Neutralization Theory and the NFL's Domestic Violence Issues: A Case Study Analysis

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Abstract
This study applied neutralization techniques from neutralization theory (Sykes and Matza, 1957) to NFL players involved in domestic violence. A qualitative method, case study analysis was performed on four NFL players. Data was a compilation of news articles covering the players and the domestic violence incidents. Data analysis reveals that the NFL players employ one or more techniques of neutralization in order to rationalize their actions. Future research and implications are discussed.

Introduction

In 2014, the National Football League (NFL) had a big issue on their hands when Ray Rice, a star running back for the Baltimore Ravens, was captured on video punching and knocking his then fiancée, Janay Palmer, unconscious. NFL Commissioner Roger Goodell initially handed Rice a two-game suspension, but once the video was made public, the Ravens swiftly terminated Rice's contract and Goodell suspended Rice indefinitely. Ray Rice brought unwanted attention to the NFL with his domestic violence episode, but the league is all too familiar with domestic violence amongst its players.

According to the National Coalition Against Domestic Violence (NCADV) (2015), about twenty people are abused by their intimate partner every minute in the United States which equates to over ten million victims a year. NCADV (2015) defines domestic violence as "the willful intimidation, physical assault, battery, sexual assault, and/or other abusive behavior as part of a systematic power and control perpetrated by one intimate partner against another" (p. 1). Domestic violence should be

considered a "public health issue" given that it affects more than 20% of women and 10% of men (Kennedy, 2016). The presence of social media helps in this endeavor where survivors can create their own narratives regarding their stories to an audience to spread awareness and facilitate victim advocacy efforts.

News media outlets spotlight domestic violence occurrences among NFL players and in a 2014 national survey found that 70% of NFL fans and 73% of female fans believe domestic violence is a huge problem in the league (Leal, Gertz, and Piquero, 2015). Leal, Gertz and Piquero (2015) assert that while "the general public believes that the NFL has a violence problem, solid empirical research does not lend convincing support to this claim" (Leal et al., 2015:397). Moreover, they argue published articles with some scientific rigor find that rates of NFL crime and violence, especially domestic violence, are lower than the general population (Leal, et al 2015:397). While NFL players may be found to have lower rates of domestic violence than the general public, the NFL,

as a brand, has to confront domestic violence allegations in the interest of organization.

Theoretical & Empirical Framework

Techniques of Neutralization

When confronted with domestic violence allegations, NFL players can either admit their wrongdoings or choose to find ways to distance themselves from accountability. The strategies used to escape accountability were coined by sociologists Gresham Sykes and David Matza who introduced the techniques of neutralization (neutralization theory hereafter) as a theoretical framework to help explain juvenile delinquency in 1957. Specifically, they argue individuals engage in strategies to justify or excuse behaviors deemed deviant by larger society. Sykes and Matza (1957) laid out five techniques of neutralization: denial of responsibility, denial of injury, denial of victim, condemnation of the condemners, and appeal to higher loyalties. These techniques serve as rationalizations and neutralizes accountability for deviant behavior by those who deploy them:

- *Denial of responsibility claims that deviant acts occur due to forces beyond the control of the individual such as the way they were raised.*

- *Denial of injury is when the individual evaluates the wrongfulness of his behavior by making a distinction between acts that are always morally wrong and acts that are illegal but not necessarily immoral.*

- *Denial of victim is when an individual claims that the injury committed is not wrong when taking other circumstances into consideration sometimes to the point where it is believed that the victim deserved what happened to them.*

- *Condemning the condemners occurs when individuals shift the attention towards those who criticize them by pointing out that they also engaged in the disapproved behavior.*

- *Appealing to higher loyalties is when an individual values the norms of a smaller group to be more important than the norms of mainstream society, thereby allowing the individual to neutralize the mainstream belief that a certain type of crime is wrong.*

Sociologists and criminologists alike tend to distinguish between 'excuses' and 'justifications' when techniques of neutralizations are used (Wilhelm, 2020). Scott and Lyman (1968) assert that excuses are words or phrases people use to accept the transgression that took place but avoids responsibility, while justifications serve as accepting responsibility for the transgression but believes the transgression was not morally wrong (Selfiha, 2012, p. 218). Excuses and justifications both function to alter the meanings of the acts to align the offender's actions with the accepted norm behavior (Henry, 2009).

Neutralization Theory Applications

Harris and Dumas (2009) cite neutralization theory has been used to explain a plethora of activities: shoplifting (Cromwell and Thurman, 2003); marketing (Vitell and Grove, 1987); cheating on exams (Smith et al., 2004; Atmeh and Al Kadash, 2008); music piracy (Cohn and Vaccaro, 2006); sex trafficking (Antonopoulos and Winterdyk, 2005); online consumer behavior (Harris and Dumas, 2009); and white collar criminality (Piquero et al., 2005). Sports is another area where neutralization theory has been applied. Sefiha's (2012) work using neutralization theory on why professional cyclists use performance enhancing drugs also demonstrated how cyclists justified their use of performance-enhancing drugs even when it violated the integrity of the sport. These actions impact the sport's perception on and off the field. The NFL, as a business, has a vested interest in protecting its image and its players in order to protect the integrity of "The Shield," so when these domestic violence incidents occur, players may engage in any number of neutralization techniques allows them to protect their personal and professional image.

In this study, we explore the ways in which NFL players deploy various techniques of neutralization to justify or excuse their action(s) when domestic violence occurs. We use a case study approach of NFL players accused of domestic violence to assess the applicability of neutralization theory.

Crime in the NFL

Previous research on NFL players and criminal behavior is scarce (Blumstein, and Benedict, 1999), largely due to the lack of data collection by the NFL of its players' criminal behavior (Leal, Piquero, Leeper Piquero, and Gertz, 2019, p. 1323). It was not until a couple of news outlets, The San Diego Union-Tribune and USA Today, compiled information regarding NFL player arrests by creating an accessible online database, social science researchers were able to conduct scientific studies looking at criminality in the NFL. Some of these studies using this online database: Leal, et al. (2015) compared arrest rates of

NFL players and general population, Leal, Gertz and Piquero (2016) looked at the type and frequency of violence offenses of NFL players, and Leal, Gertz, and Piquero (2017) examined possible connections between off-duty deviance and on the field misbehavior.

Criminological Theories and NFL

Leal et al. (2015, p.398) note that only a few criminological theories have been empirically tested with NFL players: strain theory (Agnew, 1992), social bond theory (Hirschi, 1969), and Carter and Carter (2007; 2014) anomie and social ties correlations to offending.). Largely, there is a gap in the literature in respect to a diversity of theories to help explain occurrences of criminal behavior of NFL players. This study seeks to fill that void, in part, by applying neutralization theory to NFL players who have been accused of domestic violence.

Data and Methods

The main objective of this study is to demonstrate the utility of neutralization theory to understanding how NFL players justify or excuse their violent behavior when accused of domestic violence. This study takes a qualitative method approach, case study, to provide insights on the domestic violence incidents of four former NFL players. A case study can be defined as "an empirical investigation of a contemporary phenomenon within its natural context using multiple sources of evidence" (Hancock and Algozzine, 2006:30). Utilizing a case study method in a qualitative manner for research is useful in gaining an in-depth understanding of a certain phenomenon and in extending and testing existing theories.

For the goals of this research inquiry, a case study approach is the best option for content analysis of these four NFL players where there is an exploration of commonalities and differences among the cases. Maruna and Copes (2005) assert qualitative research on neutralization theory "provides rich insight into the ways that deviants understand and make sense out of their lives and offers a rare peek 'inside the mind' of the deviant actor" (Maruna and Copes, p. 258). Content analysis is the technique being used to conduct this case study because content analysis allows the researchers to analyze the unstructured data source of news articles in order to understand the techniques of neutralization of each player (Krippendorff 2004). Analyzing news articles allows the researchers to piece together the narrative behind each domestic violence incident through gathering facts and statements as they were reported by journalists at the time of each respective case.

News articles for the content analysis were selected using three methods. First, the researchers used two of the top sports media outlets in the country, ESPN and Bleacher Report, and searched the individual player's name within each website (Sports Management Degree Guide 2021). The sports media outlets were used in order to gather information about each player's athletic career as well as any information the outlet may have reported about the player's domestic violence incident. The researchers also used four of the top media outlets in the country, The New York Times, CNN, Associated Press, and USA Today, by searching each individual player's name (Glader 2017). These broader media outlets were used in order to gather information that was circulated nationally surrounding each player's domestic violence incident. Finally, the researchers used a general search engine search of "[player name], domestic violence" in order to gather information from any initial or local coverage of each player's domestic violence incident since any coverage these incidents received from local news sources would not be found through the sports media outlets or the top media outlets.

Following searches using all three of these methods, news articles that included any direct quotes from the player concerning their domestic violence incident or detailed information about the domestic violence incident were chosen for analysis. Only articles specifically concerning the domestic violence incident for each player were chosen since three of the four players who are subjects of this study were very popular players, so there are a multitude of news articles about these players not concerning the domestic violence incident.

While examining the four cases, this study will code for statements that can be classified as a technique of neutralization. Any kind of statement made by the player or on behalf of the player will be analyzed in determining the player's motive or mindset behind committing a violent act. Specifically, public statements, journal entries, and defense strategies pertaining to each player's respective domestic violence incident will be the main focus of this case study.

Sample

The unit of analysis for this study will be four different former NFL players: Warren Moon, Ray Rice, Greg Hardy, and Josh Brown. Each player has been accused of committing at least one act of domestic violence. Moon, Rice, and Hardy are African American men while Brown is a white man. Warren Moon's case occurred in the mid-1990s while the other three players' incidents occurred in the mid-2010s. The relevant time periods are worth noting because the

media landscape in the 1990s was not nearly what it became by the mid-2010s where the internet became the driving force behind the media. With the growth of social media, there are many more sources available to analyze Rice, Hardy, and Brown's cases than there are to analyze Moon's case.

By analyzing these four cases, this study will explore potential explanations for their justifications or excuses for their domestic violence incidents using various techniques of neutralization.

Warren Moon

Warren Moon is a Hall of Fame quarterback who played in the NFL from 1978 until 2000. While Moon was playing for the Minnesota Vikings in 1995 his wife, Felicia Moon, accused him of slapping her with an open hand and choking her to the point that she almost lost consciousness (Sansevere and Walters, 1995). Following the incident, Moon made a public statement insisting that the incident between himself and his wife was simply an argument that the two got into and was just an "unfortunate incident between two people who have loved each other for a very long time" (Sansevere and Walters, 1995, para. 6). Moon was tried by a jury for the alleged domestic violence incident against his wife (Murphy 1996, para. 1). During the trial, Moon's lawyer said, "This is a love story folks, not an assault." (Murphy 1996, para. 6). The jury found Moon not guilty and following the trial, Moon spoke to the media and asked that the people criticizing him to "look inside their own families" and "understand that things happen." (Murphy 1996, para. 8).

Ray Rice

Ray Rice, a 2008 second round draft pick of the Baltimore Ravens, was an established running back in the NFL. In February of 2014, Ray Rice and his then-fiancée Janay Palmer were arguing when Rice hit Palmer twice, knocking her unconscious. (CNN Staff, 2014). Rice then carried Palmer's lifeless body out of the elevator following the assault (CNN Staff, 2014). Both Rice and Palmer were arrested and charged with simple assault following the incident (Bien, 2014).

Rice's attorney claimed that the domestic violence incident was simply a "minor altercation" (Bien 2014, para. 7). Soon after, Raven's team owner stated Rice was a good man and would be back on the field (Bien, 2014). On March 27, Rice was indicted on a third-degree aggravated assault charge (CNN Library, 2020). The next day, Rice married Palmer, thereby giving Palmer spousal privilege to not testify against her husband had the case gone to trial (CNN Staff 2014). Rice pleaded not guilty to the aggravated

assault charge and entered a diversionary program for first-time offenders that eventually cleared him of any charges. (CNN Staff 2014). Following the widespread circulation of the video of the assault and his charges being dropped, Rice apologized for "the situation my wife and I were in" (CNN Staff 2014, para. 14).

Greg Hardy

Greg Hardy played defensive end for both the Carolina Panthers and the Dallas Cowboys from 2010-2015. On the night of May 12, 2014, Hardy and his ex-girlfriend, Nicole Holder, came back to Hardy's apartment after being out drinking together (Moskovitz, 2015). Holder claims that Hardy began to yell at her telling her she ruined their relationship because she was a "slut" (Moskovitz 2015, para. 13). The police report shows the altercation began when Hardy pushed Holder into the bathroom where she hit the shower wall and fell into the bathtub (Moskovitz,2015). Hardy then proceeded to pull her out by her hair and threw her down onto a futon with guns laying on it where he proceeded to stand over her and strangle her with his hands (Moskovitz, 2015). The altercation ended when Hardy's friend came into the room and Hardy called 911 claiming that he was the victim of an assault while Holder ran out to the street to find a police officer (Moskovitz, 2015).

Josh Brown

Josh Brown played in the NFL from 2003-2016 and was a kicker for the New York Giants at the time of his domestic violence arrest. In May of 2015, Josh Brown was arrested in Washington for fourth-degree assault against his wife, Molly Brown (Almasy, 2016). The arresting officer in the case wrote in his report that he witnessed Brown grab his wife by her wrists to the point there was bruising and a small abrasion (Wynn & Conway, 2017). No official charges were ever filed against Brown and he was never brought to court.

In October of 2016, the local sheriff's office released more than a hundred pages of documents including personal journal entries, emails, and statements that Brown had made to the police concerning his recurring abusive behavior against his wife throughout their marriage (Wynn and Conway, 2017). In one letter to friends that Brown wrote in 2014, he explained how he "viewed himself as God and that Molly was basically his slave" (Vacchiano, 2016, para. 7) and in a separate journal entry he admitted, "I mean I put my hands on her. I kicked the chair. I held her down. The holding down was the worst moment in our marriage...I never hit her. I never slapped her. I never choked her...I never did those

types of things" (Wynn and Conway 2017, paras. 13-14).

Results

Denial of injury and denial of victim were the most frequent techniques of neutralization observed when analyzing the news articles for each player. Also, our findings show that Moon and Rice deployed more than one neutralization technique by emphasizing their relationship to their significant other as a denial of victim and then also downplayed their role or the harm done to the victim as a denial of injury. Harris and Dumas (2009) found that subjects used the neutralization technique of denial of victim to reinforce their denial of injury. Here, no statements by any of the players would fall under appeal to higher loyalties or condemnation of condemners. Given that, our findings will focus on how each player used denial of injury and/or denial of victim.

Denial of Injury

Statements made by the player that could be considered to minimize any harm that the victim suffered were classified as denial of injury. By minimizing the harm that the victim experienced, the player is not only downplaying the actual injury to the victim, but trying to qualify the situation as something other than the incidence of domestic violence that it was (Ulsperger, Hodges, & Paul 2010).

Moon and Rice both minimized their significant others' injuries they inflicted upon them during their domestic disputes. Specifically, Moon downplayed harm to his wife while Rice diminished the incident by apologizing for "the situation my wife and I were in." Both instances show the offender's failure to explicitly acknowledge the injuries endured by their spouses, thus denying the injury.

Brown attempted to emphasize his indirect role in his significant other's injuries. Brown adamantly claims that he never once hit his wife, thereby implying he does not consider his other coercive behaviors against his wife as abusive behaviors. In Brown's journal entries and letters to friends, he is attempting to make the violent behaviors he engaged in more acceptable by evaluating the wrongfulness of his behavior.

Hardy's behavior can also be categorized as a denial of injury since immediately following the violent incident, Hardy called 911 and attempted to make it look like the harm was actually committed against him. By making this claim, Hardy was trying to effectively downplay Holder's injuries by trying to get the authorities to consider him a victim.

All of these examples of denial of injury were statements made by the player after they committed an act of violence against their significant other. This specific finding aligns with a study performed by Harris and Dumas (2009) since a majority of their sample of individuals who commit crimes online used the neutralization technique of denial of injury following the criminal act in order to try and rationalize the harm they have already committed. This finding supports Sykes and Matza's (1957) definition of denial of injury while also addressing the theory's limitation that it can be difficult to observe since it is hard to tell if neutralization occurs before or after the crime is committed.

Denial of Victim

Any statements made by the player that tend to justify the player's actions towards the victim, that tend to be aggressive towards the victim, or that tend to distance the player from their actions towards the victim can be classified as the technique of denial of victim (Ulsperger et al., 2010).

Denial of victim as a neutralization technique was used by Moon and Rice to distance themselves from their actions by implying there was no victim. Following his domestic violence incident, Moon made the claim that he and his wife just had some personal problems that were best left to work out in private because they are two people who love each other (Sansevere and Walters, 1995). In this statement, Moon is trying to portray that nothing criminal really occurred between himself and his wife because they are a married couple who should be left to handle their personal affairs as they see fit. Rice emphasized his relationship with Palmer and engaged in the technique of denial of victim by marrying Palmer the day before his trial. While the decision for Rice to marry Palmer is undoubtedly a legal strategy, that move also worked to practically make it so that there was no more victim to the crime since the victim would then be Rice's wife. Since Rice and Palmer were married, Palmer would not be compelled to testify against Rice due to spousal privilege; this marriage effectively silenced Palmer from speaking out against Rice.

Hardy and Brown also made statements commenting on how their victims deserved the harm that was inflicted upon them. Hardy repeatedly called Holder a "slut" and blamed her for their relationship ending throughout the night of the incident (Moskovitz, 2015). Hardy's derogatory comments towards Holder while he was physically abusing her indicate that he held the belief that Holder deserved whatever pain he inflicted upon her. In respect to Brown, journal entries and letters to his friend indicated a history of abuse that impacted how he

Table 1: Neutralization Techniques Utilized by NFL Players

	Denial of Injury	**Denial of Victim**
Moon	Moon downplayed the harm committed against his wife. Moon's lawyer said, "This is a love story folks, not an assault" (Murphy 1996, para. 6).	Claimed that he and his wife need to work out their "personal problems" in private because they are two people who love each other (Sansevere and Walters 1995).
Rice	Apologized for "the situation my wife and I were in" (CNN Staff 2014, para. 14).	Rice married Palmer just before his court hearing, which prevented her from testifying against him (CNN Staff 2014).
Hardy	Hardy made a 911 call and tried to depict the situation like Holder was the one who attacked him and that any injuries she had were self-inflicted (Moskovitz, 2015).	Repeatedly called Holder a "slut" and accused her of ruining their relationship while he attacked her (Moskovitz 2015, para. 13).
Brown	In Brown's journal, he admitted to various forms of violence and coercion against his wife, but was adamant that he would never hit her (Wynn and Conway 2017).	In his journal, Brown claimed that he viewed himself as God and his wife as his slave in order to explain why he hurt her (Vacchiano 2016).

viewed himself as a 'God' and his wife as his 'slave' (Vacchiano 2016). This type of dehumanization contributed to the denial of the victim and justified, in Brown's view, the violence he inflicted on his wife. Hardy's situation and Brown's situation are not only examples of denial of victim, but actually examples of how these techniques of neutralization can occur before the violent incident. Sykes and Matza (1957) stated how they not only believed that justifications for behavior occurred following an incident, but that rationalizations before an individual act also occur as well (Sykes and Matza 1957, 666). Looking at Hardy's use of "slut" and blaming her for their relationship failures, it seems that Hardy was rationalizing acting violently towards Holder before he actually physically attacked her. In Brown's case, by acknowledging in his journal that he viewed his wife as his slave, Brown was preemptively rationalizing acting violently towards her in the future since he viewed her essentially as someone whose feelings do not matter.

Discussion and Conclusions

NFL players involved in a domestic violence matter will find themselves facing public scrutiny from NFL fans, domestic violence advocates, and the NFL itself. Given the popularity of the NFL, players must be vigilant in their private matters and when they become public, they can either hold themselves accountable or find ways to distance themselves from

the scrutiny. This research used a case study approach to explore how four NFL players used techniques of neutralization in order to excuse their actions when accused of engaging in domestic violence against their significant other.

The way in which each player responded to their own domestic violence incident has been addressed, and it is also relevant to consider how the NFL and the criminal justice system responded to these incidents. Warren Moon was ultimately acquitted of spousal abuse and he went on to play five more seasons in the NFL (Murphy, 1996; Pro Football Reference, 2019). Ray Rice pleaded not guilty to aggravated assault and was initially given a two-game suspension by the NFL. Once video evidence of the assault surfaced, NFL Commissioner Goodell suspended Rice indefinitely and Rice never played another professional football game (Bien, 2014; CNN Library, 2020). Greg Hardy was convicted of assault, he appealed the decision, all charges were eventually dropped, and he was able to return to the NFL after serving a four-game suspension (Gregory, 2014; Hanzus, 2015). Josh Brown was given a six-game suspension by the NFL following the release of Brown's journal entries, but he was never taken to trial over his domestic violence arrest or his personal admissions of guilt (Almasy, 2016) He has not played in the NFL since.

Sykes and Matza's (1957) neutralization theory has long been tested in various areas of crime in order to attempt to explain why certain crimes happen or

why certain individuals engage in criminal behavior. In this study, researchers analyzed public statements, published journal entries, and defense strategies obtained through news articles to categorize each NFL players' explanations for their actions as a technique of neutralization. Ultimately, techniques of neutralization that were most frequent among the sample of players were denial of injury and denial of victim. The remaining three techniques of neutralization were sparse among the study's sample. Denial of responsibility could be couched into either denial of injury or denial of victim but no explicit statements indicated as much. In respect to the lack of evidence for appeal to higher loyalties and condemnation of condemners among the study's sample, these techniques do not bode well with "protecting the shield" of the NFL. Specifically, to condemn the condemners would be a public relations nightmare for the NFL and appeal to higher loyalties would need to be explicitly stated by players accused of domestic violence, which is something unlikely to happen seeing as each of these players were employed by the league at the time of their incident.

Limitations

These findings, while fruitful, also have limitations. One deals with the validity of measuring the naturalization process with solely public statements. Sykes and Matza (1957) note "deviant behavior and as protecting the individual from self-blame and the blame of others after the act. But there is also reason to believe that they precede deviant behavior and make deviant behavior possible" (Sykes and Matza 1957, 666). Our findings on Hardy and Brown are situational as Hardy called his partner a "slut" while he attacked her and Brown labeled his wife a "slave" to excuse his deviant behavior. These two cases would fall in line with Sykes and Matza's (1957) claim that preceding deviant behavior makes deviant behavior possible. However, Rice and Moon's findings do not offer preceding deviant behavior to influence the deviant behavior noted in neutralization process. These different findings present a nuance of assessing the process of neutralization. This is a limitation concerning validity for measuring the process of neutralization when there is not access to preceding behavior that can precipitate current behavior. A remedy for this limitation would be to interview NFL players to ask questions about behaviors they engaged in before and after deviant acts to better assess the process of neutralizations. This would allow researchers to probe into the 'deviant mind' to better understand origins of the person's deviant behavior.

The other limitation deals with potential 'cherry-picking' of cases. The authors acknowledge that there

are more NFL players in the media for domestic violence allegations and could have been included in this study. The NFL players selected were those who received extensive coverage for their alleged domestic violence behavior after an exhaustive review of news articles covering domestic violence in the NFL.

The authors acknowledge both limitations. The researchers also understand that those accused of domestic violence are unlikely to offer incriminating answers that could have wide-ranging consequences. Analyzing public statements from news articles was the best and most practical choice that offered the authors a chance to apply neutralization using a case study approach to better understand NFL players involved in domestic violence matters.

Caveats and Future Directions

This study, while exploratory, does offer two caveats to the field of criminology: the use of a case study on the NFL to study neutralization theory and the application of neutralization theory on the domestic violence incidents involving NFL players. The application of neutralization theory is widely used in qualitative research (Maruna and Copes, 2005) and has been applied to sports, specifically professional cycling (Sefiha, 2012). What differs with this study is the application of neutralization techniques that deal with the athlete outside of their sports profession. Both contributions fill in voids that will help future researchers interested in the application of neutralization theory and the use of case studies to theorize about the behavior of NFL players potentially on and off the field.

Future research covering domestic violence and the NFL should extend beyond the players to the organization itself. While players may serve as the popular face of gameplay, Commissioner Goodell is the face of the NFL league when these incidents come to light. NFL players are not the only individual using techniques of neutralization to deflect accountability, the NFL itself has mechanisms in place to help stymie negative press regarding its brand. Given this, determining how the NFL as a business handles incidents like domestic violence by its players can be done by looking at the league as a moral enterprise and Commissioner Goodell as a moral entrepreneur. Public relations are a big piece of how a brand keeps the public in its good graces and also the many sponsors and partnerships that are lucrative for the NFL. "Appealing to a higher loyalty" could be a technique of neutralization used by the NFL when it decides to release a player after it becomes public knowledge that said NFL player has evidence domestic violence occurred. NFL's brand will not risk losing millions in sponsorships for a player, especially

if the player is a low-tier player. This could be a great place for the field of criminology to apply its theories of deviance to the financial interest of the NFL.

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