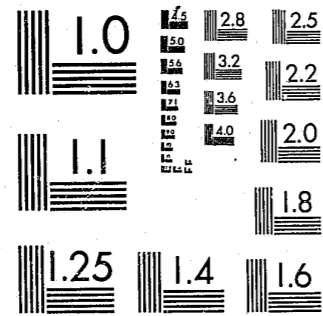


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CRIMINOLOGICAL THEORIES AS SEEN BY CRIMINOLOGISTS:

AN EVALUATIVE REVIEW OF APPROACHES TO THE
CAUSATION OF CRIME AND DELINQUENCY

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Prepared for the Governor's Special Committee
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INTRODUCTION AND GENERAL IMPRESSIONS

This paper summarizes a review of the literature on crime and delinquency in order to evaluate the current status of theories of causation. The bibliography appended to the report suggests the materials which have been reviewed, but the reader familiar with the field will find that some items known to him are missing from the list. There is a good reason for this. What I have attempted to do was "pass through" the literature until reaching a (subjectively determined) point of diminishing returns. Thus the review was comprehensive, but not exhaustive. In addition, the bibliography contains only those items which I found useful to my purposes. Other items which merely repeated points covered by an earlier one have not been listed.

Three specific categories of material guided the review: (a) those describing major theories of crime and delinquency causation, (b) those explicitly stating criteria for evaluating these theories, and (c) those providing such evaluation. As much as is possible, I have attempted to play the role of computer software - compiling, listing, categorizing, but not introducing my own unconsidered biases. But having a stake in the outcome, I realize I have not succeeded totally in eliminating my own prejudices.

Before proceeding to the body of the report, I should like to make a few general statements which result from this library search. These are by way of personal impressions as I have attempted to summarize, for myself, the results of this exercise.

The first of these is that the goals of this report constitute a test which perhaps no theory can be expected to meet. The breadth and complexity of the criteria which exist in the literature as tests of causation theories are far ahead of the theories themselves. Part I of this report specifies twelve broad

categories of criteria, and no theory can hope to stand up well under such a barrage.

There are several obvious reasons for this. It is always easier to criticize than to formulate; criminology is no exception to this rule. But in addition, several of the major approaches to theory have only been formulated within the past fifteen years. This has not left sufficient time for careful exploration and modification of the theories. The process of theory construction, testing, and validation in social science is a slow one. Throughout this report, the reader should remember this fundamental limitation on his expectations.

A second strong impression has to do with the relative attention paid to delinquency and crime. The approaches of Cohen, Cloward and Ohlin, Miller, the Gluecks, and the "Adolescent Striving" theorists (Part II of this report) have all been concerned primarily with delinquency, not with adult crime. Theories of crime causation are almost non-existent or merely extrapolations from delinquency theories. The same is true of female crime, including female delinquency to a lesser extent. Thus, for females of all ages and adults of both sexes, we are in a theoretical vacuum. Korn and McGorkle have noted that "...criminology is without parallel in the behavioral sciences for the sheer prevalence of invalidated ideas over positive knowledge" (78, p. 304) and Eldefonso writes that "Because of this inadequacy of knowledge, each specialist tends to formulate his theory in terms of his own experiences". (39, p. 80)

The President's Crime Commission implicitly attributes this state of affairs to the complexity of the crime problem itself, repeating its stand thus:

"No single formula, no single theory, no single generalization can explain the vast range of behavior called crime." (158, p. v).

"Thinking of crime as a whole is futile." (158, p. 3)

"The causes of crime, then, are numerous and mysterious and intertwined. . . No one way of describing crime describes it well enough." (158, p. 18)

And while there is certainly much truth in these statements, it is discouraging to see their overall message promulgated in the most comprehensive review ever prepared for the public. There is a defeatism in this approach which can only solidify the obvious tendency among criminologists to throw up their hands in despair over the possibility of developing useful theories of crime. The result fits perfectly the broader-targeted complaint of George Homans:

"Social geographers speak of a 'hollow frontier' - where waves of adventurers have swept through the backlands looking for quick wealth but leaving behind them no settled territory, consolidated for civilization. We sociologists are adventurers of the same stripe. We get more and more grants for 'exciting' research at the 'growing edge' of the field, but behind the growing edge lies no body of organized knowledge." (69, p.2)

The theory which does exist, with respect to both delinquency and crime, has not been developed very far. I have noted some reasons for this above. But another impression one gets from the literature is that the theorists themselves have been reluctant to expand very far beyond their original formulation. It's as if each said to himself, "I'll take my shot, and then stand back to see what happens." Where expansion does occur, typically it is undertaken by someone other than the originator. When this happens, it is seldom clear whether the originator would go along with the suggested modifications. The result is a watering down of the original directions and a loss of opportunity to push the logical extensions to the point of severe and crucial tests. It may be that in this area the field has not provided sufficient reward to entice the theorist into pursuing his theoretical interest. This is an interesting question for the sociology of knowledge.

Perhaps the most frustrating aspect of the entire literature survey has been the search for theory in both enforcement and corrections. Philosophy, value, even strategy abound, but theory is almost non-existent. Texts on enforcement and corrections are as likely as not to omit the very word, theory, from their indexes. For instance, Conrad's Crime and Its Correction (27) employs the word theory only to note its lack in corrections. Empey notes that "They (correctional policies and activities) are guided by a kind of intuitive, goal-oriented guessing...." (41, p. 79).

Giallombardo suggests that "The difficulty stems from the fact that there is no consensus about what to prevent and treat, or how to accomplish these objectives" (53, p. 451), and Hakeem suggests that "...sociologists have just not been able to convert their theories and research findings into propositions useable in the prevention of delinquency " (62, p. 454). While both statements may be partially correct, I have sensed the existence of even more fundamental problems. The theorist often doesn't wish to concentrate on the practical problems of criminology, for a variety of reasons. The practitioner usually doesn't care much for anything labelled "theory." These attitudes have been far more detrimental to knowledge advancement than has the inherent complexity of the theoretical and practical problems of criminology. Until ways are found to bring about confrontations and partial resolutions of these attitudinal and value stances, progress will be seriously impaired.

Finally, it must sadly be stated that empirical research in action programs is most sorely inadequate or missing. In particular, evaluation of the effectiveness of various programs is badly needed in all component parts of the criminal justice system. Not only is this unfortunate for the practitioner seeking better use of his skills, or for the offender and his "society ^{of} victims," but also the theorist

suffers, for the most fruitful tests of his propositions lie in the action arena. One solution to this problem is suggested by Shulman, and it is one with which my own literature review leads me to agree heartily:

"The facts would suggest that delinquency control policies in the United States ought not continue on a piecemeal empirical basis but be shifted to action research auspices, under local and regional administrative agencies having a network of communication and a systematic pattern of research assignments" (144, p.137).

Part. I: THE CRITERIA

In this section are capsule summaries of twelve categories of criteria which have been used by criminologists to evaluate their own theories. The categories are not mutually exclusive, and some are far more comprehensive than others. The reader may think of others not covered herein. The only justification for the criteria to follow is that they appear in the criminological literature. Which are more important and which less is an unanswered question, or rather, each criterion will have its own adherents. This fact by itself is characteristic of criminology, a field still searching for consensus. No attempt has been made to assign priorities to the twelve criteria; the reader may wish to assign his own.

1. LOGICAL STRUCTURE

The logical structure of a theory is ordinarily expected to involve at least the following points:

- a. Explanation of events by reference to variables otherwise independent of those events;
- b. A set of internally consistent propositions, each of which narrows the range of prediction error;
- c. Deductions derived logically from the propositions, and more parsimoniously than from other theories;
- d. Concepts which can be agreed upon, operationalized, and their dimensions quantified.

Among critics of criminological theory, the greatest amount of attention has been given to operationalization, with psychoanalytic theory and Sutherland's Theory of Differential Association faring least well by this criterion.

The logical relationships in the formal theoretical structure have emerged in the defenses of theory in the form of controversy over reductionism, the tendency to explain a phenomenon conceptualized at one level (e.g. sociological) by reference to variables at a "lower" level (e.g. psychological). Our review suggests, especially among sociologists, that the stricture against reductionism has passed the point of maintaining level-consistent explanations to an almost morbid fear of psychologizing (10, 11). Criminology has become so anti-reductionist that in too many instances it has cut off its nose to spite its face. This provincialism has caused many to overlook useful contributions from members of allied disciplines (e.g. 49).

Finally, our review suggests that there has been a paucity of propositions in existent theories. This paucity has left little room for deductions or hypothesis derivation, with the result that many "tests" of the theories can not

be agreed upon as logical tests of the theories. Often, these tests are examinations of hypotheses thought to be closely related to the original propositions. Some theories, consequently, remain relatively untested.

2. DEFINITIONS

Several major points have emerged from criminological writings as pivotal to achieving theoretical progress. The first concerns the scope of theory, or breadth of the problem to which theory ought to refer and the various theories do refer. At one pole are the generalists who would define as appropriate to one theory both delinquency and adult crime; habitual and occasional crime patterns; impulsive and planned crime; individual, group, and mob incidents; petty and felonious crimes; male and female crime, etc. At the other pole is the conviction that specific categories of crime require specific theories. Cressey (32) has provided an excellent illustration, with respect to the category of "organized crime," of the sorts of definitional problems that lead criminologists to despair of ever achieving mutual agreement on this point.

A second problem is that of defining the criminal act. It is a crucial problem, for as Hirschi and Selvin have noted, "How one defines delinquency determines in large part how one will explain delinquency" (68, p. 185). Are acts criminal only if there are specific laws prohibiting them? Curfew laws in some cities make the act of a minor who is on the streets after ten o'clock a delinquent offense. In other cities, without curfew laws, this is not a delinquent act. Is an arrest without a conviction the proper subject for criminological theory? What of "undetected" crime? All of us have committed acts punishable by law for which we were not apprehended. Shall theory attempt to incorporate these? Or should theory expand to include all violations of

"conduct norms," regardless of legal statutes (131)? Will new anti-riot legislation force expansion of theory, or legalization of marijuana permit the exclusion of marijuana use from theory? Every criminological theory must take a stance on such questions.

Finally, there is the question of the proper unit of analysis in criminology. Should we study the act, the actor, or the societal reaction to these? If we choose the act, with Miller (101), then the scope of theory expands drastically. If the actor is chosen as the proper unit, then longitudinal studies and theories of criminal careers come to the fore, to the exclusion of many non-career incidents. If, finally, we choose the societal reaction - the legislative, judicial, enforcement, and correctional behaviors - then interactional theories, the most complex of all, are necessitated with the inevitable result that specific predictions of specific occurrences must give way to ex post facto explanations of general trends. The choice is not easy, and criminology has provided no agreed-upon strategies in this area.

3. GENERAL VS. SPECIFIC FOCUS

This criterion has already been mentioned under the heading of Definitions, but its prominence in the literature merits separate treatment. In many ways, the question is one of strategy; will the greatest payoff come from striving for a general, overarching theory of crime and delinquency or from the development of numerous specific theories for various categories of crime and/or criminals?

No one argues that curfew violations, homosexual soliciting in the streets, armed robbery, and car theft are highly alike in motivation, professionalization, or habituation. The problem is whether they are so unlike that to seek theoretical commonalities would be fruitless or, even worse, conceptually damaging to the

meaning of the behaviors involved. As we shall see in Part II of this report, most major theories have been of the specialty variety.

4. VERIFIABILITY AND VERIFICATION

The degree to which a theory is verifiable depends on the tightness of its logical structure, the clarity of its concepts, and the ability of its variables to be operationalized. The more its propositions require reformulation for purposes of testing, the less appropriate the tests become (137).

If the verifiability criterion can be met adequately, then the matter of verification arises. The present state of verification of the theories considered in this report is not terribly high, for several reasons. For some, the verifiability criterion has posed serious problems. Several of the theories are too new to have permitted adequate testing. Too few people have been concerned with verification and too few administrators have fostered theory testing. The comment of Rodman and Grams on treatment programs applies equally well to theory verification in criminology:

"The most severe gap that exists in the whole field of preventive efforts is that so few research evaluations have been carried out. And if we go by the reports we have of prevention programs, we are in the curious position of having to conclude that the most successful programs are those that have not been carefully evaluated." (122).

5. CRIME AND DELINQUENCY VS. DEVIANCE

Crime and delinquency are forms of deviant behavior in the moral and often in the statistical sense as well. Most criminologists have agreed that this mantle of deviance requires criminological theories to orient themselves within the larger

context of deviance theory (3, 4, 24, 83).

There are several reasons for this. First, it is necessary to distinguish between crime and delinquency on the one hand, and on the other such forms of deviance as mental illness, alcoholism, marital instability, underachievement, and "bohemianism." The failure to make the distinction leaves the criminologist open to the criticism that his is a theory of general deviance, not of criminology per se (47).

Second, failure to orient one's criminology to other forms of deviance unnecessarily precludes the application of relevant data and theory to the crime problem. This would be wasteful, at the least, just as would the failure of the cancer researcher to incorporate knowledge of virology.

Finally, there is the normality issue: criminological theory must take a stance on whether or not criminal behavior is "abnormal" behavior. In the theories covered in this report, this issue has been a critical one in at least three cases.

6. MAJOR FACTS

Probably the most common criterion employed to evaluate criminological theories has been their ability to explain the major known facts about crime and delinquency. While there are literally hundreds of such facts, most can be subsumed under thirteen headings.

a. Ecological Distributions - Crime rates are not equally distributed geographically. For example, they tend to be higher in urban, inner-city areas (18, 80, 133, 134, 158). Rural offenses are less serious, less likely to reach the courtroom, and committed by less "sophisticated" offenders (112). Numerous other regional differences have been cited by Lunden (86).

b. Demographic Distributions - As with (a) above, crime rates differ according to racial and ethnic groups (158); higher among Negroes, Puerto Ricans,

and Mexican-Americans and lower among Jews and Orientals. A good example of attempts at explanation can be found in Pettigrew (110).

c. Individual Consistency - The majority of delinquents do not "progress" into systematic criminal careers, but many career criminals have records as delinquents. Both habitual crime patterns and patterns of occasional crime exist as facts.

d. Rising Crime Rates - While there is much controversy on this point, it is the conclusion of the majority of experts that there has been a significant rise in crime rates over the past two decades (109), especially with respect to property crime (158). Other differentials in rates of the rise are noted by Lunden (86).

e. Sex Differences - Arrest ratios for males and females differ drastically among both juveniles and adults (86), with the latest ratio estimate being set at seven to one (158). Differences in offense types have also been reported by many writers.

f. The Delinquency Peak - In the United States, the age-related rise in delinquency reaches its apex at about the age of 16, with some variation according to type of offense. In England, the peak occurs closer to the age of 14 (91). In each case, the fact that there is a peak rather than a continuous rise requires theoretical explanation.

g. The Crime Peak - As with (f.) above, adult crime rates are not equally distributed across age ranges. With variations in offense types, almost half of all offenses are committed by persons below the age of 25 (158).

h. Cycles and Critical Periods - Crime rates vary with time, sometimes predictably and sometimes not. For example, there are variations related to the time of day, season of the year, and weather (86). Depression years show surprisingly low rates. There are changes associated with major war and post-war periods (86, 92).

Juvenile gang activity peaks during the summer in eastern cities, but shows a summer decline in Southern California.

i. Attrition - Most offenses do not come to the attention of official agencies. Only 3% of crimes elicited in a recent survey of victims eventuated in court convictions (43). The holes in the system which give rise to such facts are in themselves facts to be explained (109, 111).

j. Reportability - Different categories of offenses are not reported equally to official agencies. For example, the most serious offenses are more often discovered by persons other than the police (132). Differential reporting rates are a function of such factors as victim injury, victim consent, police campaigns, community attitudes, age, sex, and other characteristics of the victim, etc. (128, 132). Different reporting sources yield different data (168). The problem is so serious that some reporting instruments have been altered almost to the point of invalidation (75).

k. Changing Patterns - Just as crime rates change over time, so do types of crime. For instance, fighting gangs are reported declining in prominence (50, 51); mass merchandizing is changing shoplifting patterns; traffic in marijuana in New York has been said to be changing in style with former Mafia control now being taken over by Spanish-speaking racketeers.

l. Companionship - It is an accepted fact among most researchers that delinquency is primarily a group phenomenon (78, 133, 134), however group may be defined. It is also accepted that adult crime is less often a group matter. Since many offenses do not by their intrinsic nature require more than one actor, the fact of group involvement requires explanation.

m. The Victim - With the exception of such acts as prostitution, homosexuality, and addiction (128), most crimes have unwilling victims. However, the

role of the victim has been shown to be a significant factor in the crime picture. Wolfgang (cited in 64, p. 144) has reported almost half of the homicide victims in his study to have had prior police records. Others (130, 154) have demonstrated the significance of the victim as perceived by the offender. In other words, the crime victim is often more than a neutral target; he is often a contributor to his own victimization.

7. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN CRIME AND DELINQUENCY

Under this heading, seven problems have received particular attention from criminologists:

a. To what extent does delinquency constitute a training ground for adult crime?

b. To what extent and under what circumstances do adult criminals act as the teachers and supporters of delinquency (147, 152, 159)?

c. What are the additional factors which confirm delinquent tendencies as precursors of adult criminal careers?

d. To what extent, and with what kinds of juveniles, does the criminal justice system either deter or contribute to developing criminal careers?

e. Are there specifiable "trigger events" (87) which contribute to career onset or confirmation?

f. Many adults convicted of both minor and major crimes never had police or court records as juveniles. Theory must concern itself with the etiology of these "non-learned" patterns (30).

g. Juveniles tend to become involved in a wide variety of offenses, while the adult criminal more often "sticks to his last." The question is, how does the first pattern become transformed into the second?

8. EMERGENCE VS. MAINTENANCE

What might be called the Fallacy of Original Causes is the belief that factors contributing to behavior are more important, or primary, the earlier they occur in the actor's life. Thus weak ego development, family instability, or reading problems in the primary grades are more important "causes" of criminality than adolescent peer group associations or financial failure in business.

Critics have not generally denied the relevance of these factors, but suggested that their influence (a) is mediated through the influence of contemporaneous variables (e.g. self-image, impulsiveness) and (b) is transformed into functionally autonomous variables. Translated, this means that the source of criminality is important, but sources of the maintenance or reinforcement of criminal propensities is crucial. The seed of the orange may be the beginning, but soil content and sunlight determine the flavor.

Further, it is too late to change the seed, but soil content can be altered and sunlight filtered. Some variables affecting crime are not easily changed; these tend to be the "Original Causes." Others, those reinforcing criminality or increasing its likelihood, are more easily manipulated. The police officer can affect deterrence, but not moral climates. The parole officer may place his parolees in job training slots, but he can not eliminate the memories of a brutal father. Theory must acknowledge the relevance of both sets of factors.

9. PROCESS

Almost every conceivable type of variable has been linked to the occurrence of crime and delinquency. However, in many theoretical statements there has been a failure to specify the processes by which the causal relationships are linked,

just as biochemists have so far been unable to explain the process by which aspirin brings about headache relief. Some of the reasons for the lack of process analysis, supplying the connection links between structural variables and the commission of the unlawful act (68, Chapter 6), are the newness of the theories, the complexities of the processes, the fear of reductionism, and parochialism among the various criminological disciplines (165).

10. THE SELECTION PROBLEM

For many, the final predictive test of criminological theories is their ability to specify who will become a delinquent or criminal, who will recidivate, and so on. Four selection questions have predominated:

- a. Within a high crime area, can theory determine which residents will run afoul of the law?
- b. Within a given family, can theory determine which sibling(s) will be arrested and which will not?
- c. Can theory determine which situations will result in criminal offenses and which will not?*
- d. Can theory determine, among offenders, which will recidivate and which will not?

11. THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

Although the Criminal Justice System, from enforcement to courts to corrections, comprises an enormous social phenomenon, its effects on the volume

* During the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, emergency collection boxes placed in unguarded public places were filled to the brim with monetary donations, yet according to all reports not a one of these was pilfered (82).

and processes of crime remain largely unknown (108, 165). Major questions asked have included concerns with stigmatization (83, 106), factors affecting arrest procedures (111), recidivism rates (127), discrepant goals and values within the system (7, 34, 150), and alternative approaches (41). Miller (98) has taken the seemingly extreme position that study of the institutions is currently more critical than study of the criminal population. To date, theory has largely omitted the contribution of the Criminal Justice System to the level of crime it is designed to handle.

12. PRACTICAL GUIDELINES

While philosophers of science might not agree that theory must lead to practical application, many criminologists have been concerned that their theories meet this criterion, especially since various components of the Criminal Justice System have been guided more by value orientations and intuition than by sound theory and data (42, 54, 78). Among the concerns stressed in the literature are the following:

- a. Is the theory constructed and stated in such a way that practical guidelines can be derived?
- b. Can these guidelines be shown to be theoretically derived rather than "common sense" principles?
- c. Can the guidelines be related to the theory in direct process connections, such that changes in behavior can be demonstrated as caused by the manipulation of the theoretically relevant variables? This is the test that the medical "quack" can never meet - the ingredients of his new cancer cure cannot be related to symptom remission.

d. Can the theory provide specific guidelines for specific categories of persons, acts, or situations? Often, this translates into the development of typologies (54, 162), a crude but heuristic device for handling specificity within complexity.

In addition to such questions as these, critics have pointed to a number of practical problems which inhibit the activation of theoretically-derived guidelines (e.g. 54, Chapter 5).

- a. Limitations in personnel complements in all agencies dealing with the crime problem;
- b. The casework "mystique" and its current continued prevalence among judicial and correctional agents;
- c. Failure, with a few notable exceptions (162), to match disposition and treatment procedures to categories of offenders and offenses;
- d. Dependence upon treatment in institutions, whose programs are invariably unrealistic in terms of the situations to be encountered by offenders upon their release (41);
- e. Inability to control or manipulate the release environment of offenders, especially the influence of criminally oriented peers;
- f. Political pressures which demand "action now," thus defeating attempts at carefully constructed and considered evaluations of program effectiveness;
- g. Interagency conflicts in which vested interests and maintenance of the status quo take precedence over the goal of ameliorating the crime problem. Some of the problem also derives from the inherent nature of the prevention mandate. Since prevention involves action prior to the offense; and prior to each succeeding offense, prevention is a mandate to have no restrictions, a mandate to include all other mandates such as deterrence or punishment or correction, an assumption that

any sphere of action may be relevant. Thus, inherent conflict is built into the Criminal Justice System between those espousing the broader prevention conception and those, such as the police (12), who accept narrower definitions of their mandates. Felt encroachments are inevitable and will continue until such time as criminal justice does indeed become one, comprehensive system.

Part II: THE APPROACHES TO THEORY

In this section we will apply the twelve criteria from Part I to five theories of causation and three additional approaches which, although not as yet constituting theory, seem in the literature to have taken on considerable status and attention. No comprehensive and detailed treatment of these approaches is provided. Such reviews are readily available in the literature for the serious seeker.

However, we have provided for each approach a capsule summary of its major points. These summaries serve in each instance as the background material to aid the reader in following the evaluations, criterion by criterion. They are meant only to set the proper stage, and it bears repeating that for full treatment of the approaches the serious student should return to the library. The bibliography at the end of this report provides a number of pertinent references.

1. DIFFERENTIAL ASSOCIATION-EDWIN H. SUTHERLAND

Most would agree that Sutherland's theory of Differential Association was the first systematic attempt by an American criminologist to account for crime. Based principally on the insights of the "Chicago School" of the 1920's, it translates the research findings of Shaw, McKay, Thrasher and others into what has been labelled a cultural transmission theory, with implicit communication as the transmitting medium.

Two emphases featured the theory. First, criminal behavior, just as all other behavior, is learned. Because of this, criminal behavior was placed by Sutherland in a larger context than pure deviance and was exposed to the tools of general social science. In fact, not only did this emphasis provide the antidote of normalcy of process, it also spelled out clear-cut learning principles to explain the existence of criminal behavior. The central thesis was that the techniques, motives, and attitudes associated with criminality are learned as one is exposed to an excess of social definitions favorable to law violation over definitions unfavorable to law violation. Intimate personal groups provide the context within which most of this learning takes place, and the differential associations which provide the ratio of favorable to unfavorable definitions vary in frequency, duration, priority, and intensity (152).

The second prong of the theory, given greater precedence by Cressey than by Sutherland (31), rested upon the nature of the neighborhood with respect to social disorganization - "Differential Association" culminates in crime because the community is not organized solidly against that behavior. The law is pressing in one direction and other forces are pressing in the opposite direction (153). Thus the level of social organization sets the context within which differential associations lead to the learnings which result in criminal behavior.

Logical structure: The basic elements of the theory are set forth in a series of nine propositions (152), some of which are merely refinements of others. The end result is a few basic assumptions with hypotheses tacked on rather than logically derived. These constitute attempts to explain the existence of crime, but not crime patterns. The major variables of association, learning mechanisms, and community organization are related through the medium of communication - primarily interpersonal - but the nature of the connections is not operationalized nor clearly specified.*

Definitions: Sutherland was concerned with the scope of behavior to which a theory of crime should refer. His general tendency was to be as comprehensive as possible, although he ended up appearing rather changeable in taken legal and behavioral stances, switching back and forth between act and actor. His most central position, however, in order to achieve comprehensiveness, was to revert to a legalistic conception, the "...legal description of an act as socially injurious and legal provision of penalty for the act" (quoted in 156).

On other matters, Sutherland was less specific. The dimensions of the learning process (priority, intensity, etc.) were not well defined, and the crucial notion of "definitions favorable or unfavorable to crime" were so stated as to be almost impossible to operationalize (138).

General vs. Specific Focus: Originally, Sutherland desired to explain systematic crime without differentiation for various crime categories. No distinction was drawn between crime and delinquency. Later, however, he hoped that Differential Association was applicable to all crime and the term, systematic, was omitted. Cressey's investigations (31) indicated that the scheme was not

* The degree to which various aspects of the theory were not clearly stated is indicated by Cressey's interesting apologia for the theory (31).

universally applicable, and in his most recent treatise (32), he provides dramatic proof that part of the reason lies in definitional problems.

Verifiability and Verification: Although every experienced practitioner can cite evidence in support of the theory - criminal associations - empirical testing has been relatively unsuccessful because of the afore-mentioned problems in operationalizing of principal concepts. As noted above, even Cressey, Sutherland's most persistent spokesman, has acknowledged failure in this area.

On the other hand, the enormous collection of empirical studies in learning theory by experimental psychologists suggests that this surface has scarcely been scratched. Other promising directions have been suggested by Glaser (56), who has restated the theory in terms of "differential identification" as an approach to increasing verifiability, and by Burgess and Akers, who have recast Sutherland's conceptions into operant learning theory (15). That the problem is by no means insurmountable has been demonstrated by Short (139) whose findings have been validated by Voss (161) and by Erickson and Empey (44) in testing the learning process dimensions in an ex post facto manner.

Deviance: Although not directly, explicitly stated, its emphasis on the normal learning processes in criminality and its originator's insistence on a comprehensive focus suggest that Differential Association Theory has direct translations to other deviance theories which incorporate learning principles. For corrections, for instance, current behavioral approaches to mental health, and the Alcoholics Anonymous approach provide appropriate and tested guidelines.

Major Facts: In sum, the application of Differential Association Theory to the major facts of crime and delinquency has not been one of its strong points, to judge from our literature survey:

- a. ecological distributions - handled adequately in terms of the maintenance or continuation of existent crime levels, but not in terms of their earlier origin;
- b. demographic distributions - same as above;
- c. individual consistency - deals with one side of the coin, systematic crime or habitual criminals;
- d. rising crime rates - not handled;
- f. the delinquency peak - not handled. It would be necessary here to demonstrate an increase, followed by a decrease, in exposure to the excess of definitions favorable to crime;
- g. the crime peak - not handled. See f. above;
- h. cycles and critical periods - not handled;
- i. attrition - not handled;
- j. reportability - not handled, although community disorganization as manifested in alienation from enforcement agencies could be invoked here;
- k. changing patterns - as with j. above, prior changes in neighborhood integration could be employed as a starting point here, but this is more applicable to rate changes than pattern changes;
- l. companionship - central to the theory, although better specification could still be achieved;
- m. victim role - not handled.

Crime and Delinquency Connections: The theory does not speak directly to the connections, serial or otherwise, between delinquency and adult crime, or the disparities between them. Given an attempt at general theory with learning a continuing process, it is implicitly assumed that the relationship is sequential.

Emergence vs. Maintenance: Both the emergence and maintenance of individual criminals are addressed by the theory, but the emergence of the associations in

the neighborhood, i.e. the creation of the criminogenic context, is not explained. Both Sutherland and Cressey (31) avoid this issue of the derivation of the individual's associations, thereby losing an opportunity to deal with the selection problem.

Maintenance on the individual level is dependent primarily on outside factors, never dealing with the mechanisms of internalization. In addition, the content of what is learned or internalized was not well spelled out.

Process: As noted above, some aspects of the learning process were stated in terms of stimulus properties, but failed to get "inside" the individual. This left the problem as one of specifying the arousal and character of the stimuli - the associations - but this step was incompletely handled. The result was that learning, as a mediating variable, was not carried through. Glaser's differential identification represents a later attempt to attack this gap.

Selection: Not handled explicitly, the question of who becomes more exposed to criminal associations within the same neighborhood represents a major theoretical gap in the eyes of Sutherland's critics. The failure to deal with the derivation of these associations is in part at fault here. Additionally, the total lack of attention to family variables negates any understanding of sibling selection.

Criminal Justice System: The only attention paid to this matter is the specification of correctional institutions as superb sources of exposure to definitions favorable to law violation through the presence of the inmate population.

Practical Guidelines: While weak in a number of the areas covered earlier, Differential Association Theory remains a prolific source of suggestions for practical steps which can be taken to reduce the incidence of crime, both original and recidivist. The most obvious and common of these are listed below:

a. Group treatment for offenders should be employed in circumstances where the dominant values and behaviors are lawful (and the group is meaningful to the offender). Current examples can be found in various halfway house experiments, Alcoholics Anonymous, Synanon, and aspects of the "new careers" programs in corrections.

b. Reward systems should be promulgated for the pro-social endeavors of offenders. Current institutional practices still emphasize deterrence of anti-social behavior rather than the encouragement of pro-social activities.

c. Role playing of pro-social roles in essentially lawful situations should be employed as a treatment technique.

d. Because the label, criminal, tends to cut one off from association with the law abiding citizen and force him to fall back upon criminal associations, attempts should be made to avoid stigmatization as criminal, convict, delinquent, etc.

e. Criminal associations - "undesirable companions" - represent a potent source of the emergence and maintenance of individual criminality. Where possible, factors conducive to the continuance of such associations should be attacked directly.

f. Incarceration of offenders should be avoided, and periods of incarceration decreased as much as possible.

g. Encouragement should be given to civic programs which would break down the integration of criminal systems.

h. Encouragement should be given to programs designed to "de-isolate" or reintegrate individuals removed from the mainstream of community life.

i. Neighborhood programs such as the Chicago Area Projects (76) should be attempted as a means of integrating the various elements of a neighborhood into self activation against well entrenched criminal and corrupt systems.

2. THE DELINQUENT SUBCULTURE - ALBERT K. COHEN

Published in 1955, Cohen's book Delinquent Boys set forth a theory of delinquency which laid its foundation upon social class variables. Limiting his concern primarily to lower class delinquency, Cohen found the lower class boy to be lacking in self esteem and suffering from a high degree of status frustration as a result of his class position. This was said to lead to an inversion of values, a "reaction formation" against middle class values wherein the lower class boy struck back at the source of his frustration, the middle class and its values, with the adoption of opposite values.

From this inversion developed a "delinquent subculture" as a collective solution to the class-based frustrations. Cohen described this subculture as "non-utilitarian, malicious, and negativistic," stressing versatility, short-run hedonism, and group autonomy (22). Just as Sutherland envisioned interpersonal communication as the medium of transmission of the learned content, Cohen postulates that it is the subculture which serves this transmission function.

Delinquency, then - primarily a group phenomenon - is the behavioral manifestation of the learned, inverted values. Concerned with the reinforcement of these values, especially their delinquent aspects, Cohen and James F. Short, Jr. (26) hypothesized the existence of a "parent" subculture which serves to spawn and support various types of delinquent subcultures, such as conflict, drug, and semi-professional subcultures.

Unlike some of our other theorists who were primarily concerned with lower class boys, Cohen did attempt an explanation of delinquency in other populations. Female delinquency receives the same logical treatment, but starting at a different point. The source of female status frustration is sex, or the class-related barriers to status achievement through the use of the sex-related skills common

among sophisticated middle class girls. Thus the reaction is to use sex in ways prohibited by law.

With respect to middle class delinquency, Cohen noted the absence of the father because of work pressures, and suggested that consequently the middle class boy reacted by stressing behaviors expressive of the desire to enhance masculinity. The argument is weak, and in any case is quite tangential to the general theory of delinquent subcultures.

Logical Structure: Cohen's theory, upon examination, proves to be primarily inductive, rather than deductive. This suggests that its major theorems are hypotheses, rather than postulates, each designed to fill a logical gap in the backward movement from data. In order to explain the preponderance of delinquency within the lower class setting, and certain characteristics (e.g. negativistic, non-utilitarian) of the delinquent boy's behavior, Cohen hypothesizes the existence of a delinquent subculture. In order to account for the values which would lead to the behavior involved, he borrows the concept of reaction formation. Then, to account for the maintenance of the delinquent subcultures, the parent sub-culture is invoked. The logic, in such a case, rests less with the interlocking structure of the propositions and more with their empirical validity. If the data don't fit, the theory can not easily be modified, but would more likely be disintegrated.

Definitions: Critical concepts, such as the delinquent and parent subcultures, are described as to their substance, but not defined beyond this (24). Reaction formation and status frustration are process variables which were not defined. Generally, the focus is upon the actor rather than the act as legally defined.

General vs. Specific Focus: By its description, the theory is limited to lower class, primarily male delinquency of a "non-rational" sort.

Verifiability and Verification: The beauty of Cohen's formulation is the verifiability of at least most of its hypotheses. The existence of the delinquent and parent subcultures represents a problem here, since their verification requires greater specification of substance and contrast to their non-delinquent contexts than Cohen has provided. One initial step has been reported by Cohen and Hodges (25).

The concept of reaction formation has been tested by Gold⁽⁶¹⁾ and by Rivera and Short (121), with negative results. Reiss and Rhodes (120) have reported data throwing doubt on the existence of excessive status frustration in the lower class (also see 5, p. 310, n.). Short and Strodtbeck (142) failed to support the class differences in values central to the theory. Finally, while the Myerhoffs (105) and the Schwendingers (130) provide some support for the cognitive class differences implicit in the theory, Matza's deductions go contrary to these findings. In sum, then, the relatively high verifiability of the theory has led to a distinct lack of verification.

Deviance: Unless one were to postulate different subcultures specific to each category of social deviance, the delinquent subculture theory does not speak directly to the general concept of deviance, except to note the relevance of deviance theory (23).

Major Facts: Limited as it is in focus, Cohen's formulation does not speak to a majority of the empirical tests laid before theories of causation.

- a. ecological distributions - this is handled, but only with respect to lower class juvenile delinquency. It was this set of data for which the theory was formulated;
- b. demographic distributions - handled only as demographic (ethnic, etc.) groupings are related to lower class characteristics;
- c. individual consistency - not handled;

- d. rising crime rates - not handled; would require demonstration of a prior rise in status frustration "rates";
- e. sex differences - reasonable attempt made here by differentiating between sources of status frustration;
- f. the delinquency peak - not handled;
- g. the crime peak - not handled;
- h. cycles and critical periods - not handled;
- i. attrition - not handled;
- j. reportability - not handled;
- k. changing patterns-not handled;
- l. companionship - dealt with by the assumption of common status frustration which leads to the "collective solution" and, by inference at least, collective action;
- m. victim role - by implication, the Schwendingers (130) have suggested that the theory would postulate primarily middle class targets, with consequent justification rationalizations by the delinquent boys (also see Sykes and Matza, 154).

Crime and Delinquency Connections: Concerned only with the explanation of delinquency, the theory makes no particular attempt to deal with the progression from delinquency to adult crime. Presumably, however, the subcultural approach would also be invoked to explain the bulk of systematic crime, at least.*

Emergence vs. Maintenance: Lower class delinquency emergence is handled directly through the class disparity, status frustration, value inversion, and

* Cohen's emphasis on the behavioral versatility of gang boys fits better with the "cafeteria style" offense patterns of gang members than do the formulations of the other theorists covered in this report.

delinquent subculture progression outlined above. Maintenance is accounted for by the parent subculture invoked by Cohen and Short.

Process: Reaction formation is the process which leads from the class-descrepant, status frustrated context to the acceptance of the delinquent subculture, but the steps subsumed under the concept of reaction formation are not specified. In like manner, the delinquent subculture subsumes the processes that define the appropriate behavior, but once again the nature of the processes is not given particular attention. This would not appear to be a difficult gap to bridge, however, as Cohen has suggested in a later article (23) applying reference group theory and role exploration to the process problem.

Selection: Cohen's feeling for the psychology of the lower class boy is minimal. His concern for motivation or perception and for differentials in these variables among the adolescent population is seldom manifest (and, in one reference, denied as appropriate to sociological theory, 23, p.462 ff.) so that the approach to the selection problem from this direction is effectively cut off. Surprisingly, however, structural social variables are also neglected as a source of understanding selection. The result is a lack of clues to determining which boys will become enmeshed in the delinquent subcultures.

Criminal Justice System: This area was not incorporated into the theory system.

Practical Guidelines: Cohen's own position on deriving practical programs from the delinquent subculture theory was quite specific; he preferred to bypass the issue, saying, "...we are not at all sure where the road might lead" (quoted in 52, p. 28). One obvious suggestion can be teased out, nevertheless. If Cohen is correct that the lower class boy is headed for a delinquent career because his class position leads to low self esteem and high status frustration, then perhaps

the route can be short-circuited by providing self esteem and status.

Counseling programs with potential delinquents would not be sufficient to this task. Rather, one would have to mount community or at least neighborhood-wide, action programs involving the youngsters in specific activities through which both participation and goal achievement would provide these missing attributes. Examples of such programs - with mixed reactions from the lay and official publics - would include the "new careers" programs, militant Negro organizations, civil rights groups, Junior Achievement Programs, and so on.

3. OPPORTUNITY THEORY - RICHARD A. CLOWARD AND LLOYD E. OHLIN

Opportunity Theory (or Opportunity Structure) is an attempt by Cloward and Ohlin to combine some salient data and propositions from the Chicago School (Shaw, McKay, Thrasher, Sutherland) with Cohen's theory of delinquent subcultures, and place them within an expanded notion of Merton's analysis of the opportunity structure of western society. The system goes roughly like this:

1. Society has cultural goals (e.g. material gain) generally accepted and legitimated by the major sectors of the society;
2. Not all persons have equal access to these goals, nor to the accepted means of achieving them;
3. Therefore, those for whom the goals are blocked may turn to illegitimate means;
4. Just as communities differ in the integration of legitimate means and goals, so also they differ in the availability and integration of illegitimate avenues;
5. The nature of the community's integration of legitimate and illegitimate means will determine the nature of the subcultural (delinquent) accommodation to goal achievement. Three of these are specified by Cloward and Ohlin, and they represent the end product, the dependent variable, predicted from the propositions above:
 - a. a criminal subculture, and criminal gangs, will develop where there is cross-age integration of offenders plus close relations between the "carriers of criminal and conventional values";
 - b. a conflict subculture, and conflict gangs, will develop in neighborhoods not integrated as above, where social controls are relatively absent, and there is an absence of available systematic illegitimate means to material goals.

The use of violence becomes in this setting an alternate means to an alternate goal (status rather than material goals);

- c. a retreatist subculture, and retreatist gangs, will develop among boys locked out of the previous two subcultural adaptations because of the lack of means integration and because of "internalized prohibitions" or "socially structured barriers" to the use of violence. This "double failure" leaves only retreat, through drugs or alcohol most specifically.

In developing this theory, Cloward and Ohlin have successfully bridged the gap between socio-structural variables (the means-end model) and behavioral variables (the subcultural adaptations). The theory depends on the boys, only to the extent that they perceive (in a manner unspecified by the authors) opportunity blockages, but this perception is a central fulcrum about which the theory is balanced. The Cloward and Ohlin boys differ from the Cohen and Sutherland boys in that (a) they seem somewhat more able, less handicapped by personal or social disabilities, and (b) they are more concerned with material gain and social injustice than with status and personal dissatisfaction.

Logical Structure: Of all the approaches to causation examined in this report, Opportunity Theory probably represents the most logically structured set of propositions. The logic of Merton's analysis has been extended to a corollary context, illegitimate means and goal attainment, and then combined with notions of neighborhood integration to produce predictions about the character of delinquent subcultures. The major weak point in what Schrag has termed a "logically sound deductive system" (126) is the assumption of the individual boy's accurate perception of the blockages to goal attainment. The Short et. al. (141) paradigm of Opportunity Theory gives witness to its amenability to translation. The only major attack on the system's logic is Schrag's

suggestion that, in the description of subcultural gangs on the basis of the community systems which spawn them, there is a hint of tautology.

Definitions: With the exception of the possible tautology involving the gang definitions, none of the Cloward and Ohlin concepts represent serious definitional problems. The approach taken is strictly behavioral, rather than legalistic, stressing act and actor both. However, the definition of delinquency is interactional, consisting of norm violating behavior which is reacted to by agents of the criminal justice system.

General vs. Specific Focus: Opportunity Theory is designed to explain only lower class, subculturally determined delinquency. In particular, the focus is upon youth gangs of the criminal, conflict, and retreatist varieties. As with Sutherland and Cohen, Cloward and Ohlin are more concerned with "rational" offenses, or those whose source can be related to societal rather than intrapersonal variables.

Verifiability and Verification: While most of the central concepts are rather easily operationalized, those dealing with the integration of legitimate and illegitimate means-ends systems present some difficulties. However, the problem is not of great concern, since the status of these propositions is more that of assumptions or postulates than of hypotheses to be tested. With this qualification, the Cloward and Ohlin formulation has proven in just a few years to be the most tested of all major theories on both minor and major scales. Elliott (40) failed to confirm class differentials in opportunity perception, while Short et al. (143), Vaz (160), Monod (104), the Sherifs (135), DeFleur (33), and Downes (36) have had little success in verifying the existence of the three distinct subcultures hypothesized by the theory. On the other hand, Spergel (147) has provided strong empirical support for the general theory, at the same time revealing a necessary modification with regard to age differentials (146). Most of the negative evidence has had to do with the purity of the subcultures (126),

but it is counterbalanced by strong support in the area of objective existence of opportunity differentials in both the legitimate and illegitimate sectors (142). In sum, the theory has been sufficiently verified to warrant continued investigation.

An interesting and by no means inconsequential potential for verification of Opportunity Theory has been presented by the fact that, as a theory, it has almost become a national policy. The President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime* inaugurated a series of large community action programs, many of which later became the cornerstones of the War on Poverty in our largest urban centers, which were rather explicitly based upon Opportunity Theory. The best known of these was Mobilization for Youth on New York's lower east side. These large-scale programs offered a magnificent opportunity to test both the feasibility for implementation and verification of the theory. It is an unfortunate circumstance that program planning was not geared to such theory testing, and we still remain in the dark on the effects of this theory application to major urban concentrations of delinquency.

Deviance: Opportunity Theory is explicitly derived from and built upon a general deviance model, as originated by Durkheim and Merton. The variations in delinquent behavior are predicted from the nature of neighborhood organization, the presence of an adult criminal system, and the content of the resultant subcultures, all of these being part and parcel of social deviance. The theorists also have noted explicitly the function of community norms in separating deviance and conformity, à la Erikson (47).

* Later incorporated in the Welfare Administration as the Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development.

Major Facts: As demonstrated below, Opportunity Theory is, to quote Schrag once more, "...rich in its implications for delinquency causation and control" (126) in that from it one can assume certain stances about the major facts of crime and delinquency. In a number of instances, nevertheless, these stances are more implied than directly stated.

- a. ecological distributions - adequately covered through the postulates on neighborhood organization of legitimate and illegitimate opportunity systems (but for lower class delinquency only);
- b. demographic - same as above, but only to the extent that ethnic differentials are mirrored in the ecological distributions;
- c. individual consistency - not handled except by the existence of the three subcultural patterns. Existent data indicate the need for major modification here;
- d. rising crime rates - said to be due to increasing ghettoization and breakdown of community organization. This should lead to an increase in conflict or violent crimes in particular;
- e. sex differences - not handled, except to note greater applicability of the theory to males for whom material goals are more crucial;
- f. the delinquency peak - could be explained by the greater vocational opportunities present beyond the age of compulsory school attendance (jobs being more directly linked to material goals than school);
- g. the crime peak - not handled;
- h. cycles and critical periods - not explicitly handled, although one could attempt predictions on the basis of prior changes in social disintegration and changing patterns of adult illegitimate systems;
- i. attrition - not handled;

j. reportability - not handled, although, again by implication, the level and nature of community integration could be used as a definer of reporting norms;

k. changing patterns - see h. above;

l. companionship - surprisingly, this is not explicitly covered by the theory, in that there seems to be no logical reason (i.e. the logic of the theory) for group as opposed to individual incidents. The existence of a subculture providing security and validation of individual perceptions, does not necessarily imply group or gang activity, and the Cloward and Ohlin gangs seem therefore to be more of an addendum to theory rather than a necessary component of it;

m. victim role - not handled, except as Cloward and Ohlin's boys feel more injustice than frustration, suggesting either a general, random striking out or fixation for victims on those who are seen as blocking goal attainment.

Crime and Delinquency Connections: Cloward and Ohlin have suggested that there is a natural progression from criminal and conflict adaptations to a retreatist mode of behavior, but it is not clear how this would relate to the progression from delinquent to adult criminal. It would seem however, that the criminal adaptation, based as it is on a community with a relatively integrated illegitimate system, could ease the path from the younger status to the older. A theory designed explicitly to explain lower class delinquency does not, on the other hand, help us to understand the existence of the adult offender who "stayed clean" as a juvenile.

Emergence vs. Maintenance: It is not clear to what extent Opportunity Theory would distinguish between the emergence and the maintenance of delinquent activity, although such a distinction would certainly strengthen it and provide more practical guidelines for the practitioner. The neighborhood norms, the

integration levels, and the structure of the opportunity system could be used to explain both kinds of "causes," for they explain, not the existence of certain kinds of people, so much as the existence of certain behavioral patterns.

Process: As noted earlier, the only process variable or intervening concept holding a central place in the theory is the perception of the opportunities, legal and illegal, within the social system. It is just this question of the individual boy's perception - how it is achieved, how accurately, and how it is then related to the delinquent act cognitively - that represents the weakest link in the logic of the theoretical system. The process is labelled, but not described. The existence of only one such process variable indicates more clearly than anything else how purely structural Opportunity Theory is.

Selection: The selection of the three main delinquency patterns is fully explained by the structural postulates of the theory. However, the determination of which boys within an area will adopt these patterns is not handled.* As with Sutherland and Cohen, the almost total absence of attention to family variables also results in no hypotheses concerning differential sibling selection. Spergel (146) has provided at least one clue to the former problem by noting differential adaptations by different age groups. If further progress is to be made in this area, the major process variable - opportunity perception - would seem to provide the most promising avenue for investigation.

* In fact, Cloward and Ohlin have seriously overestimated the importance of delinquency involvement for admission and acceptance into membership within the delinquent gang (21, pp. 7, 11). Their description (pp. 90-97) of class and status aspiration levels, while a step in the right direction, does not solve the problem, since the sources of differential aspiration levels are not explicated.

Criminal Justice System: The concept of stigmatization through criminal processing mechanisms is mentioned in the Cloward and Ohlin treatise, but primarily to note the tendency of delinquents to withdraw the attribution of legitimacy to the Criminal Justice System. There is also a suggestion that processing by the system can serve to confirm a boy's sense of injustice, thus increasing the likelihood of his adopting one of the three subcultural patterns. Beyond this, the criminal justice system is not incorporated into the theory.

Practical Guidelines: A theory which emphasizes fundamental aspects of community organization is bound to be replete with implications for practical programs. The complexity and comprehensiveness of the Mobilization for Youth program illustrates this point well (1). The specific suggestions appearing most prominently in the literature seem to be the following:

- a. Legitimate opportunities for lower class youths should be expanded as much as possible. This, of course, represents the major thrust of the whole approach. It includes not only the obvious need for meaningful jobs, recreational resources, and the like, but also emphasis on the means for attaining these goals. This would include vocational counseling, remedial education in speech, grooming, and other social skills, and even training in how to approach and handle a job interview.
- b. Wherever feasible, attack the connections between the legitimate and the illegitimate systems in the community, both formal and informal. This would include corrupt officials and grafters.
- c. Organize neighborhoods with their own systems of social control.
- d. Increase and rationalize the connections between available means and realistic goals. Job training, for example, should be in areas where such jobs exist, and pegged to the sorts of jobs in which lower class boys have some interest.

e. Given the emphasis on the boys' sense of injustice, programs should be developed which establish equality of treatment and service, as in the welfare and educational institutions. The establishment of legal aid services is a good case in point. Another example would be the training of ghetto youth to act as community advocates within governmental agencies, even to the point of introducing the Ombudsman system.

4. LOWER CLASS CULTURE - WALTER B. MILLER

Walter Miller, a cultural anthropologist, has developed an approach to delinquency that represents quite a departure from the previous three theories. The central difference is that Miller sees lower class delinquency, including that among the gangs from which his data are taken, as not deviant or aberrant behavior except from a narrow, middle class viewpoint. From the facts of life among working class citizens, Miller deduces that delinquent forms of behavior are part and parcel of lower class culture and highly functional to preparing the youngster for adult life within that culture. In other words, the delinquent behaviors exhibited by lower class youth are normal.

As the cultural content of lower class life, Miller notes certain "focal concerns" which he labels as trouble, toughness, "smartness," excitement, fate, and autonomy. These cultural concerns are determined by the socio-economic setting of lower class citizens and by a singular, structural fact, the predominance of the female-based household. For boys in this setting, the absence of a strong father figure and the dominance of the female role in the home setting creates a need to practice the male role and assert masculinity outside the home. The gang is the opportunity for boys to achieve these goals, and provides in addition a sense of belonging and source of status not otherwise readily available.

Thus, lower class gang delinquency is a normal response to the socio-structural and cultural demands of lower class life which prepares one for the dominant themes which he will encounter as an adult. Miller's approach has provided an interesting antidote to the usual view of delinquent behavior (especially the view of Cohen) as either sick or anti-social. Miller says this behavior is anti-social only in the sense that it runs counter to the moral expectations of the institutional carriers of middle class mores. This is a view especially appealing

to those practitioners who feel a strong identity with their delinquent clients.

Although his writings to date have been concerned primarily with lower class delinquency, Miller has of late become a student of suburban forms of delinquency as well. A prelude to his approach in this new area suggests that part of the explanation of middle class delinquency will be attributed to an upward diffusion of some of the lower class values, and the opposition of these values to those of the middle class parents when the lower class values are employed by the youngster to express his independence.

Logical Structure: Miller's theory consists of a series of assumptions, observations, or postulates (the status of the propositions is a bit uncertain) which play into each other in a fashion that has led numerous critics to cry tautology. These critics note that Miller's observations were the source of hypotheses or assumptions which are subsequently used to explain the self-same observations, a form of circular reasoning which defies logic.

There are two ways of escaping from such a box. The first is to wait for independent validation of the observations, and to give them postulate status. The second is to reformulate the theory in a series of deductions from an independent starting point. In terms of the variables employed by Miller, the predominance of the female-based household would seem to be a good candidate for the primary postulate.

Definitions: Lower class culture is described as to some of its substance ("focal concerns"), but not yet adequately defined (36). Miller's other principal concepts present no particular definitional problems. A significant departure from other theorists is Miller's insistence that the proper unit of analysis in delinquency is the behavioral act (101), not the actor. As a corollary, his theory applies to various behaviors irrespective of their legal status, the

interest being more in normative than in legal conflict.

General vs. Specific Focus: To date, Miller's major data analyses have been concerned with theft (101) and with violence (102, 103) among the gangs he has studied. The general focus, however, is upon all forms of "anti-social" (to the middle class) lower class adolescent behavior, male and female, and especially that found among gang members. The nature of the theory would also seem to preclude acts which are not functional within the lower class culture, either adolescent or adult-preparatory. Arson, to use an extreme example, would not be included.

Verifiability and Verification: If Miller's proposition is, literally, that lower class delinquency is part and parcel of lower class life, then the causal connection between the two is inherently untestable - the tautology is complete. However, as noted earlier, this logical difficulty can be overcome.

On other matters, some empirical testing does exist. The Cohen and Hodges (25) data on lower class life styles fit rather well with Miller's description. Tennyson (157) has provided direct support for the family propositions, but was unable to validate the observation that membership in a female-based family is related to gang membership. Equal numbers of non-gang lower class boys also come from the same family structure. Tennyson has also demonstrated that Miller's social class emphasis beclouds differences related to racial distinctions. Finally, Short (142) and others have indicated that value differences between lower and middle classes are not sufficiently large to justify the central place accorded them by Miller.

Deviance: Except as he employs cross-class differences in the definition of normative behavior, Miller's general stance is to deny the efficacy of viewing lower class delinquency as a form of deviant behavior.

Major Facts: As with several previous theories covered here, Miller's construction is limited to a particular segment of the crime-producing population and consequently does not cover some of the empirical tests which have been suggested.

a. ecological distributions - with lower class delinquency a direct function of a recognizable lower class culture, Miller does deal with the major ecological fact of the predominance of officially recorded delinquency in the inner city area. Whether this same culture exists elsewhere, e. g. Appalachia, or poor rural areas of the South, is an issue not dealt with by Miller. Such an extension would be helpful to the theory, in as much as the culture described by Miller is related by him to the hypothesized emergence of a stable lower class in America.

b. demographic distributions - to the extent that ethnic distinctions are related to ecological distributions, Miller does speak to the issue of demographic distributions. However, Tennyson (157) has shown that the emphasis on class levels (including Miller's tripartite breakdown of even the lower class, 101) camouflages important relationships between delinquency and race.

c. individual consistency - this is not really dealt with by the theory. In fact, the existence of the occasional or one-time offender cannot be predicted by the differential internalization of the lower class culture, an attempt not as yet undertaken by Miller.

d. rising crime rates - if Miller is correct in hypothesizing the present emergence of a stable lower class culture, then this rise could be related to the rising crime rates in the city. However, the most significant rise in delinquency seems to be taking place in the suburban areas and is therefore outside the scope of the theory.

e. sex differences - the predominance of male delinquency is handled by Miller more directly than by any other theorist. The progression from the female-

based households to the search for masculinity to gang involvement clearly states the dynamics of the male delinquency situation.

f. the delinquency peak - the high point of delinquency involvement occurs around age 16, or just that time when the compulsory school attendance age is passed and inner city boys begin to cut loose from the home-related environment. Presumably, this might lead to a decrease in sex-identity frustrations and more "positive" opportunities to express masculinity, e. g. the job instead of the gang. This is purely speculative, and requires empirical testing.

g. the crime peak - this is not dealt with by Miller, nor does the theory seem to imply any explanation.

h. cycles and critical periods - not handled.

i. attrition - not handled explicitly. Indeed, the fact that the processing officials are the carriers of middle class values would if anything diminish attrition tendencies.

j. reportability - since delinquent acts are viewed as essentially normal within their own context, it follows directly that reportability will be low. Differential reportability would have to be related to the "normalcy" or culturally determined class acceptance for the various categories of delinquent acts. Such data have not as yet been reported.

k. changing patterns - these are not handled. Prior culture changes would have to be invoked to explain changes in crime patterns.

l. companionship - the gang form of the masculinity search does pertain directly to offense companionship.

m. victim role - not handled.

Crime and Delinquency Connections: Because of the almost exclusive focus on delinquency, Miller's theory does not provide explicit clues to the progression

to adult crime. However, the general tenor of the approach, stressing delinquency as "practice" for adult life within the lower class setting, suggests more interest in the effects of adult offenders as the teachers or role models for the budding delinquent which in turn would suggest a rather direct progression from youth to adult crime.

Emergence vs. Maintenance: Because of the logical tautology mentioned earlier, it is a bit risky to separate emergence and maintenance in Miller's treatment. However, the most logical analysis would seem to be that emergence of delinquent behavior is brought on by the structural family variable and then maintained or reinforced by the peer group and functionality of the behavior within the cultural demand system. Miller's analysis of theft behaviors (101) strongly suggests in addition the importance to maintenance of psychological need satisfaction and material gain.

Process: The normalcy emphasis suggests no special process variables, but the over-enactment of aspects of the male role can stand as one process intervening between the family variable and the dependent variable of delinquency. Unfortunately, Tennyson's finding mentioned earlier does not support this progression.

Selection: The normalcy emphasis, if anything, argues against any important selection processes, so this represents a critical difficulty for the lower class culture theory. The family analysis provides no clues to sibling selection, and Tennyson has shown that the family situation is an unsatisfactory prediction of selection within the neighborhood. All in all, Miller seems very weak on the selection problem.

Criminal Justice System: The various components of the criminal justice system - the courts, correctional agencies, and especially the police - comprise

the official embodiment of middle class behavior norms. As such, they lead to the arrest and processing of youngsters for what Miller defines as contextually normal acts. Thus the system can be used to explain delinquency rates but not misconduct itself. Miller is almost alone among theorists in dealing explicitly with the role of the criminal justice system in delinquency causation, or more properly, the causation of high delinquency rates.

Practical Guidelines: Probably the most consistent message we get from Miller, a message which would certainly not set well with many people, is that the less one does about lower class delinquency, the better. In other words, normalcy denies deviance, and only deviance is the traditional target of social control. More specifically, the following items can be cited:

- a. Do not attempt to achieve value or attitude change among the delinquent youngsters, since these attitudes and values are functional within their own context. To effect such changes would be tantamount to destroying necessary adjustment processes.
- b. The masculinity-seeking energies should be channeled into avenues which continue to permit role enactment without damage to others.
- c. Provide masculine role models for the boys.
- d. Concentrate intervention efforts not so much on the delinquents as on the institutions which embody the middle class norms which define behaviors of the boys as delinquent. Greater flexibility of institutional response would seem to be the major practical goal of such intervention.

5. THE PSYCHOGENETIC APPROACH: PSYCHOANALYTIC THEORY

The quintessence of psychological approaches to crime and delinquency is represented by psychoanalytic theory, which is also best known to the lay and professional publics. We concentrate, therefore, on psychoanalytic theory in this report as the most formalized and far-reaching of all psychogenetically oriented stances in the literature.

Stated in the barest bone fashion, the analytic theories involve at least these major components:

- a. The first few years of life contain the determining seeds of later development. The foundations of maladjustment are laid in failure to learn adequate impulse control and adequate responses to reality; i. e. ego and super-ego development are poor.
- b. Disturbed family relationships lead to several reactions among youngsters which often become expressed in delinquency. These reactions include a guilt-based desire to be punished, revenge seeking, and self-protection through the attacking of others.
- c. Social factors are not themselves causative. Rather, they are incorporated, often through family relationships, into the psychological makeup of the individual and in this way relate to behavior. This represents admitted (and legitimated) reductionism in theory construction.
- d. Delinquency and crime are not viewed at face value, but rather as symptoms. Thus both the understanding and treatment of criminal and delinquent behavior are in terms of underlying psychological maladjustment. Delinquency and crime will decrease in proportion to the successful remediation of these underlying dynamics.

e. Because of the importance of the early, formative years, delinquency reduction in particular requires and benefits from early detection and diagnosis of emotional disturbance.

Logical Structure: Though it may seem a harsh judgment upon so long established a theory as this, it is the clear consensus among criminologists that the logical structure of psychoanalytic theory is totally inadequate. A good deal of circular reasoning is employed which is based on untestable assumptions and unverified processes. Basic concepts are often undefined, or differently defined by various writers. Highly reductionist almost by definition,* the theory fails to differentiate the normal from the abnormal, and different statements of the theory suggest that its construction is more of an art than an exercise in logic.

Definitions: Technically, the delinquency definition tends to be behavioral, but again only as a clue to the underlying dynamics of specific interest to the analysts. The act is merely a symptom of the actor's difficulties. Some analysts have exhibited an interest in legal definitions of crime as well, because these represent society's codified protections against impulse enactment on the part of the individual. Thus even legal definitions of crime are in turn defined by their functional relationship to inner dynamics, the id impulses which threaten rational life.

With respect to the various concepts used by psychoanalysis - id, ego, superego, ego strength, reaction formation, emotional disturbance, etc. - agreed upon definitions, especially operational ones, are hard to come by. In particular

* Sometimes reductionism has its mirror image. See the example set by Hartung (64, pp. 136-166) who recasts interpretations of crimes of most interest to psychiatrists into sociological and social psychological interpretations. His purpose is to demonstrate that psychoanalytic interpretations are unnecessary.

the distinction between normal and abnormal has never been clarified to general satisfaction, and this has a detrimental effect on attempts to draw parallels to delinquency versus non-delinquency.

General vs. Specific Focus: A cursory review of psychoanalytic writings on crime and delinquency yields an interesting picture. Delinquency is more prominent than crime. Within the adult area, interest seems heaviest in individual acts of aggression (rather broadly defined) and lightest in property crimes. But in so far as the theory specifies all behavior as expressive of intrapersonal dynamics, its proper focus is very general and would include almost all categories of offenses, both juvenile and adult, as well as the rehabilitation approach to the correct field. As employed by its protagonists, psychoanalytic theory is designed to pertain to all forms of behavior, at all stages.

Verifiability and Verification: Psychoanalytic theory has been perhaps the most verified and yet least verifiable of all approaches to crime. We can illustrate this paradox metaphorically by citing a personal incident which came to this writer's attention.

A young girl from a poverty area, suffering from chronic bronchitis, was taken by her grandmother to a Chinese herbologist. The treatment lasted a full two years at which point the symptoms disappeared. Asked what had finally done the trick, the grandmother replied with complete certainty that the herb treatments had cured the girl. The fact that it took two years was cited as proof of the severity of the condition, rather than causing any doubts about the efficacy of the treatment.

Verification of psychoanalytic propositions has tended to be marked by the same form of logic. Scientific controls are seldom applied, and the populations

dealt with are highly self-selected, being comprised either of institutionalized individuals or of those seeking out psychotherapy (94). Thus we find Johnson (70) listing fire-setting and "cruelty" as two of the five most common offenses! Recidivism or failure to "respond" to treatment are more a function of the patient's problems than of the therapy.

There have been some instances of experimental attempts to verify psychoanalytic propositions by psychologists such as Dollard, Miller, Sears, and others (113), but the nature of the concepts more often rule out such attempts. They have proven hard to operationalize and are unfortunately defined and used variously by different writers (94). The communication problems between therapists and researchers are considerable.*

Deviance: The emphasis within psychoanalysis upon individuation is so strong that normalcy tends to lose its meaning. The distinction between deviance and non-deviance is cloudy. Since all forms of personal deviance are symptoms of underlying maladjustments and derive their meaning primarily from this relationship, the difference between one form of deviance and another pales. Why criminal behavior is the particular form chosen in some instances but not others is equally unclear. Such problems as these are not just criticisms of psychoanalytic theory, but also indicative of the difficulties encountered by any approach which achieves comprehensiveness at the expense of operational clarity.

Major Facts: As indicated earlier, analysts have not been primarily concerned with explaining the facts of delinquency beyond those pertaining to

* Johnson's discussion of the child's intuitive perception of parental feelings, involving identification and reaction formation phenomena, provides another typical example of a formulation which defies the researcher's sense of logic (70). Also, see Abrahamsen, 2, p. 82.

individual cases. Psychoanalytic theorists and practitioners alike find their approach somewhat antithetical to empirical research.

- a. ecological distributions - not handled (analysts seldom have experience, and less often successful experience, with lower class clients);
- b. demographic distributions - not handled;
- c. individual consistency - the theory can attempt explanations of individual acts, especially of the impulsive sort, but it is more concerned with, and has dealt primarily with, patterned behavior;
- d. rising crime rates - not handled;
- e. sex differences - generally handled by reference to the function of the behavior as expressive of, or as a means of handling, sex-role relationships deriving from early family experience;
- f. the delinquency peak - not handled;
- g. the crime peak - not handled;
- h. cycles and critical periods - not handled;
- i. attrition - not handled;
- j. reportability - not handled;
- k. changing patterns - not handled;
- l. companionship - not handled;*
- m. victim role - certainly on some occasions, the choice of victim may be determined by the problems of the offender, through projection or delusional phenomena. But again, it is only the offender's half of the situation which is dealt with - the victim is merely a stimulus to be perceived, not an active protagonist (an exception to this is the inference of sado-masochistic relation-

* Occasionally (e.g., 70) an attempt is made to separate the "psychological" delinquent from the "sociologic" delinquent. Aside from the attribution of greater peer group influence on the latter, the distinction between the two is not clearly drawn.

ships between some offender-victim dyads).

Crime and Delinquency Connections: Here again, explicit formulations are missing. The symptom status of crime and delinquency and their origins in internal pressures suggest no particular patterns of progression from juvenile to adult crime. On the other hand, the theory is less constricted than some others by a need to explain the existence of adult crime in the absence of a prior juvenile record.

Emergence vs. Maintenance: The emergence of law-violating behavior is explained primarily by reference to early pathogenic family relations, resulting in poor ego development, low impulse control, etc. Factors serving to maintain and reinforce the resultant behavior patterns, whatever the nature of those factors, are generally reinterpreted psychodynamically, i.e. they are given causal status only as they are incorporated within the character structure of the individual.

Process: With respect to process, there is much controversy about the status of psychoanalytic theory. To its protagonists, process is the very essence of their endeavors. Explanations are sought not in mere statistical relationships but in the inner dynamics of the individual whereby the stimuli of the outer world are translated into the internal determinants of action.

The controversy evolves from the fact that, almost unanimously, critics of the theory brush aside these processes as being merely reductionism and therefore of no particular logical value. They combine this criticism with the complaint that the processes are difficult or impossible to operationalize and therefore have no scientific status. Finally there is the problem that with law violations treated as symptoms, the processes are merely intervening variables between pathology and symptom, not between two independent sets of variables. If this

last notion is valid, then there is another tautology here, running from pathology to symptom and back again. Process does nothing to break the circularity of the argument.

Selection: The theory is designed to understand individuals, one by one, rather than the individual as different from other individuals. The selection question as a result is not seen as a particularly appropriate one. The only logical way for psychoanalysis to investigate the reasons that some, but not others, become involved in crime would be to prepare a case history on each of us - we are all potential criminals.

If one could determine the occurrence of mental disturbance in certain individuals, and then predict to criminal behavior from this, the road would seem to be open. Unfortunately for the theory, studies of mental illness in criminal and non-criminal, delinquent and non-delinquent samples have generally failed to demonstrate differences in the incidence of mental illness.

Criminal Justice System: The system has not been of much concern to the theory, although various forms of psychoanalytic thinking have been prominent among correctional practitioners. Certain aspects of the system could easily be incorporated as legitimizers of guilt, for example, or through validation of poor self-image, etc. Sometimes enforcement and correctional personnel have been cited for personal sadism or the societal embodiment of sadistic impulses.

Practical Guidelines: Because psychoanalysis is a theory of practice based on assumptions about behavior causation on an individual level, it has not provided many guidelines for treatment across individuals. Each case is different and should be handled separately and intensively.

A most helpful guideline to many practitioners has been the emphasis on early detection, diagnosis, and treatment. Many social agencies could not in

fact exist were it not for the philosophy of early treatment as a corrective for later maladjustments.

And last, the analysts have suggested to all, but especially the treaters, that the important variable is often not reality, but the individual's perception of that reality. To be successful, treatment must be based upon the world as seen by the client first, since it is the client's perception that underlies behavior.

6. PROBABALISTIC COGNITIVE PROCESS THEORIES

There is (as yet) no such animal as the Probabalistic Cognitive Process Theory of crime and delinquency. However, there are several prominent writers who have sought to explain certain aspects of criminology by reference to such notions as self-image, stigmatization, and neutralization on the one hand and drift, risk, and situational determinants on the other. The fit is not a neat one, but the reader familiar with the criminological literature may see, with us, some common directions behind the work of such men as Reckless, Sykes, Matza, the Schwendingers, McIver, Nye, Reiss, Short and Strodbeck.

Within criminology, this is the world of social psychology wherein crime and delinquency are related to the meeting of two sets of variables, the perceptions and cognitive styles of the offender and the "chancy" or probabilistic nature of the environment. The hypotheses and suggested explanations offered by these writers represent attempts to come to grips with the process problem in particular and seem relatively unhampered by concerns about disciplinary purity or reductionism. Some of the more prominent conceptions are these:

- a. Self-definitions - as "good boys" as insulators against delinquency (117, 118, 125);
- b. Containment theory - the melding of inner and outer controls in determining conduct norms (115);
- c. Techniques of neutralization - (denial of responsibility, denial of injury, denial of victim, condemnation of the condemners, appeal to higher loyalties) as rationalizations employed by the offender before the act which decrease behavioral restraints and therefore maintain criminal patterns (154);
- d. Subterranean values - secondary middle-class values which take on primary status in lower class life (90);

e. Stigmatization - or the labelling of individuals by societal institutions as "bad," "criminal," or "deviant" thus reinforcing such self-images and creating a self-fulfilling prophecy (83, 84, 106, 129, 155);

f. Drift - the probabalistic nature of exposure to values and restraints which may account for much inconsistency of delinquent patterns (89);

g. Aleatory Risk - the inadequate or ineffective perception of the relations between the commission of an illegal act and the odds on consequent negative sanctions (142);

h. Triggers of action - the often unpredictable chance occurrences on cumulative patterns which finally tip the normative balance toward criminality (87).

The general tenor of these concepts has to do with the individual's interpretation and cognitive response to an environment which is not highly structured. The gaps in the structure permit variations in perception and response, while these in turn provide the structure which - in our case - may perpetuate and reinforce the perceived legitimacy of deviant behavior.

One major distinction between these approaches and the theories covered earlier is that these generally assume less about the offender's having drawn conclusions about the world around him, his chances in that world, the class structure, etc. To the cognitive process theorists, the offender - and especially the delinquent - is more of a reactor than an interpreter. His actions do not require the accurate perception seemingly demanded by Cohen or Cloward and Ohlin in particular.

Logical Structure: Since we are describing here an amalgamation of concepts rather than a theory, this criterion does not apply. Reckless' "containment theory" (115) is not in fact a theory, but merely a statement of unspecified

relations between two categories of variables (inner and outer controls), the relations being more or less homeostatic.

Definitions: Rather uniformly, these writers treat crime and delinquency, behaviorally, as distinct acts or incidents growing out of aspects of the actor, the presenting situation, and normative rather than legal restraints. Some of the central concepts are well defined, nominally and operationally. Others, such as containment, drift, and aleatory risk, require further specification.

General vs. Specific Focus: Because of the emphasis on the act, the approaches seem almost equally applicable to youth and adult problems, although most of the writers have only been concerned with delinquency. Both systematic and occasional crimes fall within the focus of these process concepts.

Verifiability and Verification: The concepts of containment theory and drift, because of poor operationalization, represent serious verifiability problems. Other than this, the major problem, at this stage of concept development, seems to be one of too heavy reliance on after-the-fact explanations of behavior. For instance, almost all of the work on self-image by Reckless and his associates has been of an ex post facto nature, while Matza has relied primarily on interpretations of past observations and interviews. In time, we may see the incorporation of concepts and techniques taken from conflict and cognitive dissonance theories which are rather well established and highly relevant to the approaches being reviewed here. The possibility of controlled experimental verification has been neatly demonstrated by the Schwendingers' work on offenders' stereotyping of victims (130). To date, however, there has been very little empirical work done to validate the utility of the cognitive process concepts.

Deviance: A number of the concepts in our amalgamation seem well suited to

general deviance theory - there is little in them which would apply solely to crime and delinquency. The notion of stigmatization was in fact drawn most prominently from Irving Goffman's work in mental institutions. Reckless claims that containment theory explains at one and the same time both deviance and conformity. The emphasis on the probabilistic nature of the environment suggests rather strongly that crime and delinquency, along with other forms of deviance, are not just personal patterns but also the result of chance situational coincidences which act upon the individual. There are far more deviant acts than there are consistently deviant people.

Major Facts: As might be expected of a "non-theory", our amalgamation of approaches does not speak to a number of major facts. With one or two possible exceptions (Reckless and Matza), these writers have not attempted the construction of a general theory, but the specification of some important process variables. Their concepts require incorporation within a larger theoretical construction.

- a. Ecological distributions - not handled, except by some reference to class differences in family structure and ascendancy of subterranean values;
- b. Demographic distributions - not handled;
- c. Individual consistency - both containment and drift are employed to explain the inconsistent offender; the habitual offender is in part dealt with through stigmatization and adoption (learning) of techniques of neutralization;
- d. Rising crime rates - not handled;
- e. Sex differences - not handled;
- f. The delinquency peak - not handled;
- g. Crime peak - not handled;
- h. Cycles and critical periods - not handled;
- i. Attrition - not handled;

j. Reportability - not handled;

k. Changing patterns - not handled;

l. Companionship - not directly handled, although, by extension, drift and neutralization techniques might be applicable. Short and Strodtbeck have successfully combined the notion of aleatory risk with peer influence to explain certain lack of restraints on delinquent behavior;

m. Victim role - both neutralization techniques and stereotyping are direct explanations of the contributions of the victim, but only from the offender's viewpoint - the stimulus value of the victim is only partially handled.

Crime and Delinquency Connections: The progression from delinquency to adult crime, the selection processes distinguishing between those who do so progress and those who don't, and the existence of adult offenders without prior involvements are grist for the mill to stigmatization, drift, risk, self-image, etc. However, there is a serious operational problem in describing and quantifying the probabilistic situations as they impinge upon the individual. Until this problem is solved (e.g. see Cressey, 30), prediction must continue to play second fiddle to ex post facto explanations of delinquent and criminal careers.

Emergence vs. Maintainance: Although some concern with family variables suggests a concern with emergence, the major concepts in our amalgamation seem applicable to both emergence and maintainance, with emphasis on the latter. MacIver's notions about critical "triggers" and the concepts of stigmatization and drift. are pointed toward the earliest stages of criminality, while neutralization techniques and aleatory risk refer more to the maintainance of patterns already initiated. If emergence is taken to mean "original cause," then clearly the concepts considered here are relevant only to maintainance.

Process: The above comments on the crime and delinquency connections and on emergence vs. maintainance summarize the comments one might make about process. The concepts involved are direct attempts to fill some of the gaps in theories previously discussed, to identify variables intervening between social facts and human behavior. Because they are neither purely sociological nor purely psychological, because their originators are neither parochial as to discipline nor concerned about reductionism, these concepts represent significant directions for both theory and direct action (see Reiss, 119, for a good example of applying cross-disciplinary thought).

Selection: Family variables suggest sources of selection processes. Stigmatization, drift, and MacIver's "triggers" state the processes by which selection may take place. Self-image is a second-order derivation from family and stigmatization processes and thus may also be viewed as a selection process. But the question of who shall be selected is not answered by the specification of process. This vital step in theory is still missing.

Criminal Justice System: The position of the system is directly dealt with by several of the concepts. Aleatory risk suggests the distance of the system from the factors immediately affecting the criminal act, thus questioning the deterrence effect. Drift reminds us that the individual's contacts with the system are often accidentally determined rather than the automatic consequence of criminal or delinquent action. And stigmatization views the system as a highly potent reinforcer of criminality through its effects on self-image.

Practical Guidelines: Again, since we are covering here a collection of concepts rather than a logically structured theory, there has been no consistent attempt made to derive a set of logically related action steps. The following nevertheless serve as examples of the various practical steps which might emerge from a consideration of these process concepts:

a. Neutralize the techniques of neutralization; e. g. counseling and court disposition processes should affix responsibility, emphasize the damage done and affix fines accordingly, make the point that each offender is also a likely victim, etc.

b. Avoid stigmatization wherever possible by short-circuiting official processing for those offenders whose self-perceptions verge on the negative.

c. Emphasize family therapy and the derivations and reinforcements of negative self-images, individual responsibility, etc.

d. Since techniques of neutralization, subterranean values, and certain aspects of the negative self-image feed upon value-action hypocracies in our societal structure, and since denial of these hypocracies by middle class institutions merely reinforces the deviant outlook, it might be better to face these issues squarely. So long as white collar crime and the subtler forms of adult criminality abound, they serve to justify to the delinquent his own variations on the same themes. Counseling procedures should involve honest recognition of the facts as they exist and teach techniques ^{for} dealing with them. There is no such flabbergasted person as the delinquent who is confronted with the non-deviancy of his own perceived deviancy.

7. ADOLESCENT STRIVING APPROACHES

Rather than describing one theory, under the heading of adolescent striving we are once more outlining a general approach to which several writers have subscribed. Most prominent among these writers have been Eriksen (45, 46), Eisenstadt (37,38), and Bloch and Niederhoffer (8). The approach represents an interesting cross-fertilization between neo-Freudian psychology and cultural anthropology.*

The basic theme of these writers, restricted to delinquency, is that adolescence is a very special period of development in most societies and provides in its natural processes the clues to delinquent behavior. Adolescence is the period of transition between the dependence of childhood and the autonomy of adulthood, a transition which makes great demands on youth. It is in this period that the youngster strives to achieve a self-identity, principally by experimenting with new roles and behaviors. He is often supported in this experimentation by an adult audience which expects and condones it, but frequently fails at the same time to teach its limits.

Thus we have here an approach based on age strivings rather than class strivings, an approach which sees delinquent behavior as delinquent only "by default" or as the normal result of normal behavioral acts of youngsters seeking to find themselves in an ambiguous role structure. The delinquent gang is seen as a collective response to these age-transition problems wherein the individual finds peer support for his temporary strivings.

Logical Structure: The adolescent striving approach is based upon several more comprehensive theoretical statements such as neo-Freudianism, Parson's age-role hypotheses, and cultural anthropology with role as a central concept. As such, the approach has both the strength of these precedents and the logical weaknesses inherent in them. While not well formalized, the approach could be

* Sorenson (145) provides a good bibliographic resource on adolescent striving materials.

structured by (a) assumptions and data on determinants of role conflict and (b) theories of conflict resolution.

Definitions: Delinquency is seen as almost non-deviant behavior. It is not the act, but society's definition of behavioral limits that distinguishes between delinquency and non-delinquency. Concepts are not operationalized for easy empirical investigation.

General vs. Specific Focus: The focus is upon general delinquency, although Bloch and Niederhoffer were most concerned with gang behavior. Since it is adult role components that youngsters are experimenting with, one might expect this approach to be a better predictor of personal than property crimes, those which provide status as a man rather than status as a successful thief.

Verifiability and Verification: Past research on role conflict suggests that verifiability of the major propositions is rather high, but operationalization of the concepts must be undertaken first. A greater problem will be caused by tying the age-role variables to delinquency in such a way as to differentiate it from non-delinquency.

Deviance: The major problem here is not that of demonstrating connections with other forms or theories of deviance, but of specifying the reasons for criminal deviance rather than other forms available to youngsters. Because of the youth focus, more common adult deviant patterns are unavailable for consideration; e. g. alcoholism, marital problems, etc.

Major Facts:

- a. ecological distributions - not handled;
- b. demographic distributions - not handled;
- c. individual consistency - this could be dealt with on the basis of differences in role ambiguity and conflict, plus available modes of conflict resolution;

d. rising crime rates - within the juvenile population, data supporting a growing separation between generations and increasing deferment of adult status achievement in western society could well be used to explain increasing delinquency rates;

e. sex differences - covered by reference to differences in the adult sex roles being sought, and the learned juvenile sex roles being discarded;

f. the delinquency peak - this could be handled if it could be shown that the age-role conflicts also tend to peak at around the sixteen year old period;

g. the crime peak - handled by the same reasoning as that for (f) above;

h. cycles and critical periods - not handled;

i. attrition - not handled;

j. reportability - not handled;

k. changing patterns - not handled;

l. companionship - treated by reference to the need for peer support and common peer experience in coping with age-role conflicts;

m. victim role - not handled.

Crime and Delinquency Connections: This is not dealt with by adolescent striving theorists.

Emergence vs. Maintenance: Emergence is explained via normal maturation and by the demands made by emerging roles. Maintenance is alluded to in society's expectations for and condoning of adolescent acting out, especially among boys.

Process: Identity search and role experimentation are active processes which lead to offense behavior as these processes overstep the bounds prescribed by society. Delinquency is thus a by-product of these normal processes.

Selection: The selection problem is not explicated at all. One would have

to postulate variations in learned responses to the age-role problem and explain the variations by reference to some other set of variables.

Criminal Justice System: Not dealt with.

Practical Guidelines: Since adolescent striving theorists are concerned with a broad range of adolescent behavior, much of it non-delinquent, and because they attempt to demonstrate that this behavior is quite normal and healthy, there is little specification in the relevant writings of remedial steps. The following can be suggested:

- a. Since delinquent behavior is a response to a temporary transitional situation, the best response is to "go along with it" rather than take the chance of fixating these responses by over-reacting to them.
- b. Provide multiple opportunities to experiment with acceptable adult role behaviors and assume adult-like responsibilities (e. g. Junior Achievement programs, peer clubs, police cadet programs, etc.).
- c. Provide adequate recognition for the current status of youngsters, rather than insisting that rewards be based on child-like dependence behavior or holding the adult carrot too far out in front;
- d. In therapeutic or counseling situations, the stress should be placed on enabling the youngster to answer the question, "who and what am I?" Satisfaction with and knowledge of the self will lead to a reduction in the testing of self which may conflict with legal proscriptions.

8. DELINQUENCY PREDICTION - SHELDON AND ELEANOR GLUECK

The work of the Gluecks does not constitute a theory but a comprehensive collection of empirical data designed to predict the emergence of delinquent careers. Ordinarily this work should not be included in a report on theories of causation, but an extraordinary thing has happened which behooves us to consider the Gluecks' efforts. Because their work seemed to find a major predictive clue in family relationships and because preliminary data released by the Gluecks suggested a truly major breakthrough in delinquency prediction, the Gluecks have become almost folk heroes among many thousands of practitioners. The claims made on behalf of the Gluecks have coincided with a great yearning among practitioners of many stripes for the answer to the delinquency problem. It is for this reason that we include here a discussion of their work as seen by their colleagues in criminology.

Logical Structure: Since the Gluecks' work is atheoretical, we will substitute in this section a review of the methodological considerations of their work. It is the logical structure of their methods that holds the key to the utility of their effort.

Their research falls into two components. In the first, 500 non-delinquent boys were matched on neighborhood, age, intelligence, and racial and ethnic background with 500 incarcerated delinquents. Both cohorts of boys were subjected to a very comprehensive battery of interviews, medical exams, somatotypic measurements, achievement tests, projective tests, psychiatric interviews, and so on. Three sets of variables were found to distinguish between the boys - social background factors, character traits, and personality traits.

Several serious criticisms of the study have appeared:

- a. the even ratio of delinquents to non-delinquents is unrealistic and would lead to artificially high prediction rates;
- b. incarcerated delinquents constitute an unrepresentative sample which also artificially increases prediction rates. When Briggs et al. controlled for these two factors, they found that good prediction was no longer possible (14);
- c. the matching variables were inappropriate; their use disguised important sociological determinants;
- d. the ratings were retrospective and not "blind" (raters knew the delinquency status of their subjects);
- e. there were 66 traits times 44 determinants in the study for a total of 2904 combinations. Two hundred fifty-five of these were significant at the .10 level, even less than would be expected by chance. No validation studies were performed to discard the chance relationships.

Phase two of the study involved the application of the social background scale to 303 boys from a high delinquency area in New York at the age of six years. These boys were then followed longitudinally to see whether those predicted for delinquency involvement by their scale scores did indeed become delinquent. The first findings indicated 89% accuracy of prediction, but again a number of damaging criticisms were made:

- a. in the prediction study, the original definition of delinquency was expanded to include school behavior problems, "anti-social behavior," "delinquent traits" and mental illness. Elimination of these reduces accuracy to 59%;
- b. the accuracy of the predictions was lowest for boys expected to become delinquent and highest for those expected to avoid delinquency. A straight non-delinquency prediction across the board would have produced 96% accuracy, since most of the boys had not as yet gotten into official trouble;

- c. only three of the five original items in the social background scale were employed. Items dealing with fathers were inappropriate because so many boys were living with mothers only. Thus the prediction study can not validate the original findings;
- d. ratings were made at age six, but were not repeated later or validated. Family situations do change, especially in high delinquency areas;
- e. after five years the scale produced 54 prediction errors, whereas prediction from public assistance status would have produced only 47 errors.

For all of these reasons and others* the scientific status of the Gluecks' research is quite low - the logic and methods used are clearly unsatisfactory. There is in addition an underlying current to many of the criticisms which suggests that in their zeal to achieve a breakthrough, the Gluecks were less than forthright in making their claims.

And yet the work is highly popular among practitioners, for two basic reasons. First, the prediction claims are very high, and delinquency prevention is notoriously devoid of good predictive devices. Second, the predictions are based on family variables and family variables are the most popular among many groups in the criminal justice system, from enforcement to casework personnel. The five items of the Social Background Scale tell the story:

1. paternal discipline
2. paternal affection
3. maternal discipline
4. maternal affection
5. family cohesiveness.

But popularity does not equal utility, and the Gluecks' have not as yet provided

* Good reviews are provided by Briggs and Wirt (13) and by Herzog (66) who also notes the inadequacies of other predictive studies.

the major breakthrough. They may be right - they may have found the answer - but it has not been demonstrated.

Definitions: Operational problems attach to each of the five scale items, especially family cohesiveness. To achieve lasting utility, a change from home-visit ratings to paper-and-pencil tests will be necessary. As indicated above, a final stance on what shall be included in the definition of delinquency is required. One cannot change the definition to fit the data (68).

General vs. Specific Focus: The focus of delinquency is quite general, but, as noted above, not very specific. Adult crime is not involved here.

Verifiability and Verification: In the New York study, the Gluecks have failed to verify their findings but they have demonstrated that, with some operational and methodological modifications, verification is feasible.

Deviance: Not well dealt with, as indicated by the inclusion in delinquency of mental illness, anti-social behavior, etc.

Major Facts: This category is inapplicable. The Gluecks' research was not designed to explain the major facts of crime and delinquency.

Crime and Delinquency Connections: not handled.

Emergence vs. Maintenance: Emergence is primarily a function of the family situation, maintenance being provided by peer associations.

Process: The procedures by which the family variables lead to delinquency (or by which the other variables studied may do so) is not spelled out. The relationships are strictly correlational.

Selection: Selection among neighborhood youngsters is primarily related to family differences, and the relationship between maternal presence and adequacy of supervision (60). Selection within the family is not dealt with.

Criminal Justice System: Not handled.

Practical Guidelines: Given the questionable status of the Gluecks' findings, it is unwise to suggest the practical measures which are implicit in their approach. The advantages of early detection of delinquent potential are clear, in any case.* The theoretical importance of family affection, discipline, and supervision represents nothing new, although it seems remarkably absent in many criminological theories. Perhaps new data from the Gluecks' investigations will document some specific guidelines for future action.

* The advantages, however, still lie mostly in the range of the possible. See Short and Strodtbeck (142, p. 142, ff.) for a summary of studies employing the M.M.P.I.

Part III: CONCLUSIONS

The Theories: At the outset, it was my expectation that one or two major theories would emerge from this review as showing definite promise to guide the decision-making of the contractee for whom the review was undertaken. This expectation has not been fulfilled. I find, instead, that the theoretical status of modern criminology is quite shaky, fixated currently at the pubertal stage of its development (123).

Differential Association presents several problems. The structure of the theory is incomplete. Definitions of major concepts are difficult to operationalize, thus leaving doubt as to verification. It does not speak to many of the major facts requiring explanation. The question of the crime and delinquency connections, emergence vs. maintenance, process, and selection find too few answers. On the positive side, the theory's emphasis on learning principles, its attempt to be comprehensive, and its amenability to the derivation of specific practical guidelines suggest that it is not to be discarded lightly.

Cohen's delinquent subculture approach has the advantages of logical and definitional clarity and has served as the catalyst for data collection and theory construction of considerable value. However, the paucity of explicit practical guidelines and the generally negative findings resulting from attempts at verification seem to relegate it to a low priority status.

Opportunity Theory has the advantages of structural and definitional neatness and a reasonable state of verification (with the major exception of the existence of relatively discrete theft, conflict, and retreatist gangs) for so new a theory. As with the approaches of Cohen, Miller, and the adolescent-striving theorists, it is limited to a particular segment of the criminal population. While its current status on other criteria is questionable, further investigation and modifications would seem to be rather promising.

Miller's lower class culture theory suffers from some logical problems and has failed some important verification tests. Its narrow focus seriously limits its applicability, but it does have the advantage of being cross-disciplinary in some of its major concepts. The emphasis on cultural normalcy has provided a good antidote to theories which overstress the deviancy of delinquent behavior.

Psychoanalytic theory suffers from serious logical and definitional failings, parochialism, and dependence upon scientifically unacceptable verification procedures. On the other hand, its concern with process and the melding of theory and action guidelines continue to make it an appealing approach for many practitioners.

The adolescent striving approach, the probabilistic cognitive process concepts, and the Gluecks' prediction studies are of primary value, not in and of themselves, nor as well structured theories, but as indicators of new or promising directions for further empirical and theoretical investigation. Were someone to ask where theoretical research should concentrate in the next five years, we would point to these areas as possessing much potential for filling in the gaps in current criminology theory.

If, however, the question posed was "Which of the formal theories shows the greatest promise," I would, with some hesitation, recommend Cloward and Ohlin's Opportunity Structure approach. The reasons would be several.

First of all, the theory does tie social structural variables to behavior, thus representing at least the opportunity for interdisciplinary conceptualization. Second, its dependence upon perception as the major intervening variable leaves room for the insertions of factors stressed by the probabilistic-cognitive process theorists, psychoanalytic concepts, and learning processes.

Third, some important facets of the theory have received verification. But fourth, and most important of all, is that the focus of the theory on lower-class

gang delinquency and the failure to verify the existence of pure conflict, criminal, and retreatist gangs seem - to this writer - to be less limiting than at first seems the case. The purity of the gang cultures is not a necessary endpoint of the theory if the theoretical statements are modified to recognize the heterogeneity of the structural neighborhood variables hypothesized as causing the subcultures.

As to the lower class focus, there is nothing in the structure of the theory which necessitates a narrow class focus, and little in its substance that could not be modified for potential application to middle class delinquency.

Finally, the emphasis on delinquency is, at least in part, more a function of the interests of Cloward and Ohlin than the facts of criminology. It seems reasonable to suspect that much adult crime, especially crimes against property and the "victimless" crimes, could be explained by a modified Opportunity Theory. Of course, someone will have to offer these modifications, but I am suggesting that the task is not insurmountable, and could more profitably be undertaken within this theory than any of the others covered in this report.

Nevertheless, as they now stand, not one of the approaches meets the criteria adequately. Given the comprehensiveness of the criteria and the relative recency of many of the theoretical formulations, this is not a disastrous state of affairs, although it is a bit discouraging. Were I to attempt the construction of an amalgamated theory - and I am not so foolhardy - it would certainly stress the following drawn from its predecessors:

- a. an emphasis on learning processes;
- b. elements of social structure and deviance processes as basic postulates;
- c. family and peer relations as mediums of learning;
- d. cognitive processes as intervening variables;

- e. probabalistic environmental factors, including the functioning of the criminal justice system, as catalytic factors;
- f. distinctions between juvenile and adult situations, as well as between occasional and habitual patterns of offense behavior.

But this is an exercise each of us can undertake, none probably to the satisfaction of others. We could, by the same token, compile the practical guidelines to see if there are consistent patterns within them. This might yield such suggestions as these:

- a. avoid stigmatization via official processing;
- b. avoid "contamination" through criminal associations;
- c. stress deterrence not by punishment but by visibility of the consequences of an act prior to the act;
- d. work toward local neighborhood organization;
- e. work toward the manipulation of the offender's environment to provide rewards and pro-social opportunities and decrease the sources of frustration.

The difficulty with suggestions like these is that they are somewhat disparate, lacking the kind of integration which leads readily to action programs which follow logically from theory and present comprehensive models for achieving reductions in crime and delinquency.

Some "Popular" Variables: This report has concentrated on theories of causation, rather than on causes per se. Still, the reader may well wonder if this has not been too academic an exercise - aren't crime and delinquency really caused by a few major factors such as inadequate homes, or poverty, or psychological disturbance? The answer, discouragingly enough, seems to be "no." In order to make the point somewhat more concrete, let us take a few examples.

1. Constitutional Factors: Numerous investigators over several centuries have noted statistical relationships between crime and certain inherited or at

least biologically identifiable characteristics of offenders. These characteristics have included skull formation, body type, chromosomal abnormalities, mental deficiency, glandular or neurological aberrations, and so on. Because of time limits, and because there does not exist a comprehensive "Constitutional Theory" of crime causation, I have arbitrarily excluded consideration of these matters in this report. But several personal judgments may not be out of order.

First, I would hope that we have come too far in our recognition of the complexities of crime causation to expect easy answers from any single collection of factors. Second, the invocation of constitutional explanations raises the spectre of the Fallacy of Original Causes, discussed earlier, and leaves open the question of the processes by which constitutional variables result in criminal behavior. Finally, the references to constitutional factors which I have come across in the literature search (and omitted from the review) suggest quite strongly that each major finding of significant relationships is followed by a set of negative findings or serious methodological criticisms. It is my general impression that we can better spend our research funds in directions other than the biological.

2. The Family: The family as a source of factors eventuating in crime and delinquency is a prominent feature of Miller's lower class culture theory, the Gluecks' approach, and of psychoanalytic theory. In addition, it is recognized as one of the mediating variable complexes by Sutherland, the adolescent-striving theorists, and the cognitive process writers. At the same time, family considerations are notably absent in the theories of Cohen and especially Cloward and Ohlin. One could conclude therefore that the family is a fairly prominent facet of causation theories, but not so prominent as it is among the implicit causal hypotheses of the lay public.

Obviously, it is not the family per se which is important, but various factors or dimensions of the family, e. g. broken homes, working mothers, criminal experiences and values, supervision, affection, modes of discipline, etc. Various studies of these aspects of the family situation have produced equivocal results, leading to the general conclusion that family variables, although important, probably attain that importance through combination with many other factors. As single "causes," they do not stand up well (114, 148, 172). For the practitioner, there is the additional problem that family variables are among the less manipulatable of those to which he might turn. His levers of influence are minimal, the most potent being removal of the individual from the family environment. This drastic action runs counter to many of our social values and, in addition, raises the problem of suitable alternative placement for juveniles. For adults, it is too late.

3. Personality traits: Another prominent assumption is that crime and delinquency can be attributed primarily to personality variables and traits. After all, offenders are people, offenses are the acts of people, and therefore the answer must lie in the psychological characteristics of the people involved. Once again, however, careful reviews of research into personality variables related to crime fail to yield consistent results except that personality and character traits are somewhat involved in the etiology of criminal behavior (94, 114, 142). Slowly but surely, research into personality characteristics is beginning to take a more promising direction, the development of trait factors or offender typologies which can be related to etiological factors, which can serve as mediators of these factors, and which can then be related to grossly conceptualized situations conducive to various categories of offense behavior. Placed in this context, personality traits may take their proper place in the etiology of crime.

Taken out of this context and given primary status, they will continue to beguile us but lead us nowhere in our attempts to understand and control criminal behavior.

4. The Schools: Outside of the family, the school system has often been cited as the primary socialization mechanism in our society. It is natural, then, that the schools have been the focus of much attention in the delinquency area. Unfortunately, it is not clear whether the school is best viewed as a contributor to delinquency or as an insulator against it (e.g., 40). Such factors as school administration, truancy, failure, dropout rates, curriculum, and special services have been subjected to review (114), and the best conclusions would seem to be that (a) not enough is yet known and (b) the school system can best be viewed as another medium through which specific etiological factors may operate. There is little to indicate that the school, by itself, is a primary direct cause of delinquency or of conformity.

5. Poverty: Last in our list of single variable explanations of crime is poverty, with the associated variables of employment, race and ethnic status, slum living, etc. With respect to poverty, it is well to remember that many delinquents and adult criminals are neither poor at the time of their offenses, nor the products of poverty-stricken childhoods. The poverty variables have to do less with the overall incidence of illegal behavior than with disproportionate rates of illegality among the poor and the non-poor.

Also, it is clear with poverty, as with all other variables, that it does not act in a consistent fashion. The majority of the poor do not become criminals in the usual sense of that word. The greatest rise in crime rates is currently to be found in suburbia, not in the slums.

Finally, poverty again is not a single variable, but a result of many factors as well as a contributor to many. The complexity of the poverty/crime

relationship would require a separate treatment of greater length than the present report, the conclusions of which would probably be that (a) elimination of poverty would reduce crime and delinquency by a small percentage, (b) that the elimination of poverty without simultaneous concentration on employment, family stability, educational achievement, prejudice, etc. would be self-defeating, and (c) crime is not inherent in poverty, merely facilitated by it. There are enough independent reasons for attacking poverty than the unrealistic hope that reducing poverty levels will show a one-to-one relationship to crime and delinquency reduction.

The Place of Research: One final point in conclusion needs to be made. It is not original, but it is important - all the more so for its having been ignored just as often as for its having been made, to the severe detriment of society. The point has been made by the President's Commission: "...what it (the Commission) has found to be the greatest need is the need to know. . ."

"Approximately 15 per cent of the Defense Department's annual budget is allocated to research. While different fields call for different levels of research, it is worth noting that research commands only a small fraction of one per cent of the total expenditure for crime control. There is probably no subject of comparable concern to which the nation is devoting so many resources and so much effort with so little knowledge of what it is doing." (158, p. 273).

The Commission has recommended that a National Foundation for Criminal Research be established. For the very same reasons, every state should consider the role of criminal research in its program. To start with, we would recommend three major areas for consideration:

a. Information systems - inter-agency computerized systems can be developed, in fact are being developed, to maximize efficiency in knowing when and where to act, in what manner, and - in the future - even why.

b. Program evaluations - one suspects there is much dead wood in both the private and public programs in enforcement and corrections - dead wood not in

people, but in procedures. Almost every independent evaluation of agency programs makes this discovery. But the programs continue, and the research is shelved because to do the opposite - shelve the programs and employ the research toward new programming - would upset too many institutionalized applecarts. If research evaluations could be given some teeth, through funding or court orders or legislation, then we might indeed see the sort of progress that would excite practitioner and theorist alike.

c. Program models - a significant feature of many programs, including the experimental ones, is their failure to test a significant model of change. Philosophies, values, and theories are beset by the winds of individual intuition, expediency, and ignorance, with the result that changes in client populations cannot be systematically related to program inputs and the rationales behind them - we do new things, but learn nothing new.

Secondly, such program models as do exist, with a very few exceptions, are based upon value, hunch, and "insight" rather than upon the hard data of previous research, both applied and basic. This means, once again, that we fail to take advantage of the little we do know, and compound the error by failing to build programs which will actually add to what we know (41). Until the criminal justice system learns the value of shared knowledge, the question of theory will be superfluous to its enterprise.

Summary: In this report, seven major approaches to the causation of crime and delinquency have been evaluated on the basis of twelve criteria most commonly employed by criminologists. None of the seven have met the test adequately, though some show more promise than others. In particular, Opportunity Theory has been selected as the most promising because of its potential for wider application and for incorporation of essential elements from other theoretical approaches.

The point has also been made that inadequate opportunity has been available for theory testing and for the derivation of theory-based practices and programs in the prevention and control of crime and delinquency. Dependence upon narrow conceptions of crime causation and continuance of unevaluated control programs have been listed as unfortunate features of current practices in public action and policy.

If theory is to become more adequate, then more opportunity for theory testing and modification is required.

If practical programs are to be more useful, then more opportunity for basing them on theoretical models must be provided, and proper empirical evaluations of their effectiveness must become an integral part of them.

Kurt Lewin has said, "There is nothing so practical as a good theory." In order for this to be true, we must establish a new climate in which theoretician and practitioner contribute directly to each other. Such a climate can be established through action-research programs, but first it must be established that research is important. Present governmental fiscal attitudes do not reflect such a stance in the field of crime and delinquency.

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