

Moral Judgment by Criminals and Conformists as a Tool for Examination of Sociological Predictions

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Abstract: *This study illustrates how predictions from sociological approaches might be operationalized using a psychological measure, moral judgment. A prediction based on Merton's anomia theory, that offenses elicit greatest justification when the importance of a socioeconomic goal is high and availability of means to achieve that goal is low, was investigated. The design was a multifactorial manipulation of the goal and availability of means as well as other relevant factors. Results from this experimental procedure were examined on the background of data from Eysenck's personality questionnaire. The findings point to interactive effects of the importance of a goal, of availability of means and severity of offenses on justification for those offenses.*

ANOMIA

Durkheim (1951) proposed the term *anomie* to represent a situation resulting from a sudden social upheaval, where social norms deteriorate, ideologies dissipate, social solidarity collapses, and social consolidation ceases; a global sense of loss of security, a lack of ability to differentiate between the possible and the impossible, between the permissible and the forbidden, and between justice and lack thereof.

Merton (1938, 1957, 1982), Durkheim's intellectual heir, referred to the term *anomie* originally as a social phenomenon (Schachat, 1982). He coined the term *anomia* to differentiate between anomic situation of individuals and the *anomie* of a social network. Two of five types of adaptation of an individual to core features of one's cultural-societal framework described by Merton—conformity and innovation—are relevant in the present context.

A conformist internalizes objectives, means and norms that are socially acceptable to attain goals. Innovation results when motivation to achieve a social objective (such as becoming rich) leads an individual to resort to unconventional means. Many crimes of property and crimes whose objectives are material gain

This article is dedicated to the memory of Hanoch Hoffman, who passed away prior to the completion of the paper. This article was supported by Schnitzer Foundation.

International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology, 41(2), 1997 180-198
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are included in this form of anomia. An innovator is one who has internalized social goals but not the norms that dictate the legitimate ways to achieve those goals.

According to Merton (1982), the essence of the theory of anomia is that the levels of deviant behavior of different types (not solely criminal) are higher when the individual has only limited access to acceptable means to achieve the goals that social pressure dictates. The social ladder does not permit equitable access to desirable means. As a result, innovators are more numerous among the lower socioeconomic strata. Pressure for social deviance of this sort is particularly strong in a society whose norms (and not just its laws) profess equality.

Extreme imbalance between social goals and the real means for their attainment produces a situation whereby few will reach the top of the pyramid. Of those who remain at the bottom, some will feel inspired by egalitarian norms that promise equal opportunity for all, whereas others become innovators (Shoham, Rahav, & Addad, 1987). Following is a discussion of the social response to violation of norms.

LABELING: SOCIAL RESPONSE TO VIOLATION OF NORMS

According to labeling approach, society oversees the preservation of norms and places sanctions on those who break them. The central term, stigma, represents a negative label that society imprints on deviant or exceptional people. Goffman (1963), in his research on labeling, included the handicapped, Jews, Blacks, and prostitutes among the exceptional. Shoham and Rahav (1983) chose to concentrate on negative labels given to situations and social roles (excluding racial and ethnic discrimination). For this purpose they used the term stigma to characterize negative features assigned to an individual or a group.

Stigma, public identification as a deviant, represents a deterrent, more effective than punishment. Except for a seasoned criminal or a jurist, most people do not know the exact punishment one could expect if convicted of a particular crime. But a law-abiding person will fear mere identification as a criminal, in that it could lead to loss of employment or business connections, rejection by friends or even family. The seriousness of stigma reflects the intensity of the norm (Shoham & Rahav, 1983).

The holistic configuration model of Shoham (1977) attributes to nonnormative behavior (e.g., deviance in values) an increase in the probability that the individual or group will be marked by a social label of deviance. However, deviance results in social reality only when the individual or group is marked with the stigma of a deviant by social control agencies (Shoham et al., 1987). According to the configurational model, deviant behavior is understood as a factor expressed in probabilistic terms, whereas the process of labeling is the identifying force that consolidates and sets the societal image of deviance.

From a psychological perspective, labeling is a special case of moral judgment; by the same token, innovators and conformists should reflect these approaches in their moral judgment. This perspective is discussed below in terms that relate to moral judgment as a means to examine, within a unified operational framework, hypotheses derived from the theories of anomia and labeling.

A support for this venture is provided by Merton himself. In 1982, he remarked that the central theories that explain deviance can potentially complement one another in terms of anomic processes. In the present article the proposition is tested that individual perceptions of social deviance that involve combinations of "anomic" and "labeling" elements can be identified by moral judgment.

MORAL JUDGMENT AND JUDGMENTAL MODULARITY

The perceptions of discrepancy between the importance of goals and the availability of means, from their very nature, are bound to the individual's perceptions, which are generally measured by moral judgment. Moral judgment of deviance or of criminal behavior is based on several sources of relevant information. For example, research that investigated moral judgment among various groups of adolescents, including juvenile delinquents, relied on information about intent and damage (Wolf, Battash, Addad, & Walters, 1992). The methodological approach in this study (functional measurement) allows, among other things, identification of the importance assigned to the relevant sources, that is, intent and damage. In the present context, importance of the goal and availability of means are the relevant elements.

One novel aspect of the present study is the choice of moral judgment as a means to examine predictions based on the theories of anomia and labeling. The use of this mode of response may facilitate expression (and thus exposure) of innovative/conformist perceptions in allegedly innovative and conformist people.

The measure of moral judgment differs from conventional measures of deviance and criminal behavior such as statistics related to frequencies of various offenses in different contexts. Such conventional measures are hampered by problems of definition and identification (e.g., Wolf, 1995). For the purpose of the present study, justification of crime was used as an instantiation of moral judgment. Justification is intended to represent perceptions (judgmental schemas, in psychological terms) of people regarding crime and deviance.

Wolf et al. (1992), within the framework of information integration theory and its methodological counterpart, functional measurement (e.g., Anderson, 1981, 1982, 1991, 1995), reported that juvenile delinquents (youth with a documented criminal background) showed a unique pattern of moral judgment, weighing damage much higher than intent. This pattern varied as a function of a change in the subjects' judgmental perspective. Intersubject differences were found in

comparisons between judgments based on their own perspective and judgments made from a role partner's point of view (e.g., a social or educational counselor). Such shifts in judgmental schemas are termed *judgmental modularity* by Wolf, Ron, and Walters (1996). Signs of judgmental modularity were found in conformists (Wolf, 1989) and in police officers (Wolf et al., 1996). This presumed phenomenon is especially relevant for the present issue that deals with moral judgment by criminals and conformists.

HYPOTHESES

The above-mentioned three sources of influence on moral judgment conform readily to common logic and benefit from a large measure of face validity. However, as regards all scientific theories, it requires empirical validation, namely, an examination of whether the target reality operates in accord with hypotheses that are derived from conceptual frameworks. With regard to justification of offenses, the following hypotheses are derived from the introduction thus far:

1. *Anomia*. The highest justification of offenses will be found in a condition of high goal importance and low availability of conventional means.
2. *Labeling*. Minor offenses will be justified more than severe offenses. That is due to incorporation of the castigating meaning of labeling a person as a violator of norms.
3. *Modularity*. From a personal perspective or from a perspective of a good friend, there will be higher justification of offenses than from a perspective of a stranger.

PERSONALITY AND CRIMINALITY

Hypothesis 1 predicts differences in justification of offenses between people with and without criminal background. A necessary question in this context is whether justification is related to personality predisposition of criminality. Eysenck links criminality with a number of predispositions. Personality traits measured by means of Eysenck's Personality Questionnaire (EPQ) and antisocial behavior were found to be correlated (see, for example, Eysenck, 1977, 1987; Eysenck & Eysenck, 1975).

The general arousal theory of criminality developed by Eysenck assumes that an inherited nervous system with a weakened sensitivity to low levels of stimulation is related to extraversion, impulsivity, and search for stimulation (Ellis, 1987; Eysenck & Gudjonson, 1989; Zuckerman, 1991). This theory is relevant in the present context, in that the individual diagnosed according to the EPQ as predisposed to criminality is likely to internalize anomic perceptions more so than those who exhibit the opposite. To examine links among criminality, personality dispositions, and anomic perceptions, the EPQ questionnaire was administered to all participants (criminals as well as conformists) in the study.

METHOD

INSTRUMENTS

Justification of crime: Experimental questionnaire. Within the framework of functional measurement, a sequence of descriptive narratives was generated. Each one included information about a specific level of each of four sources of information, as follows: importance of the goal (high/low), availability of acceptable means (many/few), severity of offenses (great/small), and object of judgment (good friend/stranger). The experimental model included all 16 combinations of the different levels of the four sources ($2 \times 2 \times 2 \times 2$). These narratives were administered twice to each subject. One time she or he was asked to justify a criminal act (offense) from his or her own perspective, and another time she or he was asked to justify the offense from the perspective of a teacher or counselor.

The first three (out of five) sources of information are intended to examine possible interactions between anomic (importance and availability) and labeling (severity) elements. The two other factors (object of judgment and judgmental perspective) should give an opportunity for modularity to surface in anomic judgment. The following generic narrative was used in all 32 instances:

Imagine that your good friend (or an adolescent from a dissimilar institutional framework—juvenile delinquent/high school) needs a lot (or a little) money, and is having difficulty obtaining it legally (or can obtain it easily). From a personal perspective (or from the perspective of a teacher or counselor), to what extent is it justified, in your opinion, that your friend (or an institutionally dissimilar adolescent) should commit a severe (or minor) offense to obtain the money?

The justification judgments were made on a 20-point graphic rating scale, ranging from *very little* to *very much*.

EPQ. The subjects were also administered the Hebrew version of EPQ, which was constructed by Montag in 1973 under the auspices of the Medical Institute for Driver Safety, Israeli Ministry of Health. The EPQ includes 90 items: 25 items of psychoticism, 21 of extroversion, 23 of neuroticism, and 21 of lying. Only three of these (4) scales—extroversion, neuroticism, and lying—are relevant for the present study, which deals with anomic and stigmatizing aspects of criminality.

PARTICIPANTS

Ninety-five participants were recruited from two backgrounds relevant to issues of anomia and labeling: criminal and normative. Participants from the former category came from three groups: juvenile delinquents, adults incarcerated for property crimes, and adults serving time for white-collar crimes. Normative participants were high school students and college students. Some of the partici-

TABLE 1
BACKGROUND DESCRIPTIVE
STATISTICS OF SUBJECTS

<i>Group</i>	<i>Original</i> n	<i>Age</i> Range	<i>Mean</i> Age	<i>Institution</i>	<i>Attrited</i>
Juvenile delinquents	15	15-18	16.8	Closed occupational	4
High school students	15	16-17	16.3	Municipal high school	3
"Property" criminals	18	19-34	27.1	Prison	7
"White-collar" criminals	17	25-46	35.8	Prison	6
Male college students	15	22-38	27.2	Bar Ilan University	5
Female college students	15	19-34	22.3	Bar Ilan University	2

pants were dropped during the course of the research; 5 for technical reasons and 22 for problems of adjustment to the requirements of the (complicated) design. Relevant characteristics of the participants are presented in Table 1.

PROCEDURE

Every participant met individually with the researcher. For the experimental questionnaire (justification of crime), instructions were read orally. Afterward, each question was read out loud separately. The important part of each narrative (which included the four pieces of relevant information) was reread before the participant gave his or her response. Such rereading was redundant for some of the high school students. Participants incarcerated for white-collar crimes waived the oral presentation of the material, reading the narratives themselves. College students filled out the questionnaire in groups of 2 to 4 in presence of the researcher. These participants were not given the section of the experimental questionnaire that dealt with judgment from the (nonpersonal) perspective of the counselor due to problems of face validity. The two sections of the experimental questionnaire (self/teacher-counselor perspectives) were administered a week apart. During each session, there was a 10-15 minute break between sections during which time half of the EPQ was administered. A general questionnaire was given after all other questionnaires. Its results, however, did not provide any meaningful contribution to an understanding of the relevant issues.

RESULTS

JUSTIFICATION OF CRIME

Descriptive statistics. The mean justifications of crime by the 11 juvenile delinquents are presented in Figure 1 as a function of the information about

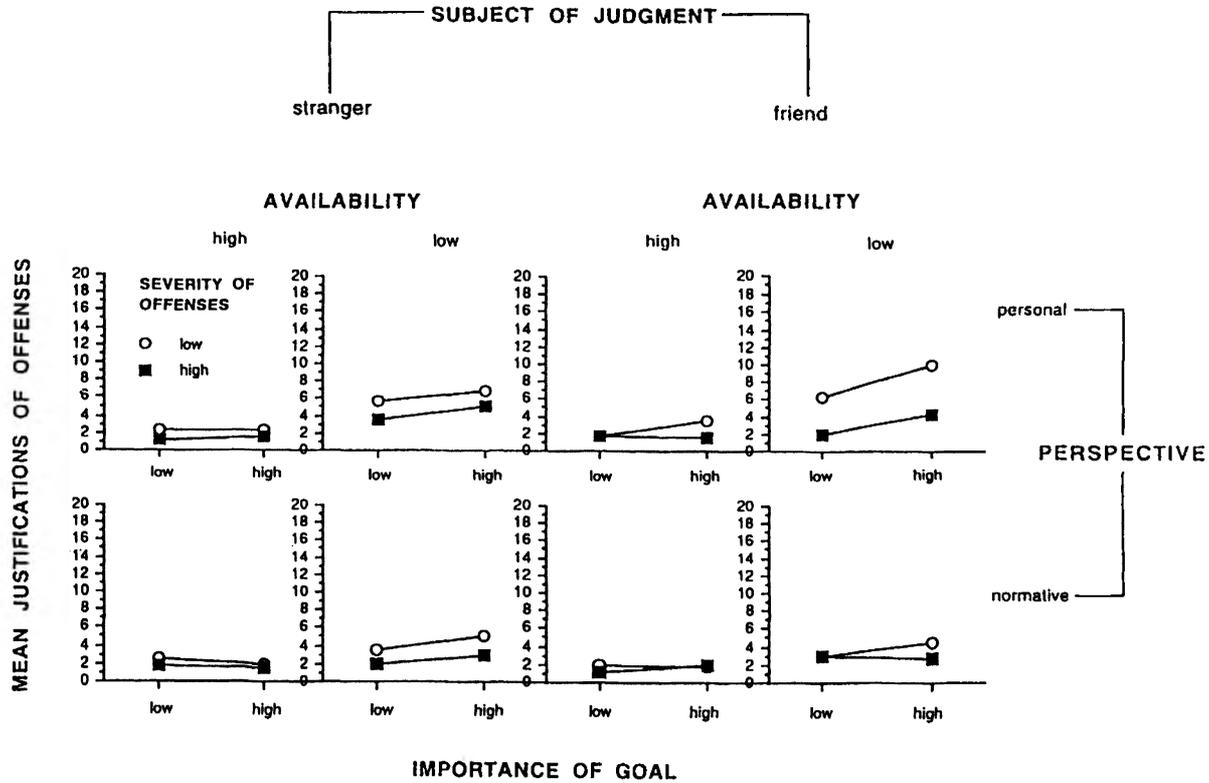


Figure 1 Mean Justification of Offenses by Juvenile Delinquents in the Different Experimental Conditions

importance of the goal. The parameter is severity of offenses. Each curve in each graph represents a different level of severity of offenses. The four graphs on the right side of the figure represent judgments of offenses committed by a good friend, whereas the four other graphs relate to offenses by a stranger. The first and third panels on the left side of the figure represent judgments where availability of means was low, whereas the second and fourth panels represent judgments where availability was high. The uppermost graphs of the figure represent judgments from a personal perspective, whereas the lowermost graphs represent judgments from the teacher/counselor's perspective.

It is important to note that all the graphs in Figure 1 are positioned at the lower end of the offense justification scale, that is, juvenile delinquents justified offenses to a limited rate in terms of the two relevant elements of anomia, importance of a goal and availability of means, the results confirm Hypothesis 1. Under the conditions of high availability of means, there was equal justification for offenses under both conditions of importance. Greater justification for offenses under all conditions of low availability of means gives additional support to the theory of anomia.

In accord with Hypothesis 2, in every one of the graphs, the lower position of the curve, which represents justification of severe offenses, indicates a lesser degree of justification. This finding hints at the possibility that juvenile delinquents hold attitudes similar to those of conformists vis-à-vis stronger condemnation of more severe offenses. This finding might substantiate an approach that argues that criminality has an important function for validating normativity in any society.

Figure 1 also appears to indicate that justification of offenses by juvenile delinquents is influenced by an interaction between the perceived severity of offenses and availability of means. Severity of offenses under conditions of lower availability of means was assigned greater weight than under conditions of higher availability. This is reflected in the larger distance between the curves in the second and the fourth graphs versus the first and third graphs. This finding, as well, complements the theory of anomia, in that little availability of means, according to the theory, should lead to higher preference of criminality.

The proximity to the object of judgment (person being judged) did not play a role in justification of a crime. This is reflected in a lack of noticeable difference in the height of the graphs on the right and left parts of Figure 1. The perspective of judgment (personal/counselor) also did not yield a noticeable difference in the level of justification, as indicated by the approximately equal height of the upper and the lower graphs in Figure 1. These results disagree with Hypothesis 3.

Figure 2 displays the mean justification for offenses as judged by 12 conformist high school students for the different experimental conditions.

Surprisingly, according to Figure 2, justification of offenses by high school students who participated in the present study does not differ from justification by juvenile delinquents (see Figure 1). Here, as well, we see an interaction between the importance of the goal and the availability of means, and an interac-

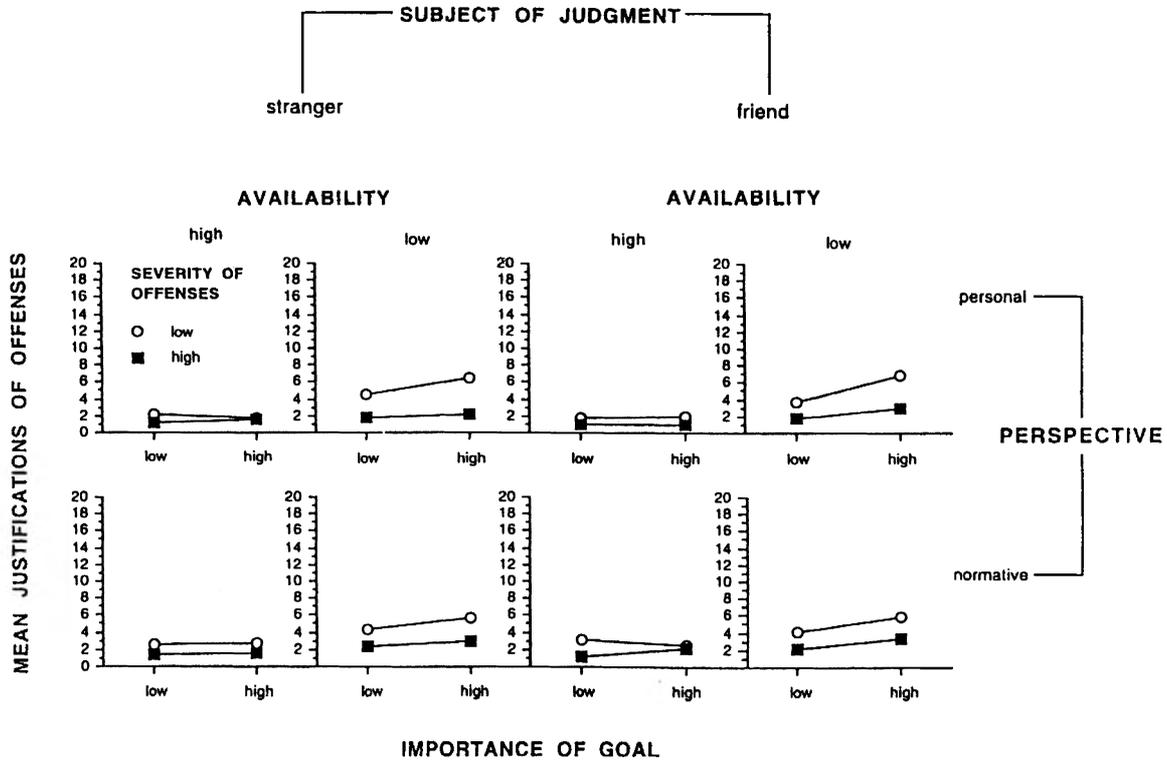


Figure 2 Mean Justification of Offenses by High School Students in the Different Experimental Conditions

TABLE 2
SIGNIFICANT COMPARISONS FROM
THE 6-WAY ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE

<i>Source of Variance</i>	df	SS	F
Importance of goal	1	138.1	12.6***
Availability of means	1	1,266.9	82.4***
Severity of offenses	1	602.7	44.7***
Importance × Availability	1	106.1	19.8***
Availability × Severity	1	65.7	10.2**
Perspective × Object × Importance	1	13.9	4.1*
Availability × Importance × Severity	1	17.2	5.9*
Perspective × Object × Severity × Group	3	32.6	3.9*
Perspective × Object × Availability × Severity × Group	3	17.4	3.0*

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

tion between the availability of means and the severity of offenses as well as noticeable main effects for these three factors.

This picture is corroborated in Figures 3, 4, and 5, which represent justification of offenses as judged by property criminals incarcerated for white-collar crimes and by college students (male and female), respectively. Excluding several minor deviations, which do not obscure the pattern in all these groups, the findings are the same as those for Figures 1 and 2.

Inferential statistics. A six-way analysis of variance was conducted on five repeated factors, where each subject was exposed to each of two levels of each factor, and an additional factor for group with four values: juvenile delinquents, high school students, criminals incarcerated for property crimes, and criminals incarcerated for white-collar crimes. The significant comparisons are presented in Table 2.

It should be noted that three of the main effects—groups of subjects, object of judgment, and judgmental perspective—were far from significance: As can be seen in Table 2, the meaningful effects are concentrated in interactions among the remaining factors—importance, availability, and severity. Table 2 shows, in confirmation of the visual impressions from the figures presented above, that the interactions between importance and availability as well as between availability and severity are significant, the ratio (F) of explained to residual variance being greater than 10. Also, the interaction among importance, availability, and severity (which includes the two above-mentioned interactions) is significant, $F = 5.9$. The three main effects involved in this interaction are also significant.

These findings point to a pattern of anomic and labeling judgment, which is reflected, respectively, in the two fractions. The above-mentioned triple interaction (a) with regard to the interaction between importance and availability, for subjects with criminal as well as those with normative backgrounds, importance

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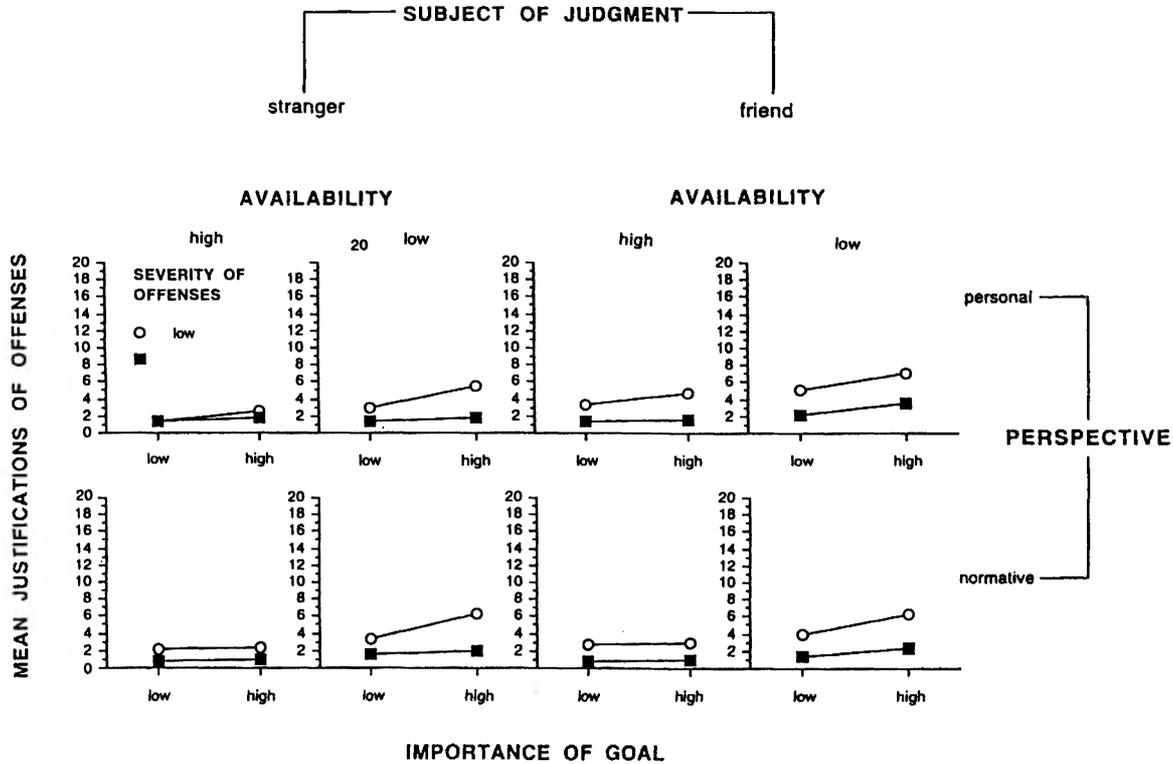


Figure 5 Mean Justification of Offenses by College Students in the Different Experimental Conditions

TABLE 3
FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTIONS OF SUBJECTS
FOR EACH LEVEL OF THE EPQ SCALES

<i>Group</i>	<i>Extrovertism</i>			<i>Neuroticism</i>			<i>Lying</i>		
	<i>L</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>H</i>	<i>L</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>H</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>15</i>
Delinquents	—	2	9	—	6	5	5	4	2
High school	—	4	8	5	4	3	4	6	2
“Property” criminals	1	3	7	1	7	3	2	4	5
“White-collar” crimes	2	4	5	3	8	—	1	3	7
Male students	1	2	7	3	6	1	5	5	—
Female students	2	3	8	4	8	1	2	9	2
Total	6	18	44	16	39	13	19	31	18

NOTE: L = low; M = medium; H = high.

TABLE 4
MEAN FOR SUBJECTS IN VARIOUS
GROUPS FOR THE EPQ SCALES

<i>Group</i>	<i>Extrovertism</i>	<i>Neuroticism</i>	<i>Lying</i>
Delinquents	16.7	14.7	7.2
High school	15.9	9.8	6.4
“Property” criminals	14.2	12.9	10.0
“White-collar” criminals	13.8	9.2	11.7
Male students	15.7	9.6	5.3
Female students	13.8	9.4	8.2

influenced justification of crime only where there was limited availability of legitimate means and where, as a result, justification of the crime was greater; (b) the interaction between availability and severity supports the visually based conclusion that severity, under conditions where availability is limited. See in Figures 1-5, for example, the greater difference between the two curves in each graph in all conditions of low availability (second and fourth columns) than in the graphs of high availability.

EPQ

The frequency of the subjects in the different groups for each of the three scales of the EPQ and the mean for each group for each scale are presented in Tables 3 and 4, respectively.

Tables 3 and 4 show no recognizable differences in extroversion among the different groups. For example, the mean is identical for students and white-collar criminals (13.8). As far as neuroticism is concerned, the means for juvenile delinquents and high school students are lower than for the other groups. For lying,

TABLE 5
MEAN FOR CONFORMING AND INCARCERATED
ADULTS FOR THE EPQ SCALES

<i>Group</i>	<i>Extrovertism</i>	<i>Neuroticism</i>	<i>Lying</i>
Conformists	15.1	9.6	6.8
“Property” criminals	15.4	13.8	8.6
“White-collar” criminals	13.8	9.2	11.7

the means for the two groups of adult criminals (property and white-collar) are greater than for the other groups. One-way analyses of variance reveal a significant difference only for the lying scale, $F(5, 62) = 4.7, p < .01$. A Scheffé test indicates that white-collar criminals showed a higher degree of lying than high school students.

Table 5 shows a comparison between adult criminals (property and white-collar) and conforming adults (high school and college students) for the EPQ measures.

As seen in Table 5, there are no noticeable differences in extroversion between conforming adults and those with criminal records; the former participants are positioned, with no significant differences, between both groups of criminals. In accord with Eysenck’s theory, the mean neuroticism score for criminals convicted of property crimes is significantly higher than for conforming adults (by approximately 4 scalar values); the mean for white-collar criminals (whose reference group prior to incarceration is the conformists) is closed to that of the conforming adults. This finding requires further examination. It is possible that the attraction of white-collar criminals to crime finds expression in the present context in that their mean level of lying is significantly higher than that of conforming adults (by 5 scalar values). Criminals convicted of property crimes are positioned between these two groups.

EPQ AND JUSTIFICATION

Justification of crime as an interactive function of the scales of the EPQ and of the elements that were manipulated in the experimental questionnaire was examined in only the 45 adult cases. The adolescents were excluded from this examination because this analysis was meant to deal with the interaction between established predispositions (and not developing predispositions as they would be among adolescents). One factor in the experimental questionnaire, the object of judgment, was found to interact with the EPQ scales (with no differences among groups).

Interactions of object of judgment with extroversion, neuroticism, and lying are presented in Table 6 for the participants’ own judgmental perspective. This

TABLE 6
MEAN JUSTIFICATIONS OF THE 45 ADULT SUBJECTS
FROM THEIR OWN PERSPECTIVE

<i>Object of Judgment</i>	<i>Extrovertism</i>			<i>Neuroticism</i>			<i>Lying</i>		
	<i>L</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>H</i>	<i>L</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>H</i>	<i>L</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>H</i>
Good friend	1.9	3.4	3.2	2.3	3.2	3.8	4.3	3.0	2.5
Stranger	1.5	3.1	3.1	1.9	3.0	3.7	3.7	2.8	2.7
<i>n</i>	3	13	29	9	25	11	12	17	16

NOTE: L = low; M = medium; H = high.

was to permit inclusion of student responses in the group of adult subjects (students made judgments of justification for crimes only from their own perspective).

In Table 6, for all three EPQ scales, there appears to be an overabundance of justification for crimes committed by a good friend. This trend diminishes and essentially disappears in the upper ranges of these scales. There is an interaction among predispositional and situational characteristics of criminality. In terms of extroversion and neuroticism, Table 6, as expected, shows a rise in the justification of crime in tandem with a rise in these predispositions. Regarding lying, an opposite trend is observed, that is, a person with a greater tendency to lie justifies crime to a lesser extent. It should be noted that these data could not be submitted to differential statistical tests due to unequal distribution of subjects at the different levels of EPQ scales. Nevertheless, the findings are consistent and clear when analyzed solely by descriptive statistics.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

FINDINGS AND IMPLICATIONS

Within the framework of the experimental questionnaire that was based on functional measurement, responses from all subjects, criminals and conformists, supported the prediction that justification of crime will conform to the conceptual framework of anomia. Accordingly, interactions were found between the perceived importance of means and the perceived availability of means in their influence on justification of offenses: Only under conditions of low availability of means was there a greater justification; under these conditions, a greater distinction was found between petty offenses (which elicited greater justification) and severe ones. The role of perceived severity of offenses in this finding supports an indirect derivation from labeling conceptualization, assuming an inverse relationship between the severity of stigma and level of justification. (Of course, this hypothesis should be tested empirically in a follow-up study.) In addition, a

relationship was found between neuroticism and lying (as measured by the EPQ) on one hand and criminal/conformist background of the participants on the other.

The findings of the experimental questionnaire reveal that it is possible to identify empirical meeting points between the constructs of the theory of anomia—importance of goal and availability of means—and severity of offenses, the element that represented labeling theory here. Merton (1982) recognized the need for a conceptual framework based on a number of theories in order to achieve a better explanation for social deviance and criminality. He remarked that explanation of deviance by different theories have the potential to complement each other in order to create a more comprehensive conceptualization. A successful establishment of such a merger depends on the use of an appropriate paradigm, as discussed below.

THE USE OF MORAL JUDGMENT IN SOCIOLOGICAL CONTEXTS

Use of moral judgment in testing sociological predictions, initially intended to be predictors of crime and criminality, may point to a new approach to operationalize sociological issues. The advantages of such a method, as opposed to gathering of crime statistics, is rooted in the possibility of examining psychological processes that might mediate between sociological factors and deviant behavior of individuals.

The importance of this method lies in the partial but substantive overlap between the scope of interests of sociology and psychology. Sociology is interested in behavior of people as members of groups, whereas psychology is interested in their behavior as individuals. Merton coined the term anomia (as opposed to the original term *anomie*) to account for anomic processes in the individual. The present study was challenged by this approach and used moral judgment as a reflection of individual's anomic perceptions or conceptions.

The results of the present study are encouraging, and although caution is required in terms of both internal and external validity, due to methodological problems (such as complex design and drop-out rate), follow-up studies with simpler design might prove fruitful for the present issue. The focus should be on the use of various judgmental modes (not only justification of offenses) such as labeling. One possible technique for the measurement of labeling is the rating procedure of the theory of signal detection. There, the participant first makes a choice between two alternatives: The protagonist should/should not be labeled (stigmatized) as criminal; then the participant rates the confidence in his or her choice.

PREDISPOSITIONAL MEASURES

In combining personality or predispositional measures with situational measures in an attempt to construct a complex explanation for criminality, the findings

of the present study are not definitive. The principal test regarding such a possibility was carried out in two ways, first through an examination of the relationship between type of career (criminal/conformist) and measures from Eysenck's personality questionnaire, and second, through an examination of justification of offenses as a function of the interaction between sociological parameters (importance of goal, justification of means, and severity of offenses) and measures from the above-mentioned personality questionnaire.

In the first way, a relation was indeed found between criminality/conformism and neuroticism and lying, but no link was found between criminality/conformism and extroversion. In the second way, complex interactions were found. These findings should undergo further clarification as a precondition for a conclusion that personality scales should take place, as part of the psychological means, in the examination of sociological issues.

JUDGMENTAL MODULARITY

Judgmental modularity is conceived by Wolf et al. (1996) as a change in judgmental schema, as a function of a change in judgmental perspective. Judgmental perspective is the social role with which a person identifies during the process of making judgment. In the present context, judgmental schema is represented by the importance assigned to the relevant sources of information. Wolf and his colleagues have found differences in the pattern of judgment following a switch from one perspective to another (e.g., Wolf, 1989; Wolf et al., 1992; Wolf et al., 1996).

The findings of the present study (as can be seen in Table 2: significant interactions that involve perspective and object of judgment) point to the relevance of the modularity hypothesis for measurement of sociological phenomena by means of moral judgment. Also, Table 6 shows interactions between the object of judgment, which was intended to manipulate judgmental modularity, and the EPQ scales—extroversion, neuroticism, and lying. These findings are sufficient for a recommendation that further attempts to use social or moral judgment for the study of sociological issues should take judgmental modularity into account.

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