Hypermasculinidad, delinquency and adolescent males

Emily A. Meneses
ABSTRACT

Hypermasculinity, delinquency and or criminality, mental health disorders and race was studied to see if there was a positive or negative correlation between hypermasculinity and delinquency. This study used two instruments, the Male Roles Norms Inventory (MRNI) and the Self Report Delinquency scale (SRD) to measure hypermasculinity and adolescent delinquency. If the correlation was positive this study looked to see what if any affect mental health disorders and race had. The study found that there was no correlation therefore seeing if the correlation varied by race or having a mental health disorder was not done.
HYPERMASCUILITY, DELINQUENCY AND ADOLESCENT MALES

A project based upon an independent investigation,
submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Social Work.

Emily A. Meneses
Smith College School for Social Work
Northampton, Massachusetts 01063
2013
This thesis could not have been accomplished without the assistance of many people whose contributions are gratefully acknowledged.

I wish to thank Dr. David Burton for his time, data and commitment to the population; my research advisor, Dr. Jean LaTerz, for her time, and for her kindness and understanding throughout this process; and Roberto for his ever-present support and encouragement.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS ...................................................................................................................... ii
TABLE OF CONTENTS ...................................................................................................................... iii
LIST OF TABLES ............................................................................................................................ iv

CHAPTER

I. INTRODUCTION ....................................................................................................................... 1

II. LITERATURE REVIEW .......................................................................................................... 8

III. METHODOLOGY .................................................................................................................. 19

IV. FINDINGS ............................................................................................................................ 25

V. DISCUSSION .......................................................................................................................... 28

REFERENCES ................................................................................................................................ 33

APPENDICES

Appendix A: ................................................................................................................................ 36
Appendix B: ................................................................................................................................ 37
Appendix C: ................................................................................................................................ 41
LIST OF TABLES
CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

In the US society today many delinquent behaviors are perceived to represent masculinity - like the tough guy who can exude his power over others by whatever means necessary, who is not only depicted in movies, television shows and music but accepted in many parts of the mainstream society. Boys, by U.S. standards, are taught to be tough, not to cry and that it is alright to be aggressive. Angela P. Harris (2000) states in her article *Gender, Violence, Race and Criminal Justice*, “Men are disproportionately violent, at least in part, because being violent is one socially recognized way of being a man” (p. 782). Harris continues to describe how the social construct of masculinity in our “Anglo-American” society creates a division similar to that of socioeconomic status and race. This perception of masculinity seems to be amplified in delinquent adolescents, creating a hypermasculinity. Harris defines *hypermasculinity* as the “exaggerated exhibition of physical strength and personal aggression” (Harris, 2000, p. 785). In the article, *The Consequences of the Criminal Justice Pipeline on Black and Latino Masculinity*, Victor Rios (2009) explores how the criminal justice system has an impact on hypermasculinity in African American and Latino adolescent males. Rios states:

I contend that the criminal justice pipeline encourages expressions of hypermasculinity by threatening and confusing young men’s masculinity. This, in turn, leads the young men to rely on domination through violence, crime, and a school and criminal justice counterculture… This criminal justice pipeline provides young men with meanings of masculinity that ultimately influence their decisions to commit crime and engage in violence. While race affects how a young person is treated in the criminal justice pipeline, masculinity plays a role in how young men desist or recidivate as they pass through the system.
One of the outcomes of pervasive criminal justice contact for young black and Latino men is the production of a hypermasculinity that obstructs desistance and social mobility (Rios, 2009, p. 151).

This being said, it is important to know if hypermasculinity is a predictor of delinquent behavior and if so, is it more of a predictor for adolescents of color? According to the National Council on Crime and Delinquency (2007) there is an over representation of adolescents of color in the juvenile justice system. Adolescents with mental health disorders are also disproportionately represented in the juvenile justice system. Anywhere from 65% to 75% of juvenile in the system have a mental health diagnosis (Colwell, Villarreal & Espinosa, 2012). Adolescents with mental health disorders in the general population range from 9% to 20% (Colwell, Villarreal & Espinosa, 2012). Given these statistics, it is important to take a closer look at the relationship between and among hypermasculinity, delinquency, mental health issues and race. Does masculinity predict delinquency? How does prescribed medication impact the relationship between masculinity and delinquency? Are adolescents with mental health issues (prescribed medication) more likely to commit crime? Does prescribed medication change the relationship between masculinity and delinquency? Are these three variables related?

In order to examine the association between and among the variables described above, a quantitative study will be conducted. Secondary data collected from a juvenile facility by Dr. David Burton Ph.D. using the Ohio Evaluation will be statistically analyzed. Two questionnaires along with demographic data served as the data collection instruments. The first instrument is: Male Role Norms Inventory (MRNI) which measured levels of masculinity. The second instrument, Self-Reported Delinquency Scale (SRD), measured criminal behaviors.
The findings of this study may be useful to many professionals who provide services for incarcerated adolescents, the juvenile justice system and the parents of these adolescents. Information about the relationship and predictive factors between and among these variables may be very important for not only for social workers working with in the juvenile justice system or at risk adolescents but also the juvenile justice system, parents and communities. The findings may help to put steps in place to either prevent criminal behavior in at risk youth or reduce recidivism rates of adolescent males. As previously stated, there is a higher number of adolescents with mental health disorders in the juvenile justice system (Colwell, Villarreal & Espinosa, 2012), the findings could allow for service providers to know if taking medication makes a difference in criminal behavior or how adolescent males express masculinity.
CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review

In order to better understand the relationship between hypermasculinity, delinquency and mental health disorders, a closer look at the three variables is needed. The following chapter is an in depth look at the theories and previous research that 1) focused on masculinity, delinquency and mental health disorders and 2) how these variables relate to adolescent males in the juvenile justice system.

Masculinity

Definition

The Merriam-Webster online dictionary (2012) defines masculinity as “having qualities appropriate to or usually associated with a man” (p.1). These masculine qualities that are deemed appropriate have changed over time and can vary from culture to culture. In the United States of America and other western societies, masculinity can be portrayed in many ways including having wealth, power, physical strength and emotional detachment. How masculinity is portrayed can vary by race and socioeconomic class.

Theories of masculinity

The following theories of masculinity give the current study a better understanding of the types of masculinity that are deemed appropriate in today’s society and how these norms can affect adolescent males. These theories of masculinity are: hegemonic masculinity and Bourdieu’s theory.

Hegemonic masculinity: The theory of hegemonic masculinity was developed by Connell (1985) and focuses on the power relation between men and other men and men and women (Lusher & Robins, 2009). Hegemonic masculinity theory is defined as “how
particular groups of men inhabit positions of power and wealth, and how they legitimate and reproduce the social relationships that generate their dominance” (Coles, 2009, p.31).

Hegemonic masculinity includes “rugged individualism, stoicism, and competition” (Abrams, Anderson-Nathe & Aguilar, 2008, p.24). Abrams et.al describe how “marginalized masculinities” are constructed and compared to hegemonic masculinities. Social hierarchy in school aged young men has been put into three groups: “hard boys”, “conformists” and “victims”. Those young men whose actions closely matched the hegemonic norms (hard boys) were at the top of the social hierarchy, those who did not meet hegemonic norms of exerting physical strength and or power or the “victims”, were often picked on by boys who did meet the hegemonic norms (Abrams et. al., 2008; Connell, 1995; Parker, 1996). This example in itself shows how some young men conform or meet the hegemonic norms and yet still need to prove their power and dominant masculinity to others in either marginalized or subordinate masculinity groups. This is an action that is seen quite often in society today.

Hegemonic masculinity theory begins to describe some of the actions or delinquency committed by adolescent males like in this study; however, it speaks of these actions as socially acceptable. This study examines how the inflation of these norms or hypermasculinity affects adolescent males in detention.

**Bourdieu’s theory:** Bourdieu’s theory of masculinity differs from hegemonic theory in that it incorporates “…a field of masculinity in which various subfields exist to account for the variety of dominant masculinities that may be present at any given time. Capital, habitus and fields…in an effort to describe how masculinities operate over men’s lifetime” (Coles, 2009, p.31). Bourdieu’s theory looks closely at the individual and the different ways everyday life has shaped and or drives their masculinity. Bourdieu’s theory states that “individuals are neither completely free to choose their destinies nor forced to behave according to objective norms imposed upon them” (Boman, 1999; Coles, 2009, p.34;
Robbins, 1991). Bourdieu looks specifically at three domains, habitus, fields and capital. *Habitus* refers to how people’s actions and choices are formed by their interactions with others and not social rules but they are influenced by the social structures (Bohman, 1999; Coles, 2009; Robbins, 1991). Working simultaneously with habitus is fields. *Fields* are the larger structures in which habitus functions. An example would be social institutions such as schools (Coles, 2009). *Capital* is broken down into three parts: 1) economic capital which describes one’s financial situation, 2) social capital which describes one’s social status and connections and lastly 3) cultural capital which describes qualities and abilities that make class distinctions (Cole, 2009; Swartz, 1997).

Bourdieu’s theory begins to better explain the hypermasculinity that is exhibited by adolescent males in detention. Bourdieu’s three domains give a clear framework to how masculinity is formed and the factors that effect that shaping. With this framework of the three domains how adolescent males form their masculinity or hypermasculinity is better understood.

**Hypermasculinity**

*Hypermasculinity* as defined by Planned Parenthood on definition-of.com (2012) is “the exaggeration of gender-stereotyped behavior that is believed to be masculine” (p.1). Angela P. Harris (2000) argues in her article, *Gender, Violence, Race and Criminal Justice*, that working class men turn to hypermasculinity as a way to try and gain social status, which, in turn affirms middle and upper class stereotypes of them and enforces their feelings of superiority. Pyke (1996) gives an example from her article, *Class-Based Masculinities: The Interdependence of Gender, Class, and Interpersonal Power*:

The hypermasculinity found in certain lower status male locales, such as on shop floors, in pool halls, motorcycle clubs, and urban gangs, can be understood as both a
response to ascendant masculinity and its unintentional booster. With their masculine identity and self-esteem undermined by their subordinate order-taking position in relation to higher status males…men on the shop floor reconstruct their position as embodying true masculinity… They use physical endurance and tolerance of discomfort required of their manual labor as signifying true masculinity (pp. 531-532).

The “true masculinity” which adolescent males today embody is not only learned from peers, but also shaped by the justice system - particularly for adolescents of color. The *Consequences of the Criminal Justice Pipeline on Black and Latino Masculinity* is a qualitative study conducted by Victor Rios (2009) in which he argues that the juvenile justice system “encourages hypermasculinity by threatening and confusing young men’s masculinity… leads the young men to rely on domination though violence, crime… and criminal justice counter culture” (p. 151). Rios added that “even if young men do conform to socially appropriate norms of masculinity such as: following laws, valuing hard work and “acceptance of subordinate social positions” while in custody, they cannot continue to do so if they want to survive on the streets to which they will return” (Rios, 2009, p. 153). Rios’ qualitative study used in depth interviewing of African American and Latino adolescent males in Oakland, CA. The study took place over three years and had a total of forty participants. Rios followed the youth in their day-to-day lives and was subject to harassment by police as well. The results showed that the many attempts by probation officers to tell the youth how to be real men were not successful as they, [probation officers] did not give the youth the tools they needed to successfully navigate within their communities. Rios found that the youth then saw two extremes of masculinity and the one most easily achievable is hypermasculinity. In his conclusion Rios notes “hypermasculinity serves as both a resistance and as a resource for self-affirmation” (p. 161). Hypermasculinity may be present in many
males in our society today as it is portrayed in the media, but hypermasculinity may effect adolescent males in particular who come from lower socioeconomic backgrounds and or are minorities.

The study conducted by Victor Rios explored how hypermasculinity is formed in adolescent male minorities who not only face the three domains of Bourdieu’s theory and also constant negative interaction with the police and juvenile justice system. Rios’ study gives the current study a better understanding of how minority adolescent males form hypermasculine identities. However, Rios did not explore how hypermasculinity may be affected if an adolescent takes medication for a mental health disorder or if hypermasculinity directly affects criminality.

**Theories of Criminality and or Delinquency**

The following theories are helpful to the current study as they look closely at delinquency and some of the theories specifically discuss the delinquency of boys. These theories help explain why some adolescent males are more likely to commit delinquent acts than others and the differences between a period of delinquency (adolescent delinquency) and adolescent delinquency which then continues into an adulthood of crime. These theories are: general strain theory, adolescence limited theory and containment theory.

**General strain theory:** Agnew (1995) introduced general strain theory; he built upon the strain theory developed by Durkheim (1897) and was expanded upon by Merton (1957). Strain refers to stress and or pressures that one experiences in life. Agnew’s general strain theory holds that there are three forms of strain that a person could encounter: “failure to achieve positively valued goals, presentation of noxious stimulus, and removal of positively valued stimulus” (Higgins, Piquero & Piquero, 2011, p.1273). This idea relates to why
adolescents are engaging in criminal behavior stating that strains are likely to provoke emotional reactions which are dealt with by negative coping mechanisms like committing crimes or using drugs and alcohol (Higgins et al., 2011). Agnew argued that delinquency could be reduced by not only addressing the strains in one’s life but also addressing the factors that makes one turn towards delinquency in response to the strains (Agnew, 1995).

General strains theory is applicable to the current study as it may explain why some adolescents commit or partake in delinquent acts. General strain theory states that adolescents who do not have the tools to self-regulate their emotions and need gratification therefore turn to commit crimes in order to meet their emotional needs and wants. However this theory does not address differences in those detained adolescents who have been diagnosed with a mental health disorder.

**Adolescence limited delinquency theory:** Adolescence-limited delinquency theory was developed by Terrie Moffitt (1993) who believed that it is normative for adolescents develop anti-social behaviors. Adolescence-limited theory argues that antisocial behaviors happen because of the *maturity gap* the difference in physical maturity and the desire for freedoms and adult privileges (Chen, 2010).

A limitation of Moffitt’s (1993) theory is that all adolescents are put in the same “box” and does not take into account that adolescents come from very different environments and cultures. For example, adolescents from lower socioeconomic areas or adolescents who may not have sufficient coping skills and/or supportive home lives could lead to more negative behaviors as compared to normal adolescents. Moffitt’s theory also seems biased toward those who come from a privileged upbringing who may commit a delinquent act and then continue on to lead a successful adult life. This path may not be the case for all adolescents that commit crimes. Many adolescents from lower socioeconomic backgrounds
find themselves in the cycle of the juvenile justice system and then the adult justice system because they do not have the same means and resources of adolescents from privileged upbringings.

**Containment theory:** Walter Reckless, who was born in 1899, developed containment theory in the 1960’s based upon his extensive work with delinquent boys (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2012). A major premise of containment theory is that committing acts which break from social norms is innate in all people. Therefore, all juveniles are likely to commit delinquent acts (Dodder & Thompson, 1986; Reckless, 1967). Another premise of containment theory is that juveniles’ ability to control themselves from committing delinquent acts comes from two places: 1) the self (inner containment) and 2) the community and society in which they live (outer containment) (Dodder & Thompson, 1986; Reckless, 1967). Reckless describes *inner containment* as “the ability of a person to follow expected favorable self-concept, goal orientation, frustration tolerance and retention of norms” (p. 475). *Outer containment* is defined as “the ability of society to confine individual behavior within acceptable ranges of norms and expectations…internalization of rules, availability of meaningful roles and reinforcement” (p. 470).

Containment theory is helpful in better understanding why the current study’s population may commit crimes/delinquent acts because the focus is directly on the individual and the ability self-regulate. Containment theory also takes into account the individual’s society that includes adolescents who may live in communities where crime rates are much higher and committing crime/delinquent acts is more accepted by peers.
The juvenile justice system in the United States started out by treating adolescents no differently than adults. “The purpose of the juvenile court was to create a whole new system of law for responding to youthful offenders…based on the premise that youths were still developing, were malleable and could be saved from a life of crime” (Grisso, 1999, p.143). “In the U.S. 1.7 million youth are annually judged delinquent and 550,000 are placed on probation supervision” (Boitel, Mallett & Stoddard-Dare, 2010, p.208; National Council on Crime and Delinquency, 2007; Sickmund, 2009). Out of these, 350,000 are placed in detention centers and 100,000 are placed in correctional facilities (Boitel et. al., 2010; Davis, Krisberg, Marchionna, Tsukida, 2008; Holman, Ziedenberg, 2006; Sickmund, Sladky & Kang, 2004; Sickmund, 2006). In 2004 The National Center for Juvenile Justice analyzed data from 1985 to 2000. Charles Puzzanchera, Anne L. Stahl, Terrence A. Finnegan, Nancy Tierney and Howard N. Snyder found a 41% increase in the use of detention. Of the youth detained Puzzanchera et. al. found that in 2000 Black adolescents accounted for 28% of all delinquency cases, yet Black adolescents accounted for 35% of detention cases. The findings showed that consistently from 1985 to 2000 cases that involved adolescents 16 and older were more likely to be detained. Puzzancera et. al. found that detention was more likely for older youth, males and more likely for Black than white adolescents (Puzzanchera et. al., 2004). These statistics show a high number of adolescents involved in the juvenile justice system, and given the multiple reasons why one may become involved with the juvenile justice system, the factor that stands out the most is mental health disorders (Colwell, Villarreal & Espinosa, 2012).

These facts impact the current study as there are a high number of adolescents involved in the juvenile justice system and adolescent males and adolescent males of color are over represented in the system. Because of these facts the current study will explore if
hypermasculinity is contributing to the high number of males and particularly minorities involved with the juvenile justice system.

Mental Health Disorders

Adolescents with mental health disorders are over represented in the juvenile justice system. The percentage may be anywhere from 65% to 75% of juveniles in the system who have a mental health diagnosis (Colwell, Villarreal & Espinosa, 2012). Adolescents with mental health disorders in the general population range from 9% to 20% (Colwell, Villarreal & Espinosa, 2012), psychiatric disorders, substance abuse disorders and affective disorders have been found to be highly prevalent with juveniles who are involved with the juvenile justice system (Abrantes, Anton & Hoffman, 2005; Abram, Dulcan, McClelland, Mericle & Teplin, 2002; Aarons, Brown, Hough, Garland & Wood, 2001). Grisso (1999) explains that in the current juvenile justice system, the opportunities for adolescent offenders to receive mental health treatment are decreasing. With such high rates of mental health disorders within the juvenile justice population, and a subsequent decrease in services, white adolescents are more likely receive hospitalization services while African American adolescents are more likely to be held in detention, even though there is slight difference in their presenting issues (Sheppard & Benjamin-Colman, 2001). Of the juvenile justice population, white females are most likely to receive mental health service orders form the court (Dembo et al., 1993; Hertz, 2001; Vander Stoep et al., 1997). This leaves the majority of adolescents in the juvenile justice system that are male in a position where they could be without much needed services which could, in the long run, prevent continued delinquency. The above studies show the need for increased mental health services within the juvenile justice system.
A study by Yan and Dannerbeck (2011) considered those factors that influence a judge ordering mental health treatment for juveniles. The study was quantitative and included a large metropolitan circuit court in Missouri because it represented 8% of all of the caseloads within the 45 courts and it "features the typical disadvantages of an inner city" with a large population of color, high unemployment, low homeownership and low-income rates (Yan & Dannerbeck, 2011, p. 11). From this population, the researchers studied 1,896 adolescents of whom 86% were male, 95% were African American and 4% Caucasian. Yan and Dannerbeck found that the younger adolescents (ages 10-15) at the time of offense were more likely to be ordered to complete mental health treatment. The findings showed that the type of crime impacted court orders as well. Adolescents with an offense against public order offenses (p.13) were more likely to receive substance abuse orders than mental health orders. The researchers also found that white adolescents were more than twice as likely as African Americans to receive mental health orders, with females being more likely to receive mental health orders than males (Yan & Dannerbeck, 2011). Similar results were found by, Barnum, Famularo, Bunshaft, Fento and Bolduc (1989). The findings of their study showed a disproportionate relationship of females being referred for mental health treatment. The study site was the Boston Juvenile Court and reviewed the case disposition of 140 adolescents. The results showed that females were disproportionately referred for mental health services (Barnum et al., 1989).

These studies are helpful in describing the need for mental health services within the juvenile justice system, as currently females are more likely than males to receive court orders for mental health services than males. However the studies did not examine how or if mental health disorders are associated with hypermasculinity or if adolescent males who are diagnosed with a mental health disorder and taking medication changes their delinquency patterns.
Summary

The studies and theories described above address key factors of the proposed study; but they do not fully address how mental health disorders may be determinants for delinquency or masculinity. The proposed study explores the relationship between masculinity, mental health disorders and delinquency in adolescents in the juvenile justice system. The findings may shed light on the ways in which the three variables may be dependent on each other and may provide direction for future treatment of adolescents in the juvenile justice system and the structure of future programs that serve this particular population.
CHAPTER THREE

Methodology

The research questions for this study were: 1. Does hypermasculinity predict delinquency? 2. Does prescribed medication lessen levels of delinquency? 3. Are there differences in delinquency levels in terms of race? 4. Are there differences in hypermasculinity in terms of race? 5. Is there a relationship among prescribed medication, hypermasculinity and delinquency?

There were 5 hypotheses that emerged from the 4 research questions. These hypotheses for this study were 1. Adolescents who are hypermasculine will commit more crime than those who are not hyper-masculine. 2. Adolescents who are prescribed psychotropic medication will have lower levels of delinquency. 3. Delinquency levels are greater in African American and Latino adolescent groups. 4. Hypermasculinity levels are greater in African American and Latino adolescents. 5. There is a correlation among prescribed medication, hypermasculinity and delinquency.

In order to gain a deeper understanding of these questions, this study was exploratory in nature and used a correlational design. According to Rubin and Babbie (2013), an exploratory study is one that seeks to gain a better understanding of a topic that is under researched or unstudied. Correlational methods according to The Social Work Dictionary written by Barker (2003) are used to determine the relationship between two (or more) separate variables (p.98). The focus of this study is to determine whether or not there is a relationship between and among masculinity, delinquency and or mental health disorders.

Quantitative data collection methods were used for this study. The rationale for use of quantitative methods would likely produce results that are more
generalizable because of a larger sample size minimizing bias. Data for the current research questions will come from a previously conducted study by David Burton Ph.D. Table 1 shows the research questions, hypothesis, instruments and statistical tests to be run.

Sample

The sample for this study was comprised of 170 adolescent males who were in juvenile detention for various crimes, none of which were sexual offenses. This number was decreased to 94 participants after the Millon Adolescent Clinical Inventory (MACI) was taken setting a raw scale X (disclosure) score within certain limits.

Ethics and Safeguards

The main ethical issue is confidentiality, even though the data is secondary. There could be identifying factors on the already collected data, but that information would not be noted/collected. The data would be protected on a password protected hard drive and kept in a locked drawer. Dr. Burton received all appropriate approval from state authorities and these documents are also kept in a secure location.
Table 1: *Research Study Design*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research Questions</th>
<th>Hypotheses</th>
<th>Instruments/Measures</th>
<th>Statistical Tests</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Are there differences in delinquency levels in terms of race?</td>
<td>Delinquency levels are greater in the adolescents of color group than the white group.</td>
<td>SRD and racial groupings</td>
<td>ANOVA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Is there an association between masculinity and delinquency</td>
<td>Adolescents who are hyper masculine will commit more crime than those who are not hyper masculine.</td>
<td>MRNI SRD</td>
<td>Pearson’s Correlation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Is there a relationship between current medication prescribed and prior delinquent behavior</td>
<td>There is a relationship between current medication prescribed and prior delinquent behavior</td>
<td>Descriptive information MRNI SRD</td>
<td>Pearson’s Correlation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Are delinquency, hypermasculinity and prescribed medication positively or negatively correlated?</td>
<td>There is a positive correlation among delinquency, hypermasculinity and prescribed medication. There is a negative correlation among delinquency, hypermasculinity and prescribed medication.</td>
<td>SRD MRNI</td>
<td>Pearson’s Correlation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Data Collection

Dr. Burton and his team collected data via a confidential survey distributed in six different juvenile detention facilities in a Midwest state. Some participants completed the surveys in small groups, 8 to 12 per group in a classroom setting. Trained graduate students read the survey orally to those youth that experienced difficulty reading. The participants were not given incentives for completing the survey (Dr. Burton and team).

Measurement instruments.

Data was collected using Ohio Scales, which included two specific scales relevant to this study’s questions. The two scales used for this particular study were: the Inventory Male Role Norms Inventory (MRNI) and the Self-Reported Delinquency (SRD).

Male Role Norms Inventory (MRNI). The Male Role Norms Inventory (MRNI) was developed by Levant et al. in 1992. The MRNI was developed to assess traditional and nontraditional masculine beliefs across a diverse population of males. (Garnets & Pleck, 1979; Pleck 1981).

The Male Role Norms Inventory (MRNI) consists of true or false questions to assess traditional and nontraditional masculine beliefs (Levant et al., 1992). Unique to the MRNI when compared to other masculinity inventories is that it calls for the respondents to make specific gender assignments to attitudes and beliefs without making any direct comparisons between men and women, thereby avoiding the likelihood of a respondent feeling shamed if he answers questions in a way that suggests femininity rather than masculinity (Levant & Richmond, 2007). Fifty-two opinions are offered that ask respondents how they felt before they were arrested. A score of 1 = “strongly disagree” and 7 = “strongly agree.” Examples of MRNI questions include: “A man should do whatever it takes to be admired and respected”
and “A man should always be ready for sex.” For this study and for comparison with other studies, the traditional MRNI score was used, which has 52 items. Therefore, a youth can score between 52 (strongly disagrees with every question) and 364 (strongly agrees with every question) on this measure. The traditional MRNI score had a respectable Cronbach’s reliability.” (Brown & Burton, 2010, p. 458).

The MRNI was chosen for this study, as it is a reliable way to measure adolescent males’ view of masculinity and what being a man means to them. For this study Cronbach’s alpha was run on the MRNI with a finding of .851.

**Self-Reported Delinquency Scale (SRD).** The SRD was developed by Short and Nye (1957) based on previous studies confirming that using self-reporting measures have “acceptable levels of reliability and validity” (Huizinga & Elliot, 1986, p. 294). The SRD scale has 32 questions using a 7-point frequency scale from 0 (never) to 7 (2-3 times per day) on questions ranging from drug use to aggression. The instrument has several subscales including Alcohol Use, Drug Use, Felony Assault, Felony Theft, General Delinquency, Property Damage, Public Disorderly, Robbery and Selling Drugs. These subscales had acceptable inter-item reliability (see appendices…..) with the exception of Drug Use (α = .46) and Public Disorderly (α = .52), both of which were dropped from further analyses. A Cronbach’s alpha was also run on the SRD with a finding of .92.

**Data Analysis**

Descriptive and inferential statistics were used to analyze the data. Descriptive statistics were presented in the form of frequencies showing age, grade, race, taking prescribed medication, type of family living with and socio economic status. Inferential statistics were run on two of the four hypotheses; a 1-way analysis of variance (1-way NOVA) was run on hypothesis number one to determine if there was a significant difference
between race and delinquency. A Pearson Product Moment Correlation test was run on hypothesis number two to determine if there was a positive or negative correlation between hypermasculinity and delinquency. No statistical analysis done on hypothesis three and four, rational explained in the findings.
CHAPTER FOUR

Findings

Descriptive statistics were run on the demographic characteristics of the sample. Inferential statistics were run to test the hypotheses shown in Table 1. There were no significant findings. The findings are presented in two major sections: demographics and hypotheses results. The descriptive statistics describing the demographics are presented first, followed by the inferential statistical analysis run for the hypotheses. Dr. David Burton completed the statistical tests, as he and Dr. George Leibowitz, principal co-investigators, are the sole holders of the database. The following presentation of the finding was done in consultation with Dr. David Burton, principal co-investigator.

Demographic Characteristics

In terms of racial breakdown, 41.1% reported their race as African American, 41.1% reported their race as white, 2.9% reported their race as Latino and 2.0% reported their race as Native American/American Indian (Dr. David Burton and team). The mean Age of the adolescents was 16.49 and the mean grade level was 9th grade. The majority of the participants are sixteen years old and in the ninth grade.

From the sample of adolescents surveyed 34.3% lived in a two parent home, 31.4% lived in a single mom home, 3.9% lived in a single dad home, 14.7% lived in a home with their mom and partner, 2.0% lived in a home with their dad and partner, 2.0% lived with another relative, 8.8% lived with a grandparent and 1.0% lived in foster care. Of the adolescents surveyed 4.9% stated they were very poor, 92.2% stated they were not very poor and 2.9% did not know if they were very poor. Of the adolescents surveyed 83.3% reported not taking prescribed medication and 15.7% reported taking medication. Of the adolescents
surveyed 83.3% reported not taking prescribed medication and 15.7% reported taking medication (Dr. Burton and team).

**Hypothesis 1:** Delinquency levels are greater in the adolescent males of color than white adolescent males.

A one-way analysis of variance (1-way ANOVA) was run on the variables race and delinquency. Results showed no significant difference \( t(112) = .158, p = .875 \) between Youth of Color (African American, Latin American and Native American) \( M = 21.49, SD = 23.67 \) and Euro American \( M = 20.83, SD = 20.92 \) incarcerated youth on the total Self Report Delinquency (SRD) score.

**Table 2**

**Race and Delinquency**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>53.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>33.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic/Latino</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native American</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>92.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Hypothesis 2:** Adolescents who are hyper masculine will commit more crime than those who are not hyper masculine.

Samples scores were complied with a mean of 4.19 for the MRNI with a minimum of 1 and a maximum of 7. The SRD reported a mean of 22.52 with a minimum of 0 and a maximum of 110. See tables 6-7 for more details. A Pearson correlation was run to determine if there is a positive association between criminality and masculinity. Results showed no significant correlation between these two variables. ($r = .035$ and $P = .748$).

**Hypothesis 3:** There is a relationship between current medication prescribed and prior delinquent behavior

Because there was no significant correlation between criminality and masculinity no correlation analysis was run on the medication and delinquency variables because as there is no positive association between masculinity and criminality, and the association with these variables and medication would not be possible. N= 16 participant groups.

**Hypothesis 4:** There is a positive correlation among delinquency, hypermasculinity and prescribed medication or there is a negative correlation among delinquency, hypermasculinity and prescribed medication.

It follows that no statistical analysis was run on hypothesis 4 as no statistical analysis was run on hypothesis 3, no correlation can be run hypothesis 4.

The findings will be compared with the previous findings discussed in the literature review in chapter 5. The findings will also be discussed in terms of implications for clinical social work, limitation and biases and recommendations for future research.
CHAPTER FIVE

Discussion

In the following section a review of the findings will be compared with previous studies findings, a discussion on the similarities, differences and the implications this study has for future research. The finding of this study will be compared with the theories of masculinity, adolescent delinquency and adolescent mental health in the juvenile justice system previously discussed in the literature review.

Theories of Masculinity

**Hegemonic masculinity:** As previously stated *Hegemonic masculinity* theory is defined as “how particular groups of men inhabit positions of power and wealth, and how they legitimate and reproduce the social relationships that generate their dominance” (Coles, 2009, p.31). Hegemonic masculinity includes “rugged individualism, stoicism, and competition” (Abrams, Anderson-Nathe & Aguilar, 2008, p.24). Hegemonic masculinity theory puts males into three categories, “hard boys”, “conformists” and “victims”. In comparing the population of adolescent males sampled with the theory of Hegemonic masculinity it seems that the theory does not fit the population well as the theory focuses on men who have power and money, where the adolescents in this sample are not in positions of power as they are in detention and are a part of the juvenile justice system.

**Bourdieu’s theory:** This theory of masculinity takes a different approach using habitus, fields and capital. In regards to the sample population additional information would be needed to make a more informed comparison on the sample’s habitus. One might infer that the sample population is not functioning well in the “fields”, as the population surveyed was in juvenile detention. In regards to “capital”, over half of the sample lived in a household
with at least one parent and over half stated they were not very poor which may not support Bourdieu’s theory. No data was collected on cultural capital other than race.

**Hypermasculinity**

The findings of this study found no correlation between hypermasculinity and delinquency therefore no tests were run to see if this varied by race. This differs from previous studies and literature. Studies found that hypermasculinity is more likely to be found in adolescent males who are involved in the juvenile justice system. Rios’ states that the juvenile justice system “encourages hypermasculinity by threatening and confusing young men’s masculinity… leads the young men to rely on domination though violence, crime… and criminal justice counter culture” (Rios, 2009, p.151). Rios argues that this is particularly true for Latino and African-American adolescent males. More research is needed to be done with a diverse population within varied levels of the juvenile justice system and delinquency to see if there is a difference with hypermasculinity, race and criminality.

**Adolescent Delinquency Theories**

*General strain theory:* So few of the participants in the sample reported taking prescribed medication, it is unclear if medication was a factor or not. More research in terms of this theory is needed, to examine the three forms of strain encountered in the participants’ lives. The data gathered did not address the three strains.

*Adolescence limited delinquency theory:* The population sampled does not apply when it comes to adolescence-limited delinquency. They are not in the normative population as they were adjudicated.
**Containment theory:** The population sampled presumably had lower self-regulation than others as they have been adjudicated; it is also assumed that their social environment was not able to contain their self. Data was not specific to this theory but is assumed because the population sampled was in juvenile detention.

**Juvenile Justice System**

The sample of adolescents varies somewhat from the previous studies. Like pervious studies, this sample’s mean age was 16. Results of pervious studies showed that black adolescents were more likely to be placed in detention (Puzzancera et. al, 2004) whereas this sample had an equal amount of black and white males in detention. Yan and Dannerbeck (2011) found that of 1,896 adolescents studied, 86% were male, 95% were African American and 4% Caucasian.

**Mental Health**

The sample differed greatly from the samples in the pervious literature. Findings from previous studies showed that adolescents with mental health disorders are over represented in the juvenile justice system. The percentage may be anywhere from 65% to 75% of juveniles in the system who have a mental health diagnosis (Colwell, Villarreal & Espinosa, 2012), adolescents with mental health disorders in the general population range from 9% to 20% (Colwell, Villarreal & Espinosa, 2012). Of the participants sampled in the current study, two participants reported taking prescribed medication. Given this was a self-report instrument, it is possible that participants did not admit to taking medication or had a mental health disorder that was undiagnosed or untreated.
Implications for Clinical Practice

The implications of these findings on clinical practice are few but important. The findings of this study showed that more research needs to be done in regards to hypermasculinity and if and how it influences the behavior of adolescent males who are not involved with the juvenile justice system. It is also important for clinicians who work with adolescents involved with the juvenile justice system to be aware of how hypermasculinity might affect the population they are working with. More and earlier attention needs to be paid, if all possible, to the male population in the schools and the community to evaluate risk factors that would put a young man on the path to delinquency and institute protective measures.

Implications are for schools of social work, child welfare, and the juvenile justice system and community mental health providers. Looking at this issue in the frame of ecological theory and solution-focused theory may serve as a lens to institute change at the macro, mezzo, and micro level.

Recommendations for Future Research

Limitations and biases

Limitations of the study follow. The information was collected via self-reported measures, to which participants could have internationally or unintentionally answered questions incorrectly or given false information. The study used secondary information collected by other investigators who were not always available for consultation. The original database was needed but unavailable. This is one study located in one state where the sample came from 6 juvenile detention facilities. More studies in more states and facilities are needed, as the data may not reflect the national juvenile population in detention settings. A major methodological bias is that I, the researcher, was not the principal investigator did not have complete access to the data.
Future research recommendations

After analyzing the data there were several questions that arose and could explored in future research. It would be important to explore further the differences between masculinity and hypermasculinity and if a different instrument is needed to measure hypermasculinity. Along with this it would be important to conduct more studies, across a wide range of cities.
References:


Rios, V. (2009). The consequences of the criminal justice pipeline on black and Latino


APPENDIX A
First Name __________________________________ Last name.

Unit name ________________________________________________________________

1. How old are you? ________________ years

2. In school, what grade did you last complete? (Select one)
   
   6th    _____  9th    _____  12th
   7th    _____  10th    _____ College (how many years? _______ )
   8th    _____  11th

3. Which one of the following BEST describes the family you were raised in (PLEASE CHECK ONLY ONE)?
   
   _ 1. Two parents _ 4. Mom and partner _ 7. Grandparent
   _ 2. Single mom _ 5. Dad and partner _ 8. Foster home
   _ 3. Single dad _ 6. Other relative

6. Please choose the ONE race or ethnic group you feel closest to.

   ____ 1. Black or African American ________________ 5. Native American/American Indian
   ____ 2. White or Caucasian ________________ 6. Arab American
   ____ 3. Hispanic or Latino ________________ 7. Other (please list)
   ____ 4. Asian or Pacific Islander

APPENDIX B

SRD
This section of the survey deals with some of your behaviors. **The information you share here will not be reported to your treatment team, your families, the police, "or the courts.** Please give your best estimate or guess of the exact number of times you've done each thing **during the year before you came to prison.** Put a check in the most appropriate box.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Before I was arrested I...</th>
<th>Did not do</th>
<th>Once a month</th>
<th>Once every 2-3 weeks</th>
<th>Once a week</th>
<th>2-3 times a week</th>
<th>Once a day</th>
<th>2-3 times a day</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Purposely damaged or destroyed property belonging to my parents or other family members.</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Purposely damaged or destroyed other property that did not belong to me (not counting family or work property).</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Stole or tried to steal a motor vehicle such as a car or motorcycle.</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Stole or tried to steal something worth more than $100</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Knowingly bought, sold, or held stolen goods (or tried to).</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Purposely set fire to a building, a car, or other property (or tried to).</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Carried a hidden weapon.</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Before I was arrested I...

8. Stole or tried to steal things worth $100 or less. (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7)

9. Attacked someone with the idea of seriously hurting or killing that person. (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7)

10. Was paid for having sexual relations with someone. (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7)

11. Paid someone to have sexual relations with me. (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7)

12. Was involved in gang fights. (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7)


14. Stole money or other things from my parents or other members of my family. (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7)

15. Had or tried to have sexual relations with someone against their will. (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7)

16. Hit or threatened to hit one of my parents. (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7)
### Before I was arrested I...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17. Hit or threatened to hit my supervisor or another employee.</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Used alcohol or other liquor.</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Smoked cigarettes or used tobacco products.</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Sold hard drugs such as heroin, cocaine, and LSD.</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Used inhalants such as glue.</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Took a vehicle for a ride or drive without the owner's permission.</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Used pot/hash/weed/marijuana.</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Used force or strong-arm methods to get money or things from people.</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Was drunk in a public place.</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Used Cocaine, Coke or Crack.</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Broke or tried to break into a building or vehicle to steal something or just look around.</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Begged for money or things from strangers.</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Before I was arrested I...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Before I was arrested I...</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Did not do</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Once a month</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Once every 2-3 weeks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Once a week</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-3 times a week</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Once a day</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-3 times a day</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

29. Used or tried to use credit cards without the owner's permission.  

(1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7)

30. Made obscene telephone calls (such as calling someone and saying dirty things).  

(1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7)

31. Used other types of drugs.  

(1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7)

32. Engaged in any kind of occult practices. (If yes describe below.)  

(1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7)
APPENDIX C
MRNI

This set of questions also asks about how you felt about a number of opinions before you were arrested.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Slightly Disagree</th>
<th>No Opinion</th>
<th>Slightly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. It is disappointing to learn that a famous athlete is gay.
2. If necessary a man should sacrifice personal relationships for career
3. A man should do whatever it takes to be admired and respected.
4. A boy should be allowed to quit a game if he is losing.
5. A man should prefer football to needlecraft.
6. A man should never count on someone else to get the job done.
7. Men should be allowed to kiss their fathers.
8. A man should not continue a friendship with another man if he finds out that the man is a homosexual.
9. Hugging and kissing should always lead to intercourse.
10. A man must be able to make his own way in the world.
11. Nobody likes a man who cries in public.
12. It is important for a man to take risks, even if he might get hurt.
13. Men should make the final decision involving money.
14. It is important for a man to be good in bed.
15. It is OK for a man to ask for help changing a sports program.
16. A man should try to win at any sport he participates in.
17. Men should always be realistic.
18. One should not be able to tell how a man is feeling by looking at his face.
19. A man who takes a long time and has difficulty making decisions will usually not be
20. Men should be allowed to wear bracelets.
21. A man should not force the issue if another man takes his parking space.
22. In a group, it's up to the man to get things organized and moving ahead.
23. A man should love his sex partner.
24. It is too feminine for a man to use clear nail polish on his fingernails.
25. Being called "faggot" is one of the worst insults to a man or boy.
26. Jobs like firefighters and electrician should be reserved for men.
When physically provoked, men should not
resort to violence.
28. A man should be able to openly show affection to another man.
29. A man doesn't need to have an erection in order to enjoy sex.
30. When the going gets tough, men should get tough.
31. Housework is a woman's work.
32. It is not particularly important for a man to control his emotions.
33. Men should not be too quick to tell others that they care about them.
34. Boys should prefer to play with trucks rather than dolls.
35. It's OK for a man to buy a fast, shiny sports car if he wants, even if he may have to stretch beyond his budget.
36. A man should never doubt his own abilities.
37. A man shouldn't have to worry about birth control.
38. A man shouldn't bother with sex unless he can achieve an orgasm.
39. A man should avoid holding his wife's purse at all times.
40. There are some subjects which men should not talk about with other men.
41. Men should always take the initiative when it comes to sex.
42. Fathers should teach their sons to mask their emotions.
43. Being a little down in the dumps is not a good reason for a man to act depressed.
44. A man should always be ready for sex.
45. Boys should not throw baseballs like girls.
46. If a man is in pain, it's better for him to let people know than to keep it to himself.
47. Men should think things out logically and have good reasons for what he does.
48. For a man, sex should always be spontaneous, rather than a planned event.
49. A man who has no taste for adventure is not very appealing.
50. It is not important for men to strive to reach the top.
51. For men, touching is simply the first step toward sex.
52. Men should be detached in emotionally charged situations.