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CRIMINOLOGY

TOWARD AN INTEGRATION OF CRIMINOLOGICAL THEORIES*

FRANK S. PEARSON**
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I. INTRODUCTION

Criminology is an eclectic science, drawing its theories from diverse currents in psychology, sociology, anthropology, and law. Theoretical diversity has proven, however, to be an embarrassment of riches. Despite all the theory and research in criminology, the field lacks a unified conceptual framework. In fairness, the lack of integration is a relative deficiency. Criminologists, for instance, have prepared comprehensive, often critical, literature reviews.¹ While these reviews certainly are an important resource for integrative efforts, they themselves are not theoretical integrations. Wolfgang and Ferracuti² have come closest to a broad-scale integration in their explication of the subculture of violence thesis. Although their work is an important contribution to the field, it is an in-depth, critical review of contemporary theory and research bearing on vio-

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¹ See G. NETTLER, *EXPLAINING CRIME* (1974); S. REID, *CRIME AND CRIMINOLOGY* (2d ed. 1979); S. SCHAFER, *THEORIES IN CRIMINOLOGY: PAST AND PRESENT PHILOSOPHIES OF THE CRIME PROBLEM* (1969); E. SUTHERLAND & D. CRESSEY, *CRIMINOLOGY* (9th ed. 1974); G. VOLD, *THEORETICAL CRIMINOLOGY* (2d ed. 1979).

² M. WOLFGANG & F. FERRACUTI, *THE SUBCULTURE OF VIOLENCE* (1967 & reprint 1982).

lence and aggression, rather than an integration of the major criminological theories into a systematic conceptual structure.

Several works have identified linkages between theoretical propositions in different theories. They select, however, only a few theories for integration.³ Some empirical studies also have integrated different theoretical models, but these efforts too have included just a few theories.⁴

This Article integrates within a systematic structure those general theories prominent in contemporary American criminology. We began with a careful consideration of the following question: what are the most prominent contemporary general theories of criminal behavior? Our judgments of prominence received subsequent confirmation. A search of articles in the five most esteemed journals in criminology⁵ for references made to general theories

³ See, e.g., R. CLOWARD & L. OHLIN, *DELINQUENCY AND OPPORTUNITY: A THEORY OF DELINQUENT GANGS* (1960) (integrated elements of strain and subcultural theories in their explanation of delinquency causation); Burgess & Akers, *A Differential Association-Reinforcement Theory of Criminal Behavior*, 14 *SOC. PROBS.* 128 (1966) (revealed connections between differential association and social learning perspectives). Some of the more salient ties between culture conflict and differential association were summarized by Cressey in *Culture Conflict, Differential Association, and Normative Conflict*, in *CRIME AND CULTURE: ESSAYS IN HONOR OF THORSTEN SELLIN* 43 (M. Wolfgang ed. 1968). DeLamater, in *On the Nature of Deviance*, 46 *SOC. FORCES* 445 (1968), interrelated aspects of differential association, differential access to legitimate and illegitimate means, labeling and neutralization theories, and reward-cost formulations to explain deviance. Important aspects of the fit between social control, social learning, and strain formulations were identified by Elliott, Ageton & Canter in *An Integrated Theoretical Perspective on Delinquent Behavior*, 16 *J. RESEARCH CRIME & DELINQ.* 3 (1979).

⁴ See, e.g., Aultman, *Delinquency Causation: A Typological Comparison of Path Models*, 70 *J. CRIM. L. & CRIMINOLOGY* 152 (1979) (worked with path models based on strain and social and interpersonal control formulations). See also Aultman & Wellford, *Towards an Integrated Model of Delinquency Causation: An Empirical Analysis*, 63 *SOC. & SOC. RESEARCH* 316 (1979) (incorporated elements of strain, labeling, and social control perspectives into a single model). Strain and social control dynamics have been explored by Cernkovich in *Evaluating Two Models of Delinquency Causation: Structural Theory and Control Theory*, 16 *CRIMINOLOGY* 335 (1978). Conger's *Social Control and Learning Models of Delinquent Behavior: A Synthesis*, 14 *CRIMINOLOGY* 17 (1976), assessed the explanatory efficacy of social control and social learning theories. Eve's *A Study of the Efficacy and Interactions of Several Theories for Explaining Rebelliousness Among High School Students*, 69 *J. CRIM. L. & CRIMINOLOGY* 115 (1978), investigated the merits of and the compatibility between strain, culture conflict, and social control formulations. Several studies have been done on differential association and social control, including Hepburn, *Testing Alternative Models of Delinquency Causation*, 67 *J. CRIM. L. & CRIMINOLOGY* 450 (1976); Linden & Hackler, *Affective Ties and Delinquency*, 16 *PAC. SOC. REV.* 27 (1973); and Matsueda, *Testing Control Theory and Differential Association: A Causal Modeling Approach*, 47 *AM. SOC. REV.* 489 (1982).

⁵ Shichor, O'Brien & Decker, in *Prestige of Journals in Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 19 *CRIMINOLOGY* 461 (1981), and Poole & Regoli, in *Periodical Prestige in Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 19 *CRIMINOLOGY* 470 (1981), report research on the prestige of journals in criminology. Their findings agree on the five highest-rated journals. They are, in

from 1978 to the present showed that thirteen theories together accounted for over ninety percent of the references.⁶ These most frequently cited theories are social learning, differential association, negative labeling, social control, deterrence, economic, routine activities, neutralization, relative deprivation, strain, normative (culture) conflict, Marxist-critical/group conflict, and generalized strain and normative conflict. There were only two differences between our qualitative assessment and the citation count findings. First, we had thought that symbolic interactionism would be a prominent theory separate from labeling theory, but there were few citations to symbolic interactionism. Second, we had not thought of the routine activities approach as a prominent theory, but there were enough references to justify its inclusion. Viewing these diverse theories as competitors, or at least not explicitly acknowledging their interlocking aspects, can hamper efforts at theoretical advancement.⁷ This Article will describe areas of conceptual overlap and complementarity.

There are several reasons for attempting a theoretical integration. As a result of various conceptual and pragmatic factors, most criminologists concentrate on a few theories that seem most enlightening, and thus are unable to give detailed consideration to the work of other theoretical schools. Consequently, criminologists sometimes do not appreciate fully the implications of theories other than those they think are most valid. Criminologists with different theoretical orientations often can talk past one another, rather than communicate effectively about theoretical ideas. Our goal is to point out the implications of the selected theories and to delineate their similarities.

Perhaps certain concepts in some theories cannot be translated into the other theories. Our conclusion, however, is that the *major concepts* of the theories can be translated into a common theoretical vocabulary, what we refer to as the integrative framework. This in-

alphabetical order, CRIME & DELINQ., CRIMINOLOGY, LAW & SOC'Y REV., J. CRIM. L. & CRIMINOLOGY, and J. RESEARCH CRIME & DELINQ.

⁶ F. Pearson, References to General Theory in High-Prestige Criminology Journals (1984) (unpublished manuscript).

⁷ Theoretical differences do not necessarily imply theoretical rivalry. First, different theories may emphasize different variables. Unequal variable emphasis should not be mistaken, however, for the assertion that the emphasized variables are the only causes. Certainly, many variables can operate simultaneously to produce delinquent and criminal conduct. Second, although in most instances a theory is assumed to be a general formulation because there is no explicit statement restricting the theory's domain, it may be productive to infer a special domain for that theory. Whatever rivalry may appear to exist between theories may disappear when their different behavioral applications are specified.

tegration is not itself an integration of theoretical *propositions*. It is a preliminary work pointing out concepts common to particular theories and framing these concepts in a common vocabulary.

We did not attempt to rank or rate the degree of empirical support for the various theories. Instead, for several reasons, we limited ourselves to the task of conceptual integration. First, some of the theories have stimulated far more hypothesis-testing research to date than others. For example, although routine activities theory has not yet led to as much empirical research as social control theory, this does not imply that routine activities concepts are not worth introducing into an integrated theoretical structure. Second, often only part of a theory has received research attention; our analysis of the major criminological theories can help to identify those components of the theories which should receive greater empirical attention. Third, an integration of key theoretical concepts should stimulate more research on the empirical interconnections among the theoretical components. In short, theoretical integration need not await a comprehensive evaluation of the degree of empirical support for the individual theories. Improved understanding of the conceptual interconnections among the various theories can aid in future assessments of the empirical support for each particular explanation of criminal behavior.

The integration presented here is organized into four parts. First, we develop the integrative structure. Social learning theory is the main component of the foundation. Interrelationships among the elements of the integrative structure are depicted in flow diagrams and in terms of a corresponding symbolic notation. The theoretical integration then follows: major concepts from the selected criminological theories are mapped into the integrative framework. In their original form these concepts are relatively general and abstract. For this reason we identify in the next section the substantive contents of these theoretical statements. This allows us to specify the kinds of criminal behaviors and causal factors that the selected theories address differently. Finally, we introduce macro-level social structural constructs that are related to the micro-level formulations.

II. FORMULATION OF THE INTEGRATIVE STRUCTURE

An integrative framework focusing on criminal behavior needs to incorporate several components, including learned dispositions and capacities to perform behaviors, environmental influences on behavior, and behavioral feedback mechanisms. Social learning the-

ory can be used to build an integrative framework incorporating the above formulations. The major criminological works that use this approach have restated differential association theory in terms of social learning concepts.⁸ Social learning involves the idea that most significant human behavior is instrumental (operant) in its mechanism: behavior operates to alter the environment in ways that influence the subsequent frequency and character of those behaviors. The basic operant model posits *behavior* which is measurable physiomotor activity that results in rewards or punishments—what we term here positive or negative *utilities*. Behavior *skills* (physiomotor competence) often determine the kind and level of utilities received. Depending upon the context and timing of their presentation, positive (or negative) utilities can increase (or decrease) the likelihood of a particular behavior.

Motivation for behavior involves three features: utility, demand, and deprivation. *Utility demand*, developed in economic theory, is a construct of motivational intensity. Operant theory deals with motivational intensity by measuring the level and duration of *deprivation* of positive *utilities*.⁹ Aspects of the immediate behavioral setting which signify whether or not a behavior is likely to lead to utility acquisition are known as *discriminative stimuli*. These stimuli are *signs* that *favorable opportunities* exist for obtaining utilities through selective behavioral performance. Sequences of interlocking discriminative stimuli and behavior often develop. These are known as stimulus-response chains: a complex of discriminative stimuli determines whether a particular behavior will be performed which, in turn, operates both to influence utility acquisition and to modify the original constellation of discriminative stimuli. The modified structure of discriminative stimuli then prompts another operant behavior which then sets in motion another cycle in the stimulus-response chain.¹⁰

Thus, complex behavior unfolds under different levels of utility deprivation, different discriminative stimuli, and changing patterns in utility presentation. Contingent upon the interactions and cumulative effects of these factors, behavioral repertoires are learned, maintained, and performed with varying degrees of regularity.

Two patterns of behavioral learning should be distinguished. Some behavior is contingency-shaped: some behavioral learning is a function of the sequence of utilities immediately presented to the

⁸ See R. AKERS, *DEVIANANT BEHAVIOR: A SOCIAL LEARNING APPROACH* (1973); Burgess & Akers, *supra* note 3.

⁹ Receiving negative utility can be viewed as a special type of deprivation.

¹⁰ See H. SCARR, J. PINSKY & D. WYATT, *PATTERNS OF BURGLARY* 116-17 (2d ed. 1973).

person. The pattern in presented utilities directly shapes the instrumental behavior. Other human behavior is rule-governed: this behavior results from symbolic (cognitive) activity, which in turn results from earlier contingency-shaped learning.¹¹ Discriminative stimuli trigger symbolic, cognitive activity which leads to behavior selection.

Elaborations of the social learning approach involve concepts of observational learning, such as modeling (imitation), disinhibition, and social facilitation.¹² Observing another person's conduct, particularly under conditions in which the observed person obtains utilities, can increase the likelihood of that behavior under similar conditions.

The social learning model presented above needs additional elaboration to portray accurately the complexities of human conduct. For instance, there are different kinds of discriminative stimuli and different kinds of rule-governed behavior. Some discriminative stimuli are subject to personal control, while others are not. To a robber, the presence of an elderly person on an unlit and deserted street might constitute a powerful discriminative stimulus because it signifies that a favorable opportunity exists for the successful completion of a robbery. The robber, however, does not engineer the favorable opportunity; rather, he manages to find the opportunity, probably using acquired knowledge of the social and physical contours of the crime site. Other significant aspects of a robbery situation that affect the likelihood of its successful completion, however, can be manipulated. These include human and technical *resources* that the robber might bring to bear on the behavior, such as working with accomplices and carrying weapons.

Rule-governed behavior similarly involves distinct processes: *rules of expedience* and *rules of morality*. The former rules are learned, cognitive behavior chains that guide overt behavior and are oriented toward maximizing the acquisition of utilities. Deciding to conform to social norms in order to avoid sanctions, choosing to imitate social role models who have obtained utilities, and electing to follow a prudent plan of action to maximize utility acquisition all represent

¹¹ See B. SKINNER, *CONTINGENCIES OF REINFORCEMENT* (1969).

¹² Social modeling refers to the acquisition of new behavior based upon observational learning. Disinhibition is the process in which a behavior that has been learned previously but that has been suppressed (for example, as a result of punishment) is engaged in after observing someone else performing it without sustaining punishment. Social facilitation denotes the performance of previously learned, noninhibited behavior upon seeing someone else engaging in it. See, e.g., A. BANDURA & R. WALTERS, *ADOLESCENT AGGRESSION* (1959); A. BANDURA, *AGGRESSION: A SOCIAL LEARNING ANALYSIS* (1973).

behavioral rules based on rational concerns of expediency. In contrast, rules of morality are cognitive behavior chains that guide behavior in terms of right and wrong. These rules for behavior are qualitatively different from assessments of behaviors in terms of utility maximization. Rules of morality are rules of duty and ethical obligation; thus, they can be distinguished from rules of expedience which are guides to maximizing satisfaction. Rules of morality include divine law (*e.g.*, the Ten Commandments), ethical principles, and other norms that are considered intrinsically proper, not just rational and prudent guides for behavior.¹³

Six ideas developed above form the basis of the integrative framework: (1) utility demand, (2) behavior skill, (3) signs of favorable opportunities (discriminative stimuli), (4) behavioral resources, (5) rules of expedience, and (6) rules of morality. These factors are antecedent, causal factors. Two kinds of antecedent factors may be distinguished: those that are internal to the person (*i.e.*, utility demand, behavior skill, rules of expedience, and rules of morality) and those that are external (signs of favorable opportunities, behavioral resources).

Learning is an ongoing process in which behavioral operations performed at one time affect the likelihood and character of that behavior at some future time. Thus, behavioral acquisition, maintenance, and performance are embedded in a feedback system. Two behavioral *consequences*, or feedback components, are particularly important: *utility reception* and *information acquisition*. Utility reception is the acquisition of rewards and punishments based on behavioral performance, while information acquisition is the knowledge received about various aspects of the behavioral setting (*e.g.*, the likelihood of acquiring utilities and their amounts and kinds) that can be used when considering repeating that behavior. Utility reception and information acquisition are called "consequences" or "feedback factors" because they are results of the behavior that in turn affect future involvement in that behavior. Figure 1 depicts the integrative structure with all of the micro-level components included.

The dynamic character of the integrative framework is depicted diagrammatically in Figure 2. (Hypothesized causal flows are represented by arrows.) The probability that a person will commit a crime in a particular situation depends partly on antecedent internal

¹³ See, *e.g.*, Kohlberg, *Stage and Sequence: The Cognitive-Developmental Approach to Socialization*, in *HANDBOOK OF SOCIALIZATION THEORY AND RESEARCH* 347 (D. Goslin ed. 1969); Muson, *Moral Thinking: Can It Be Taught?*, 12 *PSYCHOLOGY TODAY* 49 (Feb. 1979). Agreement or disagreement between an individual's rules of expedience and rules of morality can be investigated through surveys, interviews, and even observational research.

FIGURE 1
MICRO-LEVEL INTEGRATIVE FACTORS INFLUENCING THE
PROBABILITY OF CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR

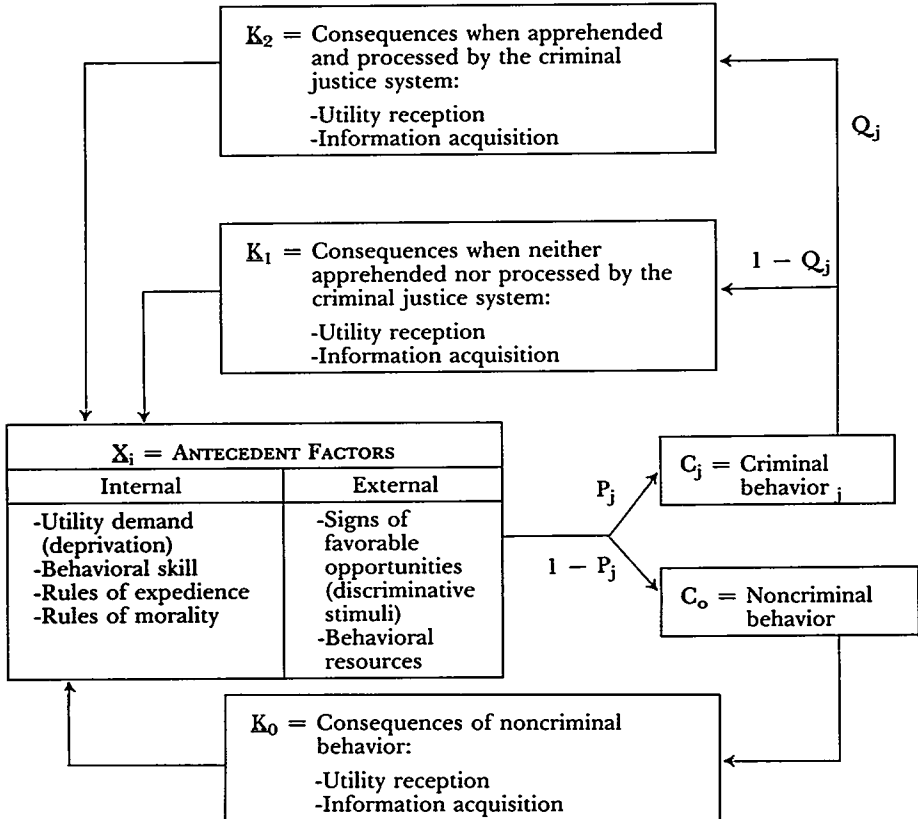
ANTECEDENT FACTORS		CONSEQUENCES OR FEEDBACK FACTORS
Internal	External	
-Utility demand (deprivation)	-Signs of favorable opportunities (discriminative stimuli)	-Utility reception
-Behavioral skill		-Information acquisition
-Rules of expedience	-Behavioral resources	
-Rules of morality		

and external factors. For economy of presentation, we denote these factors for person i as vector \mathbf{X}_i . The likelihood of criminal behavior is not determined entirely by \mathbf{X}_i because factors omitted from the model in its present form might influence the behavior. These include social structural factors and biological factors. Social structural factors will be added to this model below; biological factors fall outside the scope of this presentation, but may be added to the model by expanding \mathbf{X}_i or by introducing additional vectors.

The probability that individual i , who is characterized by antecedent vector \mathbf{X}_i , will commit crime type j is denoted by $P_j(\mathbf{X}_i)$. Conversely, the probability of noncommission is $1 - P_j(\mathbf{X}_i)$. Feedback dynamics are reflected in the fact that vector \mathbf{X}_i is subject to change by the consequences of the selected behavior, denoted \mathbf{K}_k . These consequences are designated \mathbf{K}_0 if crime type j is not committed, \mathbf{K}_1 if crime type j is committed but does not result in apprehension and processing by the criminal justice system (cjs), and \mathbf{K}_2 if crime type j is committed and leads to apprehension and processing by the cjs. Given that crime type j is committed, the probability of apprehension and processing by the cjs (\mathbf{K}_2) is denoted Q_j , while the probability of not being apprehended and processed by the cjs is $1 - Q_j$.

Figures 1 and 2 present integrative constructs drawn from social learning theory which is a micro-level psychological and social psychological approach. The individual is the unit of analysis. Consequently, as it presently stands, the integrative structure applies only to those portions of criminological theories bearing on individual behavior. However, some criminological theories address the

FIGURE 2
DYNAMIC MODEL OF MICRO-LEVEL FACTORS
INFLUENCING THE PROBABILITY OF CRIMINAL
BEHAVIOR



crime problem at an aggregate level, for example, in terms of social systems and crime rates. For these theories to be brought into line with micro-level formulations, macro-level integrative constructs need to be developed. Constructs selected for this purpose are the *social structural production and distribution of* (1) utilities, (2) opportunities, (3) rules of morality and expedience, and (4) beliefs about sanctioning practices.

Although it is the individual who secures utilities and experiences their rewarding and punishing properties, these utilities are differentially produced and distributed through social structural mechanisms. Production and distribution operations influence criminal activity in several ways. Those locations characterized by a lower supply of, but a higher demand for, positive utilities are likely

to have higher delinquency and criminal involvement: illegitimate activities may represent an expedient way to satisfy utility demands.

Undesired (negative) utilities also play a part in delinquency and crime causation. These utilities are both formal and informal punishments that might be administered in response to unlawful behavior. In much the same way as desired utilities are produced and distributed unevenly throughout the social structure, so too are undesirable utilities. The chance of being punished at a particular level of severity depends, for example, upon the allocation of resources to law enforcement and correctional institutions as well as on pressures exerted on judges to impose harsh penalties. The creation and distribution of the capacity and willingness to apply negative utilities and, as a result, to reduce the expected future likelihood of proscribed behavior is then a structural characteristic. We expect to find structural variability in delinquency and crime based on the variation in utility production and distribution.

Differential production and distribution of utilities also influence the distribution of selected crime sites. Crimes, particularly acquisitive property offenses, most likely will be committed where valued utilities are both located (target attractiveness) and most easily secured illegally (target vulnerability). In this sense, uneven production and distribution imply an uneven distribution of micro-level favorable opportunities (discriminative stimuli) for utility acquisition.

In our conception, "positive utilities" include power, prestige, and social approval as well as economic goods and services. Some delinquency theories concentrate on the distribution and acquisition of the former kinds of utilities under the rubric of status concerns.¹⁴ Negative utilities can involve punishments that are applied informally (*e.g.*, ostracism, job loss) or formally (*e.g.*, fines, imprisonment).

Behavior is partly dependent upon the legitimate role and status *opportunities* available to the individual. These opportunities are not equally distributed across social structural locations. Those social groups having a high demand for legitimate roles and statuses but suffering a low real or perceived supply of these legitimate opportunity structures are the most likely to seek socially disapproved roles and statuses.¹⁵ Educational and occupational opportunities

¹⁴ See, *e.g.*, H. BLOCH & A. NIEDERHOFFER, *THE GANG: A STUDY IN ADOLESCENT BEHAVIOR* (1958); A. COHEN, *DELINQUENT BOYS: THE CULTURE OF THE GANG* (1955); Miller, *Lower-Class Culture as a Generating Milieu of Gang Delinquency*, 14 J. SOC. ISSUES 5 (1958).

¹⁵ R. CLOWARD & L. OHLIN, *supra* note 3.

are most relevant, but peer group opportunities are also noteworthy.

Rules of expedience and *rules of morality* are normative principles governing behavior selection. Depending on their content and the situation, they can prescribe either law-abiding or law-violative behavior. As culture conflict¹⁶ and subcultural¹⁷ theories suggest, these rules are not distributed uniformly or with equal strength throughout the social structure. As a consequence of structural differences in the creation, distribution, and authority of norms supporting legitimate and illegitimate behavior, there are different risks of delinquent and criminal behavior at different points in the social structure.

Beliefs about the probability and severity of formal and informal *sanctioning* of law-violative behavior vary across the social structure. The creation and distribution of these beliefs, for example, through familial and peer socialization and through the media promote or deter delinquent and criminal behavior to varying extents depending upon their substance and strength: *collective* assessments that punishment is likely and will be severe are assumed to reduce illegal conduct and are termed general deterrence.¹⁸

Figure 3 incorporates into the integrative framework the social structural production and distribution of utilities, opportunities, rules of expedience and morality, and beliefs about sanctioning practices as vector Z . These factors are assumed to be antecedent to the micro-level factors included in X_i , and therefore, are placed to the left of them in the diagram. These social structural factors are pitched at a higher, macroanalytical level.

The full integrative framework, including vectors Z and X_i and feedback dynamics, is shown in Figure 4. A thick arrow is used to identify the causal flow from Z to X_i .

Figure 4 indicates that the social structural factors (Z) influence the micro-level factors (X_i) drawn from social learning theory. We illustrate the relationship between these two sets of factors first by developing an example concerning just vector X_i and then by extending the example to include vector Z .

Suppose that a person loses a job and consequently suffers a substantial decline in income. The resulting income deprivation should create an increased monetary utility demand. As the duration

¹⁶ See T. SELLIN, *CULTURE CONFLICT AND CRIME* (1938).

¹⁷ See M. WOLFGANG & F. FERRACUTI, *supra* note 2.

¹⁸ When an individual is punished for a crime (*i.e.*, is administered a negative utility) and this diminishes the probability of its repetition, the process is known as special, or specific, deterrence.

FIGURE 3

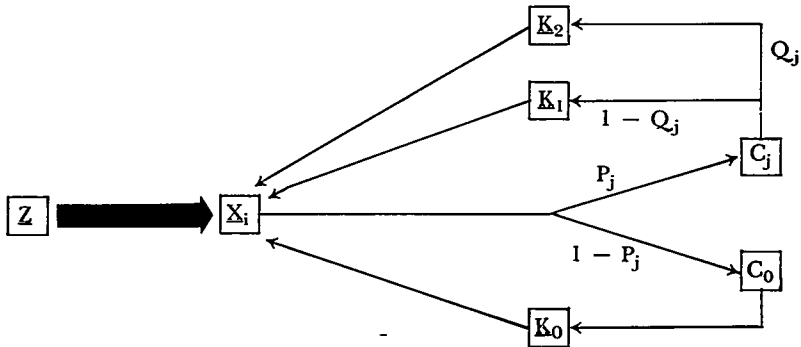
MACRO-LEVEL INFLUENCES ON MICRO-LEVEL FACTORS

MACRO-LEVEL INTEGRATIVE FACTORS: Z	MICRO-LEVEL INTEGRATIVE FACTORS: X_i		
SOCIAL STRUCTURAL PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF:	ANTECEDENT		CONSEQUENCES OR FEEDBACK
	Internal	External	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Utilities -Opportunities -Rules of expedience and morality -Beliefs about sanctioning practices 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Utility demand (deprivation) -Behavioral skill -Rules of expedience -Rules of morality 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Signs of favorable opportunities (discriminative stimuli) -Behavioral resources 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Utility reception -Information acquisition

of unemployment increases, the level of income deprivation and the associated utility demand likewise increase. In the face of mounting utility demand, normative reassessment may occur: rules of morality that prohibit illegal behavior may be consciously reviewed and weakened or unwittingly eroded under the press of utility deprivation. Performing an income-generating, acquisitive crime may no longer be morally unthinkable. Knowledge that friends or acquaintances are successfully involved in similar activities may, through processes of modeling and disinhibition, further enhance the likelihood that a property crime will be committed. Behavioral skills that were learned previously through group associations, the availability of and willingness to use resources (accomplices, weaponry), and sensitivity to cues signifying favorable opportunities for obtaining utilities all influence the decision about whether a criminal act should or can be committed.

Those micro-level factors comprising X_i are influenced by social structural factors denoted as Z . For example, suppose that the unemployment rate in the United States were to rise from a national average of five percent to a chronic annual rate of twelve percent. In addition, assume that the average annual inflation rate were to rise from four percent to eight percent, creating a significant drop in annual personal real income. The contraction in the legitimate opportunity structure and the reduction in distributed economic utilities should combine to lead to an increase in the aggregate demand for both career opportunities and economic utilities. As a result,

FIGURE 4
DYNAMIC MODEL OF THE PROBABILITY OF CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR



- Z:** Macro-level analytical factors
 X_i : Micro-level factors characterizing individual i
 C_j : Criminal behavior j
 C_0 : Noncriminal behavior
 K_0 : Utility and information received from noncriminal behavior
 K_1 : Utility and information received when criminal behavior j is committed and results in neither apprehension nor processing by the cjs
 K_2 : Utility and information received when criminal behavior j is committed and results in apprehension and processing by the cjs
 P_j : Probability of committing criminal behavior j
 $1 - P_j$: Probability of noncriminal behavior
 Q_j : Probability of being apprehended and processed by the cjs for criminal behavior j
 $1 - Q_j$: Probability of being neither apprehended nor processed by the cjs for criminal behavior j

cultural rules of morality might be collectively weakened, particularly if deprivation were prolonged. Moral drift toward greater tolerance, if not outright support, of unlawful behavior might be expected. Furthermore, in those social groups already most burdened by high crime rates, the prevailing belief about sanctions might be that they are not likely to be administered and, even when they are administered, that they are not likely to be severe.

The illustration indicates that social structural mechanisms differentially produce and distribute *conditions* that influence the likelihood of crime. This allocation process is distinct from, though intimately related to, the operations through which individuals learn, maintain, and perform illegal behavior. Therefore, people are at differential risk to become involved in criminal activities be-

cause of their differential exposure to those conditions involved in the social learning of these activities.

III. THEORETICAL INTEGRATION

A. REVIEW OF INTEGRATIVE CONSTRUCTS

We have prepared Table 1 to aid in the integration. The table interrelates integrative constructs (columns) and criminological theories (rows). Columns are divided into two segments representing micro-level (X_i) and social structural (Z) factors. A check mark (\checkmark) in a cell signifies that the theory appearing in that row identifies at least one causal factor that may be subsumed under the integrative construct appearing at the head of that column.

Before proceeding with the mapping, it may help to review briefly the integrative constructs. Micro-level constructs, drawn and developed from social learning theory, fall into two groups, those which are *antecedent* to criminal behavior and those which are its *consequences*. Four antecedent, internal factors are identified: (1) *utility demand* is the level of motivation for securing utilities; (2) *behavioral skill* is physiomotor activity that has been learned and maintained and which, consequently, can be performed with some degree of competence to acquire utility; (3) *rules of expedience* are symbolic (cognitive) chains that rationally orient behavior in directions expected to maximize utility acquisition; and (4) *rules of morality* are symbolic (cognitive) chains that orient behavioral choice according to principles of right and wrong. Two antecedent, external factors are noted: (1) *signs of favorable opportunities* are immediate contextual stimuli indicating whether a behavior is likely to result in utility acquisition; and (2) *behavioral resources* are the objects or human agents that can be used to obtain utilities.

Behavioral consequences, or feedback, fall into two categories: (1) *utility reception* refers to rewards and punishments that are obtained as a function of behavior; and (2) *information acquisition* is knowledge received about features of the behavioral setting that can be used when considering repeating the behavior.

Social structural production and distribution encompass processes at the social systemic level that differentially create and allocate to constituent groups the social conditions involved in crime causation. These social phenomena are: (1) *positive and negative utilities*, which are rewarding or punishing responses to behavior; (2) *social opportunities*, which comprise social roles and statuses; (3) *cultural rules of expedience and morality* (see numbers 3 and 4 above under antecedent internal factors); and (4) *cultural beliefs about sanctioning practices*, which

TABLE 1
MAPPING OF THE SELECTED CRIMINOLOGICAL THEORIES INTO THE INTEGRATIVE STRUCTURE

	INTEGRATIVE CONSTRUCTS									
	MICRO-LEVEL					MACRO-LEVEL				
	ANTECEDENT					CONSEQUENCES OR FEEDBACK				
	INTERNAL		EXTERNAL			UTILITY INFORMATION RECEPTION ACQUISITION		SOCIAL STRUCTURAL PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF:		
Utility Demand (Deprivation)	Behavioral Skill	Rules of Expedience	Morality	Signs of Favorable Opportunities (Discriminative Stimuli)	Behavioral Resources	Utility Reception	Information Acquisition	Utilities Opportunities and Morality	Expedience Sanctioning	Belief about
Selected Criminological Theories	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓			
Differential Association										
Negative Labeling	✓	✓		✓			✓			
Social Control:										
1. attachment	✓		✓				✓			
2. commitment	✓		✓		✓		✓			
3. involvement					✓		✓			
4. belief			✓							
Deterrence	✓		✓		✓		✓			✓
Economic	✓		✓		✓		✓		✓	✓
Routine Activities	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Neutralization		✓		✓						✓
Relative Deprivation	✓		✓				✓		✓	
Strain	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓		✓	✓
Normative (Culture) Conflict				✓						✓
Generalized Strain and Normative (Culture) Conflict	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓	✓
Marxist-critical/Group Conflict	✓		✓	✓			✓		✓	✓

are subjective assessments of the probability of receiving informally or formally administered negative utilities in response to unlawful behavior.

B. MAPPING OF CRIMINOLOGICAL THEORIES INTO
THE INTEGRATIVE STRUCTURE

One more point should be made before proceeding with the integration. When we map a theory into the integrative structure, we map only those formulations that are explicitly identified in the theory, rather than adding logical extensions of the formulation.

Differential association theory centers on the idea that criminal behavior is learned and that this learning "involves all of the mechanisms that are involved in any other learning."¹⁹ Law-violative behavior is viewed as "an expression of general needs and values"²⁰ that develops from learning processes involving "motives, drives, rationalizations and attitudes."²¹ Needs, values, motives, and drives fall within the meaning of utility demand because they represent the level at which utilities are desired. The acquisition of utilities and its influence on subsequent behavior place this theory under the utility reception construct.

The integrative construct of behavioral skill is also pertinent because "when criminal behavior is learned, the learning includes . . . techniques of committing the crime. . . ."²² In addition, the theory stresses the importance of learning "definitions" (attitudes and rationalizations) that are favorable or unfavorable to legal codes: "In some societies an individual is surrounded by persons who invariably define the legal codes as rules to be observed, while in others he is surrounded by persons whose definitions are favorable to the violation of the legal codes. . . ."²³ Rules of morality clearly apply to this formulation, but some of these "definitions" may be rules of expedience—for example, rationalizations of criminal behavior—which lead us to map differential association theory into this construct.

Negative labeling formulations state that the disapproving and punitive social reactions to deviant, delinquent, and criminal behavior that are expected to decrease in their likelihood and seriousness often have precisely the opposite effect.²⁴ This theory is related to

¹⁹ E. SUTHERLAND & D. CRESSEY, *supra* note 1, at 76.

²⁰ *Id.*

²¹ *Id.* at 75.

²² *Id.*

²³ *Id.*

²⁴ H. BECKER, *OUTSIDERS: STUDIES IN THE SOCIOLOGY OF DEVIANCE* (1963); E.

symbolic interactionist formulations that postulate that the character and outcome of social relations are shaped mainly by the meaning that people attribute to one another's behavior, including what they intend their behavior to signify and what they believe others think about their behavior.²⁵ Whereas symbolic interactionism is a theoretical perspective on all human interaction, negative labeling focuses on the ways in which negative symbolic labeling tends to increase rule-breaking behavior.

According to negative labeling theory, social attributions of personal characteristics are capable of altering an individual's identity and, through this alteration, an individual's behavior, especially when the source of the attribution is in a position of power relative to the individual. If law-abiding citizens (including agents of the criminal justice system) apprehend an offender and believe him to have a disposition towards criminality, they generally administer negative sanctions and communicate their assessment that the violator is a particular kind of offender, such as a shoplifter or burglar. Many law-abiding persons then will be reluctant to associate with the offender, and many will deny the offender access to legitimate opportunities. If there is additional misconduct and repeated exposure to these attributive, exclusionary, and sanctioning processes, the offender becomes more likely to adopt a self-concept of being a shoplifter, burglar, or the like, and becomes more deeply involved in illegitimate or illegal activities.²⁶ Negative labeling mechanisms reflect four of the integrative constructs: utility demand, behavior skill, rules of morality, and utility reception. Exclusion from legitimate opportunities restricts the individual's ability to secure utilities, thereby producing utility demand. As an individual's deviant, delinquent, or criminal identity crystallizes and as conventional social contacts become fewer, involvement in unconventional social relations is likely to increase. These new involvements entail the assumption of corresponding roles and statuses and their related obligations and responsibilities. New group loyalties and bonds develop,²⁷ supported by new norms defining behavioral propriety. At this point in the causal process, rules of morality are involved be-

LEMERT, *SOCIAL PATHOLOGY* (1951); E. SCHUR, *LABELING DEVIANT BEHAVIOR: ITS SOCIOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS* (1971); F. TANNENBAUM, *CRIME AND THE COMMUNITY* (1938).

²⁵ H. BLUMER, *SYMBOLIC INTERACTIONISM: PERSPECTIVE AND METHOD* (1969); N. DENZIN, *THE RESEARCH ACT: A THEORETICAL INTRODUCTION TO SOCIOLOGICAL METHODS* (1970); A. LINDESMITH, A. STRAUSS & N. DENZIN, *SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY* (4th ed. 1975).

²⁶ E. LEMERT, *supra* note 24, at 76-77, 81-88; F. TANNENBAUM, *supra* note 24, at 17.

²⁷ E. LEMERT, *supra* note 24, at 90, 96.

cause unconventional behavior has become morally justified by unconventional group norms.

Negative labeling theory also indicates that specialization in deviant, delinquent, or criminal activities is partly a function of an individual's repertoire of learned behaviors.²⁸ Differential involvement in unconventional behavior is somewhat dependent, therefore, on an individual's skills.

The imposition of negative utilities is central to the labeling dynamic because the administration of sanctions is part of the process of changing the individual's legitimate identity into an illegitimate one. Consequently, utility reception is included in negative labeling theory.

Social control theory argues that illegal behavior is in large measure the result of the failure of conventional social groups (*e.g.*, family, peers, school) to bind the individual to them. Absent strong conventional bonds and the behavioral constraints that they entail, the individual may drift into unconventional behavior.²⁹ The most systematic treatment of the bonding conception is Hirschi's,³⁰ and for this reason it has been selected for this integration.

Hirschi identified four main aspects of the bonding mechanism: attachment, commitment, involvement, and belief. Attachment is the degree to which a person is sensitive to the opinions, attitudes, and moral beliefs of other people. The more sensitive a person is to others who support and obey the law, the less likely it is that the person will engage in criminal behavior.

One of the most important rules of expedience is to pay attention to other people's behavior and to imitate their successful behavior. Attachment therefore in part entails rules of expedience. The attachment component of the social bond can involve emotional satisfaction from law-abiding people. Attachment suggests that these law-abiding people are sources of positive utility. Criminal behavior can threaten the diminishment of these positive affectional relationships. Attachment thus fits under utility demand and the related construct of utility reception.

Commitment comprises the rational component of bonding because it refers to the weighing of gains and costs that can result from

²⁸ *Id.* at 76-77, 81-88; F. TANNENBAUM, *supra* note 24, at 17.

²⁹ See F. NYE, *FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS AND DELINQUENT BEHAVIOR* (1958); W. RECKLESS, *THE CRIME PROBLEM* (4th ed. 1967); Briar & Piliavin, *Delinquency, Situational Inducements, and Commitment to Conformity*, 13 *SOC. PROBS.* 35 (1965); Toby, *Social Disorganization and Stake in Conformity: Complementary Factors in the Predatory Behavior of Hoodlums*, 48 *J. CRIM. L., CRIMINOLOGY & POLICE SCI.* 12 (1957).

³⁰ T. HIRSCHI, *CAUSES OF DELINQUENCY* 16-26 (1969).

socially conforming or nonconforming behavior. The selected behavior is that which is expected to yield a net positive gain in utilities. An individual's stake in conformity (*i.e.*, what an individual might lose through the social punishment of nonconformity) affects the decision to violate the law because the individual may not wish to jeopardize his present store of utilities (for example, due to incarceration) or the means to acquire still more utilities (*e.g.*, getting good jobs). Because commitment involves the rational assessment of ways to maximize utility, it fits under rules of expedience and utility demand. Furthermore, the likelihood of gains and losses in utilities is rationally assessed, based either on past behavioral outcomes and on the knowledge thereby acquired, or on general information. Thus, utility reception, signs of favorable opportunities, and information acquisition also are involved in the commitment mechanism.

Involvement is the time spent in conventional activities. Time allocated to these activities makes the individual unavailable for illegitimate activities during that period. Conventional behavioral settings usually do not provide favorable opportunities for the successful performance of delinquent or criminal behavior, either because utilities are not likely to be readily available for acquisition or, probably more importantly, the individual is subject to greater informal monitoring by representatives of conventional society. The significance of situational factors in conventional settings leads us to place this formulation under signs of favorable opportunities. Information obtained about the likely acquisition of utilities through legitimate and illegitimate behavior in conventional settings also relates involvement to the feedback process of information acquisition.

Belief involves cognitive formulations about the moral validity of norms. The moral aspect of these assessments places them under the integrative construct of rules of morality.

Deterrence theory, which is closely related to the commitment component of social control theory, asserts that the probability of illegitimate behavior varies inversely with the perceived likelihood and magnitude of punishment.³¹ According to this theory, few crimes are irrational. The individual engages in criminal behavior

³¹ DETERRENCE AND INCAPACITATION: ESTIMATING THE EFFECTS OF CRIMINAL SANCTIONS ON CRIME RATES (A. Blumstein, J. Cohen & D. Nagin eds. 1978); Andenaes, *General Prevention—Illusion or Reality?*, 43 J. CRIM. L., CRIMINOLOGY & POLICE SCI. 176 (1952); Ball, *The Deterrence Concept in Criminology and Law*, 46 J. CRIM. L., CRIMINOLOGY & POLICE SCI. 347 (1955); Claster, *Comparison of Risk Perception Between Delinquents and Non-Delinquents*, 58 J. CRIM. L., CRIMINOLOGY & POLICE SCI. 80 (1967); Tittle & Logan, *Sanctions and Deviance: Evidence and Remaining Questions*, 7 LAW & SOC'Y REV. 371 (1973).

because the expected utility of the act outweighs the combined likelihood and severity of punishment (negative utility). Deterrence theory clearly falls under the construct of utility demand. The rational aspect of decision-making leads us also to place the theory under rules of expedience. Reliance upon rational decision-making further suggests that deterrence theory should be subsumed under both feedback mechanisms: prior acquisition of utilities and the knowledge thereby received about the extent to which behavior has been effective in obtaining utilities fit under the constructs of utility reception and information acquisition, respectively. The latter construct refers to obtaining information about signs of favorable opportunities that might subsequently be encountered. Deterrence theory therefore is included under the construct of signs of favorable opportunities. Because the decision to engage in unlawful behavior depends to some extent upon beliefs about sanctioning practices, the theory is included under this macro-level integrative construct.

The fundamental idea of *economic* theory is "that a person commits an offense if the expected utility to him exceeds the utility he could get by using his time and other resources at other activities."³² Economic theory is an extension of deterrence theory³³ and therefore maps into all of the constructs that deterrence theory does. Deterrence theory focuses on the effects of punishment, rather than on the benefits of lawful and unlawful behavior.³⁴ Economic theory makes both of these concerns central. Furthermore, economic theory explicitly considers the social systemic interplay of "supply and demand" for offenses.³⁵

Economic theory is concerned with the production and distribution of utilities. For example, one author argues that "a rise in the income available in legal activities . . . would reduce the incentive to enter illegal activities and thus would reduce the number of offenses."³⁶ Economic theory also is concerned with the effects of insufficient production of legitimate job opportunities.³⁷ Thus, eco-

³² Becker, *Crime and Punishment: An Economic Approach*, 76 J. POL. ECON. 169, 176 (1968).

³³ Block & Heineke, *A Labor Theoretic Analysis of the Criminal Choice*, 65 AM. ECON. REV. 314, 317 (1975).

³⁴ Becker, *supra* note 32, *passim*.

³⁵ *Id.*; Ehrlich, *Participation in Illegitimate Activities: A Theoretical and Empirical Investigation*, 81 J. POL. ECON. 521 (1973).

³⁶ Becker, *supra* note 32, at 177.

³⁷ See, e.g., B. FLEISHER, *THE ECONOMICS OF DELINQUENCY* (1966) (discusses effects of unemployment rates on crime rates).

conomic theory is included under the construct of social structural production and distribution of opportunities.

According to *routine activity* theory, most predatory crimes “require convergence in space and time of *likely offenders, suitable targets, and the absence of capable guardians* against crime.”³⁸ This theory does not address why individuals or groups are inclined or motivated to engage in crime. Instead, it assumes that there are enough people who are motivated to engage in crime, particularly property crime, and that the important variability is in the number of situations with suitable targets and no capable guardians.

According to routine activity theory, target suitability involves the target’s value. As was noted, the theory assumes that there are many motivated offenders. Consequently, utility demand and utility reception are involved. The absence of capable guardians falls within the integrative construct of signs of favorable opportunities. The theory also states that “at least minimal technical skills” are required for certain crimes and that “the presence of facilities, tools, or weapons . . . influence the commission or avoidance of illegal acts;”³⁹ thus, behavioral skill and behavioral resources are involved. In addition, the routine activities formulation maintains that “law-breakers take into account the nature of property and/or the structure of human activities as they go about their illegal work.”⁴⁰ This suggests that information acquisition and rules of expedience influence criminal activity.

Routine activities theory considers the production and distribution of utilities as influencing target suitability. For example, both increased production of automobiles and the development of ports and terminals for the distribution of goods result in more crime targets. Thus, the theory maps into the social structural production and distribution of utilities construct. Finally, the construct of social structural production and distribution of opportunities is involved in routine activities theory. For example, the theory asserts that the recent increase in jobs away from the home (*e.g.*, fewer women are housewives) has reduced the number of guardians in the home. This reduction in turn has prompted an increase in daytime residential burglary.⁴¹

Neutralization theory observes that individuals often violate the very norms that they embrace by applying countervailing “norms

³⁸ Cohen & Felson, *Social Change and Crime Rate Trends: A Routine Activity Approach*, 44 AM. SOC. REV. 588, 588 (1979) (emphasis in original).

³⁹ *Id.* at 591.

⁴⁰ *Id.* at 592.

⁴¹ *Id.*

and sentiments . . . that function as the *extenuating conditions* under which [the violation] is permissible."⁴² The *extenuating conditions* allowing the selection of illegitimate behavior are called "neutralizations" because these norms counteract, mitigate, or nullify the effects of proscriptive conventional norms. Neutralization creates a "moral vacuum"⁴³ in which conventional norms are deemed void or inappropriate in particular circumstances, setting the stage for an individual to drift into law-violative behavior. The individual "is not constrained to commit delinquencies. He is free to commit them."⁴⁴ Several neutralizations have been identified: self-defense, denial of intent, accident, defining the victim as a legitimate target, and appeal to higher loyalties.⁴⁵

Neutralizations extend the behavioral space in which the individual is free to act. Subcultural neutralizations are traditions that define social control efforts as unjust intrusions.⁴⁶ In addition to subcultural support, unlawful behavior receives support from conventional society, for example, in the form of criminological, psychiatric, and social work ideologies (*e.g.*, psychological or social determinism) which are reinterpreted by subcultural members to justify their unlawful conduct or to weaken the controlling impact of the law.⁴⁷

Invoking neutralizations, however, does not in and of itself result in illegal behaviors. Neutralizations simply reduce the usual constraints against such behavior. The decision to commit an infraction when in moral drift involves "preparation" and "desperation," the decisions to repeat an infraction or to commit a new type of infraction, respectively.⁴⁸ Preparation involves the technical feasibility to execute the behavior: it "consists of the learned capacity to manage the action, or *behavioral component* . . ., on the one hand, and the counteraction, or *apprehensive component*, on the other."⁴⁹ Both the behavioral skill to commit the act and the emotional ability to control the fear of punishment that might result from the act must be present, therefore, in order to repeat unlawful behavior. Thus, the theory fits under the behavioral skill component.

Because neutralizations are ideas that nullify conventional

⁴² D. MATZA, *DELINQUENCY AND DRIFT* 59 (1964) (emphasis in original).

⁴³ *Id.* at 181.

⁴⁴ *Id.* at 90.

⁴⁵ *Id.* at 81; Sykes & Matza, *Techniques of Neutralization: A Theory of Delinquency*, 22 AM. SOC. REV. 664 (1957).

⁴⁶ D. MATZA, *supra* note 42, at 101-79.

⁴⁷ *Id.* at 62-64, 90-98.

⁴⁸ *Id.* at 183.

⁴⁹ *Id.* at 184-85.

moral rules, we include the theory under the integrative construct of rules of morality. Subcultural support received by the law violator also suggests this same mapping. The macro-level construct of rules of morality and expedience applies to this behavioral dynamic.

Relative deprivation theory maintains that illegal behavior is performed when an individual believes the discrepancy between his own level of utility demand and reception and that of a social referent is illegitimate.⁵⁰ Law-violative behavior is one way to reduce the discrepancy: demanded utilities are secured through unlawful means. Because relative deprivation involves utility demand, the rational selection of behavior to meet this demand, and utilities received as a function of this behavior, the theory maps into utility demand, rules of expedience, and the feedback process of utility reception. Rules of morality also apply because unlawful behavior stems from the judgment that the discrepancy between the individual's level of utility acquisition and that of a social model is unjust. In addition, real or perceived inequalities in the level of acquired utilities or in the opportunities to get utilities are related to the social structural production of utilities and opportunities. Consequently, these two macro-level constructs are invoked.

Strain theory maintains that people with fewer real or perceived legitimate opportunities to achieve the cultural goals of a society (e.g., wealth) will be under greater strain to use illegitimate means to attain those goals. Persons who are disadvantaged socially and economically have fewer legitimate opportunities to acquire money and property, and thus, they will be more likely to engage in property crime, illegal rackets, and related crimes.

Strain formulations fit under most of the integrative constructs. Culture goals, which are objectives worth striving for (e.g., material wealth), are subsumed under the utility construct. One of the ways in which the path to reaching success-goals is blocked is by restrictions on the means of acquiring skills needed for goal attainment.⁵¹ This conception is linked to the integrative construct of behavioral skill. Rules of morality and of expedience apply to strain theory because both success-goals and the means to attain them are subject to

⁵⁰ Davies, *The J-Curve of Rising and Declining Satisfaction as a Cause of Some Great Revolutions and a Contained Rebellion*, in *VIOLENCE IN AMERICA: HISTORICAL AND COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES* 415 (H. Graham & T. Gurr eds. 1979); Eberts & Schwirian, *Metropolitan Crime Rates and Relative Deprivation*, 5 *CRIMINOLOGICA* 43 (1968); Gurr, *A Causal Model of Civil Strife: A Comparative Analysis Using New Indices*, 62 *AM. POL. SCI. REV.* 1104 (1968); Toby, *Affluence and Adolescent Crime*, in *PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON LAW ENFORCEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE, TASK FORCE REPORT: JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND YOUTH CRIME* 132 (1967).

⁵¹ R. MERTON, *SOCIAL THEORY AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE* 199 (1968).

normative regulations and rational assessment. Certain aspirations and techniques to achieve these goals are considered morally proper. Technically expedient but illegitimate paths to reach success-goals may be pursued if legitimate means are not available. The fact that illegitimate means may be effective in attaining success-goals implies that utilities are acquired, which leads us to map strain theory into the feedback mechanism of utility reception. The presence of barriers to the legitimate means to reach success-goals implies that there are relatively few contexts in which legitimate behavior is considered likely to result in utility reception. Consequently, signs of favorable opportunities apply, as does the feedback process of information acquisition (regarding the expected effectiveness of legitimate behavior in obtaining utilities).

Three of the structural production and distribution mechanisms also apply to strain theory. The theory argues that utilities ("common success goals") and legitimate opportunities are distributed unevenly through the social structure.⁵² The utility and opportunity constructs apply here. Social structural processes relating to the distribution of rules of morality and expedience also are applicable because social groups do not emphasize equally the normative importance of the success-goals or the requirement to use legitimate means to reach them.⁵³ Weak moral rules concerning the proper means to goal achievement promote the selection of illegitimate expedient means.

Normative (culture) conflict theory is based on the idea that criminal behavior is generated when the norms of a segment of society conflict with the norms codified in the criminal statutes. Thus, the theory's principal focus is on the way in which the normative precepts of a role or subculture encourage behavior that is contrary to the norms of the criminal statutes.⁵⁴ Two main ideas are stressed by normative conflict theory: first, that conduct norms control individual behavior; and second, that these norms are not distributed uniformly throughout the social structure (which brings into opposition the conduct norms of different groups). These two ideas lead us to map the theory into the micro-level construct of rules of mo-

⁵² *Id.* at 200-12.

⁵³ *Id.* at 187-88, 190, 211.

⁵⁴ See T. SELLIN, *supra* note 16; E. SUTHERLAND & D. CRESSEY, *supra* note 1; G. Grosser, *Juvenile Delinquency and Contemporary American Sex Roles* (1952) (unpublished dissertation from Harvard University as cited in A. COHEN, *DEVIANCE AND CONTROL* 99 (1966)); Miller, *supra* note 14; Shaw, *Juvenile Delinquency: A Group Tradition* (Child Welfare Pamphlets no. 24, Bulletin of the State University of Iowa 1933). More recently M. WOLFGANG & F. FERRACUTI, *supra* note 2, discussed subcultures that normatively support or tolerate violence and aggression as the means to resolve interpersonal disputes.

rality and into the social structural production and distribution of rules of expedience and morality.

Generalized strain and normative (culture) conflict theory consists of two main parts: first, it extends strain theory because it recognizes the importance to delinquency and crime causation of barriers to both legitimate *and* illegitimate means to reaching success-goals. Second, it incorporates the idea that subcultures characterized by norms supporting illegitimate conduct can develop in response to the dual restrictions on opportunities.⁵⁵

Like strain theory, this more general theory acknowledges the real or perceived discrepancy between "culturally induced aspirations . . . and the possibilities of achieving them by legitimate means," and that this discrepancy has different magnitudes "*at different points in the social structure.*"⁵⁶ As a result of this discrepancy, "intense frustrations" develop that, when aspirations cannot be revised downward, lead to "the exploration of nonconformist alternatives."⁵⁷ When goal frustration is considered an unjust imposition of the conventional social structure, individuals may withdraw legitimacy from that structure. A collective, subcultural solution to the unjust discrepancy may then be sought,⁵⁸ but only if the proper conditions of interpersonal communications and concerted action exist.⁵⁹ Subcultural solutions entail the creation and perpetuation of group norms supporting illegitimate behavior that, if followed, place the individual at odds with the criminal law. The character of the subcultural solution depends on the kinds of illegitimate opportunities available.⁶⁰ Illegitimate activities are not automatically adopted in the absence of legitimate opportunities; however, they will be adopted, especially as part of a sustained behavioral pattern (*e.g.*, deviant or criminal career), if settings are available in which "values and skills" needed for the performance of illegitimate activities can be learned and practiced.⁶¹

Generalized strain and normative (culture) conflict theory falls under most of the integrative constructs. Aspirations and goal frustration fit under the utility demand construct. In order for illegitimate behavior to be performed, learning environments must be available to teach skills. Therefore, behavioral skill also is applica-

⁵⁵ R. CLOWARD & L. OHLIN, *supra* note 3.

⁵⁶ *Id.* at 78, 85 (italics in original).

⁵⁷ *Id.* at 86.

⁵⁸ *Id.* at 124-30.

⁵⁹ *Id.* at 139-43.

⁶⁰ *Id.* at 145-52, 161-86.

⁶¹ *Id.* at 148.

ble. The withdrawal of legitimacy from the conventional social order because of unjustly blocked opportunities and the development of subcultural normative support for illegitimate conduct relate the theory to rules of morality. The withdrawal of legitimacy also involves an expedient aspect because it enables the individual to adopt behavioral norms and rules that are more advantageous.⁶² For this reason, the theory is linked to rules of expedience. Furthermore, because a subculture involves persons who support the performance of illegitimate activities, subcultural members serve as resources for one another.⁶³ Thus, the behavioral resources construct is involved. The learning and continued use of expedient means to reach success-goals imply that these expedients are to some extent successful. Their usefulness in securing utilities suggests that the feedback mechanism of utility reception also operates.

The uneven distribution of legitimate and illegitimate opportunities in the social structure and, as a corollary, the uneven distribution of utilities lead us to map the theory into the social structural production and distribution of utilities and opportunities. The differentials in illegitimate opportunities at the macro-level imply variability in favorable opportunities for criminal acts at the micro-level; thus, the signs of favorable opportunities construct applies. Because information about favorable opportunities can be used to guide future behavior, the construct of information acquisition also is relevant. Subcultural solutions to restricted legitimate opportunities involve normative rules concerning the propriety and expedience of illegitimate alternatives. For this reason, the macro-level integrative construct of rules of morality and expedience applies as well.

Group conflict theory postulates that “[g]roups come into conflict with one another as the interests and purposes they serve tend to overlap, encroach on one another, and become competitive.”⁶⁴ Conflict and competition often are channeled into the political arena where opposing groups try to convince the government to further their interests. One way in which groups strive to advance their interests is by supporting statutes that outlaw a specific type of behavior that is contrary to that group’s interests. However, groups that have lost in the legislative arena may not accept some of the criminal statutes because they consider their customary behavior to be “acceptable and . . . honorable.”⁶⁵

⁶² *Id.* at 109-10.

⁶³ *Id.* at 148-49.

⁶⁴ G. VOLD, *supra* note 1, at 284.

⁶⁵ *Id.* at 292.

The most often cited versions of conflict theory are the Marxist and critical theories. According to these theories, economic class conflict is the root of the "crime problem."⁶⁶ Group "interests and purposes" comprise utility demand, which places the theory under this micro-level integrative construct. Group conflict over scarce resources, opportunities, and rewards is central to this perspective. For example, one commentator points out the effects of the loss of personal and family income due to unemployment: "Choices, opportunities, and even maintenance of life itself are jeopardized."⁶⁷ Consequently, utility demand, utility reception, social structural production and distribution of utilities and opportunities all are contained in the *Marxist-critical* and *group conflict* theories.

Illegitimate activity is, to some degree, a function of group members who are "loyally [morally] upholding the in-group position."⁶⁸ As one observer notes, "[H]istory bequeaths a corpus of laws and statutes to any social epoch which may or may not correspond to the social morality of that epoch."⁶⁹ This discrepancy contributes to crime. The construct rules of morality and social structural rules of morality and expedience apply here.

Rules of expedience also are part of these theories: "Radicals therefore argue that nearly all crimes in capitalist societies represent perfectly *rational* responses to the structure of institutions upon which capitalist societies are based."⁷⁰ On the one hand, "[t]he 'legitimate' jobs open to many ghetto residents, especially to young black males, typically pay low wages, offer relatively demeaning assignments, and carry the constant risk of layoff."⁷¹ On the other hand, "many kinds of crime 'available' in the ghetto often bring higher monetary return, offer even higher social status, and . . . sometimes carry relatively low risk of arrest and punishment."⁷² Thus, Marxist-critical and group conflict theories can be mapped into the rules of expedience construct.

⁶⁶ See, e.g., CRIME AND CAPITALISM (D. Greenberg ed. 1981); R. QUINNEY, CRIMINOLOGY (2d ed. 1979); Spitzer, *Toward a Marxian Theory of Deviance*, 22 SOC. PROBS. 638 (1975).

⁶⁷ R. QUINNEY, *supra* note 66, at 406-07.

⁶⁸ G. VOLD, *supra* note 1, at 296.

⁶⁹ Gordon, *Capitalism, Class, and Crime in America*, in THE ECONOMICS OF CRIME 93, 103 (R. Andreano & J. Siegfried eds. 1980).

⁷⁰ *Id.* (emphasis in original).

⁷¹ *Id.*

⁷² *Id.*

TABLE 2
SUBSTANTIVE AND BEHAVIORAL SPECIFICATION OF THE INTEGRATIVE STRUCTURE

MICRO-LEVEL INTEGRATIVE CONSTRUCTS	GENERAL CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR	VIOLENT CRIME	PROPERTY THEFT
Utility Demand (Deprivation)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Money -Goods -Services -Excitement -Physical gratification -Emotional gratification -Social approval 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Hurting or dominating someone who is disliked -Emotional release -Social approval -Self-defense -Sexual gratification -Excitement 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Money -Goods -Services -Social approval
Behavioral Skill	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Physical and cognitive skills 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Physical skills (e.g., expertise in fighting) -Technical skills (e.g., weapons use) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Physical skills (e.g., manual dexterity for shoplifting) -Technical skills (e.g., use of tools for burglary or car theft)
Rules of Expedience	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Rational assessment that crime can result in net positive utility -Social models (imitation); social facilitation; disinhibition -Behavioral maxims (e.g., Do what the smart guys do; When you ain't got nothin' you got nothin' to lose) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Rational assessment that violent crime can result in net positive utility -Behavioral maxims (e.g., Don't back down or everyone will walk all over you) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Rational assessment that stealing property can result in net positive utility
Rules of Morality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Strong norms supporting criminal behavior -Weak norms opposing criminal behavior -Neutralization (e.g., appeals to higher authorities) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Behavioral maxims (e.g., be tough, don't back down, be smart) -Neutralizations (e.g., the other person started it) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Neutralization (e.g., They will not miss it; They deserve it; Their insurance will cover it)
Signs of Favorable Opportunities (Discriminative Stimuli)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Absence of law-abiding people (social guardians) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Presence of a promising victim (one who can be dominated physically) -Sexually attractive victim 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Access to and presence of money or movable property
Behavioral Resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Accomplices -Technical implements -Financial resources 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Technical implements (e.g., weapons) -Physical strength 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Technical implements (e.g., for burglary or car theft, weapons for robbery)

TABLE 2 (CONT'D)

PROPERTY DESTRUCTION	ABUSE OF TRUST	VICE (VICTIMLESS CRIMES)	THREATS TO PUBLIC ORDER OR SAFETY
-Money (e.g., from insurance claims) -Expression of aggression -Emotional release	-Money -Goods -Services -Beating the system	-Money -Goods -Services -Sexual gratification -Emotional satisfaction -Physical gratification (e.g., from drug use)	-Emotional release (e.g., letting off some steam; collective protest) -Living an alternative, preferred lifestyle (e.g., hobos, communal living) -Alcoholic reinforcement (e.g., public drunkenness)
-Technical skills (e.g., setting a fire, constructing a bomb)	-Social interaction skills (e.g., con games, fraud) -Technical skills (e.g., accounting practices, computer operations, stock-selling regulations)	-Social interaction skills (e.g., soliciting customers for prostitution) -Technical skills (e.g., administering drugs)	-Social interaction skills (e.g., panhandling, obtaining assistance from social welfare agencies to maintain vagrancy)
-Rational assessment that destroyed property can result in net positive utility	-Rational assessment that the abuse of economic trust can result in net positive utility	-Rational assessment that vice activity will result in net positive utility	-Rational assessment that disorderly activity will result in net positive utility
-Socially demanded retaliation for a personal affront	-Behavioral maxims (e.g., aggressive business practices are expected) -Neutralizations (e.g., Everyone else is doing it)	-Behavioral maxims (e.g., Be cool) -Neutralizations (e.g., Everyone else is doing it; It's not harmful)	-Neutralizations (e.g., We were just having some fun; It's a free country)
-Access to property	-Employed in a position of trust	-Presence of customers -Place for private transaction	-Insufficient police presence
-Technical implements (e.g., chemicals for fire-setting or bomb construction)	-Technical implements (e.g., computer facility, account ledgers) -Financial resources	-Technical implements (e.g., drug paraphernalia)	-Fellow crowd members as implicit accomplices

IV. PRELIMINARY SUBSTANTIVE AND BEHAVIORAL SPECIFICATION OF THE INTEGRATIVE STRUCTURE

In its present form, the integrative structure is very abstract. Table 1 indicates the points at which the selected theories fit into the structure; however, the table does not specify what the referents of the integrative constructs are in the criminological theories. For example, although differential association maps into rules of morality, the contents of these rules are not articulated. The substance of these integrative constructs needs to be specified. The integrative structure also does not specify the kinds of illegitimate behaviors to which the theories apply.

Table 2 addresses these two concerns. In the cells, defined by an integrative construct (row) and a selected crime category (column), we entered the substantive referents of the indicated integrative construct, drawn whenever possible from those theories chosen for this integration.⁷³ The six crime categories we list (violent crime, property theft, property destruction, abuse of trust, vice/victimless crimes, and threats to the public order or safety) cover the offenses listed by the Federal Bureau of Investigation in the Uniform Crime Reports.⁷⁴

The first column in Table 2 does not refer to a specific crime category, but rather to criminal behavior in general. Certain factors apply to all criminal behavior. To avoid listing these factors under each behavioral category, we present them as the entries in the first column.

Table 2 should be viewed as a first step toward connecting integrative constructs, operational concepts, and selected kinds of unlawful behavior. Future work should move beyond this preliminary statement and provide greater substance and specificity to the relationships represented in the table.⁷⁵

We illustrate the content of Table 2 by discussing selected cell entries first for robbery as an example of a violent property crime (column 2), then for fraud as an example of abuse of trust (column 5). The *demand for utilities* such as money or property may rise due to

⁷³ It was not always possible to state the substantive contents of a theory because some theories have not clearly specified the referents of their major theoretical ideas.

⁷⁴ See, for example, the 29 crime types listed in the arrests tables of the FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION UNIFORM CRIME REPORTS 192-93 (1980).

⁷⁵ Table 2 might be partitioned further, for example, to indicate social and demographic variability (socioeconomic status, race, sex, age, etc.). In this way we would specify the utility demands, behavioral skills, etc., that are found in different groups at different points in the social structure. This partitioning would take explicit account of structural variability in the production and distribution of those factors conducive to illegitimate behavior.

an increase in needs or wants (*e.g.*, for a new car) or due to a decrease in income (*e.g.*, because of unemployment). Absent legitimate means to acquire utilities, an individual may entertain *expedient* alternatives such as robbery. The probability of a person attempting a robbery is greater if close social models are known to have engaged successfully in this behavior. Rational assessment by potential offenders may indicate that the probable gains from a robbery outweigh the probable risks. Norms extolling smartness or toughness may bear directly on the choice because robbery can involve cleverness in selecting victims and toughness in intimidating or overcoming them. *Moral rules* also affect this choice. For example, the individual may have internalized norms supporting, permitting, or, at a minimum, tolerating illegitimate conduct, including its more serious forms, such as robbery. If *behavioral resources* like weapons are available, or if associates can be enlisted as accomplices, the chances of committing a robbery are further increased. This likelihood might rise even more if certain *behavioral skills* have been mastered that apply to the commission of robbery, such as fighting skill to overcome the victim or the skillful presentation and handling of a weapon. Even with these factors promoting the commission of the robbery, it might nevertheless not occur without *signs of favorable opportunities* such as a lone victim on an isolated and unmonitored street.

Different combinations of factors generate abuses of trust, such as fraud. Like robbery, fraud may be motivated by the *demand for utilities*. Unanticipated expenses, gambling debts, or the desire to become involved in some speculative business venture, to suggest just a few, can increase utility demand. Fraudulent representation may be encouraged by an individual's rational judgment that fraud is an expedient means to secure a net positive gain in utilities. Expectations of successful completion of fraud may be considered especially likely if *behavioral skills* relating to fraud are well-honed, for example, impression-management skills while lying. Often, certain *behavioral resources* are needed such as accounting ledgers or computer facilities. The likelihood of fraud also depends on *signs of favorable opportunities*. Furthermore, if associates encourage or tolerate sharp dealing or fraudulent practices, then these *rules of morality* also support or permit the act.

V. THE EFFECTS OF SOCIAL STRUCTURAL FACTORS ON THE CONSEQUENCES OF CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR

In earlier sections, we formulated an integrative structure into

which we mapped several criminological theories. First, we developed micro-level (psychological and social-psychological) constructs that are causally antecedent to criminal behavior and denoted these constructs X_i . Then, we introduced a set of micro-level constructs indicating consequences of criminal and noncriminal behavioral choices, denoted K_k . Finally, we added macro-level, social structural factors, designated Z , that influence the production and distribution of the X_i factors. Two causal flows were specified among these three sets of integrative constructs: factors comprising Z and K_k were each causally related to X_i . We now link those factors constituting Z to those constituting K_k , thereby providing analytical closure to the integrative structure.

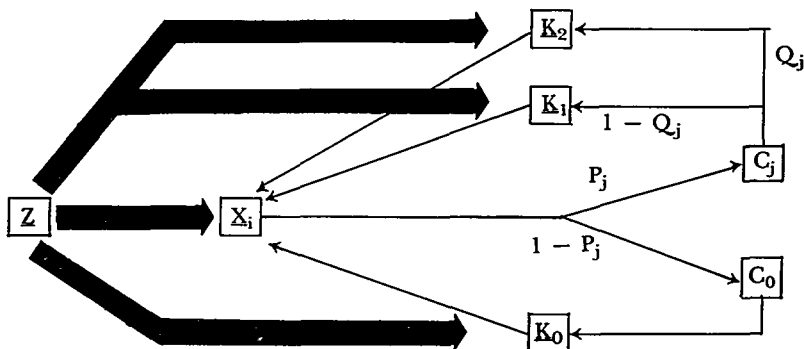
The causal arrow from Z to K_k indicates that social structural production and distribution processes influence behavioral consequences (their type, likelihood, and magnitude). Behavioral consequences are not contingent upon behavior alone, but also are dependent upon structural factors. Figure 5 depicts these causal relationships, with social structural influences represented by thick arrows.

The nature of the relationships between Z and K_k can be illustrated as follows. Structural processes can affect the consequences of lawful behavior (K_0). The availability of legitimate opportunities to obtain utilities and the level and rate at which these utilities are accumulated depend in part upon processes outside the control of the individual. For example, neither the availability of a job, being retained on the job, nor being given salary increases is a matter of job performance alone.

Similarly, structural processes affect the consequences of unlawful behavior that is undetected or, if detected, does not result in processing by the cjs (K_1). For instance, the likelihood of obtaining valuable goods through unlawful means such as burglary depends upon the distribution of wealth throughout the social structure. Committing a burglary does not guarantee an individual a gain in utilities. The gain is partly a function of distribution mechanisms influencing the probability that these utilities will be present at a selected site.

Similarly, social structural processes influence the consequences of unlawful behavior that is detected and results in cjs processing (K_2). Indeed, the criminal justice system's capacity to detect illegal behavior and particular cjs outcomes (*e.g.*, fine, probation, imprisonment) depend on structural allocations of utilities such as money and personnel to the cjs. Limitations or reductions in these resources, therefore, affect negative behavioral conse-

FIGURE 5
EXPANDED DYNAMIC MODEL OF THE PROBABILITY OF
CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR



Z: Macro-level analytical factors

X_i : Micro-level factors characterizing individual i

C_j : Criminal behavior j

C_0 : Noncriminal behavior

K_0 : Utility and information received from noncriminal behavior

K_1 : Utility and information received when criminal behavior j is committed and results in neither apprehension nor processing by the cjs

K_2 : Utility and information received when criminal behavior j is committed and results in apprehension and processing by the cjs

P_j : Probability of committing criminal behavior j

$1 - P_j$: Probability of noncriminal behavior

Q_j : Probability of being apprehended and processed by the cjs for criminal behavior j

$1 - Q_j$: Probability of being neither apprehended nor processed by the cjs for criminal behavior j

quences in ways often having little or nothing to do with the behavior itself.

Clearly, structural operations (Z) play an important part in the learning, maintenance, and performance of both criminal and noncriminal behavior. Not only do these factors influence those factors that are causally proximate to criminal and noncriminal behavior (X_i), but they also influence the consequences of behavior (K_k) which, as we have noted, comprise important behavioral feedback mechanisms.

VI. CONCLUSION

Most efforts to integrate criminological theories suffer from the absence of a systematic integrative framework and from including too few of the prominent theories. This Article has been written in

response to these limitations. An integrative structure was built from social learning theory, with some elaboration. From this perspective, we derived micro-level antecedent and consequent (feedback) factors bearing upon the acquisition, maintenance, and performance of criminal behavior. To acknowledge the influence of social structural mechanisms in the production and distribution of the antecedent conditions relating to criminal behavior, we incorporated these structural factors into the integrative framework.

Major concepts of the most prominent criminological theories were mapped into the integrative constructs, indicating areas of theoretical overlap and complementarity. Once this mapping was completed, preliminary work was done to add substantive content to the integrative constructs. These substantive materials then were interrelated with six criminal behavior categories.

Finally, the effects of social structural production and distribution mechanisms were related to the consequences of criminal and noncriminal behavior. These consequences are determined only in part by the behavior itself because behavioral consequences also are shaped by social structural dynamics.

Further work needs to be done in providing empirical substance to the theoretical concepts. Causal relationships among the antecedent micro-level factors need to be drawn with greater specificity. The same must be done for social structural factors. Moreover, the causal network between the antecedent and the social structural factors should be stated with greater detail, specifying the forms and parameters of the corresponding equations.

The integrative structure can be extended to include other components and theories that might be mapped into these components. This can be done by moving up and down the analytical ladder. For instance, moving down the ladder, biological factors need to be taken into explicit account in the explanation of crime. Genetic, physiological, and neurological conditions interact with micro-level factors (psychological, social-psychological) to influence behavior. For example, genetic factors affect individual physio-motor capacity. Also, neurological deficits can impede cognitive development, reducing the coherence, clarity, and salience of rules of morality and expedience.

Moving up the analytical ladder, interrelationships among social structural factors might be investigated and included in the integration. The field needs formulations of the origins of structural mechanisms of differential production and distribution and of their causal interrelationships. This effort would address issues such as

the evolution of cultural and subcultural norms and their codifications as laws (particularly criminal statutes), how the criminal code is applied differentially at different points in the social structure, and the relationship of the criminal justice system to the prevention, correction, and perhaps even perpetuation of criminal behavior.

The major benefit of an integration is that it provides a reference point for organizing research findings and stimulating research strategies to verify an interrelated system of theoretical propositions. As theoretical refinement progresses, the field will have improved upon the present conceptual integration of criminological theories with an integrated and empirically validated criminological theory.