015). Study 2 in the present thesis measured the MASI as a 'total' measure of all sub-sections except appearance anxiety and sub-scale 'appearance anxiety' as a separate variable.

The MASI, used in Study 2 comprised a thirty-item scale, divided into five-sub-scales, with six statements for: Communication, Appearance, Social, Performance and Behavioural anxiety. Statements included items such as; Communication anxiety – "During interviews, I often can't think of a thing to say", or social anxiety – "I become very uptight about having to socially interact with a job interviewer". Appearance anxiety was of specific interest to this Thesis as wearing a BSJ directly impacts appearance. Statements in appearance anxiety sub scale included; "during a job interview, I worry about whether I have dressed appropriately", and "I often feel uneasy about my appearance when I am being interviewed for a job". Some statements were negatively keyed; "I find it easy to communicate my personal accomplishments during a job interview" (Appendix 19).

6.4.4.6. Mood Measures - PANAS – X (Watson and Clark 1994)

Individuals are often prone to negatively valenced mood states in certain contexts or be predisposed to negative mood and emotions as a personality trait (Huffcutt et al. 2011). Opposing theories argue that neither trait nor state temperaments are stable, but are dynamic, such that individuals are trait and situation dependent (Endler 1997; Endler and Kocovski 1991) as may be the case during an employment interview (McCarthy and Goffin 2004).

The Positive and Negative Affect Scale - Expanded form (PANAS – X, Watson and Clark 1994) is used in Study 2. The PANAS-X is an effective method of distinguishing between positive affect (PA) and negative affect (NA) over and above many alternative scales, and particularly for use within a 'college-aged' populations (Kercher 1992). The scale reports good reliability and internal consistency, and regardless of any temporal adjustment, alpha coefficients ranged between 0.85 to 0.9, which were within acceptable limits (Kline cited in Field 2005:668). Further, adjustment and reduction of the scale can be implemented without affecting the outcome (Watson Clark and Tellegen 1988). NA was administered at one time point to assess the effect of the BSJ on mood, rather than change in mood between two-time points (Appendix 20).

6.4.4.7. Physiological Measure of Arousal - Finger Pulse Oximeter

Participants' pulse-rate (PR) was measured for the duration of Study 2 using a wireless, battery operated finger pulse-rate oximeter model — CONTEC Pulse oximeter (CMS 50E) which measures a range of 30bpm — 250bpm with an accuracy of ±2bpm averaged pulse-rate for every four cardio-beats cycles, with the deviation between average and true values not exceeding 1%. The oximeter delivers a continuous and long-term recording of wearer's pulse-rate which is recorded on the device and subsequently downloaded to a computer for storage and analysis.

Participants had been advised in the participant information leaflet (PIL) that they would be fitted with a finger pulse oximeter. The finger pulse oximeter was placed on a digit of participants' non-dominant hand, after a resting period of five minutes from arrival (see procedure for details). The experience and manifestation of anxiety was discussed within Chapter 3, therefore in order to examine levels of anxiety-induced arousal, pulse-rate levels were measured within Study 2 in the present thesis.

Chest strap heart-rate monitors have been found to be equally reliable (Profis 2014) over that of wrist monitors (Pharm and Nounou 2015). However, the drawback to their use in study 2, was participants would have had to be fitted with monitors, strapped against their skin (chest area) and then dress and add a BSJ. This was argued to be too 'invasive' and potentially problematic. In part due to the 'putting on' of a BSJ which would need care and manipulation, potentially drawing attention to the BSJ as a variable. Furthermore, in the experiment, jackets were given in a 'casual' manner, accompanied by a cover-story to avoid alerting participants to the study's purpose.

Furthermore, the 'interview simulation' was intended to offer some authenticity to undergraduate's 'experience' of interview situations and practises. Fitting a 'chest strap' heart-rate monitor to their bodies may be viewed as 'intrusive' and could cause unnecessary discomfort and embarrassment when fitted. Similarly, although finger pulse-rate oximeters are also not an expected item within interview contexts, their presence was arguably less intrusive than alternative monitors. Furthermore, Study 2 required some participants to 'put on' and wear a BSJ whilst attached to the oximeter. Therefore, to avoid unnecessary physical manipulation of participants, the wireless version of the finger pulse-rate oximeter's, adaptability and small size allowed for this (Carroll 2003).

6.4.4.7.1. Baseline Measurement Protocol and Data Preparation

After arrival participants will wait for approximately five-minutes to be fitted with the finger pulse-rate oximeter to incorporate a 'resting' period. Numerous factors can affect resting heart-rate levels, such as anticipation, nervousness and worry (Mancia, Bertinieri, Grassi, Parati, Pomidossi, Ferrari, Gregorini, and Zanchetti 1983; Mathews 2001). A pre-test resting period of a minimum of five minutes prior to base-line pulse-rate (RPR) measures being taken stabilizes RPR levels (Hart 2015; Palatini 2009). This results in subsequent RPR or 'baseline' measurements being less subject to variation (Hart 2015). A baseline reading will be measured for a five-minute period. In practitioner environments it is common for PR to be measured manually for e.g. a 2 x 30 second count to provide an average RPR (Hart 2015). RPR can also be vulnerable to increases at the commencement of readings, particularly within medical settings, however RPR have been shown to peak between one to four minutes from commencement and then stabilise (Mancia et al. 1983). PR Mean PR will be calculated for each of the five PR 'stages'.

To enable accurate recording of each separate PR 'stage' time was recorded using a digital clock set to Greenwich Mean Time accessed via an apple iPad mini (3). Time was recorded using minutes only, protocols such as room change, recording the second count was deemed superfluous. Gaining an accurate time enabled the different 'stages' throughout Study 2 to be clearly defined and mean PR achieved for each 'stage'.

6.4.4.7.2. Finger Pulse Oximeter Data Analysis

The CONTEC Pulse Oximeter CMS 50E is provided with a software package, which gives a graphical visual output of the period of recordings. Artefacts caused by movement or loss of contact with the digit is displayed as a straight-line output with no relevant reading attained (Appendix 21). The supplied software is limited; however, it will allow accurate time 'stages' to be 'marked' on the graph output, so that each 'stage' (PR during CAT) can be identified. This will be achieved by indicating the 'start' time of each 'stage' recorded manually and these will be aligned with the PR graphical outputs. Furthermore, when moving the cursor over the graph on the 'time' line an accurate pulse-rate can is given for that moment. Therefore, by moving the cursor at ten second intervals and recording each PR reading for that time point, then dividing by the number of counts, a mean PR was gained for each stage. This will be

necessary as each participant is likely to vary in the length of time they take to complete the untimed portions of the study (questionnaires pre and post-interview).

6.4.4.7.3. Finger pulse Oximeter Raw Data Preparation

All pulse rate (PR) outputs will be visually inspected for artefacts and distortions. For instance, lost contact with a digit will result in a continuous flat-line output, whereas momentary strong or sudden movements will result in a peak or fall in the PR line or a small flat-line (Appendix 21). All artefacts that are less than ten-seconds will be 'ignored' from the mean calculation as they will not impact the mean PR. However, if more than 10% of the duration was distorted due to artefacts the data will be removed. Although every attempt will be made to maintain good contact, and regular checks will be made to ensure the oximeter is recording, it will not be not until recordings are downloaded to the programme's software that artefacts and distortions will be apparent, this may result in data sets having to been excluded from the analysis.

6.4.5. Procedure

Participants had responded to an advertisement for the present study that informed them they would be undertaking an 'interview experience', in which behaviours such as anxiety via their pulse-rate and 'interview performance' and personality would be being assessed. The participant information leaflet (PIL - Appendix 22) informed participants that their interview would be video-recorded for assessment purposes. The interview was not recorded but was included to induce anxiety in participants. Participants were not informed of the jacket manipulation nor that some participants would receive a cover story and be asked to wear a BSJ.

Participants were given a five-minute period to read and sign the PIL indicating their consent to take part (Appendix 23) This period also acted as a 'pre-assessment period' to stabilise their PR (Hart 2015) (Please refer to section 6.4.4.7.1. for full details).

After signing the consent forms participants had a pulse-rate oximeter placed on a digit on their non-dominant hand and were verbally instructed to; 'Please sit quietly for five-minutes so that

a base-line pulse-rate reading can be taken. Please do not attempt to use your phone or tablet during this period.'

After this timed-period participant were then taken into room 2. Participants who were randomly assigned to the jacket-group were identified by following an on-line randomised number generation protocol. Participants were assigned to either: no-jacket group (NJ - no contact with a jacket), see-jacket group (SJ - a jacket in an estimated size and gender to the participant was already hanging in the proximity of participants (see details in 6.5.3.2.). Participants in wear-jacket group (WJ) were told a cover story to disguise the true intention of the study. 'Although you have dressed as requested in your normal clothes, many students we have tested today have arrived wearing a suit. To ensure everybody is assessed the same in the interview section, would you mind wearing this jacket?'

All participants in all conditions subsequently completed questionnaire pack 'pre-interview' and were instructed to: 'Please complete each questionnaire carefully and completely, in your own time.' The pack included: demographic information sheet (appendix 24), Big-five personality scale, Negative affect (PANAS-X), and self-report anxiety. On completion participants were administered a timed cognitive aptitude task (CAT). Participants were verbally instructed to; 'complete as many questions as possible, as accurately as possible, in ten-minutes. I will inform you when the time is finished.'

Participants were then told that they would undertake the face-to-face interview and were led to room 3. 'Please sit at the desk, this is (name of interviewer) he/she will be interviewing you. When the interview is completed please return to the previous room'. The interviewer introduced themselves and opened and pressed the 'on' button on the video-camera (giving the impression that the session was being recorded). The interviewer followed a standardised dialogue of structured interview questions (Appendix 13) in a consistent manner, (See section 6.4.3.5.). On completion of the interview participants returned to room 2. where they completed questionnaire pack 'post-interview', with no time limit imposed, including: Measure of interview anxiety (MASI). Upon completion of these questionnaires, participants could remove jackets (if applicable) and finger pulse oximeters. Participants were fully debriefed and thanked for their participation (Appendix 25).

6.4.6. Data Preparation: General - Study 2 and 3

Analysis of variance and covariance (ANOVA, ANCOVA) requires that data meets the assumption of normally distribution, and variance of different conditions are equal. This was not the case for some data within this study. When assumptions of normality are violated, or data exhibits skew or kurtosis, as was seen within Study 2's data, ANOVA is argued to be robust to such violations (Field (2016: 444). Glass et al. (1972 cited in Field 2016) added, that for two-tailed tests violations of normality, including non-normal distributions, skew and kurtosis have little effect on Type I error rates and power. Whilst Lunney (1970 cited in Field 2016: 444) reported that ANOVA was accurate when the dependent variable was binary or even if group sizes were unequal. Therefore, Donaldson (1968 cited in Field 2016: 444) ANOVA, the *F*-statistic and related power is unaffected by non-normality and any attempts to transform skewed data can be more problematic than beneficial (James and Lucas 1966 cited in Field 2016:202). ES was measured at interval level but was dichotomised into 'lower' and 'higher' groups (see Section 6.4.6.1.for discussion).

IA violated assumptions of normality, exhibiting negative skew, whereas SRA showed positive skew. PR levels also failed to meet the assumptions for normal distribution, however, in line with potentially negative effects of transforming some data, along with robust nature of the ANOVA (Field 2016) IA, SRA and PSP variables continued to be incorporated in analyses without transformation. Furthermore, all group sizes were fairly equal in the present study therefore, according to Lunney (1970 cited in Field 2013:444) the power of *F* should not be affected. In view of this discussion it was decided to continue to conduct an ANOVA.

PR levels failed to meet assumptions of normality for parametric testing but were still deemed suitable to be included in subsequent analyses when consideration of the above arguments was made. Factors introduced as covariates are also required to meet assumptions of linearity, yet when this assumption is violated as argued by Field (2016; 486), supported by Miller and Chapman (2001) there is no statistical requirement for the independent variable (Jacket group) and covariate (e.g. PSP) to be independent, therefore the ANCOVA was continued in some analyses. Field (2016:546) suggests caution be taken of a significant result for Mauchley's Test of Sphericity, due its sensitivity to sample size. The PR data was reduced due to distortion or non-readings therefore sample size was less than optimal. For individual analyses (indicated in individual analyses) where this is applicable the more robust Pillai's Trace was reported (Brace et al. 2016:289). Analyses for Study 2 and 3 were reported at an alpha level of .05,

unless otherwise indicated and reported to two decimal points, except significance levels that indicate significance at p = .001. Effect sizes were reported for all results supported by Cohen's (1988) interpretation .10 = small effect size, .30 = small to moderate effect size and .50 large effect size. For effect sizes below .10 indication of effect size will not be given.

6.4.6.1. Median Split: Emotional stability (ES)

There is some controversy surrounding using a median split to transform a continuous variable into a categorical variable, which was proposed to be appropriate for emotional stability (ES) grouping (Iacobucci et al. 2015). Trait measures of personality are commonly grouped into personality 'types' by how well they 'fit' into a trait description (Asendorpf and Van Aken 1999; Coolican 2007:257). This approach may not be ideal as a means of fully defining an individual's personality but is common practice in personality and occupational areas as a means of assessing individuals' fit within a certain criterion (Coolican 2004). A further argument was that the present study was interested in exploring group differences rather than individual differences in trait-anxiety. Although the debate surrounded an argument that median splits loose important information and power, as well potentially giving erroneous Type I and Type II errors (Rucker, McShane and Preacher 2015), alternative sources rebuke this argument (Iacobucci et al. 2015).

Iacobucci et al. (2015) supported the use of median split, proposing if the number of dichotomised variables are limited and multicollinearity is not present, there is no problem. Rucker et al. (2015) countered this, arguing the practise is too costly to both power and data, with much of the latter being lost. However, its use is popular (MacCallum et al. 2002) and has many applications, particularly when it makes sense to dichotomise variables i.e. Pain thresholds, treatment interventions (Kastrati cited in Iacobucci et al. 2015:653). Ultimately, both Iacobucci et al. (2015) and MacCallum et al. (2002) agreed on some aspects of the practise, particularly when analysis of variance (ANOVA) assesses group differences, whereas a regression analysis achieves 'relations' between factors. Additionally, avoidance of multicollinearity and awareness of reduction in 'informative value' of data should be acknowledged and made transparent, with no attempt to report 'misleading' results (MacCallum et al. 2002).

The present research, having considered limitations and arguments surrounding the practise, continued to use a median-split to dichotomise the variable of emotional stability and tentatively, interpreted results of emotional stability as being 'lower' and 'higher' rather than definitive terms of participants as 'high trait-anxious'.

6.4.7. Results

6.4.7.1. Enclothed cognition behaviour; is this evidenced in a BSJ?

6.4.7.1.1. Data Preparation and Analysis

The dependent variable CAT scores deviated significantly from normal distribution with Kolmogorov-Smirnov (K-S) reporting D(83) = 0.02 p = .001. Skew and Kurtosis are displayed in Appendix 35. Boxplots illustrated two extreme outliers, data was log transformed and subsequent K-S was not significant D(82) = .07, p = .20, distribution improved with reduced skewness and in view of the discussion offered in Section 6.5.5. parametric testing continued. PSP met assumptions for normality and reported K-S of D(83) = .99, p = .73. Skewness and Kurtosis are presented in Appendix 35. For analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) Levene's test of Equality of Error variance was not significant for either CAT F(2,79) = .31 p = .74 relationships between dependent variable and covariate was linear, evidenced via graph of regression lines and homogeneity of regression was not significant F(1, 81) = .09, p = .76.

The study employed an analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) to examine the effect of 'jacket group' with three levels (jacket-group: no-jacket (NJ) see-jacket (SJ), wear-jacket (WJ)) on dependent variable CAT scores and priming (PSP) levels introduced as covariate.

6.4.7.1.2. Results of Analysis

Mean levels of 'jacket-group' demonstrated group differences in CAT scores: no-jacket (M = -1.11, SD = .29), see-jacket (M = -1.03, SD = .33) and wear-jacket (M = -.91, SD = .28) (see figure 3). The results illustrating higher CAT scores for the wear-jacket group.

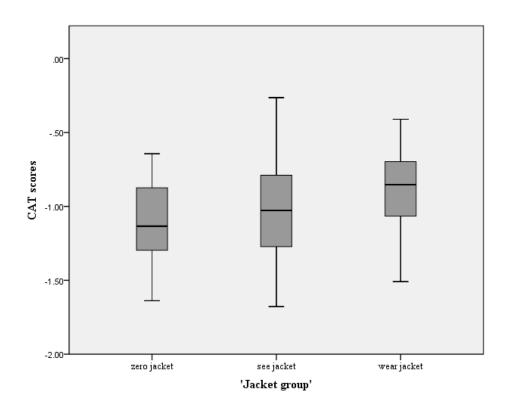


Figure 2. Data Represents Means of CAT Scores (log-transformed inverse scores) by 'jacket-group' (no-jacket, see-jacket, wear-jacket).

In order to test the effect of wearing BSJ on CAT scores when PSP (priming) was also considered, to test enclothed cognition's prediction ANCOVA was conducted. The results reported that covariate PSP levels were not significantly related to CAT scores F(1, 81) = .09, p = .76, $\eta_p^2 = .01$. However, the main effect for 'jacket-group' was significant when PSP was partialled out, F(2, 81) = 3.12 p = .05, $\eta_p^2 = .07$. However, this alone did not identify differences between SJ and WJ which would differentiate enclothed cognition from material priming effects and address the initial hypotheses (Ho1).

Consequently planned contrasts explored this, reporting that NJ was not significantly different from SJ (p = .29), and SJ was not significantly different to WJ (p = .15), however NJ CAT scores were significantly different from those of WJ (p = .042), therefore the prediction could not be supported as wearing a BSJ and being primed to PSP did not result in significantly higher CAT scores for this group. However, there was a significant linear trend shown between 'jacket-group' F(2, 76) = 6.18, p = .015, $\eta_{P}^2 = .03$, thus, from having no contact with a BSJ, to seeing one, then wearing one, CAT scores increased.

6.4.7.2. Higher Primes Equal Higher CAT scores?

6.4.7.2.1. Data Preparation and Analysis

CAT scores met main assumptions for parametric testing (See 6.4.7.1.1.) as did PSP data. Consequently, mean CAT scores and PSP levels were submitted to a correlational design using Pearson's *r* to address the second prediction of the present study. (See table 2 for mean levels of CAT and PSP).

6.4.7.2.2. Results of Analysis

Means for CAT and PSP (see table 2) demonstrated the highest PSP levels for 'wear-jacket' group and highest CAT scores for 'wear-jacket' group also.

Table 2. Data presented showing mean prime 'Professional Self-Perceptions' scale (PSP) levels by 'jacket-group' and CAT scores by (no-jacket (NJ), see-jacket (SJ), wear-jacket (WJ)) standard deviations shown in parenthesis

Jacket group	PSP levels M (SD)	CAT score M (SD)
No-jacket	57.86 (7.38)	-1.11 (0.29)
See-jacket	57.71 (8.34)	-1.01 (0.35)
Wear-jacket	59.57 (7.63)	-0.91 (0.28)

Contrary to hypotheses 2 there was not a significant relationship between performance on CAT task (CAT scores) and priming effects (PSP) (r = -.007, N = 82, p = .475, one-tailed) with the smallest amount of PSP explaining CAT performance ($r^2 = .000049$).

6.4.7.3. Trait-anxiety's Effect on Enclothed Cognition Behaviour

6.4.7.3.1. Data Preparation and Analysis

CAT scores and PSP levels met assumptions for parametric testing (as discussed in 6.4.7.2.1.). Emotional stability (ES) was incorporated as a dichotomous variable (see discussion in 6.4.6.1.). Levene's Test of Equality of Error Variance was not significant for covariate on CAT scores within the model F(5, 76) = 9.24, p = .47, neither was homogeneity of regression F(1, 77) = .14, p = .332. Whilst the relationship between covariate and dependent variable was linear.

A between-subjects analysis of covariance (ANOVA) was employed a 3 (jacket-group: no-jacket (NJ), see-jacket (SJ), wear-jacket (WJ)) x 2 (emotional stability (ES): (low ES (LES), high ES (HES)) on CAT scores with PSP introduced as covariate.

6.4.7.3.2. Results of Analysis

Mean scores of the CAT task when differentiated by emotional stability levels demonstrated that the highest CAT score was seen in participants wearing a BSJ higher in trait-anxiety (Low emotional stability LES), whilst the lowest CAT score was in shown in LES participants with no contact with a BSJ. (see table 3)

Table 3. Data presented as mean cognitive aptitude test (CAT matrix – inverse scores) scores and standard deviations in parenthesis by 'jacket-group' (no-jacket (NJ), seejacket (SJ), wear-jacket (WJ)) and emotional stability (ES) grouping (low, high).

CAT scores	Low M(S		High ES M (SD)				
No-jacket	-1.21	(0.24)	-1.05	(0.31)			
See-jacket	-1.09	(0.37)	-0.95	(0.26)			
Wear-jacket	-0.84	(0.21)	-0.98	(0.34)			

In order to test hypotheses 3 ANCOVA was used to test for group differences in 'jacket-group' and ES grouping on CAT scores when PSP were also considered in line with an enclothed cognition model. The results reported that the effect of covariate PSP did not have a significant effect on CAT scores, as had been previously reported F(1,77) = .14, p = .71, $\eta_p^2 = .01$. There was a significant difference reported between 'jacket-group' on CAT scores F(2,77) = 3.37, p = .039, $\eta_p^2 = .08$. However, group difference in ES were not significant F(1,77) = .95, p = .332, $\eta_p^2 = .01$. Therefore Hypothesis 3 was not supported. Regardless of whether participants were lower or higher in ES, this did not have any influence on their CAT scores as was anticipated.

Planned contrasts of 'jacket-group' reported the same pattern as reported in 6.5.7.1.1., with the only significant contrast being demonstrated between NJ and WJ (p = .032).

6.4.7.4. Interview Anxiety (IA) and Interview Appearance-anxiety (IAA)

6.4.7.4.1. Analysis and Data Preparation – IA

Assumption of normality were met for variables PSP (See 6.4.7.1.1.) and IA, K-S test reported D(83) = .98, p = .170, see Appendix 35 for skewness and Kurtosis. Levene's test of equality of error variance was not significant F(5, 77) = 1.44, p = .218 and homogeneity of variance was assumed, homogeneity of regression assumption was not violated reporting F(1, 78) = 1.80, p = .180, and a linear relationship between covariate and dependent variable was shown in regression graph. Data preparation for bivariate correlation Pearson's r, variables met assumptions of normality, and linearity, scatterplots were checked.

A between-subjects analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) was employed to test the effect of the 'jacket-group' 3 (jacket-group: no-jacket (NJ), see-jacket (SJ), wear-jacket (WJ)) x 2 (emotional stability (ES): low ES (LES), high ES (HES) on interview-anxiety levels (IA) with priming (PSP) introduced as covariate.

6.4.7.4.2. Results of Analysis - IA

Means for interview-anxiety by 'jacket-group' are displayed in table 4 illustrating that overall interview-anxiety was highest when participants wore a BSJ and as anticipated participants lower in emotional stability (LES) reported higher IA (M = 87.85, SE = 2.85) than HES participants (M = 76.92, SE = 2.76).

Table 4. Data Presented shows mean Interview-anxiety levels (IA) for each 'jacket-group'

Jacket-group	Interview Anxiety M (SD)
No-jacket	79.60 (19.11)
See-jacket	83.51 (18.47)
Wear-jacket	84.15 (20.12)
Wear-jacket	84.15 (20.12)

However, when ES grouping was included the highest and lowest means IA was shown for participants wearing a BSJ (WJ group). (See table 5)

Table 5. Data presented as means levels of Interview-anxiety (IA) by 'jacket-group' and emotional stability (ES) grouping (low, high) and standard deviation presented in parentheses.

Interview Anxiety	Low ES	S M (SD	High ES M (SD)			
No-jacket	84.00	(20.23)	76.76	(18.38)		
See-jacket	87.20	(12.71)	79.57	(22.99)		
Wear-jacket	93.29	(15.39)	73.50	(20.24)		

The effect of covariate PSP on IA was significant F(1, 76) = 5.94, p = .017, $\eta_p^2 = .07$. The main effect for 'jacket-group' on IA was not significant F(2, 76) = .38, p = .687, $\eta_p^2 = .01$, when covariate PSP levels were partialled out and could not offer support to hypothesis 4., as group differences in 'jacket-group' did not influence IA levels. Wearing a BSJ was not significantly different from NJ or SJ, however ES grouping did, reporting a significant difference; F(1, 76) = 7.55, p = .007, $\eta_p^2 = .09$. The interaction between 'jacket-group' and ES did not reach a significant level F(2, 76) = 1.11, p = .335, $\eta_p^2 = .03$. Therefore, if participants were predisposed to anxiety they experienced greater IA. This required examining due to the incorporation of an interview simulation and the expected effect of the BSJ on wearers behaviour. However, instead the results were accepted as demonstrating that IA reduction was influenced by contextual priming rather than as a result of the 'jacket-group'.

To further understand the significant relationship between IA and PSP a bivariate Pearson's r correlation was performed. There was a significant negative correlation between PSP levels and IA, (r = -.26, N = 83, p = .009 one-tailed) with a small to medium effect size reported and correlation of 6.8% of the variation explained. Therefore, although relatively small priming participants to context and garment related traits reduced interview anxiety.

6.4.7.4.3. Interview Appearance-anxiety (IAA)

6.4.7.4.3.1. Data Preparation and Analysis – IAA

IAA met assumptions of normal distribution, reporting a non-significant K-S D (83) = .97, p = .090. with no outliers observed from boxplots. Skewness and Kurtosis are reported in Appendix 35. PSP also met assumptions (See section 6.4.7.1.1.) Levene's test of equality of error variance was not significant F (5, 77) = 1.09, p = .372, and homogeneity of variance was assumed. Further assumptions of homogeneity of regression, linearity did meet assumptions.

A between-subjects analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) was employed to examine the effect of 'jacket-group' 3 (jacket-group: no-jacket (NJ), see-jacket (SJ), wear-jacket (WJ)) x 2 (emotional stability (ES): low ES (LES), high ES (HES)) on interview appearance-anxiety (IAA) with priming levels (PSP) entered as covariates.

6.4.7.4.3.2. Results – IAA

Means of data demonstrated IAA for NJ group (M = 15.73, SE = .91), SJ (M = 15.89, SE = .88) and WJ (M = 15.92, SE .93) reporting the highest IAA for participants wearing a BSJ which was not anticipated. As was expected IAA was higher for trait anxious participants, lower in emotional stability LES (M = 16.42, SE = .75) and HES (M = 15.28, SE = .73). When 'jacket-group and ES was considered together the outcome of means are given in table 6, reporting that the lowest interview appearance anxiety was seen in low anxious participants (HES) wearing a BSJ.

Table 6. Data represent mean of interview appearance-anxiety (IAA) levels, between 'jacket-group' (no-jacket, see-jacket, wear-jacket) and emotional stability groupings (low ES (LES), high ES (HES) and standard deviations in parentheses.

Interview appearance- anxiety (IAA)	LES M (SD)	HES M (SD)
No-jacket	16.18 (5.75)	15.35 (4.37)
See-jacket	16.67 (4.48)	15.21 (4.26)
Wear-jacket	16.50 (4.28)	15.17 (5.28)

To address Hypothesis 5 data was subject to ANCOVA, PSP were entered as covariate and demonstrated that their effect on IAA was not significant F(1, 76) = .99, p = .321, $\eta_p^2 = .013$. The main effect for between-subjects variable 'jacket-group' on IAA when PSP levels were partialled out were also not significant, F(2, 76) = .01, p = .991, $\eta_p^2 = .001$, neither was ES F(1, 76) = 1.18, p = .280, $\eta_p^2 = .02$. The interaction between 'jacket-group' and ES was not significant F(2, 76) = .04, p = .965, $\eta_p^2 = .001$. Hypothesis 5 could not therefore be supported. Appearance anxiety did not appear to be contingent upon whether participants wore a BSJ or not and little difference between mean IAA levels were shown (see table 6), although ES was not significant for IAA, when differentiating means, IAA levels demonstrated differences as was expected.

6.4.7.5. Does Wearing a BSJ Positively Affect State Anxiety (SRA)?

6.4.7.5.1. Analysis and Data Preparation

Assumption of normality for PSP was met (see 6.4.7.1.1.). SRA data was not normally distributed reporting K-S as significant, D (83) = .29, p = .001, Skewness and Kurtosis are reported in Appendix 35. Boxplots revealed several outliers, the scale contained 5 levels and all values were indications of participants' responses. However, in line with the discussion in 6.5.6. analysis was continued without transformation or adjusting (Winsorizing) values or data. Levene's test of equality of error variance was not significant F (5, 77) = .600, p = .70 homogeneity of variance therefore met assumptions, as did linearity.

A between-subjects analysis of variance (ANOVA) was performed to test differences between 'jacket-group', 3 (jacket-group: no-jacket (NJ), see-jacket (SJ), wear-jacket (WJ)) x 2 (emotional stability (ES): low ES (LES), high ES (HES)) on dependant variable self-report anxiety (SRA).

6.4.7.5.1. Results of Analysis

Mean levels of SRA for 'jacket-group' exhibited means of: NJ (M = 2.06, SE = .15), SJ (M = 1.93, SE = .15) and WJ (M = 2.24, SE = .16) as expected participants lower in ES also showed higher state anxiety (SRA). Mean levels of ES for LES (M = 2.17, SE .13) and HES (M = 1.99, SE .12). Means of data reports that participants wearing a BSJ have higher SRA than other 'jacket-groups'. However, participants wearing a BSJ, high in trait anxiety (LES) reported greater SRA than other 'jacket-groups', whereas HES participants wearing a BSJ reported the lowest SRA, (See figure 3).

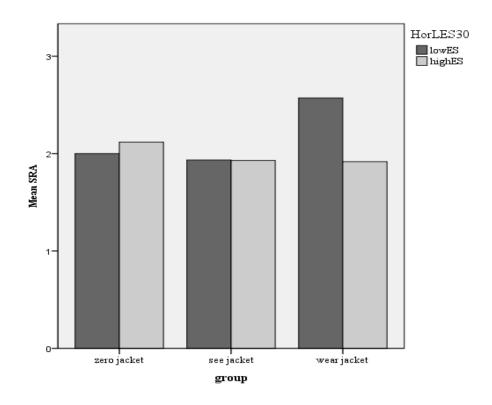


Figure 3. Mean SRA levels (Y axis) by 'jacket-group' (x axis) and emotional stability grouping (ES) (LES dark grey, HES light grey).

To test the effect of 'jacket-group' and ES grouping on SRA levels ANOVA was employed. The main effect for between-subject factor 'jacket-group' on SRA levels was also not significant F(2, 77) = 1.080, p = .345, $\eta_{p^2} = .027$, the between-subjects factor of ES was also not significant, F(1, 77) = 1.065, p = .305, $\eta_{p^2} = .014$. The interaction between 'jacket-group' and ES was also not significant F(2, 77) = 1.134, p = .169, $\eta_{p^2} = .045$. Hypothesis 6 was not therefore supported, neither wearing a BSJ or being lower in trait anxiety had (HES) had a significant effect on SRA levels as was anticipated.

6.4.7.6. Does Wearing a BSJ Affect Mood?

6.4.7.6.1. Data Preparation and Analysis

Assumptions of normality were met for PSP see (6.4.7.1.1.), the variable NA did not meet assumptions of normality and reported a K-S D (83) = .17, p = .001, visual inspection of the histogram demonstrated positive skewness, Skewness and Kurtosis are reported in Appendix 35, some extreme outliers were apparent in boxplots. Having considered options (See discussion 6.5.1.) the analysis continued using ANOVA. Levene's Test of Equality of Error Variances was not significant F (5, 77) = 1.37, p = .244, assumption for homogeneity of variance was therefore met.

A between-subjects analysis of variance (ANOVA) was employed to test for group differences in 'jacket-group' 3 (jacket-group: no-jacket (NJ), see-jacket (SJ), wear-jacket (WJ)) x 2 (emotional stability (ES): low ES (LES), high ES (HES)) on dependant variable negative affect (NA).

6.4.7.6.2. Results of Analysis

Means for ES reported that participants low in emotional stability LES (trait anxious) reported more NA than HES participants: LES (M = 16.003, SE = .708), HES (M = 14.279, SE = .683). Participants having no contact with a BSJ, reported NA levels of, NJ (M = 14.337, SE = .858), seeing a BSJ SJ (M = 15.086, SE = 13.444) and wearing a BSJ, WJ (M = 16.000, SE = .873), reporting that wearing a BSJ increases negative mood. Mean scores of 'jacket-group' and ES are presented in table 7.

Table 7. Data presented as mean negative affect (NA) by 'jacket-group' (no-jacket, see-jacket, wear-jacket) and emotional stability (ES) grouping (low, high) and standard deviations are shown in parentheses.

Negative affect NA	LES M (SD)	$\operatorname{HES} M(SD)$
No-jacket	14.91 (4.43)	13.76 (4.27)
See-jacket	15.60 (5.54)	14.57 (3.29)
Wear-jacket	17.50 (4.62)	14.50 (4.03)

In order to respond to hypothesis 7, ANOVA tested for group differences in 'jacket-group' and ES. The main effect for 'jacket-group' on NA was not significant F(2, 77) = .93, p = .401, $\eta_{p^2} = .02$ and the main effect for ES was also not significant reporting; F(1, 77) = 3.07, p = .084, $\eta_{p^2} = .04$. The interaction between 'jacket-group' and ES reported a no-significant result F(2, 77) = .41, p = .663, $\eta_{p^2} = .01$. The results therefore do not support prediction 6, as WJ in 'jacket-group' and HES in ES were not significant for NA, wearing a jacket had not affect neither did being lower in trait anxiety affect mood significantly.

6.4.7.7. Pulse-rate Measures of Physiological Arousal

6.4.7.7.1. 'Test Anxiety' (CAT)

6.4.7.7.1.1. Data Preparation and Analyses

Pulse-rate means did not meet assumptions of normal distribution reporting K-S: PRCAT D (67) = .14, p = .002, Skewness and Kurtosis are presented in Appendix 35. Some outliers were apparent in boxplots however, in view of the delicacy of the PR measure (See discussion in 6.4.7.1.1.) that was used that was sensitive to extreme change and the distortion of data that removal of values can cause (Field 2016:198) and discussion in 6.4.6, analysis was continued. Levene's Test of Equality of Error Variances report a non-significant result F (5, 64) = 1.74, p = .139, assumption of homogeneity of variance was met.

To test differences in 'jacket-group' and ES for PR during the CAT task a between-subjects analysis of variance (ANOVA) was employed; 3 (jacket-group: no jacket (NJ), see jacket (SJ), wear jacket (WJ)) x 2 (emotional stability (ES): low ES (LES), high ES (HES)) on dependant variable PRCAT.

6.4.7.7.1.2. Results of Analysis

Mean differences between 'jacket-group' demonstrated; NJ (M = 88.09, SE = 2.27), SJ (M = 87.88, SE = 2.15) and WJ (M = 88.61, SE = 2.37), therefore the highest PR during CAT task was seen in participants wearing a BSJ. Emotional stability levels showed; LES (M = 87.45, SE = 1.87) and HES (M = 88.94, SE = 1.93) showing higher PR levels for low trait anxiety participants. 'Jacket-group' differentiated by ES levels are shown in table 8.

Table 8. Data presented as mean pulse-rate during CAT (PRCAT) by 'jacket-group' (nojacket, see-jacket, wear-jacket) and emotional stability (ES) grouping (low, high) and standard deviations are shown in parentheses.

Pulse-rate during CAT (PRCAT)	LES M (SD)	HES M (SD)
No-jacket	89.18 (6.95)	87.01 (11.36)
See-jacket	87.58 (11.83)	88.18 (15.36)
Wear-jacket	85.60 (7.20)	91.63 (5.74)

To test difference in 'jacket-group' and ES groups to address hypothesis 8 ANOVA was employed, reporting that the main affect for 'jacket-group' was not significant for PRCAT, F (2, 64) = .023, p = .97, η_p^2 = .01, neither was ES groups F (1, 64) = .32, p = .57, η_p^2 = .01. The interaction between 'jacket-group' and ES were not significant F (2, 64) = .80, p = .45, η_p^2 = .02. Therefore hypothesis 8 was not supported, BSJ wearers and HES participants did not significantly affect pulse-rates during CAT.

Leven's Test of Equality of Error Variance was not significant for any of the five PR 'stage.' Box's Test of Equality of Covariance Matrices was significant (p = .001) therefore homogeneity of covariance assumption was violated therefore a more conservative coefficient of Pillai's Trace was reported. Mauchley's test of Sphericity for the within-subjects factor 'NAtime' was significant (see full discussion in 6.5.6).

6.4.7.7.2. 'Interview Anxiety' – Pulse Rate

6.4.7.7.2.1. Data Preparation and Analysis

Pulse-rate means did not meet assumptions of normal distribution reporting K-S: PRINT D (67) = .12, p = .020, Skewness and Kurtosis are reported in Appendix 35. Some outliers were apparent in boxplots, these were not removed, and the analysis continued (see discussion in 6.4.7.6.1.1).

To test differences in 'jacket-group' and ES grouping on pulse-rate during the interview analysis of variance (ANOVA) was employed 3 (jacket-group: no-jacket (NJ), see-jacket (SJ), wear-jacket (WJ)) x 2 (emotional stability (ES): low ES (LES), high ES (HES)) on dependant variable PRINT.

6.4.7.7.2.2. Results of Analysis

Means levels of PR for LES participants reported (M = 87.45, SE = 1.87) and HES (M = 88.94, SE = 1.83) showing higher pulse-rates in lower trait anxiety participants. Group difference between 'jacket-group' reported NJ (M = 88.09, SE = 2.27), SJ (M = 87.87, SE = 2.15) and WJ (M = 88.61, SE = 2.37) illustrating higher pulse-rate levels for participants wearing a BSJ. 'jacket-group by ES grouping are displayed in table 9.

Table 9. Data presented as mean pulse-rate during interview (PRINT) by 'jacket-group' (no jacket, see jacket, wear jacket) and emotional stability (ES) grouping (low, high) and standard deviations are shown in parentheses.

Pulse-rate during Interview (PRINT)	LES M (SD)	HES M (SD)
No-jacket	93.08 (3.76)	93.22 (3.01)
See-jacket	91.32 (3.13)	91.35 (3.25)
Wear-jacket	89.14 (3.25)	93.47 (3.76)

To address Hypothesis 9, and test whether BSJ wearers were significantly different from other 'jacket-group' ANOVA was applied to data, reporting that the main effect for 'jacket-group', contrary to prediction, was not significant F(2, 63) = .19, p = .82, $\eta_{p^2} = .01$. The main effect for ES grouping was also not significant F(1, 63) = .29, p = .59, $\eta_{p^2} = .01$ and the interaction between ES and 'jacket-group' was also not significant F(2, 63) = .26, p = .78, $\eta_{p^2} = .01$. The prediction was not supported, as the 'jacket-group' nor emotional stability grouping significantly affected pulse-rates during the face-to-face interview stage.

6.4.7.7.3. Arousal across the 'Interview Simulation'

6.4.7.7.3.1. Data Preparation and Analysis

Pulse-rate means did not meet assumptions of normal distribution reporting K-S: PRBASE D (67) = .13, p = .007, PRPRE D (67) = .11, p = .052, PRCAT D (67) = .14, p = .002, PRINT D (67) = .12, p = .020, PRPOST D (67) = .16, p = .001. Skewness and Kurtosis are presented in Appendix 35. Some outliers were apparent from inspection of boxplots (PRPRE, PRCAT, PRINT, PRPOST), (See discussion in 6.4.7.1.1.) Mixed analysis of variance (ANOVA) was continued to be used to analysis data. Assumption for homogeneity of variance was met for initial PRBASE ANOVA reporting Levene's Test for Equality of Error Variances F (68) = 1.49, p = .23.

To assess for differences within the sample grouping an analysis of variance (ANOVA) was performed on between-subjects factor 'jacket-group' (jacket-group: no-jacket (NJ), see-jacket (SJ), wear-jacket (WJ)) on pulse-rates at baseline (PRBASE)

6.4.7.7.3.2. Results of Analyses

The initial ANOVA checked for differences in 'jacket-group' at baseline to ensure no differences in arousal levels were present prior to analysis. Data reported NJ (M = 90.42, SE = 2.49), SJ (M = 90.14, SE = 2.44) and WJ (M = 88.58, SE = 2.60).

The main effect for 'jacket-group' was not significant F(2, 71) = .15, p = .86, $\eta_{p^2} = .01$. Demonstrating no significant differences were present in sample group at baseline.

The total mean differences between each 'stage' of the interview simulation (PRBASE, PRPRE, PRCAT, PRINT, PRPOST) exhibited means for 'jacket-group' reporting: NJ (M = 17.27, SE = 3.44), SJ (M = 18.53, SE = 3.23), WJ (M = 17.35, SE = 3.49) showing greater levels of variation in PR for participants seeing a BSJ.

Table 10. Data presented as means pulse-rate levels and difference (mean total) between each 'stage' (for brevity purposes the standard deviations (SD) are not shown in table (see table 11)

Pulse-rate 'stage'	No-jacket				See-jacket				Wear-jacket			
- Stage	LowES	+/ -	HighES	+/-	LowES	+/-	HighES	+/-	LowES	+/-	HighES	+/-
PRBASE	92.20		91.47		87.66		90.56		85.99		91.44	
PRPRE	91.62	-0.06	91.74	+0.27	87.54	-0.12	89.92	-0.64	88.64	+2.65	90.32	-1.12
PRCAT	89.18	-2.44	89.78	-1.96	86.02	-1.52	88.17	-1.75	85.60	-3.04	91.63	+1.31
PRINT	93.08	+3.90	93.20	+3.42	90.50	+4.48	91.35	+3.18	89.14	+3.54	93.47	+1.84
PRPOST	93.36	+0.28	92.06	-1.14	78.53	-11.97	90.15	-1.20	86.39	-2.75	88.50	-4.97
PRdiffTOTAL		6.68		6.79		18.09		6.77		11.98		9.24

The main effect for 'jacket-group' on PRdiffTOTAL was not significant F(2, 61) = .05, p = .96, $p\eta^2 = .001$, neither was the main effect for ES grouping F(1, 61) = .01, p = .99, $\eta_p^2 = .00$ and the interaction between 'jacket-group' and ES on PRdiffTOTAL was not significant F(2, 61) = 1.46, p = .24, $\eta_p^2 = .05$. These results were therefore unable to provide support to the Hypothesis 10, that there would be less variation in PR shown in BSJ wearers. Furthermore, ES grouping did not affect PR variation as had been expected.

Table 11. Data presented as mean pulse-rate (PR) at five 'stages': PR baseline (PRBASE), PR pre-interview questionnaires (PRPRE), PR cognitive aptitude test (PRCAT), PR interview (PRINT) and PR post-interview questionnaire (PRPOST), standard deviation shown in parentheses.

		Zero-				See-				Wear-		
Pulse-rate 'stage'	LowES M (SD)	jacket	HighES M (SD)		LowES M (SD)	jacket	HighES M (SD)		LowES M (SD)	jacket	HighES M (SD)	
PRBASE	92.20	(8.69)	91.47	(15.80)	87.66	(12.56)	90.56	(11.72)	85.99	(7.60)	91.44	(10.57)
PRPRE	91.62	(8.32)	91.74	(13.73)	87.54	(12.03)	89.92	(12.06)	88.64	(7.66)	90.32	(6.33)
PRCAT	89.18	(6.95)	89.78	(14.12)	86.02	(10.88)	88.17	(10.42)	85.60	(7.20)	91.63	(5.74)
PRINT	93.08	(12.92)	93.20	(15.03)	90.50	(12.63)	91.35	(11.62)	89.14	(6.07)	93.47	(4.16)
PRPOST	93.36	(11.24)	92.06	(13.92)	78.53	(26.61)	90.15	(13.06)	86.39	(9.38)	88.50	(7.72)

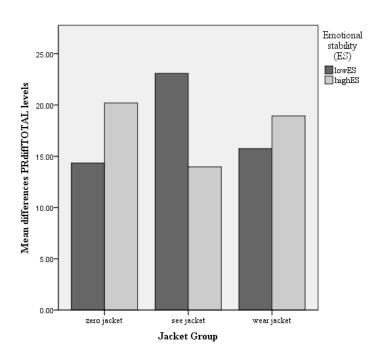


Figure 4. Mean PR difference levels (regardless of direction (+/-) between each stage of the 'Interview experience' differentiated by emotional stability (ES) grouping and 'jacket-group'

6.4.8. Discussion

One of the aims of the present study (Study 2) was to test the predictions of enclothed cognition theory with an alternative symbolic garment, a business-suit. Development of the enclothed cognition model to a business-suit had been supported by literature discussed in chapters 1 – 4. This literature had offered a persuasive argument that a business-suit is as equally symbolic as a doctor's white coat. Additionally, further mechanisms other than those proposed by enclothed cognition theory may explain the impact of symbolic clothing on wearers' behaviours. Further evidence presented in earlier chapters of this thesis (1 – 4), also illustrated that additional beneficial behaviours and emotions, some of which are unconscious, are associated to a business-suit and affects the wearing experience, therefore these also required consideration (Kang et al. 2013; Lü and Chen 2013). In order to increase understanding of clothing's impact on enclothed cognition, and behaviour in general, the current chapter (6) introduced several measures that tested literature's findings and the results intended to further the knowledge surrounding how clothing effects wearers' behaviour. This was operationalised through testing participants wearing a business-suit jacket (BSJ) (Hoefer et al. 2016; Kwon 1991, 1992; Kwon and Parnham 1994; Lightstone et al. 2011; Lü and Chen et al. 2013).

The initial prediction (Hypothesis 1, Section 6.3.1), directly examined the effect of 'jacket-group' on an enclothed cognition behaviour, a cognitive aptitude task (CAT) (Section 6.4.7.1.2.). The results offered partial support to extending an enclothed cognition model to an alternative garment but was not able to fully support the hypothesis. The prediction had anticipated that BSJ wearers would report a significant increase in CAT performance, although there was a significant difference reported between 'jacket-groups', a difference between seeing and wearing a BSJ was not demonstrated, whilst, a significant difference between having no contact with a BSJ and wearing one was. The results suggest that both enclothed cognition and material priming effects explain CAT performance (Adam and Galinsky 2012; Kay et al. 2004). This was congruent with some of Adam and Galinsky's (2012) results in their original studies, reporting that being in the proximity of a symbolic garment also has a positive effect on enclothed behaviour.

Furthermore, what was also noteworthy was the data in the present study demonstrated a linear relationship between each 'jacket-group', which was similar to Adam and Galinsky's (2012:922, Study 3) findings. Although, their study had been able to differentiate the effect of enclothed cognition from material priming, (seeing a garment from wearing one) the present study could not. However, within the initial analysis (6.4.7.1.2.) it was reported that as

proximity to the garment increased, (for example, no jacket contact, to seeing a jacket 2.5 metres away, to wearing one) so did mean CAT scores. This was important to consider from the perspective of having incorporated an interview simulation experience within Study 2, as any priming effects from the interview context and/or seeing the BSJ may have had more of an influence than had been anticipated.

The present results suggested that this may have been the case, material/contextual priming was responsible for increased garment-related task performance (CAT), and whether this came from proximity to the garment or the context was unclear. Furthermore, participants who had no contact with a BSJ did record a significantly lower level of CAT scores from participants wearing a BSJ, which may support enclothed cognition behaviour being apparent, but not discrete from priming from other sources (e.g. seeing a BSJ). Study 2 in the present thesis ensured that the material-priming 'prime' of being in the presence of a BSJ ('see-jacket' group) retained consistency in terms of proximity and time-exposure throughout the study (see Section 6.4.3.2.). Unlike Adam and Galinsky's (2012) study, who had inconsistent proximity and time duration for participants to a symbolic garment. Therefore, from this, the present study can dismiss confounds such as proximity and temporal duration irregularities

The element of explicit priming was insisted by Adam and Galinsky (2012) as essential within their enclothed cognition model. Although primes' 'value' was questioned in alternative literature presented in Chapter 1 – 6, the present study included 'explicit' priming to assess priming's effect on enclothed cognition behaviour (CAT task) and fully test the model's prediction. Prime levels (PSP ratings) had been incorporated as a covariate in an analysis (see 6.4.7.1.1.) in order for differences between 'jacket-group' without the prime to also be evaluated; results illustrated that prime levels had no significant effect on CAT scores.

Furthermore, in line with the present study's intentions and hypotheses, the analysis (see 6.4.7.2.2.) was followed by a correlational analysis which reported a non-significant relationship between priming participants to garment-related traits and their subsequent CAT performance (Hypothesis 2). This was accepted as indicating 'conscious' priming had reduced value within the present study and questioned priming's value within an enclothed cognition model. The results also offered support to alternative studies such as Slepian et al. (2015) who had not incorporated an explicit prime. Furthermore, as priming is inherent in the enclothed cognition theory, the present study's results did not therefore offer support to the theory.

However, contrary to the original study (Adam and Galinsky 2012) the extent of participants' 'explicit' or conscious prime was assessed, and as previously reported professional self-perceptions (PSP) did not significantly influence or relate to CAT scores. However, a noteworthy point from observing mean levels of PSP, was that BSJ wearers reported the highest levels, as they did for CAT scores. This observation was cautiously interpreted as indicating that some effect came from wearing a BSJ and the interview context, and subsequently cued trait perceptions (PSP) (Hannover and Kühnen 2002). This was viewed as demonstrating that wearing a BSJ achieved 'embodied' plus 'contextual' (interview) trait cues (primes), (recorded via PSP levels) and these were reflected in higher CAT scores compared to participants in the 'see-jacket' group. Seeing a BSJ gained more BSJ cues (material priming), plus contextual cues (interview) that affected CAT scores, compared to having no contact with a BSJ. This last group in which participants had no contact with a BSJ gained trait information or cues, from the context alone, which was also reflected in lower CAT scores. This suggests increased cues came from both wearing a BSJ and context, and combined, reflected in CAT performance.

The incorporation of various anxiety measures within Study 2 was designed to assess both state and trait anxiety's effect on behaviours. Furthermore, Hypothesis 3 (Section 7.3.1.) tested trait-anxiety's effect on cognitive task performance (CAT), which was predicted to negatively impact scores. However, emotional stability grouping, (whether participants were lower or higher in trait anxiety) did not affect their CAT performance as had been predicted. This result countered research such as Cassady and Johnson's (2002; Matthews et al. 2010) which suggested that cognitive or testing task performance would be affected. However, what was observed from the data was that although 'wear-jacket' group had reported the highest mean CAT levels, when differentiated by lower versus higher emotional stability, the highest CAT scores overall were seen in low emotional stability participants (trait-anxious) wearing a BSJ.

An explanation that supported this result proposed that trait-anxious participants (LES) focused on the task (CAT) whilst embodying the positive attributes of wearing a BSJ (Guinote 2007), processing stimuli 'concretely' (Van Stockum and DeCaro 2014). For instance, adopting 'concrete' processing suggests a more 'narrow' and 'focused' way of integrating stimuli, which is associated with trait-anxious individuals (Cassady and Johnson 2002). Furthermore, 'concrete' processing of test stimuli may have been beneficial to the trait-anxious group of participants as they are prone to being focus-oriented and directed towards attaining more immediate gains, this may have facilitated them in focusing upon the CAT task and not attending to alternative distractions (Matthews 1990; Trope and Lieberman 2010).

Further elements of anxiety such as 'worry' and 'vigilance' are also prevalent in individuals predisposed to low emotional stability, with increase often being shown in stressful situations and when arousal is heightened. This may have further aided their CAT performance, in the somewhat anxiety-inducing situation of an interview by reaching an optimal level of arousal (Cassady and Johnson 2002; Matthews 1990). Wearing a BSJ may have also provided sensory perceptual input from its inherent physical qualities (weight, structure) and affected the wearer through 'embodied' rather than an 'enclothed' experience (Carney et al. 2010; Hoefer et al. 2016; Lü and Chen. 2013). Although this group (LES wearing a BSJ) reported the second highest PSP levels across all groups, behind high emotional stability BSJ wearers. The source of these perceptions can therefore, be assumed to be derived by explicit priming.

Incorporating a specific contextual component of an interview simulation was intended to add ecological validity to the study and apply a symbolic garment to a (simulated) 'real-life' setting. This approach was novel and had not previously been included in studies, but had however, been argued to be a confound to some results when it was not considered (Adam and Galinsky 2012; Slepian et al. 2015; Womack 2016). In addition to examining the source of cues and offering an 'applied' context, Study 2 intended to assess behaviours particular to this situation. For instance, interview-anxiety (IA) was measured to test the effect of a BSJ upon levels and address Hypothesis 4 (Section 7.3.1.). It had been anticipated that participants in the 'wear-jacket' group, with higher ES and higher priming levels would each contribute to easing interview-anxiety. The results did not support this however, reporting that 'wear-jacket' group had no significant effect on reducing interview-anxiety.

Traits linked to wearing a BSJ (self-confidence, intelligence, professionalism), were expected to assist in cueing wearers to these attributes and be reflected in participants subsequent behaviours e.g. reduced interview-anxiety. Assessment of the effect of priming participants to what were 'garment' and 'contextual' traits, appeared to have had an effect. PSP levels had a significant effect on reducing interview-anxiety (IA) levels, indicating that priming was contextual and garment-related, yet interview-anxiety levels were not affected by wearing a BSJ, suggesting therefore that the primes had more influence as context-related rather than garment-related. Results reported that the lowest interview-anxiety was seen in the 'no-jacket' group in which participants had no contact with a BSJ. This further suggests that not all cues have a positive effect. Additionally, the interview-anxiety measure (MASI) offered a 'multidimensional' scale that measured several dimensions of interview-anxiety, therefore for PSP levels to positively affect this model to reduce interview-anxiety, this demonstrated that PSP were context related and not purely garment-related (McCarthy and Goffin 2004).

When trait-anxiety (ES) levels were considered alongside interview-anxiety (IA) and priming (PSP), ES was also shown to be significantly related to interview-anxiety. This was expected, due to trait-anxious individuals being more likely to experience anxiety in stressful situations (Barlow 2002; Cassady and Johnson 2002). However, McCarthy and Goffin (2004) had proposed that in developing the interview-anxiety scale (MASI), that not all trait-anxious individuals experienced anxiety in all situations, as indeed had the originators of the anxiety model (Endler 1987; Endler and Kocovski 2002). However, Huffcutt et al. (2011) argued that interview-anxiety should be considered a stable construct, impervious to change and related to a predisposition to anxiety. The results supported this argument, with higher interview-anxiety levels reported in higher trait-anxious participants.

Observation of the mean levels of interview-anxiety by 'jacket-group', illustrated that the highest interview-anxiety was reported in the 'wear-jacket' group followed by 'see-jacket' and lowest as 'no-jacket' group (see table 5). These were however, contrary to evidence proposing interview-anxiety and trait-anxiety were stable constructs and impervious to modification (Barlow 2002; Huffcutt et al. 2011). Yet, whilst the 'wear-jacket' group had the highest interview-anxiety levels, when they were differentiated by ES grouping, the highest overall interview-anxiety was seen in trait-anxious participants (LES) and lowest means for IA were seen in BSJ wearers low in trait-anxiety (see table 5). This was accepted as indicating that wearing a BSJ resulted in positive outcomes for low trait-anxious, but negatively valenced for higher trait-anxious participants. This was noteworthy from the point of view that without considering emotional stability results reported that wearing a BSJ was detrimental to participants' experience of interview anxiety. However, as with other measures that have been examined within Study 2 in this thesis, it appeared that individual differences in anxiety is relevant to how BSJ wearers subsequently behave.

Furthermore, in view of these results and change in IA levels due to influences such as context, BSJ and ES groups, the explanation posited by Endler et al. (1991; McCarthy and Goffin 2004) for an Interactional theory of personality incorporated in the interview-anxiety model, appears to support behaviours in Study 2, as 'multidimensional'. Yet, differences are contingent on both wearing a BSJ and emotional stability levels. Although it was highlighted that there was not a significant difference reported for BSJ wearers (between 'wear-jacket' group) and was merely an observation of the data, the extremes between lower and higher emotional stability levels is not apparent in alternative jacket-groups (seeing a BSJ or having no contact with one), which suggests that embodying a BSJ was a catalyst to changing behaviour.

The previous proposal that contextual and garment-related priming were responsible for reduced interview-anxiety levels, needed to consider the BSJ's involvement, as the difference in means levels of interview-anxiety could be interpreted as wearers' ability to access relevant trait knowledge (Hannover and Kühnen 2002) or unconscious garment attributes (Hoefer et al. 2016; Chinen et al. 2013), resulting from how wearers interpreted these mental representations and how it effects subsequent behaviours (Matthews, Panganiban and Hudlicka 2011). Anxiety theorists proposed that participants predisposed to anxiety interpret stimuli negatively, such that interview-related stimulus would be perceived as 'threatening', compared to low trait-anxious participants who interpret the same information as 'challenging' (Matthews et al. 2011).

Previously, the explanation for the combination of 'wear-jacket' group and emotional stability grouping's positive effect on CAT scores was proposed as being due to anxious participants being 'vigilant' and focusing on the cognitive task thereby adopting a 'concrete' processing style (Trope and Lieberman 2010), this does not fully explain their effect on IA however. Selective attention and focused processing of positive information achieved from the context may have combined with inherent benefits derived from wearing a BSJ for more trait-anxious participants, conversely low trait-anxious BSJ wearers may perceive positive effects from wearing a BSJ and the context less selectively, which may have explained their lower CAT scores which could be due to being distracted by a greater amount of 'unfiltered' stimuli (Beck and Clark 1997; Lü and Chen 2013; Trope and Lieberman 2010). This less selective approach to the interview context may have resulted in reduced interview-anxiety, as this is a broader multi-dimensional construct that incorporates several dimensions of interview-anxiety. Therefore, adopting a more 'abstract' approach may have encompassed these dimensions. Furthermore, the previous proposal that cues from the context and the garment may have an accumulative effect on whatever is being measured, therefore illustrates that this is detrimental to interview-anxiety. The accumulation of cues (BSJ and context) resulted in greater anxiety being experienced.

Appearance-anxiety, a sub-scale of interview-anxiety was also isolated for examination due to the manipulation in Study 2 being appearance-related. Clothing's direct impact upon individuals' sense of identity and feelings of situational congruence (Adomaitis and Johnson 2005; Kang et al. 2010; Twigg 2007), particularly within an interview (Carney et al. 2010; McCarthy and Goffin 2004). Therefore, this necessitated testing as to how anxious participants felt about their appearance within an interview simulation and whether a BSJ influenced this. The results were however, unable to support Hypothesis 5 (Section 6.3.1) which had

anticipated that priming participants to garment-related traits (PSP) would help reduce interview appearance-anxiety. As such, participants had been expected to feel situation-congruent, embody professional traits, and be bolstered by feelings of 'confidence' and 'professionalism' thus reducing appearance anxiety as their identity would be context congruent. The results did not support this premise, illustrating that neither PSP levels or wearing or seeing a BSJ had any significant effect on interview appearance-anxiety levels.

Furthermore, whereas interview-anxiety was significantly influenced by trait-anxiety (emotional stability) differences, interview appearance-anxiety was not. This result was noteworthy when considering McCarthy and Goffin's (2004) proposition regarding interview-anxiety. The authors had argued that interview-anxiety is a trait-anxiety that is situation-specific, as such, not all participants would experience each dimension of interview-anxiety to the same extent. Additionally, wearing a BSJ is a 'state' influence, and therefore has little impact on 'trait constructs', such as overall interview-anxiety which Huffcutt et al. (2011) regarded as stable within the interview-anxiety model. It had been however, relevant to assess the effect of wearing a BSJ in this context, on a context-related state-anxiety.

There had also been an expectation that negative reactions from participants who had been given a garment of clothing to wear that was not their own would be apparent. Disliking, or the effects of having to wear ill-fitting clothing was expected to have been apparent in the results, with for instance, greater appearance-anxiety being shown when emotional stability was low. The results reported firstly, that 'jacket-group' was not significant, and observation of the data showed the highest overall Interview appearance-anxiety was in low emotional stability participants seeing a BSJ (see table 6). Most dimensions of anxiety were anticipated to show a relationship with trait-anxiety (Barlow 2002), therefore to observe low emotional stability participants (trait-anxious) was not unexpected, however the increase in appearance anxiety in the 'see-jacket' group may be explained by this group being cued to related 'interview' practises such as the expectation of wearing appropriate clothing and realising that they were not (Adomaitis and Johnson 2005) which was reflected in their anxiety about their appearance.

Examination of participants' 'state' anxiety was also examined to fully assess emotions argued to be affected by wearing a BSJ and expected to be heightened within the interview process. However, regardless of an individual's trait-anxiety, their reaction to a contextual stimulus is not always consistent, but subjective (Endler and Kocovski 2001; McCarthy and Goffin 2004). Furthermore, 'priming' (PSP), was predicted to access positive garment-associated schemas

and trait perceptions that aid reduction of 'state' anxiety (Kwon 1991; Hannover and Kühnen 2002). Yet, for these representations to be accessed effectively, individuals should not be distracted by intrusive thoughts, experience negative bias towards stimuli (MacLeod and Mathews 2002; Mathews et al. 2011), or experience anxiety-induced cognitive deficits which are associated with trait-anxiety (Eysenck and Calvo 1992; Owens et al. 2014).

Components including wearing a BSJ, professional self-perceptions (PSP) and low traitanxiety were predicted to reduce 'state' anxiety. However, this was not shown in the results, with no significant effect being reported for 'jacket-group' or trait-anxiety grouping (low, high) or professional self-perception levels (PSP) on state-anxiety levels (SRA). Therefore, this did not support an extension of 'enclothed behaviour' or the direct effect of wearing a BSJ to demonstrate that state anxiety was reduced. However, the trend that was observed in previous analyses presented in this chapter was also observed in state-anxiety levels (SRA). When anxiety levels were differentiated by emotional stability and 'jacket-group', wearing a BSJ appeared to have influenced state-anxiety levels for low emotional stability (trait-anxious) participants, there SRA levels being the highest. This result was tentatively interpreted as a further demonstration of a pattern, that although 'jacket-group' was not significant for stateanxiety levels, neither was emotional stability grouping. However, the interplay between wearing a BSJ and ES grouping affected wearers' reporting of anxiety (SRA). For instance, mean levels of state-anxiety (SRA) for BSJ wearers low in trait-anxiety (HES) were similar to other low trait-anxious participants in other 'jacket-groups' therefore, it was further proposed that BSJs had a negative effect on trait-anxious participants experience of anxiety. However, the prediction for SRA (Hypothesis 6, Section 6.3.1) was not supported - 'jacket-group' did not positively affect state-anxiety as expected, neither did priming. This result therefore could not extend enclothed cognition theory to incorporate symbolic clothing's positive effect on state anxiety.

Concurrent with the previously reported positive effects on state-anxiety and negative mood (NA) of wearing a BSJ (Kwon 1994; Kang et al. 2013; Lightstone et al. 2011), the effect of negative mood within an interview context was examined. Evidence in chapters 1-3 of the present thesis offered a convincing argument that wearing a BSJ and low trait-anxiety levels would positively affect interviewees' negative mood (Barlow 2002). This resulted in a prediction that wearing a BSJ would help reduce negative mood (see Section 6.3.1) (King and Vickery 2013; Kwon 1991). However, this was not supported by the results of Study 2, in the present thesis (Hypothesis 7, Section 6.3.1.). The results showed that there was no significant difference in 'jacket-group' or emotional stability grouping on negative affect (NA) levels. The

data illustrated that when considering solely 'jacket-group's effect NA, levels of NA increased along with participants' proximity to the BSJ. This observation was also partially supported when NA levels, BSJ and emotional stability grouping was considered (see table 7) with the lowest NA being reported in high emotional stability participants with no contact with a BSJ ('no-jacket' group). Low emotional stability participants also increased in NA as they increased proximity to a BSJ. These results were therefore not able to support adding NA reduction to an enclothed cognition model. Neither did support from previous literature findings that had argued for mood-enhancing behaviours associated to wearing a BSJ. However, previous reports of reduced NA and negative mood for business-suit wearers had been derived from self-report methods and were assessed alongside wearers' perceptions of reduced mood and the perceived benefits of wearing business-suits (King and Vickery 2013; Kwon 1991). Although participants in the present study (study 2) were 'self-reporting' NA, the effect of the 'jacket-group' as an antecedent to mood was directly tested.

A noteworthy point regarding the results was the way the BSJ was given to participants. A third of participants were randomly assigned a BSJ to wear, they could refuse, but none did. However, participants had no relationship with the jacket, in other words the BSJ may have been accepted as simply being an artefact, or a condition of the study that they believed was required of them, rather than a planned and consciously worn item of clothing that they liked, identified with or that they believed they would gain psychological comfort from (Kwon 1991). Peluchette et al. (2006) proposed that when there is dissonance between the clothing individuals want to wear, and what they are required to wear, then 'appearance labour' causes both mental and physical effort. This may have been demonstrated in the BSJ's failure to alleviate negative mood.

Several measures of anxiety were incorporated into Study 2 in order to gauge several experiences of anxiety, state, trait and contextual (interview- anxiety). Whilst pulse-rate (PR) measures offered an indication of physiological arousal, regardless of participants' reported anxiety levels. Hypothesis 8 (Section 6.3.1.) had anticipated that participants wearing a BSJ would exhibit lower pulse-rates during the cognitive aptitude task (CAT). Due to cognitive tests often inducing anxiety, resulting in 'poor' test performance (Cassady and Johnson 2002; Smith et al. 2007) embodying the positive attributes of the BSJ were predicted to alleviate some tension. However, 'jacket-group' had no significant effect on pulse-rate levels during the CAT test, neither did emotional stability grouping. Again, when these two factors were considered jointly (and viewed cautiously), the pattern that had been previously observed was consistent. Mean levels of participants pulse-rate when differentiated by 'jacket-group' and emotional

stability grouping (lower/higher), illustrated the lowest PR during the CAT task was seen in trait-anxious participants wearing a BSJ, whilst the highest pulse-rate during the CAT (PRCAT) was seen in BSJ wearers low in trait anxiety (HES) (see table 8). The results for trait-anxious participants showing the lowest pulse-rate was not anticipated but was congruent with this group exhibiting the highest CAT performance. Therefore, the proposition that their attention focused on performing the CAT task appears to have been reflected in their pulse-rate levels and higher CAT levels.

A further prediction (Hypothesis 9, Section 6.3.1.) had been that the interview stage of the simulation would induce anxiety and physiological arousal in participants (Huffcutt et al. 2011; McCarthy and Goffin 2004), but this would be reduced for BSJ wearers low in trait-anxiety (HES). This was not supported, and similar to arousal during CAT task, reported pulse-rates were lowest for low emotional stability participants (trait-anxious) wearing a BSJ and the highest arousal was seen in BSJ wearers, high in emotional stability, therefore low trait-anxious (see table 9). These mean pulse-rates were also not as had been expected and were contrary to evidence that had been previously provided (Beck and Clark 1997; Cassady and Johnson 2002; Huffcutt et al. 2011). However previous research had not considered the effects of symbolic clothing within their studies. Instead, anxiety, interview situations and business-suits had been examined more self-report methods, rather than unconscious ones (Endler et al. 1991; Huffcutt et al. 2011; McCarthy and Goffin 2004). Instead, the results only offer a 'suggestion' that something about wearing the BSJ affected wearers' unconscious arousal.

Hypothesis 10 (Section 6.3.1.) had hypothesised that pulse-rates across all stages of the interview simulation would show the least variation for participants in 'wear-jacket' group, high in emotional stability (HES). However, contrary to Hypothesis 10, results showed that neither 'jacket-group' nor emotional stability grouping had any significant influence on pulse-rate variation across the interview simulation. Therefore, the hypothesis was not supported by the results. Further observation of the means demonstrated that pulse-rate variation was least for participants who had no contact with a BSJ ('no-jacket' group) and low in emotional stability (trait-anxious), whilst the greatest variation was seen in pulse-rate variation levels in 'see-jacket' participants low in emotional stability (trait-anxious) (see table 10).

The results reporting the reduced pulse-rate for trait-anxious participants (LES) wearing a BSJ during what was expected to the most anxiety-inducing stages of the interview experience, the CAT task and face-to-face interview, this was further explained by surmising that this group had adopted a concrete processing style as previously proposed. This was argued to have

resulted in trait-anxious participants (LES) who were embodying the benefits of a BSJ, were able to focus on tasks and filter stimuli that could have preoccupied them. Instead this processing style allowed them to remain un-distracted from the various cues that the context and garment provided (Slepian et al. 2015). Conversely low trait-anxious participants wearing a BSJ adopted an 'abstract' processing style which Slepian et al. (2015) had proposed was related to wearing a BSJ had allowed an unfiltered, un-focused 'global' processing of stimuli to take place (Trope and Lieberman 2010). Slepian et al. (2015) had not however considered individual differences in trait-anxiety, which in the present study appeared to have had an effect on how the accumulation of sensory and contextual cues affected participants.

Additionally, Cassady and Johnson (2002:291) had proposed that reaching an optimum level of 'anxious physiological arousal' aids cognitive test performance. If, however, physiological arousal is too high, the experience becomes distracting, too low and individuals fail to recognise and adapt to the perceived challenge that manifests from their arousal (Schwarzer 1986 cited in Cassady and Johnson 2002:291). This may explain the results within the present analyses, decreased PR for high trait-anxious participants wearing a BSJ corresponding with this group recording the highest CAT performance.

The results for overall stability of pulse-rates across the interview simulation did not support the prediction that wearing a BSJ would moderate pulse-rate levels. Neither 'jacket-group' nor emotional stability grouping was significant for pulse-rate variation across all stages of the interview simulation. However, the greatest variation in pulse-rate was seen in trait-anxious participants in 'see-jacket' group, whilst the smallest variation was shown in low trait-anxious participants wearing a BSJ. This result suggests that when the influence on pulse-rate levels were derived from primes gained from the environment (seeing a BSJ), rather than wearing one. Anxious participants may have viewed themselves (their clothing) as being incongruent with what is expected in the situation, this group of participants had also reported the greatest interview appearance-anxiety, which also appears to have been reflected in their pulse-rate variation level (Adomaitis and Johnson 2005; Berger 2008). Furthermore, the BSJ had been constant throughout the interview simulation, therefore as Berger et al. (2008) had argued, individuals behave in a particular way in a particular context, therefore seeing a BSJ may have cued observers to primes of relevant traits within their current context, yet being predisposed to worry, vigilance and concrete thinking processes. The cue of seeing a BSJ may not have been as beneficial as embodying one.

A noteworthy point however, was that whilst participants low in trait-anxiety (HES) were wearing a BSJ their high pulse-rate was contrary to what they had reported in measures of interview-anxiety and self-report anxiety (state-anxiety). The results were interpreted as demonstrating that although participants perceived and reported lower levels of anxiety, this was not consistent with what their 'body' and their arousal levels were reporting. This had previously been shown in similar, although not identical paradigms (Hoefer et al. 2016; Lü and Chen et al. 2013) and was somewhat consistent with the observed trend reported throughout the results of Study 2 presented in this thesis. Trait-anxiety had a greater influence upon behaviour when in conjunction with wearing a symbolic garment (BSJ) than had been anticipated. Unconscious effects of the BSJ were observed when trait-anxiety levels were considered; this had not previously been considered within enclothed cognition theory. The observation of these two factors and their combined effects, suggests that individual differences may have to be considered in 'enclothed behaviours' as the effects of wearing symbolic garments are multi-dimensional.

6.4.9. Limitations

There were several issues that became apparent whilst undertaking study 2 in the present thesis, and after its completion. One problem that had the greatest impact on results was the relatively low number of participants, resulting in underpowered analyses. This was arguably due to the ambition of the study to incorporate an interview simulation, requiring participants to be interviewed by a researcher. Not only did this procedure require a `ltime commitment from interviewers (associate researchers), with each study taking approximately 45 minutes, it was also proposed that the study was perceived as somewhat daunting by participants. The initial sign-up rate had been consistent and clear information was provided to participants stating the requirements of the study, however, the 'dropout' rate was high, and rather than the intended and 'ideal' number of a minimum of one hundred and forty-six participants (G power estimate - a small effect size), this became eighty-three participants who actually participated. In order to replicate this study, further incentives may be required to attract more participants, for instance, offering some form of 'interview-performance' analysis or feedback, or the interview simulation's inclusion alongside coursework assignments.

A further problem was experienced when recording participants' pulse-rate throughout the study using the finger-pulse oximeter. Clear instructions were given to participants regarding

how they should take 'some care' when wearing the devise to ensure good connectivity and recording. However, the vulnerability of the instrument resulted in twelve data sets being unusable due to distortions or 'non-readings'. The instrument had been argued to be the most appropriate for what was intended, as no part of the study involved excessive movement, however, due to the loss of data, its incorporation in future studies requires careful consideration when planning to assess arousal.

A formatting problem with one of the questionnaires resulted in some reduced data (Emotional stability scale - Goldberg's (1992) IPIP Big-Five Factor Markers), participants only responded to thirty out of fifty questions. However, useful information was still attained from the thirty responses due to the scale and the construct being open to reduction (Gosling et al. 2003; Rammstedt and John 2007). The full discussion offered in section 6.4.4.1.1. of the present thesis, addressed this issue and offered robust support for the use of a reduced version of the scale that retained its psychometric properties.

The state-anxiety scale was constructed with consideration for the number of responses available and the wording provided. The full discussion in section 6.4.4.4. had provided robust evidence to support its design and utilisation within Study 2 of this thesis. However, the information gained from the scale was not as informative as anticipated, with many responses being directed towards one response ('2'). This gave limited information as to participants' accurate self-report state-anxiety levels. However, in order to address this problem directly and continue with a state-anxiety measure in Study 3 in this thesis, the scale was changed to a more sensitive means of measuring anxiety, a visual analogue scale of anxiety (see full description and discussion in 7.4.3.2.).

Study 2 had employed a between-subjects methodology to examine the effect of the manipulation upon various variables. This had been chosen after careful consideration of the negative outcomes of such an approach when designing experimental models. As mentioned previously, the analyses were underpowered due to poor participant numbers; this may have been reduced in a within-subjects design. However, this could not have been assured, as a commitment to attend each manipulation of the 'jacket-group' would entail participants undertaking three, forty-five-minute studies in which on each occasion they would be required to undertake a face-to-face interview. 'Drop-out' rates might be equally high, requiring participants to attend on three consecutive occasions was expected to see poor sign-up rates and potentially high participant drop-out rates.

Furthermore, one of the main principals behind incorporating the interview simulation within Study 2, was to include an arguably 'authentic' situation in which spontaneous reactions would be induced by the event (Huffcutt et al. 2011; McCarthy and Goffin 2004). Within a repeated measures methodology, spontaneous responses to i.e. anxiety and mood was expected to be veiled by a familiarity with the protocol. Additionally, the only manipulation was the 'jacket-group', which may have been easily recognised as the purpose of the study and could affect responses. Consideration of the benefits of a repeated-measures design were made, however the benefits of for example, reduced individual differences, equivalent samples sizes and lessening possible confounds were outweighed by eliminating behaviours such as practise effects and retaining the novelty of the study and avoiding an increased chance of participant 'drop-out'. Additionally, Adam and Galinsky (2012) had successfully incorporated a between-subjects design in their studies, as had Womack (2016) and López-Pérez et al. (2016) enclothed cognition studies and it had been the intention of Study 2 to follow their paradigms as closely as possible.

Screening participants prior to taking part in the study could have identified highly anxious participants whose behaviour may have influenced the results of some analyses. Pre-screening however, would have been contrary to the intention behind the study, which had been to gain authentic and spontaneous reactions within this context. Therefore, the use of the trait-anxiety measure (discussed above) enabled the subsequent consideration of its influence to be made.

6.4.10. Chapter Summary

Throughout the current chapter, exploration and experimentation with variables argued to contribute to clothing behaviours, were undertaken. The hypotheses given in Section 6.3.1. were addressed in this chapter, initially attempting to test the prediction of enclothed cognition theory to an alternative garment, a business-suit jacket (BSJ). Further objectives included gaining understanding of the effects of wearing this 'everyday' symbolic garment on emotions and behaviours and attempting to ascertain which aspects of the garment assisted in behavioural changes.

Although several predictions were not supported, the results indicated some effects of this symbolic garment on behaviours. Wearing a BSJ did increase cognitive task performance levels (CAT), but so did seeing a BSJ, therefore embodying a symbolic garment was not significantly different from material priming effects (kay et al. 2004). Additionally, the value of the explicit

prime (rating garment-associated traits, PSP) was not directly evidenced, as was the alternative suspected source (wearing a BSJ). Priming appeared to be derived from 'embodying' a BSJ, seeing a BSJ and the context, with an accumulative effect. Furthermore, context played a more important role within this study than was anticipated. Incorporating a context (interview simulation) was viewed as successful for the purpose that it had been intended for; to induce interview-anxiety and subsequently measure this and other constructs of anxiety and add an applied and authentic setting to the study. By incorporating an interview context this enabled the multidimensional measure of interview-anxiety to be explored, resulting in some support for an interactional model of anxiety that had been argued to relate to this specific situation (McCarthy and Goffin 2004). However, interview-anxiety levels were not significantly affected by wearing the BSJ when considered alongside emotional stability levels as had been expected. The interview anxiety model was presented as a multidimensional measure of this specific anxiety (McCarthy and Goffin 2004). The inclusion and focus upon the BSJ may have overlooked effects such as interview performance that may have been affected by wearing the garment rather than 'reported' interview-anxiety dimensions that therefore did not fully represent the dynamism of this interactional process (Goffman 1959).

Context, as well as the garment's 'proximity', appeared to prime participants and effect subsequent behaviours, and it was proposed that their affect was accumulative. For example, as the sources or 'cues' increased (contest alone (contextual priming), context plus seeing a BSJ (material priming), context plus embodying a BSJ (enclothed priming)) participant's predisposition to trait-anxiety then affected how these cues were processed, 'abstractly' or 'concretely' (Trope and Lieberman 2010). This proposition also supported previous literature evidence for these styles of processing to be related to wearing formal clothing, arguing that these cognitive functions are a direct outcome of formal clothing and their link to social distance behaviours (Slepian et al. 2015).

A further observation of the results showed that explicit priming (via PSP ratings) did not significantly affect measures as was predicted by the enclothed cognition model, except for interview-anxiety levels. This offered support to studies that had not included 'explicit' primes and therefore did not support Adam and Galinsky's (2012) assertion that primes' inclusion was required. Had the authors 'explicitly' included a garment-related context (as opposed to 'incidentally' carrying out their study in a laboratory setting, wearing a laboratory-orientated garment), as the present study had, (interview simulation, BSJ) then the emphasis on the 'explicit' prime may have been shown to hold less value. The present study demonstrated that 'explicit' priming did not influence behaviour whilst contextual priming effected behaviour.

An observation apparent in Study 2, was that having incorporated an interview simulation context, that whilst the context was congruent with a BSJ and anxiety measures specific to this situation were assessed, concurrently, the context may have veiled the effect of the BSJ on other behaviours. The ability of a BSJ to reduce negative mood and state-anxiety was not evidenced and could not therefore contribute to the literature that had previously been based on 'perceptions' of changed mood and anxiety levels; a causal link between wearing BSJ on reducing behaviours was not demonstrated. The interview simulation may have heightened emotions that may otherwise have been seen to be affected by wearing a BSJ. Furthermore, this may have been influenced by the clothing not being the chosen items of the participants instead being mere props.

The results did demonstrate some noteworthy relationships, including an observed pattern throughout the data when emotional stability grouping and wearing a BSJ were jointly considered. This observation was viewed and interpreted with great caution as it was not supported by significant results, however, the combination of lower or higher emotional stability regularly exhibited the lowest/highest levels of means for most variables for BSJ wearers only. The observed trend did however, provide tentative support to the proposition that the BSJ had unconscious effects on wearers that was both positively and negatively valanced.

Furthermore, physiological arousal levels shown through participants' pulse-rates were incongruent with reported anxiety levels for some participants. In particular, high trait-anxious participants (LES) who were anticipated to experience anxiety (Barlow 2002; Carney et al. 2002) demonstrated that when wearing a BSJ they consistently exhibited the lowest pulse-rates through most stages of the interview simulation. Conversely, the opposite was evident for low trait-anxious participants (HES) who had been expected to demonstrate consistent and lower physiological arousal (Barlow 2002; Carney et al. 2002). The results showed that participants' physiological reaction to stimulus (cognitive aptitude task, face-to-face interview and wearing a BSJ) were contrary to their predisposition to anxiety and their reporting of their anxiety. The direct and more intrinsic prime of the BSJ was therefore argued to have had a greater influence on behaviours than previously proposed and expressed through previously unexplored responses (Adam and Galinsky 2012). However, these were not significant results and based only upon an observed pattern, interpretation is therefore tentative.

Study 3 in the following chapter did not incorporate a contextual variable for the pre-mentioned reasons. Furthermore, priming was apparent from the context, which enabled a proposition to be addressed that inclusion of a context within the enclothed cognition model was required to

fully understand the effects of symbolic clothing on behaviour (Womack 2016). However, from the results presented in Study 2, inclusion of a context within embodied cognition requires assessment of emotional behaviours associated to the context to be included, but not to the symbolic garment. Therefore, having incorporated enclothed cognition within the framework of Study 2, and proposing that it did not require expanding to assess further behaviours, an alternative explanation for the effects of the BSJ that were 'inferred' from the pattern in the data was for an 'enclothed behaviour' model. 'Enclothed behaviour', therefore encompasses behaviours beyond, but not discrete from enclothed cognition, but offers a more inclusive model that does consider the multidimensional facets of wearing symbolic clothing, such as context and context-related behaviour and embodying a symbolic garment. This model requires additional investigation in order to attempt to further 'unpack' elements of wearing a BSJ and define the model more comprehensively. Therefore Study 3's aims had been to examine a supporting theory to enclothed cognition theory, 'embodied cognition' and its relevance to wearing clothing. In so doing the effect of the physical and inherent properties of a BSJ and its abilities to access and cue schematic knowledge was assessed.

Adam and Galinsky's (2012) incorporation of embodied cognition theory (Barsalou 1999) within their enclothed cognition model, emphasised that priming participants to the symbolism of a garment had an influential role within the model. Their model stressed that items of clothing carry the symbolic meaning, rather than the physical experience of wearing the garment (López-Pérez et al. 2016). However, Study 2 did not provide full support to Adam and Galinsky's (2012) theory regarding the relevance of the prime within it. It was therefore, proposed from the results in Study 2 that wearing a symbolic garment did enhance enclothed behaviours, but these were not dependent on explicit garment-related priming to convey the symbolism to the wearer. Alternatively, primes or cues came from the BSJ and context. However, further effects were proposed to have come directly from wearing a BSJ, arguably due to its inherent qualities, including structure, haptic and sensory inputs which affect subsequent emotions and behaviours and access to schematic knowledge (Hannover and Kühnen 2002). What was also reported in the discussion was the relevance of trait-anxiety to affect behaviours, therefore, by eliminating a context both the expression of anxiety (contextrelated) should be reduced and the effect of the BSJ and not contextual primes should be demonstrated.

Therefore, in order to further explore the effects of wearing a BSJ, Study 3 compared embodied cognition properties against enclothed cognition ones. Through testing the various variables in Study 2 for the effects of the BSJ upon them, it was surmised that some behaviours were

affected by unconscious and sensory stimuli provided by the BSJ. This then affected the expression of behaviours and emotions via the stimuli's amalgamation with existing knowledge, expectations and concepts (Hannover and Kühnen 2002; Kang et al. 2013; Passer and Smith 2007). Therefore, the focus of Study 3 in Chapter 7 of the present thesis, was directed towards examining inherent qualities of a BSJ and attempting to discover how the garment's presence on the body might affect behaviour. The effect of unconscious, sensory perceptions due to the garment's structure, weight, or its manipulation of the body will be evaluated (Bell, Cardello and Schutz 2003). The following chapter examined effects of wearing a BSJ on behaviours compared to adopting a posture which 'mimicked' the physical manipulation of wearing a BSJ.

6.4.11. Reflection

Study 2 incorporated a number of variables for the effect of a BSJ upon them. This was potentially an ambitious design that often has associated problems. For example, incorporating several anxiety measures arguably left the analyses subject to confounds (e.g. diminished and underpowered results). However, with these considerations in mind, what had been crucial to the examination of the BSJ, was that elements argued to be affected by the garment, were actually included for testing. This included, interview-anxiety as a composite of sub-dimensions, state and trait-anxiety and physiological arousal as a proxy for somatic (unconscious) anxiety expression. Furthermore, to not include any one of these measures would have failed to question and evidence the arguably inclusive and multi-dimensional effect of this garment on wearers. What was exposed through its testing via these several variables was that the effect of the garment was diverse and not a solitary construct, but one that affected, and was affected by individual difference, contexts and perceptions, therefore the multiple variables incorporated into Study 2 was justified and would add to the literature that had previously taken a more parsimonious approach to assessing symbolic garments.

Chapter 7. Enclothed versus Embodied Cognition

7.1. Chapter overview

The present chapter incorporated evidence what was garnered from the literature discussed in Chapters 1 - 6 and the results from Study 2 (Chapter 6), in order to examine further 'enclothed behaviours', a model proposed as explaining the multi-dimensional effects of wearing symbolic clothing. In particular, concordant with the robust evidence from 'physical' power-priming literature (Carney et al. 2010; 2015; Cuddy et al. 2015; Latu et al. 2017; Rennung et al. 2016; Yap et al. 2013), Study 3 presented in this chapter sought to examine the effects of priming participants with either a BSJ or a power-posture, prior to undertaking measures designed to assess priming's effects upon behaviours.

For example, as previously discussed (Chapter 4 and 6), reduced anxiety and negative mood are both subject to 'positive' physical and psychological adoption of power, and although not supported by significant results in Study 2, robust literature evidence regarding wearing a BSJ also supports these finding (Carney et al. 2013; Kwon 1994a; Slepian et al. 2015). Understanding of further effects of wearing a BSJ on behaviour and emotion will therefore be gained.

7.2. Introduction

The large body of evidence that was evaluated within Chapter 4 of the present thesis offered robust support for the effect of embodying 'power' on behavioural and emotional changes (Carney et al. 2010, 2012; Huang et al. 2010; Yap et al. 2014). In addition, these behaviours and perceptions that accompanied them, were argued to be identical to those achieved by wearing a BSJ. For instance, within the recent advance in enclothed cognition studies, various precise cognitive processes were identified as being directly affected by clothing; increased abstract processing due to wearing 'formal' clothing (Slepian et al. 2015). This was subsequently offered as an explanation for a result in Study 2; trait-anxious participants adopted a 'concrete' as opposed to 'abstract' cognitive processing style to interpret stimuli (Bell et al. 2005; Trope and Lieberman 2010). A further result reported in recent enclothed cognition research argued that 'perceived power' accompanied behaviours related to symbolic clothing, (i.e. increased social distance) (Slepian et al. 2015). The relevance of this link is explained by returning to the literature surrounding social distance that had been introduced in Chapter 4 and was linked to wearing business-suits and adopting powerful stances (Magee and Galinsky

2008; Stephan and Lieberman 2010) and perceived power (Magee and Smith 2013) with each construct being related. Furthermore, individuals adopting some form of 'power perspective' (thinking embodying or enacting power) or wearing a BSJ (enclothed power) were both argued to positively affect emotions and behaviours, (Carney et al. 2010; Nair et al. 2014).

The outcome of the previous evaluation of the literature in Chapter 4 concluded that overlaps in the benefits and attributes prevalent in power-posturing or wearing a BSJ provides a basis to directly compare them for their effect on behaviours. Embodied cognition was discussed (Chapter 4) illustrating the mind/body interplay, whilst various behaviours and reactions due to wearing a BSJ that had been shown in Study 2 (Chapter 6), included subliminal behavioural reactions. The results were proposed as demonstrating that a BSJ acts as an unconscious physical medium that physically manipulates wearers and instils them with garment-related attributes in a similar way that the more explicit act of adopting a physical power perspective does (Carney et al. 2010, 2015).

Furthermore, the strong association between symbolic clothing and cognitive processes was also evidenced in contemporary literature that has appeared since the commencement of this thesis and has been evaluated in a previous chapter (Chapter 4) (Slepian et al. 2015; Van Stockum and DeCaro 2014; Womack 2016). This literature has shown the complex, and as yet, not fully understood phenomena of enclothed cognition. Whilst, a somewhat novel topic, 'power posture' literature evidence had also begun to emerge (Carney et al. 2010; 2015; Cuddy et al. 2015; Latu et al. 2017; Magee and Smith 2013; Rennung, Blum and Göritz 2016). From evaluating this body of literature various behaviours became apparent, and an association between wearing a business-suit and social distance behaviours, social distance behaviour and resultant increased power perceptions, which in turn were linked to embodying power via clothing, was recognised (Carney et al. 2010; Cuddy et al. 2015; Magee and Smith 2013; Matthew and Matlock 2011; Stephan and Liberman 2010). It is therefore proposed, that by examining elements of these cyclical associations this would assist in identifying qualities of a BSJ further. A direct comparison between wearing a BSJ and postured-power would identify effects inherent within the physical qualities of a BSJ's such as its structure that can be considered as opposed to psychological effects, of wearing the garment.

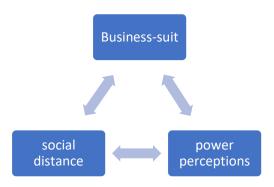


Figure 5. Inter-relationship between business-suit, social distance behaviour and power perceptions.

The present study directly examined whether priming participants via wearing a BSJ would result in different effects on emotions and behaviours compared to priming participants with a power-posture. The effects of both primes had previously been shown to achieve similar outcomes but had not been directly compared (Carney et al. 2010; King and Vickery 2013; Nair et al. 2014). Furthermore, in order to examine how information is utilised to inform behaviours, access to mental representations required assessment. For instance, wearing a BSJ was argued to ease access to garment-related schematic information (Hannover and Kühnen 2002), yet whether this is the same for power postured individuals' access to relevant information is not known. Prior literature had shown that power postures directly affects access to schematic behavioural knowledge (power, confidence, stereotypes) yet whether this is as readily attained is as information gained form wearing a BSJ is not known (Cuddy et al. 2005; Galinsky et al. 2003). The BSJ is believed to offer sensory perceptions as well embodied perceptions, which a power-posture, also receives, therefore, the outcome is anticipated to illustrate that wearing a BSJ may be a more effective means of accessing mental representation of relevant trait knowledge.

Hannover and Kühnen (2002) had adopted a response latency adjective task to examine the effectivity of retrieving schematic information related to wearing 'formal clothing'. The authors proposed that cognitive processes access schematic garment-related knowledge due to what individuals wear. This was evidenced in levels of participants correct and rapid responding to garment-related adjectives (Hannover and Kühnen 2002). This form of response task enables access to subliminal, and often 'faint' stimuli presented below the threshold of consciousness. If, however the stimulus is sufficiently strong or is presented enough times it transitions into consciousness (Rouder and Morey 2009). Therefore, Study 3 attempted to

explore participants' response to presented adjectives which were related to both the garment and posture-power, as an indication of unconscious access to relevant schematic knowledge.

There are differing methods of carrying out response latency tasks, with differing rationales. However, the method adopted was to present one block of adjectives to participants rather than several blocks. This was in order to follow Hannover and Kühnen's (2002) paradigm, whilst also avoiding 'subliminal priming' which can result from the reaction task acting as a further prime (Bargh, Chen and Burrows 1996). For example, repeated presentation of adjectives can prime participants to subsequent adjective-associated behaviours, rather than merely gaining subliminal adjective-associations, which was the intention (Bargh, Chen and Burrows 1996).

Furthermore, interpretation of the detection rate (DR) and reaction time (RT) allows access to interactions that are multisensory, such as perception and sensations (Rach, Diederich and Colonius 2010). Studying the results of both RT and DR is often more appropriate when stimuli might be weak or when it is only presented once, such as in the present study (Rach, Diederich and Colonius 2010). Therefore, Study 3's incorporation of a 'Me/Not-me' (response latency task) will interpret RT and DR as participants' capacity to process appropriate information after the 'prime' as an indication of the prime's ability to influence subliminal perceptions and behaviours (Rach et al. 2010).

However, a speed-accuracy trade-off (SAT) was predicted, with either one being sacrificed by the other (Heitz 2014). However, rather than incorporate a sequential sampling methodology (Luce, 1986) for the reasons mentioned previously, both RT and DR were reported. Incorporating a response latency task within the present study (Study 3) will also fill a gap in the literature that has not directly compared the effect of priming participants with a BSJ compared to a power-posture on response latencies. Whilst priming participants with a BSJ was expected to subsequently report greater detection rates (DR) due to faster access to schematic information and a 'holistic wearing experience', power-posture primed participants were expected to report greater reaction times due to their physical empowerment (action and goal orientation) (Galinsky et al. 2003; Huang et al. 2011).

In addition to the effects from power-posture and BSJ's influence on cognitive processing anxiety levels are also affected (Nair et al. 2014; Carney et al. 2010, 2015). Therefore, in order to capture any change in anxiety post-prime a more sensitive measure of state-anxiety was required than the one used in Study 2. Visual analogue scales (VAS) are effective in capturing constructs such as pain levels, opinions and beliefs, in many contexts (Knapp 2013) and rather than use (as previously discussed in Section 6.4.9.) Likert scales which had been used in Study

2 and uses lexical descriptors of subjective experiences, they were proposed (discussion 6.4.4.4.) as being effective in capturing some phenomena, however they did not appear to fully capture the emotional constructs of state anxiety (Zeally and Aitken 1969 cited in McCormack, Horne and Sheather 1988), therefore, a VAS for state anxiety was incorporated into Study 3.

The examination of state anxiety and power-postures had previously been examined through hormone levels (Carney et al. 2010) and wearing a BSJ on self-report methods (McCarthy and Goffin 2014; Kwon 1994). Therefore, not only will it be novel to compare two conditions (wearing a BSJ and power posture) on anxiety levels, which has not previously been attempted. Also, the incorporation of a measure pre and post prime offered information regarding the effect of priming as an antecedent to changes in anxiety levels.

Positive effects on emotion associated with both wearing a BSJ and power postures (Frith and Gleeson 2008; Kang et al. 2013; Moody et al. 2010; Nair et al. 2014) has not been explored in a comparison study previously. Therefore, examining whether one 'prime' (BSJ versus posture) is superior to the other in terms of negative mood and anxiety-reduction fills a current gap in the literature. Study 3 aimed to examine whether inherent qualities associated to a BSJ and/or a power-posture were embodied or enclothed (respectively) which are demonstrated through easier access to associated mental representations presented as posture/garment related adjectives. This enables further understanding of enclothed behaviour to be gained through similarities or difference achieved from comparing enclothed versus embodied states.

7.3. Research Hypotheses

The aims in the present research were derived from literature presented in this thesis, the following hypotheses will be tested:

- Hol It is predicted that there will be a significantly higher detection rate (DR) for congruent adjectives for participants primed with a BSJ compared to participants primed with a power posture or no prime.
- Ho2.1 It is predicted that there will be a significantly lower reaction time (RT) to congruent adjectives for power-postured primed participants compared those primed with a BSJ or receiving no-prime.
- Ho2.2 Differences in emotional stability (ES) grouping (lower versus higher) will affect reaction times for all prime-groups.
- Ho3 State anxiety levels are predicted to show significantly less increase from pre to post-prime for the jacket-prime group compared to power-prime or no-prime groups.
- Ho4 Change in anxiety levels from pre to post-prime will be significantly affected by both 'prime-group' and emotional stability grouping (trait-anxiety), however its direction is unclear.
- Mood levels of participants post-prime are predicted to be lower in the jacketprime group compared to power-prime or no-prime groups. Mood levels will also be differentiated by trait anxiety grouping (low versus high).

7.4. Methodology - Study 3

7.4.1. Design

A repeated measures design was employed with independent variable (IV) 'prime-group' with three (randomly assigned) levels (no-prime (NP), power-prime (PP), jacket-prime (JP)) and

DV - x 2 trait-anxiety, emotional stability (ES) with two levels low ES (LES), high ES (HES) (Measured on the first occasion only).

DV - x 2 trait adjectives with two levels: correct trait words: congruent (CON), incongruent (INCON)

DV - x 2 reaction time (RT) with two levels: RT to congruent words (RTCON), RT to incongruent words (RTINCON)

Within-subjects dependent variable (DV) measured at two time-points: pre -prime and post-prime

DV - x 2 Visual analogue scale anxiety level 'change' (VAStime) with two levels VAS pre-prime (VAS1), VAS post-prime (VAS2)

DV - x 2 negative affect scale NA level change (NAtime): NA pre-prime (NA1), NA post-prime (NA2)

7.4.2. Participants and Remunerations and Ethics

Participants comprised Psychology students from Coventry University N = 30 (females = 21, males = 8, gender neutral = 1, age M = 23.32, SD = 5.64, age range 18 - 39 year). Participants were recruited from the Coventry University Psychology faculty's research website SONA-systems. Participants received course credits in partial fulfilment of course requirements. Credits were granted after participants had taken part in the third of three sessions. Participants' signed consent was attained prior to their commencement. Coventry University Ethics Committee approved the study and the study complied with BPS guideline (2016) (Appendix 3).

7.4.3. Measures

7.4.3.1. IPIP Big-five personality Factor Markers – Goldberg (1992)

(See Section 6.4.4. for full description)

The problem reported in Study 2 (see Section 6.4.4.1.1.) was pre-empted for study 3 and all questions were subsequently formatted onto one side of an A4 printed page (see appendix 15). Although it had become apparent that a short version was available, it was deemed appropriate to continue with the larger 50-item scale for consistency, also in consideration of the construct of ES being the only trait being considered in Study 2 and 3.

7.4.3.2. Visual Analogue scale of Anxiety (VAS)

Study 3 required a more sensitive and effective measure of state anxiety than had been recorded in Study 2 in order to capture levels at pre and post-prime and assess these for changes in anxiety levels. Therefore, a visual analogue scale (VAS) was incorporated to assess participants' current state-anxiety levels at two time-points in order to assess the change in anxiety levels.

The VAS was presented to participants on a 13.3inch laptop computer screen, (D053sa, running Windows 10.1) with anxiety rated on a 100mm length scale, centred in the centre of the screen, white font (size 42) on black ground, resolution 1920 x 1080 @ 60Hz. The scale ranged from 0mm ('not at all' – left hand side) to 100mm ('extremely' – right hand side). Participants followed on-screen instructions: "Using the mouse, please click on the line to indicate how anxious you are feeling right now" 0 = not at all, 100 = extremely". (Appendix 29).

7.4.3.3. PANAS – SF (Positive and Negative Affect Scale – Short Form)

The PANAS scale in Study 3 was changed to the PANAS-SF in order to offer participants a 'briefer' measure 'pre' and 'post' prime, therefore, the PANAS-SF was deemed appropriate. Furthermore, due to the prime being a three-minute posture, and a lack of confirmatory evidence to indicate how long a prime last (Pinder, Beale, Vermeulen and Hendley 2015). Extensive questionnaire completions may have diffused any effect of the prime, therefore a shortened version of the scale was appropriate for use.

The shortened version of the scale was argued to have good convergent and discriminant properties and retained a Cronbach's coefficient of .92. (Watson et al. 1988:1067). The measure includes ten adjectives of 'general dimension – negative affect: *afraid, scared, nervous, jittery, irritable, hostile, guilty, ashamed, upset and distressed.* (Watson et al. 1988). Participants were instructed to respond to the statement 'Indicate to what extent you feel this **right now**', scoring each adjective on a scale; I = 'very slightly - not at all', 2 = 'a little', 3 'moderately', 4 = 'quite a bit', 5 = 'extremely'. (Appendix 27).

7.4.3.4. 'Me/not-me task' – Response latency Reaction to Trait Adjectives Task

An 'OpenSesame' 'jazzyjames' (3.1.6. version) was used to programme a Me/Not-Me computer task. The task has been used within similar clothing-based paradigms to examine schematic-knowledge access (Hannover and Kühnen 2002). The task requires participants to react as quickly as possible to an adjective when presented on the computer screen and press a computer keyboard 'M' (me) or 'X' (not me), depending on whether they felt the word related to them or not. Presented information (adjectives) are processed and transformed to inform a decision-making process that informs subsequent choice-making behaviour (Me or Not-me response) (Heitz 2014). Adjectives were sourced from the professional self-perception scale (PSP) (Peluchette and Karl 2007) incorporated in Study 2 and was incorporated into Study 3 Due to the overlap of adjectives representative of traits symbolic of both BSJ and psychological and physical constructs of power (Briñol et al. 2009; Carney et al. 2010, 2015; Cuddy et al. 2015; Karl et al. 2013; Peluchette and Karl 2007).

In following a similar protocol to Hannover and Kühnen (2002) to generate garment related words. However, antonyms were gained from the first three words generated from the original trait word from an online thesaurus (Oxford Dictionary 2017). Antonyms were subsequently coded by five research confederates for: clarity, common usage, lack of ambiguity and word length. The words resulting from confederates' appraisals were incorporated into the computer task along with the original sixteen, resulting in a thirty-two-adjective list (Appendix 28).

Participants were required to follow the onscreen instructions: 'A word will appear on the screen, please indicate as quickly as possible if you feel the word relates to you 'right now'.

Press the 'm' key if the word relates to you, press the 'x' key if the word does NOT relate to

you. Press ANY key twice to start the trial' (See Appendix 29 for images). Adjectives were presented in random order at 100 milliseconds after a response.

7.4.3.5. Posture Manipulation

The repeated-measures design incorporated in Study 3 required all participants to undertake all three prime groups. Primes were randomly ordered using a Latin square technique (Tang 2009). As no evidence has been offered to confirm any 'wash-out' period for physical priming effects an approximately one-week period divided each subsequent prime for any effects to be diffused. Two prime groups were incorporated into Study 3. (power-prime (PP) and jacket-prime (JP)) and a control group (no-prime (NP)).

The control group (NP) participants were verbally instructed to stand with their hands by their sides and 'maintain a comfortable position' until directed to stop. The 'hands by sides' instruction for JP and NP primes was implemented to avoid incidental posturing that may introduce a confounding alternative prime.

The power-prime group (PP) participants were verbally instructed to adopt a physical posture, requiring them to rest their hands on their hips and position their legs shoulder-width apart following the protocol of Carney et al. (2010) (Appendix 30) and 'maintain a comfortable position'. Additionally, it was anticipated participants would pay less attention to the pose if it is less awkward, or novel (Briñol et al. 2009).

In the jacket-prime (JP) group participants were given a business-suit jacket (BSJ) to wear (see BSJ details in 6.4.3.1., Appendix 12). Jacket-primed participants were verbally requested to stand with their hands by their sides and 'maintain a comfortable position'. All participants were requested to hold the position for a timed three-minute period, Participants stood on a mark of the floor in order to ensure a consistent distance from the computer screen.

In the JP group participants' sizes had been visually estimated, and an appropriately sized and gendered jacket given to participants (NB for the gender-neutral participant a 'male' style jacket was offered as it was congruent with participants' current style of clothing and was accepted).

No definitive prime duration had been offered in the literature or any strong reasoning for the duration of primes given, therefore it was decided to take an average and practical time length of three-minutes from the studies discussed previously.

7.4.4. Materials and Equipment

7.4.4.1. The Business Suit Jackets

All jackets used in this study complied with the previously discussed design criteria and were the same as used in Study 2 (Description in section 6.4.3.1., Appendix 12).

7.4.4.2. Computer tasks

All tasks and their instructions were presented on a 13" HP Envy (Model - 7265NGW) 'laptop' computer. The computer was placed on a desk directly in front of where participant's chair was placed and a floor mark (line) on which they stood for the prime. The computer's QWERTY keyboard (front edge) was placed 20 centimetres from the edge of the desk. A size 48 font was used for all text with white text on black ground, with resolution setting WLED-backlit 1920 x 1080 resolution with all text centred in the computer screen.

7.4.5. Procedure

Upon arrival participants were given an information sheet (PIL) giving details of the study and what was required of participants (Appendix 31). On giving signed informed consent, participants were indicating their agreement to take part in the study on three consecutive occasions. (Appendix 32)

Participants were given a pack of questionnaires to complete which included the personality measure 50-Item set of IPIP Big-five personality Factor Markers (Goldberg 1992) and PANAS-SF (Watson, Clark and Tellegen 1988) 'pre-prime' (NA1). On completion participants were verbally directed to sit at a desk and follow the instructions on the computer screen, which was on a desk directly in front of them.

The screen instructed participants to indicate their level of anxiety via the VAS task (pre-prime anxiety – VAS1). By clicking the mouse on the scale participants indicated their anxiety pre-prime, the computer screen then changed to: 'please wait until you are instructed to continue'.

Participants were then verbally instructed to stand with their toes on a line marked on the floor 200 centimetres from, and directly facing the computer screen. Prior to holding a three-minute prime (described above), participants were given verbal instruction: 'You are required to hold this position for three minutes. During this period please watch, but do not stare, at the circle in the centre of the computer screen and let the researcher know if anything changes on the screen.' One of three conditions, no-prime (NP), power-prime (PP) or jacket-prime (JP) (see section 7.4.3.5.) was assigned to the participant in counterbalanced order, using a Latin-square technique (Tang 2009). When the three-minute duration elapsed participants were verbally instructed to remove the jacket (JP condition only) and all conditions, were seated in front of the computer.

Participants were then verbally instructed to follow the instructions on the screen and complete a 'Me/Not-Me' task. When the task was completed a message was displayed 'you have completed the word task, please wait until you are instructed to continue' (see screenshots in Appendix 29).

Participants completed the PANAS-SF 'post-prime' (NA2), they were then instructed to rate a second VAS (VAS2) anxiety task. Participants were thanked for their time and after participating for a third occasion, were fully debriefed. (Appendix 33)

7.4.6. Data Analysis

IBM SPSS statistical software package for Windows (24th version), was used to perform statistical analyses.

7.4.7. Data preparation

A general discussion regarding the preparation and treatment of data for parametric analysis was discussed in full in section 6.4.6. Specific data preparation for individual analyses will be included with each analysis' details.

7.5. Results – **Study 3**

7.5.1. Trait Adjective Task: Does Prime Affect Detection Rates?

7.5.1.1. Data Preparation and Analysis

Test of normality of data distribution was violated for all factors, reporting Kolmogorov-Smirnov (K-S): no-prime (NP) CON words (NPCON) D (30) = .22, p = .001, Power-prime (PP) CON words (PPCON) D (30) = .20, p = .003, jacket-prime (JP) CON words (JPCON) D (30) = .18, p = .014, no-prime (NP) INCON (NPINCON) D (30) = .19, p = .006, power-prime (PP) INCON words (PPINCON) D (30) = .23, p = .001 and jacket-prime (JP) INCON words (JPINCON) D (30) = .21, p = .001. Skewness and Kurtosis levels were observed in histograms as violating assumptions and levels are given in Appendix 35. Within-subjects test of equal variance between pairs of levels for sphericity was violated reporting W (14) = .22, p = .001, therefore Correction using Epsilon Huynh-Feldt was reported, due to the small sample size (Brace et al. 2016). Observation of Box plots demonstrated four outliers in all factors and were therefore not eliminated as discussed previously (see section 6.4.6.) Data was linear meeting this assumption. Therefore, continuation with ANOVA was deemed appropriate as it enabled analysis of the data in order to answer the research questions posed by this study.

A within-subjects analysis of variance (ANOVA) was employed to test for difference in prime group on response to congruent versus incongruent adjectives employing a 3 (prime group: no-prime (NP), power-prime (PP) and jacket-prime (JP)) x 2 (correct trait words: congruent (CON), incongruent (INCON)).

7.5.1.2. Results of Analysis

Mean levels of 'correct' congruent versus incongruent trait adjectives between prime-groups are displayed in table 12. The highest level of 'correct' congruent words was observed for participants when primed in a power posture (PPCON), and lowest 'correct' congruent adjectives were reported in no-prime group (NPCON). (See table 12).

Table 12. Data presented as mean 'correct' responses to congruent (CON) and incongruent (INCON) by 'prime groups' no-prime (NP), power-prime (PP) and jacket-prime (JP). Difference between CON and INCON adjectives shown, standard deviations shown in parentheses.

PRIME GROUP	CON adjectives M (SD)		INCON adjectives M (SD)		Difference +/-		
No-prime	12.37	(.61)	13.90	(.53)	+ 1.52		
Power-prime	13.53	(.41)	12.13	(.51)	-1.40		
Jacket-prime	12.53	(.62)	13.20	(.49)	+ .67		

The main effect for within-subjects factor 'trait words' (CON vs INCON) was not significant F(1, 29) = 2.42, p = .052, $\eta_{p^2} = .077$ (Huynh-Feldt Epsilon reported), demonstrating that the difference between adjectives that related to jacket and power-prime where not chosen more often than incongruent words. The main effect for within-subjects 'prime' group was not significant, F(2, 58) = .52, p = .595, $\eta_{p^2} = .02$, and therefore did not support Hypothesis 1 (Section 7.2.) that 'prime' group would influence the levels of congruent words participants responded to correctly. The interaction between 'prime' and 'trait words' was not significantly related F(2, 58) = 4.129, p = .21, $\eta_{p^2} = .125$, response levels were similar throughout all groups (see table 12).

7.5.2. Response Time, Trait Adjectives: Does Priming Affect Reaction Time?

7.5.2.1. Data Preparation and Analysis

Test of normality of data distribution was violated for almost all factors, reporting Kolmogorov-Smirnov (K-S): Reaction time (RT) no-prime (NP) CON words (RTNPCON), D (30) = .18, p = .011, RT power-prime (PP) CON words (RTPPCON) D (30) = .18, p = .014, RT jacket-prime CON words (RTJPCON) D (30) = .18, p = .01. RT no-prime INCON words (RTNPINCON) D (30) = .16, p = .048. RT power-prime INCON words (RTPPINCON) D (30) = .26, p = .001, RT jacket-prime INCON words (RTJPINCON) D (30) = .15, p = .094. Skewness and Kurtosis was apparent from observing histograms (reported in Appendix 35). Observation of boxplots showed some outliers that were not corrected or removed (see discussion in 6.4.6.), data for all variables were linear. The ANOVA analysis was continued based on previous discussions (see 6.4.6). Mauchley's Test of Sphericity showed violation of assumption of equal variance between factors reporting a significant result for prime-group and RT W (2) = .67, p = .007, therefore Huynh-Feldt Epsilon was reported due to small sample size (Brace et al. 2016). Leven's Test of Equability of Error Variances were not significant for all levels of prime-group and word congruence.

A within-subjects analysis of variance (ANOVA) was employed between 'prime group' 3 (prime group: no-prime (NP), power-prime (PP) and jacket-prime (JP) x 2 (emotional stability (ES) group: low ES (LES), high ES (HES)) x 2 (reaction time (RT): correct congruent trait words (RTCON), correct incongruent trait words (RTINCON) to test the effect of the prime-group on reaction time (RT) to congruent versus incongruent responses.

7.5.2.2. Results of Analysis

Mean reaction times to congruent and incongruent adjectives, report that the fastest overall time was seen in power-prime group responding to congruent words. No-prime group also displayed fast reaction time to congruent words however for incongruent words they displayed the slowest reaction time. (See table 13 page 193).

Table 13. Data presented for mean reaction times for congruent (RTCON) and incongruent (INCON) adjectives by 'prime group', no prime (NP), power prime (PP) and jacket-prime (JP). Difference between RTCON and RTINCON reported standard deviations displayed in parentheses.

PRIME GROUP	RT CON M(SD)		Difference +/-		
No-prime	1229.68	(91.71)	1391.79	(91.75)	+ 162.11
Power-prime	1228.81	(95.84)	1261.28	(100.3)	+ 32.47
Jacket-prime	1308.75	(86.16)	1333.19	(85.79)	+ 24.44

When emotional stability grouping was included, the overall fastest reaction time was seen in power-prime group high in emotional stability (HES) responding to congruent words, whereas the slowest was reported for jacket-primed participants responding to congruent words low in emotional stability (LES).

Table 14. Data presented for mean reaction times for congruent (RTCON) and incongruent (INCON) adjectives by 'prime group', no prime (NP), power prime (PP) and jacket-prime (JP). Difference between RTCON and RTINCON differentiated by emotional stability (ES) grouping low ES (LES high ES (HES), reported standard deviations displayed in parentheses.

PRIME GROUP	LOW ES M (SD)	HIGH ES M (SD)	LOW ES M (SD)	HIGH ES M (SD)		
No-prime	1246.17 (338.61)	1264.97 (490.96)	1556.77 (539.46)	1277.17 (374.47)		
Power-prime	1225.58 (343.24)	1183.15 (<i>351.89</i>)	1378.45 (574.84)	1265.37 (574.52)		
Jacket-prime	1457.46 (638.66)	1311.99 (612.41)	1440.00 (515.78)	1200.10 (475.65)		

To test the prediction that priming with a power-posture (PP) would have a positive effect on RT compared to other prime-groups, ANOVA was employed. The main effect for prime-group was significant, F(2, 52) = 3.68, p = .032, $\eta_p^2 = .124$. (Huynh-Feldt reported) demonstrating a small effect size (Cohen 1988). Therefore, the prime participants experienced prior to the reaction task influenced their reaction times to congruent or incongruent adjectives. The main effect for reaction time to congruent versus incongruent words was not significant F(1, 26) = .672, p = .420, $\eta_p^2 = .025$. demonstrating no significant difference between reaction time levels of congruent or incongruent adjectives participants responded to. The Main effect for between-subjects factor ES did not reach a significant level F(1, 26) = .813, p = .375, $\eta_p^2 = .02$, therefore in response to Hypothesis 2.2. trait anxiety measured as emotional stability did not affect reaction times. The interaction between RT and ES was not significant F(1, 26) = .29, p = .598, $\eta_p^2 = .011$, neither was the interaction between prime-group and ES F(2, 52) = 1.168, p = .319, $\eta_p^2 = .043$.

Planned contrasts for prime-group reported a significant difference between power-prime and jacket-prime for reaction time F (1, 26) = 6.57, p = .017, η_{p^2} = .20 (indicating a small to moderate effect size Cohen 1988). Hypothesis 2.1 (Section 7.3.) was therefore partially supported, as participants primed with a power-pose were significantly faster at responding than jacket-primed participants.

7.5.3. Examining the Effect of Priming on State-Anxiety change

7.5.3.1. Data Preparation and Analysis

Data violated assumption of normality for four of six factors and reported Kolmogorov-Smirnov (K-S): no-prime (NP) VAS anxiety pre (NPVAS1) D (30) = .14, p = .148, no-prime (NP) VAS anxiety post (NPVAS2) D (30) = .17, p = .028, power-prime (PP) VAS anxiety pre (PPVAS1) D (30) = .14, p = .131, power-prime (PP) VAS anxiety post (PPVAS2) D (30) = .15, p = .098, jacket-prime (JP) VAS anxiety pre (JPVAS1) D (30) = .17, p = .034, Power-prime VAS anxiety post (JPVAS2) D (30) = .19, p = .004. Observation of histograms evidenced skewness and Kurtosis, (see Appendix 35). Box plots showed outliers for four variables but were not removed or transformed (see discussion 6.4.6). Data met assumptions for linearity. In view of the discussion in Section 6.4.6 the analysis of variance (ANOVA) was employed.

Mauchley's Test of Sphericity was significant for the within-subjects factors prime was not significant W(2) = .95, p = .468 and within-subjects factor VAStime W(1) = .61, p = .001 was, the subsequent analysis will report Epsilon Huynh-Feldt due to the small sample size (Brace 2016). Box's Test of Equality of Covariance Matrices was significant for between-subjects factor ES M(21, 2451.11) = 72.09, p = .00 therefore Pillai's trace was reported for between-subjects factor.

To test whether there were differences between prime-group on anxiety change pre to post-prime a mixed analysis of variance (ANOVA) was performed on between-subjects 3 ('prime group': no-prime (NP), power-prime (PP) and jacket-prime (JP)) x within-subjects 2 (Visual analogue scale anxiety 'time' (VAStime: pre-prime VAS (VAS1), post-prime anxiety VAS (VAS2)) x 2 between-subjects (emotional stability (ES): low ES (LES), high ES (HES) was performed to respond to hypotheses 3 and 4.

7.5.3.2. Results of Analysis

Means of VAStime for pre and post-prime reported the lowest level of anxiety post-prime (VAS2) was in jacket-prime (JPVAS2) group (M = 17.36, SD = 21.56) which also demonstrated the least change from pre-prime (JPVAS1) (M = 20.91, SD = 21.56), change = 3.55 (see table 15.)

Table 15. Data presented for mean visual analogue anxiety levels (VAS) pre-prime (VAS1), post-prime (VAS2) by 'prime-group' no-prime (NP), power-prime (PP), jacket-prime (JP) standard deviation shown in parentheses.

Prime-group	Anxiety (VAS1) pre-prime M (SD)	Anxiety (VAS2) post-prime M (SD)	Difference from pre to post-prime +/-		
No-prime	28.43 (26.13)	23.89 (21.57)	-4.54		
Power-prime	28.02 (22.15)	17.83 (16.96)	-10.09		
Jacket-prime	20.91 (21.56)	17.36 (20.07)	-3.55		

Mean levels of anxiety (VAS) for post-prime for emotional stability grouping included: low ES (LES) (M = 25.79, SE = 3.65), high ES (HES) (M = 19.69, SE = 2.93). Mean levels of anxiety (VAS) for 'prime group' showed: NP (M = 26.16, SE = 3.92), PP (M = 22.92, SE = 3.23), JP (M = 19.13 SE = 3.58). (See table 15).

Table 16. Data presented for mean anxiety levels (VAS), pre-prime (VAS1), post-prime (VAS2), by 'prime group' no-prime (NP), power-prime (PP), jacket-prime (JP), by emotional stability (ES) group low ES (LES), high ES) (HES) standard deviation shown in parentheses.

Emotional stability (ES)	Low ES M (SD)							
Prime	Pre- prime		Post- prime		Pre- prime		Post- prime	
No-Prime	30.22	(7.36)	28.19	(4.09)	27.06	(6.44)	20.60	(3.58)
Power- prime	35.57	(5.99)	27.72	(5.99)	22.25	(5.24)	10.26	(5.24)
Jacket-prime	25.15	(5.67)	23.02	(5.40)	17.66	(5.21)	13.04	(4.79)

The main effect for between-subjects 'prime-group' was not significant F(2, 28) = 2.23, p = .12, $\eta_{p^2} = .074$ (Huynh-Feldt reported) therefore jacket-prime was not significantly different to

other prime groups on anxiety change, therefore Hypothesis 3 (Section 7.3.) was not supported. The prime manipulation did not affect participants change in anxiety levels as had been predicted. However, the main effect for within-subjects VAS ('time') was significant (Huynh-Feldt reported) F (1, 28) = 2.936, p =.028, η_{p^2} =.095, this indicated that anxiety reported by participants from VAS1 to VAS2 (pre and post-prime) reduced significantly. The main effect for between-subjects factor ES was not significant, F (1, 28) = 2.68, p =.113, η_{p^2} =.087 therefore, participants levels of trait-anxiety did not significantly affect 'state' anxiety change, and Hypothesis 4 was not supported. The interaction between prime condition and ES was not significant (F (2, 56) = 2.480, p = .093, η_{p^2} = .081) neither was the interaction between 'VAStime' and ES (F (1, 26) = .092, p = .764, η_{p^2} = .004. The interaction between prime and 'VAStime' was not significant (F (2, 26) = 2.325, p = .116, η_{p^2} = .142, yet exhibited a small effect size (Cohen 1988). The three-way interaction between 'prime', VAS' time' and ES did not reach a significant level (F (1, 28) = 1.972, p = .171, η_{p^2} = .066).

Post-hoc tests for comparisons between pre and post-prime were performed with paired t-test for differences. The results showed the only significant change in NA levels which were for PP group even after Bonferroni correction was applied to the alpha level (p < .016), t = 2.85, df = 27, p = .004 (two-tailed) d = .45 display a moderate effect size (Cohen 1988). Therefore power--primed participants showed a significant reduction in anxiety after the prime.

7.5.4. Examining the Effect of Priming on Mood Levels

7.5.4.1. Data Preparation and Analyses

Data did not meet assumption of normal distribution across all but one level of pre and post-prime NA for all prime-groups, reporting Kolmogorov-Smirnov (K-S): no-prime pre-mood (NPNA1) D (30) = .21, p = .002, no-prime post-mood (NPNA2) D (30) = .30, p = .001. power-prime pre-mood (PPNA1) D (30) = .19, p = .005, power-prime post-mood (PPNA2) D (30) = .24, p = .001, jacket-prime pre-mood (JPNA1) D (30) = .16, p = .060, jacket-prime post-mood (JPNA2) D (30) = .34, p = .001. Observation of histograms evidenced skewness and kurtosis (see Appendix 35). Box-plots revealed outliers for four variables, but these were not transformed or removed (see discussion 6.4.6.). Data met assumptions for linearity. In view of the discussion in Section 6.4.6 the analysis of variance (ANOVA) was employed.

Box's Test of Equality of Covariance Matrices was significant for between-subjects factor ES M (21, 2368.12) = 67.78, p = .001 therefore, Pillai's trace was reported for between-subjects factor ES. Mauchley's Test of Sphericity was significant for the within-subjects factors prime was not significant W (2) = .95, p = .468 and within-subjects factor VAStime W (1) = .61, p = .001, the subsequent analysis will report Epsilon Huynh-Feldt due to the small sample size (Brace 2016). Levene's Test of Equality of Error Variances was significant reporting violation of homogeneity of variance for NPNA1, F (1, 26) = 4.43, p = .045, PPNA2 F (1, 26) = 8.957, p = .006 and JPNA2 F (1, 26) = 21.65, p = .001. Mauchley's Test of Sphericity was significant for NAtime W (2) = .992 p = .001 and interaction between prime-group and NAtime W (2) = .463, p .001, therefore Epsilon Huynh-Feldt was reported, due to the small sample size (Brace et al. 2016).

To explore if 'prime-group' affected mood change after the prime a 3 (prime group: no-prime (NP), power-prime (PP) and jacket-prime JP)) x 2 (negative affect (NA) time: NA pre-prime (NAtime1), NA post-prime (NAtime2)) x ES with 2 levels (emotional stability: low (LES), high (HES)).

7.5.4.2. Results of Analysis

Mean for 'prime groups' pre and post-prime exhibited: no prime, NA1 (M = 13.200, SD = 3.942), no prime, NA2 (M = 12.533, SD = 3.360), power-prime NA1 (M = 14.233, SD = 13.300), power-prime NA2 (M = 13.300, SD = 4.153), jacket-prime NA1 (M = 14.600, SD = 4.255), jacket-prime (M = 12.700, SD = 3.63).

Table 17. Data presented for means of negative affect (NA) pre-prime (NA1) and post-prime (NA2) by 'prime group' (no prime (NP), power prime (PP), Jacket prime (JP)) and emotional stability (ES) group (low ES (LES) and High ES (HES). Mean differences between pre and post prime shown, standard deviation given in parentheses.

'NAtime'	NA1		NA2		+/-	NA1		NA2		+/-
	pre-		Post-		difference	pre-		post-		difference
	prime		prime		pre to	prime		prime		pre to
	M		M		post	M(SD)		M		post
	(SD)		(SD)					(SD)		
Low/high ES		LES					HES			
No Prime	12.92	(1.80)	13.38	(3.70)	+.046	13.27	(5.12)	11.82	(3.01)	-1.59
Power Prime	16.07	(6.08)	15.69	(4.88)	038	12.82	(3.32)	11.47	(2.26)	-1.35
Jacket Prime	15.69	(4.30)	14.53	(4.48)	-1.16	13.76	(4.14)	11.29	(1.99)	-2.47

The main effect for 'prime-group' within the main analysis was not significant F(2, 52) = 1.18, $p = .315 \, \eta_p^2 = .04$, the within-subjects 'NAtime' was not significant $F(1, 52) = 3.83 \, p = .061 \, \eta_p^2 = .128$ (Huynh-Feldt reported) reporting a small effect size (Cohen 1988). The main effect for the between-subjects factor of ES was significant, F(1, 26) = 5.27, p = .030, $\eta_p^2 = .165$ (Pillai's Trace reported) also indicating a small effect size (Cohen 1988).

The interaction between 'NAtime' and 'prime-group' was not significant F(2, 52) = 1.59, p = .213, $\eta_p^2 = .06$, (Huynh-Feldt reported) neither was the interaction between 'NAtime' and ES, F(1, 84) = 1.36, p = .25, $\eta_p^2 = .043$. The interaction between prime condition and ES F(2, 52) = 2.42, p = .099, $\eta_p^2 = .085$ did not reach a significant level, neither did the interaction between 'NAtime', 'prime group' and ES F(2, 52) = 1.06, p = .812, $\eta_p^2 = .05$. Therefore, prime-group did not have a significant difference on mood (NA) change levels, but participants' predisposition to anxiety did an effect mood change.

7.6. Discussion

The intention of Study 3 was to attempt to differentiate between three prime-groups, two of which were operationalised as adopting a power-posture 'embodied behaviour' or wearing a business-suit jacket (BSJ) 'enclothed behaviour' and a control group who underwent no prime. The intention was to assess prime-group's effect on accessibility to prime-associated knowledge (garment/power-associated traits) and examine priming's effect on state-anxiety and mood levels.

The initial analysis in this chapter (7.5.1.1.), tested cognitive responses, utilising a 'Me/Not me' response-latency paradigm (Hannover and Kühnen 2002). As previously detailed, this entailed participants, post-prime, responding to briefly presented congruent or incongruent garment/power-trait adjectives. Thus, offering an indication of how accessible, latent cognitive representations of garment/posture associated traits were (Hannover and Kühnen 2002). Based on the literature evidence introduced in Chapter 4 and 6 it was anticipated that participants primed with power-prime would result a high level of 'correct' responses to congruent adjectives. Additionally, as BSJs are also associated with e.g. improved cognitive processes e.g. action identification and thought abstraction (Slepian et al. 2015) and the 'embodied' effects of wearing the garment such as perceptions of 'confidence' and 'intelligence' (Adam and Galinsky 2012; López-Pérez et al. 2016), even higher levels of congruent words were expected for jacket-prime group.

The results did not support this anticipated result. Previous evidence had shown the close association between wearing a business-suit ('formal clothing') and perceptions of 'professionally-orientated' attributes (Behling and Williams 1991; Damhorst 1990; Kwon 1994; Peluchette and Karl 2007), these same attributes were also closely associated with adopting or taking a 'power-orientated' perspective (powerful postures or thoughts) (Anderson and Berdahl 2002; Anderson and Galinsky 2006; Cuddy et al. 2015). Although the results did not find a significant difference between the congruent and incongruent words that participants responded to, the 'prime' participants had experienced also could not be differentiated significantly. The only indication of any influence from the 'prime-group' was in mean scores of responses. For example, having received 'no prime' participants responded to more incongruent words than the other groups. Furthermore, the only group to respond somewhat as had been predicted, by responding to the highest number of congruent words was the power-posture prime-group. However, as previously mentioned, these results were not significant and were therefore interpreted with caution.

In analysing participants' reaction time (RT) to trait adjectives, it was anticipated that this measure may be contrary to the accuracy with which participants responded to the adjectives, exhibiting a speed-accuracy trade-off (SAT) (Heitz 2014). However, this was not fully evident, and results indicated that differences between the reaction time to congruent versus incongruent adjectives was not significant, as had been seen in the detection rate (DR) of word response. However, the effect of prime-group was significant, with planned comparisons reporting that power-primed participants were significantly faster at responding to trait adjectives than jacket-primed participants. This was accepted as demonstrating that power-priming prompted participants to adopt more action orientated behaviours (Anderson and Galinsky 2006; Cuddy et al. 2015), and whilst this behaviour is also linked to increased cognitive processing (Fischer, Fischer, Englich, Aydin and Frey 2011; Galinsky and Van Dijk 2008) this could not be linked to the reported results as the difference between congruent and incongruent did not demonstrate that there was a significant difference between adjective valence, which would have demonstrated positive bias towards congruent trait words (McLeod et al. 1986).

However, participants receiving no-prime reported the lowest number of correct congruent words, but with the fastest response times (RT), which might suggest some SAT (Heitz 2014). Power-primed participants showed the highest number of congruent adjectives and responded almost as fast as the no-prime group (see table 12). This was accepted as indicating that the power-primed participants had easy access to trait information, whilst responding in a way that was congruent with 'embodied power' (action and goal orientated and increased cognitive processing abilities) (Fischer, Fischer, Englich, Aydin and Frey 2011; Galinsky and Van Dijk 2008), which was superior to that of enclothed participants. Therefore Hypothesis 2.1 (Section 7.3.) was partially supported. These results indicate that participants receiving 'no-prime' could have lacked task focus and task orientation, which power and BSJ-primed participants benefited from (Fiske 1992; Galinsky et al. 2003; Guinote 2007).

Emotional stability grouping (trait-anxiety) had been introduced as a variable to address evidence arguing that cognitive disruption was associated with trait-anxiety (Cassady and Johnson 2002; Matthews 1990). This is often due to cognitive processing of stimuli being misinterpreted, processed in a particular style (abstract/concrete) or being subject to bias in trait-anxious individuals (Maloney et al. 2014; Slepian et al. 2015). Furthermore, the effect of trait-anxiety was also expected to be apparent in reaction-times rather than in responses to the congruence of the presented word (Forster, Higgins and Bianco 2003). Therefore, emotional stability was introduced as a variable with reaction-time and prime group. Furthermore, claims that unconscious effects of anxiety and being trait-anxious, often manifests physiologically and

psychologically (Cassady and Johnson 2002; Endler 1987). Therefore, it was anticipated that emotional stability grouping would be evident in reaction-times. This was not the case, trait-anxiety grouping was not significant within the reaction-time analysis (Analysis 7.5.2.1.) with trait-anxiety levels having no significant effect on reaction times, Hypothesis 2.2 (Section 7.3.) was not supported. There were however, differences in the mean levels of reaction-times between low and high trait-anxious participants, which could only be interpreted 'tentatively' as an indication that trait-anxiety accounted for some of the differences in reaction-times when 'prime groups' were also considered (see table 14).

For example, trait-anxious participants (LES) primed with a BSJ, showed the longest response time to congruent trait adjectives traits, compared to low-trait anxious (HES) (power-primed) participants who were the fastest to respond overall. This observation was proposed as being indicative of the caution and focus that low emotional stability (trait-anxious) participants adopted when processing stimuli. Additionally, the interaction between priming with a BSJ and trait-anxiety was also proposed to be subject to 'overload' of sensory stimuli for trait-anxious participants (Bell et al. 2005), whilst low trait-anxious (HES) 'wearers' benefited from 'embodying' the garment's intrinsic attributes (Carney et al. 2010; King and Vickery 2010).

State anxiety was also examined in Study 3 concurrent with participants' trait-anxiety levels. Although it is commonplace for these two constructs to be closely linked, the purpose of examining them together was to assess participants' behavioural and emotional responses in general and in anxiety-inducing situations (Carney et al. 2012; 2015; Cassady and Johnson 2002) and any change in anxiety levels due to prime-group. The computer task in Study 3 had not been introduced as a 'challenge' to participants, however, some participants may have interpreted having to undertake this task as one, (Maloney et al. 2014; Matthews 1991).

To respond to Hypothesis 3 (Section 7.3.) the analysis reported that prime-group was not significant for anxiety change. Whilst the difference in anxiety was significantly different between anxiety measures (VAS1 to VAS2). The results did not therefore support the prediction that jacket-priming would affect anxiety levels. The effect of trait-anxiety was also not significant, thus, participants predisposition to anxiety did not affect how they interpreted their 'current' anxiety (state). Beck and Clark (1997) had argued that this is both subjective and context dependant; the context of Study 3, may not therefore have aroused anxiety in participants. Anxiety levels are reliant upon individuals' 'appraisal levels' (Spielberger 1966), for instance, not unexpectedly, levels of state-anxiety were lower for all participants high in emotional stability, (regardless of 'prime-group') However, although trait-anxiety (lower vs

higher) was not significantly different for state-anxiety pre to post-prime, when 'prime-group' and trait-anxiety grouping (ES) were included to differentiate groups, power-postured participants (PP) low in trait-anxiety (HES) showed the lowest anxiety level post-prime and the greatest decrease in anxiety (see table 16). According to the 'appraisal' approach to anxiety, this is explained as participants primed with a power-posture appraising subsequent experiences as 'low-threat' (Maloney et al. 2014; Spielberger 1966). Furthermore, Cuddy et al. (2015) argued that 'power' was an effective 'psychological buffer' which could protect against emotional challenges such as anxiety.

This is one explanation for the observed results, however, if 'power' was able to act as a 'emotional psychological buffer' as Cuddy et al. (2015) proposed, then a power-posture would be expected to influence mood levels as well as anxiety (Nair et al. 2014). The effect of 'primegroup' on negative mood (NA) change was however, not significant, neither was the change in mood from pre and post-prime mood levels. This may provide some support to Cuddy et al.'s (2015) proposal as all but one group improved in mood post-prime, albeit non-significant.

As shown in the analyses presented in this chapter, significant differences could not be demonstrated between 'prime-groups' as had been anticipated. Any interpretation was reliant upon 'cautious' observation of the mean levels of measures. The prediction for analysis 7.4.4., in the present chapter, had anticipated that mood would change significantly from before to after the prime, and prime would be significantly different between no-prime compared to power-prime and jacket-prime which could not offer support to hypothesis 4 (Section 7.3.).

7.6.1. Chapter Summary

The present chapter aimed to advance understanding and the examination of behaviours associated to wearing a symbolic garment, a business-suit jacket (BSJ), presented in the previous chapter of this thesis (Chapter 6), from testing the effect of wearing one (enclothed behaviour) compared to seeing one (priming effects), to testing for differences between how the BSJ physically and psychologically affects the body and emotions. Through the incorporation of a direct comparison between wearing a BSJ and 'mimicking' its effect on the body, (adopting a posture) subsequent behaviours where examined and scrutinised for differences. The purpose had been to differentiate 'embodied behaviours' from those of 'enclothed behaviours' (Barsalou 1999; Slepian et al. 2015).

The analysis demonstrated non-significant results in the main and failed to offer support to either 'embodied' or 'enclothed cognition' to explain effects. However, there were several insights, albeit reliant on observations of the data rather than significant findings, yet within the results further understanding was achieved. For example, the initial task in which response to 'correct' congruent versus incongruent words were assessed, showed that participant primed with a power-posture were not significantly more effective in the task than power-primed participants. Showing these differences (congruent versus incongruent adjectives) would have illustrated the focus of participant's post-prime access to prime-associated cognitive representation (Hannover and Kühnen 2002). The results for this non-significant finding is explained as power-primed participants make use of stereotypical information and influencing participants to focus attention on the task, both of which had been linked to being empowered (Fiske 1992; Guinote 2007).

However, the lack of differentiation between power-posture and BSJ primes did provide reinforcement to the rationale for this investigation that the similarity between both the BSJ and embodying its physical effect on the body are close. In explaining the failure of the BSJ to prime wearers to focusing on choosing congruent words, as had power-priming, this suggests that sensory inputs benefit some behaviours: mood, professional perceptions, psychological comfort (Kang et al; 2010; Kwon 1991; Peluchette and Karl 2007), yet impedes alternative behaviours, such as decision making and action-orientation, which has been shown to be heightened in empowered individuals (Anderson and Berdahl 2002; Anderson and Galinsky 2006). Furthermore, Van Stockum and DeCaro (2014) had identified that whilst wearing some types of symbolic clothing was beneficial to some cognitive tasks, it is detrimental to other tasks. Therefore, being primed with a BSJ may not have been optimal for performance of the particular cognitive task offered in Study 3 in the present chapter. This finding was successful in assisting in advancing the understanding of the effect of this garments effects on behaviour and offers a basis for developing symbolic clothing's effect on cognitive processing research further.

Measuring reaction times and detection rates, to garment/power-associated adjectives was expected to add support to any apparent effects that were evident, regardless of any speed-accuracy trade-off (Heitz 2014). Observation of the data showed that reaction-times for jacket-primed participants were slower than power-primed ones, therefore the response for a BSJ-prime was too stimulating. The multiple sensory perceptions offered by the physical experience of the garment on the body were processed simultaneous to receiving psychological input from wearing the garment and processing that input (Chinen et al. 2004; Lü and Chen

2013; Kang et al. 2010). Therefore, this overload, is proposed to be responsible for the performance deficit. Again, this result may not have provided strong empirical evidence for significant differences between prime-groups, but it is novel and not previously reported. Additionally, the result was able to provide an explanation which is open to further research development, whilst providing some insight into the garment's effect on behaviour.

The association between the positive emotional effects of wearing a BSJ and adopting a power-perspective were also investigated. The results were unable to offer significant evidence for a reduction in anxiety post-prime. The largest reduction in mean levels of anxiety was seen post power-prime in low anxious participants (HES). Carney et al. (2010) had argued that adopting a power posture reduces stress hormones (cortisol), further proposing that the process involved in adopting a physical manifestation of 'power' activated by physiological change, triggers a system that effects psychological, physiological and behavioural 'shifts' which explained anxiety reduction. The effect of embodying power (via a power-posture) may therefore be more direct than BSJ-prime and thus, unaffected by what was previously proposed to be 'sensory overload', which in comparison to embodied power, entailed interpreting more diverse, yet less direct, sensory input. Furthermore, as introduced previously, appraisal theory argued that empowered individuals are more able to interpret and 'appraise' stimuli as non-threatening. If this is simultaneous with perceiving traits associated to power (confidence, intelligence, power) (Cuddy et al. 2015; Spielberger 1966) individuals are more likely to face stimuli with less apprehension and reticence (Anderson and Galinsky 2006).

Mood had been a further area that had received attention from both power and clothing research, both proposing that negative mood was reduced with their influence (Fischer et al. 2011; Kwon 1991; Moody et al. 2010; Nair et al. 2014). However, Study 3, in the present chapter of this thesis was not able to demonstrate significant effects from priming participants with either a power or BSJ-prime. However, there was a decrease in mood post-prime that was largest overall in participants primed with a BSJ. This was not a significant result, and the results cannot offer any support to the hypotheses that mood is moderated by both a BSJ and power perspective.

The outcome of the present chapter, has been a gain further understanding of some differences and similarities between power-posture and a embodying a BSJ and an acknowledgment (rather than significant results), that some cognitive processes may be more effected by some symbolic garments than others (Van Stockum and DeCaro 2014), whilst some behaviours are more affected by garment/power-posture than others (Carney et al. 2010; Nair et al. 2014; Slepian et

al. 2015). Additionally, a BSJ offers more flexibility in attributes and behaviours than postured power. However, what this chapter has achieved was further understanding of the complexity of the BSJ, particularly when compared to what was expected to be its physical manifestation (power-posture). Furthermore, more precise and directed research would enable a 'focused' rather than 'exploratory' approach to understanding the BSJ's properties and ultimately understanding of the effect that this particular garment has on how individuals behave.

Study 3 was the first study to directly compare the physical manifestation of a BSJ (adopting a power-prime) with wearing a BSJ. The results are the first of their kind and will offer further insight into this symbolic garment and its effect on cognition and emotions. Thus, filling a void in the current literature and extending 'enclothed behaviours' knowledge.

7.6.2. Limitations

One of the limitations within Study 3 centred on the response latency task. Following the protocol of a previous study may have resulted in the uninformative results. Hannover and Kühnen (2002) had successfully demonstrated that participants dressed in either formal or casual clothing responded more to clothing-style-related adjectives (formal versus casual). However, alternative response latency tasks depended on series of trials rather than just one, with the effect of repetition considered in the interpretation of results (Lui and Watanabe 2011). Therefore, rather than being dependent upon one trail, which may have been too 'weak' to record and effect, blocks of task may have been better able to demonstrate differences in detection and responses.

Furthermore, congruent with the protocol in Study 2, Study 3 also gave participants a generic business-suit jacket to wear. As had been highlighted in Study 2's discussion, this meant that participants may have had little regard or liking for the garment and wore it with little emotional attachment, or conversely, with dislike for it. This was not gauged, due to the likelihood that any questioning about the BSJ would give participants an indication of the purpose of the study. However, evidence in initial chapters of this thesis had discussed close associations individuals form with what they wear and how they subsequently feel about the garment. Future studies should consider addressing this point with scales to indicate wearers 'connection' to the garment.

Uptake of the study by participants was good and only two data sets were eliminated due to incomplete attendance, and although the total number of participants was thirty, this was

sufficient when a G-power calculation was originally made, proposing that this number could expect a small effect size. Participants attended sessions approximately one week apart to ensure any priming effects did not remain. The evidence for the length of time primes lasted was unclarified within the literature. However, to ensure 'wash-out' between each session participants attended approximately a week apart. The length of time the prime lasted could also have affected the 'power' of the prime, therefore future studies should consider different lengths of time for each prime.

The 'Me/Not-Me' task incorporated into Study 3 incorporated adjectives included in Peluchette and Karl's (2007) scale along with their antonyms. Although, this also followed Hannover and Kühnen's (2002) paradigm for gaining adjectives, the antonyms were often the same as the adjective with a prefix added. As previously discussed, antonyms were selected from the first three generated antonyms of the original trait adjective. Research-associates chose antonyms for their appropriateness, (see discussion in 7.3.3.4.) however, the findings illustrated that more 'not-me' words were correctly chosen than correct 'me' words, the opposite to expectations. Therefore, word choice for future studies required consideration. For instance, to ensure the 'not/me' words are semantically similar but lexically different.

Chapter 8. General Discussion

8.1. Introduction

This chapter will assimilate and discuss the findings of the three studies presented in this thesis. In addition, the implications of the findings and areas identified for future research will also be discussed. The initial section will consider what was achieved from the focus group study and how its findings contributed to the subsequent experimental stage of this thesis. In the second section a discussion will focus upon the experimental stages (Study 2 and 3), and their associated results and strengths. The third section will then discuss the theoretical implications of the studies and evaluate the findings regarding what is proposed as 'enclothed behaviours'. Gaining further understanding of 'how what we wear affects how we behave', has the potential to inform interventions in several areas and will be discussed. Areas of future research had also been identified in the process of this thesis, which will also be discussed and as will any limitations that were realised. This will assist of extending this thesis's contribution to what is known about the 'power of clothing'.

8.2. Summary of Main Findings

The purpose of this Thesis and the findings reported within it, assisted in several main purposes: 1) Further understanding of the effects on behaviours of wearing the business-suit as a symbolic garment. 2) Gain the 'current' opinions of undergraduates to wearing a business-suit in the workplace and to employment interviews. 3) Testing enclothed cognition theory's prediction to an alternative symbolic garment and questioning the value of the 'prime' within the paradigm. 4) Synthesise enclothed cognition and embodied cognition literature to demonstrate the parallels and differences between psychologically and physically embodied clothing behaviour.

8.2.1. The Focus Group – Study 1.

The business-suit has been culturally and societally established as a universal type of clothing that informs both wearers and observers of associated contextual traits (Crane 2000; Farnham et al. 2014; Peluchette and Karl 2007). Literature findings had established that many perceptions surrounding the business-suit were associated with 'exogenous' (external) and

'endogenous' (internal) features which subsequently effected the behaviour of wearers (Kwon 1991). Furthermore, the discussion in the earlier chapters of the present thesis (Chapters 1 - 4) demonstrated the 'power of clothing' in general, and subsequently that of a business-suit. Evaluation of this literature resulted in supporting the incorporation of a business-suit as the garment of focus within the present research with which to extend an enclothed cognition paradigm (Adam and Galinsky 2012; King and Vickery 2013). Additionally, the business-suit is argued to offer more longevity and retain a presence in professional environments over that of previously researched symbolic garments (doctor's white coat).

The target population for enquiry were undergraduates, a population who's use and understanding of the importance of wearing business-suits to convey appropriate impressions to potential employers was inconsistent (Cutts et al. 2015; Hall and Bernardino 2006; Ruetzler et al. 2011). Clarifying undergraduates' beliefs was important and beneficial to the subsequent experimental stage of the present research. The outcome of the focus group study and the subsequent thematic analysis and report of dialogue (5.4.10), enabled undergraduates to contribute to, and be incorporated into the experimental stage of this thesis. More importantly, their inclusion was planned, and designed to gain understanding of undergraduates' beliefs, perceptions and usage within an employment interview. Furthermore, undergraduates 'confirmed' understanding of a business-suit's presence within an interview and workplace environment meant that although as a group they may be limited in work-place experience, they clearly understood behaviours and emotions associated to wearing this garment and how wearing it affected their behaviour and emotions. These findings provided clarification of previously ambiguous evidence and offered a basis for research to extend the findings. For instance, any inter-faculty differences may be apparent due to faculty cultures and relations to industry. If identified this will aid the development of guidance and interventions to assist undergraduate employability in general, rather than by faculty.

The focus group had a further purpose, that of gaining an aggregate of perceptions that undergraduates believed were associated to the garment. This aim was achieved, and in line with previous empirical literature in which a scale of professional competencies had been developed (Peluchette and Karl 2007), the focus group was able to confirm the scale's content and therefore ensured that no 'novel' traits from the undergraduate discussion were missing.

With the advent of casual clothing's prevalence in the workplace, it was also important to gain undergraduates' thoughts on how clothing items were manipulated for workplace and interview wear (Kang et al. 2013). The outcome of the discussion was that undergraduates believed 'it is

all about the jacket'. Proposing that, as a component of a business-suit, wearing a business-suit jacket (BSJ) maintained 'formality' and associated professional perceptions were conveyed, whilst being adaptable and comfortable. The findings are valuable for a further reason, that of offering a basis for understanding how the influx of 'smart-casual' work-place clothing may offer an effective alternative to 'formal clothing. This is a novel area of research, not fully developed, therefore to record changes in clothing practises and their associated effects on employees (e.g. J. P. Morgan) would provide further understanding of the effect of different work-place orientated clothing's power over behaviour.

Themes that became evident from the thematic analysis of the focus group dialogue, demonstrated that the BSJ was very much entrenched in both undergraduates' and societal referencing. From this, and the many physical and behavioural elements that undergraduates related to the BSJ, such as, how the clothing affected their emotions and behaviours, how it was worn and how they believed they acted differently when wearing it, it was surmised that an overarching theme of the analysis was of 'enclothed behaviours'. 'Enclothed behaviours' initially encompassed the multi-dimensional nature of the garment and the extensive array of behaviours and perceptions related to wearing it. Clarification of the previous confusion regarding undergraduates' opinions and the updating of 'self-perception scales' (Peluchette and Karl 2007) confirmed the appropriateness and importance of incorporating undergraduates in the experimental studies of this thesis. This provided a novel approach to the business-suit (formal clothing) literature, not previously addressed.

8.2.2. Experimental Stage – Studies 2 and 3

The emphasis within the business-suit literature had been orientated towards its use within workplace and interview contexts, an environment in which it remains prevalent (Huffcutt et al. 2011; Topham-Woods 2017). Study 2 aimed to test enclothed cognition theory's prediction on an alternative garment, which was partially successful. Participants wearing a BSJ (enclothed cognition) and seeing a BSJ (material priming) both reported a significant effect on performance of a garment-related task (CAT) as had the original authors (Adam and Galinsky 2012; Kay et al. 2004; Berger et al. 2008). However, unlike Adam and Galinsky's (2012) study, Study 2 was not able to differentiate between seeing and wearing a BSJ, which was explained by both enclothed cognition and material priming effects (respectively), therefore full support for enclothed cognition could not be offered (Adam and Galinsky 2012; Kay et al. 2004).

Furthermore, the present research took advantage of an evidenced relationship between garment-related perceptions, which were congruent with interview context related perceptions, as were subsequent behaviours (Adomaitis and Johnson 2005; McCarthy and Goffin 2004; Peluchette and Karl 2007). Incorporating an interview context abled the value of 'explicitly' priming wearers to a garment's symbolism for enclothed cognition behaviour to manifest to be tested (Adam and Galinsky 2012). Study 2 demonstrated that 'explicit' priming (specifically to the garments' symbolism), was not as essential as had been previously proposed (Adam and Galinsky 2012; López-Pérez et al. 2016). Furthermore, the results were argued to demonstrate that with increased cues being made available to participants, for instance, from context (contextual priming), seeing a BSJ (material priming) and wearing a BSJ (enclothed priming) that when these accumulated, sensory input also increased, which was detrimental to some behaviours. This had not previously been tested or reported in the literature. Therefore, the present research reported in this thesis was able to report that over-stimulation from psychological, physical and environmental cues affected behaviours, both positively and negatively. Therefore, understanding of clothing's effects are advanced.

Additionally, context having been included was more influential than had been predicted and was exemplified in the results reporting that heightened professional perceptions (the 'explicit' prime) had a significant effect on reducing interview-anxiety, but not enclothed cognition behaviour. However, although some effects may have been veiled by sensory 'overload' due to the context's inclusion, the context was able to demonstrate the lack of value that explicit garment-related priming held, and support for alternative enclothed cognition theory could be offered support (Slepian et al. 2015; Womack 2016). The reported findings therefore advanced the enclothed cognition model by refuting the value of priming within the theory. This also assisted in gaining understanding of further sources of priming, (e.g. implicit, explicit, perceptual) that had previously been proposed to affect subsequent behaviours but had not been evidenced (Slepian et al. 2015; Womack 2016).

Further aims of Study 2 were not successfully achieved; predictions had expected mood and state anxiety to be positively affected by wearing a business-suit jacket, but no evidence for these could be offered. There was some indication that when trait-anxiety levels were considered alongside wearing a BSJ, then (tentative) inference were made about an association. For example, for each variable, when trait-anxiety grouping (emotional stability) was included, the means in the 'wear-jacket' group exhibited the lowest and highest levels for each variable. This was explained by the contrary effect that a BSJ had on wearers, being a conduit for positive attributes when participants trait-anxiety was low with wearers adopting 'broader' and

'abstract' cognitive processing style, embodying all the positive attributes associated to the garment (Slepian et al. 2015). However, a less 'filtered' approach also led to over-stimulation and poorer attention being paid to e.g. cognitive tasks which was demonstrated in lower cognitive task scores (CAT) for this group. When trait anxiety was higher, wearers adopted a more 'concrete' and focused style of processing stimuli, treating stimuli with more attention and thus gaining higher CAT levels (Cassady and Johnson 2002; Matthews 1990). This also appeared to be the case for pulse-rate measures, but with an unexpected outcome. Reported anxiety levels were contrary to arousal levels, therefore low trait-anxious participants recorded the highest pulse-rates whilst recording the lowest self-report anxiety levels, the opposite being exhibited for higher trait-anxious participants (lowest pulse-rates recorded).

However, these results were only seen in participants wearing a BSJ and was accepted as demonstrating 'some' latent effects of wearing this symbolic garment. These findings are novel and greatly enhance understanding of clothing's effects on wearers. The results indicate unconscious effects of the business-suit and are the basis for development of further research into latent responses to symbolic clothing. This may assist in developing clothing that individuals may be required to wear, such as uniforms or safety clothing, that is not detrimental to their behaviours. Additionally, although there has been a quantity of literature that links personality to clothing (Nauman et al. 2009) this has not tended to address the effect of personality traits' influence on garment-related behaviour, therefore the present research is novel in providing evidence of this.

The effect of individual differences in trait personality (emotional stability) had influenced results for both emotional and behavioural responses to wearing a BSJ (although not all demonstrated significant effects), physiological arousal was contrary to reported anxiety levels. Study 2 was devoid of significant results in general and tentative inferences were made from patterns in the data. The findings were acknowledged as failing to reach significance levels to demonstrate effects and subsequent observations were discussed with caution. However, from the findings, it was surmised that enclothed cognition theory was too simplistic an explanation of behaviours when further elements that influenced 'applied' and 'real-life' situations (such as when context) were incorporated and the natural effects of context's influence were shown to affect behaviours (Goffman 1959). These influencers were argued by the present research to be essential to achieving an 'applied' approach to enclothed cognition. Although Adam and Galinsky's (2012) original findings were influential in advancing research into clothing effects, clothing is socially, personally and dynamically constructed and differs in meanings between context (Goffman 1959; Judge and Simon 2013). To keep clothing isolated from a context was

deemed unrealistic and would only partially demonstrated their effects on individuals' behaviours and emotions.

Furthermore, in extending the enclothed cognition model, recognition was gained that understanding inherent qualities within the wearing experience required examination. This included latent sensory-somatic effects of wearing the BSJ over those of 'explicit' perceptions. In other words, whether the garment primed the wearer, via sensory, haptic and situational channels, which was found to be the case, and was contrary to Adam and Galinsky original proposition (2012).

A more inclusive explanation for 'wearing behaviours' surrounding symbolic clothing that considered: mood, trait and state-anxiety, physiological arousal and context was required. This was primarily identified through the multiple behaviours and perceptions reported from the focus groups findings 'enclothed behaviours' was further supported.

8.2.3. Enclothed or Embodied Cognition?

From the conclusions drawn from Study 2 presented in this thesis, the next stage of the research involved testing an enclothed cognition model's ability to explain behaviours and emotions when alternative and intrinsic qualities of the BSJ were considered. The garment's structure was proposed to influence 'embodied' effects, in addition to 'enclothed' effects from the symbolism of the garment. In other words, the research was leaning towards the influence of an embodied cognition theory rather than enclothed cognition theory's explanation for behaviours. Therefore, with the overlap of several traits reported between a BSJ and 'power' perspectives (perceived power, postured power) and the body of literature that demonstrated a 'cyclical link' (See figure 5., Section 7.2.) between both the BSJ and embodied power, (social distance behaviour as consequence of both, overlap of perceptions) Study 3 compared 'embodied' and 'enclothed' behaviours.

Study 3 had anticipated that differences in prime-groups (posture and garment) would be apparent for variables such as detection rates and reaction times and reduced anxiety and negative mood. However, the effect of either the BSJ or power posture on affectivity and cognition did not fully demonstrate differences. However, in providing evidence for similarities rather than differences this was accepted as an indication that the BSJ emulated physical power perspectives. The lack of significant evidence for changes in mood or anxiety levels due to the garment versus a power-posture was interpreted in a similar way to Study 2, proposing that the

jacket acted as a conduit for sensory perceptions. Such that for some behaviours, when participants were predisposed to trait-anxiety, the sensory input may have been too much for effective processing of stimuli and failure to positively affect (or change) some emotions due to 'sensory overload',

In parallel to Study 2 cognitive performance in Study 3 (reaction time) was observed to be affected by both prime-group and trait-anxiety grouping, with results indicating that when participants were high in trait-anxiety they were affected more by wearing the BSJ than by posturing power. Furthermore, trait-anxiety levels differentiated cognitive performance between enclothed and embodied behaviours; state-anxiety and mood followed a similar pattern. The outcome of the findings concluded that embodying power had an equal effect to 'wearing' power. However, various differences had become apparent through examining trait-anxiety and the primes, this was reasoned to be explained as trait-anxious individuals processing stimuli differently to low trait-anxious participants', and the former using 'narrower' referencing to interpret them, in a more concrete style (Slepian et al. 2015) as opposed to low trait-anxious adopting a broader more 'abstract' style of processing (Magee and Smith 2013; Trope and Liberman 2010).

In conclusion the results were able to address the aims of Study 3, although not all predictions were met. Furthermore, lack of differentiation between the primes was accepted as an indication of the inherent 'qualities' of the BSJ that mirrored those of the embodying a power-prime (upright stance, shoulders held slightly back). This was also recognised as adding to the body of knowledge surrounding what is already known concerning; 'how does what we wear affect how we behave'. Furthermore, this new knowledge will form the basis of further investigations that may no longer accept 'taken for granted' outcomes of wearing certain clothing, alternatively investigate more closely how clothing and personality traits affect behaviours.

8.3. Evaluation of the Research and Theoretical Implications

The overarching aim of the studies within this thesis was to gain further knowledge and understanding surrounding the effect of clothing on behaviours, emotions and understand the intrinsic qualities of a particular garment to influence behaviour, a business-suit.

The strength of the initial study (Study 1) within this thesis was the utilisation of a focus group which gained an understanding of the beliefs of undergraduates to a garment that was perceived

as being workplace orientated. The evidence that the focus group not only provided clarity concerning undergraduates' beliefs regarding the garment, but also a 'contemporary' view of a previously unconfirmed subject area (Hall and Bernardino 2006; Ruetzler et al. 2011: Teijeiro et al. 2013). The focus group's findings were able to support the comprehensiveness and utilisation of an 'established' scale within the subsequent studies (Professional self-perception scale - Peluchette and Karl 2007). The focus group further provided a base from which interventions for undergraduate interview guidance can be designed (Hall and Bernardino 2006). However, the focus group was devoid of diversity in cultural and inter-faculty representation. Therefore, expanding understanding of undergraduates' opinions needed to ensure inclusion of these communities in future studies. This would then allow the findings to be generalised across faculties.

There were also several strengths related to the experimental studies reported in this thesis. Firstly, although it had been believed to be the sole development of a 'seminal' research topic when first initiated (Enclothed Cognition Theory – Adam and Galinsky 2012) and regardless of simultaneous research being undertaken (López-Pérez et al. 2016; Slepian et al. 2014, Van Stockum and DeCaro 2014; Womack 2016), Study 2 offered a unique development of the enclothed cognition model. This was due to the methodology incorporating a specific and garment-related context (employment-interview simulation), which has not previously been incorporated in studies. Additionally, this enabled an 'applied' and more 'authentic' setting to be considered within the theory and therefore, supported alternative literature that argued for its inclusion (Womack 2016). Therefore, the explicit prime's value in the enclothed cognition model was shown to be greatly reduced when context was included, as had been previously argued but not evidenced (Slepian et al. 2015). Furthermore, the original model was argued by this research to be too simplistic and naïve to consider enclothed behaviour without considering real-world applications.

A further strength of Study 2 was consideration of affective components within a context in which they were relevant, as well as being strongly linked to the BSJ (negative mood and anxiety) Although these were not significantly affected by wearing a BSJ, their inclusion had begun a 'dialogue' regarding more 'measured' rather than anecdotal effects of the garment on these behaviours. In addition, a link was recognised between emotions and power-priming and enclothed behaviours which had not previously been synthesised (Kang et al. 2013; Nair et al. 2014). The studies presented in this thesis offers a proposed development of the original enclothed cognition model, which had only examined cognitive, and not considered affective processes within it (Adam and Galinsky 2012). Furthermore, recent extensions of the

enclothed cognition model had also not addressed anxiety and mood (Slepian et al. 2014 Van Stockrum et al 2014; Womack 2016) whereas the current study is differentiated from others by having done so.

Literature had not previously directly compared enclothed and embodied cognition theories (Adam and Galinsky 2012; Barsalou 2002; Carney et al. 2010; Womack 2016) which the present research undertook. Although embodied cognition theory was incorporated into enclothed cognition's development, it had been assumed that enclothed cognition had been an 'advancement' from embodied cognition (Adam and Galinsky 2012). Furthermore, the development of an 'enclothed behaviour' model within the present thesis was agued to offer a more comprehensive explanation of behaviour associated to seeing/wearing symbolic clothing, particularly as this novel model takes into account multi-dimensional elements, including emotional, contextual, embodied and the inherent 'qualities' of garments (its structure). The present research has made a 'novel' and direct link between the physical effect of a BSJ on wearers and mimicking the garment's effect through adopting a power-posture. This close association of perceptions and behaviours and effects between the two constructs demonstrated that the BSJ had more of a subliminal physical and psychological effect on wearers than previously assumed. With this information adding to the body of knowledge regarding clothing, further understanding directed towards haptic rather than the aesthetic effects of clothing can be considered, when for instance they are intended for dress-codes or uniforms for employees. The impact of designing structured clothing should consider the behavioural and emotional effects it may have.

8.3.1. Theoretical Implications

The findings within the present thesis have important implications in terms of theory. The research in this thesis provided evidence that supported elements of enclothed cognition theory, however, not all aspects of the enclothed cognition model as it currently stands (Adam and Galinsky 2012). Instead, the findings presented in this thesis supported alternative approaches, that for instance, 'devalued' the importance of 'explicit' priming within the original model (Adam and Galinsky 2012; Slepian et al. 2015). This thesis also provided evidence that enclothed cognition theory required context to be considered and thus supported Womack's (2016) assertion that context was required.

Furthermore, emotions and affect had been absent within enclothed cognition, whilst robust evidence had linked particular items of clothing to mood enhancement and anxiety reduction (Johnson et al. 2008; Kang et al, 2013; Kwon 1991; Moody et al. 2010) and perceptions of related attributes to business-suits and business environments (Peluchette and Karl 2007). The research in the present thesis was therefore the first to incorporate these findings within the frame work of the present research. However, although direct support for previous literature was not offered, this had not been the intention. Alternatively, testing for causal effects of wearing a garment on behaviours was achieved in the present research, based on the theories proposals.

The incorporation of a specific context in the research presented in this thesis, not only extended enclothed cognition theory to include context, it also enabled a theory of interview anxiety to be examined. McCarthy and Goffin's (2004) theory were provided with support for its theoretical framework through the findings presented in this thesis. The multidimensional interaction model (Endler and Kocovski 2001that was incorporated into McCarthy and Goffin's (2004) interview anxiety model was supported by the findings in the present thesis, showing that some trait behaviours were inflexible, whilst others were subject to individual differences, as the multidimensional interactional model proposed (Endler and Kocovski 2001). Huffcutt et al. (2011) had provided evidence that some behaviours within interview are 'trait' behaviours and impervious to change, however the research presented here disputed this, showing that some 'state' influences, such as wearing a symbolic garment changed a trait construct such as interview anxiety.

Although the intention of the present research was to test enclothed cognition theory's prediction on a business-suit, the findings of this research required further theories to be examined; enclothed cognition theory incorporated embodied cognition within its framework. It became apparent that the present research's finding provided support for embodied cognition's explanation of behaviour to be elevated within the enclothed cognition model. The present research findings had shown that explicit priming had reduced value, and cues came from embodying the garment rather than perceiving related traits. Thus, the garment provided embodied information to wearers thorough its corporeal manipulation.

8.4. Limitations of the Research and Future Possibilities

The research presented in this thesis was intended to adopt an exploratory approach to understanding the effects of a BSJ on wearers' behaviour. It had been recognised prior to embarking on the research that this topic was extensive, and any understanding gained would provide only a small component to add to the body of knowledge regarding the effect clothing on behaviour. However, although 'exploratory' the present research had several limitations that required consideration. The initial limitation related to the population of undergraduates who took part in Study 1 and 2. Participants were not screened prior to taking part in the two studies, other than not having taken part in both. This meant that the undergraduates who volunteered for the studies came from the arguably diverse community that makes up Coventry University student population. However, participants did not exhibit any culturally-oriented clothing differences or opinions that may have aided a more 'universal' understanding of clothing behaviour. Rather, a western European perspective appeared to have been represented.

As was previously mentioned, Future research into undergraduates' opinions concerning professional clothing requires inclusion of more diverse communities that fully represent the multiplicity of a university campus and a global approach to understanding work-place clothing. This includes incorporating different university faculties, who often have their own 'culture' or approach to a topic area such as clothing. More inclusive examination of this topic would develop a comprehensive understanding of undergraduates' opinion that could subsequently aid interventions and guidance for undergraduates transitioning into the work-place.

The first three chapters of the present thesis evaluated literature arguing for the power and influence of clothing on wearers. From e.g. selfhood through to appearance management, the discussion related how important clothing was to the individual. However, in Study 2 and 3. Participants were required to wear a BSJ which was not their own, was not a perfect 'fit' and may have been contrary to their personal preferences. This may have contributed to what was referred to as 'appearance labour', in other words dissonance between what participants were required to wear and what they wanted to wear (Cardon and Okoro 2009; (Peluchette and Karl 2006) potentially affecting the results. As was previously introduced, this was not considered within the studies presented in this thesis, therefore future studies involving clothing should consider a measure of e.g. the importance of clothing to the wearer, ('proximity of clothing to self' scale Sontag and Slater 1982).

Future research should consider a measure of individuals' attitudes towards clothing they are required to wear, in order for this to be considered as a variable assessing any effects on wearers of 'enforced' clothing. Furthermore, as was also previously mentioned in the conclusion in Study 3, yet relevant also to Study 2, participants had no relationship or connection with the garment they were given, and as had been discussed extensively in the early chapters of this thesis, clothing is a fundamental and daily practice, with the effects impacting most aspects of social, personal, emotional and behavioural aspects of individuals' lives. Therefore, future, investigations should incorporate a methodology that requires participants to wear their own clothing, clothing that they have some relationship with (Hannover and Kühnen 2002; Slepian et al. 2015).

Evidence for gender differences in the way individuals react and are affected by clothing has been reported (Frith and Gleeson 2004; Howlett et al. 2012: Kang et al. 2010). However, consideration of how gender effects participants' reactions to wearing symbolic clothing was not considered in the present research. Therefore, examining gender could highlight some interesting findings, particularly when considering that male appearance research has developed greatly in recent years and the literature underpinning its inclusion may achieve interesting and novel results. An outcome of the focus group study highlighted participants assertion that the business-suit jacket was flexible, and adaptable, with participants explaining that they could wear it with different items of clothing. However, this was valenced towards the females in the group. The male perspective is likely to be different due to male's general inability to implement changes such as wearing a skirt as an alternative to trousers. Therefore, future research should consider gender within symbolic clothing studies. A further assumption that requires further examining and related to the above comment, was the assumption that the perceptions associated to the symbolism of the BSJ is ungendered. However, these is evidence that males and females perceive and use professional clothing somewhat differently to bolster self-perceptions (Bart 2016; Topham-Wood 2017). Considering gender differences within clothing perceptions literature requires inclusion.

The present studies (2 and 3) relied upon undergraduates as participants. However, in examining professional behaviours there is scope to develop paradigms to examine workplace behaviours. Examining the effect of the BSJ within a 'real' interview would further develop understanding and competencies that surround this garment. Furthermore, in discussing business and organisational clothing in earlier chapters of this thesis (1.4.2 - 1.4.3.1) the prevalence of business-casual clothing was noted. This similar, yet alternative style of clothing, again may be somewhat more gendered, being more related to male attire than

females. However, its adoption by major organisations suggests a shift in the image they wish to portray and an easing of the constraints in inter-organisational communication (Bart 2016). However, the ubiquity of the business-suit as it currently stands, as a garment symbolic of many context-related attributes and self-perceptions, suggests changes in these self-perceptions that are attained and utilised (professionalism, intelligence, self-confidence, androgyny) when wearing it, may compromise individuals self-image if replaced. Therefore, to investigate the effects of this 'somewhat' new style of work-place clothing would shed light on wearers' psychological and behavioural effects.

The present research was able to demonstrate that trait-anxiety levels, were implicated in most of the analyses' results within this thesis (Study 2 and 3). This was a somewhat unexpected outcome and had not been predicted to have such an impact on results. The purpose of including personality traits, in particular emotional stability (Big five – Goldberg 1992) was to account for highly trait-anxious participants when considered against measures of state and interviewanxiety. On reflection incorporation of trait emotional stability enabled a new avenue of enquiry to be proposed, and behaviours to be explained that had not previously been acknowledged. Personality traits had not been previously considered within the literature when directly examining enclothed behaviour. Additionally, their incorporation will aid the development of further research to assess the effect of individual differences in personality traits on clothing's influence on behaviour. Further examination of the effect of emotional stability and further personality traits is required to understand how they, for instance, influence the way processing of sensory and environmental stimuli is undertaken, which affects subsequent task performance. Personality factors and clothing has many implications for workplace settings and uniform or dress-code polices, as what employees wear may impact how efficient they are at processing a task.

What the findings from the present research has shown is that behaviours and emotions are affected by clothing, often at an unconscious level. Therefore, an area that require further investigation, include development of the 'enclothed behaviour' model. In particular, in terms of investigating the BSJ within an organisational environment and its effects on emotions and behaviours. For example, actual workplace 'performance' when wearing a BSJ has not previously been assessed, having been 'inferred' from perceptions rather than 'tested' (Karl et al. 2013). Assessment of wearing a BSJ could assist in modifying workplace practises through discovering the garment's full potential; for instance, on empowered perceptions and positive mood (Carney et al 2010; Kwon and Johnson Hilleary 1998).

Additionally, with workplace uniforms and corporate dress-codes becoming ever more commonplace (Bart 2016; Lightstone et al. 2011; Topham-Wood 2017), the results of the present research begin to demonstrate and offer some understanding of how this may affect employees' behaviour, essential for workplace performance and wellbeing. Not only has clothing and workplace congruence been shown to be important to wearers (Adomaitis and Johnson 2005; Lightstone et al. 2011) understanding the physical effects of a garment on wearers such as those reported in the present research, will assist in developing clothing-task links to enable for instance, a particular task, and employees who need to wear particular clothing, are wearing optimally designed garment for that task (Yap et al. 2014). Research focused on topics such as this could assist in enhancing public-service employees' workplace experience. They are required to wear uniforms to undertake work duties, however the effects of the garment may not be fully appreciated (Bell et al. 2005; Lui and Chen 2013).

A further contribution that the results from the present research could contribute to, could could concentrate on exploring an effect that was unexpected and demonstrated in Study 2, pulse-rated levels, as a demonstration of physiological anxiety, which was shown to be contrary to participants' reported anxiety. This phenomenon was interesting, and an explanation was offered previously, however, the development of this area could assist in demonstrating unconscious effects of clothing on emotions, that might for instance impact on individuals who are required to wear particular clothing for a particular task or job role.

Furthermore, the proposed 'enclothed behaviour' model which evidence within this thesis has provided, is in its infancy, it attempts to encompass the multiple components of the 'wearing experience' of a symbolic garment. It was further proposed at this early stage of its development as an 'umbrella term' that considers; wearing the symbolic garment, the context, social interactions, individual differences and emotions.

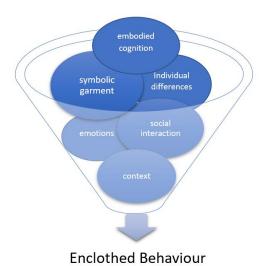


Figure 6. Representation of the multidimensional model of Enclothed behaviour, showing components parts.

However, this model requires further refinement and development, therefore the next step to develop this model would be to further explore symbolic clothing, within a garment-related/unrelated context and examine context's and garment's effect and interaction on cognitive and emotional behaviours.

The studies presented in this thesis have enabled recognition of some important avenues for future investigations. A 'comprehensive' explanation of the effects of clothing on behaviours requires an extensive and diverse body of research to fully understand such a complex phenomenon. The findings however, assist in this task by offering novel discoveries of some of the effects of wearing a symbolic garment, a BSJ.

8.5. Final Remarks

The research within this thesis set out to explore whether enclothed cognition's prediction could be extended to an alternative symbolic garment, one that is equally as prevalent in western cultures, a business-suit. This research was important for several reasons. The original symbolic garment that the theory was based upon (doctor's white coat) is becoming somewhat obsolete in UK medical institutions, therefore extension to an alternative symbolic garment enabled the model to become generalisable. Furthermore, in aiming to generalise findings, it was initially important to ensure that participants involved in testing a symbolic garment had

some understanding of its symbolism and usage. Undergraduates were the target sample for involvement in the studies, however prior empirical findings were contrary as to whether they deemed business-suits important or realised their symbolism. Therefore, by investigating undergraduates' opinions regarding the business-suit a void in the literature was filled and clarity achieved.

There was a further gap in empirical literature that had not previously extended enclothed cognition to include a garment-related context, which the present research fulfilled. In addition, the theoretical basis of the enclothed cognition model was questioned, supported by findings from the present research that 'embodied' explanations within the model were more relevant than had been previously argued, and thus required extension and adaptation of the original theory (Adam and Galinsky 2012). From dissecting enclothed cognition theory an 'initial', applied and more inclusive model of enclothed behaviours was proposed.

Furthermore, in evaluating the theoretical basis of the enclothed cognition model, recognition of overlaps and associations between embodied effects and inherent garment qualities were recognised for the first time, that required comparison (Barsalou 2002; Carney et al. 2012; 2012, Cuddy et al. 2015, Trope and Lieberman 2010; Yap et al. 2013). The comparison carried out in this research was the first to directly compare the effects of wearing a particular garment (business-suit jacket) with imitating this garment's effect on the body (power posture). The findings from study 3 were not fully conclusive, however they provided a basis for further advancement understanding of the joint psychological and physical effects of clothing on wearers.

Collectively, this body of research is theoretically important due to its challenge to enclothed cognition theory and its attempt to reinforce the importance of embodied cognition within a more inclusive model of 'enclothed behaviours'. The exploratory approach this research took to examine the effect of wearing particular clothing, also directed attention away from evidence that had been based on perceptions of wearers and examined more direct effect on wearers' behaviours. From the present research, further knowledge and understanding of effects of clothing was achieved, along with practical applications for the use of symbolic clothing. Consequently, this thesis offers many intriguing and exiting avenues in the field of symbolic clothing for further research. Therefore, it can be said that 'The Business-suit Does the Business'.

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Certificate of Ethical Approval

Applicant:

Anne Turner

Project Title:

Investigating undergraduates' perceptions of wearing a business suit to Job interviews; A focus Group study.

This is to certify that the above named applicant has completed the Coventry University Ethical Approval process and their project has been confirmed and approved as Medium Risk

Date of approval:

06 May 2015

Project Reference Number:

P32574



Certificate of Ethical Approval

Applicant: Anne Turner

Project Title:

The Business suit - Does it do 'The Business?' Investigating the effects of embodying a symbolic garment.

This is to certify that the above named applicant has completed the Coventry University Ethical Approval process and their project has been confirmed and approved as Medium Risk

Date of approval: 28 January 2016

Project Reference Number: P3596



Certificate of Ethical Approval

Applicant: Anne Turner

Project Title: Examining the effect of everyday behaviours on mood and anxiety

This is to certify that the above-named applicant has completed the Coventry University Ethical Approval process and their project has been confirmed and approved as Medium Risk

Date of approval: 21 March 2017

Project Reference Number: P47127





Investigating 'Symbolic Clothing' - Anne Turner PhD student

You are invited to take part in a poll investigating 'symbolic' clothing (clothing that has associated behaviours and competencies) and the effect such clothing has on the emotions and behaviours of both the wearer and the observer of clothing in certain environments. (Adam & Galinsky 2012; Kwon 1994; Peluchette & Karl 2007)

Your participation is completely voluntary, and your responses are confidential. By completing this form, you are showing your agreement to participate. N.B. your student number is required purely for the purpose of applying participation credits. You will gain 30 participation credits for your effort.

Please look at each of the attached images of individuals' wearing suits – please indicate which

Please look at each of the attached images of individuals' wearing suits – please indicate which three male and three female images you would expect/imagine seeing being worn in the 'workplace' (the workplace meaning, an office/organisation/public service/industry-based company).

Student id number

Age Years months

Number of full-time jobs you have had in the past 12 months

Please do not discuss your answers and give your own responses.

Female choices

Male choices

Thank you for your participation. In completing the above questions, you are assisting in research that should contribute to a broader understanding of the influence of symbolic clothing on behaviours and emotions. If you have any further questions, please contact - Anne Turner PhD student by email: aa8150@coventry.ac.uk

Appendix 6 Chosen suit images – class room poll



Mediator Prompt Questions

When you see others wearing a business suit to a job interview how do you think it makes them feel?

How do think the people in the picture feel dressed in business suits?

Do you think **they** will be offered the job when dressed in a business suit?

Do you think **you** would be offered the job when dressed in a business suit?

Do you think it is important whether or not a business suit is comfortable to wear?

Do you think it is important to be fashionable to a job interview?

Do you think it matters what you wear to a job interview?

What do you think the interviewer will think if you don't wear a business suit to an interview?

If you were the only one in the 'waiting room' wearing a business suit and everyone else is dressed casually how would you feel?

Are clothes important to you?

Do you put in much effort with how you dress?

Is it important to you what other people think of what you are wearing?

Do you like to impress people with what you wear?

Do you feel more confident when you dress appropriately for a situation?

Does wearing a business suit to an interview make you feel different?

Does wearing a business suit enhance the applicant's chances of being offered the job?

Do you feel more, or less confident when you wear a business suit?

- 1 Undergraduates' perceptions of the Business suit for
- 2 Interview situations

3

- 4 Focus Group Study 32min 45 secs
- 5 I: Okay, please feel free to jot down any competencies or thoughts that you feel throughout
- 6 the session as you discuss it. So basically, erm, we're looking at, how you feel about wearing
- a business suit to a job interview. Err, so when you see somebody like [sic] in the photographs,
- 8 erm how do you think it makes them feel, for instance?
- 9 PF2: More confident, I guess.
- 10 PF1: Fashionable.
- 11 I: Err, you know research has shown that the way individuals dress, affects how they are
- perceived by others and how self-perceptions are changed. So you feel that they would be
- more confident? Err, any other attributes that you think they might attain—or feel enhanced?
- 14 PM1: probably more likely they'll be able to do the job, cos they put forward they're dressed—
- in a certain way to do it.
- 16 I: So they'd look competent?
- 17 PM1: Yeah.
- 18 I: Yeah— do you think the interviewer would think that of them?
- 19 PM1: Yes definitely.
- 20 PF1: Yes.
- 21 PF2: Yeah.
- 22 PM2: Yeah.
- 23 I: What about the other applicants going for the job?
- 24 PM1: Depends if they are dressed the same, they probably feel a bit intimidated, if obviously
- 25 if [sic] someone else is dressed up.
- 26 I: Yeah.
- 27 PM1: ... smarter than they are.
- 28 I: How about yourselves? Erm, if you were going to an interview, how would you approach
- 29 it? So it's a really desirable job you're after, post graduate perhaps, you know, err, a really
- 30 good job that fits all the criteria that you want—emm, how would you approach going for an
- 31 interview, for a formal interview?
- 32 PM1: Get dressed in a suit probably.
- 33 PM2: Yes, I would definitely wear a suit or something, formal.
- 34 I: Right, coz [sic] how would that make you feel do you think?
- 35 PM3: I feel good in the suit so ... [laughing]
- 36 PF1: You feel confident—you sort of stand taller and—yeah.
- 37 PF2: I think it shows you are also willing to make the effort, like you've made the extra like
- thing of putting something on [sic] —more than, just putting jeans and tee-shirt on—you've
- made the effort, to show you want it more.
- 40 I: Right.
- PM2: You could show as well that you are educated—that you understand what you are doing.
- 42 I: Ah so you seem educated?
- 43 PM2: Yeah.
- 44 I: Right, err, and respect for the situation?
- 45 PF1: Yeah.

- 46 PM2: Yeah.
- 47 PM3: Definitely
- 48 PF2: [nodding]
- 49 I: Has anybody often worn formal clothing, in [sic] a daily basis?
- 50 PM1: I have yeah, at a call-centre job I did, yeah.
- 51 I: And you were required to wear—?
- 52 PM1: We were, yeah, it was just like, just occasionally, once a month we would dress down,
- but other than that it was formal wear, wearing a suit.
- I: Okay, how did it make you feel dressed like that?
- 55 PM1: Yeah, it's like what we were saying earlier, you do feel more professional—to do the
- job you're dressed up to do that job as well [sic].
- 57 I: On the dress-down days do you think you felt or acted differently in the role?
- 58 PM1: I think I felt less mature, we used to mess around probably a about a bit more actually.
- 59 [Laughing]
- 60 PF1: [laughing]
- 61 I: Oh really. How about the comfort of the business suit? Do you feel comfortable when you
- are dressed up in that way?
- 63 PM2: Yeah maybe.
- 64 I: Yeah.
- 65 PF1: No, ladies' formal clothes are less comfortable than normal clothes.
- 66 I: Do you think?
- 67 PF1: Yeah.
- 68 I: What aspect of them?
- 69 PF1: Fitted, usually more fitted and things, then I suppose that—yeah.
- 70 I: So that's not such a problem for the men?
- 71 P: [all] yes, yeah.
- 72 PM3: Not really it depends on the suit.
- 73 PM1: Especially if you're wearing it all day, it can feel a bit annoying, especially if you've
- 74 got a tie and stuff like that, it does get a bit annoying.
- 75 I: Right [pause] you were saying sorry ... [to PM2]
- PM2: A suit, that, when I'm choosing a suit I'm [sic] wanting it to be good for me, that I would
- feel very good, you know.
- 78 I: So, you'd choose one that had the [sic] comfort ...
- 79 PM2: Yeah.
- 80 I: ... within it as it were?
- 81 PM2: Yeah.
- 82 I: Okay. Err, if you were the only one in the waiting room wearing a business suit and everyone
- was dressed casually how would you [sic] feel?
- 84 PF1: Overdressed
- 85 I: Really?
- 86 PF1: Yes.
- 87 PF2: But I'd rather be overdressed than underdressed cos [sic] it's easier to like—de-dress
- something, than up-dress something [sic] rather than if you were wearing jeans, whereas like,
- 89 if you're in a formal outfit you can like change it to make it less formal.
- 90 I: [laughing]

- 91 PF2:
- 92 I: Right, so would you feel self-conscious, or would you feel more confident if you were the
- only one in the business suit?
- 94 PF1: It depends what the job is. If you're going for a job in a shop, and you were dressed in a
- 95 suit and everyone wasn't, then I'd feel uncomfortable. But if I was going for a business type
- 96 job and I was dressed in a suit, then I'd feel more confident and feel I'd feel like I was going
- 97 to do better.
- 98 I: Right, right. And do you think that you'd have one over on the others?
- 99 PF1: Yeah probably.
- 100 I: Yeah? If we're looking at a formal ...
- 101 PF1: Yes.
- 102 I: ... business environment job. Okay, erm, and what will the interviewer think of you, erm, if
- 103 you were wearing a business suit to an interview? [Pause] How will the interviewer perceive
- 104 you?
- 105 PF1: They see you more professional [sic].
- 106 PM1: Yeah, you've made the effort to actually—put on formal clothes instead of just turning
- 107 up.
- 108 PF2: It makes you think differently as well, like, if you're dressed out of your normal everyday
- wear, you kinda [sic] like, know that you are doing something differently, and it's going to
- make you want to make the effort to hold yourself, speak up a bit better, whereas if you're
- wearing normal clothes, it normal habits and normal mind-set rather than ...
- 112 I: Right.
- 113 PF2: ... the interviewer will be seeing a better version of you, I suppose ...
- I: Smashing. [Pause] Erm, is it important, do you think, what other people think of what you
- are wearing?
- 116 PM2: For me yes, because if the suit shows that you are tidy, this is a good aspect [sic],
- because, they will build respect for you if you are tidy.
- 118 I: Right. Okay, so it affects what people think of you ...
- 119 PM2: Yes.
- 120 I: ... and it is important. So, you're perhaps portraying something, in what you're wearing?
- 121 [Pause] So you feel that the business suit does make you feel different, and are perceived
- differently? Erm do you think that an applicant like in the pictures for instance, either you or
- another, erm, would it enhance the applicant's chance of being offered the job?
- 124 PM1: Yeah, for the right job yeah ...
- 125 PF1: Yeah.
- 126 PM1: ... yeah, I think if I'm dressed for a business job.
- 127 I: Yeah, if we kinda [sic] think of, err, a professional job, not just in, perhaps McDonalds,
- unless it was management or something. But, erm, a job that you may want, or even if its post-
- graduate study in a formal interview that you need to be dressed for. [Pause] So you think it
- will enhance their chance of getting a job?
- 131 ALL: [Nodding]
- 132 I: In what sorts of way [sic] would that happen, do you think?
- 133 PF1: The person interviewing you would think you're more professional and you're probably
- more competent to do the job. Erm, yeah.

- 135 PM1: You're more confident as well, when you're dressed up you feel more confident, so
- 136 you'll portray it at an interview as well.
- 137 I: Right, so you think your behaviour will be different?
- 138 PF1/2: yeah.
- 139 PM3: And also, first impression is important on job interview [sic], so you're trying to look as
- best as you can [sic].
- 141 I: Absolutely. Erm, so you feel more confident about it, and, do you err do you generally put
- in much effort into your dress? Or would it just be particular effort for a job interview?
- 143 PM1: Yeah, a lot more.
- 144 PF1: More effort in [sic].
- 145 I: And you'd think about what you're putting on?
- 146 PF1/2: yeah.
- 147 I: So, erm, ideally would it be similar to what's in the pictures? [Ps looking at photos]
- 148 PF1: Yeah.
- 149 I: They were taken from a poll of students to assess the most generic.
- 150 PF1: Yeah, that sort of s—suit jacket, like a jacket and stuff.
- 151 I: And but [sic] skirt, trousers?
- 152 PF1: Yes, a skirt.
- 153 I: How about you? [To PF2]
- 154 PF2: Probably either, like a, suit, like jacket and a skirt, or if you wore like a formal dress but
- with the suit jacket on.
- 156 I: Yeah.
- 157 PF2: So not like, necessarily a full suit, but always the jacket.
- 158 PF1: [interrupting] probably I'd rather wear a dress and jacket, probably.
- 159 PF2: Yes.
- 160 I: Right.
- 161 PF2: ... rather than a full suit.
- 162 I: Okay, so would it being a dress make a difference?
- 163 PF1: To me probably.
- 164 PF2: I'd feel more comfortable in a dress.
- 165 PF1: Probably I'd feel more comfortable in a dress.
- 166 I: Oh Okay.
- 167 PF2: Coz it's less fitted—like it's, you pick a shape that fits you better, whereas tailoring isn't
- always like if it's a skirt it's kinda like, more tight— like It's more shaped.
- 169 I: Right. Yeah okay so it's—for the men [directed towards males] you would always
- incorporate a jacket with it, you wouldn't just wear the shirt and tie?
- 171 PM3: Yes.
- 172 I: Coz you feel the jacket is the bit that kind of really ...
- 173 PM1: That's the formal bit of it, then you've got a shirt and tie, and then jacket and trousers
- and obviously a decent pair of shoes.
- 175 PF1: As opposed to the job, you're just generally whilst you're working there you'd be wearing
- trousers and shirt, so you'd have to put that little bit extra in, for the interview, so jacket makes
- 177 it a bit ...
- 178 I: Right, gives it that edge?
- 179 PF1: Yeah.

- 180 I: And gives it formality. Erm, so if you turned up for an interview and you weren't dressed
- formally, everybody else was, erm, even if it's for a mundane job; what feelings do you think
- 182 you would have?
- 183 PM2:
- 184 PM1: You'd feel that you're already behind everybody else, they've made more effort straight
- away. First time they see you, before you say anything they're going to judge you.
- 186 I: Right.
- 187 PF1: Feel very self-conscious.
- 188 I: Right, and you'd feel judged?
- 189 PM2: I would feel embarrassed that I was the only one who was not wearing suit [sic] and
- everybody else has, so I'd feel like, feel a bit weird.
- 191 I: And do you think that they would have an advantage over you then?
- 192 PM2: Definitely.
- 193 PM1: yeah.
- 194 I: Would you ever consider wearing a jacket into university, for the day?
- 195 PF1: Probably.
- 196 PM1: A suit jacket, not really, no.
- 197 PM3: No.
- 198 I: It's just not congruent with university
- 199 PF1: I suppose for a girl it's a bit different because blazer, jacket, that's sort of a bit in fashion,
- but I wouldn't wear it ...
- 201 PF2: Not day to day, if I was going somewhere else, like after, that was more formal— I'd like
- wear the same outfit, then go straight there, but not on a day to day basis I wouldn't wear it.
- 203 I: What would you feel, how would you feel, if you were wearing a formal jacket into
- 204 university for the day then?
- 205 PF1: Silly. [Sniggers]
- 206 I: Because it—what doesn't go with the environment?
- 207 PF1: Yeah, it's a casual—well it's not a casual setting but, everybody else dresses casually,
- so you'd be—even the lecturers don't usually wear jackets.
- 209 I: [giggles] Right so you'd feel out of place ...
- 210 PF1: Out of place.
- 211 I: ... so it's not the right place to wear it, within this environment?
- 212 PM1: Not a formal jacket, no.
- 213 I: Okay. So, any other thoughts or experiences of, you know, of going to an interview, or
- 214 thinking about going to an interview and dressing for it?
- 215 PF1: I haven't really had an interview where I've had to wear a suit. But I've had one where
- 216 I've dressed, I've made sure I've dressed smarter, and um my hairs done properly, and my
- 217 makeups done properly and ...
- 218 PF2: I think it really depends on where you are applying ...
- 219 PF1: Yeah ...
- 220 PF2: Like— If there's certain like jobs like, when I did one in a hospital, you had to have your
- hair up and bare below the elbows on a day to day basis, so if you wore a jacket to the interview,
- that's not like appropriate because it's full length sleeves.
- 223 I: Right.
- 224 PF2: It had to be short sleeved, for it to be appropriate for their environment.

- 225 I: So, had you been warned to not wear long sleeves for the interview ...
- 226 PF2: No ...
- 227 I: ... or did you just take the? ...
- 228 PF2: ... its, I guess—because I know It's the norm, to be bare below the elbow and on a day
- 229 to day basis they expect you to be bare below the elbow. They're expecting, like for you to
- work there, you've got, like that understanding that, what is appropriate and what isn't
- inappropriate in your clothes
- 232 I: Oh, right. So, you had pre-empted the condition ...
- 233 PF2: Yeah.
- 234 I: ... almost? Yeah. Have you—anybody else had much experience of wearing a business suit
- 235 generally, or for other occasions?
- 236 PM3: Not too much.
- 237 PM1: Not really.
- 238 I: Right. Have you been to many interviews?
- 239 PM2: yeah.
- I: And you were dressed in a business suit?
- 241 PM3: Yeah
- 242 PM2: yeah, always
- 243 PM3: I felt more comfortable when I was in suit [sic].
- 244 I: Erm, if all the lecturers were wearing formal attire, a business suit jacket at least, would you
- think differently of them?
- 246 PM1: Probably not to be honest with you,
- 247 PF1: Maybe they'd be less approachable
- 248 PM1: yeah.
- 249 I: Right.
- 250 PF1: I dunno, it's more, it's on a diff—they're more approachable when you're in sort of
- similar—obviously dressed smarter than the students but ...
- 252 PM1: But they're still casual, wearing a suit, so you can go and have a casual conversation. If
- 253 they're in a suit, then maybe you think you can't really go up to them and talk.
- 254 I: Right, so you must see people around the campus who dress in three, two-piece suits and
- 255 tie, the dean, the Associate Dean ...
- 256 PM1: I'd assume they're management or something similar.
- 257 I: Right, so you'd give them a wider berth and wouldn't approach them so much?
- 258 PF1: yeah.
- 259 I: Right, what would you think if the person interviewing you was in jeans and tee shirt and
- you were wearing a suit?
- 261 PM2: I'd feel not so good [sic].
- 262 I: Not so good?
- 263 PM2: yeah.
- 264 I: Erm, can you elaborate on that?
- 265 PM2: I don't like it, I would love to talk to another person wearing suit, as well as I do [sic].
- I would feel more respectful actually.
- 267 I: Right. So would you feel any connection with them perhaps? ...
- 268 PM2: Yes, maybe.

- I: ... if you were dressed the same. You've said you've experienced wearing a suit to work [to
- 270 MP1], erm was everybody dressed in a similar fashion.
- 271 PM1: Yeah the call centre, everyone had to, all management as well, so everyone was pretty
- 272 much the same.
- 273 I: Except on the dress down days, when you felt the mood change slightly?
- 274 PM1: Yeah, it was more of a laugh, well it was a Friday, [sic] it was the end of the week, so
- 275 we'd have a laugh. Every last Friday of the month we'd have dress down day.
- 276 I: Was there any monitoring of productivity on that day?
- 277 MP1: Not that I know of...
- 278 I: Okay.
- 279 MP1: ... it was management who'd know, I was just call centre staff.
- 280 I: Okay. When you dress up either in an interview or generally, do you like to impress people
- with what you wear?
- 282 PF1: Yeah.
- 283 I: What are you trying to get them to see about you when you do try to impress people?
- 284 PF1: I dunno, I think especially women, you always wanna look better, especially when you
- are going out. You want people to think you've put a bit of effort in.
- 286 I: So, is that to enhance your physical attractiveness or do you want people to see you in a
- 287 certain way as being intelligent—interesting, livelier?
- 288 PM1: It's different for men and women. For blokes it is a tradition that we go and put an
- interview suit on. We're not concerned with looking any more attractive or anything like that.
- 290 I: Right. Super. Erm, so we covered the comfort, and you think that someone dressed in a
- business suit is more likely to be offered the job. So, they are perhaps, giving off attributes,
- simply by wearing that outfit you think?
- 293 ALL: [nodding]
- 294 I: Okay, so, certainly research supports that, we've said; confidence, intelligence and
- 295 knowledgeability etc. Is there anything else you think might be associated with that?
- 296 PM3: Attention maybe you can get more attention when you are wearing a suit.
- 297 I: Right, so people attend to you more?
- 298 PM3: Yeah.
- 299 I: Do you feel that you might deserve more attention when you're dressed appropriately? ...
- 300 PM3: Yeah.
- 301 PM2: It depends on the community, if you are dressed a little differently from others then you
- should get more attention, you made something more than them [sic].
- 303 I: In the way of effort?
- 304 PM2: Yes.
- 305 PM3: yeah.
- 306 I: So, does anybody here like wearing a business suit?
- 307 PM3: Yes, I like.
- 308 I: You're quite comfortable...
- 309 PM2: yes, I like.
- 310 I: ...you're comfortable emotionally and physically wearing it?
- 311 PM2: I guess.
- 312 I: If you had to wear it as part of your daily work— are you happy to do so, all day every day?
- 313 PM2: Yes.

- 314 PF1: If it's part of the job, then yes. You don't normally have a choice, it's your job,
- 315 I: Right, but ideally you perhaps wouldn't? [To PF1]
- 316 PF1: I don't think I'd want to wear a full suit every day.
- 317 PM2: It would depend on the job.
- 318 I: Yeah— If it was office based or erm...
- PM1: like for the job I had, it was alright, it was a call centre you were never face to face with
- 320 the customers so it was like—why am I wearing it?
- 321 PF1: Seems a bit strange at a call centre, wearing a suit
- 322 PM1: Yeah, but they reasoned it, [sic] saying that we'd be more professional.
- 323 I: Yes...
- 324 PM1: Obviously you'd feel it, but at the same time you think like these customers can't see
- me, so it doesn't matter, what state I'm in on the end of the phone.
- 326 [Laughing]
- 327 I: Good point. Okay any other thoughts about the interview suit, you know wearing it in
- 328 interviews? Experiences you've had or feelings you've had?
- 329 PM1: It just feels like tradition, that's what you have to do really. People have been doing it
- so long, that anything less to be honest, you don't want the job.
- 331 PF1: It's not even something you think about, you're just going to the interview dressed up...
- 332 PM1: Yeah.
- 333 PF1: ... it's what you do.
- 334 I: Right so based on traditional dressing and its seen as formal...
- 335 PF1: It's the norm, isn't it to dress up for an interview.
- 336 PM2: And good looking, it looks good.
- 337 I: It looks good, its so everybody perceives it as looking good. So, it's established by
- everybody, both the interviewer and the interviewee...
- 339 PM2: Yes
- 340 PM3: [nodding]
- 341 I: ... through tradition. Erm, any other situations where you'd be happy to wear formal clothing
- 342 like that, and feel comfortable about it?
- 343 PM1: Formal clothing? Means like...?
- 344 I: A business suit.
- 345 PF2: Any formal occasions. Yeah, If it's like the norm to wear something formal like at that
- occasion, and you know like everyone else is going to be doing it, you know if you don't you'll
- look all out, so you feel more comfortable like to fit in with everyone else, than it'll be like,
- the only one who is or isn't wearing...
- PM1: You wear suits to weddings or funerals and stuff, you wouldn't want to go out clubbing
- in one, in a suit or something would you? It wouldn't be the right place.
- 351 I: Right. So, it's always fitting in with the kind of social norms? ...
- 352 PF2: [nodding]
- 353 PM1: Mmm [agreement]
- I: ... it's not something that you would actively do, all, all on your own, like, ooh, I like suits
- and I will go and wear one...
- 356 PF1: No.
- 357 PM1: yeah.

- 358 I: ... its least choice? [Laughing] Okay, erm, so—do you think it matters that you wear the suit
- 359 to the job interview?
- 360 ALL: yeah/Yes.
- 361 I: It matters both to yourself and the interviewer?
- 362 ALL: yeah/Yes.
- 363 I: Okay, I know there are some questions I have already come out with, I am just perhaps
- asking them a little differently— is it important that the business suit for the interview is
- 365 comfortable? We have mentioned...
- 366 PF1: I don't think, if it's just for the interview, it doesn't really need to be comfortable, coz
- you're not going to be in it very long.
- 368 PF2: I think day to day like I'm more productive if I'm comfortable, so if I'm in my own
- 369 clothes, I should like get more done because I'm not worrying about what I'm wearing, like
- getting also if you have to wear a suit every day that will become the norm...
- 371 I: Right...
- 372 PF2: ... but the dressed-up bit, if you wore your own clothes everyday day, eventually like the
- 373 novelty will wear off and it would go back to normal. It's just because it's something novel,
- 374 changes happen, you will adapt to it either way.
- 375 I: Yes, so if you get —you see the need to get the job, and the job expects you to dress formally
- all the time, you think you will adjust?
- 377 7ALL: yeah/Yes.
- 378 PF2: Eventually you just think of it as,
- 379 I: It goes with a professional job position etc. Okay—you feel more confident in a business
- suit? Would you consider taking that confidence, and wearing the business suit jacket perhaps,
- on another occasions to boost you confidence?
- 382 PF2: Not really.
- 383 PF1: I don't think it would occur to me, to wear it for confidence, I think it's in the situation...
- 384 PM2: Definitely.
- 385 PM3: Yeah.
- 386 I: So context?
- 387 ALL: yeah.
- 388 PF1: I would be feeling a bit anxious, I wouldn't wear a business suit to go shopping, just to
- make me feel a bit more confident it...
- 390 PM2: Yeah.
- 391 I: It's only relevant to that context.
- 392 PF1: Yeah. It would probably make you feel more anxious if you were doing it in a different
- 393 situation.
- 394 I: Right, because it's out of place?
- 395 PF1: yeah, out of place, yeah.
- 396 I: Right, anybody else got any, you know, thoughts or perceptions of how you'd feel, or the
- 397 interviewer would feel, or others feel when they're wearing that suit? [Pause] It's just
- 398 something that's done for that occasion...
- 399 PM1: Yeah
- 400 I: ...It's just something that's done, it's a tradition, it's established...
- 401 PF2: [inaudible]

- 402 I: And therefore, you carry it out accordingly? Okay, I think that's absolutely smashing. Is
- 403 there anything else in the lists that you want to think of or fill in, any competencies that are
- associated with those photographs of you wearing them, or seeing somebody else wearing them
- to an interview? [Pause].
- 406 ALL: [checking lists]
- I: That's super, thank you very much indeed for your time. Can I just pass you round the de-
- brief notes, so by all means Please feel free to keep the information sheet and the debrief [sic]?
- But if I could have your signed consent and the task forms back that would be lovely. Thank
- 410 you. Super. Smashing. Thank you so much for your time, it has been valuable. I will make
- sure to allocate your credits. If you have any enquiries, please do not hesitate to contact me.
- Thank you so much for your time.

Focus Group Handout 1	Participation number					
Task 1						
Please look at the six photos (attached) of people v	vearing business suits - imagine					
they are attending a 'desirable' job interview.						
competencies, traits and behaviours that you think are	-					
like this.	doodolated to someone dressed					
ino uno.						
T						
Task 2						
Please look at the six photos (attached) of people wearing business suits - imagine						
you are attending a 'desirable' job interview dressed in a similar suit. Please list as						
many competencies, traits and behaviours that you	u think are associated with you					
dressed like this.						





De-brief sheet

Participation number

Thank you for participating in this Focus Group discussion; your views and input have been valuable to this study. It is hoped that finding from this group will contribute to part of a PhD study investigating the wearing of symbolic clothing i.e. the business suit. The discussion you were involved in will help to understand the viewpoint of students by examining the perceptions of undergraduates to wearing a business suit to a job interview.

Research has shown that the way individuals dress effects how they are perceived by others; competencies relating to the garments are also enhanced (Kwon 1994a; Karl, Hall & Peluchette 2013). When individuals are dressed in a business suit for an interview they are more likely to be offered the job (Forsythe 1990), believed to be more intelligent (Behling & Williams 1991) and perceived as possessing relevant occupational attributes (Kwon 1994a).

Further, when individuals wear a business suit in an occupational environment they believe that they are seen as having enhanced 'expertise', 'trustworthiness' and 'authority' (Peluchette & Karl 2007), have greater respect and status (Rucker at al. 1999).

If you have any questions about your participation or you would like to withdraw your data from this study, please contact Anne Turner aa8150@coventry.ac.uk or Dr R Jenks aa2557@coventry.ac.uk quoting your participation number.

Complete set of themes and identified

Symbolic meanings attached to the business Suit	The business suit as a 'tool' for interviews	Enclothed behaviours	'Fitting in' with context and selfhood	The business suit as a traditional and cultural norm	Miscellaneous
Confident Fashionable Competent Educated/intelligent Professional mature Looks good Feel good wearing a suit Groomed Show you've made an effort Deserves attention	Stand taller Offers positive first impressions. Know you're doing something different, Behave differently. speak up better hold yourself Show you've made the effort. Show respect for the situation. Get and use attention Get respect Impression management Pre-empt job requirements Must be congruent with job type.	Confidence Physical change — stand taller Speak out Hold yourself Dress carefully Act more professionally More effort given to grooming Willing to make more effort Shows you want the job more overdressed Positive and negative affect dependent on congruence with situation and context discomfort	Intimidated – negative. Impress others – interviewer. Dress congruently to situation De-dress or up-dress to fit context. overdressed Fit in with job type Fit in with others Fit in with students: Congruence with situation and context. Dress same as interviewer Grooming enhances self. Self as dressed for the occasion.	Its normal Appropriate type of clothing for formal occasions; interviews, weddings, funerals. Its traditional Discomfort doesn't matter for interviews. Necessary for business environment. Its traditional All dressed the same Not in night clubs Not for students Normal for interviews	The Jacket is the 'extra bit'. Gender differences – women have more flexibility up-dress, dedress. Women's discomfort in interview, moderated for every day wear. Comfort enables productivity. Casual clothes enable casual behaviours.

Note. The themes are grouped by the order in which they appear in the text. Those text units present in more than one theme are presented in bold.

Appendix 12
'See-jacket condition' jacket placement





Interview schedule

Duration - 10 minutes Type - structured

Interviewers numbers – one (? If two alternate questions) Interviewer to take notes

Video record to be switched on, but not recording

Interviewer welcome

- 1. On completion of your degree course, what main personal strengths do you think that you have achieved that will help you in the work place? (or Post graduate studies)
- 2. The position you are applying for requires various planning and time management tasks for which you will need to meet strict deadlines. How have your experiences to date prepared you for tasks like this, can you give examples?
- 3. When was the last time you demonstrated teamwork and why was this important for the achievement of the goal?
- 4. What benefits did you gain from working as part of a team personally or professionally?
- 5. What do you think are your personal weaknesses?
- 6. How have you attempted to overcome these weaknesses, and how would that translate to the workplace?
- 7. How do you feel that your experience at university has prepared you for the work-place?
- 8. What are the key skills that you have learned and can transfer to the work-place?
- 9. What aspects of your skill base or personality do you think will attract potential employers?
- 10. What work experience to date do you believe will be of most use to you in securing employment and attractive to potential employers?

Interviewer final comment; 'Thank you that completes the questions that I have for you. You have responded well to my questions, I feel I have as much information as I need for this part of the interview. If you would like to return to the other room my colleague will attend to you.'

Possible Questionnaire Format for Administering the 50-Item Set of IPIP Big-Five Factor Markers

How Accurately Can You Describe Yourself?

Describe yourself as you generally are **now**, not as you wish to be in the future. Describe yourself as you honestly see yourself, in relation to other people you know of the same sex as you are, and roughly your same age. So that you can describe yourself in an honest manner, your responses will be kept in absolute confidence. Indicate for each statement whether it is 1. Very Inaccurate, 2. Moderately Inaccurate, 3. Neither Accurate Nor Inaccurate, 4. Moderately Accurate, or 5. Very Accurate as a description of you.

		Very Inaccurate	Moderately Inaccurate	Neither Accurate Nor Inaccurate	Moderately Accurate	Very Accurate	
1.	Am the life of the party.	O	O	O	O	O	(1+)
2.	Feel little concern for others.	O	O	O	О	O	(2-)
3.	Am always prepared.	O	O	O	O	O	(3+)
4.	Get stressed out easily.	O	O	O	O	O	(4-)
5.	Have a rich vocabulary.	O	O	O	O	O	(5+)
6.	Don't talk a lot.	O	O	O	O	O	(1-)
7.	Am interested in people.	O	O	O	O	O	(2+)
8.	Leave my belongings around.	O	O	O	O	O	(3-)
9.	Am relaxed most of the time.	O	O	O	O	O	(4+)
10.	Have difficulty understanding						
	abstract ideas.	O	O	O	O	O	(5-)
11.	Feel comfortable around people.	O	O	O	О	О	(1+)
12.	Insult people.	O	O	O	O	O	(2-)
13.	Pay attention to details.	O	O	O	O	O	(3+)
14.	Worry about things.	O	O	O	O	O	(4-)
15.	Have a vivid imagination.	O	O	O	O	O	(5+)
16.	Keep in the background.	O	O	O	O	O	(1-)
17.	Sympathize with others' feelings.	O	O	O	O	O	(2+)
18.	Make a mess of things.	O	O	O	O	O	(3-)
19.	Seldom feel blue.	O	O	O	O	O	(4+)
20.	Am not interested in abstract ideas.	O	O	O	О	О	(5-)
21.	Start conversations.	O	O	O	O	O	(1+)
22.	Am not interested in other people's						
	problems.	O	O	O	O	O	(2-)
23.	Get chores done right away.	O	O	O	O	O	(3+)
24.	Am easily disturbed.	O	O	O	O	O	(4-)
25.	Have excellent ideas.	O	O	O	O	O	(5+)
26.	Have little to say.	O	O	O	O	O	(1-)
27.	Have a soft heart.	O	O	O	О	O	(2+)

28.	Often forget to put things back in						
	their proper place.	O	O	O	O	O	(3-)
29.	Get upset easily.	O	O	O	O	O	(4-)
30.	Do not have a good imagination.	O	O	O	O	O	(5-)
31.	Talk to a lot of different people at						
	parties.	O	O	O	O	O	(1+)
32.	Am not really interested in others.	O	O	O	O	O	(2-)
33.	Like order.	O	O	O	O	O	(3+)
34.	Change my mood a lot.	O	O	O	O	O	(4-)
35.	Am quick to understand things.	O	O	O	O	O	(5+)
36.	Don't like to draw attention to						
	myself.	O	O	O	O	O	(1-)
37.	Take time out for others.	O	O	O	O	O	(2+)
38.	Shirk my duties.	O	O	O	O	O	(3-)
39.	Have frequent mood swings.	O	O	O	O	O	(4-)
40.	Use difficult words.	O	O	O	O	O	(5+)
41.	Don't mind being the centre of						
	attention.	O	O	O	O	O	(1+)
42.	Feel others' emotions.	O	O	O	O	O	(2+)
43.	Follow a schedule.	O	O	O	O	O	(3+)
	Get irritated easily.	O	O	O	O	O	(4-)
	Spend time reflecting on things.	O	O	O	O	O	(5+)
46.	Am quiet around strangers.	O	O	O	O	O	(1-)
47.	Make people feel at ease.	O	O	O	O	O	(2+)
48.	Am exacting in my work.	O	O	O	O	O	(3+)
49.	Often feel blue.	O	O	O	O	O	(4-)
50.	Am full of ideas.	O	O	O	O	O	(5+)

How Accurately Can You Describe Yourself?

Big-Five Factor Markers of personality (Goldberg 1992)

Appendix 16 see appendix 34

Appendix 17

Self-perceptions scale (Peluchette & Karl 2007)

The Job Selection Interview – exploring anxiety and emotions

Anxiety

... Is the feeling of worry, apprehension, unease, nervousness, tension, misgiving, stress, foreboding etc., which is often felt when in a situation or thoughts of being in a situation that has an uncertain outcome.

On a scale of 1 to 5 please indicate the extent to which you are feeling anxious right now prior to undertaking the interview stage of this study.

Place number in box	
1 = no anxiety whatsoever	
2 = a little anxious	
3 = some anxiety	
4 = feeling anxious	

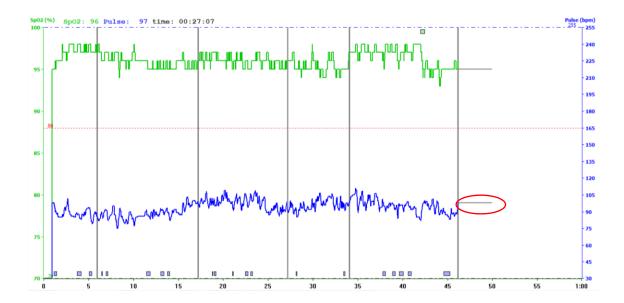
5 = feeling very anxious

Appendix19		
* *		

Items for the Measure of Anxiety in Selection Interviews (MASI) (McCarthy & Goffin 2004)

The PANAS-X: Manual for the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule - Expanded Form (Watson & Clark 1994)

Figure xx. Pulse-rate oximeter output, vertical grey lines indicate 'durations' from 'baseline' (one-minute thirty seconds from start) and questionnaire 'after' finish (forty-seven minutes). NB top left (blue writing) indicates PR at a precise time point (e.g. 00:27:.07). Red circle indicates loss of contact.



Participant Information Sheet Number

An Investigation into Undergraduate Emotions and behaviours in an Interview situation

What is the purpose of this investigation?

This study aims to examine emotions, such as anxiety, and behaviours of undergraduates during a Job assessment centre scenario in which you will complete questionnaires and undertake a 'mock' interview.

Do you have to take part?

Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary. You can withdraw from participation at any point if you wish. You have a period of 2 weeks after taking part in the study to withdraw your data by emailing either anne.turner@coventry.ac.uk or r.jenks@coventry.ac.uk, and providing your participant number.

What will you do in the project?

You are required to attend one pre-arranged session only, taking approximately one hour. On arrival you will have baseline measures of your pulse rate taken, by means of an oximeter attached to a finger of your 'non-writing' hand. You will be asked to sit quietly in a room for ten minutes whilst your pulse rate is recorded. You will continue to be attached to the oximeter for the duration of the study. After ten minutes you will be given a pack of questionnaires to complete, including demographic information, personality assessment and emotion and anxiety questionnaires. Following this you will be taken into the interview room, where you will undergo an approximate tenminute interview. The interview will be video recorded so that your interview performance can be assessed. Upon competition of the interview you will return to the original room and complete a second pack of questionnaires. Having completed the second set of questionnaires you will be fully debriefed and awarded research credits.

What are the potential risks to you in taking part?

You will be required to undergo an interview which is being video recorded for the purpose of assessing your interview performance. Interviews can be anxiety inducing situations and you may feel some increased anxiety during the experience. If at any time during the study, you feel anxious or uncomfortable you should inform the experimenter and the session will be halted immediately. The experiment requires you to sit quietly for about ten minutes, this may cause you slight anxiety, due to anticipation of the interview, but it is unlikely. The finger oximeter may cause slight discomfort but will be placed on a finger that you find most comfortable from the start.

What are the benefits to you in taking part?

By taking part in the experiment you will receive 120 research accreditation credits. This will contribute to the required total needed as part of your course requirement. You also have the chance to be awarded an extra 20 credits. Participants who are assessed as giving a good interview performance by the interviewer will be awarded the extra 20 credits.

Taking part in a 'mock Job application assessment centre scenario' will give you the opportunity to experience and practice taking part in an interview and completing questionnaires similar to those used in job applications.

You will also be part of a psychological study, which allows you exposure to scales and equipment used in psychological testing. This will aid your understanding of what you may have read about in text books or heard mentioned in lectures. Also it is hoped that you will get an understanding of what you would like to do for your own level three project.

What happens if something goes wrong in the study?

Some materials have been removed from this thesis due to Third Party Copyright. Pages where material has been removed are clearly marked in the electronic version. The unabridged version of the thesis can be viewed at the Lanchester Library, Coventry University

Will taking part in the study be kept confidential?

Any information that you provide will be kept confidential. Your information will only be identifiable by your participation number, so it is essential that you keep this safe. Your data will be collated into a password protected computer file. Raw data will be stored in a locked cabinet. On completion of the study, all raw data collected will be destroyed. The only people handling the data, which is only identifiable by your participant number, is members of the research team: Anne Turner - PhD student, Dr Rebecca Jenks – director of studies and Andy Eastwood – research assistant.

What will happen to the results of the study?

This study is part of a post-graduate PhD project and will be written up as part of the final thesis. Findings may be made available to the Psychological community in the form of a published written and online report. No names or personal information will be included.

Who has reviewed this study?

This study has been reviewed by the Coventry University Ethics Committee and has received ethical approval.

Who is organising this study and who should be contacted for further information?

Participant Consent Form
Participation number
(1 copy for researcher, 1 copy to participant)
An Investigation into Undergraduate Emotion and behaviours in an Interview
<u>situation</u>
 I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet for the above project and the researcher has answered any queries to my satisfaction.
I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the project at any time, without having to give a reason and without any consequences.
I understand that I can withdraw my data for two weeks from my participation.
I understand that any information recorded in the investigation will remain confidential and no information that identifies me will be made publicly available.
I consent to be a participant in the project Signed
Print Name
Student ID
Witness sign
Print name
Nata

Participant demogra	aphic s	<u>heet</u>			
Participation number					
An Investigation in	to Und	ergraduate E	motion and	behavio	urs in an Interview
situation					
Please indicate you					evant boxes. Your
much information a	s you f	eel comfortal	ble with.		
Gender					
male		Female		Prefer	not to respond
Level of study					
Level 1	Level	2	Level 3		Post-graduate
Age					
Please enter the Fac	ulty that	t you currently	belong to		
What do you hope to	do whe	n you gradua	te from Coven	try Unive	ersity?
Post-graduate study	′				
Full-time employmen	nt withir	n a company/o	organisation, a	ny level	
Graduate level entry					
Any employment - s	•	staurant, facto	ory, office		
Not sure at the mor		o d			
Don't plan on being	employ	ea			

Number of interviews/jobs that you have had to date

Participation Debrief Form

Study title: The Business Suit Does it do the Business; investigating 'embodying' a symbolic garment.

N.B. this is an ongoing study and until all testing has been completed we ask you not to discuss the events to other students.

Thank you for participating in this study. Your time and effort are very much appreciated and essential to improving our knowledge of emotions and behaviours in anxiety provoking situations such as the employment interview. What wasn't explained to you was that participants were assigned to one of three conditions, wearing a business suit jacket, being exposed to a business suit jacket and zero exposure to a jacket. We will compare the results of the personality assessment, questionnaires and pulse rates readings in each condition, to investigate the effect of wearing a symbolic garment – the business suit jacket. The personality assessment was carried out so that those scoring high or low trait anxiety could be differentiated for 'state' anxiety differences, believed to be due to the interview situation rather than as a personality trait McCarthy & Goffin 2004).

Although you were told that you would have your interview video recorded, this did <u>not</u> happen. This was told to you to try and be as authentic as possible with the interview scenario. No video recording of your interview performance was made, Your Interview performance was evaluated, and participants assessed as 'good' will be awarded an extra 20 credits when all data collection is complete. The researchers hope that by undertaking a 'mock' interview you will have gained some valuable insight and experience into what some job applications can entail. The research intends to develop guidance and advice for undergraduates in employment application and interviews, subsequent to completing this study. Further guidance and advice regarding interviews and job application can be sought by contacting Careers and Employment Services at Coventry University, (Full contact details see overleaf).

The research was based on findings from several recent studies, published in peer-reviewed journals. One of the previous studies was conducted by Adam & Galinsky (2012), they investigated another symbolic garment, a white laboratory coat, also known as 'doctors white coat'. They found that those who actually wore the coat, (as opposed to not wearing, or just being near to a white coat), and being primed to the coat's associated traits, performed better on trait associated tasks.

A further study by McCarthy & Goffin (2004) developed a measure of 'interview anxiety' a construct that they argued is made up of five dimensions, communication, appearance, social, performance and behavioural anxiety. In using their scale to

assess interview anxiety, it is expected to see differences within each of the three conditions on reported interview anxiety. Kwon (1994a) proposed that congruence between garment and situation enhances positive mood, therefore those wearing the business suit jacket for their 'interview' should exhibit less interview anxiety, in particular the dimension of 'appearance anxiety'.

Further, anxiety not only affects emotions and behaviours, but has physiological effects on individuals also. The finger oximeter read your pulse rate from baseline to the end of your participation. Dependant on the condition a participant was assigned to, a difference in pulse rate increase is expected to be found, such that those wearing the business suit jacket will have less increase in their pulse rate from baseline to after interview.

PANAS (short form - Watson	n, Clark and Tellegen 1988)
----------------------------	-----------------------------

No

Please circle ONE word (presented in italics) as a word you feel is most <u>opposite</u> to the word in **BOLD**

Adjective	1	2	3
Authoritative	weak	insignificant	unimportant
Influential	ineffectual	unimportant	inconsequential
Powerful	Insignificant	powerless	ineffective
Self-confident	insecure	Self-doubting	unconfident
Competent	inept	useless	ineffectual
Professional	unprofessional	amateur	unqualified
Hardworking	lazy	idle	lethargic
Productive	unproductive	inefficient	uncreative
Trustworthy	dishonest	insincere	untruthful
Dependable	unreliable	undependable	untrustworthy
Agreeable	unfriendly	distant	diffident
Friendly	reserved	unsociable	unfriendly
Cheerful	sad	miserable	gloomy
Approachable	aloof	cold	unapproachable
Creative	unimaginative	boring	uninspired
inspired	bland	dull	insipid

Screen shot of response latency 'Me/Not-me' task





Repeat of VAS scale as per 2.



Power pose from: 'Preparatory Power Posing before Job Interviews'. Cuddy, Wilmuth and Yap (2002)

Participant Information Sheet

Examining the effect of everyday behaviours on mood and anxiety

What is the purpose of this investigation?

The study aims to investigate emotions such as anxiety and mood when individuals interact with 'everyday' items and situations

Do you have to take part?

Some materials have been removed from this thesis due to Third Party Copyright. Pages where material has been removed are clearly marked in the electronic version. The unabridged version of the thesis can be viewed at the Lanchester Library, Coventry University

What will you do in the project?

You will be required to attend on three separate occasion, to be arranged at your convenience. Each session will take approximately 45 minutes. On arrival at the first session you will be required to complete a set of questionnaires including demographic details and a personality inventory. You will be asked to interact with an everyday item or behaviour for three minutes. You will then carry out a computer task, taking approximately ten minutes, and then complete a second set of questionnaires. The procedure will be similar on the next two sessions also (except for the demographic information and personality inventory).

What are the potential risks to you in taking part?

You are taking part in a study in which you are be required to undertake a computer-based task. You must respond as quickly as possible to words presented on a screen. This may raise your anxiety levels, but this should not be excessive. You will also be asked to hold a position for three minutes (standing), this should not be in anyway uncomfortable, but you should consider this carefully if for any reason, you feel this will cause you discomfort.

What are the benefits to you in taking part?

By taking part in the experiment you will receive 270 'Face to face' research accreditation credits. This will contribute to the required total needed as part of your course requirement and will be awarded on completion of all three parts of the study.

You will also be part of a psychological study, which allows you exposure to scales and equipment used in psychological testing. This will aid your understanding of what takes place in psychological studies. Also, it is hoped that you will get an understanding of what you would like to do for your own level three project.

What happens if something goes wrong in the study?

If for any reason the session is cancelled, you will be contacted as soon as possible. You will still receive full research credits if a session has to be cancelled.

Sona is now monitored to ensure that surveys and questionnaires are completed in an appropriate manner and that engagement in all parts of the experimental design takes place. If it is not adhered to then research credits may be withheld and/or penalty credits awarded. However, if once the experiment has started, you wish to terminate the session for a genuine reason you will still receive research credits. If you change your mind after taking part you can withdraw your information up to two weeks following your participation and your information Some materials have been removed from this thesis due to Third Party Copyright. Pages where material has been removed are clearly marked in the electronic version. The unabridged version of the thesis can be viewed at the Lanchester Library, Coventry University

Any information that you provide will be kept confidential. Your information will only be identifiable by your participation number, so it is essential that you keep this safe. Your data will be collated into a password protected computer file. Raw data will be stored in a locked cabinet. On completion of the study, all raw data collected will be destroyed. The only people handling the data, which is only identifiable by your participant number, is members of the research team: Anne Turner - PhD student, Dr Rebecca Jenks – director of studies

What will happen to the results of the study?

Will taking part in the study be kept confidential?

This study is part of a post-graduate PhD project and will be written up as part of the final thesis. Findings may be made available to the Psychological community in the form of a published written and online report. No names or personal information will be included.

Who has reviewed this study?

This study has been reviewed by the Coventry University Ethics Committee and has received ethical approval.

Who is organising this study and who should be contacted for further information?

Participant Consent Form
Participation number
(1 copy for researcher, 1 copy to participant)
 I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet for the above project and the researcher has answered any queries to my satisfaction.
I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to stop the study, without having to give a reason and without any consequences.
■ I understand that I can withdraw my data for up to two weeks from my participation.
 I understand that any information recorded in the investigation will remain confidential and no information that identifies me will be made publicly available.
■ I consent to be a participant in the project
Signed
Print Name
Student ID
Witness sign
Print name
Date

Participation Debrief Form

Study title: The Business Suit Does it do the Business; investigating 'embodying' a symbolic garment.

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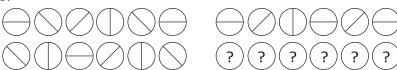
business suit jacket for their 'interview' should exhibit less interview anxiety, in particular the dimension of 'appearance anxiety'.

Further, anxiety not only affects emotions and behaviours, but has physiological effects on individuals also. The finger oximeter read your pulse rate from baseline to the end of your participation. Dependant on the condition a participant was assigned to, a difference in pulse rate increase is expected to be found, such that those wearing the business suit jacket will have less increase in their pulse rate from baseline to after interview.

IQ Test One

Circle the answer(s) or write in the answer box provided.

1.



Which set of symbols should replace the question marks?











2. Select two words that are synonyms, plus an antonym of these two synonyms, from the list of words below.

choke, force, thrive, toil, wither, burgeon, strive

3. 19, 20, 21, ?, ?, 26, 28, 32, 33, 40

Which two numbers should replace the question marks?

Answer

4. The institution houses collections of objects of artistic, historic and scientific interest, and displayed for the edification and enjoyment of the public.

One word has been removed from the passage above. Select that word from the choice below and reinstate it into its correct place in the passage.

a. huge b. permanent c. produced d. conserved e. priceless

f.

accumulated

5. Which is the odd one out congregation, dispersion, compilation, convocation, aggregation

Which two symbols are missing?

IQ Test One

7. Which number is the odd one out?

84129, 32418, 47632, 36119, 67626, 72927

8. Identify two words (one from each set of brackets) that form a connection (analogy), thereby relating to the words in capitals in the same way.

CAT (lash, parade, feline, whiskers)

SLEEP (somnambulate, night, bed, Morpheus)

9. Which word in brackets is closest in meaning to the word in capitals?

FLIPPANT (obverse, irreverent, feeble, candid, facile)

10. 12593 is to 35291 and 29684 is to 46982 therefore 72936 is to

Answer

?

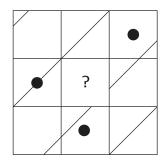
11. $\frac{99}{}$ = 24.75 × 2⁴?

12.

Complete the equation by correctly identifying the missing part of the calculation from the list of options below.

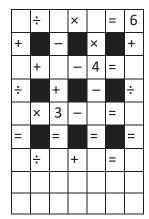
- a. 0.75
- b. 1.95 0.75 c. 0.5^2 d. 0.825
- e. 0.25

12.



Draw the contents of the middle tile in accordance with the rules of logic already established.

13. Insert numbers into the remaining blank squares so that the sums in each line and column are correct. All numbers to be inserted are less than 10.



Identify a pair of anagrams from the list of words below. Intercom, carolean, fornical, landrace, alderman, maladies, parlance, calendar, marlined, miracles, minerals, confined, barnacle

14. A Z B Y D W G T ? ?

Which two letters come next?

Answer

IQ Test One

16.

14	27	56	18	76	32	68	64	71	19	25	49
5	9	11	9	13	5	?	?	?	?	?	?

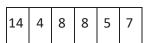
The top set of six numbers has a relationship to the set of six numbers below. The two sets of six boxes on the left have the same relationship as the two sets of six boxes on the right. Which set of numbers should therefore replace the question marks?

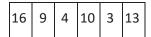
ΑВ

C D

F

17. How many cases do you need if you have to pack 112 pairs of shoes into cases that each hold 28 shoes?



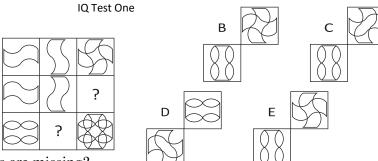


14	10	8	10	7	13

Which is the odd one out?

18. In the two numerical sequences below, one number that appears in the top sequence should appear in the bottom sequence and vice versa. Which two numbers should be changed round? 2, 2.5, 4.5, 6.75

20.



Which two squares are missing?



Identify two words (one from each set of brackets) that forma connection (analogy), thereby relating to the words in capitals in the same way.

FRONT (inverse, ulterior, anterior, contraverse, obverse)

FACE (exterior, converse, countenance, obverse)

21. Change the position of four words only in the sentence below in order for it to make complete sense.

If you are printing on glossy paper or transparencies, place a support stack, or a sheet of plain media, beneath the sheet, or load only one sheet at a time.

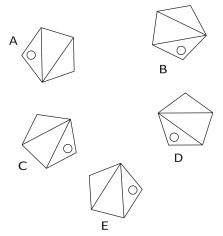
22.
$$? + (350 \times 0.84) = (620 \times 0.55) - \frac{\sqrt{1764}}{2}$$

Complete the equation by correctly identifying the missing part of the calculation from the list of options below.

a. 13.5 2 b.
$$\frac{234}{9}$$
 = $\frac{234}{9}$ = $\frac{234}{9}$ = $\frac{120.65\%}{3}$ e. $\frac{61}{2}$

- 23. Which two words are most opposite in meaning? acquired, derivative, archetypal, elaborate, enigmatic, spasmodic
- 24. Select two words that are synonyms, plus an antonym of these two synonyms, from the list of words below.

 excuse, regulate, bestow, condone, concede, condemn, incarcerate
- 25. Which is the odd one out?



IQ Test One

26. If 4 apples and 6 bananas cost £1.56 and 9 apples and 7 bananas cost £2.60, what is the cost of one apple and one banana?

Answer

27. An electrical circuit wiring a set of four lights depends on a system of switches A, B, C and D. Each switch when working has the following effect on the lights:

Switch A turns lights 1 and 2 on/off or off/on

Switch B turns lights 2 and 4 on/off or off/on

Switch C turns lights 1 and 3 on/off or off/on

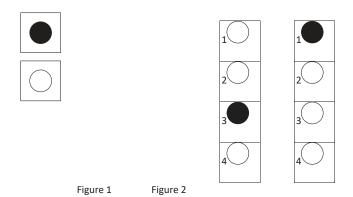
Switch D turns lights 3 and 4 on/off or off/on

= ON

= OFF

In the following, switches C B D A are thrown in turn, with the result that Figure 1 is transformed into Figure 2. One of the switches is therefore not working and has had no effect on the numbered lights.

Identify which one of the switches is not working.



Appendix 35 - Statistical Data Table

Variable	Abbreviation	Confidence interval Upper - lower	Skewness (SE)	Kurtosis (SE)	Mean (SD)
Cognitive aptitude task	CAT	.101140	1.85 (.26)	5.43 (.52)	.121 (.02)
log transformed	CAT	-1.0171.09	08 (.26)	48 (.52)	-1.02 (.31)
Professional self - perceptions	PSP	56.58 – 59.96	04 (.26)	10 (.52)	58.28 (7.47)
Interview Anxiety	IA	78.23 – 86.57	38 (.26)	41 (.52)	82.39 (2.05)
Interview appearance anxiety	IAA	14.84 – 16.85	22 (.26)	77 (.52)	15.84 (4.61)
Negative affect	NA	14.23 – 16.47	1.40 (.24)	2.03 (.52)	15.35 (5.12)
Self-report anxiety question	SRA	1.91 – 2.26	.73 (.24)	1.27 (.52)	2.08 (.09)
Pulse-rate at baseline	PRBASE	86.93 – 92.54	51 (.29)	.170 (.58)	89.74 (1.04)
Pulse-rate pre- interview questionnaires	PRPRE	87.36 – 92.44	93 (.23)	1.96 (.58)	89.90 (.29)
Pulse-rate during Cognitive aptitude task	PRCAT	85.84 – 90.64	87 (.29)	2.13 (.58)	88.23 (1.20)
Pulse-rate during interview	PRINT	89.10 – 94.48	82 (.29)	2.47 (.58)	91.79 (1.57)
Pulse-rate post- interview	PRPOST	84.17 – 91.78	-2.62 (.29)	14.92 (.58)	87.98 (1.17)
No-prime correct congruent adjectives	NPCON	11.12 – 13.61	-1.01 (.43)	04 (.83)	12.37 (.61)
Power-prime correct congruent adjectives	PPCON	11.27 – 13.80	75 (.43)	54 (.83)	12.53 (.62)
Jacket-prime correct congruent adjectives	JPCON	11.09 – 13.18	32 (.43)	-1.17 (.83)	12.13 (5.1)
No-prime correct incongruent adjectives	NPINCON	12.55 – 14.52	91 (.43)	31 (.83)	13.53 (.48)
Power-prime correct incongruent adjectives	PPINCON	12.82- 14.98	-1.87 (.43)	3.29 (.83)	13.90 (.53)
Jacket-prime correct incongruent adjectives	JPINCON	12.19 – 14.21	51 (.43)	-1.18 (.83)	13.20 (.49)
No-prime visual analogue scale of state anxiety pre	NPVAS1	18.67 – 38.19	1.03 (.43)	.63 (.83)	28.23 (4.77)
No-prime visual analogue scale of state anxiety post	NPVAS2	15.83 – 31.94	.63 (.43)	90 (.83)	23.89 (3.94)
Power-prime visual analogue scale of state anxiety pre	PPVAS1	19.75 – 36.29	.33 (.43)	-1.03 (.83)	28.02 (4.04)
Power-prime visual analogue scale of state anxiety post	PPVAS2	11.49 – 24.16	.90 (.43)	.63 (.83)	17.83 (3.10)

Jacket-prime visual analogue scale of state anxiety pre	JPVAS1	12.86 – 28.96	1.24 (.43)	1.21 (.83)	20.91 (3.94)
Jacket-prime visual analogue scale of state anxiety post	JPVAS2	9.86 – 24.86	1.40 (.43)	1.35 (.83)	17.36 (3.66)
No-prime PANAS pre-prime (NA1)	NPNA1	11.73 – 14.67	1.97 (.43)	4.17 (.83)	13.20 (.72)
No-prime PANAS post-prime (NA2)	NPNA2	11.20 – 13.73	1.58 (4.3)	1.85 (.83)	12.47 (.62)
Power-prime PANAS pre-prime (NA1)	PPNA1	12.40 – 16.07	1.67 (.43)	2.75 (.83)	14.23 (.89)
No-prime PANAS post-prime (NA2)	PPNA2	11.75 – 14.85	1.21 (.43)	.59 (.83)	13.30 (.76)
Jacket-prime PANAS pre-prime (NA1)	JPNA1	13.01 – 16.19	1.07 (.43)	.96 (.83)	14.60 (.78)
Jacket-prime PANAS post-prime (NA2)	JPNA2	11.34 – 14.06	1.45 (.43)	.85 (.83)	12.70 (.66)