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**LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ
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Labelling, Physical Attractiveness and
Correctional Decision-making

Brian R. Mitchell

1978

Submitted to the Department of Criminology,
University of Ottawa, in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

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INTRODUCTION

Over the past twenty years, a considerable number of research investigations have focused on both the importance of labelling and the significance of physical attractiveness in affecting individuals' experiences in a variety of social situations. On the one hand, many studies have examined the labelling perspective as it applies to the areas of mental health and psychotherapy, education and criminality. Traditionally, major emphasis has been placed on the effects of labelling in escalating one's deviant identity. Regarding physical attractiveness on the other hand, it has been demonstrated that this variable acts as a determinant and moderator of a diversity of interpersonal processes. The areas examined include heterosexual attraction, popularity, socialization, education, the development of personal characteristics, helping behaviour, counselling and juridic decisions. The research literature pertaining to labelling and physical attractiveness will be discussed in detail in chapters one and two of this manuscript.

The purpose of the current investigation was to extend the research findings pertaining to the influence of labelling and physical attractiveness on social behaviours. In this instance, the focus was specifically directed toward the assessment of their effect upon decision-making in a criminal

justice framework. It was expected that judgments made about a female in an experimental correctional decision-making task would be influenced by the manipulation of 1) social labels ascribed to her and 2) her level of physical attractiveness.

CHAPTER I

LITERATURE REVIEW: LABELLING AND ITS EFFECTS

The societal reaction or labelling perspective has for some time now provided one of the more popular ways of explaining deviant behaviour (26). In the majority of research studies concerned with stigmatization of members of society, the focus has typically been on the contribution of negative labelling to the escalation of deviant persons' aberrant behaviour and way of life (11, 55, 33, 53, 4, 17, 24). However, several authors have more recently claimed that much of the literature on labelling seems to assume the existence of more conclusive evidence than is demonstrated (26, 31). Furthermore, as more current investigations have extended the range of social reactors (eg. from mental hospital staff to interactive significant others), less empirical confirmation and more ambivalence concerning the labelling perspective has been indicated (68, 67, 58). Not only is there some confusion regarding the conceptualization of the term "label", but there also is criticism levelled at the methodological limitations of many studies as well as the notion that labelling usually leads to negative consequences for the person(s) involved. As a result, the current author sees the necessity of more closely examining the literature describing the association

between labelling and deviance in order to obtain a fuller understanding of it. The topics of mental illness, education and crime, as they are influenced by the labelling perspective, will be discussed in the following sections.

Labelling and Mental Illness

In contemporary Western culture, the application of dispositional and diagnostic labels to varying groups of individuals has become an accepted and standard procedure. In terms of research, much attention has been directed toward the effects, both negative and positive, of such an approach (26, 63, 18, 40). On the one hand, it appears that the ascription of labels tends to imply negative qualities to the labelled individual or increases the number of negative inferences made primarily as a function of one having been designated as a deviant. For example, it is argued that one may be responded to negatively because of certain stigma (labels) attached to him (19) or he may receive a negative label because of the pathological character of the diagnostic clinical nosology (16, 49, 37). As Stuart states, "A diagnostic label is clearly a negative label, and one which is drawn without clear reference to a conception of positive functioning (63, p. 104)."

Several studies have examined the effects of the use of negative labels, particularly with regard to social

interaction and the act of labelling someone mentally ill (7, 22, 36, 43). Basic to these perspectives is the idea that labelling will severely stigmatize the individual and cause that person to be excluded from normal social interaction. For example, a study by Crumpton, Weinstein, Acker & Annis (15) found that from 51 to 82 per cent of their subjects believed that anyone who was identified as a "mental patient" must be "excitable", "foolish", "unsuccessful", "unusual", "slow", "weak", "passive", "cruel", and "ugly". Investigations by Lerner & Agar (34) and Novak & Lerner (42) have also shown that the label of "mental patient" or "drug addict" leads to rejection and avoidance if the individuals so labelled are also portrayed as "similar" to the subject. Results of such studies generally lead to the conclusion that once one is assigned to a deviance category by means of a label, (s)he also becomes exposed to stigmatization and the differential judgments of others.

The negative effects of labelling also seem to extend to therapist-patient interaction in psychotherapeutic situations and to treatment planning. For example, in consideration of the relationship between a therapist and his client, it is argued by Stuart that:

When the therapist has promulgated a diagnosis and seeks to understand his patient in its terms, it is highly probable that his differential responses will be contingent upon the patient's

emission of verbal responses that are congruent with this conception. Since this conception is almost invariably negative, owing to the character of the clinical nosology, it can be seen that the very existence of a diagnosis may influence the therapist-patient interaction in an antitherapeutic direction (63, p. 107).

This example of labelling as a process clearly indicates how it might interfere with positive therapeutic rapport.

The effects of labelling have also been correlated with prognosis and outcome in psychotherapy. As reported by Stuart (60), social workers' written descriptions of patient cases have revealed a significant association between the number of negative trait adjectives used and ratings of prognosis or outcome. In order to determine whether this association might be a function of actual limitations in the patients' functioning, the researcher had a second group of social workers rate the severity and prognosis for each original case description. However, no correlation was found with the original number of trait references given nor with the prognosis. Thus, it was concluded that negative bias in social workers, as indicated by the number of negative trait references used in describing the client, is a more powerful predictor of prognosis and outcome than the presenting complaint. This research also indicated that the likelihood of referral elsewhere for treatment was a function of the number of negative adjectives used to des-

cribe the client.

In regard to treatment planning, Stuart (63) states that the diagnostic process should in principle result in identification of the major problems faced by a patient and in assistance designed to alleviate the distress. However, by referring to studies of patients of a large number of mental health clinics (3), Stuart claims that about half of these persons receive no treatment beyond diagnosis. While this single aspect creates little cause for alarm, concern is expressed for those individuals who are excluded from treatment on the basis of diagnostic considerations. In this case, professional labelling serves to deprive potential patients of therapeutic alternatives. Other studies by Rule & Phillips (48) and Cahn (10) have likewise identified the problems of labelling in affecting negative evaluations of alcoholics and professional unwillingness to treat these individuals.

Professional diagnoses given to criminally accused persons are also found to have distinct effects on disposition of their cases (62, 28, 32, 50, 65). Not only has the decision to hospitalize these individuals been found to be under the strong influence of the particular diagnosis given, but the application of a negative diagnosis has also been found to be accompanied by a poor

prognosis.

In contrast to those studies portraying the negative effects of the labelling perspective, there are a series of investigations which contradict many of the foregoing findings. For example, a number of studies focusing on the issue of disturbed behaviour, the label of mental illness, and ensuing interpersonal rejection have challenged the societal reaction perspective (30, 59, 5, 6, 54). None of these investigations found that the label of mental illness was associated with rejection, although disturbed behaviour was. At the same time, explorations of the mental illness label in relation to the rejection of mental patients by their relatives have found little support for the argument that relatives' rates of rejection for these patients are high (56, 64). In terms of patients' experiences and feelings with regard to the community at large, labelling theory suggests that the patient is likely to be so stigmatized when (s)he returns to the community that (s)he will have considerable difficulties resuming a variety of previous interpersonal and instrumental roles (26). However, the work of Gove & Fain (27), Angrist, Lefton, Dinitz & Pasamanick (2), Robins (44), and Jones, Kahn & MacDonald (29), examining the experiences of former mental patients upon their return to the community, found little evidence

in support of the labelling perspective.

In summary, the studies reviewed indicate that there is some ambiguity as to the harmful effects of labelling as it relates to mental illness. While a few investigations clearly reveal the negative effects of the labelling perspective, a number of other studies do not provide support for the notion that the label of mental illness, in itself, plays a major role in the stigmatization of mentally ill individuals. There is also some indication of the variation and potential confusion in the use of labelling to describe a diagnostic process, for example, compared to its use to identify or attribute characteristics to a particular individual or group.

Labelling and Education

The effects upon school children of both negative and positive labelling have been identified by a number of investigations (1, 46, 52, 45). For example, authors such as Conn, Edwards, Rosenthal & Crowne (13) have affirmed the association between labelling and teacher expectation, including its positive effect on student performance. In terms of identifying children as atypical, Cicourel & Kitsuse (12) have shown how the apparently innocent act of labelling influences those children placed in varying educational environments. While this research

indicated that testing can provide the basis for assigning students to different programs within the same school, it was also shown that, independent of intelligence or performance, children assigned to "academic" classes received uniformly higher grades than those placed in "opportunity" programs. At the same time, concern was expressed for the fact that a student's grade level can substantially affect his access to further training.

Labelling also has its distinctive negative effects in terms of identifying certain students as deviant and having them carry this label with them in their school careers. The work of Schäfer & Polk (52) has revealed the formal and informal mechanisms by which negative reports about students travel throughout educational institutions. Furthermore, Cowen, Zax, Izzo & Trost (14) have examined the effects of this diffusion of negative reports, particularly the reduction in acceptance of the labelled child's behaviour and the closing of subsequent educational alternatives to children identified as "red tag" cases.

Labelling and Crime

As early as 1938, Tannenbaum identified the relationship between the labelling perspective and crime:

The process of making the criminal is a process of tagging, defining, identifying, segregating, describing, emphasizing, making conscious and

self-conscious; it becomes a way of stimulating, suggesting, emphasizing, and evoking the very traits that are complained of (66, p. 19).

While Tannenbaum defined labelling as a process, a number of authors have conceptualized it in various ways since that time. However, major emphasis has been placed on trying to establish the consequences for the individuals or groups that are the object of such labelling (8, 33). For example, Schwartz & Skolnick (57) examined employers' reactions to hiring a man identified as having a court record or having been acquitted of a charge. It was found that little difference existed in employers' unwillingness to hire the applicant even if he had been acquitted. Buikhuisen & Dijksterhuis (9) found that ex-delinquents are stigmatized in the same manner when they apply for employment. Similar results have been presented by Stuart (61), suggesting that employers may close job opportunities to applicants who bear labels even loosely related to deviance. More subtle effects have been discovered by Fisher (20) in that labelling reflected but did not set in motion a process of differential treatment when groups of children with and without public delinquency labels were compared.

While the labelling perspective has been used traditionally to explain crime in that being labelled a "criminal"

leads one to further deviant identity and behaviour, more recent empirical studies have challenged this approach. For example, as stated by Foster, Dinitz & Reckless, "The extent of perceived stigmatization and social liability that follows police and court intervention seems to be overestimated in the labelling hypothesis (21, p. 209)." As these authors question the extent to which labelling plays a role in furthering deviant careers, so do a number of other studies raise similar queries (39, 25, 23). Klein's (31) examination of police dispositions of juvenile offenders found little support for the assumption of a positive association between labelling or stigmatization and a subsequent increase in offending behaviour. Also, the research of McEachern & Bauzer (38) found that court wardship (labelling) without treatment did not have an augmenting effect on rate of recidivism but was actually associated with the lowest recidivism rates of four possible combinations of wardship and treatment. At the same time, Lincoln's (35) evaluation of a police diversion project found that offenders referred to community treatment centres showed higher recidivism rates than a matched cohort, diverted but not referred to agencies. The suggestion here is that community referral merely reinforced the effects of the arrest label and did not lead to success-

ful treatment.

In a somewhat different context, support has been found for the notion that the attribution of positive labels leads to beneficial effects with certain individuals. For example, Miller, Brickman & Bolen (41) have reported the effective application of this labelling technique in eliciting and maintaining prosocial behaviour. Furthermore, Ross & McKay (47) applied it to a correctional setting in a successful attempt to encourage offenders' responsible behaviour and to persuade them to behave as prosocial individuals in keeping with certain labels applied. In this case, the researchers engendered the development of positive characteristics through specific labelling methods emphasizing prosocial rather than antisocial behaviour (eg. relabelling delinquent girls "therapists" rather than "patients", "colleagues" rather than "clients" and "leaders" rather than "manipulators"). This focus on offenders' strengths as opposed to those shortcomings and problems typically emphasized in correctional treatment programs was found to contribute to a major improvement in their behaviour.

In summary, as found previously in regard to mental illness, there is some ambiguity and lack of confirmation of the effects of labelling on criminal identity and behaviour. While the literature has historically empha-

sized the negative results of labelling, more recent evidence contradicts the notion that labelling contributes to further criminal behaviour. In fact, support has been found for the application of positive labels as a therapeutic strategy in fostering positive effects.

Researchers have also identified the methodological limitations of many studies which cast doubt on previous conclusions regarding the effects of labelling. Some of these include too narrow a focus on antisocial mislabelling, a lack of availability of "natural" field experiment opportunities, and a paucity of better lines of methodological inquiry into neglected dimensions of the labelling perspective (26, 68, 31, 67). Generally, it appears that much uncertainty exists regarding the true relationship between labelling and both crime and juvenile delinquency.

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CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW: IMPACT OF PHYSICAL ATTRACTIVENESS

During the past two decades a considerable amount of research has focused on examining the influence of physical appearance on a variety of interpersonal relationships and processes (14). It appears that this personal characteristic, obvious and accessible to others in almost all social interactions, exerts a dynamic effect on the types of impressions people form and on the judgments they make about others. Evidence has been gathered not only on the characteristics of attractive stimuli, but also on the impact of the physical attractiveness variable in a diversity of interactional situations which are worthy of further examination. The general areas to be discussed here include heterosexual liking and interpersonal attraction, popularity, socialization, education, physical characteristics other than appearance, personal characteristics, helping behaviour, counselling, work performance, opinion change, physical pleasuring, social deviance, experiences in mental health and correctional settings, and juridic decisions.

Who is Physically Attractive?

Since an adequate answer to the question of who is physically attractive has not yet been found, considerable research continues to focus on this issue as well as on

those factors which may influence attractiveness ratings. Traditionally, researchers have used the consensus method to determine the physical attractiveness level of a stimulus person. A specific person who is designated as physically attractive by a significant number of "judges" is then operationally defined as physically attractive. Ratings of stimuli, typically in the form of facial photographs, have been received by both male and female judges with the use of a forced distribution format along an attractiveness continuum (103). Taking into account the mean and standard deviation obtained for each stimulus, one then selects those stimuli to which judges have most consistently responded.

Results of such studies, despite common assertions that "beauty is in the eye of the beholder" or that criteria for physical attractiveness are vastly different, indicate considerable consensus among male and female judges. Kopera, Maier & Johnson (83), for example, had college students rate facial pictures of female stimuli and discovered there were no significant differences between males and females on ratings they gave the same pictures ($r=.93$). Such findings challenge the assumption that males and females do not agree who is aesthetically or sexually attractive and are supported by several other

investigations (112, 13). At the same time, however, an international study of the determinants of attractiveness by Morse, Reis, Gruzen & Wolff (110) suggests that, while males and females subscribe to the same standards in judging physical attractiveness, they attach different meanings to such judgments. According to these authors, judging a male as attractive means something quite different from judging a female attractive regardless of the sex of the judge.

For younger judges, some consensus is also exhibited regarding ratings of physical attractiveness. Cavior & Dokecki (29) found strong correlations regarding peer attractiveness ratings made by panels of fifth and eleventh grade boys and girls. However, reliabilities obtained in naturalistic settings, in which individuals are rated in the flesh, are lower than those in laboratory settings typically employing photographic stimuli (13, 146).

In the majority of studies mentioned in the preceding discussion, the judges selected were approximately the same age, education, and socioeconomic status as the adjudged stimulus persons. For example, the attractiveness of college student stimuli has been typically judged by fellow college students. There are, nevertheless, some exceptions. Illiffe (65) used the newspaper medium to have several thousand

readers rank 12 female facial photographs for "prettiness". The study found that attractiveness preferences remained remarkably constant regardless of the respondents' age grouping, geographical location or socioeconomic class.

Other investigations have studied not only the effect of age but also that of sex and race on the perception of facial beauty. Initially, Cross & Cross (38) and Cavior & Lombardi (33) have provided further evidence that standards of physical attractiveness do not differ by age. However, Cross et al. (38) did discover sex and race differences. Females appeared to rate all but adult male faces higher than did males; blacks gave higher ratings than whites; female faces were found more attractive than male; and white faces were judged more attractive than black faces. Finally, female and adolescent faces received higher ratings than the other sex and age groups, suggesting that we have a female- and youth-oriented culture regarding the perception of physical attractiveness.

Factors that influence attractiveness ratings. While there is some indication of agreement among judges about who is attractive and who is not, there are undoubtedly differences which influence attractiveness preferences. Some of these, such as the relationship between the judge and the stimulus or the situation in which the judgment is made,

are readily identified examples. These and other factors which may have a bearing on the attainment of consensus are of direct importance and should be illustrated. It is considered first that in all the studies cited previously, the persons rated for physical attractiveness were strangers to the judges. Within this context, Cavior (27) has provided data on the effects of "knowing" versus "not knowing" the stimuli to be rated. Results relevant to this specific manipulation indicated that there was greater agreement among "non-knowers" (i.e. children who were the same age level as the stimulus but who attended a different school and did not know the person depicted in the photograph) than among "knowers" (i.e. classmates of those depicted). Secondly Kopera et al. (83) set out to determine the effect of the situation in which ratings are made on evaluations of physical attractiveness. Based on the notion that some persons may interpret certain individual's low ratings of the attractiveness of other people in "good taste", it was hypothesized that individuals would be rated as less attractive in a group interaction situation than when ratings were made privately. The researchers found that the group setting did not lower evaluations of people who depicted a high level of physical attractiveness but did affect judgments of individuals of low or moderate attrac-

tiveness levels.

In terms of other variables having received attention in recent investigations, Melamed & Moss (102) examined the effect of context on attractiveness ratings of photographs working on the assumption that such an effect would depend on the association between the context and the target stimuli. Subjects viewed and rated photographs of females in the context of attractive and unattractive others. Where context and targets were not linked it was found that context had a significant effect. At the same time, neutral pictures were rated as more attractive in a negative than in a positive context.

The influence of frequency, duration of study trials and the total duration of exposure on judgments of attractiveness has been studied by Marcus & Hakmiller (97). The authors report that, for ratings of female nudes, if the total duration of exposure increases and the duration of the study trial or frequency increases concurrently, increases in attractiveness ratings, or affect, will occur.

Attractiveness ratings of pictures have also been found to be influenced by different sources of feedback pertaining to such pictures (73). Preferences of subjects presented with feedback allegedly reflecting their own emotional reactions to the pictures were influenced more than when the

feedback was presented as that of another person.

Overall, the preceeding citations related to ratings of physical attractiveness do not indicate any specific collection of characteristics which people find attractive in others. However, it does appear that the culture transmits some rather uniform criteria for identifying others as attractive or unattractive. The extent to which these criteria are intimately related to other characteristics remains a subject of interest. Furthermore, perception of the level of physical attractiveness of another person appears to be influenced by a number of factors such as the relationship between the evaluator and the person being judged or the situation in which judgments are made. These are the types of variables which have been and continue to be researched in an attempt to determine the role they play in evaluations of levels of physical attractiveness.

Physical Attractiveness, Heterosexual Liking and Interpersonal Attraction

Goffman (55) was one of the first contemporary investigators to discuss physical attractiveness as one of the important social attributes in the formulation of a "matching hypothesis". It was believed that a person's total social attributes were determined by his level of social skills, intelligence, physical attractiveness and other socially

valued characteristics. These, in turn, were considered to play an important role in attraction situations.

The use of physical attractiveness as a significant predictor of heterosexual liking and interpersonal attraction has been clearly and consistently established in a number of studies (40, 54, 84, 57, 111, 39, 28, 131, 140, 144, 126, 18, 88, 60). However, while it is clear that physical attractiveness is of importance for both sexes, the research of Byrne, Ervin & Lamberth (22), Coombs & Kenkel (37), Hewitt (59), and Vail & Staudt (142) has further suggested that physical attractiveness is of more relevance to men in making their dating choices than it is to women. This finding is compatible with the work of Berscheid, Dion, Walster & Walster (13) which indicates that physical attractiveness is more strongly related to a woman's than a man's dating popularity.

It is of further interest to note that interpersonal attraction is influenced by additional variables in conjunction with physical attractiveness. For example, a relationship has been found to exist between physical attractiveness and sexual experience which has a bearing on attraction toward the opposite sex. According to Stephan, Berscheid & Walster (137), sexually experienced males tend to find female stimuli less attractive than do sexually inexperienced

enced men. At the same time, Kleinke, Staneski & Pipp (80), Scherwitz & Helmreich (121) and Kleinke, Staneski & Berger (79) have all discussed the varying effects of gazing, eye contact and physical attractiveness on interpersonal attraction.

The associations between physical attractiveness and interpersonal attraction, with respect to opposite-sex relationships, seem to reflect congenital and therefore self-evident principles for many people. Nevertheless, in contrast to much of the foregoing data, evidence has been gathered to indicate that physical appearance is not always of major importance in such situations. For example, in one of the earliest studies conducted in the area of date selection, it was found that the importance of physical attractiveness played a secondary role to other characteristics such as expressive behaviour and personal habits (115). Likewise, Miller & Rivenbark (106) and Hudson & Henze (63) have outlined the relatively lesser importance of physical attractiveness in general or its insignificance compared to attributes such as "dependable character" and "emotional stability". The research of Pennington (114) has shown no link between physical attractiveness and interpersonal behaviour. Considering these findings, there is an indication of some incongruency between the notion that

an individual's physical attractiveness is one principal component of his attributes related to opposite-sex social interaction and the general assertion that one's interpersonal abilities are measured by nonappearance characteristics. Overall, however, the accrued data details the significance of physical attractiveness as a commanding determinant of heterosexual attraction. In attempting to answer the question of why this is so clearly the case, a number of considerations may be drawn upon.

Social learning. As detailed by Berscheid et al. (14), societal norms applicable to sexual-romantic behaviour may explain the importance of the physical attractiveness dimension in relation to heterosexual attraction. It is suggested that our culture dictates the importance of those who are highly physically attractive as the only appropriate targets for romantic involvement. Through the use of advertisements, popular movies, and other media, for example, the message is effectively conveyed that one is supposed to exhibit attraction only to physically attractive stimuli.

External rewards. Another possible explanation of the drawing together of physically attractive men and women in dating relationships is based on the research of Blood (17), Smith (132) and Waller (143). It is suggested that how one

is perceived is primarily a function of his associations with others. Ambitious males, for example, have rated physical attractiveness highly among the qualities they most desire in women. Similarly, according to the research of Hartnett & Elder (58) and Sigall & Landy (127), males tend to be evaluated or perceived more favourably when paired with attractive females. These data suggest not only the importance of intrinsic rewards in one's interactions with others, but also the values of external rewards (such as prestige) which may be obtained from one's relationships with attractive "associates"..

Physical attractiveness stereotype. The existence of a physical attractiveness stereotype ("what is beautiful is good") has been clearly indicated by the work of Dion, Berscheid & Walster (49). Based on the notion that the potency of physical attractiveness as a determinant of attraction may go beyond such social interactions as opposite-sex dating and mate selection, the work of these authors has provided evidence that attractive individuals are indeed judged more socially desirable regardless of the sex of the judge. Attractive men and women are expected to attain more prestigious occupations, be more competent spouses, have happier marriages and are assumed to have better prospects for happier social and professional lives.

They also are expected to be more likely to possess a number of prejudged "socially desirable" traits such as being sensitive, strong, sociable and outgoing compared to persons of lesser physical attractiveness. Other investigations (123, 105, 11, 15, 129, 119, 92, 9, 103, 101) are also supportive of the physical attractiveness stereotype in that "beautiful" people are consistently associated with more desirable traits and personalities or are evaluated more favourably than their physically unattractive counterparts.

In addition to providing further evidence for the existence of a physical attractiveness stereotype, Miller (193) found an interaction effect between physical attractiveness and the sex of the stimulus person in terms of how the person is perceived. He also found an increase in the influence of sex as an impression determinant as one departs from high physical attractiveness. This suggestion of the possibility of sex-role stereotypy where the physical attractiveness stereotype for women differs in substance from the stereotype for men has received support from the work of Bar-tol & Saxe (11) and Byrne, London & Reeves (23). For example, the latter found that, for male stimuli, attributed intelligence and morality decreased as a function of physical attractiveness

while the inverse was true for female stimuli.

It is of further interest to note that the potency of physical attractiveness as a stereotyped determinant of attraction extends to disparate age groups. The research of Adams & Huston (1) reveals, for example, that middle-aged persons are judged in more socially desirable terms and that the elderly hold a stronger physical attractiveness stereotype than young adults. Udry (141) has also reported distinct preference patterns for persons past middle age concerning feminine beauty.

The existence of a physical attractiveness stereotype among children has likewise been researched. On the one hand, Spiegel (135) has argued that preadolescents do not have a concept of human beauty based on facial characteristics. In contrast, Udry (141) has presented findings for a sample of first, second and third grade children which indicate their distinct patterned preferences that correlate lowly with adult preferences. Cavior & Lombardi (33) have also reported the abilities of children to reliably judge physical attractiveness. Similarly, Dion & Berscheid (48) and Dion (46) have found consistent stereotypes associated with facial attractiveness among preschoolers. Both of these studies report subjects' perceptions that attractive children are more likely to behave prosocially

and that unattractive children are more likely to exhibit antisocial behaviours than attractive ones. Attractive children are also perceived to be more independent and self-sufficient than unattractive youngsters. Thus, the importance of physical attractiveness as a factor in early social perception and social development is indicated.

Cross-cultural studies using Black and White subjects have also demonstrated the effects of a physical attractiveness stereotype. The work of Wasserman, Wiggins, Jones & Itkin (147) has, for example, detailed the relationship between judgmental prejudice and a physical attractiveness stereotype. McCullers & Staat's (100) research on drawing characteristics ("good-looking" versus "ugly" stimuli) has suggested a prevailing belief in our society that "Black" is more beautiful when he or she has "White" features.

In contrast to many of the studies reporting the existence of a physical attractiveness stereotype, some recent investigations suggest that people do not always make judgments as a function of the "what is beautiful is good" stereotype. For example, based on the notion that exceptionally attractive females act as a source of ego-threat to other females, Kollar (82) found that unattractive females were rated more favourably on a series of bipolar adjective scales. Similarly, Dermer & Thiel (44) and

Dermer (43) found differences in their examination of the generality of the "what is beautiful is good" stereotype. While some attributions were congruent with a physical attractiveness stereotype, a considerable number of undesirable attributes regarding vanity, egotism and the likelihood of marital problems were increasingly used to describe individuals as the level of their physical attractiveness correspondingly increased.

Other authors such as Mathes (98) have interpreted the existence of a "beauty is good" stereotype somewhat differently. This researcher argues that disconfirmation of the stereotype theory (i.e. socially desirable characteristics are attributed to attractive individuals and undesirable traits to unattractive people) would produce cognitive dissonance. In order to avoid such a dilemma, people reinforce other attractive people for engaging in desirable behaviour while unattractive persons are reinforced for involving themselves in undesirable behaviour. Thus certain behaviours become a function of reinforcement contingencies associated with attractiveness and unattractiveness. While Mathes's (98) research did not find actual behaviour to be affected by a physical attractiveness stereotype, it was found that people use a stereotype to make trait ratings. Thus the author concluded that thought concerning the

characteristics of attractiveness and unattractiveness, when not bound by considerations of the "real world", is in terms of a "beauty is good" stereotype.

In summary, the results of the stereotype studies indicate that, while there may be some discrepancy as to the form and/or substance of the physical attractiveness stereotype, one indeed does exist. The majority of investigations support the notion that physically attractive persons possess or are seen as possessing more socially desirable traits. They also seem to attract happiness and material benefits as well. These findings seem to be consistent with Miller's (104) determination that persons low in physical attractiveness are perceived to be more external (as measured by Rotter's internal-external control dimension) than those who are highly or moderately physically attractive. Miller suggests that in contrast to unattractive people who are influenced by the environment, "physically attractive individuals are likely to be perceived as masters of their fate, as individuals who behave with a sense of purpose and out of their own volition (104, p. 108)."

Physical attractiveness and other attraction determinants. One of the underlying themes of interpersonal attraction concerns the fact that we tend to like others who reward us and the degree of liking is usually related to

the amount of reward received (14). As a concrete example, attitude similarity is one factor which has documented reward value in the attraction literature (21). Several investigations have focused on this and other variables in terms of their relationship to physical attractiveness and their potency as generators of attraction.

Byrne, London & Reeves (23) were among the first to examine the impact of physical attractiveness and attitude similarity among college students. These authors found that subjects' liking of another individual was affected by both the person's physical attractiveness ($p < .05$) and the degree of his attitude similarity ($p < .001$). At the same time, the work of Stroebe, Insko, Thompson & Layton (139) has indicated that subjects liked more, preferred to work with, and were more likely to consider as a dating or marriage partner similar rather than dissimilar, and attractive rather than unattractive, others. Additional investigations in this area are also supportive in that the degree of attitude similarity and the physical attractiveness of an individual are found to significantly affect how much others are attracted to that person (122, 16, 91, 67). However, in contrast to these general findings, Kleck & Rubenstein (78) found no effects for attitude similarity and some lack of continuity regarding the effects of physical

attractiveness on interpersonal attraction. An important consideration was consequently raised by these authors in that such experimentation may be influenced by the use of actual similarity compared to attitude similarity perceived by the subject. It was also suggested that this problem may extend to the use of rated photographs which depict attractive or unattractive individuals as opposed to the use of live models in face-to-face confrontation.

Other questions arising from attempts to extrapolate from laboratory results to naturalistic settings have also stimulated research on the direction of influence and the association between perceived similarity and physical attractiveness. On the one hand, the work of Tesser & Brodie (140) and Brislin & Lewis (18) is supportive of the proposition that perceived similarity is positively associated with physical attractiveness. In terms of the direction of influence, on the other hand, Walster (145) found support for the hypothesis that a similar person is thought more physically attractive than a dissimilar person. Students who shared subjects' political views, as revealed in a group discussion, were judged more physically attractive than those who did not share similar views. Similarly, support for the idea that a physically attractive person may be perceived to be similar is obtained from

the investigations of Cavior & Doeckel (29) and Sappenfield & Balogh (120).

Esteem and acceptance are two other types of rewards which appear to produce attraction. Simply stated, people like those who like them and are perceived to accept them. Most relevant to this study is the fact that level of physical attractiveness appears to mediate such assumptions. For example, Berman & Brickman (12) found that subjects who were paired with attractive dates perceived that these dates liked them significantly more than did subjects matched with an unattractive dating partner. In a similar manner, Huston (64) found that while male subjects preferred to date the most physically attractive women, this was most pronounced when they were assured of acceptance by the females involved. The experimental manipulation of self-esteem is also shown to influence attraction toward physically attractive others in the work of Kiesler & Baral (76).

In summary, there appears to be a mutual influence between physical attractiveness and other factors including attitude similarity, esteem and acceptance on the attraction process. As suggested by Berscheid & Walster (14), the covariation between physical attractiveness and attraction is mediated, at least to some extent, by several processes in which a) another's physical attractiveness influences one's

perception that he is accepted and the perception that the other is similar, b) perceived acceptance affects assumed similarity and vice versa, and c) perceived acceptance and similarity determine attraction.

Physical Attractiveness and Popularity in Children

In addition to the fact that a physical attractiveness stereotype has been identified in adults and children, it appears that the effects of external appearance extend to many of one's life experiences beginning in childhood. For example, further to the fact that young children are able to distinguish differences along a dimension of body build characteristics (53, 94), it has been demonstrated that children's physical attractiveness is associated with their popularity. Dion & Berscheid (48) examined sociometric data obtained from nursery school children and found that the preschooler's level of physical attractiveness bears relationship to the extent to which he is popular with his peers. The fact that unattractive children are relatively less popular than their attractive counterparts has also been supported by other investigations. Dion's (46) work reveals that a significant preference is shown among young children for other attractive children as potential friends while a dislike is indicated for unattractive children. Similar findings indicating support for the idea that dif-

ferences in physical attractiveness are systematically related to social acceptance are reported in earlier studies by Staffieri (136) and Roff & Brody (117).

Taken as a whole, the data pertaining to the relationship between attractiveness and popularity underline the importance of level of physical attractiveness as a factor in the modes of social interaction which develop in children and likely carry through to adolescence and adulthood.

Physical Attractiveness and Socialization

Considering the evidence gathered to indicate the effects of a physical attractiveness stereotype in early childhood, questions have been raised as to whether adults display differential treatment toward attractive and unattractive children. Assuming that adults do indeed hold an attractiveness stereotype for children whereby attractive children are considered to engage in more socially desirable behaviour than their unattractive counterparts, theorists have hypothesized that misbehaviours will be viewed differently as a function of the child's level of physical attractiveness. To test the validity of this assumption Dion (45) examined a situation where a child has committed a transgression and the socializing adult must evaluate the child's behaviour and act upon that evaluation. Results indicated that, although no differences were found in the intensity of advo-

cated punishment for attractive compared to unattractive children, a severe transgression of an attractive child was evaluated less negatively by female adults. Additional research examining the determinants of adult punitiveness has supported the finding that women behave more leniently, at least toward attractive male children, while men do not appear to be influenced by a child's attractiveness or sex (47).

Physical Attractiveness and Education.

Further evidence that individuals of varying levels of physical attractiveness can receive different socializations through their educational experiences comes from several studies (75, 19, 74, 87). For example, Clifford & Walster (36) asked a large sample of teachers to form impressions of children based on their school record and physical appearance. Results indicated that the physical attractiveness of these youngsters was significantly associated with teachers' expectations about the children's intelligence, how interested in education their parents were, how far they were likely to progress in school and how popular they would be with their peers. Clifford (35) and Ross & Salvia (118) have also presented supporting evidence for the proposition that teachers have more favourable academic expectations for attractive students.

In a slightly different context, examinations of the influence of physical attractiveness on judgments of subnormality have found that the presence of stigmata in unattractive photographs did affect teachers' judgments (4). The work of Landy & Sigall (89) is also consistent in terms of the effect of physical attractiveness on evaluations of task performance. Evaluations of essays written by persons of varying levels of attractiveness were least favourable when the writer was unattractive.

Further types of educational recommendations are also influenced by physical attractiveness level. In one instance, Ross & Salvia (118) have reported that teachers are more willing to recommend unattractive children for special placement. As well, the work of Barocas & Black (8) indicates that attractive children tend to receive significantly more referrals for psychological assessments and for speech, reading and learning disability problems than their less attractive classmates. To continue, levels of attractiveness and sex variables have been found to influence attribution of blame and recommendations for punishment by teachers concerning children's behaviour (116).

In contrast to much of the preceeding data indicating that physical attractiveness is a major influence related to teachers' evaluations and educational processes, evidence

which reveals the lack of influence of this variable has also been detailed. While Knapp (81) reports that physical attractiveness did not significantly affect teacher expectations, the work of LaVoie & Adams (90) suggests that students' conduct was a more crucial factor in influencing teachers' predictions concerning academic ability, level of aspiration and leadership potential than level of attractiveness. The significant influence of conduct, and to some degree the importance of physical attractiveness (as it extends to parental judgments on several measures), has likewise been reported by Adams & LaVoie (3). Both the importance of conduct compared to the influence of physical attractiveness in an educational context, and academic aspirations in relation to physical attractiveness have also been corroborated by other studies (72, 2).

The overall effects of physical appearance on educational experiences take on special significance in light of the foregoing findings. It seems clear, for example, that unattractive children may be disadvantaged in the classroom by teacher expectations. Experiences of an unattractive child (such as those suggested by Dion & Berscheid (48)) potentially leading to an aversion to the classroom are also detrimental to educational achievement. In essence, such events may lead to the setting of the stage for lower

educational opportunity on the part of the unattractive.

Physical Attractiveness and Other Physical Characteristics

The question of who is physically attractive and why, although an apparently popular one, does not appear to have received much attention in the literature in terms of its relationship to other physical characteristics. However, within the context of height and weight estimates and perceptions of physical attractiveness, Lerner & Moore (96) discovered that sex acts as a discriminatory variable. Height estimates were found to be positively related to attractiveness ratings for males, while neither height nor weight estimates predicted attractiveness ratings for female targets.

As well as height and weight, other body-type characteristics are believed to account for attractiveness variance. Cavior (27) and Staffieri (136) have provided some evidence that high ratings of physical attractiveness may be associated with mesomorphy and low ratings with ectomorphy and endomorphy. These limited findings perhaps can serve as a point of departure for further research on the relationship(s) between physical attractiveness and other physical characteristics.

The question of who is physically attractive also raises the issue of a potential association between

physical attractiveness and socioeconomic status. The work of Sorokin (134) and Elder's (52) finding that middle-class girls were judged more attractive than girls from the working class with respect to physique, sex appeal, grooming and overall appearance are both consistent with this view. At the same time, other investigations have revealed an affiliation between physical attractiveness and upward class mobility (66). Elder (52), for example, reports that women from middle and working classes who become upwardly mobile through marriage were characterized by physical attractiveness more than non-mobile women of similar class origin. It was also concluded that attractiveness directly influenced the chances of marriage to a higher status individual and was relatively independent of educational achievement and its determinants.

Physical Attractiveness and Personal Characteristics

The various influences of physical appearance on human beings are also considered to logically extend to one's perceptions of himself and the development of other personal characteristics. These may be especially important to the self-concept, for example, assuming that its development is significantly related to the kind of treatment one receives from other people (eg. peers, socializing agents). In consideration of the documented evidence of the effects

of physical attractiveness on socialization, popularity, education and other experiences, it is believed that the development of unattractive individuals' personal characteristics may vary considerably with that of their more attractive counterparts. For example, there is some evidence of a relationship between an individual's satisfaction with his bodily characteristics and other personality and non-physical variables. Lerner, Karabenick & Stuart (95) had subjects rate body parts in terms of how satisfied they were with them and how important each was in determining their own and members of the opposite sex's physical attractiveness. Results indicated that generally the mean satisfaction rating of body parts predicted self-concept. However, the mean importance of opposite-sex body characteristics was significantly related to self-concept for males only. In a related study, Berscheid et al. (13) examined the relationship between the physical attractiveness of women and certain items measured by the Secord & Jourard Body-Cathexis Scale. The investigation revealed that attractive women reported themselves to be significantly more satisfied with their degree of self-consciousness and significantly more dissatisfied with their degree of self-understanding than unattractive women. Another study by Kaats & Davis (70) found a correspondence between

women's physical attractiveness and the favourableness of their self-description. Attractive women compared to women of low or medium attractiveness were found to respond more favourably when asked to report the extent to which they believed themselves to be physically attractive, a good date, feminine, self-confident, possessive of an engaging personality, and a likeable person. Physical attractiveness has also been found to influence self-disclosures in a somewhat different context. Cash & Soloway (26) and Cash (24) have reported that, the more attractive their self-perceptions were, the more men disclosed about themselves and the more favourable these disclosures were to opposite-sex strangers. The more attractive women, however, tended to reveal less information. Other related research reveals the influence of physical attractiveness on behaviour in such situations. Male subjects who were asked to choose and to enact different levels of status roles made choices which were significantly biased in the direction of higher status when interaction was anticipated with an attractive female (124).

The relationship between physical attractiveness and personal characteristics such as assertiveness and happiness has also been examined to some extent by other researchers. In line with previous research on a physical attractiveness stereotype, indicating that attractive people are believed

to lead happier and more fulfilling lives than less attractive people, Kirkpatrick & Cotton (77) examined the relationship between a woman's level of physical attractiveness and her marital adjustment. The authors concluded from their research that there was clear and consistent evidence that, for female subjects described by student cooperators, attractiveness ratings tended to be associated favourably with reported marital adjustment. However, it is important to note that the methodology of the study turned it into more of an examination of the social perception of the relationship between these two variables than an investigation of the actual correspondence between them. Attractiveness was not independently assessed and students were asked to report on the attractiveness of couples known to them who appeared to be well or poorly adjusted to marriage.

More recent research has studied the degree of correspondence between neuroticism, happiness and self-esteem (99). For women (in contrast to men) a negative correlation was found between physical attractiveness and neuroticism while the correlation was a positive one for happiness and self-esteem. The explanation offered in this investigation is that physical attractiveness "buys" more for women in terms of friends and dates, for example, which are of greater value to women. Superior outcomes for attractive females

make them psychologically healthy, happy and proud of themselves.

Some degree of correspondence has been discovered between physical attractiveness and assertiveness in females. Jackson & Huston (68) compared independently judged attractive and unattractive subjects on an objective assertiveness dimension and found that females who were attractive tended to display greater assertiveness than their less attractive counterparts.

Further evidence of the relationship between physical attractiveness and personal characteristics is demonstrated in an examination of one's willingness to cooperate using the Prisoner's Dilemma game (71). Results indicated that, while males tended to make optimal choices to maximize their winnings in this situation, females varied their choices as a function of the sex and physical attractiveness of their partner. The authors concluded that males and females do not have differential motives to cooperate, but respond to different cues.

Some recent investigations have extended their focus beyond physical attractiveness and specific personal characteristics in an attempt to determine the association between physical appearance and certain social attitudes. For example, the work of Wilson, Nias & Brazendale (149) was

designed to study the use of self-rated physical attractiveness as a predictor of social attitude patterns toward risqué humour. The authors discovered that subjects who rated themselves as attractive found a collection of risqué humorous postcards less funny than unattractive subjects. Essentially, no relationship was found between attractiveness and social attitudes. In another study, physical attractiveness was found to influence individuals' judgments regardless of the former's professed attitudes toward this organization (56). Photographs of females whose attitudes toward the movement identified them as supporters or non-supporters were used. (No differences existed between these two groups on ratings for physical attractiveness). Both male and female subjects, when asked to examine the photographs and identify those women who supported the liberation movement, significantly chose the pictures depicting less attractive women.

In summary, there is considerable evidence of a direct relationship between level of physical attractiveness and other physical and personal characteristics. The relationship between physical attractiveness and characteristics such as height and weight is particularly emphasized for the male sex. For females, on the other hand, major emphasis is placed on the correspondence between attractiveness,

self-description and personal characteristics such as happiness, self-esteem and assertiveness. Little attention has been directed toward the correspondence between attractiveness and social attitudes. An examination of further specific components of the personality as they relate to varying levels of physical attractiveness, therefore, could be profitable.

Physical Attractiveness and Other Behaviours

Helping behaviour. Examinations of the physical attractiveness literature further indicates the potential influence of physical appearance on a variety of specific social behaviours and experiences. For example, the impact of physical attractiveness on helping behaviour has been explored in a number of laboratory studies. Initially, it has been found by Mims, Hartnett & Nay (109) that attractive females more readily draw offers of assistance in a help volunteering situation. Furthermore, it has been determined that helping behaviour can be a function of the interaction between the physical attractiveness of an experimental confederate and 1) the severity of the situation (148) or 2) the kind of role he is in (i.e. presented as an experimenter or a fellow subject) (138). As further reported by Athanasiou & Greene (6), the use of models to affect the number of offers of aid to a lady-in-

distress (confederate) has been found less important than the physical attractiveness of this individual. In another study vaguely related to helping behaviour, Pavlos & Newcomb (113) discovered that level of physical attractiveness and severity of physical illness had a direct influence on justification seen for attempting suicide.

Counselling. The professional counselling situation is another area which appears to be significantly influenced by the physical attractiveness variable. For example, when individuals are given the opportunity to choose a counsellor, they have been found to select the individual on the basis of his physical attractiveness as opposed to peers' descriptions of him as a warm, friendly, enthusiastic, capable, caring and responsible person (20). Likewise, research by Cash, Begley, McCown & Weise (25) found that an attractive counsellor was perceived more favourably by both sexes on a number of traits such as friendliness, assertiveness, IQ, trustworthiness, competence, warmth and likeability. He also elicited more favourable outcome expectancies for helpfulness concerning personal problems. In similar psychotherapeutic counselling settings, Cavior & Glowgower (30) discovered that an interaction occurred between the physical attractiveness of male therapists and female clients and had a significant effect on the number of individual

sessions arranged. Other studies have also reported that attractiveness ratings, regardless of the sex of the counselor or client, are significantly related to prognosis (10).

Work performance. The relationship between physical appearance and evaluations of work performance has also been examined by researchers. Lerner (93) had subjects observe two individuals (differing in physical attractiveness) working together on a task. Both were portrayed as doing their best on the task and subjects were instructed that only one worker would be selected by chance to be paid for his efforts. Results indicated that when the less attractive worker was selected for payment, subjects were less impressed and devalued the performance of both workers. The work of Sigall, Page & Brown (130) also found that evaluations of performance made by an attractive female had an effect on work output and expenditure effort of male subjects. Other somewhat related research has reported the influence of physical attractiveness as well as sex and scholastic standing on evaluations of job application résumés (50).

Opinion change. Another area of interest, that of opinion change, has been examined by a number of investigators in terms of the degree to which physically attractive communicators have an impact on it (61, 62). Studies con-

ducted by Snyder & Rothbart (133) and Mills & Aronson (107) both confirm, for example, that an attractive communicator is more effective or persuasive than his unattractive counterpart. Furthermore, while Mills et al. (107) found this influence to also be a function of whether or not the communicator announced his intention to persuade, Snyder et al. (133) report that the effect of physical attractiveness was independent of differences in perceived expertness or trustworthiness of the communicator. Opinion change as a function of when information about the communicator is received, and whether he is attractive or expert has received attention by other researchers as well (108).

Recognition memory. The research literature has also examined the length of time between viewings and level of attractiveness on recognition memory. Shepherd & Ellis (125) have asserted that a significant decrement in subjects' recognition scores occurs for faces of moderate attractiveness 35 days after initial presentation, but not for faces of high or low attractiveness. The effects of facial similarity on recognition have been further investigated by Zelnick (151).

Interpersonal physical pleasuring. An additional area of human behaviour explored in the laboratory and found to be affected by physical attractiveness (as well as

other variables) is that of interpersonal physical pleasuring. Davis, Rainey & Brock (42) and Davis (41) examined the effects of sex, attractiveness and responsiveness on the administration of positive physical stimulation (pleasuring) to another person. Results generally indicated that responsive recipients elicited higher pleasuring in same-sex pairs while responsiveness lowered pleasuring in opposite-sex pairs. However, an exception occurred in the case of males pleasuring unattractive females. Here recipient responsiveness increased pleasuring. In terms of sexual experiences in real life situations, it is reported by Kaats & Davis (70) that attractive women say they have had more noncoital petting sexual experiences and sexual intercourse than those of lesser attractiveness.

Power and dominance. Limited attention has been directed toward the use of physical attractiveness as an antecedent or predictor of power and dominance in small group settings. As an example of this notion, Archer (5) found that group members who rise to positions of power are those rated relatively unattractive.

Social deviance. A further general area of interest concerning the impact of physical appearance on social behaviour encompasses the historical notion that there is a relationship between physical disfigurement and social

deviance. While several studies have explored this area (150, 7), perhaps the most significant is Kurtzberg, Safar & Cavior's (86) examination of the role of plastic surgery on the rehabilitation of adult criminal offenders. These authors applied cosmetic and reconstructive plastic surgery to a group of experimental subjects who had disfigurements and compared them to a control group of individuals who had similar facial problems but received no surgery. Follow-up data collected on all participants one year following their release from prison revealed that the recidivism rate of those who received surgery was significantly lower than that of the control group. These findings suggest, at least to some extent, that low levels of physical attractiveness (conversely, high levels of physical disfigurement) contribute to careers of deviancy.

Experiences in mental health, correctional and judicial settings. Some considerations of the impact of physical attractiveness which are perhaps most relevant to the current study focus on personal experiences in mental health, correctional and judicial settings. Of first regard are the findings that, while pictures of male delinquents are judged less attractive than pictures of groups of high school students, physical appearance has also had more concrete effects on institutional performance. In this case, Cavior,

Hayes and Cavior (31) discovered that female offenders determined to be of above average physical attractiveness received more town trips and engaged in less high-stigma nonaggressive (and aggressive) behaviours than counterparts of below average attractiveness. Furthermore, in a mental health context, Chobin, Cavior & Bennett (34) have examined token economy programs and report that the physical attractiveness of chronic hospitalized female "mental" patients is more positively correlated with discharge from hospital than the number of tokens earned. It is interesting to note in this instance that physical characteristics may have more significance to release from a mental health setting than specific program elements (i.e. tokens in a token economy program) designed to monitor progress and lead to eventual discharge.

Speculations such as the foregoing suggest some serious implications pertaining to the judicial process in terms of the impact of individual physical characteristics on juridic decisions. For example, common notions such as "beauty is in the eye of the beholder" or "clothes make the man" contrasted with "the personality will show through" raise the question of whether justice is sometimes "blind". Simulation studies by Efran (51) and Kulka & Kessler (85) provide some information in this regard as both examined

the relationship between different levels of attractiveness and juridic outcomes. Generally, it was found that physically attractive defendants were evaluated with less certainty of guilt and received less severe recommended punishments than unattractive individuals. Further, while Jacobson & Berger (69) report that physical attractiveness had no significant effect on the severity of sentences, Sigall & Ostrove (128) have found an effect when attractiveness is related to the crime. These authors argued that when the crime committed is viewed as attractiveness-related, as in a confidence game, an attractive target may be seen as relatively more dangerous, and the effects of good physical appearance could be expected to be nullified or reversed. Thus an interaction was predicted and it was found that subjects were more lenient in sentencing attractive defendants when the offence was unrelated to attractiveness (eg. burglary) as compared to recommendations of harsher treatment when the offence was attractiveness-related (eg. swindle). These findings, which reveal the impact of the defendant's level of physical attractiveness, also indicate that this variable cannot be overlooked as an important extra-legal consideration in juridic decisions and other processes such as jury selection. Based on these conclusions, the need to assess the influence

of physical appearance, its importance as a mediating variable and the weight given it by subjects in a correctional decision-making context is identified.

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Literature Review Summary and Hypotheses

The preceeding review of the research literature on labelling and physical attractiveness reveals the pronounced impact of these two variables on a variety of interpersonal processes. Much of the research on labelling, for example, has consistently discussed the effects of the ascription of mostly negative social labels to individuals. These labels have been shown to affect one's experiences as well as the kinds of responses he receives from the social community at large. On the one hand, it has been concluded that this exposure to "secondary deviance" has not only resulted in stigmatization, but has also escalated many persons' deviant identity, behaviour and way of life. More recent labelling research, on the other hand, has challenged this viewpoint. A number of investigations have indicated less empirical confirmation and more ambivalence regarding the effects of labelling on individuals. Not only has earlier research been questioned because of methodological limitations, but evidence has also been found to contradict the previous belief that labelling promotes further deviant behaviour and identification. Thus clarification of the effectiveness of both negative and positive labels in determining one's social identity is required. Determinations of their effects on others'

judgments of individuals are also of major importance.

At the same time, the majority of studies on physical attractiveness have indicated that individuals tend to form impressions and make judgments about people in a wide variety of social situations on the basis of their physical appearance. Attractive individuals seem to be consistently associated with more socially desirable traits and/or are more favourably evaluated than their physically unattractive counterparts. However, with the exception of a few brief examinations of the impact of physical attractiveness on sentencing in a juridic context, it appears that investigations of the influence of physical attractiveness on decision-making in the criminal justice field have not been conducted.

The present study was designed to extend previous research findings by experimentally determining the effect(s) of labelling and physical attractiveness on correctional decision-making. Specifically, determinations of the effects of labelling on judgments of individuals were made while the level of physical attractiveness of these target persons was also manipulated. As a first consideration, it was believed that the assignment of prejudged negative or positive social labels to targets would have a pronounced influence on other's adjudications regarding the targets' fate in a correctional decision-making task. Experimental

subjects were asked to make judgments on three dependent measures including: 1) disposition or handling of the target's case, 2) length of recommended probation, and 3) prognosis. All judgments were indicated by scores based on a 7-point continuum. Within this framework, the following hypotheses were made:

- 1) subjects would recommend a loving, warm approach as opposed to more severe disciplinary action (as reflected in higher rating scores) regarding handling of a female individual to whom positive social labels were ascribed than when she was described with negative social labels;
- 2) subjects would recommend a shorter probation period (as reflected in lower scores) for the stimulus person when positive social labels were ascribed to her than when negative social labels were ascribed to her; and
- 3) subjects would have a more favourable prognosis (as reflected in higher ratings) for a female target to whom positive social labels were ascribed as opposed to when she was described with negative social labels.

At the same time, it was believed that the manipulation of the level of physical attractiveness of the stimulus person would markedly affect decision-making. In this instance, using the same three dependent measures described above, the following hypotheses were made:

1). subjects would recommend a loving, warm approach rather than more severe disciplinary action (as indicated by higher scores) regarding handling (disposition) of a physically attractive as opposed to a physically unattractive female target;

2) subjects would recommend a shorter probation period (as reflected in lower scores) for a physically attractive than for a physically unattractive female target; and

3) subjects would give a more favourable prognosis (as indicated in higher ratings) for a physically attractive female target as compared to a physically unattractive one.

Also, an interaction effect was predicted between labelling and physical attractiveness whereby the impact of the type of social label ascribed to a female target person would vary with her level of physical attractiveness. Within the framework of the same three dependent measures described above, the following hypotheses were made:

1) when positive social labels were used to describe the female target and she was at the same time depicted as physically unattractive, subjects' recommendations regarding handling of the case would be somewhat mediated (i.e. scores would be lowered) by the depiction of the target as unattractive;

2) when negative social labels were ascribed to the female

target person while she was also depicted as physically attractive, subjects' judgments concerning handling of the case would be mediated (i.e. scores would be somewhat higher) by the depiction of the target as attractive;

3) when positive social labels were used to describe the female target and she was at the same time depicted as physically unattractive, subjects' probation recommendations would be somewhat mediated (i.e. higher scores would reflect a somewhat longer probation period) by the depiction of the target as unattractive;

4) when negative social labels were ascribed to the female target while she was also depicted as physically attractive, subjects' judgments concerning length of probation would be mediated (i.e. lower scores would reflect a somewhat shorter probation period) by the depiction of the target as attractive;

5) when positive social labels were ascribed to the female target person and she was also described as physically unattractive, subjects' prognosis recommendations would be mediated (i.e. scores would be lower) by the depiction of the target as unattractive; and

6) when negative social labels were used to describe the female target who was also depicted as physically attractive, subjects' recommendations regarding prognosis would be

mediated (i.e. scores would be somewhat higher) by the depiction of the target as attractive.

As a final consideration, the investigator wished to explore potential differences in the importance attached to labelling and physical attractiveness in decision-making (compared to six other "filler" items). While the literature has indicated the impact of both of these variables on general impression formation and other behaviours, it was believed that significant differences may exist in the reported level of importance of labelling and physical attractiveness in the decision-making task employed in this study.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Design

All subjects were presented with a fictional case history summary (Appendix A) of an adolescent female reported to have been recently involved in some trouble with the police. The case history consisted of a version of the "Johnny Rocco Story" (2) drawn from Schachter (5), adapted by Arrowood & Amoroso (1) and re-adapted by McKay & Lerner (4). In this instance, the format used was that of a proto-typical pre-sentence report, a formal document detailing the complete background history and current status of individuals being presented before the Courts. These reports are prepared by probation officers to aid judges in their dispositional decisions regarding alleged offenders.

Initially, written instructions were presented in order to lead subjects to believe that the purpose of the exercise was to examine the preparation and interpretation of pre-sentence reports. Following this introduction, subjects were asked to read the material provided, and subsequently to respond to several questions (i.e. to make several decisions) regarding the described target person. All subjects read an identical core section of the case history. However, in order that assessment of the impact of the

labelling and physical attractiveness variables could take place, various manipulations were introduced. First of all, labelling manipulations were effected by concluding the case reports with different statements. Through the introduction of a section entitled "current observations", differing social labels in the form of a brief paragraph were ascribed to the target (Appendix B). In one third of the cases these labels were positive and in one third of the cases the ascribed labels were negative. In the remaining one third of the cases no labels were attached. This control condition was added so that the impact of the labelling manipulations could be determined by examining whether judgments varied when labels were ascribed to the target person as opposed to when no labels were used (other variables being held constant). Secondly, the physical attractiveness of the target varied in each experimental condition. One third of the case histories were accompanied by a picture of a physically attractive female, in one third of the cases the picture was of an unattractive female, and in the remaining one third of the cases (the control condition) subjects were not exposed to the attractiveness manipulation. Again a control condition was introduced so the impact of the physical attractiveness manipulation could be determined by examining whether

subjects' decision-making was influenced when level of physical attractiveness was brought into play compared to when subjects were not exposed to this manipulation (other variables being held constant). These procedures yielded a 3 x 3 factorial design with three types of labels (positive, negative and control) and three levels of physical attractiveness (attractive, unattractive and control).

Subjects

A sample of 103 male undergraduate psychology students was obtained from two local urban universities to take part in this investigation. All participants were recruited on a voluntary basis during regular classroom lecture periods. The investigator requested volunteers for a study on "social perception" and all males who expressed an interest were included in the investigation. All testing was conducted at a time arranged with the subjects involved in a classroom setting.

Label Types ("Current Observations")

As depicted in the psychiatric nomenclature, it is customary in the mental health field to classify individuals using simple diagnostic terms (eg. schizophrenic) or diagnostic categories (eg. psychoses). However, according to Webster's dictionary, a label is "a descriptive word or phrase applied to a person, group, theory ... as a con-

venient generalized classification (3, p. 785)." This definition is more closely associated with methods used in the criminal justice system whereby descriptive phrases tend to be employed to label individuals. Therefore, for purposes of the current study, terms or phrases designed to depict either anti-social (negative) or pro-social (positive) labels typically ascribed to individuals were constructed in the form of short paragraphs. These labels, as operationally defined, were then pretested as to their negative or positive quality with a total sample of 26 individuals. Members of the pretest sample were asked to rate each paragraph's quality on a 9-point scale labelled negative (1) and positive (9) at the end points of the continuum. The mean rating for the paragraph reflecting the negative labels was 2.29 (s.d.=1.21) while that of the paragraph reflecting the positive labels was 7.17 (s.d.=1.56). Significant differences were found between the negative and positive quality of these two paragraphs ($t_{.001}=8.56$; $df=13,11$).

Physical Attractiveness of the Target Person

For this study, two photographs from a women's magazine were selected from an original set of 15 pictures, one of a physically attractive female and one of a physically unattractive female. The photograph selection was based

on judgments made by 12 independent male individuals. Using a 10-point scale labelled very unattractive (1) and very attractive (10) at the end points, each subject was instructed to individually rank the set of 15 pictures according to their physical attractiveness stimulus quality. More than one photograph could be assigned to the same rank on the scale. The photo that had the highest mean ranking (i.e. most attractive; $\bar{x}=9.67$, s.d.=.40) and the one with the lowest mean ranking (i.e. least attractive; $\bar{x}=1.17$, s.d.=.54) were subsequently selected to be used in the study. The level of physical attractiveness between the two photographs was found to be significantly different ($t_{.001}=38.64$; $df=11, 11$).

Procedure

All testing in this study was conducted in a classroom setting and 4 to 15 subjects took part in any given experimental session. Upon their arrival at the designated time, subjects were greeted by the experimenter and thanked for their participation. It was then explained that the experiment dealt with "social judgment" and was concerned with how people make assessments of other individuals. The experimenter requested subjects' cooperation in that the session was to be considered a controlled experimental situation, and that no conversation was to occur between

subjects during this time. At this point, it was explained that all further experimental procedures were detailed in written form, thus minimizing communication between subjects and the experimenter. This approach was designed to control the introduction of experimenter bias as much as possible. Following these introductory remarks, the experimenter randomly distributed the experimental questionnaires which had previously been assembled corresponding to the experimental conditions. The stimulus materials consisted of a written set of instructions, a case history report, and a "judgment form".

The first part of the presented material contained a written explanation of the purpose of the experiment (to disguise the true nature and purpose of the study) and procedural instructions. These were as follows:

The accompanying information contains a complete case history report of an adolescent female. Following the reading of this document, you will be asked to assist us by responding to several questions concerning this individual and by providing some evaluations of the material contained in the report.

The purpose of the present investigation is largely to examine similarities and differences regarding the preparation and interpretation of documents such as the pre-sentence report. These documents typically are used to describe the background history and status of offenders appearing before the Courts. They are presented by probation officers basically to facilitate judges' decisions regarding the disposition of such individuals. However, there appears to be considerable variation in this report writing

task, for example, variability stemming from different regions across the country. It is our intention to examine a number of such documents prepared by workers from several different localities and the present material is based upon actual case histories refined for our purposes. This format has been adopted to permit the examination of existing divergencies in such reports. Permission has been obtained from all concerned to use the material presented in this investigation.

We would now ask that you examine the attached case history. Its writing was precipitated as a result of an incident in which the individual described herein was apprehended for ... "setting a fire in the laundry room of an apartment building ..." in her neighbourhood. She was alone at the time of this incident. The authorities, having decided to press charges, were preparing to present her for a preliminary hearing before a Magistrate of the provincial court.

Please read the case history carefully, after which we will ask you some questions regarding the material you've examined.

Dependent Measures

When each subject had finished reading his case history, he was instructed to evaluate the described individual and to make several judgments about her. This was to be done on the "judgment form" (Appendix C) supplied with the case history material. While there was a total of six decisions to be made, in fact, three of these were "filler" items (i.e. judgments of interest but not essential to the current investigation). The critical measures consisted of 7-point opinion scales asking subjects to indicate, based on the details of the case history they read: 1) what they thought should happen to the target person, 2) what length of time

would be appropriate as a probation period, and 3) how favourable their prognosis would be for this individual. On the first measure, subjects were to give their opinion of how the target person should be dealt with ranging from "A great deal of love, kindness, and friendship are all that are necessary to make Karen a better individual" (1) to "There is very little you can do with a person like this, but put her in a severe disciplinary environment" (7). The second measure required subjects to recommend a time period ranging from 6 (1) to 24 (7) months as an appropriate probation period. On the third measure, subjects' favourability of prognosis was to be indicated ranging from "Extremely Good" (1) to "Extremely Poor" (7).

A second group of judgments (Appendix D) required subjects (other than those in the control conditions) to indicate how important a series of variables were in helping them make their first set of adjudications. Six of these were "filler" items not directly important to the investigation. The two crucial items asked subjects to rate on a 7-point scale the importance of the "current observations" (negative or positive labels) and physical attractiveness in their previous decision-making. These measures were designed to evaluate the relative importance of these variables (as perceived by subjects) in the

decision-making process.

When each subject had completed all the required judgments, the experimenter provided an additional form composed of several questions. Three of these were designed to check the experimental manipulations (Appendix E). Amongst a few "filler" items, subjects were asked to rate on a 7-point scale whether they thought the experiment was straightforward (7) or deceptive (1) and, in the appropriate conditions, whether the "current observations" (labels) were positive (7) or negative (1) and whether the female individual in the photograph attached to the case history was attractive (7) or unattractive (1). At the completion of this task, the session was concluded. A post-experimental discussion followed where subjects were informed about the true nature of the study.

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CHAPTER IV

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Experimental Manipulation Checks

Assessment of the effectiveness of experimental treatments was carried out through examination of subjects' responses to relevant items in the post-experimental questionnaire. Ratings of the physical attractiveness of the female in a photograph accompanying the case history were considered to reflect the physical attractiveness manipulation effect. In the attractive condition, the mean rating of the photograph was 5.97 (s.d.=.94) while subjects' mean rating in the unattractive condition was 3.61 (s.d.=.97). A significant difference ($t_{.001}=14.13$, $df=67$) was found between these two photograph ratings thus indicating the successful manipulation of level of physical attractiveness in this experiment.

A second post-experimental item was designed to reflect the labelling manipulation effect. Subjects' ratings of the negative or positive quality of labels, operationally defined as brief descriptive paragraphs, were examined for this purpose. While the obtained mean rating of the label employed in the positive label condition was 5.00 (s.d.=1.47) that obtained in the negative label condition was 3.06 (s.d.=1.65). The successful manipulation of these labels

is indicated by the significant difference between the two mean scores ($t_{.001}=5.13$, $df=68$).

Experimental Treatment Effects

Evaluations of the target person were made using a 7-point continuum. Subjects' mean ratings concerning disposition (handling) of the case are shown in Table 1. An analysis of variance of these ratings showed no significant main effects for type of label employed ($F=1.04$) nor for physical attractiveness ($F=1$). There also was no significant interaction involving label and physical attractiveness manipulations ($F=1$).

Evaluation of the target person in terms of a recommended period of probation are shown in Table 2. Again an analysis of variance of these ratings showed no significant main effects for label type ($F=1$) nor for physical attractiveness ($F=1$). Similarly, no significant interaction was found between these two variables ($F=1.46$).

Ratings on the third dependent measure, that of prognosis, are displayed in Table 3. Statistical analysis revealed no significant main effect for label type ($F=1.73$) and no significant main effect for physical attractiveness ($F=1$). Nor was a significant interaction found between label type and physical attractiveness manipulations ($F=1$).

In terms of the reported importance of labelling com-

Table 1

Disposition of Case: Mean Score Assignments

	Attractive			Unattractive			No Picture		
	MEAN	S.D.	N	MEAN	S.D.	N	MEAN	S.D.	N
Positive Label	5.17	.78	12	5.42	.84	12	5.00	.82	12
Negative Label	4.92	1.17	12	5.18	.95	11	5.27	1.07	11
No Label	5.33	1.12	12	5.60	1.02	10	4.91	.79	11

Note: The higher the mean score, the more favourable the recommendation regarding disposition of the case.

Summary

Source of variation	Sum squares	Df	Mean square	F	P-value (.05)
Main Effects					
A Attractiveness	2.10	2	1.05	1.04	.36
B Label	.41	2	.21	.20	.82
A x B	2.34	4	.58	.58	.68
Error	95.29	94			
Total	100.14	102			

Table 2

Recommended Probation: Mean Score Assignments

	Attractive			Unattractive			No Pictures		
	MEAN	S.D.	N	MEAN	S.D.	N	MEAN	S.D.	N
Positive Label	18.00	5.05	12	12.75	3.27	12	17.75	5.54	12
Negative Label	16.00	6.75	12	15.82	5.58	11	17.73	5.63	11
No Label	15.25	5.93	12	17.10	6.58	10	14.46	7.98	11

Note: The higher the score, the longer the recommended probation period in months.

Summary

Source of variation	Sum squares	Df	Mean square	F	P-value (.05)
<u>Main Effects</u>					
A Attractiveness	38.90	2	19.45	.51	.60
B Label	14.16	2	7.08	.19	.83
A x B	223.88	4	55.97	1.46	.22
Error	3596.20	94			
Total	3873.14	102			

Table 3
Prognosis: Mean Score Assignments

	Attractive			Unattractive			No Picture		
	MEAN	S.D.	N	MEAN	S.D.	N	MEAN	S.D.	N
Positive Label	4.17	1.33	12	4.00	1.22	12	3.83	1.35	12
Negative Label	3.36	1.56	11	3.09	.90	11	3.83	1.58	12
No Label	4.25	1.16	12	3.80	1.60	10	3.82	1.33	11

Note: The higher the score, the more favourable the prognosis.

Summary

Source of variation	Sum squares	Df	Mean square	F	P-value (.05)
Main Effects					
A Attractiveness	1.53	2	.77	.38	.68
B Label	6.90	2	3.45	1.73	.18
A x B	3.86	4	.97	.48	.75
Error	187.94	94			
Total	200.23	102			

pared to physical attractiveness in decision-making in this study, there were some significant findings. Using subjects' overall mean ratings, a rank ordering of the reported importance of a total of eight variables (six were filler items) in decision-making indicated that labelling was perceived as fourth ($\bar{X}=4.74$) in order of importance while physical attractiveness was of least importance ($\bar{X}=2.48$) in this task. A comparison of the reported importance of these two variables indicated that labelling was considered a more significant determinant in decision-making than level of physical attractiveness ($t_{.001}=10.27$, $df=130$) shown in Table 4.

Discussion

The results of this study provide no evidence that type of label or level of physical attractiveness, at least for the male undergraduate psychology students involved, are influential determinants in correctional decision-making. While the research literature discusses the impact of each of these variables on a diversity of interpersonal processes, the results of the current investigation do not at all substantiate previous indications of the influence of these factors.

In terms of labelling, the fact that no evidence of an impact on decision-making was produced for negative or positive labels suggests further consideration of the par-

Table 4

Decision-making Factors and Importance: Mean Score Assignments

	<u>MEAN</u>	<u>S.D.</u>
Family Background	5.56	.78
Relationships with Adults	5.51	.82
Attitudes toward Authority Figures	4.93	1.03
Labels (Current Observations)	4.74	.86
School History	4.73	1.17
Economic Concerns	4.59	1.26
Medical History	2.57	1.60
Physical Attractiveness	2.48	1.50

Note: The higher the score, the more important the factor.

ticular labelling manipulations applied in this investigation. Primarily, the intent of the study was to examine the extent to which labels, utilized as methods of attributing specific characteristics to individuals in a brief written report format, would influence decision-making tasks concerning these persons. However, as detailed in the labelling literature, there is considerable variation in the operational definitions and research formats commonly used which seems to have created some confusion regarding the true relationship between labelling and various behaviours. For example, previous research has frequently referred to labelling as an ongoing long-term process of identification compared to the short-term application employed in this study. While such variations may in part account for the differential results obtained here, further study is advocated to clarify the degree of influence of the specific labelling technique employed in the current study. Furthermore, consideration must be given to the finding that, in comparison to a series of other nonexperimental variables, subjects reported both negative and positive labelling to be of limited significance in the decision-making task assigned to them. (This result was indicated in ratings of the importance of the present independent variable in addition to several other nonexperimental "filler" items). Further

substantiation of these outcomes is important for two reasons. First, a number of more recent investigations have challenged the generalized notion that negative labelling leads to stigmatization and further deviant identity. The fact that subjects in this study did not view negative labels as significant determinants tends to support these conclusions. Secondly, re-examination of the current study's application of positive labels would supplement the general lack of research in this area. The majority of literature has focused on the effects of negative labelling while few researchers have yet examined the attribution and subsequent influence of positive labels on behaviour in a correctional context.

In regard to level of physical attractiveness, the current results are very surprising given the extensive documentation of the effects of this variable on numerous social behaviours, including sentencing in juridic studies. First of all, considering that the method employed in this study to manipulate level of physical attractiveness is identical to one commonly described in the literature (i.e. the use of a photograph prejudged for level of physical attractiveness), some doubt is cast upon conclusions drawn regarding the impact of physical attractiveness in previous research. At the same time, the finding (as was the case

for labelling) that subjects reported physical attractiveness to be of less importance than other nonexperimental "filler" items such as family background and relationships with adults, affirms the need for more investigation. In fact, as is recorded in Table 4, subjects' ratings indicated that physical attractiveness was the least important variable in a series of eight items (six of which were "fillers"). Furthermore, a comparison of the reported importance of labelling versus physical attractiveness indicates that labelling was the more important determinant of these two in the decision-making process ($t_{.001}=10.27$, $df=130$). Certainly for subjects in this study, it is evident that level of physical attractiveness did not hold the same power of influence as has been the case in much previous research.

A possible explanation for these results pertains to the level of experience of the subjects in the current study. Since the majority of the individuals involved had received some academic exposure to psychology courses which may have discussed the physical attractiveness variable, it is possible that this may have influenced their reactions. At the same time, the fact that subjects were run in groups may have permitted some of them to observe others, particularly noticing that different pictures or no pictures were attached to the case materials being examined. These

considerations are of importance in that a possible confounding variable such as level of experience could be introduced as an independent variable in future research. In terms of procedure, it might be advisable to run subjects individually or have them physically separated one from the other during testing. Careful consideration of these potential problems would aid in clarifying the role of physical attractiveness in further investigations regarding correctional decision-making.

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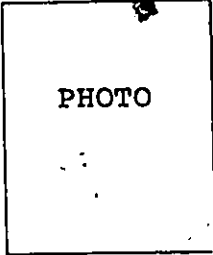
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PHOTO

APPENDIX A
CASE HISTORY

NAME: Karen [REDACTED]

ADDRESS: [REDACTED]

TELEPHONE: [REDACTED]

AGE: 16

BIRTHDATE: April 3, 1960

CHARGE: [REDACTED]

JUDGE: [REDACTED]

SOURCES OF INFORMATION:

1. Karen [REDACTED], the offender
2. [REDACTED], the offender's mother
3. [REDACTED], [REDACTED] Police
4. [REDACTED], Social Worker

MEDICAL HISTORY:

An examination of previous medical files indicates no abnormalities of note. While this individual incurred the usual childhood diseases including chicken pox, measles, mumps, the developmental history is otherwise described as normal. The single surgical procedure recorded was an appendectomy at age 11.

FAMILY AND PERSONAL HISTORY:

Karen [REDACTED] was born in a large heavily populated industrial city and is fifth in a sibline of seven children born into the [REDACTED] family. The neighbourhood where the [REDACTED] live is one of the worst slums in the city, equally known for its high rate of crime and juvenile delinquency. It is a neighbourhood of factories, junk yards, pool rooms, cheap liquor joints, and broken-down homes.

While alive, Karen's father worked irregularly and was a man who drank and gambled rather consistently. While under the influence of alcohol, he often attacked the children and their mother physically. Karen's short excitable mother has always been sick and complaining, the children fight, and they are noisy and destructive. There is seldom sufficient food in the house. The rent is seldom paid and Mrs. [REDACTED] lives in constant terror of landlords and evictions.

Since Karen's father died and some of the children left home, the rest of the family has continued in its dismal course. The children get into continual difficulties and leave confused Mrs. [REDACTED] to listen to complaints about them from many sources. The only one in the family who has shown any responsibility is the eldest son, George,

and he responds to the out-of-control behaviour of his siblings by brutally beating them.

The only person that Karen loves is her mother but even here she is not favoured and always feels she is on the outside. While she has seen favouratism shown toward her brother David especially, Karen gets very little, never goes anywhere, and even if she does she has to go on her own. At times when all her neighbourhood friends have money, Karen doesn't so she steals it from home. Several times when she has wanted things, she has gone and stolen them.

One way that Karen's struggling mother has tried to pacify the landlords is to keep her screaming, battling children and their problems out of the house and on the streets as much as possible. And one after another the [REDACTED] children have become known to the police. Five of Karen's siblings have police records including charges of disturbing the peace, breaking and entering, larceny, soliciting and assault.

Karen, too, has been to the police station on several occasions. Saturdays are always good for a visit to the local station. "They bring us in an' those jerks, the cops, they sit there an' this cop here, he is always insulting me. 'You little bitch', he tells me, an' he laughs. I am just

... to him."

Karen is a trial to her teachers. They complain that she is "nervous, sullen, obstinate, cruel, disobedient, disruptive". The general feeling is that they can stand her for only one day at a time. She often uses foul language toward some of her teachers and refuses to study, knowing that she is not going to be promoted.

Karen, feeling herself neither loved nor wanted nor respected, is forever in competition with other more favoured students. Above all else she wants to be promoted. She is obsessed with the fear of being placed in a "dummy" class, thus proving to herself and her fellow students that she is a failure, inferior. Yet Karen just doesn't have the resources for concentrated effort.

With every new failure she is compelled to some new misbehaviour. Recently, at the beginning of a new semester, Karen told her teacher, "I wasn't promoted. Okay. This term I'm goin' to make plenty of trouble." With each new punishment, Karen's conviction grows that her teachers, like everybody else, are "against her".

So by the age of sixteen, Karen's attitude toward society has crystallized into a bitter core of hatred and resentment. She has always been badly treated and feels that no one has ever loved her. Everyone is her enemy --

her mother, her siblings, her teachers, the cops -- all are against her. Therefore, she is at war with them.

That was Karen about ten months ago, at age sixteen, when some changes began to occur in her life. Around that time, Janet [REDACTED], a woman working as a counsellor in an organization devoted to work with problem adolescents, became Karen's friend. Previously she had taken the time to familiarize herself with the [REDACTED] family history by talking to several of the agencies previously involved with the family. Then, when Ms [REDACTED] felt that she understood the situation adequately, she made herself known to Karen.

Over a period of months, Ms [REDACTED] friendship seemed to have some influence on Karen that she had not previously experienced. Whether it was dropping in for a visit with Mrs. [REDACTED] or the family, performing small services for them, or occasionally taking Karen to a shopping mall, this woman tried to encourage Karen to gradually develop a relationship with her. At times the going was rough, but for the first time in her life, Karen seemed to be learning to trust someone who showed an interest in her.

Then, three weeks ago, Karen was apprehended by the police for allegedly starting a fire in an apartment building laundry room in her neighbourhood. At the time of interview following her detainment, Karen was reluctant to

discuss the incident with this worker, however, and has remained steadfast in this regard.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS:

Respectfully submitted,

Asst. Probation and Parole
Officer

APPENDIX B

LABELS

Current Observations: Positive Label

A recent consensus of opinion from several sources would indicate that Karen has been displaying mature, pro-social behaviour, a more responsible attitude, while appearing to be making a conscientious effort.

Current Observations: Negative Label

A recent consensus of opinion from several sources would indicate that Karen has been displaying considerable anti-social, acting-out behaviour, returning to many of her previous delinquent habits, and generally showing a disregard for authority.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR JUDGMENTS

)

I. How severe do you consider the described offence in this case (i.e. fire-setting) to be?

II. Based on the data provided, how deliberate do you think the fire-setting behaviour of this girl was?

III. If a period of probation (imposed supervision under a probation officer) is recommended for this girl, what period of time would you suggest as most appropriate?

6 Months	9 Months	12 Months	15 Months	18 Months	21 Months	24 Months
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IV. In your opinion, how should this case be handled? Indicate your choice by circling the number of one of the following alternatives:

1. A great deal of love, kindness, and friendship are all that are necessary to make Karen a better person. If she can be placed in a more agreeable environment, for example, a warm, friendly home, her troubles will clear up.
2. Karen's problem requires that she be sent to a home where she will be treated with love and affection. Discipline should be administered very occasionally, and only if absolutely necessary.
3. Karen should be sent to an environment where providing her with warmth and affection will be emphasized slightly more than punishing her, but discipline and punishment will be frequent if her behaviour warrants it.
4. Karen should be placed in a home where discipline and love will be equally emphasized. Equal amounts of both are required to solve her behaviour problem.
5. The solution to this problem requires that Karen be placed in a home where strict discipline, which is what she urgently requires, will be shown her somewhat more than the love-kindness formula; nevertheless, warmth and affection will be frequent if she shows herself worthy of it.
6. The best way to handle Karen's problem is to subject her to strict discipline and punishment. However, love and understanding should also be shown to her occasionally to draw out the goodness that may be still in her.
7. There is very little you can do with an individual like this but put her in a very severe disciplinary environment. Only by punishing her strongly can we change her behaviour.

V. How confident are you of the above opinion? Circle one:

Extremely Somewhat Slightly Slightly Somewhat Extremely
Confident Confident Confident Uncertain Uncertain Uncertain

VI. Given the background and what you know of this case,
how favourable would your prognosis (prediction) be for
this individual's future behaviour?

Extremely Good	Somewhat Good	Slightly Good	Slightly Poor	Somewhat Poor	Extremely Poor
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APPENDIX D

FORM B

B. Please indicate how important each of the variables below was in helping you make your judgments in this case.

Circle one response to each item.

I. Family Background:

Extremely Unimpor- tant	Somewhat Unimpor- tant	Slightly Unimpor- tant	Slightly Important	Somewhat Important	Extremely Important
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II. School History:

Extremely Unimpor- tant	Somewhat Unimpor- tant	Slightly Unimpor- tant	Slightly Important	Somewhat Important	Extremely Important
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III. Medical History:

Extremely Unimpor- tant	Somewhat Unimpor- tant	Slightly Unimpor- tant	Slightly Important	Somewhat Important	Extremely Important
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IV. Physical Attractiveness:

Extremely Unimpor- tant	Somewhat Unimpor- tant	Slightly Unimpor- tant	Slightly Important	Somewhat Important	Extremely Important
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V. Relationships with Significant Adults:

Extremely Unimpor- tant	Somewhat Unimpor- tant	Slightly Unimpor- tant	Slightly Important	Somewhat Important	Extremely Important
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VI. Current Observations:

Extremely Unimpor- tant	Somewhat Unimpor- tant	Slightly Unimpor- tant	Slightly Important	Somewhat Important	Extremely Important
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VII. Attitudes toward Authority Figures:

Extremely Unimpor- tant	Somewhat Unimpor- tant	Slightly Unimpor- tant	Slightly Important	Somewhat Important	Extremely Important
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VIII. Economic Concerns:

Extremely Unimpor- tant	Somewhat Unimpor- tant	Slightly Unimpor- tant	Slightly Important	Somewhat Important	Extremely Important
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(C. In your own words, what is this experiment about?

APPENDIX E

RATING OF THE EXPERIMENT

In order for us to get an idea of how clear the instructions and material have been to this point, we would like you to answer the following questions by circling the appropriate number:

I. In my opinion, up to this point the experiment has been:

7	6	5	4	3	2	1
Relevant						Irrelevant
7	6	5	4	3	2	1
Predictable						Unpredictable
7	6	5	4	3	2	1
Straightforward						Deceptive

II. The girl in the picture accompanying the case history in this experiment was:

7	6	5	4	3	2	1
Very Attractive						Very Unattractive

III. Generally, the information provided in the case history was:

7	6	5	4	3	2	1
Adequate						Inadequate

IV. The "current observations" concluding the case history of this experiment were generally:

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
Positive, Negative .

V. We've discovered in previous pilot research that some participants have had concerns about credibility (believability) regarding some of the model case histories being used. For example, some of the case styles have been described as too "dry", too "detailed", et cetera. Did you find you had any particular concerns in this regard?

Circle one of the following:

Not at all Somewhat Slightly Slightly Somewhat Very much
Concerned Unconcer- Unconcer- Concerned Concerned Concerned
ned ned

VI. If you did have any concerns, please try to be as specific as possible in describing these for us:

VII. Other comments:

SUMMARY

A study was conducted to investigate the effects of the manipulation of labels and level of physical attractiveness on correctional decision-making. While the research literature has discussed the impact of both labelling and physical attractiveness on a variety of interpersonal processes, the current investigation was designed to extend these research findings to decision-making in a criminal justice framework. As revealed in the literature, there is considerable ambiguity regarding the full extent of influence of labels on behaviour and social identification as well as a lack of investigation of the influence of physical attractiveness on dispositional judgments concerning persons involved in the criminal justice process. In this study, it was hypothesized that manipulation of 1) social labels ascribed to a female target and 2) the level of her physical attractiveness would influence judgments related to disposition of the case, length of probation and prognosis.

All subjects were initially presented with a fictional case history summary of an adolescent female and informed that the purpose of the exercise was to examine the preparation and interpretation of pre-sentence reports. While a core section of the report remained identical

in all experimental conditions, labelling manipulations were effected through the inclusion of a concluding paragraph in the document which varied in one of three ways. In one third of the cases, statements operationally defined as positive labels were attached. In an additional one third of the cases, these labels were negative, while in the remaining one third of the case histories no labels were attached. At the same time, the level of physical attractiveness of the target person was varied by attaching a picture to the case history. For one third of the subjects, the picture was of an attractive female; for another third, the picture was of an unattractive female; and in the remaining one third of the cases no picture was attached. Thus there were a total of nine experimental conditions to which the total sample of 103 male undergraduate psychology students were randomly assigned.

Following their reading of the case material, subjects were asked to make a series of judgments. Using a seven-point continuum scale, subjects gave ratings as to: 1) how they thought the case should be handled (disposition), 2) what period of probation would be most appropriate for the target and 3) how favourable their prognosis would be for this individual. In addition, ratings were obtained as to the reported importance of the labelling and physical

attractiveness variables in the decision-making process.

Results of this investigation indicated no significant main effects for labelling nor for level of physical attractiveness on any dependent measures. Evaluations related to disposition of the case, length of probation and prognosis were not significantly influenced by the two variables.

Nor was there any significant interaction effect between labelling and physical attractiveness. In terms of the importance of labelling compared to physical attractiveness, labelling was found to be a more significant determinant in the decision-making process ($t_{.001}=10.27$, $df=130$).

Explanations are discussed in light of various other findings and theories associated with labelling and physical attractiveness research.