

AN EMPIRICAL EVALUATION OF NEUTRALIZATION THEORY
AND ITS RELATION TO SELF-REPORTED
JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

By

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CHAPTER I

NATURE OF THE PROBLEM

Introduction

A large number of sociological theories exist which claim to explain juvenile delinquency. One issue among some of these theories is whether juvenile delinquents accept the norms of the dominant American culture, or whether delinquents abide strictly by the rules and norms of some particular subculture which is in conflict with the dominant culture. One possible alternative explanation which offers somewhat of a compromise position for both the proponents of subcultural theory and those who prefer the dominant culture approach is neutralization theory. It is the contention of neutralization theory,

that much delinquency is based on what is essentially an unrecognized extension of defenses to crimes, in the form of justifications for deviance that are seen as valid by the delinquent but not by the legal system or society at large...we (Sykes and Matza) call these justifications of deviant behavior techniques of neutralization; and we believe these techniques make up a crucial component of Sutherland's 'definitions favorable to the violation of the law' (Sykes and Matza, 1957:666-667).

Not only does neutralization theory offer a compromise position, but it also explains one mechanism through which delinquent behavior occurs.

Statement of the Problem

Neutralization theory appeared in the theoretical literature in the 1960's. It explains the periodic release from societal norms wherein the breaking of laws is made possible for the usually norm abiding juvenile. Contrary to most theories, neutralization theory views delinquency as an extension of the ethos of the adult "conforming" world. This ethos is viewed as problematic in that, rather than being rigid, it consists of qualified, yet weakly specified, guidelines for behavior (situational ethics). In this process, the narrow zones of rigid behavior demanded in theory are widened to expanded zones of situational ethics where practice allows a more liberal set of behaviors under certain variable conditions. For example, murder is morally and legally proscribed only in certain, and sometimes ambiguously defined, situations. Youth, in attempting to conform to the adult world, become delinquent by acting within the spirit of situational ethics, but later discovering that they had not connected the proper ethic with the situation.

Although neutralization theory is discussed in virtually every current textbook concerned with the causation of juvenile delinquency, it has not yet been extended for inclusion in textbooks concerned with the treatment and prevention of delinquency. This is possibly because only three empirical studies are known which have attempted to research implications of this orientation. In view of the theoretical and practical importance of neutralization theory's relation to understanding and coping with juvenile delinquency, it is the purpose of this paper to attempt to develop measures of the major concepts of neutralization

theory and to collect data from youth in order to make an initial test of some of the major implications of this theory.

The Objectives

The objectives of this research are sevenfold. The first objective will be to develop a measure of neutralization theory which includes personal and property offenses ranging from minor to serious which apply to both males and females. The second objective will be to distribute an opinionnaire to both delinquent and nondelinquent youths. Thirdly, the degree of neutralization accepted by each individual will be measured. Fourthly, neutralization as a measurable concept, will be tested. The question, "Do delinquents accept a greater number of neutralizations for deviant behavior than do nondelinquents?", will be examined by comparing delinquent and nondelinquent responses to: (1) Ball's Inventory of Neutralization and (2) Norris' Inventory of Neutralization. Fifthly, the research will test the proposition held by Matza that the norms held by neutralizing delinquents are not contra to those held by the dominant society. Thus, the questions, "Do delinquents accept the norms of the dominant society?", or "Do delinquents belong to a contraculture which reject and/or rebel against the norms of the dominant society?", will be answered in part. The sixth objective will be to attempt to place delinquent behavior in perspective to conforming behavior on a continuum of norm acceptance. The seventh objective will be to check the degree of association between the verbal professions of the acceptance or rejection of norm statements made by the subjects compared to their self-reported actual behavior concerning those norms.

The Expected Contributions

Considering the nature of social science, empirical evidence should be available to accompany textbook discussions of this popularly cited theory. Evidence could be particularly interesting in this case since neutralization is one of the few theories which attempts to explain delinquency among middle class youth and among females as well as among more frequently studied categories such as urban, lower-class males (except for such categories as predatory and emotionally disturbed delinquents). The concept of situational ethics also seems to be a relevant insight extending beyond delinquency; yet measurement of this concept has not yet been identified. The results of a test of this theory could provide, in addition, a basis for creating or modifying existing strategies of treatment and prevention of delinquency. Existing strategies have not yet proven to be particularly successful, and only Reality Theory and the Moral Development Theory Approach of Kohlberg seem reasonably similar to what might be implied by neutralization theory. Additionally, the use of neutralization acceptance as an operational inventory of delinquent behavior may help to standardize and resolve the conflicts caused by researchers defining delinquency in so many different ways.

Organization of the Study

Following this introductory chapter, Chapter II will provide a historical review of related literature pertinent to the development and relation of neutralization theory to other sociological theories which attempt to explain juvenile delinquency. Chapter III will develop the theoretical model which is the focus of this research.

Included within Chapter III will be assumptions, definitions, rationale, and hypotheses for the theoretical model. Chapter IV will explain the research methodology including the construction of the opinionnaire, the collection of the data, and the classification of the data. Chapter V will describe the population characteristics. The population will be broken down into four samples which will include: (1) high school females, (2) high school males, (3) institutionalized males, and (4) all students. The hypotheses proposed by the theoretical model, will be evaluated in Chapter VI. Chapter VII will offer the conclusions and recommendations for further study.

CHAPTER II

THE REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Generally, neutralization theory is important as a theory of explanation of juvenile delinquent behavior and as a measurable element of the "self-concept" factors which are a central part of Reckless' containment theory. Neutralization theory occupies a middle of the road position theoretically. David Matza offers an analysis of the classical and positivistic schools of criminology. In his analysis, he points out that essentially the classical school of criminology of Bentham and Beccaria believed that man has a "free will". That is to say, man either chooses to comply with the letter of the law, or he chooses to violate the law. If he chooses to violate the law, he can be restrained in the future by the "proper measure of punishment". On the other hand, the positivists viewed man as a "billiard ball" having no control over his own behavior (Haskell and Yablonsky, 1970:367-368). Matza notes that in 1906 Ferri stated:

...in order to be criminal it is rather necessary that the individual should find himself permanently or transitorily in such personal, physical, and moral conditions, and live in such an environment, which becomes for him a chain of cause and effect, externally and internally, that disposes him toward crime (Ferri, 1906:23).

Here, Matza cautions against being over-deterministic and takes as his position a middle of the road stance because he feels that contemporary theorists have devoted themselves too much to positivism. He calls his position "soft determinism" and "contends that man is neither wholly

free nor wholly constrained, but somewhere midway between the two" (Haskell and Yablonsky, 1970:369). In other words, he is in a state of "drift". Matza states:

...The delinquent transiently exists in limbo between convention and crime, responding in turn to the demands of each flirting now with one, now the other, but postponing commitment, evading decision. Thus he drifts between criminal and conventional action (Matza, 1964:28).

To Matza, delinquents are drifters who are not committed to a total career of delinquency, and he believes that "many of society's irrational prescriptions weaken prohibitions of certain actions by the juvenile and facilitate the drift to juvenile delinquency (Haskell and Yablonsky, 1970:367-369).

This brief analysis by Matza allows us to view with greater understanding the theoretical position of neutralization theory, but a further historical review of related literature should help to show the close relationship of neutralization theory, containment theory, and the earlier American sociological theories from which neutralization and containment theories developed.

Differential Association

Sutherland was among the first in the early 1940's to propose a basic American sociological theory of criminology which he called differential association (Sutherland, 1947:6-7). According to Sutherland's theory, a person becomes delinquent because of an excess of definitions favorable to the violation of the law. Primarily, Sutherland points out that criminal behavior is learned in association with others, and such behavior is not explainable by general needs and values (Reckless, 1961a:306). Sutherland's theory of differential

association consists of nine statements: (1) criminal behavior is learned; (2) in an interaction process with others; (3) in intimate groups; (4) the learning includes attitudes, rationalizations, and techniques of committing crimes; (5) the specific direction of motives and drives are learned as favorable or unfavorable interpretations of the legal codes; (6) a person becomes delinquent because of an excess of definitions that are favorable to law violation; (7) the ratio of favorable to unfavorable definitions is determined by the variation in frequency, duration, priority, and intensity of contacts; (8) criminal behavior is learned in the same way as legitimate behavior; and (9) criminal behavior cannot be explained by general needs and values (Sutherland, 1947:6-7). Reckless criticizes Sutherland's theory as follows:

The trouble with Sutherland's theory (as well as Tarde's and Glaser's) is that it does not explain who does and who does not take up with carriers of delinquent patterns or who internalizes and who does not internalize delinquent models of behavior (Reckless, 1961b:44).

Reckless later formulated containment theory as an answer to these criticisms.

Differential Identification

In more recent years other American theories of criminology have been introduced. For example, Glaser's theory of differential identification was proposed as a substitute for differential association. While differential association assumes that criminal behavior is learned in interaction with other people, differential identification allows the learning to come from mass media, other people, or from a negative reaction to forces opposed to crime. In other words, differential

identification says that a person identifies with real or imaginary characters and follows their behavior whether it is criminal or non-criminal. Glaser acknowledges that his theory of differential identification does not account for lone crimes or accidental crimes (Glaser, 1956:440). Nor does it answer the criticisms made by Reckless, as previously cited, by telling us who will identify with delinquent behavior.

Delinquent Subculture

Still another theory is that of the delinquent subculture developed by Albert Cohen. Cohen focuses his attention upon working class boys who are frustrated by middle-class values, rules, and status. Nevertheless, these boys accept these positions, but because of their frustrations they join a delinquent subculture where they negate those values by turning them up-side down while performing non-utilitarian, malicious, and negativistic acts of delinquency. For the boys, their delinquent subculture is functional in that it legitimizes aggression and gives them status (Cohen, 1955:128-133). Concerning Cohen's theory, Reckless states:

But Cohen is not able to specify the boys who do or do not turn their back on middle-class virtues and opportunities and gravitate to the street corner. He does not indicate whether only some of the boys in the street corner get involved in delinquent acts... (Reckless, 1961b:43).

Nor does Cohen's theory explain the delinquent behavior of middle-class juveniles.

Differential Opportunity

Cloward and Ohlin also proposed a theory concerning the delinquent subculture which attempted to synthesize these theories into a theory of opportunity. Again, the focus is on lower-class males. Fox explains their theory of differential opportunity below.

The basic idea, borrowed from Merton, was that legitimate goals or the 'good things in life' were available to middle and upper-class youth, but the means by which they are attained were not available to lower-class youth. Delinquency results from association with other have-nots who devise illegitimate means to achieve these goals, a theory which makes use of Sutherland's differential association (Fox, 1972:19).

Reckless points out some of the weaknesses of Cloward's theory.

...his (Cloward's) theory does not account for the boys who do not gravitate toward the fighting gang, the criminal gang, and the retreatist groups (drugs). It does not specify that the ones who do not gravitate to the three types of subcultures have internalized an awareness of inaccessibility to legitimate success goals. It does not indicate that there are degrees of participation in gangs and that delinquency involvement of some members might be nil (Reckless, 1961b:43).

Self-Concept

To these theories, Reckless asks the question, "Why does one boy in a slum become a delinquent and the others do not?" (Sandhu, 1974:8).

Naturally, the answer to this differential reaction lies in the actor and his self. Reckless has identified different factors of self which veer an individual away from or toward delinquency: self-concept, images, and perceptions; awareness of limited opportunity; rejection of middle class values; norm retention or norm erosion; techniques of neutralization (emphasis added) of offenses; types of alienation; and acceptance or rejection of blame (Sandhu, 1974:19).

Reckless and his associates conducted a number of cross group and longitudinal comparisons over a period of several years to determine the effect of self-concept upon delinquent behavior. They found:

Concept of self and other is the differential response component that helps to explain why some succumb and others do not, why some gravitate toward socially unacceptable patterns of behavior and others veer away from them (Reckless, Dinitz, and Kay, 1956:570).

Containment Theory

Self-concept is for Reckless one component of inner containment. Reckless' containment theory has been called "one of the most useful" because it explains a large amount of criminal behavior, it combines sociological and psychological theories, and it takes into account both the group and the individual at the macro- and micro-level of explanation (Sandhu, 1974:22).

"Sutherland's differential association theory allows for no inner push. Glaser's differential identification theory accepts very little inner push" (Reckless, 1961a:335). Containment theory accounts for push, pull, and pressure. According to Reckless:

It (good self-concept as containment) acts selectively on experience and holds the line against adversities (pressures), and subculture of delinquency, wrong-doing, and crime (pull), as well as discontent and frustrations (pushes) (Reckless, 1961a:351).

Containment theory appears to be a synthesis derived from three theories: (1) Reiss' Personal and Social Control Theory, (2) Nye's Social Control Theory, and (3) Redl's Formulation of Behavior Control System (Reckless, 1961a:342-354).

Reiss

Reiss' theory of social control contains the elements of (1) inner or personal controls and (2) outer or social controls of which he

contends that the inner controls carry the greater weight (Reckless, 1961a:342-343). According to Reiss:

Delinquency may be defined as behavior consequent to the failure of personal and social controls to produce behavior in conformity with the norms of the social system to which legal penalties are attached (Reiss, 1951:196).

Nye

Nye's social control theory developed from his studies of the relation of delinquent behavior and the family relationships. Among four types of controls his theory deals with, two are the elements of direct and indirect controls with the person's internalized conscience being labeled as the indirect control (Reckless, 1961a:344). According to Nye "when controls internal and external are weak and alternative routes to goal achievement are restricted, delinquent behavior can be anticipated" (Nye, 1958:4-5).

Redl

Redl's formulation becomes prominent since his theory is mainly concerned with twenty-two functions which the ego is supposed to perform (Reckless, 1961a:342-353). Sandhu explains Redl's position.

Fritz Redl, a disciple of Aichhorn, contends that the aggressive child develops a delinquent ego and a spotty superego. The child very early develops hostility toward adults, fails to take over the required models of behavior, and strikes back aggressively at authority and adults in expressions of hostility (Sandhu, 1974:174).

Containment theory is an explanation of conforming behavior as well as deviancy. It has "two reinforcing aspects" (1) internal containments and (2) external containments. The theory assumes that

strong internal and external containments act as insulation against normative deviancy (Reckless, 1961b:42).

Containment's Limitations

Containment theory does have its limitations. It does not cover the crime of the moment, subcultural crime, or crime which is the result of psychological disturbances. Reckless states its limits this way.

Containment theory does not apply to extreme cases of character disorders, emotional disturbances, and pathogenic damages. It does not apply in the instance of the moment, when fast-moving events overwhelm a person. It does not apply when a total group, family tribe, or village is devoted to a life of parasitic activities, begging, and theft, such as the criminal tribes of India in generations past. But it does seem to have validity for most crime and delinquency (Reckless, 1961a:356).

Therefore, we find that containment theory claims to explain the broad middle-range of crime which some authorities say accounts for 66% to 80% of all crime and delinquency.

Containment theory may be seen as a buffer or an insulator occupying a central position in between the pressures (adverse living conditions, poverty, unemployment, family conflicts, minority group stature) and pulls (bad companions, criminal subculture, propaganda) of the external environment and the inner drives or pushes (hostility, guilt reactions, anxieties, compulsions) (Reckless, 1961a:355). Reckless assigns greater importance to inner containment which includes such factors as self-concept, self-control, frustration tolerance, ego strengths, etc. Outer containment includes effective social controls, institutional reinforcements of norms and goals, opportunity for acceptance, alternatives and safety valves, etc. (Reckless, 1961b:44).

Inner Containment

In his studies, Reckless focuses a great deal of attention upon one's self-concept. He infers that self-concept consists of the residues of attitudes and meanings accumulated through interpersonal relations. Or to put it another way, the concept of self contains the impact of life on the person as he has internalized his experiences (Reckless, Dinitz, and Kay, 1956:570). An early work by Reckless, Dinitz, and others dealt with the self-concept of sixth grade boys in a high delinquency area. "Good boys" were nominated by their teachers. The researchers discovered that these "good" boys visualized themselves and their friends as non-delinquents who were not likely prospects for juvenile court action presently or in the future. Their mothers agreed with their self-concepts. The authors concluded by saying:

'Insulation' against delinquency on the part of these boys may be viewed as an ongoing process reflecting an internalization of non-delinquent values and conformity to the expectations of significant others.

...Finally, there is a strong suspicion that a well-developed concept of self as a "good boy" is the component which keeps middle- and upper-class boys, who live in the better neighborhoods, out of delinquency. The point is that this component seems to be strong enough to 'insulate' the adolescent against delinquency in the unfavorable neighborhoods (Reckless, Dinitz, and Murray, 1956:746).

Criticisms of "Self"

It is this extensive use of self-concept which becomes the focal point for most criticisms of Reckless' works. His critics say that his variable of "self-concept" is arbitrary, poorly defined, and very unmeasurable (Tangri and Schwartz, 1967:182).

The authors (Tangri and Schwartz) note that while the research (of Reckless) has been of crucial importance to the

delinquency literature, there are problems of sampling measurement, and interpretation as well as a lack of theoretical orientation which place very severe restrictions on the predictive utility of the self-concept variable (Tangri and Schwartz, 1967:182).

They continue by saying that "delinquent self-concept is not necessarily a negative concept", and that the delinquent might take pride in his "record". Therefore:

...Even in his judgement about the likelihood of his getting into trouble in the future, we do not know whether 1) this is self-criticism, 2) a badge of bravado, or 3) whether the prediction is accurate (Tangri and Schwartz, 1967:188).

They call Reckless' questionnaire "a general hodgepodge of items from the CPI, questions asked of mother, son, and teacher all thrown into the pot of self 'noting that this technique' seems to destroy the meaning of self for research usage" (Tangri and Schwartz, 1967:189). They add:

...Why should poor self-concept leave the individual vulnerable to delinquency? It might be argued, for example, that a poor self-concept ought to produce behavior more in conformity with the demands of significant others like mother or teacher (Tangri and Schwartz, 1967:190).

And in conclusion, they remain unconvinced that self-concept is "a major contributor to the variance in delinquent behavior" (Tangri and Schwartz, 1967:190).

Validation of Containment

On the other hand, Reckless offers a defense of containment theory by listing seven practical tests of validation which he claims containment theory passes. They are:

- (1) If criminology must have a general theory, containment theory is proposed as a theory of best fit to explain the bulk of crime and delinquency. It fits better

than pressure, pull, or push theories... Containment theory applies to the delinquent and the nondelinquent, to the moral and the immoral, to the saint and the sinner, the conformist and the nonconformist. In all these areas containment theory fits the reality and logic of explanation of behavior better than other theories.

- (2) Containment theory explains crimes against the person as well as crimes against property. A theory such as containment theory which operates as well for crimes against the person as for crimes against property is a better theory than a theory which seems to apply most readily to offenses against property or against the person.
- (3) The next important test of validity of containment theory is that it is a formulation with which psychiatrists, psychologists, and sociologists can agree... the self is a unit of scientific concern which is common and central to sociology, psychology, and psychiatry. All three fields agree that there are self-images or self-concepts and that the self-image or self-concept is developed in interaction with significant others (figures) in a person's social world. They all agree that the self is a directional agent, that it can steer the person towards goals. They all agree that the self is a control agent--a containment.
- (4) Another test of the validity of containment theory is that the components of internal and external containment can be discovered in study of individual case histories.
- (5) Containment theory constitutes an effective operational theory for treatment of offenders. Treatment can consist of manipulating an environment or changing an environment...much treatment, outside or inside the institution, consists of building up ego strength or a new self-image in the client. It also consists of getting the client to focus on significant persons who can act supportively and provide models of behavior that can be internalized if readiness is there.
- (6) Containment theory also has application for prevention, certainly prevention of juvenile delinquency. It has "on the target focus"... Reckless and Dinitz have discovered that sixth grade teachers can spot the children who are poorly socialized and are veering toward the juvenile court... If case spotting at threshold age (12 years) reveals vulnerable children, it should be possible to find a way to implant more containment in most normal children and to build up more containing structure in the environment for them.

- (7) Containment, both external and internal, can be measured by research--if not accurately, at least it can be assessed and approximated (Reckless, 1961a:356-358).

It is Reckless' seventh statement to which most previous criticism and much of the testing of neutralization theory are aimed.

Neutralization as a Measure of Self

According to several authors, neutralization may be used as a measure of, or simply considered as one of, the self factors on which Reckless places his greatest emphasis in containment theory. Reckless states:

It is also important to recognize that a self factor which allows one to choose among alternatives presented by society, to direct one's behavior, to avoid certain situations, or to parry the thrusts of temptation, probably, operates through the will or the power of choice. But it is still more realistic to consider neutralization as one on the self factors (emphasis added) that contribute to the differential response in presented situations (Reckless, 1961a:464).

An explanation of neutralization theory is therefore in order.

Richard Knudten makes the following comment.

Gresham M. Sykes and David Matza, rejecting the delinquent subculture idea, claim that any concept of delinquency that is based upon 'competing' or 'countervailing' values possesses serious defects. Since the delinquent usually feels guilt or shame at the time of detection and confinement, he obviously does not view his behavior as 'morally correct'. The adolescent frequently recognizes both the 'legitimacy of the social order and its social rightness', and his delinquency, Sykes and Matza maintain, stems from his neutralization of conventional norms (Knudten, 1970: 283).

The Delinquent as a Drifter

The actor affected by neutralization theory should be identified. Matza feels that delinquents are not radically different from other juveniles. He believes that delinquents and their values are less deviant than they are commonly said to be (Sykes and Matza, 1961:713). Matza explains his position as follows:

If delinquents were in fact radically differentiated from the rest of conventional youth in that their unseemly behavior was constrained through compulsion or commitment, then involvement in delinquency would be more permanent and less intermittent than is apparently the case (Matza, 1964:22).

Furthermore, Matza points out that "anywhere from 60 to 85 per cent of delinquents do not apparently become adult violators" indicating again that delinquents are not radically different from other people (Matza, 1964:22). But then, delinquents are not "just like" other people either. Delinquents "subscribe to most of the conventional values but distort others and make a caricature of them" (Sandhu, 1974:21). Matza sees the delinquent as a drifter and explains his position as follows.

The image of the delinquent I wish to convey is one of drift; an actor neither compelled nor committed to deeds nor freely choosing them; neither different in any simple or fundamental sense from the law abiding, nor the same; conforming to certain traditions in American life while partially unreceptive to more conventional traditions...

In point of fact, the delinquent is available even during the period of optimum involvement for many lines of legal and conventional action. Not only is he available but a moments reflection tells us that, concomitant with his illegal involvement, he actively participates in a wide variety of conventional activity. If commitment implies as it does, rendering oneself presently and in the future unavailable for other lines of action, then the delinquent is uncommitted. He is committed to neither delinquent nor conventional enterprise.

The delinquent transiently exists in a limbo between conventional and criminal responding in turn to the demands of each,

flirting now with one, now the other, but postponing commitment, evading decision. Thus, he drifts between criminal and conventional action (Matza, 1964:28).

As a presupposition to neutralization theory, Matza believes that "norms may be violated without surrendering allegiance to them". He continues his explanation by saying:

They (norms) may be evaded rather than radically rejected. Norms, especially legal norms, may be neutralized. Criminal law is especially susceptible of neutralization...Most if not all norms in society are conditional...

The criminal law, acknowledges and states the principled grounds under which an actor may claim exemption...

With peripheral exceptions which are endlessly paraded by the exponents of relativism, everyone in our society and perhaps in all societies agree that violations of personal and property rights, the substantive heart of the criminal law, are sometimes worthy of prohibition, notice, and arrest. The question is when, or under what conditions, and it is at that level that dissent appears.

We (Sykes and Matza) call these justifications of deviant behavior techniques of neutralization; and we believe these techniques make up a crucial component of Sutherland's 'definitions favorable to the violation of law' (Sykes and Matza, 1961:666-667).

But curiously, even in dissent, there is considerable similarity between the conventional and delinquent view of when the law should be invoked. Despite the worthiness of its prohibitions, the law ought to be invoked less often, according to the delinquent view (Matza, 1964:60-61).

The situational aspects of accepted norms make it possible for the delinquent to justify his own delinquency by using neutralization techniques. Knudten gives the following explanation.

While the individual youth may view his act as devoid of intent, the same act may be defined by society and the legal system as worthy of prosecution and punishment...

Since the demands for conformity to the dominant social order cannot be totally avoided, juvenile delinquents are affected in some by its expectations. Rather than reject these demands, the adolescent, by establishing a delinquent subculture, neutralizes their import and participates within the delinquent learning process, a theme discussed

earlier in Edwin H. Sutherland's concept of differential association. Neutralization techniques, therefore allow the delinquent to engage in deviant behavior without extreme psychological maladjustment (Knutten, 1970:283-284).

It is the argument of Sykes and Matza that delinquency is essentially built upon an unrecognized extension of legal defenses to crimes in the form of justifications. They continue:

These justifications are commonly described as rationalizations. They are viewed as following deviant behavior and as protecting the individual from self-blame and blame of others after the act. But there is also reason to believe that they precede deviant behavior and make deviant behavior possible (Sykes and Matza, 1961:666-667).

At this point a controversy arises concerning the logic of the theory and how it is explained. Rationalization is defined as "the process of justifying by reasoning after the act (emphasis added)..." (Drever, 1968:239), and the authors say that these justifications may follow or precede deviant behavior. Logically however, since the formulation of containment insulation and self-concept must occur before the act in order to direct the act, then, neutralization as a "self factor" must also occur before the act. More research by way of a longitudinal study is needed to decide this point.

Techniques of Neutralization

Sykes and Matza sight five techniques of neutralization which include: (1) the denial of responsibility (the delinquent lacks responsibility for his actions), (2) the denial of injury (no one was hurt physically or economically), (3) the denial of the victim (he deserved what he got), (4) the condemnation of the condemners (the delinquent shifts attention to the condemners), and (5) the appeal to higher

loyalties (the delinquent must first be faithful to family and friends).

They explain each technique more completely as follows.

Denial of Responsibility

The denial of responsibility extends much further than the claim that deviant acts are an 'accident'... It may also be asserted that delinquent acts are due to forces outside of the individual and beyond his control such as unloving parents, bad companions, or a slum neighborhood.

Denial of Injury

For the delinquent, however, wrongfulness may turn on the question of whether or not anyone has clearly been hurt by his deviance, and this matter is open to a variety of interpretations... auto theft may be viewed as 'borrowing' and gang fighting may be seen as a private quarrel... and thus no concern to the community at large.

Denial of the Victim

The injury, it may be claimed, is not really an injury; rather, it is a form of rightful retaliation or punishment.

Condemnation of the Condemners

The delinquent shifts the focus of attention from his own deviant acts to the motives and behavior of those who disapprove of his violations. His condemners, he may claim are hypocrites, deviants in disguise, or impelled by personal spite.

Appeal to Higher Loyalties

...Internal and external social controls may be neutralized by sacrificing the demands of the larger society for the demands of the smaller social groups to which the delinquent belongs such as the sibling pair, the gang, or the friendship clique (Sykes and Matza, 1957:667-669).

Haskell and Yablonsky sum up the neutralization process and its effect upon the delinquent as follows.

By adapting concepts found in the larger society, the delinquent rationally negates his own offense. Since the law supports self-defense as a justification for violent action, it is easy for the delinquent to justify in his own mind the use of violence to defend his gang turf. The delinquent also uses the concept of insanity ('I went crazy') to negate his offense, and he widens the extenuating circumstances of 'accident' to include recklessness. The sense of injustice found in the delinquent subculture is thus reinforced by the vagaries of many societal laws and norms. Many of society's irrational prescriptions weaken prohibitions of certain actions by the juvenile and facilitate

the drift of juvenile delinquency, and in time into a criminal career (Haskell and Yablonsky, 1970:370-371).

Although neutralization makes violations of the law possible for the delinquent, he still possesses the potential to decide to commit or not to commit the deed through the use of his will. Matza continues:

Two conditions that serve to activate the will or decision to commit an infraction may be suggested. Neither is operative without the permissive context of drift. One condition serves to activate the will to crime on mundane occasions, the other serves the same function in more extraordinary situations. The first may provide the impetus for the repetition of old infractions, the second the thrust for new, previously unexperienced misdeeds. Both provide the nerve required of children for the commission of infractions. The first may be termed preparation; and the second, desperation (Matza, 1964:183).

As Knudten points out, "...drift is not likely to stimulate new or previously inexperienced infraction unless the will to crime is excessively activate... (Knudten, 1970:287).

Critics of Sykes and Matza's neutralization theory say that "delinquent norms, rules of conduct, and structure of beliefs and values" have not been distinguished among one another. They also point out that "the relationship of neutralization to normative and moral problems of the delinquent subculture and/or the general culture... also remain unexplored". Lastly, they contend that the theory "lacks specificity and only describes the delinquent process" (Knudten, 1970:287).

England's Neutralization

A lesser known but similar theory of neutralization has been proposed by Ralph England, Jr. His basic premise is:

...some middle-class delinquency is the result of an interaction between certain aspects of our general cultural system and an emerging teenage system, producing norms entirely functional to the latter but not to the former (England, 1960:536).

He points out that middle-class teenagers have greatly lengthened the period where their status is very ambiguous and contradictory. For example:

He is not expected to engage in productive labor, but neither is he encouraged to loaf; he is discouraged from early marriage, but is allowed to engage in photo-courtship; he cannot vote, hold public office or serve on a jury, but is expected to be civic-minded; he is given many privileges and a large measure of individual freedom, but without the obligatory ties to significant others which, for the adult, help keep privilege and freedom from deteriorating into license (England, 1960:536).

Although England does not want to represent teenagers as a "true minority group", he does see a "theme" for an "emerging culture" which is immature but becoming increasingly institutionalized into "irresponsible hedonism" with the teenagers most urgent need being "status affirmation". He explains his position in this way.

...It is the writer's contention that delinquent motivations among middle-class teenagers arise from this adaptive process, in which the teenage world, peopled by immature and inexperienced persons, extracts from the adult world those values having strong hedonistic possibilities, with the result that the values of the teenage culture consist mainly of distorted and caricatured fragments from the adult culture (emphasis added). These highly selected and altered values then serve to motivate and give direction to members of the youth world, sometimes in ways adults define as delinquent (England, 1960: 538).

The point of both variations of neutralization theory is that teenagers distort some of society's conventional values into terms which are more acceptable to the confused youth.

Both sets of theorists speak of youth, teenagers, and delinquents in applying their theories, and this is legitimate since they are investigating juvenile delinquency. However, it should be noted that, in the opinion of this writer, there seems to be no valid reason for

neutralization theory not to be applied to adults who have not matured socially, even though Matza implies that neutralization theory is only accurate for juveniles of which the majority will not become adult offenders (Matza, 1964:22).

Empirical proof is needed for validation of neutralization theory, its application and interpretation, and its relation to containment theory as a measurable "self factor". Two such studies have been conducted but they resulted in contradictory conclusions.

Ball's Study

In 1965, Richard Ball conducted a research program intended to design a valid and reliable neutralization inventory, and then to test three basic hypotheses concerning neutralization theory. The main question was whether delinquent boys would accept more neutralization for deviant behavior than would nondelinquent boys.

Approximately 400 boys were given the neutralization inventory. Half of the boys were in a correctional institution (Ball, 1968:256-258). Ball found the following results.

- (1) The institutionalized delinquents scored significantly higher ($P < .001$) on the neutralization inventory, and on each of its four subscales, than did the high school boys (Ball, 1968:260).

He found no significant difference between older and younger boys, but he did find a significant difference between Negro (higher) and white boys, although he regards these latter findings as highly tentative.

- (2) The high school boys reporting juvenile court appearances scored significantly higher ($P < .001$) on the neutralization inventory, and on each of its subscales, than did the high school boys reporting no appearances (Ball, 1968:260).

When race was controlled for, the significant difference held within each racial category.

- (3) No significant differences appeared, either on the neutralization inventory or any of its four subscales, between the institutionalized boys reporting 'many' and those reporting 'few' juvenile court appearances (Ball, 1968:260).

He then controlled for the variable of race, but still found no significant difference for this definition of delinquency.

- (4) ...comparisons were made between the scores of all high school boys reporting some juvenile court appearances and the institutionalized delinquents reporting few (below the median number for all the institutionalized boys) such appearances. Again, no significant differences appeared (Ball, 1968:261).

For this hypothesis, one subscale did show a significant difference. However, the findings remained essentially the same within separate racial categories. The exception was between two groups of white boys.

- (5) The boys with many self-reported delinquent acts scored significantly higher ($P < .001$) on the neutralization inventory, and on each of its four subscales, than did the boys with few self-reported violations (Ball, 1968:261).

Once again, the differences held within each racial category.

Ball summarizes his research by saying that "delinquents tend to accept more excuses for a variety of offenses than do nondelinquents". Neutralization differences hold for personal and property violations, as well as for severe to minor violations, and for institutionalized and noninstitutionalized delinquents. He adds that "the data do not allow us to specify whether the excuses are accepted before, during, or after delinquency" (Ball, 1968:262). Concerning the results of his test of neutralization theory and its connection to inner containment, Ball states that he believes that neutralization is one self-factor.

Furthermore, when it erodes, inner containment is weakened and the probability of delinquency is increased. He states his position this way.

It is possible that neutralization is the most significant of these self factors for certain forms of gang delinquency (where the excuses may be learned and accepted but less important as an explanation of lone delinquency. It is possible that neutralization will characterize some gang members, while a few may actually have inverted the norms in the manner suggested by Cohen's delinquent subculture hypothesis (Ball, 1968:264).

A theoretical contradiction arises with Ball's last statement. He is allowing for the possible existence of a delinquent subculture along with neutralization theory. Matza, however, firmly maintains that delinquents who subscribe to neutralizations also subscribe to the same norms that are held by the larger society. Therefore, they do not belong to a delinquent subculture such as the one described by Cohen.

Hindelang's Study

A study conducted by Michael Hindelang arrives at rather different conclusions which question the very postulation of drift theory. Hindelang criticizes Matza's study first because he did not use a control group, second because he used institutionalized delinquents, and third because Matza "implicitly assumed that delinquency is undimensional and undifferentiated" .. "while failing to differentiate respondents according to the nature of the crime for which they were incarcerated" (Hindelang, 1970:502-503). The results of Hindelang's study on 346 middle-class boys follow.

- (1) ...across all the subjects, as the mean amount of approval of the act increases, so does the mean frequency of delinquent involvement.

- (2) ...those engaging in the delinquent act are more approving of the act and less disapproving of the act than are those not engaging in the act (Hindelang, 1970:503).

Hindelang concludes by saying:

It is not necessary to postulate the mechanism of 'drift', or of the 'techniques of neutralization' if in fact delinquents do not have moral inhibitions which normally restrain them from delinquent involvement. If moral commitment does not exist, then there is nothing to drift out of, and there is nothing to neutralize. The results of the present work call into question the necessity of postulating the mechanism of drift (Hindelang, 1970:508).

Bhak and Ray's Study

A later study by Bhak and Ray tested the cross-cultural application of neutralization theory by comparing 424 delinquent and nondelinquent youths from Korea and Indiana. They found that "norm erosion is pervasive and intense among youth regardless of their social affiliation and delinquency status, although the tendency is greater among American youths" (Bhak and Ray, 1974:3). Not only did delinquents accept a significantly greater number of neutralizations for delinquent behavior than did nondelinquents, but "in both societies, neutralization is most apparent in the context of gang"; therefore, these authors found norm neutralization to be an "intervening variable between external constraints and behavior outcome" (Bhak and Ray, 1974:3).

Summary

Historically, many theories have either been built upon weaknesses of other theories or upon gaps left unanswered and void theoretically. Neutralization fills a gap between the contraculture versus the dominant

culture theories with its theoretically compromising position, and it builds upon a weakness of containment theory by being a measurable element of inner containment. Therefore, it may be seen as a valuable theory worthy of study on those merits alone. However, neutralization is a very flexible theory, and it has much more merit to offer. These merits will be examined in the next chapter which deals with the theoretical model that encompasses the present research on neutralization theory.

CHAPTER III

THE THEORETICAL MODEL

Many authors have emphasized that behavior is highly situational. For example, most people play many different roles during a single day with each role being appropriate for a particular situation. These expected behaviors are parts of our society's norms. But most norms are not highly specific. Rather, there exists a zone of acceptable behavior which is simply a general yet qualified guideline for our actions. Even our legal guidelines, which are very specific, have exceptions. Thus, the legal code itself begins the rationalizing process. It is the contention of Sykes and Matza "that much delinquency is based on what is essentially an unrecognized extension of defenses to crimes, in the form of justifications for deviance that are seen as valid by the delinquent but not by the legal system or society at large" (Sykes and Matza, 1957:666).

Given the fact that both good and bad behavior exists, one has the simple beginning of a behavior continuum. Between those two extremes, it is logical to create one or more positions for the situational exceptions. Basically, there must exist at least two kinds of situational behaviors. First, is the situational behavior which both the individual and his society define as a legitimate. Second, is the situational behavior which the individual defines as legitimate, but that his society defines as illegitimate. That type of situational behavior is

the type committed by the delinquent who neutralizes his wrongdoing.
(See Table I).

TABLE I
TECHNIQUES OF NEUTRALIZATION

Denial of Responsibility

Here the delinquent claims that his deviant act was (1) an "accident" or (2) "due to forces beyond his control".

Denial of Injury

Here the delinquent claims that no one was unquestionably hurt physically or economically by his deviant act.

Denial of Victim

Here the delinquent claims that his deviant act was "a form of rightful retaliation or punishment".

Condemnation of the Condemners

Here the delinquent "shifts the focus of attention... to the motives...of those who disapprove of his violations", claiming that they are "hypocrites, deviants in disguise, or impelled by personal spite".

Appeal to Higher Loyalties

Here the delinquent sacrifices "the demands of the larger society for the demands of smaller social groups to which the delinquent belongs".

(Sykes and Matza, 1961:667-669)

The model to be developed in this chapter is specifically formulated to serve as a framework or continuum which includes neutralization theory along with conforming and rebelling behaviors. In support of such a continuum, two other behavior continuums will be reviewed.

Continuums of Deviance and Delinquency

Leslie Wilkins suggests that all deviance is relative and may be placed on a continuum ranging from sinful acts to normal acts with the vast majority of all people falling into the category of normal acts. He points out also that official definitions may "reflect some idealized behavior" which "may fall out of line with the definitions of individuals". Furthermore:

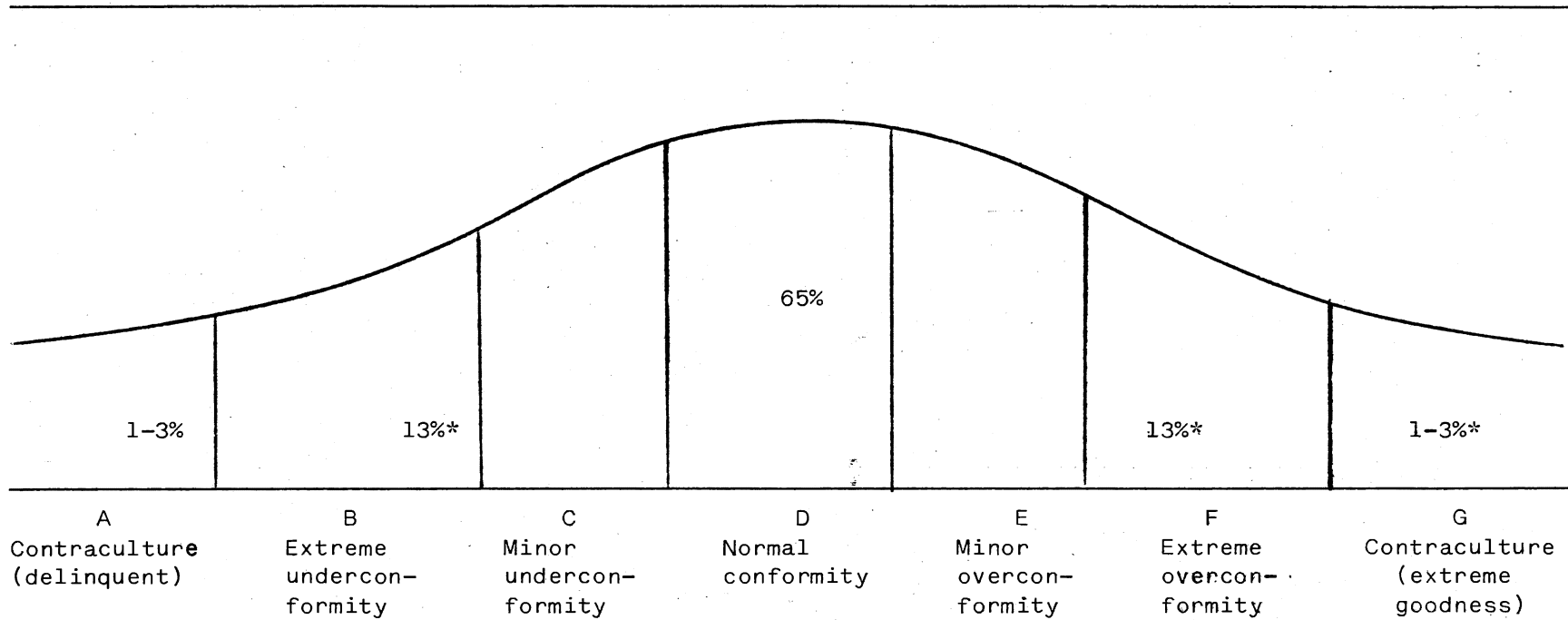
...the way in which the behavior is perceived may be more important than the way in which the behavior is classified... (Wilkins, 1964:49).

Thus, Wilkins implies that (1) definitions between categories may overlap one another, and (2) assuming that people act according to their perceptions, they may perform deviant acts without identifying themselves as deviant. Such is the case when juveniles neutralize their behavior without knowing that it is wrong. Again, the case is similar when people act according to situational ethics and perhaps overextend moral absolutes.

A continuum specifically for delinquency is suggested by Cavan and Ferdinand (See Table II). It ranges from (A) contraculture (delinquent committed to a correctional school) and (B) extreme underconformity (police warnings) to (C) minor underconformity (disciplinary action by school and parents) to (D) normal conformity to (E) minor overconformity to (F) extreme overconformity to (G) contraculture (extreme

TABLE II

HYPOTHETICAL FORMULATION OF A BEHAVIOR CONTINUUM



A: Rejects values of D: Commitment to correctional school.
 B: Wavers between acceptance and rejection of D values: Referrals to social agencies.
 C: Accepts values of D: Disciplinary action by school.
 D: Accepts values of D: Mild reproofs.
 E, F, & G: Details for overconformity not included. (Cavan and Ferdinand, 1975:29)

*These percentages have been inserted by this researcher to serve as rough indicators for illustration and discussion.

goodness), (Cavan and Ferdinand, 1975:29). The authors continue by saying:

The confirmed delinquent is not only rejected by the community at large, but in turn rejects the community ...with others of his kind he builds up a secluded social world, with its own peculiar scale of values, roles of activity, and levels of status (Cavan and Ferdinand, 1975:31).

However, the authors do agree with David Matza that delinquents rarely reach this extreme stage of alienation from the dominant society.

Their categories are estimated to contain the following percentages:

1-3% in A; 13% in B; 65% in C, D, and E; 13% in F; and 3% in G.

The Rationale for Norris' Continuum of Norm Indices

(See Table III). The present continuum of norm acceptance begins with a position of moral absolutes. These moral absolutes represent norms to which everyone at least gives "lip service" such as "One should not kill". Few people would accept only the moral absolutes on this continuum because (1) there are legal exceptions and (2) most everyone distorts these moral absolutes to some degree, however slight that might be, by redefining the moral absolute according to their own understanding and perceptions.

Following the moral absolutes on the continuum are the situational ethics. They represent socially acceptable exceptions to norms which are held as moral absolutes. An example of a situational ethic would be "One should not kill except in self-defense". While situational ethics may be seen as morally wayward, they are legally acceptable. At least, they are of minor concern to law enforcement officials. Most

TABLE III
EXAMPLES OF STATEMENTS FROM THE NORRIS CONTINUUM
OF NORM ACCEPTANCE

Moral Absolute

I believe it is wrong to fight.

Situational Ethic

I believe it is O.K. to fight back if someone hits me first.

Neutralization

I believe it is O.K. to fight if someone calls me a dirty name (Denial of Victim).

Rebellious Absolute

I believe it is right to fight whenever I feel like it and have a good opportunity

people probably accept a combination of moral absolutes and situational ethics.

On this continuum, neutralizations occupy the third position following the situational ethics. Neutralizations represent socially acceptable extensions to norms which are held as moral absolutes. An example of a neutralization would be "One may kill a person who has

murdered one of your friends". (In this neutralization the techniques of "appeal to higher loyalty" and "denial of victim" are demonstrated.) Neutralizations are morally and legally wayward; however, the neutralizer may believe that he is in the right--not realizing that he has extended too far what he believes to be acceptable exceptions to the moral absolutes. (Matza points out that delinquents are neutralizers, and that most delinquents grow up to become non-criminal adults. The implication is that juveniles do not really always know when their behavior is wrong.) Thus, one should expect the neutralizer to accept and agree with many neutralizations, situational ethics, and moral absolutes.

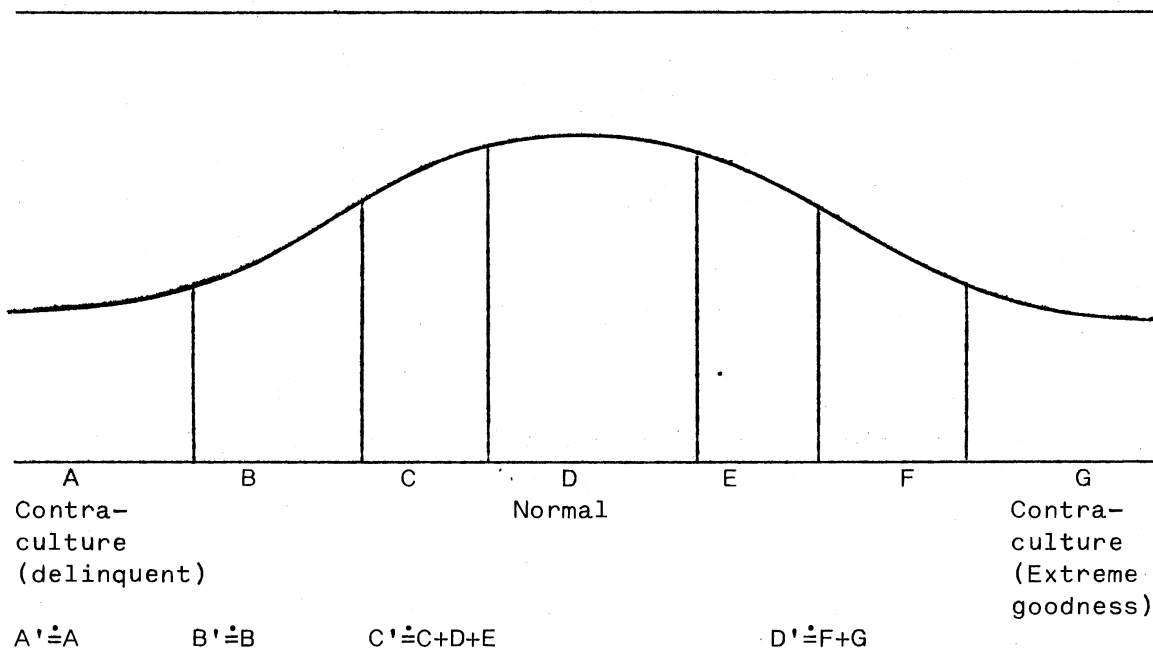
Occupying the last or fourth position on this continuum are the rebellious absolutes. The rebel does not subscribe to the norms of the dominant society. His are the norms of another culture or more likely those of a contra-culture such as Cohen described. Whatever the dominant society prescribes, the rebel opposes. An example of the position of the rebellious absolute might be "One should kill whenever one feels like killing and has a good opportunity". To support or agree with all four positions on the continuum is illogical. Therefore, one might expect the rebel to agree with: (1) the rebellious absolute, the neutralization, and the situational ethic; (2) the rebellious absolute and the neutralization; or (3) only the rebellious absolute. The rebel is committed to delinquency. Probably, he has been involved in many seriously delinquent acts. Few people are expected to be classified in the rebellious absolute position.

(See Table IV) When the Norris continuum is compared to Cavan and Ferdinand's continuum, a rough estimation of percentages may be

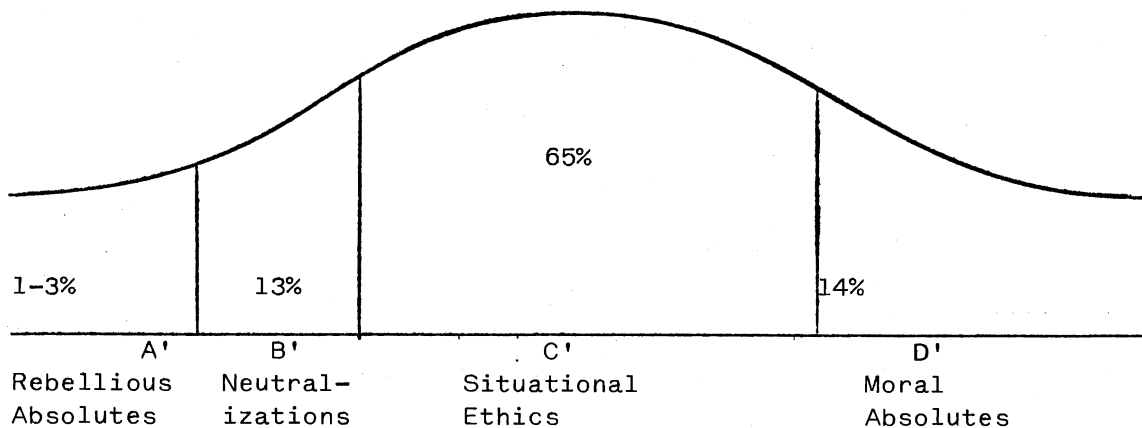
formulated. The rebellious absolute is similar to category A, the contraculture delinquent, which may account for three percent of the population. The neutralization category is similar to category B, extreme underconformity, which accounts for 13% of the population. Categories C, D, and E compare well with the category of situational ethics which may account for 65% of the population. Those categories, of course, represent a range of normal behavior. Representing extreme overconformity are categories F and G which are similar to the category of moral absolutes. The expected percentage here is about 14%.

Thus, a hypothetical curve may be envisioned by placing each individual into one of the four categories. If delinquents do subscribe to the same norms which are held by the dominant society, then, a case may be made that delinquency exists on still another curve (See Table V). A second plot, which is cumulative across categories, may be formed by tabulating those people who accept: (1) only the moral absolutes, (2) the moral absolutes and the situational ethics, (3) the moral absolutes situational ethics, and the neutralizations, (4) only the rebellious absolutes, (5) the rebellious absolutes and the neutralizations, and (6) the rebellious absolutes and the neutralizations, and the situational ethics. Additionally, as the continuum count increases this researcher expects to see the degree of involvement with the law to also increase. He also expects the number of violations of the law (delinquency) to increase likewise. For example, the involvement with the law should move from police contacts, to court appearances, to institutionalization with the frequency of each also increasing. Violations of the law should increase in frequency and perhaps in severity.

TABLE IV
 HYPOTHETICAL FORMULATION OF A BEHAVIOR CONTINUUM
 (CAVAN & FERDINAND, 1975:29)



HYPOTHETICAL FORMULATION OF A BEHAVIOR CONTINUUM
 (NORRIS, 1976)



- A': Rejects values of C'; Commitment to correctional school.
- B': Wavers between acceptance and rejection of C' values; Referrals to social agencies.
- C': Accepts values of C'; Little to no disciplinary action.
- D': Details for overconformity not included.

(See Cavan and Ferdinand, 1975:29)

TABLE V

GRAPHIC DISPLAY OF PURE RESPONSE PATTERNS FOR THE NORRIS
CONTINUUM OF NORM ACCEPTANCE

Response Pattern	#	
A'B'C'D'		
0 0 0 1	1	<u>Moral Absolute</u>
0 0 1 1	2	<u>Situational Ethic + Moral Absolute</u>
0 1 1 1	3	<u>Neutralization + Situational Ethic + Moral Absolute</u>
1 0 0 0	4	<u>Rebellious Absolutes</u>
1 1 0 0		<u>Rebellious Absolutes + Neutralizations</u>
1 1 1 0		<u>Rebellious Absolutes + Neutralizations + Situational Ethics</u>

The rebellious absolute combinations are very unclear. The characteristics of the delinquent subculture as described by Cohen would be best expressed by those juveniles who accept only the rebellious absolutes as shown by position four. However, according to Ball:

It is possible that neutralization will characterize some gang members, while a few may actually have inverted the norms in the manner suggested by Cohen's delinquent subculture hypothesis (Ball, 1968:264).

Thus, one expert on neutralization theory allows for the possible existence of a delinquent subculture along with neutralization theory (position 5, Table V). Matza, however, firmly maintains that delinquents who subscribe to neutralizations also subscribe to the same norms that are held by the larger society. Therefore, they do not belong to a delinquent subculture such as the one described by Cohen. Among the possible combinations of rebellious absolutes, position six where the juvenile accepts the rebellious absolutes, the neutralizations, and the situational ethics is the most questionable response pattern. Implied support for this combination appears in Sutherland's theory of differential association wherein the juveniles learn to be better "con artists" by adding an argot of excuses that might be accepted by society to their philosophy of gamemanship, or the above combination might serve to strengthen their self-concept as well as to insulate them from psychological trauma. As Knudten states:

Since the demands for conformity to the dominant social order cannot be totally avoided, juvenile delinquents are affected in some by its expectations. Rather than reject these demands, the adolescent, by establishing a delinquent subculture, neutralizes their import and participates within the delinquent learning process, a theme discussed earlier in Edwin H. Sutherland's concept of differential association (emphasis added). Neutralization techniques, therefore allow the delinquent to engage in deviant behavior without extreme psychological maladjustment (Knudten, 1970:283-284).

Operational Definitions

Delinquency will be defined in two ways. First, hypothesis one will use institutionalization to indicate delinquency versus noninstitutionalization to indicate nondelinquency. Since there were no institutionalized females, the first hypothesis will apply to boys only. Although the approach of using institutionalization as an indicator of delinquency has been used often in the literature, there are bias. For example, all delinquents are not caught, some are not institutionalized, and those who are institutionalized eventually return to the community. Therefore, there will be at least a small percentage of "delinquents" among any noninstitutionalized population. Hypotheses two through 11 will use the second definition of delinquency. The second definition involves the use of a dichotomy labeling as delinquent those persons who self-report many violations of the law from those who self-report few violations of the law who will be labeled as nondelinquent.

Moral absolute, situational ethic, neutralization, and rebellious absolute will be defined by their scores on the specially constructed inventories which compose the Norris continuum of norm acceptance. There will be two ways of assembling the scores of each inventory. One will be referred to as a pure type, and the second will be called a combined type. The pure types include the four response patterns described on page 36 and 37 and illustrated in Table V on page 38. The pure types represent the most logical, theoretical, and ideal types. The combined types include the pure type, but they also include less logical or less ideal types than the perfect ones indicated by theory. The combined type for the moral absolute is the same as the pure type

since there is only one choice provided for that position--those persons who accept only the moral absolutes. The combined type for the situational ethic includes the following: (1) those persons who accept only the situational ethic, and (2) those persons who accept the moral absolute plus the situational ethic. The combined type for the neutralizer includes: (1) those persons who accept only the neutralizations, (2) those persons who accept the neutralizations plus the situational ethics, (3) those persons who accept the neutralizations and the moral absolutes, and (4) those who accept the neutralizations, the situational ethics, and the moral absolutes. The combined type for the rebellious absolute position score includes the following combinations: (1) those persons who accept only the rebellious absolutes, (2) those persons who accept the rebellious absolutes plus the neutralizations, (3) those persons who accept the rebellious absolutes, the neutralizations, and the situational ethics, and (4) those persons who accept the rebellious absolutes and the situational ethics. All other possible combinations of acceptance are unclassified in this theoretical model.

Hypotheses

Hypotheses one through seven are based upon neutralization theory as it is stated and questioned in the research literature.

- H_{1a} : There will be a significant difference between the neutralization scores of high school boys and institutionalized boys using Ball's neutralization inventory.
- H_{1b} : There will be a significant difference between the neutralization scores of high school boys and institutionalized boys using Norris' neutralization inventory.
- H_{2a} : There will be a significant difference between the neutralization scores of all boys self-reporting many violations of the

law and all boys self-reporting few violations of the law using Ball's neutralization inventory.

- H_{2b}: There will be a significant difference between the neutralization scores of all boys self-reporting many violations of the law and all boys self-reporting few violations of the law using Norris' neutralization inventory.
- H_{3a}: There will be a significant difference between the neutralization scores of institutionalized boys self-reporting many violations of the law and institutionalized boys self-reporting few violations of the law using Ball's neutralization inventory.
- H_{3b}: There will be a significant difference between the neutralization scores of institutionalized boys self-reporting many violations of the law and institutionalized boys self-reporting few violations of the law using Norris' neutralization inventory.
- H_{4a}: There will be a significant difference between the neutralization scores of high school boys self-reporting many violations of the law and high school boys self-reporting few violations of the law using Ball's neutralization inventory.
- H_{4b}: There will be a significant difference between the neutralization scores of high school boys self-reporting many violations of the law and high school boys self-reporting few violations of the law using Norris' neutralization inventory.
- H_{5a}: There will be a significant difference between the neutralization scores of high school girls self-reporting many violations of the law and high school girls self-reporting few violations of the law using Ball's neutralization inventory.
- H_{5b}: There will be a significant difference between the neutralization scores of high school girls self-reporting many violations of the law and high school girls self-reporting few violations of the law using Norris' neutralization inventory.
- H_{6a}: There will be a significant difference between the neutralization scores of high school boys self-reporting many violations of the law and high school girls self-reporting many violations of the law using Ball's neutralization inventory.
- H_{6b}: There will be a significant difference between the neutralization scores of high school boys self-reporting many violations of the law and high school girls self-reporting many violations of the law using Norris' neutralization inventory.
- H_{7a}: There will be a significant difference between the neutralization scores of high school boys self-reporting few violations of the law and high school girls self-reporting few violations of the law using Ball's neutralization inventory.

- H_{7b}: There will be a significant difference between the neutralization scores of high school boys self-reporting few violations of the law and high school girls self-reporting few violations of the law using Norris' neutralization inventory.

Hypotheses eight through 11 are based upon the preceding theoretical model. The hypotheses are grouped to coincide with the appropriate response pattern previously described.

Response Pattern 1

- H_{8a}: Some people will accept only the moral absolutes ($\approx 14\%$).
- H_{8b}: Among those people who accept only the moral absolutes, there is expected to be little to no violations of the law (delinquency).

Response Pattern 2

- H_{9a}: Almost everyone will accept the moral absolutes plus the situational ethics ($\approx 65\%$).
- H_{9b}: Among those people who accept the moral absolutes plus the situational ethics, there is expected to be more violations of the law (delinquency) than is found among those who accept only the moral absolutes.

Response Pattern 3

- H_{10a}: Some people will accept the moral absolutes plus the situational ethics plus the neutralization ($\approx 13\%$).
- H_{10b}: Among those people who accept the moral absolutes plus the situational ethics plus the neutralizations, there is expected to be more violations of the law (delinquency) than is found among those who accept the moral absolutes plus the situational ethics.

Response Pattern 4

- H_{11a}: Extremely few people will accept the rebellious absolute combinations ($\approx 3\%$).
- H_{11b}: Among those people who accept the rebellious absolute combinations, there will be the most violations of the law (delinquency).

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY AND THE OPINIONNAIRE

In order to provide answers to the questions implied in the research literature and delineated in the objectives of this study, the following methods were used.

Methods of the Study

The methods for the present study included a survey of relevant literature as presented in Chapter II which indicated the importance of neutralization theory in measuring, understanding, and dealing with juvenile delinquency. Additionally, the methods of this study involved designing a theoretical model, as presented in Chapter III, which logically connects neutralization theory to a continuum of norm acceptance, and then constructing and administering an opinionnaire to selected populations of delinquent and nondelinquent youths in Oklahoma and Arkansas during the Spring of 1970. Exhaustive analysis of data was made possible by using a preprogrammed computer aid called SAS which is short for Statistical Analysis System. This system was developed by Anthony Barr and James Goodnight of North Carolina State University. It sorts, ranks, plots, figures means and standard deviations, correlates, gives frequencies, evaluates scale models, and performs numerous statistical procedures--many of which are too complicated and time consuming to be done by hand.

The Questionnaire Content

The questionnaire (see Appendix A) is composed of four parts which include: (1) demographic items, (2) a modified formal law involvement inventory, (3) a modified, abridged version of the Nye-Short scale of self-reported delinquency, (4) the Norris Inventory of Norm Commitment, and (5) Ball's Neutralization Inventory. The total length is 10 pages. The estimated time range for answering the questionnaire is approximately 45 minutes to one hour.

Part I, the demographic items, include: (1) sex, (2) age, (3) race, (4) year in school, (5) size of hometown, (6) parents custody, (7) number of brothers and sisters, (8) current dating pattern, (9) father's occupation, (10) religious preference, (11) church attendance, (12) moving experience, and (13) number of friends picked up by police currently.

Item number 14 is the modified formal law involvement inventory designed by Dr. Richard Dodder and modified by a number of his graduate students including this researcher. The inventory checks the level of involvement with authorities. It ranges from no involvement to institutionalization. The present modification consists of asking "How many times?" to several levels of involvement. Part I is two pages in length.

Part II, the modified, abridged version of the Nye-Short self-report delinquency scale, includes 18 items and is slightly over one page in length. Two questions were added. One asked about check forging, and the other asked about burglary. (Descriptions of the scale construction and its items are found in Short and Nye, 1958 and Nye and

Short, 1957.) Hardt and Bodine note that the Nye-Short Scale discriminates with 86 per cent accuracy (Hardt and Bodine, 1965:20).

Part III, the Norris Inventory of Norm Commitment, is actually four separate indices which are logically related by existing theoretical implications (See Theoretical Model, Chapter III). Every fourth item is a different index, but every set of four items represents a particular behavior.

The construction of the Norris' Inventory of Norm Commitment began with the construction of the neutralization inventory. It was designed as an attitude scale dealing with highly specific situational behaviors. After a lengthy series of neutralization statements was composed, the series was presented to approximately 120 upperclassmen who were enrolled in juvenile delinquency classes, and who were very familiar with neutralization theory. These students were asked to judge each statement to determine: (1) if the statement was clear and easy to understand, (2) if the statement reflected a neutralization, (3) what specific technique of neutralization was employed, and (4) if the offense would be appropriate for a juvenile delinquent. Only those statements which affirmatively passed the judgment of at least 90 per cent of the judges according to the criteria listed above were kept as parts of the neutralization inventory. The same procedure was used for judging the statements for the moral absolute inventory, the situational ethic inventory, and the rebellious absolute inventory.

The next step in the construction of the complete continuum was to combine a statement from each separate inventory in a series which represented a single specific behavior. Because the elimination process was conducted separately for each inventory, several behaviors

that lacked one or more inventory statements had to be eliminated altogether. For example, swearing, hanging around bars and taverns, carrying a weapon, and hunting without a license were among the behaviors which had one or more dimension, such as the situational ethic, eliminated by the judges. After a complete continuum inventory was assembled, it was resubmitted to the same student judges who were asked to determine: (1) if a continuum was evident for each specific behavior which spanned the four dimensions of norm acceptance and (2) if each dimension related clearly and smoothly to the others. Slight modifications were made in the wording of several of the statements.

The next step was to administer the complete inventory to a second group of college students who were uninformed as to the purpose of the inventory. This time, the purpose was to investigate whether or not anyone would respond to the continuum according to any of the expected theoretical response patterns. Indeed, most of the students responded according to the expected patterns. However, a couple of behaviors, which included drinking alcoholic beverages and defying police, received less than 60 per cent of the expected responses. Again, those behaviors were eliminated from the inventory.

The last step in pretesting the complete inventory was to administer it in an interview fashion to 16 youths who were being detained at a local juvenile detention center. Each youth was asked to respond honestly to each statement and to ask questions freely about anything which he did not understand. Each youth understood that the inventory was not a test, that the researcher was truly interested in his opinion, and that all information and responses would be kept confidential. During this pretest several words were indicated as being problematic

for the youths. The words were defy, vandalize, desirable, and the phrase "fatally injure". Defy was changed to disobey, vandalize to "seriously damage someone else's property", desirable to right, and fatally injure to kill. Also, the original wording of the statements was found to be confusing to the juveniles. For example, the juveniles were originally instructed to circle whether they agreed or disagreed with a statement that read, "It is wrong to beat up someone". Apparently, the formal approach was confusing to them as several indicated when they rephrased their statement in the more personal first person. Therefore, the directions were changed to a typical statement that now read, "I believe that it is wrong to beat up someone". Agree and disagree were replaced by yes and no. Since the second form of wording was so much easier for them to understand, all the statements were rewritten in that form.

After the judging, eliminations, pretesting, and rewriting, two other behaviors were omitted at the suggestion of school officials who felt the behaviors to be objectionable. Those behaviors dealt with taking illegal drugs and sexual promiscuity.

The final Norris' continuum of norm acceptance consisted of a moral absolute statement, a situational ethic statement, a neutralization statement, and a rebellious absolute statement for each of the following 13 behaviors: murder, assault, driving without a license, truancy, running away, disobeying parents, speeding, getting drunk, vandalizing, stealing small things, automobile theft, using strong arm methods, and check forgery. After data had been collected and analyzed, a rotated factor matrix indicated that among the 13 delinquent behaviors there are three to four dimensions. In other words, there are three to

four levels of seriousness among the 13 delinquent behaviors. Later in this paper, when the samples are described according to their delinquent behavior, the listing of the behaviors will be in the approximate order of their seriousness as indicated by the above analysis. Part III, consists of 52 items (See Appendix A).

Each inventory will be represented by a simple accumulation of individual scores. (However, empirical investigation may support the existence of patterns with an intensity structure noting the severity of behavior for each inventory thus allowing it to become a scale. Or, still another possible outcome of empirical investigation is that a pattern of intensity structures may exist across all four indices thereby forming a scale of norm commitment composed of the now separate indices. For example, such a pattern may be shown when a person agrees with the situational ethic plus the moral absolute which precedes his exception versus the person who agrees only with the moral absolute.)

Each inventory will be assigned an equal weight. For each item on each inventory a score of one will be assigned for a yes response, and a score of zero will be assigned for a no response. Therefore, each respondent has a chance of receiving a total score ranging from zero to 13 on each inventory depending upon the number of items with which he agrees.

A comparative conclusion from a pretest of this total inventory indicates the face validity (or logical validity) of each separate inventory. Face validity is "that quality of an indicator that makes it seem a reasonable measure of some variable" (Babbie, 1975:494). The judging of each neutralization item as being consistent with neutralization theory and as representing a specific technique of neutralization

was a strong indication of the fact (of logical) validity of the Norris' neutralization inventory.

External validation of a measure is the process of "examining its relationship to other, presumed indicators of the same variable" (Babbie, 1975:494). According to neutralization theory, the number of neutralizations accepted for deviant behavior increases proportionately with one's involvement in deviant behavior. Therefore, the external validity of the Norris' neutralization inventory may be checked by comparing its total score with the Nye-Short self-report delinquency involvement total score through a SAS correlation process. This check was conducted on four sampling combinations with the results shown in Table VI.

TABLE VI

THE CORRELATIONS BETWEEN SELF-REPORTING DELINQUENCY TOTALS AND THE NORRIS NEUTRALIZATION INVENTORY WITH SIGNIFICANCE LEVELS INDICATED FOR FOUR SAMPLES

	High School Females	High School Males	Institutionalized Males	All Students
Self-Report Delinquency Total	.54 (.0001)	.53 (.0001)	.45 (.0017)	.59 (.0001)
Norris Neutralization Total				

The correlation for each sample is acceptable at a high level of significance, thereby showing the external and construct validity for the Norris' neutralization inventory.

Concurrent validity is demonstrated for a measure when "individuals who differ in their present status" can be distinguished by that measure (Selltiz, Jahoda, Deutsch, and Cook, 1959:157). As will be demonstrated in the data analysis chapter later, the Norris neutralization inventory successfully distinguished between institutionalized, delinquent boys and noninstitutionalized, nondelinquent boys at a high level of significance.

Internal validity and internal consistency as a part of general reliability are concerned with the degree to which every item correlates or predicts every other item and the total of a given inventory. When the items correlate highly with each other there is high internal consistency (Selltiz, et al., 1959:184). For the sake of space, Table VII shows only the correlation of each item with the total. The table indicates that as a group all items are very acceptable for each of the four samples. The correlations are low enough to indicate independence among the items, but high enough to demonstrate a strong relationship.

According to Selltiz and others, "If we knew that a measuring instrument had satisfactory validity for the purpose for which we intended using it, we would not need to worry about its reliability" (Selltiz, et al., 1959:157). In light of that statement and of the fact that a test-retest was impossible, only one reliability check was employed for the Norris neutralization inventory. That reliability check was an estimate of equivalence which concerns the extent to which "different instruments applied to the same individuals at the same time,

TABLE VII
CORRELATION BETWEEN EACH ITEM AND THE TOTAL NEUTRALIZATION
SCORE ACCORDING TO THE NORRIS INVENTORY
FOR FOUR SAMPLES

	High School Females	High School Males	Institutionalized Males	All Students
Disobeying Parents	.62	.49	.54	.57
Speeding	.63	.58	.54	.60
Driving With- out License	.62	.52	.40	.57
Being Drunk	.62	.59	.44	.58
Being Truant	.58	.60	.44	.56
Stealing less than \$2.00	.16	.37	.30	.35
Vandalizing	.42	.38	.60	.49
Assaulting Someone	.41	.52	.40	.50
Running Away	.52	.39	.46	.48
Taking by Force	.47	.50	.40	.52
Stealing an Automobile	.28	.29	.70	.44
Check Forgery	.44	.33	.17	.38
Murder	.42	.41	.57	.48
Total	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00

yield consistent results" (Selltiz, et al., 1959:172). The correlation between two instruments "indicates the extent to which the two forms are actually measuring the same characteristic in a consistent fashion" (Selltiz, et al., 1959:174). Since Ball's neutralization inventory was administered to the same individuals at the same time as the Norris' neutralization inventory, a correlation between their total scores was conducted for each of the four samples (See Table VIII). Once again, the correlation for each sample is accepted at a high level of significance indicating the reliability of the Norris neutralization inventory. These correlations are especially acceptable since the present research is more interested in identifying people who occupy the extremes rather than making fine degrees of discrimination among all individuals (See Selltiz, et al., 1959:181).

TABLE VIII

THE CORRELATIONS BETWEEN THE NORRIS NEUTRALIZATION
INVENTORY AND THE BALL NEUTRALIZATION INVENTORY
WITH SIGNIFICANCE LEVELS INDICATED
FOR FOUR SAMPLING GROUPS

	High School Females	High School Males	Institutionalized Males	All Students
Norris Neutralization Total	.52 (.0001)	.61 (.0001)	.51 (.0005)	.61 (.0001)
Ball Neutralization Total				

Part IV consists of Ball's neutralization inventory. Ball describes his inventory construction as follows:

Ten specific situations were developed, each describing the commission of some offense by a sixteen-year-old boy. Both personal and property offenses were represented, and the offenses were intended to reflect a rough continuum of severity. These variations were considered especially desirable as a means of increasing sensitivity (discrimination). The situations were written for sixth grade reading level and checked against published reading lists. In order to locate these situations along the assumed continuum of severity, the schedule of 10 situations was administered to a sample of 203 college students. The students were asked to rank the 10 situations, in terms of 'seriousness' as they felt their mothers would rank them. Perceived ranking by the mother was obtained because her opinion seemed more likely to reflect conventional morality.

An exhaustive set of 790 items was prepared, an average of approximately 80 items for each of the 10 situations. Each item presented an excuse (neutralization) for the infraction behavior specified in the particular situation to which it pertained.

The 790 items were then submitted to five judges for a 'jury opinion' as to validity. Judges were requested to rate each item as follows: 'VD' (very definitely indicates a neutralization technique), 'D' (definitely indicates a neutralization technique), 'F' (for indication of a neutralization technique), 'DN' (definitely does not indicate a neutralization technique). In addition, the judges were instructed to edit or eliminate any item considered 'ambiguous, incomplete, verbose, irrelevant, inconsistent, or in any other way unsatisfactory'. General comments and suggestions were solicited. An item was retained only if all judges agreed that it 'definitely' or 'very definitely' represented neutralization.

The final inventory was reduced to 4 situations representing different points along the continuum of offense 'seriousness' as defined by the 203 students' perceptions of mother's rankings. The 4 situations included an equal number of personal and property offenses. Ten items (with the highest 'neutralization ratings' given by the judges) were listed under each of the behavior situations. The inventory was intensively pretested with 5 fifteen and sixteen-year-old boys in detention at the Juvenile Center, Columbus, Ohio, in order to determine their comprehension of the verbal statements and any reluctance to respond or to disguise attitudes (Ball, 1968:256-258).

Opinionnaire

In hope of increasing returns, the questionnaire was entitled as an "Opinionnaire". This was done because of the many negative connotations, such as solicitation and advertising, associated with the term "questionnaire". All letters sent to subjects and to school administrators used the word opinionnaire.

The methodological concerns of sampling and data collection will be discussed in the next chapter which will also present a description of the samples according to several demographic characteristics.

CHAPTER V

COLLECTION OF DATA AND SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS

Since the enactment of the Buckley Amendment many public officials have become hesitant to release information from their records and from their students. Before they approve the use of their population as research samples, they demand a formal proposal which describes the research's purposes, procedures, costs, and benefits for the particular institution involved. Certainly their demand is only reasonable; however, it does throw a flaw into the academic machinery when one is attempting to conduct research according to very precise methodological specifications. Nonetheless, public school administrators are operating under very real pressures from many directions with their least amount of pressure coming from this researcher. For example, two school superintendents had civil law suits filed against them on behalf of their students. With that type of problem on their hands, they simply refused to involve themselves with anything that was not legally required. For over one year, this researcher attempted with severely limited success to gain permission to enter public schools and delinquent institutions to administer the opinionnaire for this research. Every available option of entry was made. These options included personal friends of school administrators, their relatives, local public officials, past researchers, personal meetings with school administrators, telephone calls, and letters. In each of these contacts

careful attention was given to meeting the requirements of the Buckley Amendment and to any administrative procedures requested by the particular school system. Additionally, this research project was reviewed by the Human Subjects Committee, a special committee concerned with legal implications of any research conducted under the auspices of Oklahoma State University and the welfare of those subjects. The judgement of the committee for this research was:

Provided that the subjects involved understand that the questionnaire is to be answered voluntarily and that they can stop at any time, the committee unanimously agrees that the subjects are not to be considered 'at risk'.

An example of a typical letter sent to the school administrators is presented in Appendix B. After failing to receive any reply to several of these letters, all mail was certified.

Persistence finally paid off when three administrators gave their "unofficial" permission to enter their schools. Luckily two of those schools were juvenile institutions where many of the students required assistance in reading the opinionnaire. One other administrator finally stated that he felt that the present research project was important and that it merited investigation, but that he could not give his official or unofficial permission for this research to be conducted due to the current legal suits that were filed against his school system. Nevertheless, he did send a list of student names and addresses to this researcher. With those complicating factors in mind, the following data collection methods were employed.

Data Collection

Because many of the institutionalized youths had reading problems, the following method was used.

Arrangements were made with school administrators for the opinionnaire to be given to students during a non-class period. The chief researcher explained the purpose--to understand the students' opinions concerning various behaviors. He pointed out that the opinionnaire was not a test, and that it had no right or wrong answers. Anonymity was promised, and the students were reminded not to sign their name, address, or any other identifying information to the opinionnaire. Additionally, the students were instructed to read along silently as the chief researcher read each statement aloud and not to read ahead until the researcher did. The reading of each item was repeated slowly so that everyone could keep up. The above procedure was used at two juvenile delinquent institutions. One was located in Oklahoma and the other was in Arkansas. A total of 48 usable opinionnaires resulted. All of these subjects were males.

Because of the total resistance against entering public schools in Oklahoma and because a mailing list was available, a different procedure was used to collect data from the noninstitutionalized youths. A letter, containing essentially the same instructions as noted above, along with an opinionnaire, and a self-addressed, stamped, return envelope was sent to each student (See Appendix C). One hundred sixty-nine females and 129 males from two school systems returned usable opinionnaires. The total of all students was 351.

Questionnaire Usage

Among the advantages of using a mail questionnaire are the following. One, it is less expensive than other methods. Two, it requires less skill to administer. Three, standardization of questions and instructions insures uniformity among measures. Four, respondents may feel greater confidence in their anonymity (Selltitz et al., 1959:238-240).

Among the disadvantages of the mail questionnaire are: (1) it is rigid, (2) the subjects must be able to read with considerable understanding, and (3) the sample size and representativeness may be lessened.

The usual response rate to be expected by a researcher using a mail questionnaire varies from 10 percent to 50 percent. The return rate for this study was over 60 percent. However, those persons who return their questionnaires are conforming and therefore they may be expected to over represent themselves proportionately for a category such as the moral absolutes.

Sample Characteristics

The sum of the returned opinionnaire was divided into four samples for purposes of analysis. The four samples were: (1) high school females, (2) high school males, (3) institutionalized males, and (4) all students. The opinion of this researcher was that the total population and each of its subdivisions could be best described, compared, and analyzed by an arrangement such as this that fit the hypotheses and purpose of this study as well. Therefore, the following descriptions will be made for each of those categories (See Table IX).

TABLE IX
CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLES

	High School Females	High School Males	Institutionalized Males	All Students
N	169	129	48	351
Age				
13	0.00%	0.00%	10.42%	1.43%
14	.59%	4.65%	18.75%	4.56%
15	18.34%	23.26%	29.17%	21.65%
16	37.28%	26.36%	18.75%	31.05%
17	31.95%	28.68%	20.83%	29.06%
18	10.06%	16.28%	0.00%	10.83%
19	1.78%	.78%	0.00%	1.14%
Race				
Black	5.33%	10.08%	31.25%	10.54%
Indian	3.55%	2.33%	6.25%	3.70%
White	88.17%	85.27%	62.50%	83.19%
Family				
Both	81.07%	73.64%	37.50%	71.51%
No Mother	3.66%	3.10%	12.50%	4.27%
No Father	14.20%	20.16%	45.83%	28.80%
Moves in Last Two Years				
0	71.60%	72.09%	65.25%	69.23%
1	13.61%	17.05%	4.17%	13.96%
2	4.73%	6.98%	18.75%	7.69%
3+	10.06%	3.88%	20.83%	9.12%
Friends Recently Involved with Police				
0	68.64%	51.56%	27.08%	55.84%
1 or 2	17.75%	31.78%	43.75%	26.21%
3 or 4	8.28%	10.85%	10.42%	9.40%
5+	5.33%	6.20%	18.75%	8.55%

TABLE IX (Continued)

	High School Females	High School Males	Institutionalized Males	All Students
Times Expelled from School				
0	90.53%	86.82%	31.25%	80.06%
1 or 2	7.69%	10.85%	35.42%	12.54%
3 or 4	.59%	1.55%	18.75%	4.27%
5+	1.18%	.78%	14.58%	3.13%

Female high school students numbered 169. Their ages ranged from 14 years to 19 years with nearly 40% being 16 years old. The vast majority were white with nearly half of them being in the 11th grade. Forty-eight percent were from towns with a population range of 25,001 to 50,000. Eighty percent lived with both parents, and roughly 40% could be classified as middle class. One-third of them reported that they never or seldomly attended church. Seventy-one percent had not moved geographically at all during the last two years. They appeared to be a very nondelinquent group since over 90% had never been expelled, nearly 80% had no contact with police, and nearly 70% did not even have any friends who had any contact with the police. Their lack of apparent delinquency was confirmed by the Nye-Short delinquency. (See Table X). On a range of one to four where one represents no involvement and four represents the maximum involvements, the score for all students was only 1.66. Even the institutionalized males only scored as high as 2.26 on the average. Thus, none of the samples appeared to be extremely delinquent.

TABLE X
THE AVERAGE SELF-REPORTED DELINQUENCY SCORE PER
PERSON IN EACH OF THE FOUR SAMPLES

	High School Females	High School Males	Institutionalized Males	All Students
Delinquency Item Average	1.45	1.67	2.26	1.66
Range	1-4	1-4	1-4	1-4

High school females were found to be most involved in the least serious offenses which included disobeying parents, driving without a license, and having been drunk. None had forged a check, stolen a car, or taken anything by force (See Table XI).

Male high school students numbered 129. Their ages ranged from 14 years to 19 years with nearly 30% being 17 years old. Once again, the vast majority were white with nearly one-third being in the 10th grade. Nearly 40% were from towns with a population range of 25,001 to 50,000. Seventy-four percent lived with both parents, and roughly 36% could be classified as middle-class. Forty-three percent reported they never or seldom attended church. Seventy-two percent had not moved during the last two years. They also appeared to be very nondelinquent since 86% had never been expelled, over 55% had no contact with the police, and over 50% did not even have any friends who had any contact with the police. Just like the girls, the boys were found to be involved in the same three least serious offenses. However, a larger percentage of

TABLE XI
 SELF-REPORTED PERCENTAGES OF DELINQUENT BEHAVIOR

	High School Females	High School Males	Institutionalized Males	All Students
Disobey Parents				
Never	24.26%	19.38%	22.92%	21.94%
1 or 2	43.79%	30.23%	27.08%	36.18%
3 or 4	13.61%	21.71%	14.58%	16.81%
5+	18.34%	28.69%	35.42%	25.07%
Driving With- out License				
Never	42.01%	23.26%	12.50%	31.05%
1 or 2	31.95%	32.55%	18.75%	29.92%
3 or 4	18.94%	37.21%	58.33%	31.62%
5+	18.94%	37.21%	58.33%	31.62%
Been Drunk				
Never	45.56%	37.98%	29.17%	38.89%
1 or 2	18.34%	17.05%	16.67%	17.66%
3 or 4	5.92%	8.53%	8.33%	7.12%
5+	30.18%	36.43%	45.83%	35.33%
Truant				
Never	60.95%	52.72%	16.67%	51.28%
1 or 2	21.30%	26.36%	14.58%	21.94%
3 or 4	3.55%	1.55%	18.75%	4.84%
5+	14.20%	19.38%	50.00%	21.94%
Steal Less Than \$2.00				
Never	53.85%	35.66%	27.08%	43.02%
1 or 2	37.28%	36.43%	35.42%	36.75%
3 or 4	4.73%	9.30%	6.25%	6.84%
5+	4.14%	18.61%	29.17%	13.11%
Vandalized				
Never	88.76%	60.47%	33.33%	70.09%
1 or 2	10.06%	29.46%	39.58%	21.36%
3 or 4	1.18%	7.75%	12.50%	5.41%
5+	0.00%	2.33%	14.58%	3.13%

TABLE XI (Continued)

	High School Females	High School Males	Institutionalized Males	All Students
Assault				
Never	92.31%	78.30%	37.50%	78.92%
1 or 2	5.33%	14.73%	37.50%	13.39%
3 or 4	1.18%	3.88%	4.16%	3.13%
5+	1.18%	3.10%	20.83%	4.56%
Steal More Than \$20.00				
Never	92.31%	87.60%	27.08%	80.91%
1 or 2	5.33%	6.20%	33.33%	9.97%
3 or 4	1.18%	4.65%	16.67%	4.56%
5+	1.18%	1.55%	22.92%	4.56%
Taken by Force				
Never	92.90%	81.40%	62.50%	84.33%
1 or 2	5.92%	13.95%	20.83%	10.83%
3 or 4	1.18%	1.55%	6.25%	1.99%
5+	0.00%	3.10%	8.33%	1.56%
Stolen A Car				
Never	97.04%	89.92%	54.17%	88.03%
1 or 2	2.96%	8.53%	27.08%	8.55%
3 or 4	0.00%	1.55%	6.25%	1.43%
5+	0.00%	0.00%	12.50%	1.99%
Forged A Check				
Never	99.41%	99.23%	66.67%	94.59%
1 or 2	0.59%	.78%	16.67%	2.85%
3 or 4	0.00%	.00%	10.42%	1.71%
5+	0.00%	.00%	4.17%	.57%

boys was involved in a greater number of violations. None of the boys had stolen a car or forged a check, but three percent had taken things by force five times or more.

Institutionalized males number 48. Their ages ranged from 12 years to 17 years. Nearly 30% were 14 years old. Two-thirds of them were white, and one-third were black. One-third exactly were in the ninth grade. Fifty-nine percent could be classified as lower class. Twenty-three percent were from towns with a population range of 50,001 to 100,000. Thirty-eight percent lived with both parents, but nearly half reported that they had no father at home. Forty-four percent said they never or seldomly attended church. Slightly over 56% had not moved during the last two years, but nearly 21% had moved three times or more. The institutionalized boys were involved in every delinquent category, but not so much in the three most serious offenses. The institutionalized males have committed every offense more often than did those noninstitutionalized students.

The category of all students represents an average of the three groups discussed above. Since their average actually represents no one, data on the demographic characteristics of this group will be presented in table form only.

CHAPTER VI

PROCEDURES OF ANALYSIS AND HYPOTHESIS EVALUATION

Each of the following 11 hypotheses was broken into part A and part B. Each part was analyzed separately. In hypotheses one through seven, which dealt with neutralization tests, part A referred to Ball's neutralization inventory and part B to Norris' neutralization inventory. For hypotheses eight through 11, part A referred to the number of persons falling within one of the four categories of the Norris' continuum of norm acceptance, and part B referred to the relative amount of delinquency involvement across the four categories.

Procedures of Analysis for Hypotheses

One Through Seven

To ascertain the significance of the relationship between neutralization theory and juvenile delinquency, it was necessary to employ the treatment of the data as explained below.

The planned treatment of data was first to keypunch the data on IBM cards, and then by using SAS to sort, to compute frequencies, means, standard deviations, correlations, and factor analysis for each of the samples detailed in the previous methodology chapter. Where high delinquency scores are compared to low delinquency scores, a simple rank order dichotomy was employed. Then, the means were computed from the scores of those persons who fell into the groups according to

whether they were high or low. After the means and standard deviations were computed, the next step was to check for a significant difference between the means. For that purpose, the following t test for two independent samples was used:

$$t = \frac{(\bar{X}_1 - \bar{X}_2)}{\sqrt{\frac{S^2}{N_1} + \frac{S^2}{N_2}}}$$

When the samples contained unequal N's, the following formula was used to compute the variance:

$$S^2 = \frac{(N_1 - 1)S_1^2 + (N_2 - 1)S_2^2}{N_1 + N_2 - 2}$$

The degrees of freedom for the above t test were computed by the formula:

$$df = N_1 + N_2 - 2$$

"The use of (this) formula to compare two samples means is based on the assumption that the two samples come from normally distributed populations that have equal variances" (Gourevitch, 1965:230). Gourevitch adds that even extreme violations of those assumptions have little effect on the t values.

Procedures of Analysis for Hypotheses

Eight Through Eleven

Hypotheses eight through 11 were entirely exploratory in nature since the theoretical literature only gave a vague estimation of one or two similar categories as those developed in the present theoretical model. Where percentages have been noted in the theoretical model and

in the statement of the hypotheses, the only purpose was to give the reader some rough estimation of the relative values that the four categories might contain. Therefore, the evaluation of hypotheses eight through 11 will contain descriptive statistics, such as percentages, only. Future studies based upon these findings will have a more sound foundation for formulating hypotheses and will be able to employ more sophisticated inferential statistics in their analysis.

Evaluation of Hypothesis One Part A

Hypothesis One A states: There will be a significant difference between the neutralization scores of high school boys and institutionalized boys using Ball's neutralization inventory. The dichotomy between delinquent and nondelinquent boys was defined by allowing institutionalized to mean delinquent and noninstitutionalized as nondelinquent. Of course, there was expected to be some delinquents among the noninstitutionalized sample, but this hypothesis has taken one particular definition of delinquency. Other definitions of delinquency were taken by other hypotheses. The hypothesis was tested by the computation of mean neutralization scores of each of the two samples described above. The results of a t test appear in Table XII. The mean neutralization score for institutionalized males was 112.60, and the mean for high school males was 90.86. The t test results of 4.93 with 175 degrees of freedom was significant at better than .001 level. Table XII indicates the delinquent boys (institutionalized boys) scored higher on the neutralization inventory than did nondelinquent boys (high school males). The findings strongly substantiate the

TABLE XII

VALUES FOR SIGNIFICANCE OF DIFFERENCE OF SCORES BETWEEN INSTITUTIONALIZED
 MALES AND HIGH SCHOOL MALES ON BALL'S AND ON
 NORRIS' NEUTRALIZATION INVENTORIES

H	Scale	Sample	N	Mean	S.D.	<u>t</u>	D.F.	P
1A	Ball	Institutionalized Males	48	112.60	23.99	4.93	175	.001
		High School Males	129	90.86	26.79			
1B	Norris	Institutionalized Males	48	4.38	2.68	1.78	175	.08
		High School Males	129	3.46	2.56			

hypothesis. Apparently, neutralization and delinquency are more characteristic of institutionalized males than they are of high school males.

Evaluation of Hypothesis One Part B

Hypothesis one B states: There will be a significant difference between the neutralization scores of high school boys and institutionalized boys using Norris' neutralization inventory. The dichotomy between delinquent and nondelinquent was again defined by institutionalization. Part B was also tested by the computation of mean neutralization scores. The results of a t test appear in Table XII. The mean neutralization score for institutionalized males was 4.38, and the mean for high school males was 3.46. The t test results of 1.78 with 175 degrees of freedom was significant at better than .08 level. Table XII indicates that institutionalized males scored higher on the neutralization inventory than did high school males. The findings weakly substantiate the hypothesis. Again, neutralization and delinquency are more characteristic of institutionalized males than they are of high school males.

Evaluation of Hypothesis Two Part A

Hypothesis two A states: There will be a significant difference between the neutralization scores of all boys self-reporting many violations of the law and all boys self-reporting few violations of the law using Ball's neutralization inventory. The dichotomy between delinquent and nondelinquent boys is defined by using the scores the boys self-reported on the modified Nye-Short delinquency inventory.

Institutionalized and noninstitutionalized boys were combined, and whether or not they were defined as delinquent or as nondelinquent depended solely on the dichotomy of their Nye-Short scores. Therefore, some of the institutionalized boys may be in the nondelinquent group, and, most assuredly, some of the high school boys are in the delinquent group. The hypothesis was tested by computation of mean neutralization scores of each of the two samples just described. The results of a t test appear in Table XIII. The mean neutralization score for all males who self-reported many violations of the law (all males reporting high delinquency involvement), was 106.00, and the mean neutralization score for all boys who self-reported few violations of the law (all males reporting low delinquency involvement) was 87.62. The t test results of 4.66 with 175 degrees of freedom was significant at better than the .001 level. Table XIII indicates that the males with many self-reported violations of the law scored higher on the neutralization inventory than did males with few self-reported violations. Seemingly, neutralization is more characteristic of boys self-reporting many violations than it is of boys self-reporting few violations.

Evaluation of Hypothesis Two Part B

Hypothesis two B states: There will be a significant difference between the neutralization scores of all boys self-reporting many violations of the law and all boys self-reporting few violations of the law using Norris' neutralization inventory. The dichotomy between delinquent and nondelinquent boys was again made for all boys by dichotomizing their Nye-Short score without regard to whether they were institutionalized or noninstitutionalized. The hypothesis was tested

TABLE XIII

VALUES FOR SIGNIFICANCE OF DIFFERENCE OF SCORES BETWEEN ALL MALES SELF-REPORTING
HIGH DELINQUENCY INVOLVEMENT AND ALL MALES SELF-REPORTING LOW
DELINQUENCY INVOLVEMENT ON BALL'S AND ON NORRIS'
NEUTRALIZATION INVENTORIES

H	Scale	Sample	N	Mean	S.D.	<u>t</u>	D.F.	P
2A	Ball	All Males Reporting High Delinquency Involvement	88	106.00	26.06	4.66	175	.001
		All Males Reporting Low Delinquency Involvement	89	87.62	26.43			
2B	Norris	All Males Reporting High Delinquency Involvement	88	4.80	2.58	6.03	175	.001
		All Males Reporting Low Delinquency Involvement	89	2.63	2.19			

by computation of mean neutralization scores for each of the two samples. The results of a t test appear in Table XIII. The mean neutralization score for all males who self-reported many violations of the law was 4.80, and the mean score for all boys reporting few violations was 2.63. The t test results of 6.03 with 175 degrees of freedom was significant at better than the .001 level. Table XIII indicates that the males reporting many violations scored higher on the neutralization inventory than did males reporting few violations. The strong significance of difference may be interpreted as indicating that neutralization is more characteristic of the more delinquent boys.

Evaluation of Hypothesis Three Part A

Hypothesis three A states: There will be a significant difference between the neutralization scores of institutionalized boys self-reporting many violations of the law and institutionalized boys self-reporting few violations of the law using Ball's neutralization inventory. The dichotomy between the institutionalized boys was based upon their self-reported Nye-Short delinquency scores. This test was made to see if there existed a gradient of involvement among the institutionalized boys which would be reflected by their degree of acceptance of neutralization. The hypothesis was tested by the computation of mean neutralization scores of the two dichotomized samples. The results of a t test appear in Table XIV. The mean neutralization score for institutionalized males who self-reported many violations of the law (institutionalized males reporting high delinquency involvement) was 115.88, and the mean for institutionalized males who reported few violations was 109.04. The t test results of .99 with 46 degrees of

freedom was not significant except at better than the .35 level. Table XIV indicates that institutionalized males reporting many violations of the law scored higher on the neutralization inventory than did institutionalized males who reported few violations of the law, but the difference was not statistically significant. The findings fail to substantiate the hypothesis. Apparently, neutralization does not vary with any degree that can be detected by Ball's neutralization inventory among institutionalized males.

Evaluation of Hypothesis Three Part B

Hypothesis three B states: There will be a significant difference between the neutralization scores of institutionalized boys self-reporting many violations of the law and institutionalized boys self-reporting few violations of the law using Norris' neutralization inventory. The dichotomy between the institutionalized boys was based upon their self-reported Nye-Short delinquency scores. This test was made to see if some institutionalized boys who reported many violations would accept a greater number of neutralization than institutionalized boys who reported few violations. The hypothesis was tested by the computation of mean neutralization scores of the two dichotomized samples. The results of a t test appear in Table XIV. The mean neutralization score for institutionalized males who self-reported many violations of the law was 5.52, and the mean for institutionalized males who reported few violations was 3.13. The t test results of 3.42 with 46 degrees of freedom was significant at better than the .01 level. Table XIV indicates that institutionalized males reporting many violations of the law scored higher on the neutralization inventory

TABLE XIV

VALUES FOR SIGNIFICANCE OF DIFFERENCE OF SCORES BETWEEN INSTITUTIONALIZED MALES SELF-REPORTING HIGH DELINQUENCY INVOLVEMENT AND INSTITUTIONALIZED MALES SELF-REPORTING LOW DELINQUENCY INVOLVEMENT ON BALL'S AND ON NORRIS' NEUTRALIZATION INVENTORIES

H	Scale	Sample	N	Mean	S.D.	<u>t</u>	D.F.	P
3A	Ball	Institutionalized Males Reporting High Delinquency Involvement	25	115.88	23.78	.99	46	.35
		Institutionalized Males Reporting Low Delinquency Involvement	23	109.04	24.23			
3B	Norris	Institutionalized Males Reporting High Delinquency Involvement	25	5.52	2.74	3.42	46	.01
		Institutionalized Males Reporting Low Delinquency Involvement	23	3.13	2.01			

than did institutionalized males who reported few violations of the law. The findings substantiate the hypothesis. According to the Norris' neutralization inventory, neutralization does vary among institutionalized males.

Evaluation of Hypothesis Four Part A

Hypothesis four A states: There will be a significant difference between the neutralization scores of high school boys self-reporting many violations of the law and high school boys reporting few violations of the law using Ball's neutralization inventory. The same dichotomy was used for the high school boys as was used in hypothesis three for institutionalized boys based upon their self-reporting delinquency scores. And again, the hypothesis was tested by the computation of mean neutralization scores. The results of a t test appear in Table XV. The mean neutralization score for high school males reporting many violations of the law was 96.99, and the mean for high school males reporting few violations of the law was 84.64. The t test results of 2.68 with 127 degrees of freedom was significant at better than the .01 level. Table XV indicates that high school males reporting many violations of the law scored higher on the neutralization inventory than did high school males reporting few violations. The findings substantiate the hypothesis. Apparently, neutralization is more characteristic of high school males who report many violations than of high school males who report few violations.

TABLE XV

VALUES FOR SIGNIFICANCE OF DIFFERENCE OF SCORES BETWEEN HIGH SCHOOL MALES SELF-
REPORTING HIGH DELINQUENCY INVOLVEMENT AND HIGH SCHOOL MALES SELF-
REPORTING LOW DELINQUENCY INVOLVEMENT ON BALL'S AND
NORRIS' NEUTRALIZATION INVENTORIES

H	Scale	Sample	N	Mean	S.D.	<u>t</u>	D.F.	P
4A	Ball	High School Males Reporting High Delinquency Involvement	65	96.99	28.28	2.68	127	.01
		High School Males Reporting Low Delinquency Involvement	64	84.64	23.83			
4B	Norris	High School Males Reporting High Delinquency Involvement	65	4.72	2.42	6.49	127	.001
		High School Males Reporting Low Delinquency Involvement	64	2.17	2.02			

Evaluation of Hypothesis Four Part B

Hypothesis four B states: There will be a significant difference between the neutralization scores of high school boys self-reporting many violations of the law and high school boys reporting few violations of the law using Norris' neutralization inventory. The dichotomy was based upon self-reported delinquency scores. Again, the hypothesis was tested by using mean neutralization scores. The results of a t test appear in Table XV. The mean neutralization score for high school males who reported many violations of the law was 4.72, and the mean neutralization score for high school males who reported few violations of the law was 2.17. The t test results of 6.49 with 127 degrees of freedom was strongly significant at better than the .001 level. Table XV indicates that high school males who reported many violations of the law scored higher on the Norris' neutralization inventory than did high school males who reported few violations. The findings strongly substantiate the hypothesis. Again, greater acceptance of neutralization is more characteristic of boys reporting more violations of the law.

Evaluation of Hypothesis Five Part A

Hypothesis five A states: There will be a significant difference between the neutralization scores of high school girls self-reporting many violations of the law and high school girls self-reporting few violations of the law using Ball's neutralization inventory. The delinquency dichotomy was defined by self-reported scores, and the hypothesis was tested by the mean neutralization scores which appear in Table XVI. The mean neutralization score for high school females self-reporting many violations of the law was 83.04, and the mean

neutralization score for all females who self-reported few violations of the law was 74.21 according to Ball's neutralization inventory. The t test results of 2.33 with 167 degrees of freedom was significant at better than the .02 level. Table XVI indicates that high school females reporting many violations scored higher on Ball's neutralization inventory than did females who reported few violations. Again, neutralization correlates highly and positively with delinquency involvement.

Evaluation of Hypothesis Five Part B

Hypothesis five B states: There will be a significant difference between the neutralization scores of high school girls self-reporting many violations of the law and high school girls self-reporting few violations of the law using Norris' neutralization inventory. The delinquency dichotomy was defined by self-reported scores, and the hypothesis was tested by the mean neutralization scores which appear in Table XVI. The mean neutralization score for high school females self-reporting many violations of the law was 3.12, and the mean neutralization score for all females who self-reported few violations of the law was 1.10 according to Norris' neutralization inventory. The t test results of 6.72 with 167 degrees of freedom was highly significant at better than the .001 level. Table XVI indicates that high school females reporting many violations scored higher on Norris' neutralization inventory than did females who reported few violations. Again, neutralization relates highly and positively with delinquency involvement.

TABLE XVI

VALUES FOR SIGNIFICANCE OF DIFFERENCE OF SCORES BETWEEN HIGH SCHOOL FEMALES SELF-REPORTING HIGH DELINQUENCY INVOLVEMENT AND HIGH SCHOOL FEMALES SELF-REPORTING LOW DELINQUENCY INVOLVEMENT ON BALL'S AND NORRIS' NEUTRALIZATION INVENTORIES

H	Scale	Sample	N	Mean	S.D.	<u>t</u>	D.F.	P
5A	Ball	High School Females Reporting High Delinquency Involvement	82	83.04	26.44	2.33	167	.02
		High School Females Reporting Low Delinquency Involvement	87	74.21	22.88			
5B	Norris	High School Females Reporting High Delinquency Involvement	82	3.12	2.44	6.72	167	.001
		High School Females Reporting Low Delinquency Involvement	87	1.10	1.29			

Evaluation of Hypothesis Six Part A

Hypothesis six A states: There will be a significance difference between the neutralization scores of high school boys self-reporting many violations of the law and high school girls self-reporting many violations of the law using Ball's neutralization inventory. The hypothesis compared two samples which have previously been dichotomized according to their Nye-Short self-reported delinquency scores. The mean of each sample was computed and compared to the other. The results of the t test appear in Table XVII. The mean of high school males reporting many violations was 96.99, and the mean neutralization score of high school females reporting many violations of the law was 83.04 according to Ball's neutralization inventory. The t test results of 3.08 with 145 degrees of freedom was significant at the .01 level. Table XVII indicates that high school males reporting many violations scored higher on Ball's neutralization inventory than did high school females reporting many violations. The findings substantiate the hypothesis. Seemingly, males who report many violations of the law accept a greater number of neutralizations for delinquent behavior than do females who report many violations of the law.

Evaluation of Hypothesis Six Part B

Hypothesis six B states: There will be a significant difference between the neutralization scores of high school males self-reporting many violations of the law and high school girls self-reporting many violations of the law using the Norris' neutralization inventory. The hypothesis compared two samples which have previously been dichotomized according to their Nye-Short delinquency scores. Again, the means were

TABLE XVII

VALUES FOR SIGNIFICANCE OF DIFFERENCE OF SCORES BETWEEN HIGH SCHOOL MALES AND
HIGH SCHOOL FEMALES SELF-REPORTING HIGH DELINQUENCY INVOLVEMENT
ON BALL'S AND NORRIS' NEUTRALIZATION INVENTORIES

H	Scale	Sample	N	Mean	S.D.	<u>t</u>	D.F.	P
6A	Ball	High School Males Reporting High Delinquency Involvement	65	96.99	28.28	3.08	145	.01
		High School Females Reporting High Delinquency Involvement	82	83.04	26.44			
6B	Norris	High School Males Reporting High Delinquency Involvement	65	4.72	2.42	3.97	145	.001
		High School Females Reporting High Delinquency Involvement	82	3.12	2.44			

computed and compared. The results of a t test appear in Table XVII. The mean neutralization score of high school males reporting many violations was 4.72, and the mean neutralization score of high school females reporting many violations of the law was 3.12 according to the Norris' neutralization inventory. The t test results of 3.97 with 145 degrees of freedom was significant at the .001 level. Table XVII indicates that high school males reporting many violations of the law scored significantly higher on Norris' neutralization inventory than did high school females reporting many violations. The findings strongly substantiate the hypothesis. Apparently, males who report many violations of the law accept a greater number of neutralizations for delinquency behavior than do females who report many violations of the law.

Evaluacion of Hypothesis Seven Part A

Hypothesis seven A states: There will be a significant difference between the neutralization scores of high school boys self-reporting few violations of the law and high school girls self-reporting few violations of the law using Ball's neutralization inventory. The hypothesis compared two samples which have previously been dichotomized according to the Nye-Short delinquency scores. The results of a t test appear in Table XVIII. The mean neutralization score of high school males self-reporting few violations of the law was 84.64, and the mean neutralization score of high school females self-reporting few violations of the law was 74.21 according to Ball's neutralization inventory. The t test results of 2.72 with 149 degrees of freedom was significant at the .01 level. Table XVIII indicates that high school males

reporting few violations of the law scored significantly higher on Ball's neutralization inventory than did high school females reporting few violations. The findings substantiate the hypothesis. Apparently, males who report few violations of the law accept a greater number of neutralizations for delinquent behavior than do females who report few violations of the law.

Evaluation of Hypothesis Seven Part B

Hypothesis seven B states: There will be a significant difference between the neutralization scores of high school boys self-reporting few violations of the law and high school girls self-reporting few violations of the law using Norris' neutralization inventory. The hypothesis compared two samples which have previously been dichotomized according to their Nye-Short delinquency scores. Again, the neutralization means were computed and compared. The results of a t test appear in Table XVIII. The mean neutralization score of high school males reporting few violations was 2.17, and the mean neutralization score of high school females reporting few violations of the law was 1.10 according to the Norris' neutralization inventory. The t test results of 2.69 with 149 degrees of freedom was significant at the .01 level. Table XVIII indicates that high school males reporting few violations of the law scored significantly higher on Norris' neutralization inventory than did high school females reporting few violations. The findings substantiate the hypothesis. Apparently, males who report few violations of the law accept a greater number of neutralizations for delinquent behavior than do females who report few violations of the law.

TABLE XVIII

VALUES FOR SIGNIFICANCE OF DIFFERENCE OF SCORES BETWEEN HIGH SCHOOL MALES AND
HIGH SCHOOL FEMALES SELF-REPORTING LOW DELINQUENCY INVOLVEMENT ON
BALL'S AND NORRIS* NEUTRALIZATION INVENTORIES

H	Scale	Sample	N	Mean	S.D.	<u>t</u>	D.F.	P
7A	Ball	High School Males Reporting Low Delinquency Involvement	64	84.64	23.83	2.72	149	.01
		High School Females Reporting Low Delinquency Involvement	87	74.21	22.84			
7B	Norris	High School Males Reporting Low Delinquency Involvement	64	2.17	2.02	2.69	149	.01
		High School Females Reporting Low Delinquency Involvement	87	1.10	1.29			

Evaluation of Hypothesis Eight Part A

Hypothesis eight A states: Some people will accept only the moral absolutes ($\approx 14\%$). Table XIX indicates that an average of 30.19% of all students accepted only the moral absolutes according to the pure or ideal type of response pattern. Table XX indicates also that an average of 30.19% of all students accepted only the moral absolutes according to the combined response patterns. Because hypothesis eight A through 11 B are strictly exploratory, they will be considered as substantiated when they jointly meet a nominally relative approximation of percentages as they are compared across categories rather than whether or not they exactly match the percentages suggested in a particular hypothesis. In that respect, the findings substantiate the hypothesis as it is written for "some people".

Evaluation of Hypothesis Eight Part B

Hypothesis eight B states: Among those people who accept only the moral absolutes, there is expected to be little to no violations of the law (delinquency). Apparently, people who accept only the moral absolutes are involved in little delinquency. In fact, since a one on this scale indicates no involvement whatsoever, the score of 1.36 is extremely low. Table XXI indicates that among those people who accept only the moral absolutes as computed by pure theoretical response patterns the delinquency mean was 1.36 (where the range is from one to four). Table XXII indicates that among those people who accept only the moral absolutes as computed by combined theoretical response patterns the delinquency mean was 1.36 again (where the range is from one to four).

TABLE XIX

THE PERCENTAGE OF ACCEPTANCE OF THE VARIABLES ON THE
NORRIS CONTINUUM OF NORM ACCEPTANCE USING
PURE THEORETICAL RESPONSE PATTERNS
FOR THE SAMPLE OF ALL STUDENTS

	Rebellious Absolute 1100	Neutral- ization 0111	Situational Ethic 0011	Moral Absolute 0001	Unclassified Responses
Disobeying Parents	2.28%	3.70%	38.18%	31.91%	23.93%
Speeding	3.13%	9.98%	46.44%	6.84%	33.61%
Driving with- out a license	2.28%	5.41%	22.51%	33.62%	36.18%
Being Drunk	14.53%	6.55%	10.26%	34.47%	34.19%
Being Truant	6.55%	16.81%	51.28%	1.14%	24.22%
Stealing less than \$2.00	1.43%	2.85%	33.05%	45.30%	17.37%
Vandalizing	.29%	2.28%	19.66%	67.24%	10.52%
Assaulting Someone	2.28%	10.83%	41.88%	16.81%	28.20%
Running Away	4.84%	14.53%	50.24%	7.12%	23.37%
Taking By Force	1.43%	12.57%	14.00%	54.29%	17.71%
Stealing an Automobile	.86%	2.57%	52.57%	38.57%	5.43%
Check Forgery	1.14%	10.58%	34.86%	42.00%	11.42%
Killing Someone	1.14%	17.66%	60.68%	13.11%	7.41%
Percentage Range	.29% 14.53%	2.28% 17.66%	10.26% 60.68%	1.14% 67.14%	7.41% 36.18%
Average Percentage	3.24%	8.95%	36.58%	30.19%	21.04%

TABLE XX

THE PERCENTAGE OF ACCEPTANCE OF THE VARIABLES OF THE NORRIS' CONTINUUM OF NORM ACCEPTANCE USING COMBINED THEORETICAL RESPONSE PATTERNS FOR THE SAMPLE OF ALL STUDENTS

	Rebellious Absolute 1000 1010 1100 1110	Neutral- ization 0100 0101 0110 0111	Situational Ethic 0010 0011	Moral Absolute 0001	Unclassified Responses
Disobeying Parents	3.13%	9.69%	46.72%	31.91%	8.55%
Speeding	3.70%	25.36%	61.54%	6.84%	2.56%
Driving with- out a License	2.85%	26.50%	31.34%	33.62%	5.69%
Being Drunk	21.08%	26.21%	13.39%	34.47%	4.85%
Being Truant	7.41%	30.77%	59.83%	1.14%	.85%
Stealing less than \$2.00	3.00%	5.41%	41.31%	45.30%	4.98%
Vandalizing	1.14%	7.41%	20.80%	67.24%	3.41%
Assaulting Someone	2.28%	20.80%	57.27%	16.81%	2.84%
Running Away	6.84%	21.65%	57.55%	7.12%	6.84%
Taking by Force	2.57%	17.43%	18.29%	54.29%	7.42%
Stealing An Automobile	.86%	4.57%	54.29%	38.57%	1.71%
Check Forgery	2.29%	18.00%	36.00%	42.00%	1.71%
Killing Someone	1.14%	21.37%	63.25%	13.11%	1.13%
Percentage Range	.86% 21.08%	4.57% 30.77%	13.39% 63.25%	1.14% 67.24%	.85% 8.55%
Average Percentage	4.48%	18.09%	43.20%	30.19%	4.04%

The findings substantiate the hypothesis, since the delinquency rates reported for this hypothesis are the lowest among all categories.

Evaluation of Hypothesis Nine Part A

Hypothesis nine A states: Almost everyone will accept the moral absolutes plus the situational ethics ($\approx 65\%$). Table XIX indicates that the average percent of all students accepting the moral absolute plus the situational ethic according to the pure or ideal theoretical type of response pattern was 36.58%. Table XX indicates that an average of 43.20% accepted the moral absolute plus the situational ethic. Because these percentages are larger than the category containing only the moral absolute and smaller than the category consisting of the moral absolute plus the situational ethic plus the neutralization, and since the percentage for this hypothesis is the largest among all the categories, the hypothesis is relatively substantiated by the findings for "almost everyone".

Evaluation of Hypothesis Nine Part B

Hypothesis nine B states: Among those people who accept the moral absolutes plus the situational ethics, there is expected to be more violation of the law (delinquency) than is found among those who accept only the moral absolutes. Table XXI indicates that among those people who accept the moral absolutes plus the situational ethics as computed by pure theoretical response patterns the delinquency mean was 1.50. Table XXII indicates that among those people who accept the moral absolutes plus the situational ethics as computed by combined theoretical response patterns the delinquency mean was 1.59. Since both of

these values are larger than the ones reported for the moral absolutes alone, the findings substantiate the hypothesis. Apparently, people who accept both the moral absolute and the situational ethic are involved in more delinquency than are the people who accept only the moral absolute.

Evaluation of Hypothesis Ten Part A

Hypothesis 10 A states: Some people will accept the moral absolutes plus the situational ethics plus the neutralizations ($\approx 13\%$). Table XIX indicates that an average of 8.95% of all students accepted the moral absolute plus the situational ethic plus the neutralization according to the pure type of response pattern. Table XX indicates that an average of 18.09% of all students accept the moral absolute plus the situational ethic plus the neutralization according to the combined theoretical response patterns. These percentages are relatively close to the one estimated in the theoretical framework ($\approx 13\%$), and because both percentages are smaller than those in the category of moral absolute plus situational ethic but larger than the category containing only the rebellious absolute the findings substantiate the hypothesis as phrased for "some people".

Evaluation of Hypothesis Ten Part B

Hypothesis 10 B states: Among those people who accept the moral absolutes plus the situational ethics plus the neutralizations, there is expected to be more violations of the law (delinquency) than is found among those who accept the moral absolutes plus the situational ethics. Table XXI indicates that among those people who accept the

TABLE XXI

THE DELINQUENCY MEAN INVOLVEMENT SCORE FOR THOSE PERSONS
ACCEPTING EACH PURE THEORETICAL RESPONSE PATTERN
FOR THE SAMPLE OF ALL STUDENTS

	Rebellious Absolute	Neutral- ization	Situational Ehic	Moral Absolute
Disobeying Parents	3.50	3.46	2.31	1.99
Driving with- out a License	3.50	2.63	2.22	1.83
Being Drunk	3.69	2.44	1.92	1.40
Being Truant	3.48	2.10	1.60	1.75
Stealing less than \$2.00	2.80	2.20	1.98	1.65
Vandalizing	4.00	2.00	1.41	1.28
Assaulting Someone	2.75	1.13	1.16	1.03
Running Away	2.18	1.26	1.15	1.28
Taking by Force	2.40	1.43	1.29	1.06
Stealing an Automobile	2.67	1.78	1.15	1.11
Check Forgery	2.75	1.05	1.03	1.04
Total Average	3.25	1.73	1.50	1.36

TABLE XXII

THE DELINQUENCY MEAN INVOLVEMENT SCORE FOR THOSE PERSONS
ACCEPTING EACH COMBINED THEORETICAL RESPONSE PATTERN
FOR THE SAMPLE OF ALL STUDENTS

	Rebellious Absolute 1000 1010 1100 1110	Neutral- ization 0100 0101 0110 0111	Situational Ethic 0010 0011	Moral Absolute 0001
Disobeying Parents	3.46	3.32	2.48	1.99
Driving with- out a License	3.40	3.12	2.32	1.83
Being Drunk	3.69	2.72	1.92	1.40
Being Truant	3.35	2.29	1.65	1.75
Stealing less than \$2.00	2.43	2.11	2.10	1.65
Vandalizing	3.75	2.04	1.47	1.28
Assaulting Someone	2.75	1.45	1.29	1.03
Running Away	2.04	1.36	1.19	1.28
Taking by Force	2.11	1.46	1.33	1.06
Stealing an Automobile	2.67	1.75	1.15	1.11
Check Forgery	2.50	1.10	1.02	1.04
Total Average	3.09	2.10	1.59	1.36

moral absolute plus the situational ethic, plus the neutralization as computed by combined theoretical response patterns the delinquency mean was 2.10. Since both of these values are larger than the ones reported for the moral absolute plus the situational ethic, the findings substantiate the hypothesis. Apparently, people who accept the moral absolute plus the situational ethic plus the neutralization are involved in more delinquency than are the people who accept only the moral absolutes or the people who accept the moral absolute plus the situational ethic.

Evaluation of Hypothesis Eleven Part A

Hypothesis 11 A states: Extremely few people will accept the rebellious absolutes ($\approx 3\%$). Table XIX indicates that an average of 3.24% of all students accepted the rebellious absolute only according to the pure type of response pattern. Table XX indicates that an average of 4.48% of all students accept the rebellious absolute only according to the combined theoretical response patterns. These percentages are relatively close to the one estimated in the theoretical model ($\approx 3\%$), and because both percentages are the smallest among all the categories the findings substantiate the hypothesis as it is phrased for "extremely few people".

Evaluation of Hypothesis Eleven Part B

Hypothesis 11 B states: Among those people who accept the rebellious absolutes, there will be the most violations of the law (delinquency). Table XXI indicates that among those people who accept the rebellious absolutes as computed by the pure theoretical response

patterns the delinquency mean was 3.25. Table XXII indicates that among those people who accept the rebellious absolutes as computed by combined theoretical response patterns, the delinquency mean was 3.09. Since these means are the largest ones among all categories, the findings substantiate the hypothesis. Apparently, the most delinquent persons in this study are those who accept the rebellious absolutes. Their high delinquency is very apparent when one notes that the range of this delinquency scale is only from one to four. Table XXIII provides a summary comparison of the data for the preceding hypotheses.

Chapter VII presents a discussion of the hypotheses and a conclusion which includes additional commentary about the significance of each hypothesis. Chapter VII also offers the reader a list of recommendations for future studies on both neutralization theory and its placement on a continuum of norm acceptance.

TABLE XXIII

SUMMARY TABLE OF THE COMPARISONS OF THE PERCENTAGES AND
MEANS DISCUSSED IN HYPOTHESES EIGHT PART A
THROUGH ELEVEN PART B FOR THE
SAMPLE OF ALL STUDENTS

	Rebellious Absolute	Neutral- ization	Situational Ethic	Moral Absolute
Estimated Model Percentage	3.00%	13.00%	65.00%	14.00%
Actual Combined Percentage	4.48%	18.09%	43.20%	30.19%
Actual Pure Percentage	3.24%	8.95%	36.58%	30.19%
Actual Combined Mean	3.09	2.10	1.59	1.36
Actual Pure Mean	3.25	1.73	1.50	1.36

CHAPTER VII

DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter attempts to bring closure to the hypotheses presented and discussed in this study as well as to conclude to what degree the objectives of this study have been met. Then, based upon the conclusions, several recommendations for further study will be made concerning both the weaknesses of this study and areas that were left unresearched by this study.

Discussion of the Hypotheses

Hypothesis one, which states there will be a significant difference between the neutralization scores of high school boys and institutionalized boys, had a significance level of .001 on Ball's inventory and a significance level of .08 on Norris' inventory for neutralization. Why? Well, since the samples were identical for both measurements and because both measurements were made at the same time with all of the circumstances held constant, the answer of why they produced different levels of significance lies within the measuring instruments. But the fact remains that with only one other exception, hypothesis three, the two instruments rendered almost identical results as to their levels of significance. Therefore, in attempting to explain these differences of significance levels, hypothesis three should also be considered at this time. Hypothesis three, which states

there will be a significant difference between the neutralization scores of institutionalized boys self-reporting many violations of the law and institutionalized boys self-reporting few violations of the law, had a significance level of .35 on Ball's inventory and a significance level of .01 on Norris' inventory. Do hypotheses one and three have anything in common which does not appear in any of the other hypotheses? The answer is yes. Both hypotheses deal with the sample of institutionalized males, and none of the other hypotheses do. Seemingly then, the answer to why the two inventories have rendered different levels of significance must have something to do with (1) the way in which the institutionalized males responded to the measurements or (2) the appropriateness of the items on each inventory for that particular sample of persons. Why would the institutionalized males respond differently from the high school males? There are eight apparent differences between the two samples. One, they are different ages. The institutionalized males average 14 years of age, and the high school males averaged 17 years. Two, the racial composition was slightly different. Over one-third of the institutionalized males were black; whereas, 90% of the high school males were white. Three, the range for the year of school for the institutionalized males was from the seventh grade to the 12th grade, and for the high school males the range was from the ninth grade to the 12th grade. Four, only 37.50% of the institutionalized males lived with both parents when they were at home as opposed to 73.64% of the high school males who lived with both of their parents. Five, there were fewer (48) institutionalized males than there were high school males (129), so the institutionalized sample would be more subject to bias introduced by a few

extreme scores. Six, nearly 60% of the institutionalized males could be classified as belonging to the lower socioeconomic class, but among the high school males just over 30% could be classified in that manner. Seven, the institutionalized males had been expelled more often, had more contacts with the police, knew more delinquent people, and were from larger cities than were the high school males. All of these factors plus the obvious difference of being institutionalized apart from family, close friends, and the opposite sex might have influenced the institutionalized boys' interests, perceptions, values, cooperativeness, etc. Thus, any of those uncontrolled factors could possibly account for the differing levels of significance, between the Norris and Ball neutralization inventories. For example, due to different values between the two samples of boys, the items on one scale might be more appropriate for one group than for the other, or the items in one scale might be appropriate for only one sample and not at all for the other, whereas the items on the second scale might be appropriate for both groups. The Norris neutralization inventory contained a larger variety of types of offenses (13) than did Ball's inventory (four). The range of severity was much wider for the Norris inventory. However, the Norris inventory presented only one neutralization for each behavior. Ball's inventory presented 10 neutralizations for each behavior. The Norris neutralization items were mixed among items for rebellious absolutes, situational ethics, and moral absolutes. Ball's items were placed one after another. Therefore, an acquiescent response pattern could be established more easily for the Ball's inventory which could result in an "all or nothing" type answer that might account for the difference in significance levels. Simple scanning of the

opinionnaires seems to confirm a greater number of acquiescent response patterns on Ball's inventory, and since Ball's inventory allowed 10 neutralizations per behavior the mean scores would be very biased by persons who did not give careful consideration to each item. Another possibility is that the behaviors cited in Ball's inventory are prejudicially more characteristic of an institutionalized population of males whereas the Norris inventory cites behaviors that are more characteristic of a general population. (See Tables XXIII and XXIV.) These tables present a rank ordering of the means for each sample in order to examine the logic of any hierarchy which might be formed among the samples. Notice in Table XXIII that Ball's neutralization inventory means rank highest (1) institutionalized males reporting high delinquency involvement followed by (2) all institutionalized males then, (3) institutionalized males reporting low delinquency involvement, (4) high school males reporting high delinquency involvement, (5) all high school males, and (6) high school males reporting low delinquency involvement. On the other hand (See Table XXV), the Norris neutralization has the following rank order relations: (1) institutionalized males reporting high delinquency involvement, (2) high school males reporting high delinquency involvement, (3) all institutionalized males, (4) all high school males, (5) institutionalized males reporting low delinquency involvement, and (6) high school males reporting low delinquency involvement. The rankings of the Ball inventory are more logical than the rankings of the Norris inventory if the assumption is made that all institutionalized youth are more delinquent than are all noninstitutionalized youth. However, that assumption is not correct. For example, included among the institutionalized males

in this study are youths who have been institutionalized because their parents will not or cannot take care of them. Those persons are not delinquent, but they are institutionalized. Also, according to the current research literature as well as the self-reported delinquency scores of the high school sample in this study, there are some noninstitutionalized youths who are very much involved in delinquent behavior. With those facts in mind, the Norris arrangement of sampling groups seems more logical. Nevertheless, the important point here is that the two scales are measuring in a somewhat biased manner where the institutionalized males are involved, and that in general probably accounts for the differing levels of significance. But until more research is conducted, the specific reason cannot be determined.

Since hypotheses two, four, five, six, and seven were confirmed as expected by the findings, a discussion of them will be presented only in the next section entitled "Conclusions".

Hypotheses eight through 11 were also confirmed, but because the Part A percentages were not as close as this researcher had approximated, some additional comment seems necessary.

Hypothesis eight A stated: Some people will accept only the moral absolutes ($\approx 14\%$). The results were that 30.19% of all students on the average across situations accepted only the moral absolutes. What can be said except that one's projection is only as good as the data which one has available. In this case, the Cavan and Ferdinand continuum was used. But in fairness to them, they stated in their discussion that the extreme goodness end of their continuum had not been researched and that their curve for that end was highly speculative. Such findings are excellent when one remembers that the essence of research is to

TABLE XXIV
SUMMARY OF BALL'S NEUTRALIZATION MEAN SCORES
FOR ALL SAMPLES

Sample	Percent of Total Neutralizations	Mean Neutralization Score
Institutionalized Males Reporting High Delinquency Involvement	57.94%	115.88
All Institutionalized Males	56.30%	112.60
Institutionalized Males Reporting Low Delinquency Involvement	54.52%	109.04
All Males Reporting High Delinquency Involvement	53.00%	106.00
High School Males Reporting High Delinquency Involvement	48.50%	96.99
All High School Males	45.43%	90.86
All Males Reporting Low Delinquency Involvement	43.81%	87.62
High School Males Reporting Low Delinquency Involvement	42.32%	84.64
High School Females Reporting High Delinquency Involvement	41.52%	83.04
High School Females Reporting Low Delinquency Involvement	37.11%	74.21
Possible Range	0 - 200	

TABLE XXV
 SUMMARY OF NORRIS' NEUTRALIZATION MEAN SCORES
 FOR ALL SAMPLES

Sample	Percent of Total Neutralizations	Mean Neutralization Score
Institutionalized Males Reporting High Delinquency Involvement	42.46%	5.52
All Males Reporting High Delinquency Involvement	36.92%	4.80
High School Males Reporting High Delinquency Involvement	36.31%	4.72
All Institutionalized Males	33.69%	4.38
All High School Males	26.62%	3.46
Institutionalized Males Reporting Low Delinquency Involvement	24.08%	3.13
High School Females Reporting High Delinquency Involvement	24.00%	3.12
All Males Reporting Low Delinquency Involvement	20.23%	2.63
High School Males Reporting Low Delinquency Involvement	16.69%	2.17
High School Females Reporting Low Delinquency Involvement	8.46%	1.10
Possible Range		0 - 13

discover the unknown rather than the known. Another point to keep in mind is that a mail questionnaire is acknowledgedly biased toward the moral absolute position since those people who conform the most are the people who are also most likely to return their questionnaire. The return rate for this study was 65%. As the sample approaches 100%, the percentage of people in the moral absolute position should decline.

One last comment needs to be made concerning Tables XXI and XXII. All the behaviors except one progressed in frequency in rather acceptable intervals as one moved across categories from the moral absolute to the rebellious absolute except one. Check forgery did not scale well with the other self-reported delinquency items and its mean scores increased only slightly across categories until the rebellious absolute position. The reason seems simple. Among the sample, all students, extremely few people had ever forged a check. Almost all of those who had were in the rebellious category.

Table XXV illustrates additional information in a summary form concerning the acceptance of each category in the Norris continuum of norm acceptable for the four main samples of this research project. Table XXVI illustrates additional information concerning the mean delinquency score across each category of the Norris continuum of norm acceptance for the four main samples of this study.

TABLE XXVI

THE PERCENTAGE OF ACCEPTANCE OF THE VARIABLES OF THE NORRIS' CONTINUUM OF NORM ACCEPTANCE USING COMBINED THEORETICAL RESPONSE PATTERNS FOR EACH OF THE MAJOR SAMPLES USED IN THIS STUDY

	Rebellious Absolute 1000 1010 1100 1110	Neutral- ization 0100 0101 0110 0111	Situational Ethic 0010 0011	Moral Absolute 0001	Unclassified Responses
All Students	4.48%	18.09%	43.20%	30.19%	4.04%
Institutional- ized Males	9.34%	23.81%	40.08%	19.69%	7.07%
High School Males	4.00%	22.30%	44.63%	24.69%	4.39%
High School Females	2.59%	13.02%	43.24%	37.96%	3.19%

TABLE XXVII

THE DELINQUENCY MEAN INVOLVEMENT SCORE FOR THOSE PERSONS
ACCEPTING EACH COMBINED THEORETICAL RESPONSE
PATTERN FOR EACH OF THE MAJOR SAMPLES
USED IN THIS STUDY

	Rebellious Absolute	Neutral- ization	Situational Ethic	Moral Absolute
	1000	0100	0010	0001
	1010	0101	0011	
	1100	0110		
	1110	0111		
All Students	3.09	2.10	1.59	1.36
Institutional- ized Males	3.13	2.51	2.18	1.74
High School Males	2.92	2.02	1.61	1.44
High School Females	3.41	1.98	1.43	1.27
Range Possible	1 - 4	1 - 4	1 - 4	1 - 4

The Conclusions

A measure of neutralization which appeared to meet the standards of reliability and validity for an initial test was developed which includes personal and property offenses ranging from minor to serious which apply to both males and females. This measure is a significant improvement over previous measures of neutralization because (1) it widened the variety of delinquent behaviors tested, (2) it measures neutralization in a significant way for females and middle class youth,

(3) it distinguishes significantly between institutionalized youth who report many violations of the law and those institutionalized youth who report few violations of the law, and (4) it expanded the meaning and measurement of the concepts held with neutralization theory such as rebellious absolutes and the variance in the acceptance of society's norms.

The findings of this study lead to the conclusion that both male and female delinquents do indeed accept a significantly greater number of neutralizations for delinquent behavior than do nondelinquents; although, boys at every level of delinquent involvement accept a significantly greater number of neutralizations than the girls do. Furthermore, neutralizations can distinguish between delinquents who are very delinquent and those who are only mildly delinquent. Therefore, the conclusion may be reached that as one's delinquency rate increases or decreases so does the number of neutralizations that one would accept for delinquent behavior. If that conclusion is correct, neutralization measurement might be used to predict the likelihood of a person to become delinquent in the near future or even what that person's chances are of being involved in less delinquency in the immediate future. Because delinquency and neutralization are so strongly correlated, an approach such as Kohlberg's moral development principles possibly could be able to lessen one's neutralizations and thus his delinquency.

Perhaps the most important conclusion that may be reached from this research is that most all of the people who are classified as neutralizers accept the norms of the dominant society as reflected in the dominant society as reflected in the categories of the situational

ethics and the moral absolutes which indicates that one of the major assumptions of Matza's neutralization theory was supported. The findings also indicate that while most people accept absolute norms, they do not abide by them in a strict fashion; rather, they extend them to wider zones which allow exceptions to the rules based upon particular situations. However, the findings also indicate that there does exist a small percentage of people who are in rebellion against the norms of society, and the existence of that group gives support to the type of contraculcure described by Cohen. Thus, the Norris norm continuum provides evidence that both subcultural theory and neutralization theory exist among some people, and that one does not necessarily cancel out the possibility of the other's existence.

Furthermore, delinquency involvement is reflected by the Norris continuum of norm acceptance. As one moves across categories from the moral absolute position to the rebellious absolute position, one's delinquency involvement also increases. Therefore, one might conceive that there exists a process of delinquency involvement in which some "temporary delinquents" neutralize their way into delinquency as described by David Matza in his theory of "drift". Most of these "temporary delinquents" eventually mature socially and learn to operate within the acceptable areas of situational ethics and moral absolutes. Other neutralizers, who make up a small part of that category, do not learn what is socially acceptable. Rather, they become even more involved in learning and internalizing attitudes, rationalizations, and techniques of committing crimes as described in Sutherland's theory of differential association. Eventually, these delinquents become the "hard core" delinquents who occupy the category of rebellious

absolutes. These "hard core" delinquents are the ones who are most likely to continue into a lifetime career of crime where they continue to offer excuses for their deviant behavior, but with the difference now that they realize they are acting against the norms of the dominant society. These are the type of delinquents described by Cohen and categorized in this study as rebellious absolutes.

Recommendations

The following recommendations are made for future studies concerning neutralization theory and norm acceptance.

The first recommendation is that a longitudinal study following the changes of one's involvement with delinquency and one's acceptance of neutralizations within a norm continuum be made. Such a study should begin with a group of 12 year old youths and continue for five years.

The second recommendation is that any future study of neutralization theory should investigate the relationship between neutralization theory and the following demographic variables: age, year in school, social class, race, and parental custody.

The third recommendation is that a larger institutional sample size be employed, and that the samples should be chosen by a random method if the circumstances permit.

The fourth recommendation is that within the context of a longitudinal study the question of whether neutralizations are accepted before the commission of delinquent acts or after their commission should be answered.

The fifth recommendation is that future researchers should check for correlation between the specific techniques of neutralization and the specific delinquent behavior.

The sixth recommendation is that future researchers test adult criminals to see if they neutralize their criminal behavior.

Many other possibilities for research exist. It is hoped that this research has contributed to the general understanding of neutralization theory, and that in some way it will stimulate other research in this area.

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APPENDIX A

OPINIONNAIRE

Part I

Your responses to all items in this questionnaire will be kept ANONYMOUS. In order to guarantee that your responses will remain ANONYMOUS, PLEASE DO NOT SIGN YOUR NAME OR PUT ANY KIND OF IDENTIFYING MARKS ANYWHERE ON THIS QUESTIONNAIRE.

INSTRUCTIONS: Underneath each question you will find a choice of answers. Please place a check mark in the space provided and check only one answer following each colon (:).

-
1. Sex
 1. Male
 2. Female
2. Age:
 1. (Write your age)
3. Race
 1. Black
 2. Chicano
 3. Indian
 4. White
 5. Other
4. Year in school:
 1. Freshman
 2. Sophomore
 3. Junior
 4. Senior
 5. Other
5. Size of hometown:
 1. 600,001 to 1,000,000
 2. 100,001 to 600,000
 3. 50,001 to 100,000
 4. 25,001 to 50,000
 5. 10,001 to 25,000
 6. 2,501 to 10,000
 7. 1,001 to 2,500
 8. less than 1,000
 9. I live on a farm or ranch
6. For most of my life I was brought up by:
 1. Both my mother and father
 2. Only my mother (separated or divorced from my father)
 3. Only my mother (father is deceased)
 4. My mother and stepfather
 5. Only my father (separated or divorced from my mother)
 6. Only my father (mother is deceased)
 7. My father and stepmother
 8. Other
7. How many brothers and sisters do you have?
 1. Younger brothers: 0 1 2 3 4 or more
 2. Older brothers: 0 1 2 3 4 or more
 3. Younger sisters: 0 1 2 3 4 or more
 4. Older sisters: 0 1 2 3 4 or more
8. Which of the following categories comes closest to your father's occupation? If your father is retired, deceased, or unemployed, indicate his former or customary occupation. Mark only one of the following:
 1. unskilled worker, laborer, farm worker
 2. semiskilled worker (machine operator)
 3. service worker (policeman, fireman, barber, etc.)

4. ___ skilled worker or craftsman (carpenter, plumber, electrician, etc.)
5. ___ salesman, bookkeeper, secretary, office worker
6. ___ owner, manager, partner of a small business or small farm; lower level governmental official, military commissioned officer.
7. ___ professional requiring a bachelor's degree (engineer, elementary or secondary school teacher).
8. ___ professional requiring an advanced college degree (doctor, lawyer, college professor, etc.)
9. My religious preference is:
1. ___ Catholic
 2. ___ Jewish
 3. ___ Protestant
 4. ___ None
 5. ___ Other
10. I attend church services:
1. ___ never
 2. ___ a few times a year
 3. ___ about once a month
 4. ___ several times a month
 5. ___ every week
 6. ___ several times a week
11. How many times during junior high school and high school have you and your family moved to a different city or geographical area? ___
12. How many of your close friends have been recently (within the last year) picked up by the police?
1. ___ none
 2. ___ one or two
 3. ___ three or four
 4. ___ five or more
13. Please check the item which describes your closest relations with formal law authorities. (Do not consider traffic violations.)
1. ___ I have never been involved with law enforcement authorities.
 2. ___ I have been questioned by the police, but never taken into custody.
 3. ___ I have been taken into custody by the police. How many times? ___
 4. ___ Although I have never had a hearing in juvenile court, I have been placed under supervision of a guardian or probation. How many times? ___
 5. ___ I have had a hearing in juvenile court. How many hearings have you had? ___
 6. ___ The juvenile court has placed me under supervision of a guardian or other authority. How many times? ___
 7. ___ I have been committed to an institution. How many times? ___
14. Have you ever been expelled from school?
1. ___ never
 2. ___ once or twice
 3. ___ three or four times
 4. ___ five or more times

Part II

Recent research has found that everyone breaks some rules and regulations during their lifetime. Some break them regularly, others less often. Below are some frequently broken rules.

HAVE YOU:

1. Ever severely "beat up" or assaulted someone?

1. <input type="checkbox"/> Never	3. <input type="checkbox"/> 3 or 4 times
2. <input type="checkbox"/> Once or twice	4. <input type="checkbox"/> 5 or more times

2. Ever driven a car without a driver's license or permit (do not include drivers training)?

1. <input type="checkbox"/> Never	3. <input type="checkbox"/> 3 or 4 times
2. <input type="checkbox"/> Once or twice	4. <input type="checkbox"/> 5 or more times

3. Ever been truant from school?

1. <input type="checkbox"/> Never	3. <input type="checkbox"/> 3 or 4 times
2. <input type="checkbox"/> Once or twice	4. <input type="checkbox"/> 5 or more times

4. Ever ran away from home?

1. <input type="checkbox"/> Never	3. <input type="checkbox"/> 3 or 4 times
2. <input type="checkbox"/> Once or twice	4. <input type="checkbox"/> 5 or more times

5. Ever disobeyed your parent's authority (For example: Sneaking off when you were told to stay home)?

1. <input type="checkbox"/> Never	3. <input type="checkbox"/> 3 or 4 times
2. <input type="checkbox"/> Once or twice	4. <input type="checkbox"/> 5 or more times

6. Ever been drunk on beer, wine, or liquor?

1. <input type="checkbox"/> Never	3. <input type="checkbox"/> 3 or 4 times
2. <input type="checkbox"/> Once or twice	4. <input type="checkbox"/> 5 or more times

7. Ever seriously damaged property that did not belong to you?

1. <input type="checkbox"/> Never	3. <input type="checkbox"/> 3 or 4 times
2. <input type="checkbox"/> Once or twice	4. <input type="checkbox"/> 5 or more times

8. Ever taken things (worth less than \$2.00) that did not belong to you?

1. <input type="checkbox"/> Never	3. <input type="checkbox"/> 3 or 4 times
2. <input type="checkbox"/> Once or twice	4. <input type="checkbox"/> 5 or more times

9. Ever taken things (worth \$20.00 or more) that did not belong to you (do not include automobiles)?

1. <input type="checkbox"/> Never	3. <input type="checkbox"/> 3 or 4 times
2. <input type="checkbox"/> Once or twice	4. <input type="checkbox"/> 5 or more times

10. Ever taken a car without the owner's permission (other than your parents' or parents' of a friend)?

1. <input type="checkbox"/> Never	3. <input type="checkbox"/> 3 or 4 times
2. <input type="checkbox"/> Once or twice	4. <input type="checkbox"/> 5 or more times

11. Ever used force (strong arm methods) to take something that did not belong to you away from another person?
- | | |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. <u> </u> Never | 3. <u> </u> 3 or 4 times |
| 2. <u> </u> Once or twice | 4. <u> </u> 5 or more times |
12. Ever forged a check?
- | | |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. <u> </u> Never | 3. <u> </u> 3 or 4 times |
| 2. <u> </u> Once or twice | 4. <u> </u> 5 or more times |

Part III

Directions: Please circle yes or no for each of the following items.

- Yes No 1. I believe it is wrong to murder a human being.
- Yes No 2. I believe it is O.K. to kill someone in order to stop him from killing me.
- Yes No 3. I believe it is O.K. to kill someone if he has murdered someone in my family.
- Yes No 4. I believe it is right to murder someone that I hate.
- Yes No 5. I believe it is wrong to "beat up" someone.
- Yes No 6. I believe it is O.K. to fight back if someone hits me first with his fist.
- Yes No 7. I believe it is O.K. to fight if someone calls me a dirty name.
- Yes No 8. I believe it is right to "beat up" someone whenever I feel like fighting.
- Yes No 9. I believe it is wrong to drive a car without a driver's license.
- Yes No 10. I believe it is O.K. to drive a car without a driver's license for a few days until I can get my old driver's license renewed.
- Yes No 11. I believe it is O.K. to drive a car without a driver's license anytime if I obey all traffic regulations.
- Yes No 12. I believe it is right to drive a car without a driver's license no matter how fast I go or what laws I break.
- Yes No 13. I believe it wrong to be truant from school.
- Yes No 14. I believe it is O.K. to be absent from school if I am sick.

- Yes No 15. I believe it is O.K. to miss school on some occasions if I have something else I would rather do.
- Yes No 16. I believe it is right to skip school anytime I do not want to go--no matter how often that is.
- Yes No 17. I believe it is wrong to run away from home.
- Yes No 18. I believe it is O.K. to seek safety by leaving home if my parents beat me.
- Yes No 19. I believe it is O.K. to leave home temporarily if I am mad at my parents.
- Yes No 20. I believe it is right to run away from home in order to travel and see some new places.
- Yes No 21. I believe it is wrong to disobey my parents' authority.
- Yes No 22. I believe it is O.K. to disobey my parents' curfew by staying out a little late on a special occasion such as homecoming.
- Yes No 23. I believe it is O.K. to disobey my parents' authority by sneaking off whenever I have been grounded.
- Yes No 24. I believe it is right to regularly disobey my parents' authority.
- Yes No 25. I believe it is wrong to exceed the posted speed limit.
- Yes No 26. I believe it is O.K. to drive past the speed limit if I am taking someone to the emergency room.
- Yes No 27. I believe it is O.K. to drive faster than the speed limit if the posted speed limit is too slow for the time of day I am driving.
- Yes No 28. I believe it is right to regularly drive as fast as I can.
- Yes No 29. I believe it is wrong for me to get drunk.
- Yes No 30. I believe it is O.K. for me to get drunk once at home to see what it is like.
- Yes No 31. I believe it is O.K. for me to get drunk sometimes with friends.
- Yes No 32. I believe it is right for me to get drunk whenever I have the opportunity and feel like it.
- Yes No 33. I believe it is wrong to damage other people's property.

- Yes No 34. I believe it is O.K. to paint our school mascot on an opponent's school sidewalk.
- Yes No 35. I believe it is O.K. to cut the tires of a teacher's car who has insulted me in class.
- Yes No 36. I believe it is right to damage other people's property whenever there is a good opportunity.
- Yes No 37. I believe it is wrong to take anything which does not belong to me.
- Yes No 38. I believe it is O.K. to eat a grape or two in a supermarket in order to decide how they taste before I buy a bunch.
- Yes No 39. I believe it is O.K. to take a bite of an apple in a supermarket if I might buy it.
- Yes No 40. I believe it is right to eat as much produce as I wish when I am in a supermarket even though I do not plan to pay for any of it.
- Yes No 41. I believe it is wrong to steal someone's car.
- Yes No 42. I believe it is O.K. to take someone's car without their permission if I need to take a friend to the hospital immediately, and I plan to return the car to its owner later.
- Yes No 43. I believe it is O.K. to take someone's car without their permission if I want to go for a ride and I plan to return their car later.
- Yes No 44. I believe it is right to steal someone's car anytime I have the opportunity and feel like it.
- Yes No 45. I believe it is wrong to use force (strong arm methods) to steal something from someone.
- Yes No 46. I believe it is O.K. to use force (strong arm methods) to take back something which was borrowed from me by a neighbor if he fails to return it when asked.
- Yes No 47. I believe it is O.K. to use force (strong arm methods) to take money plus interest from someone who has borrowed money from me but not repaid it.
- Yes No 48. I believe it is right to use force (strong arm methods) to steal something from another person whenever I feel like it.
- Yes No 49. I believe it is wrong to forge a check.

- Yes No 50. I believe it is O.K. to write a check for more money than I currently have in my checking account if I intend to make a deposit before my check has time to be returned to the bank.
- Yes No 51. I believe it is O.K. to write a check for more money than I currently have in my checking account if my family needs the money.
- Yes No 52. I believe it is right to forge a check anytime I want some extra entertainment money.

Part IV

HOW I FEEL ABOUT BREAKING THE LAW

People are very different in the way they feel about teen-agers who break the law. One purpose of this survey is to find out how different groups do feel. Your own opinions are important.

The following page has four different situations for a sixteen year-old boy named Jack. In each situation he has done something against the law. Each situation explains what happened and tells how somebody feels about it.

Read each situation carefully. Read what the people mentioned say about it. Decide how you feel about it. Then go to the statement below. Circle SA if you Strongly Agree with the statement and circle A if you Agree. If you are Undecided, circle U. Circle D if you Disagree, and circle SD if you Strongly Disagree with the statement.

REMEMBER! This is not a test. There are no right or wrong answers. We would like your own real opinion.

SITUATION #1

Jack gets a club and goes with his friends to look for another group of boys. They find them in a park, and a fight starts. During the fight Jack hits another boy with the club, and almost kills him.

- SA A U D SD 1. People should not blame Jack this time if he was trying to protect himself.
- SA A U D SD 2. People should not blame Jack this time if the other boys were trying to take over his part of town.
- SA A U D SD 3. People should not blame Jack this time if he just "went crazy" with anger for a second.
- SA A U D SD 4. People should not blame Jack this time if he had been drinking.

- SA A U D SD 5. People should not blame Jack this time if he was swinging the club just to scare the boy.
- SA A U D SD 6. People should not blame Jack this time if all the boys were using clubs.
- SA A U D SD 7. People should not blame Jack this time if the other boy had been trying to hit him.
- SA A U D SD 8. People should not blame Jack this time if the other boy had once made him look like a coward.
- SA A U D SD 9. People should not blame Jack this time if the boy was an outsider who came to cause trouble.
- SA A U D SD 10. People should not blame Jack this time if the other boy was beating one of Jack's friends.

REMEMBER! Circle the answer at the left which best fits the way you feel about each excuse.

SA - Strongly Agree
A - Agree
U - Undecided

D - Disagree
SD - Strongly Disagree

SITUATION #2

While loafing around in a store, Jack takes some things without paying for them.

- SA A U D SD 11. People should not blame Jack if this was the normal thing to do where Jack lived.
- SA A U D SD 12. People should not blame Jack if the owner had fired his father without any reason.
- SA A U D SD 13. People should not blame Jack if the store has more of the things than it can ever sell.
- SA A U D SD 14. People should not blame Jack if the owner is rich and won't miss it.
- SA A U D SD 15. People should not blame Jack if the things were old and could not be sold anyway.
- SA A U D SD 16. People should not blame Jack if everybody knows the owner sells things that are against the law.
- SA A U D SD 17. People should not blame Jack if the owner himself had stolen a lot of money and left town.
- SA A U D SD 18. People should not blame Jack if he was getting even with the owner for cheating him.

- SA A U D SD 19. People should not blame Jack if everyone knows that the owner is very crooked.
- SA A U D SD 20. People should not blame Jack if the owner cheats poor people out of everything.

SITUATION #3

Jack stops a man on a dark street one night when nobody else is around. He pulls a knife and makes the man hand over his money.

- SA A U D SD 21. People should not blame Jack if the man had stolen money from Jack.
- SA A U D SD 22. People should not blame Jack if the man is a big crook himself.
- SA A U D SD 23. People should not blame Jack if the man had dared anybody to try to rob him.
- SA A U D SD 24. People should not blame Jack if the man had got this money by cheating poor people.
- SA A U D SD 25. People should not blame Jack if he had to prove to his friends he could do it.
- SA A U D SD 26. People should not blame Jack if all the boys had promised to try it.
- SA A U D SD 27. People should not blame Jack if someone said he was too afraid to try it.
- SA A U D SD 28. People should not blame Jack if he did it to prove his courage to everybody.
- SA A U D SD 29. People should not blame Jack if his mother needed some money bad.
- SA A U D SD 30. People should not blame Jack if he was doing it just to help a friend.

REMEMBER! Circle the answer at the left which best fits the way you feel about each excuse.

SA - Strongly Agree, A - Agree, U - Undecided, D - Disagree, and SD -- Strongly Disagree.

SITUATION #4

Jack goes along with his gang. All the boys carry knives and guns. They attack another gang, and Jack shoots a boy. The boy is badly hurt, but he lives.

- SA A U D SD 31. People should not blame Jack if the other gang had been getting ready to attack.
- SA A U D SD 32. People should not blame Jack if the other gang had asked for the fight.
- SA A U D SD 33. People should not blame Jack if the other boy jumped him.
- SA A U D SD 34. People should not blame Jack if the other boy said he would kill him.
- SA A U D SD 35. People should not blame Jack if the other boy was trying to shoot him.
- SA A U D SD 36. People should not blame Jack if the other boy came at him with a knife.
- SA A U D SD 37. People should not blame Jack if the other boy was always looking for trouble.
- SA A U D SD 38. People should not blame Jack if he was only trying to prove he was a man.
- SA A U D SD 39. People should not blame Jack if he had to go along to show he was a real friend.
- SA A U D SD 40. People should not blame Jack if it was either fight or leave his friends along.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR

COOPERATION

APPENDIX B

LETTER TO SUPERINTENDENTS

Date

John Doe, Director
Public Institution
Average, U.S.A.

Dear Mr. Doe,

First of all, I would like to thank you for talking with me on the telephone Thursday and for considering my questionnaire. I am sending you a copy of the questionnaire, an approval form from the Human Subjects Committee, and a very brief explanation of my research theory. If you wish, I can also have letters of reference and introduction sent to you from the university and from my department head stating the importance of this research and assuring you that this will be conducted in a professional manner.

I need as many boys and girls as you have available who are on the 7th grade level and above to answer the questionnaire (for my Ph.D. dissertation). Every subject, as well as your school and state, will remain anonymous. Also, participation for individual subjects will be voluntary.

The questionnaire in its present form can be administered by your personnel or mine in about 45 minutes or less (One group of boys at a training school in Arkansas completed the questionnaire in 25 minutes.) If that length of time is too much, it can be shortened to a maximum of 15 minutes. Also, I hope that you will feel free to suggest the deleting of any question or part of the questionnaire that you consider potentially problematic.

My research is concerned with the correlation between the attitudes of juveniles and their actual behavior. Basically, I feel that in many cases juvenile delinquents have unknowingly stretched acceptable exceptions to our laws and norms past the point of acceptability. For example, predominantly people agree that it is wrong to fight. But even our written laws recognizes and gives acceptance to fighting back if one is attacked. However, the typical juvenile delinquent stretches the concept of attack to include a verbal attack as a reason to fight, and then this action is unacceptable. It is this thought process and its relation to our normative behavior which is being investigated. (See parts III and IV of the questionnaire.) If in fact my theory is true, then, delinquency may be prevented by education or treated after the fact by reality therapy or by moral development therapy. All of these would be more economical in terms of monies, personnel, and human productivity of good citizens for the future than is our present system for the handling of juvenile delinquents.

John Doe
Date
Page 2

Since I am using three basic definitions of delinquency, and since I am trying to obtain data from several levels of legal involvement, I am not concerned with any "official label" for any of your residents.

I am looking forward to hearing from you. If you have any questions, I shall be glad to answer them by telephone, in writing, or in person. The university number is (405) 372-6211 and my extension is 6274, or after 5:00 p.m. you may call me collect at my home (405) 377-7182.

Sincerely,

Terry D. Norris

Enclosures

APPENDIX C

LETTER TO STUDENTS

Date

Dear Student:

We are conducting this research to find out what high school students think and feel about a number of social questions.

As researchers we are often told by officials what you think and feel. To correct this situation, we would like you to tell us what your opinion is.

This opinionnaire is completely confidential. It is impossible for us to know who answered which opinionnaire. It will take only about 30 minutes to complete. Please read and answer every question according to your own personal, honest viewpoint.

You will find enclosed a postage paid, self-addressed envelope in which to return your opinionnaire.

Thank you for your cooperation. It is important that young people express their opinion.

Sincerely,

Terry D. Norris

VITA

Terry D. Norris

Candidate for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Thesis: AN EMPIRICAL EVALUATION OF NEUTRALIZATION THEORY AND ITS
RELATION TO SELF-REPORTED JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

Major Field: Sociology

Biographical:

Personal Data: Son of Mr. and Mrs. Hardy H. Norris, Mesquite,
Texas, born in Jacksonville, North Carolina, on January 11,
1949.

Education: Graduated from Mesquite High School, Mesquite, Texas,
in May, 1967; received Bachelor of Science degree in
Psychology from East Texas State University in 1971; received
Master of Science degree in Sociology from East Texas State
University in 1972; completed requirements for the Doctor of
Philosophy degree at Oklahoma State University in December,
1976.

Professional Experience: Graduate Associate in Department of
Sociology, Oklahoma State University, 1972-1976.