13611

NATIONAL LIBRARY
OTTAWA

CANADA

BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE
OTTAWA

NAME OF AUTHOR..URQUHART..CAROL-JEAN..

TITLE OF THESIS..OPPORTUNITY..THEORY:..
..A..THEORETICAL..
..RECONSTRUCTION..

UNIVERSITY..UNIVERSITY..OF..ALBERTA

DEGREE FOR WHICH THESIS WAS PRESENTED..M.A.

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED..1972

Permission is hereby granted to THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF CANADA to microfilm this thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

(Signed)..Carol Urquhart

PERMANENT ADDRESS:

..5852-143..ST
..EDMONTON..
..ALTA..

DATED..May..29..19 72

NL-91 (10-68)

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

OPPORTUNITY THEORY: A THEORETICAL RECONSTRUCTION

by

© CAROL-JEAN URQUHART

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL, 1972

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled OPPORTUNITY THEORY: A THEORETICAL RECONSTRUCTION submitted by Carol-Jean Urquhart in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

.....
Supervisor

.....

.....

Date. 26 May 1972

ABSTRACT

It has been the fundamental assumption of this thesis that differential opportunity theory, subject to relatively minor modifications, may provide a more comprehensive explanation of the scope of delinquent behavior patterns. While Cloward and Ohlin have successfully inter-related the concepts of differential access to legitimate and illegitimate opportunity and integration in the context of the urban slum, their statement can only be regarded as a partial realization of the wider applications of these concepts. The major criticism of their theory has been that it does not account for the diversity found in delinquent patterns and therefore has not been supported by a substantial proportion of the "empirical" literature.

It is the contention of this thesis that Cloward and Ohlin have ignored the potential applications of their theory to situations different from that of the urban slum. It is suggested that the expansion of their theory through the elaboration of the concept of integration generates an explanation which resolves the problems contained within the criticisms of the original theory. Furthermore, a discussion of integration and its relationship with class structure and opportunity may enable us to explain all the various patterns of delinquency.

In the development of this argument, the thesis has followed the following steps. The intellectual genesis of

opportunity has been traced in order to indicate its derivation and the sources of its integration. A summary of Cloward and Ohlin's statement of their theory was presented together with the major criticisms which this statement provoked. Cognizant of these criticisms the thesis then defined the proposed re-formulation of opportunity theory. This reformulation was considered conceptually and illustrated through the device of a typology accompanied by appropriate descriptive case studies. The model presented to correspond to the North American situation considers patterns of the following types: criminal-conformist, traditional conformist, traditional criminal, isolated rural poverty, innovative utilitarian, innovative life style, conflict, imitative rural drawing from the literature where appropriate for collaborating evidence.

In order to avoid the criticism of the tautological or untestable nature of the concepts employed, the thesis dealt with suggestions for the operationalization of the concepts. Each dimension of the concepts was considered and where these were available, reliable measures already in use were suggested.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To Dr. V. Matthews, Chairman of my Committee, whose guidance, support and suggestions provided the incentive which produced the thesis in its present form.

To Dr. G. Hirabayashi and Dr. L. Stewin who provided encouragement and interest throughout this endeavor.

To all my friends, especially Joel Novek, Earl Golden and Bill Avison. Without your concern the thesis would never have been completed.

To Donna Ferguson and Susan Schultz whose excellent typing produced the thesis in its present form.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER I

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

INTRODUCTION

The differential opportunity theory of Cloward and Ohlin has its intellectual roots in a number of prominent criminological schools. The theory is integrative, drawing together elements from the works of Merton, Sutherland and theorists of the sub-cultural school. This chapter discusses first, the relationship of the Cloward-Ohlin theory to the other central structural theories of delinquency and describes both the integrations and the innovations of opportunity theory. In the latter portion of the chapter, certain prominent criticisms of opportunity theory will be presented to suggest the issues to which this thesis is directed.

Theoretical Antecedents of Cloward and Ohlin

R.K. Merton, the prominent American functionalist, proposed a theory of deviance which gained considerable eminence in its own right and later served as the basic orientation for differential opportunity theory. Merton's theory, contained in a paper entitled, "Social Structure and Anomie" (1938) considers the social structure, in relation to deviant behavior, as more than a device for "impulse management" or the "social processing of tensions" arising from biological drives. (1938:672) Rather, he proposes the alternative view that

"social structures exert a definite pressure upon certain persons in the society to engage in non-conformist behavior rather than conformist behavior." (1938:672)

In discussing the nature of this "pressure" to deviance, Merton utilizes two socio-cultural elements as bases for his conceptual scheme. These two elements are cultural goals and institutionalized means. Culture goals, he suggests, "comprise a frame of aspirational reference." (1938:672) The second element, institutionalized means, comprise a system of regulatory controls governing the pursuit of the goals. This system of means bears no necessary relationship with the means of efficiency. The two elements do not stand in a constant relationship but rather may shift in emphasis both over time and across cultures. Equilibrium is attained, Merton states, when individual satisfaction is possible through conformity to both constraints. To ensure this equilibrium, "the distribution of statuses and roles through competition must be so organized that positive incentive for conformity to roles and adherence to status obligations is provided for every position with the distributive order." (1938:674) When such incentives are not provided for conforming behavior a "pressure" to deviance is created.

In North American society, he claims, the dominant culture goal is one of material success. Because of the prevailing democratic ethos with attendant assumption of an open class system, the lower classes are socialized to aspire to the same goal as the upper classes. Reality however, is at

odds with ethos. The lower classes lack equal potential for achievement of the success goal through the institutionalized means. In other words they lack access to the legitimate opportunity structure. This concept of the differential distribution of "access to the approved opportunities for legitimate prestige-bearing pursuit of culture goals" (1938: 679) is the keystone of Merton's theory. A situation of disequilibrium is resultant from this differential distribution of access. The pressure to deviance, as previously discussed, follows. In summary then Merton claims, it is not poverty or lower class status as such which is conducive to deviant behavior; rather deviance is a normal response when access to legitimate opportunity in a society stressing universal material success goals is limited.

The concept of the legitimate opportunity structure is the chief contribution of Merton to differential opportunity theory. Merton did not discuss the parallel case of a structuring of illegitimate opportunity. Cloward and Ohlin derived this concept from the works of Shaw and McKay and Sutherland.

In an ecological analysis of the distribution of juvenile delinquency in Chicago, Shaw and McKay noted the persistence of high rates of delinquency in certain areas of the city. Their explanation of this phenomenon focuses upon community organization and the existence of an "illegitimate opportunity structure." Areas of persistently low rates of delinquency, they claim, are characterized by: high economic status, consistency of attitudes, parental control over leisure activi-

ties of adolescents and community pressure against deviance. Further, in such areas the entire community structure is consistent in its emphasis on the conventional value system. (1962:230) By contrast, areas of persistently high rates of delinquency are characterized by: competing systems of values, diversity in standards, the presence of visible successful illegitimate enterprises, weak parental controls and finally, by the existence of "traditions of delinquency... transmitted through successive generations of boys." (1962:230-232) Thus, communities which combine restricted access to legitimate opportunity with viable illegitimate opportunity, they suggest, will tend to be characterized by persistent patterns of delinquency.

Sutherland's discussion of this issue can be considered to focus on two aspects; the first of these being his differential association theory. This theory seeks to explain criminal behavior in general. It can be summarized by the following statement: "a person becomes delinquent because of an excess of definitions favorable to violation of laws over definitions unfavorable to violation of law." (Sutherland and Cressey: 1955:78)[1]

As with Merton, Sutherland views deviance as a "normal" response in certain situations. Here, however, the focus is on the differential distribution of illegitimate opportunity and on the necessity for this structure to be accessible in order for delinquency to occur with any degree of persistence. Such opportunity is, at the most elementary level, defined as

the presence of delinquent companions.

Sutherland's discussion in The Professional Thief (1937) specifies the nature of the illegitimate opportunity structure in somewhat greater detail. He considers the techniques of thievery, including the planning of a crime, its execution, disposal of goods, "fixing" upon apprehension, as having a professional quality, acquired through education. This education process, carried on at the personal level through selection and tutelage of apprentice thieves, constitutes the major source of differential access to illegitimate opportunity since without the acquisition of professional expertise a thief cannot hope to achieve either success or recognition. Secondly, he describes a system of ascending status within the profession which constitutes the other major component of the structure. This status system, is "based upon technical skill, financial standing, connections, power, dress, manners and wide knowledge acquired in migratory life." (1937:200) On the basis then of the organized activity, education and status hierarchy the illegitimate structure can be seen to be a systematic route to "success" based upon opportunity which is differentially distributed.

The final theoretical school to be considered is the sub-culture. This is a somewhat flexible school encompassing such theorists as Cohen, Miller, Short, Sykes, Matza and Thrasher. The theme which unifies these theorists is a concentration on delinquency as a gang phenomena, a focus on the gang as a unit of analysis and the use of the term sub-culture

to describe delinquent gang ideology. This school attends primarily to the "classic" style of delinquency -- lower class, urban male -- to the exclusion of other forms.

In summary, the following are the fundamental considerations adopted by Cloward and Ohlin in the formulation of their differential opportunity theory:

1. From the works of Merton, Cloward and Ohlin derived their concern with structural explanation and the concept of the legitimate opportunity structure as previously discussed.
2. The works of Sutherland and Shaw and McKay contributed the concept of the illegitimate opportunity structure to opportunity theory.
3. From the works of Shaw and McKay the concern with the impact of community organization on the nature of delinquent activities was derived.
4. The works of theorists of the sub-cultural school contributed to opportunity theory a concern with the delinquent gang as a unit of analysis; a concern with the delinquent sub-culture in explanations of delinquency and a narrow focus on the "classic" style of delinquency, i.e., urban, male, lower-class gang activity.

DIFFERENTIAL OPPORTUNITY THEORY

This section will examine the differential opportunity theory of Cloward and Ohlin. The theory focuses upon the

lower-class, urban, male, delinquent gangs. Delinquency, as defined by Cloward and Ohlin, implies violation of basic social norms of sufficient severity to invoke official sanctions. (1960:3) The necessary link between an anticipated or actual official response and a delinquent act is crucial to their definition. This link shifts the focus away from traditionally unsanctioned groups, i.e., the upper-classes and non-urban residents and concentrates the focus on the highly visible urban slum gang since this is the group which is traditionally most subject to formal sanctioning processes. Their definition of delinquency therefore serves to limit the scope of their inquiry.

Cloward and Ohlin's conception of the sub-culture is somewhat vague. Their initial definition is that a delinquent sub-culture is "one in which certain forms of delinquent activity are essential requirements for the performance of the dominant roles supported by the sub-culture." (1960:7) The content, therefore, of the delinquent sub-culture is activity which is manifestly delinquent not activity which is unintentionally delinquent, a consequence of legitimate activity. Later, Cloward and Ohlin describe additional elements of the sub-culture as "prescriptions, norms or rules of conduct that define activities for the full-fledged member." (1960:13) The final element serving to differentiate the sub-culture is the withdrawal of legitimacy from certain of the social norms of the dominant society. This withdrawal corresponds to the delinquent actions and rationalizations of the particular sub-

culture. Since only a small portion of the behavior or activities of the sub-culture can, by Cloward and Ohlin's definition, be considered delinquent, the withdrawal of legitimacy is similarly of limited scope. The criteria for the definition of the sub-culture then rests on two rather limited conditions out of the whole range of possible criteria. These are that the group must prescribe certain deviant roles and that the group must withdraw legitimacy from selected social norms in accord with these deviant roles.

One problem with such a definition is the failure to distinguish between a single delinquent gang and larger collectives. It is, therefore, never clear whether Cloward and Ohlin refer to a "sub-culture" as an individual gang or as a group of similar gangs, or as delinquent gangs in general.

Cloward and Ohlin do attempt to justify their rather narrow view of delinquency on several grounds. First, they claim that lack of evidence restricts their discussion. Their second assertion is that the particular forms of delinquency which they discuss occur with frequency and persistence and can lead to successful adult careers in crime. Finally, this type of delinquency, being rooted in normative patterns and prescriptions, is stable and resistant to change. On this basis they feel that their discussion focuses upon the most costly and "important" aspects of the problem.[2]

Opportunity theory's treatment of the nature of the forces leading to gang membership is generally similar to that of Merton. Cloward and Ohlin hypothesize that:

> "...the disparity between what lower class youth are led to want and what is actually available to them is a source of a major problem of adjustment. Adolescents who form delinquent sub-cultures, we suggest, have internalized emphasis upon conventional goals, and unable to reverse their aspirations downward, they experience intense frustrations; the explorations of nonconformist alternatives may be the result." (1960:86)

This does not imply that all members of a society aspire to the same level of goal achievement, only that they aspire to change their status by attaining culture goals. They do suggest, however, that persons in the lower class experience relatively greater dissatisfaction with their present status due to a low level of achievement of culture goals. Since these people have limited access to the legitimate means of goal attainment they experience greater pressures toward deviant behavior. These barriers to legitimate opportunity include both cultural and structural barriers. The structural barriers include, for example, limited resources which restrict the utilization of investment opportunities, educational and medical facilities. The utilization of alternative legitimate means poses one possible solution to this pressure. These means, including entertainment and athletics, while not strictly speaking illegitimate, do make the circumvention of the traditional means possible. Despite this possibility; however, the attaining of culture goals through such avenues is extremely problematic and for the majority the attempt is futile.[3]

Cloward and Ohlin proceed to outline the transformation of the frustration and "pressure" leading to deviance into the formation of sub-cultures. They suggest that "the most

significant step in the withdrawal of sentiments supporting the legitimacy of conventional norms is the attribution of the cause of failure to the social order rather than to oneself". (1960:111) One result of this attribution is an alienation of the individual from the social order. A second consequence is the high probability of such individuals forming collectivities based upon their shared condemnation of the established social order. This "collective solution" to the problem of failure is the delinquent sub-culture. Once established such collectivities develop increased solidarity through shared interaction, development of a counter-normative structure and through community acknowledgement.

Having accounted for the emergence of sub-cultures, Cloward and Ohlin describe the differentiation of the sub-cultures into distinctive types. The basis of this differentiation is found in the inter-play between access to opportunity and community organization. In a treatment reminiscent of that of Kobrin (1951), they describe three basic sub-cultural patterns.

The first sub-cultural type, the criminal, is based on crime for profit. This type:

> "...is likely to arise in a neighborhood milieu characterized by close bonds between different age levels of offenders and between criminal and conventional elements. As a consequence of these integrative relationships, a new opportunity structure emerges which provides alternative avenues to success goals. Hence the pressures generated by restrictions in legitimate access to success - goals are drained off. Social controls over the conduct of the young are effectively exercised, limiting expressive behavior and constraining the discontent to adopt instrumental, if criminalistic, styles of life." (1960:71)

The second type, the conflict, is found in situations combining limited access to both opportunity structures with weak integration. In such areas, frustration and discontent result in a selection of violence as a source of alternative status. (1960:177-178)

The final type, the retreatist, centers around the use of drugs. This sub-culture occurs among those who have both restricted access to legitimate opportunity and are restricted from achievement of success through illegitimate means because of either internalized prohibitions against such means or socially structured barriers for the utilization of these means. Such barriers could include repressive police action preventing the formation of a conflict gang system and/or the absence of a stable, successful illegitimate structure. (1960:81)

This completes the discussion of differential opportunity theory. The central concepts of this theory are legitimate and illegitimate opportunity and community integration. Cloward and Ohlin utilized these concepts to describe the genesis and differentiation of the criminal, conflict and retreatist style delinquent gangs. We will next consider the discussion of this theory as represented in the literature.

DISCUSSION

Differential opportunity theory has been subject to criticism and comment from a number of diverse sources. It has, by virtue of implementation as a basis for large action programs such as Mobilization for Youth, had further impact,

perhaps beyond its theoretical importance. This section will present a brief review of some of the comments, criticisms and the implications of differential opportunity theory.

Bordua (1961:120-136) criticizes the thesis on several grounds. First, he states that Cloward and Ohlin assume that pressure to deviance will be found among those who are "fitted for success", those who are capable of achievement but are blocked from opportunity. Their perception of the injustice of the situation will result in frustration and the formation of the collective solution -- the delinquent sub-culture. Such assumptions, he claims, confuse justification with causation; that is, reasons for actions and beliefs are confused with the excuses for the same actions and beliefs. Second, he claims that their work ignores such crucial aspects as the family, life history and actual experiences of the delinquents. Finally, the theory, in his opinion, cannot actually assess the capabilities of the boys who become delinquents with respect to legitimate success. The theory ignores the fact that certain environmental and personal factors, such as participation in gang delinquency itself, tend to reduce the potential for functioning within conventional demands. He does, however, acknowledge the importance of Cloward and Ohlin's insights concerning the determination of sub-cultural form by local social structures.

Matza (1964:3-52) criticizes contemporary criminology in general and, sub-cultural theory in particular on other grounds. He claims that contemporary criminal theory has

remained too bound to the positive school and the determinism that this entails. This has lead to an emphasis on three assumptions:

1. The assumption of the primacy of the criminal rather than the law, with explanation focusing on motivation. This has resulted in a movement away from the "essence of crime - infraction." (1964:3)
2. The assumption of the scientific status of criminology. The result of this assumption is an emphasis on the determinist perspective - a repudiation of choice in favor of constraint. This pre-occupation, coupled with the inadequacy of current theories, has resulted in multi-causation explanations which, he claims, run the risk of becoming devices which serve to "avoid the implications of negative evidence... become signs of fundamental misconceptions...complicated falsifications." (1964:23)
3. The assumption of the essential difference between the law abiding and the deviant. Such an assumption, particularly in the case of the juvenile delinquent Matza finds questionable. (1964:26)

Emphasis on this tradition has led sub-cultural theorists into serious difficulty. In the first place, Matza states, their theories account for or predict more delinquency than actually occurs.

> "If delinquents were in fact radically differentiated from the rest of conventional youth in that their unseemly behavior was constrained through compulsion,

> then involvement in delinquency would be more permanent and less transient, more pervasive and less intermittent than is apparently the case." (1964:22)

Sub-cultural theories as presently conceived, cannot therefore account for maturational reform without violating their own assumptions.

He criticizes Cloward and Ohlin's conception of the delinquent sub-culture as opposing the conventional system. "The relation between the sub-culture of delinquency and the wider culture cannot be neatly summarized in the term opposition." (1964:37) The dependence of the delinquents upon their families, he feels eliminates the possibility of the attainment of sufficient isolation to form a truly oppositional sub-culture. Further, many of the activities, values and beliefs of the delinquents are not in opposition to the conventional system.[4] If, in fact, it were the case that such essential opposition was at the root of the sub-culture then delinquents would not express guilt upon apprehension, resent the imputation of delinquency to significant others, nor carefully choose victims. Delinquents, however, are found to do precisely these things.

Further criticism of the concept of sub-culture concerns the well formulated system of norms and roles which are seen as giving structure to the sub-culture. Matza finds no evidence to support this development. Rather, he claims that "beliefs are embedded in action" in the delinquent gang. (1964: 51) Rather than formal ideology he finds an:

> "...inarticulate oral tradition... as implicit viewpoint... (the delinquents) are not conscious of the ideology because they have not bothered to work it out. Thus, they infer the ideology from each other... mutual

> inference is accomplished through concrete verbal directives, hints, sentiments, gestures and activities... there is no concrete ideology which can be consulted, only specific and concrete slogans... each member believes that the others are committed to their delinquencies... he is transformed in the situation of company to a committed delinquent by dint of cues he has received from others." (1964:52)

In summary, many of Matza's comments are pertinent. Concerning the structure and nature of the gang, however, although his picture is plausible, it is backed by no more evidence than that of Cloward and Ohlin. It seems quite possible that each is correct in terms of a particular kind of situation and that each errs in deeming their formulation to be encompassing of the entire scope of delinquent activities.

Cohen acknowledges the general importance of differential opportunity theory as a device which has "revitalized and greatly enlarged the potentialities of anomie theory." (1966: 109) However, he suggests that the presented dichotomy of illegitimate and legitimate opportunity is an over-simplification, "an analytical rather than concrete distinction." (1966: 109) He states that the same "things" typically are present both as legitimate and illegitimate opportunity. "It is one of the most fundamental and pervasive dilemmas of social life that all legitimate power, whether over things or people can be used to implement or to violate social norms." (1966:110)

Empirical work has tended to qualify and question many of the postulates of opportunity theory. However, even within the empirical studies, a lack of consistency is evident. Several of the relevant findings will be briefly discussed beginning with the structure of delinquent gangs.

One finding is that delinquency is a group activity. Shaw and McKay, the Gluecks and Miller note this tendency. (Hood and Sparks: 1970:87) Delinquent activities, however, tend not to be phenomena of large groups, or gangs, but of two or three confederates. This does not rule out either the existence or the importance of the "delinquent gang" for purposes such as moral support.

The issue of the structure and function of "gangs" continues to be the subject of debate. Thrasher, in his classic study of delinquents in Chicago, provides a picture of cohesive structured gangs characterized by such features as a sense of tradition, internal structure, solidarity, territory and differentiation. (1960) This image of the gang is also reflected in Shaw and McKay's discussion of delinquent tradition in Chicago. (1942) Cohen re-affirms this image of the cohesive gang structure, describing the delinquent gang as "a separate distinct and often irresistable focus of attraction, loyalty and solidarity." Short and Strodtbeck (1960) describe cohesive gang units of approximately twenty members, as do Klein and Crawford. (1967) Miller acknowledges the existence of delinquent gangs, but suggests that they are merely a specific type of single-sex peer gang, common to all lower class youth. (1958)

These descriptions are disputed by Yablonsky's work. He claims that the cohesive, structured delinquent gang is a construct of the youth agencies, police and press and that delinquent gangs are rather "near groups". These are character-

ized as follows:

1. "...participants in the near group violent gang are generally socio-pathic personalities....

2. The near group gang to these individuals is a compensatory paranoid pseudo-community, and serves as a more socially desirable adjustment pattern than other pathological syndromes available in the community.

3. Individualized roles are defined to fit emotional needs of the participant.

4. The definition of membership is diffuse and varies for each participant.

5. Behavior is essentially emotion-motivated within loosely defined boundaries.

6. Group cohesiveness decreases as one moves from the center of the collectivity to the periphery.

7. Limited responsibility and social ability are required for membership or belonging.

8. Leadership is self-appointed and socio-pathic.

9. There is a limited consensus among participants in the collectivity as to its functions or goals.

10. There is a shifting and personalized stratification system.

11. Membership is in flux.

12. Fantasy membership is included in the size of the collective.

13. There is a limited consensus of normative expectations for behavior.

14. Norms and behavior patterns are often in conflict with the inclusive social system's prescriptions.

15. Interaction within the collectivity and toward the outer community is hostile and aggressive, with spontaneous burts of violence to achieve impulsively felt goals." (1967:225)

A second area of contention is that of sub-cultural differentiation. Spergel's work in New York (1964) uncovered

differentiation of the following pattern: (a) stable career oriented; (b) conflict; (c) casual street corner gangs who engaged in theft. Chein describes a retreatist and conflict adaptation, consistent with that portrayed by Cloward and Ohlin. (1964) Short and Strodtbeck, using factor analytical techniques, describe five forms of differentiation: (a) conflict; (b) stable corner boy; (c) stable sex; (d) retreatist; (e) authority protest. They did not find a criminal subculture as described by Cloward and Ohlin. (1965) Studies by Miller, Robin, Jasyn point to a general delinquent style with mixture of some conflict, some theft and other strictly juvenile offenses such as truancy, but with no differentiation into types as such. (Hood and Sparks: 1970:97-98)

There could be many sources for such conflicts. One problem is the over-abundance of purely observational data without the support of more rigorous empirical findings. Another difficulty appears to be the limited approach taken by such studies. Little attention is given to such factors as the situation of the area under study vis-a-vis the larger social structure or the dominant trends of that particular time period and their effects on the area. Similarly, little truly comparative or longitudinal work has been undertaken so that it becomes impossible to determine if simple changes over time result in some of the discrepancies. Clearly work of a more comprehensive nature which is sensitive to such factors is required. It is felt that the proposed revision discussed in the next chapter will assist in this regard.

The differential opportunity theory was adopted in numerous "grey" area projects by such agencies as the Ford Foundation, Mobilization for Youth Projects and the War on Poverty as the orientation to be employed to reduce juvenile delinquency. The failure of these projects, as reported in Moynihan (1969), Marris and Rein (1969) and Wolf (1970) indicates the dangers involved in the adoption of one, unproven orientation to the exclusion of all others and the political problems created by such an intervention. Opportunity theory was not utilized in a sufficiently rigorous and consistent manner to afford an adequate test of the theory. Moynihan suggested two factors which led to increased alienation and deviance among those being "helped". These were: (a) "a seeming depreciation of heretofore decent-enough jobs which the poor were not said to find unacceptable," and (b) a focus on the aspirations of the delinquent rather than on the opportunity as such, resulting in increasing unrealistic aspirations. Moynihan concludes: "would it not follow that increasing aspirations through community-wide conflict will also increase frustration when it is not accompanied by fairly rapid and tangible achievement? Hence an increase in anomie and accordingly in deviant behavior?" (1969:120-121)

In summary, the intellectual roots of opportunity theory have been presented. It may be seen as an integrating device uniting dominant trends in criminological theory. The theory itself has been outlined with emphasis being given to its major postulates. Finally the comments, criticisms and impli-

cations of application have been briefly surveyed. Conclusions as to the "goodness" of the theory are, at best, uncertain. The literature, especially the empirical work, is contradictory and plagued by conceptual confusion.

It is the contention of this thesis that the formulation of opportunity theory is incomplete. In the following chapter, an attempt will be made to expand and clarify certain issues while retaining the basic premises in hope of resolving some of the difficulties and/or ambiguities of opportunity theory.

EDITORIAL FOOTNOTES

[1] The complete statement of Sutherland's postulates is as follows:

"1. criminal behavior is learned.

2. criminal behavior is learned in interaction with other people in the process of communication.

3. the principle part of learning of criminal behavior occurs within intimate primary groups.

4. when criminal behavior is learned, the learning includes: (a) techniques of committing the crime... (b) the specific direction of motives, drives rationalizations and attitudes.

5. the specific direction of motives and drives is learned from definitions of the legal code as favorable or unfavorable.

6. a person becomes delinquent because of an excess of definitions favorable to violation of laws over definitions unfavorable to violation of law.

7. differential associations may vary in frequency, duration, priority and intensity.

8. the process of learning criminal behavior by association with criminal and anti-criminal patterns involves all of the mechanisms that are involved in any other learning.

9. while criminal behavior is an expression of general needs and values, it is not explained by those general needs and values, since non-criminal behavior is an expression of the same needs and values." (Sutherland and Cressey: 1955:77-79)

[2] Such rationalizations may very well be justified on a pragmatic basis; however, it seems clear that my discussion of delinquency would carry greater weight if it were able to account for wider manifestations of the phenomena. For this reason the discussion of this thesis will attempt to include the widest possible range of circumstances in its explanation.

[3] The possibility does exist in such endeavors that alternate criteria of success may come to be substituted for the dominant culture goals. Such alternatives may then serve

a "cooling-out" function. These alternatives include such things as "true" hence unappreciated talent; "real" manliness etc. Becker in The Outsiders (1963) provides illustrations of this process in his discussion of the dance musicians.

[4] Short and Strodtbeck (1965) come to similar conclusions. Their research indicates that "the influence of the gang clearly cannot be explained as a reaction formation against middle class values, nor can it, we believe, in terms of 'delinquent norms'. Boys in our gangs were often actually discouraged from the expression of conventional values in the gang context, chiefly by decision of individual ambitions and abilities and espousal of group goals which were alternative but not necessarily anti-conventional." (1965:223)... "For all six populations, the endorsement in principle of middle class prescriptive norms is uniformly high." (1965:76)

CHAPTER II

THE THEORETICAL RECONSTRUCTION

OPPORTUNITY

The concept of opportunity subsumes both legitimate and illegitimate opportunity. Many aspects form a basis for opportunity among which are physical and intellectual capability, availability of preparatory, technical and professional institutions, availability of institutional structures appropriate to the achievement of culture goals, sufficient resources to enable utilization of these structures, appropriate motivation, comprehension of the roles and requirements and expertise in the utilization of the system. With the possible exception of rudimentary physical and intellectual attributes, all of these bases can be seen to have foundations in the social structure. When these conditions are absent or inaccessible, advancement for even the most capable individuals will be difficult, if not impossible. It is a logical possibility that for some sections of the population the opportunity structure may be functionally absent. In the case of the legitimate structure, this includes schools that are either unavailable or inappropriate to advancement needs. Formal and informal restrictions to admission in the skilled trades, professions and commerce will be found. The possibility for capital expenditure will be eliminated due to poverty. Through restricted experience and interaction, a dearth of appropriate role models

limits expertise in the successful manipulation of the system (as where available adults have been "failures" in the legitimate structure or have no experience with the basic legitimate roles and requirements). (Rivera and Short: 1967:97) In such cases, commonly called "poverty cycle" areas, the absence of legitimate opportunity for adults makes the probability of success for the youth virtually non-existent; such a situation, however, does not force deviant behavior but ensures that success within legitimate channels is unlikely. That is, the potential for social and/or economic mobility is eliminated.

Given the urban character of contemporary North American society, it may be postulated that absence of access to the legitimate opportunity structure is most highly probable in isolated rural areas, particularly among minority groups in such areas. Logically, the opposite situation is equally possible. This implies the presence of both institutions and resources, as well as appropriate role models to provide the "enabling expertise" for the successful manipulation of the system. Such a situation in North America is more probably urban in character.

From the insights of Sutherland, it can be seen that similar forces act in the illegitimate structure. Beyond certain personal attributes, there is a need for training in the skills and techniques of crime, opportunity for advancement, relative immunity, acquisition of expertise and motives conducive to such advancement for illegitimate opportunity to become a viable source of goal attainment. The difference

between the presence and absence of such a viable structure can be as striking as the difference between the "success" of an Al Capone and that of an adolescent car thief. Again, the urban environment may be postulated as conducive to such development.

INTEGRATION

Even in conditions of total functional accessibility to an opportunity structure, utilization can be complicated by absence of the second variable - integration. Integration, as discussed by Cloward and Ohlin, concerns only the illegitimate structure, forming the point of differentiation between the criminal and conflict oriented sub-cultures. It can be shown, however, that integration is of much wider relevance, influencing behavior patterns at all class levels, for all degrees of access to both opportunity structures.

In this discussion, integration is viewed basically as cohesion at the family and community level. This cohesion is composed of a multiplicity of elements, including shared activity, communication, supervision, intervention and sanction. At the family level, strong integration implies parental control over juveniles. This control, taking the form of long term socialization and social control results in juveniles with behavior, attitudes and motivations similar to those of their parents. At the level of the community, integration implies consensus, communication and control. Such integration results in the scrutiny of each by all and in the enhancement

of traditional opportunity.

Integration mitigates against innovation; precludes the development of youth-centred cliques, gangs or cultures. When coupled with access to opportunity, the local social organization could facilitate the achievement of culture goals by enhancing the opportunity to acquire expertise and by increasing the availability of "connections". When such access is not present, integration is dysfunctional for goal achievement in that communities may repress the innovations which could open new channels to opportunity.

The community with little integration would foster innovations. Weakened control, communications and infrequent inter-generational activity favors the formation of youth-centered groups such as gangs, cliques and sub-cultures. Members of these groups would possess less comprehension of the nature of the traditional means; would have internalized less adequately the motivations which would inspire the use of these means. Presumably then, they would constitute a body open to secondary socialization from a diversity of sources; open to experimentation with new goals, new means, alternative modes of action.

It may be suggested that complete integration is relatively rare, occurring only in rural and isolated areas and perhaps within the extreme upper classes. This phenomena seems to be decreasing at the community level in North American society. Urban renewal, has tended to disrupt local slum organization.[1] With the onset of urban renewal the local

organizations (legitimate or illegitimate) dissipate and are not re-established. Changes in the scale[2] of society have broken the back of the local political machine weakening the illegitimate structure's second source of strength. (Bell: 1953) Urban renewal, however, has not improved the relationship of the lower class to the legitimate structure giving rise to Cloward and Ohlin's conflict gangs.

This trend is not only confined to the lower class. The middle class has experienced slightly different forces to the same end. Increased mobility and the rising scale of society have tended to reduce the importance of the community of residence for the adults without changing its importance for the youth. Suburbanization has resulted in increased homogeneity at the community level, with trends to locality and age-level specialization resulting in the lack of integration. (Coleman: 1971:681-691) As Coleman states:

> "...though suburban residential communities are only living places for parents, they are total communities for children. Thus there is a proliferation of community among the children as community among parents disintegrates. One result... is the relative powerlessness of adults to control their children." (Coleman: 1971:691)

This has served to weaken integration in such areas, despite continuing access to the legitimate opportunity structure and restricted access to the illegitimate structure.

CLASS STRUCTURE

The final concept to be considered is the nature of the class structure. This may be conceptualized as a continuum of alternatives ranging from "open" or fluid to "closed" or crys-

tallized. The fluid model is one in which positions rest upon achievement rather than ascription, with the whole range of social status alternatives available for each member and social expectation of mobility for large numbers of members. The crystallized model, by contrast, features social status positions determined by ascription with alternatives limited by class and with little or no social expectation of mobility.

The degree of closure in the ethos of the system will, according to both Merton and Cloward and Ohlin, influence the universality of culture goals and means. In fluid systems it might be expected that a single set of goals and means would be internalized at all class levels. The crystallized systems could be characterized by class related sets of goals and means.

The following section considers implications of the interrelationships among the three variables (opportunity, integration and class structure). These relationships will be presented in the form of a typology. The typology represents a collection of ideal types demonstrating the situations created at the polar points of each conjunction of the concepts.

The first formulation of the typology, presented in Figure 1, illustrates the conditions in the more fluid class structure model. This approximates the North American situation. The reformulation of the typology presented in Figure 2 represents a more crystallized class structure model and illustrates the theory's applicability beyond the confines of North America as a tool for cross cultural analysis.

	INTEGRATED		UNINTEGRATED		
	FUNCTIONAL ACCESS		TO LEGITIMATE		
	PRESENT	ABSENT	PRESENT	ABSENT	
FUNCTIONAL ACCESS PRESENT	A Criminal Conformist Traditional	B Conformist Traditional	C Innovative Utilitarian Delinquency	D Conflict Innovative	
TO ILLEGITIMATE ABSENT	E Conformist Traditional	F Isolated Rural Poverty Retreatist Traditional	G Middle Class Authority Protest Innovative	H Lower Class and Small Town Authority Protest Innovative	

Figure I. A Typology Presenting the Ideal-Typical Community Situations in the Open System Model

DISCUSSION OF THE TYPOLOGY

Cell A presents the criminal-conformity model, a highly integrated community with fully accessible legitimate and illegitimate opportunity structures. This implies the presence of viable career alternatives in business, the professions skilled trades, the rackets, professional theft and political occupations. Such a community is probably urban and composed of immigrant groups undergoing mobility without full assimilation. The composition stems from the need of such groups to develop alternative mobility routes whenever mobility within the legitimate structure is restricted. (Bell: 1953) Currently, the potential for such a community in America is diminishing.

The orientation toward success goals will be traditional. Variation will be found regarding the legitimate means although the nature of variation will also be traditional. The community will tolerate little innovation. Control will be exercised toward similar ends - peace, order, anonymity, and success - by both spheres in cooperation. Success figures in both spheres will be visible role models who share authority. In such a community participation in both spheres is likely; that is, interchange in participation unites the structures. For example, a successful lawyer may defend a successful gangster who is his social peer.

Another feature of the community is the cooperation between residents and the police. The need for formal intervention is minimized due to citizen control in the area, so that

the role of the police is marginal. Interaction between the police and the residents takes the form of mutual tolerance.

Delinquency in this area is a "training" process for a future career in crime. Delinquent behavior is selected from behavior alternatives and is both persistent and difficult to eradicate due to community re-enforcement. Finally, delinquency is purposeful, systematic and organized around conventional success goals.

Juvenile behavior which fails to conform to accepted community alternatives will be rare, temporary, sporadic, a singular rather than a group phenomena and repressed with vigor by the community. Within this category is behavior which is juvenile centered, innovative, disruptive, aggressive (both symbolic and manifest), excessive (public drunkenness or drug use) and distinctive in dress and mannerism.

Kobrin, Puntil and Peluso (1967) describe a community situation similar to that predicted in the cell. They designate this style of behavior sophisticated delinquency. The community in question was described as being inner city, low income with "firmly entrenched integration of both legitimate and illegitimate elements." (1967:101) This alliance united the racketeers, political figures and "respectable" families of the area. The three necessary elements of this cell: (a) integration, (b) access to legitimate opportunity, (c) access to illegitimate opportunity can thus be seen to be present.

The sophisticated delinquents of the area engage primarily in lucrative theft. Their actions are planned well in

advance with arrangements with "fences" worked out. In the event of apprehension, protection from the political officials and racketeers is available. These delinquents come from influential families in the community. They, therefore, form the adolescent elite and prosper in their criminal activity. This behavior receives silent support if not approval from the adult community. The kind of sophistication and expertise which is acquired through delinquency provides an enhanced opportunity for successful adult crime. (1967:102)

Spergel (1964) describes this type of situation. He observed the "criminal-conformity" model in a stable working class community in New York. The community featured well developed access to illegitimate opportunity in both professional and organized crime with moderately accessible legitimate opportunity. The style of delinquency was sophisticated, designed to avoid attention of police, lucrative, and oriented to careers in adult crime.[3]

Cell B represents the criminal community with a high degree of integration. Although there is open access to the illegitimate opportunity structure, access to the legitimate is severely restricted. This community might develop from discrimination, language barriers, and/or a traditional involvement in illegitimate occupations such that experience with legitimate occupations is lacking.

In any event, such a community is organized around the illegitimate structure. Illegitimate success figures are the powerful and respected role models and support the traditional

orientation of the community. Activities of youth, although labelled delinquent by the larger society, would be tolerated and/or endorsed by the community to the extent that they were congruent with traditional illegitimate occupations. In this setting, both innovative delinquency and behavior conforming to traditional legitimate prescriptions would be sanctioned. Both kinds of behavior would tend to be sporadic, disorganized and temporary. "Success" at either would be minimal since in the former, sanctions would be immediate and severe; and in the latter, the necessary access to opportunity and required socialization would be absent.

It seems unlikely that such a community would be tolerated unless a socially desired, although illegal, service formed the focus for the illegitimate structure. If such were not the case, formal sanctions such as increased police activity, court actions, and publicity would destroy the stability and integration of the area in any but a weak and disorganized society.

No evidence of a community of this type is available in the literature. In North American society, it is doubtful whether such a community is economically feasible since it contains an assumption of economic independence which is unlikely to be possible in industrial society. Further social control mechanisms in industrial society would tend to mitigate against the formulation of a purely criminal community.

Historically, communities of this nature have been noted such as Thuggee, a criminal tribe in India. This group formed

a cohesive, integrated society whose economy revolved around theft and banditry. They were, however, wiped out by the British in the 1800's in the subduing of the sub-continent. (Nettler: 1970:168-169)

Cell C represents a community with access to both opportunity structures. Integration, however, is lacking. This area is a transitional one, encompassing different social classes and/or ethnic groups. Youth are aware of the opportunity for mobility and achievement of success goals in both structures; however, the exact nature of the means is ambiguous due to weak social control and infelicitious socialization. Since fewer success figures are visible here than in either of the two previous cells, there is a reduced ability to comprehend and manipulate either structure even though the success goals have been internalized.

Delinquency in this area takes diverse and innovative forms. It is youth-centered and receives little or no support from the community. Police action will be vigorous in dealing with both adult and juvenile offenders. Delinquency follows Matza's pattern of the drifting delinquent who experiments with a variety of behavior to find a satisfying and viable career pattern and who is a part of a loosely knit gang structure. Utilitarian theft, bootlegging, drug peddling and auto theft are expected behavioral patterns. Such actions as athletic participation and the formation of rock groups are more legitimate forms of the same kind of innovation. Such activities are generally abandoned in favor of legitimate affi-

liations in the face of formal sanctions. Marriage, the acquisition of a job, the draft and other such adult affiliations may also re-enforce this process of maturational reform.

Shulman (1961) presented a case study of Parnell Street in New York during the Depression which illustrates this kind of situation. This neighborhood had been an ethnic enclave of relative stability and integration. However, assimilation of the various "waves" of immigrants changed the composition from one of ethnic homogeneity to one of heterogeneity (composed of the residues of each succeeding waves). This weakened integration to a considerable degree. The coming of the Depression enhanced this process, virtually destroying integration at even the level of the family. Joint family activities all but disappeared with meals taken separately and family members often sleeping in shifts.

A certain amount of access to legitimate opportunity was present in that a tradition of orientation to the skilled trades could be found; however, the Depression weakened such access. Although there were criminals in the area and well established organized crime in adjacent areas, the lack of integration and mobility restricted the utilization of this structure.

The area may be seen as a transitional one; moving from the status of ethnic enclave with an organization similar to that described in Cell A to a heterogeneous, less integrated working class area. The Depression both had an impact on the standard of living of the area and contributed to the decay of

integration; however, the basic processes at work were not directly attributable to the Depression.

Delinquency in the area took the expected forms. Theft and gambling predominated with truancy, drinking and illicit sexual activities also prevalent. The adolescents formed relatively cohesive gangs independent of adult control with delinquency being youth rather than adult oriented. Inasmuch as the youths so involved were not persistent or committed to their delinquency, and inasmuch as their behavior did not constitute a major threat to order as would, for example, conflict style behavior, delinquency was not considered a "serious" problem in the area. (1961:235)

Just as Cell C is the unintegrated counterpart of Cell A, Cell D is the counterpart of Cell B. This cell represents the classic conflict style community as described by Cloward and Ohlin. Legitimate access to opportunity is severely restricted with orientation to conventional success provided by the illegitimate structure. Lack of integration inhibits effective socialization and control. Youth lack the ability to utilize either legitimate or illegitimate means for these means are not clearly understood. Success figures are distant and unfamiliar. Attainment of success will be attributed to luck, fate, connections and the like.

The formation of a youth-oriented "culture" is a result both of the restricted opportunities and a lack of effective integration. The gang serves as a major source of identification and attachment. Youth tend to become committed delinquents

who become locked into delinquent attachments and activities. Because of the restrictions of traditional opportunity in either structure, innovation takes the form of substituting violence and toughness for conventional measures of status. Such expressions need not result in physical aggressions in that violence and toughness may be expressed through language, posture, dress, and similar symbols. Postures of defiance will tend to re-enforce the image of toughness, although acts of aggression will occur when such postures can no longer be defended through symbols alone. (Hood and Sparks: 1970:97)

This image is re-enforced by the mass media. For adolescents lacking experience with integration, complete socialization and access to utilize opportunity, the Western hero, soldier, spy- gangster who epitomizing the "virtues" of toughness and "heart" have considerable impact. It may be therefore postulated that in such an area the mass media (comics, movies, television) form the basis for informal socialization as suggested in discussions of differential identification. (Glaser: 1956)

The conflict style delinquency has been the subject of considerable investigation by social scientists. The accounts of the situations giving rise to these behavior patterns tend to be consistent with that suggested by the typology. Kobrin, Puntil and Peluso (1967), for example, describe one such adaptation, which they term "conspicuous delinquency". The youths in this group were Mexicans who faced a language barrier, discrimination and poverty. Their families lived in a public

housing project of low status in the community and were barred from the local informal organization of the area. For others in the community, access was available to both legitimate and illegitimate opportunity in the context of a highly integrated, cohesive local area. Because of their unique residence, ethnic background and status in the community, the Mexicans were barred from all these features.

The development of integration within the project was hampered by the simultaneous influx of new residents and enforced mobility on those whose incomes rose above a certain limit. The more successful families, who could have formed the nucleus for integration, were forced to leave and were replaced by those with problems of adjustment.

The Mexican boys were outsiders from both the opportunity and integration of the community. Not surprisingly, their status was low even among the other delinquents. As a result, their delinquency adopted the expected pattern; conspicious, aggressive, conflict behavior. They took their status from reputations for toughness, ability to fight, bravery and similar attitudes. Delinquency was youth-centered and innovative in that it ignored the traditional means of both structures.

Gannon (1967) discussed the characteristics of conflict gangs. He found that, while the boys exhibited "a desire to get ahead; to have a stake in society," (1967:130) they were hampered from attainment of their goals. The boys lacked experience with legitimate social situations, lacked the necessary social skills and lacked familiarity with areas other than

their own. Further, "all the youths serviced by the Youth Board came from neighborhoods which lack cohesiveness and unity and where transiency and instability become overriding features of social life there are obvious and powerful pressures for violent behavior." (1967:126)

Salisbury (1958)[4] provides additional evidence for this explanation. In his discussion, urban renewal is seen as a major force contributing to the genesis of conflict gangs. Renewal involves the disruption of existing social organization. Housing project policy, as previously mentioned, enforces mobility on the tenants and reduces the possibility for developing a viable social order. Both integration and access to illegitimate opportunity are eliminated without altering the legitimate access. The end result is the creation of social disorganization and the emergence of conflict gangs whose delinquency endangers not the lives of the members but the safety and order of the whole area.

Selby, a contemporary novelist, illustrates the impact of this lack of integration in the renewal projects. (Selby: 1957:235-311) His comments support the assertion that when opportunity is restricted in both structures and integration is lacking at both family and community levels, delinquency takes the form of conflictive behavior. Selby, who was raised in the area about which he writes, includes a description of the meeting of two conflict gangs on the street facing the project.

> "The street was quiet and a gang of young spades on one corner started walking toward a gang of spicks on the other, each gang ripping the aerials off the parked cars; some carrying rocks, bottles, pipes, clubs. They stood a few feet apart in the middle of the street calling each other black bastards and monkey mothafuckas. [sic] A car came along the street, horn blowing, trying to pass, but they didnt [sic] move and finally the car had to back out of the street. The few people on the street ran. The gangs remained in the middle of the street. Then someone threw a rock, then another was thrown and 30 or 40 kids were screaming, throwing bottles and rocks until there were none left, then they ran at each other swinging clubs and whipping the car aerials, cursing, screaming, someone crying in pain, a zip gun being fired and a window breaking and people yelled from windows and one of the kids went down and was kicked and stomped and knots of kids formed swinging, clubbing, kicking, yelling and a knife was stuck in a back and another one went down and a cheek was cut to the mouth with an aerial and the ragged flesh of the cut cheek flapped against the bloodied teeth and a skull was opened with a club and another window was broken with a rock and a few tried to drag another away as three pairs of feet kicked at his head and a nose was smashed with a pair of brass knuckles and then a siren was heard above the yelling and suddenly, for a fraction of a second, everyone stood still then turned and ran leaving three lying on the street. The cops came and people came back to the street and the cops kept them back, asking questions and finally the ambulance came and two were helped in the ambulance the third being carried. Then the ambulance left, the cops left, and it was quiet once again." (Selby: 1957:304-305)

Cell E represents the conformist community. Such an area features strong integration, an accessible legitimate opportunity structure and an absence of illegitimate opportunity. This does not imply that the area does not profit from illegitimate activities; but rather that these are not visible and cannot form a structure for career models. These areas tend to be suburban and socially isolated with an upper or upper-middle class composition and a low rate of mobility. Youth are strongly controlled and socialized to comprehend,

accept and act out traditional roles and motivations. For example, boys will learn golf in preparation for business games and girls will learn early the skills of a hostess. Education is seen as preparation for a career in the traditional occupations and dating as preparation for marriage. The area represents strong unidimensional control with parents and other adults acting to reduce the possibility of alternative modes of adaptation while maximizing the potential for full utilization of the existing traditional legitimate alternatives.

Delinquency in this area is the activity of the solitary misfit in the area. Alternatively it is a temporary, and marginal activity of the other adolescents, severely sanctioned by parents and community upon apprehension. The adolescent culture, can not exist as a separate structure nor can gangs or cliques develop beyond the most rudimentary form.

A description of this type of community is found in Westley's (1967) discussion of a Montreal suburb. This community, was almost entirely composed of Anglo-Saxon managerial and professional families of the upper middle class. It is separated geographically, politically, and linguistically from Montreal, with its own churches, schools, police, fire department, recreational facilities and local government. It may be seen as possessing the elements of access to legitimate opportunity, restricted access to the illegitimate opportunity structure and the potential for integration.

Indeed, this was found to be the case in Westley's investigation. In his words, the community, vis-a-vis the adole-

scents, was "integrated and protective" with no illegitimate opportunity visible. Integration at the family level is strong. He states that joint family activity is commonplace, "in fact, no sharp distinction is made in the family between parental and adolescent activity." (1967:13) The adolescents have little free time and their activities involve the parents knowing what is being done, when, where and with whom.

Such integration is carried over to the community level. Here neighboring behavior is frequent communication and interaction. Adults have developed suitable norms, activity and supervision patterns such that normative consensus, communication and intervention are all strong.

The observed effect of this environment on juvenile behavioral patterns corresponds to that suggested in the typology. There is virtually no delinquency, no gangs and nothing which even remotely resembles an adolescent culture. Adolescents express a willingness to cooperate with parents and little resentment at the amount of control to which they are subjected. Their orientation is traditional and adult-centred. Dating is oriented to marriage. Choice dates are those of appropriate occupational aspiration, class, religious affiliation and "character." The youth are well versed in the "proper" economic attitudes of success, value of work, savings and the importance of career.

In summary, Westley concludes "this protective environment is of significance primarily because it encourages a continuity of socialization between adult and adolescent." (1967:

14)... "The peer groups of Suburban Town are generally committed to the values of the parents and further a continuity of socialization." (1967:21)

Cell F represents the traditional, isolated rural poverty area. Here opportunity in either structure is absent. Such a situation could be seen to stem from social change which has disrupted the traditional forms of occupation; from land rendered unarrable due to over-farming; from mines which have been exhausted. Because of strong integration, the area is resistant to change and suspicious of ousiders; hence poverty is difficult to eradicate. Adults and juveniles are in close conjunction which eliminates the basis for juvenile gangs, cliques or cultures. Delinquency is a reflection of adult deviance. Such a community pattern is retreatist in a classic sense: chronic poverty leading to pessimism and defeatism with drunkenness, illegitimacy, assault and aggression directed at dependents. In general, both juvenile and adult deviance is non-utilitarian, not directed at success goals, disorganized, sporadic and tending to explosive violent outbursts.

Shulman (1961:145-147) summarized the available literature concerning this type of situation. His discussion, although extremely brief, is consistent with that of this thesis.

Isolated rural poverty areas, it is quite clear, are lacking in access to legitimate opportunity, he states. Further, he maintains that "the rural town and countryside do not produce much indigenous professional crime...." (1961:145) Access to the illegitimate opportunity structure is similarly

restricted. As a consequence, when compared with urban delinquency, delinquency in such areas is characterized by "less skill and delinquent knowledge" and by less sophisticated planning and techniques. (1961:145)

The nature of deviance is consistent with the discussion of this thesis. Shulman lists quarrels, fights, drunkenness, violence, rape, assaults on minors as generally characteristic offenses of these kinds of areas. Illegitimacy, adultery, incest are added as more characteristic offenses of the extremely isolated areas. (1961:146) There are no age-specific offenses noted, which emphasizes the absence of adolescent cliques and the pervasiveness of the integration.

Cell G can be characterized as the cell of youth protest. With unrestricted access to legitimate opportunity, the community lacks both integration and an illegitimate opportunity structure. Such an area is solidly middle class, suburban and successful with high rates of geographic mobility. While provided with the material manifestations of success, the preliminary socialization acquainting the youth with roles, techniques and motivations is marginal. The "commuting" father, for example, cannot provide a stable role model in that the nature, type and purpose of work is carefully segregated from suburban life. In this area, as in other unintegrated settings, adults and juveniles spend leisure time apart. In addition, youth are well provided with both money and transportation. It is the combined freedom from control and freedom from want which distinguish this cell from all others.

In this setting, adolescents form a "youth centered subculture" characterized by cliques of considerable power and influence. Behavior is innovative and centers around life style variations. Because of material abundance, the emphasis is on leisure or pleasure with deviance being an essential part of the life styles.

Such movements attract publicity due to the public nature of the deviance and to the "respectable" source of their membership. These are not the youths who are commonly expected to "go bad". The publicity may result in both diffusion of the movement and commercial exploitation or co-optation. This may be seen in the impact of the hippie movement on fashion, advertising and the mass media. This deviance is not directed at the acquisition of conventional success goals or at utilization of traditional legitimate or illegitimate means of acquisition. In addition, lack of access negates the use of the traditional illegitimate means. It may be postulated that maturational "reform" or at least reorientation to quasi-legitimate orientation will be high for such groups. In later years, this type of deviance is over-shadowed by adult "responsibility" and may be viewed as a marginal experimentation during youth. Except for the casualties, hippies come home and marry and political activists take jobs at liberal universities or in the civil service. Casualties are those who formalize their delinquency through drug addiction, prison terms and similar actions. The labelling perspective is highly relevant here for it is those who become publicly labelled as

deviant who tend to adopt career patterns in deviance, and reenforcing the pattern by affiliation and secondary deviance.

Discussion of the phenomena presented in this cell must be gleaned from diverse sources. The social environment characteristic of the areas has been discussed by Salisbury (1958).[5] Writers, often themselves a part of the various movements, provide graphic descriptions of behavioral patterns. These descriptions can only be briefly discussed in the current context but are recommended for the serious student of this phenomena.

Salisbury presents a synopsis of the conditions productive of middle class delinquency which are similar to the conditions presented in the typology. He states that access to legitimate opportunity is undeniably present; "the children have all the conventional advantages. The homes are clean, neat, stuffed with consumer goods. The schools are good. There is ample room for kids to run and play." (1958:116) As suggested in the typology, he concludes that access to illegitimate opportunity is absent.

He describes, however, situations of extremely low integration at the family level with commuting fathers, socialite mothers, children who shared neither information nor activity with their parents and parents who do not exercise control, either through supervision or sanction, over their children. (1958:117) Integration at the community level appears to be weak. Intervention, when it occurs, takes the form of action in conjunction with the police in order to erase juvenile mis-

conduct from the records. Action does not occur at the community level to prevent or reduce the misconduct. Instances of neighboring, communication and interaction are not described.

Wolfe (1968a) describes one sub-culture formed from youth of such an area. This is a group called "the Pump House Gang" ..."a group of boys and girls who banded together in a way that superficially resembled a street gang's.... They split off - to the beach! into the garages! and started their own league, based on the esoterica of surfing." (1968a:4) The life style centers around surfing with the members living together in garages filled with stolen furniture. Transportation is maintained through the ingeneous method of exchanging motors and other parts from parked cars into the surfers'. ("One of the great things about a Volkswagon bus is that one can... exchange motors in about three minutes." 1968a:19) Pocket money is obtained through panhandling.

Another group of similar composition called the "Hair Boys" is later described by Wolfe. One member describes the genesis of their philosophy as follows:

> "Rank! Rank is just the natural outgrowth of Rotten. Roth and Schorsch (two members of the group) grew up in the Rotten era of Los Angeles teenagers. The idea was to have a completely rotten attitude toward the adult world, meaning, in the long run, the whole established status structure, the whole system of people organizing their lives around a job, fitting into a social structure embracing the whole community. The idea of Rotten was to drop out of the conventional status competition into the smaller netherworld of Rotten Teenager and start one's own league." (1968a:99)

The behavior of this group, while not involving any legally defined delinquency, can be considered deviant from the

perspective of the conventional expectations. Their style focuses on three elements: cars, cruising and clothes. The chosen cars are "new, Lincolns, even, Stingrays, Mustangs with maybe a custom paint job, flake paint and racing tires, Michelin Triple-X so big they bulge out under the fenders." (1968a: 100) Clothes are distinctive and form a uniform as characteristic as that of the Mounties. Wolfe describes the style for men as follows:

> "The new look is to comb all the hair straight back, but up high in the front, so that it gets a massive, sculptured, head of hair, practically smooth, all in place, piled high, impeccable. Other kids call them the Hair Boys. The Hair Boys have on the same kind of sweater, a cardigan, open down the front, a very fluffy sweater, in high pastel, magentas, peach, cerulean blue, a fluffy sweater with the arms cut very big, puffed out almost but coming down tight at the wrists, and cut very full in the body, fluffing out - but with tight, thincut trousers, usually dark, coming down to various pointed shoes, gusseted boots and so forth, buckled winkle pickers, Rip Van Winkle boots sometimes a plum T shirt or a turtle-neck jersey, or else a soft shirt with a high collar, like a tab or a "Dino" but - one means, like given - no tie." (1968a:101)

Cruising around the Drive-In's to show off the clothes and cars is the central activity of the group.

Wolfe describes two additional phenomena which support earlier discussion. The first is the commercial exploitation of these movements. In the case of the surfing movement, for example, he refers to the money (in the millions of dollars) made from the production of surfing movies, surfing clothing, surfing posters and surf boards. (Wolfe: 1968a:26)

The second phenomena is that of diffusion. Here Wolfe describes the diffusion of the idea of "role clothes" (the

uniform characterizing an innovative life style), to the adult population. In a development which he terms "style schizophrenia", the adult population affected by this diffusion adopts conventional clothing during business hours but changes into role costume for leisure activity. (1968a:123)

Further elaboration of these experiments in life style is available, although detailed discussion is beyond the scope of this thesis. Kerouac (1957) presents a description of the beat style in the post World War II years. Farina (1966) describes the life style of slightly older youths (of early college age) in the late 1950's whose style combines elements of the beat, activist and freak. Wolfe (1968b) presents an analysis, obtained through extensive participant observation, of the Kesey experiment. This involved youth, from the same sort of social environment described earlier, who became the "role models" for the hippies and were heavily involved in the whole drug scene in the early 1960's. Finally, Urquhart (1970) presents a descriptive analysis, congruent with the discussion of the typology, of a group engaged in a radical, communal living life style experiment.

Finally, Cell H represents the unintegrated form of Cell F. Here the community may be a rural area or a small town which has undergone drastic mobility of either influx or exodus. For the same sorts of reasons as in Cell F, the area is unequipped to utilize traditional opportunity in either structure. Change, however, will be easier to effect (assuming sufficient physical and social resources) due to lack of in-

tegration. Parents and youth are divided with the latter frequently rejecting the former as "failures". Adult deviance takes the same forms as in Cell F with drunkenness, aggression (especially against dependents) and promiscuity. Youthful deviance is age-centered and tending to reflect the behavior presented in the mass media as characteristic of adolescents. Delinquency occurs without the structural supports present in other areas. Thus youth may indulge in heavy use of drugs and/or in emulation of the hip life style. The search for a distinctive youth life style is doomed to failure by the scarcity of opportunity and resources for such development. Hence, this style of delinquency is not a persistent one. In addition, if the basic lack of opportunity is not altered, the innovative delinquency of the youth is exchanged not for "traditional conformity" but for the adult style of deviance.

The field notes of the author provided some evidence of this style of behavior. Participant observation in a small town in Alberta, considered as under-developed and subject to a large scale intervention program, revealed both the expected adult and juvenile styles of delinquency. For a good proportion of the residents of the area, especially the Indian and Metis residents, access to legitimate opportunity is extremely restricted. This restriction cannot be altered without a move from the area. The community does not have a visible, successful, illegitimate structure, so that access to illegitimate opportunity appears to be similarly restricted.

The evidence collected suggested that community integra-

tion is similarly weak. Lifetime residents complain about the lack of community spirit, the difficulty in organizing activities, the lack of friendliness and neighborhood interaction. It was the experience of the author that the town does not have the appearances of integration; however, verification of this would require more intensive study.

Adult deviance, on the basis of both observation and examination of official records, conforms to the expected pattern. Adolescent behavior is relatively autonomous in most cases from adult supervision and is youth oriented. The town is broken into several mutually exclusive and hostile adolescent cliques. These cliques cover a wide range of styles - extensive drug use, conflict style, "Hair Boys" style, activist, coupled with an assortment of "straight" styles. These patterns can be seen to be duplications of media presentations, giving credence to the idea of a diffusion of innovative styles through the media. They exist, however, without the structural supports found in urban situations. For example, it is difficult to adopt a hip style without the supports of rock concerts, discotheques, appropriate clothing stores and the like. Therefore, these groups are relatively unstable.

On more recent reports, it seems that the members of the various cliques have been replaced with younger members. The more affluent move to urban centres to enter university, thereby increasing their access to opportunity through a departure from the area. Several have been arrested, mostly on drug charges. Those who remain in the area adopt the characteristic

adult patterns.

This completes the discussion of the fluid class structure model. Figure II illustrates the modifications necessary to enable application of the model in a crystallized status system. In this type of system culture goals and means are stratified by social class. For example, in such a system the goals of the working class would differ qualitatively from those of the aristocracy. Means would be similarly stratified and appropriate to the goals. It can be assumed that within each social class both differential distribution of access to means and differential levels of integration as discussed in this thesis can be found. The appropriate model then for a society rigidly stratified into three socio-economic groups consists of a three-fold expansion of the original model. Such an expansion is illustrated in Figure II.

The preceeding discussion has attempted to clarify the proposed revision of opportunity theory, to illustrate its applications and to demonstrate the manner in which it answers the problems raised by the original formulation. In the following chapter, an attempt will be made to demonstrate techniques for the operationalization of the concepts of this revision.

INTEGRATED		UNINTEGRATED			
FUNCTIONAL ACCESS		TO LEGITIMATE			
PRESENT	ABSENT	PRESENT	ABSENT		
A1	B1	C1	D1	FUNCTIONAL ACCESS PRESENT	CLASS 1
E1	F1	G1	H1	FUNCTIONAL ACCESS ABSENT	
A2	B2	C2	D2	TO ILLEGITIMATE OPPORTUNITY PRESENT	CLASS 2
E2	F2	G2	H2	TO ILLEGITIMATE OPPORTUNITY ABSENT	
A3	B3	C3	D3	OPPORTUNITY PRESENT	CLASS 3
E3	F3	G3	H3	OPPORTUNITY ABSENT	

Figure II. A Typology Illustrating the Adaptation of the Model to Conform to the Closed System Situation

EDITORIAL FOOTNOTES

[1] A more detailed discussion of the impact of renewal is found in the section dealing with the conflict adaptation.

[2] A term derived from Greer The Emerging City.

[3] Further supporting evidence for this style of delinquency can be found in Whyte; Street Corner Society.

[4] See also for a further discussion of this point Faris; Social Disorganization; 1955:203.

[5] See also Faris; Social Disorganization; 1955:209.

CHAPTER III

OPERATIONALIZATION

The concepts used in this revision can be justly termed vague, unclear or imprecise unless care is taken in both their definition and operationalization. Without such care many problems in testing can emerge, not the least of which being the danger of tautology. Some examples of tautological reasoning concerning the concept of opportunity include taking the formation of a delinquent gang by the adolescents of a given area as proof of restricted opportunity on the basis of the Cloward and Ohlin theory and/or considering the low socio-economic status of members of a group as proof of restricted opportunity. Another related problem inherent in the use of such concepts is the difficulty in obtaining structural as opposed to strictly attitudinal or perceptual measures. When the subjective measures are without a corresponding parallel structural measure, it may justly be claimed that the concept is not being measured, or the theory tested. In order to alleviate the criticism that both the original differential opportunity theory and the proposed revision of this paper are based upon untestable concepts, this chapter will suggest testable, non-tautological operational definitions for each central concept.

CLASS STRUCTURE

The first concept to be considered is class structure. Here the concern to determine the degree of ridigity in the class structure and the relationship between the degree of rigidity and the degree of stratification in culture goals and norms for achievement. This concern can be discussed along several dimensions, the first of which is an objective assessment of stratification. Here, effort lies in establishing the nature and degree of socio-economic stratification characteristic of the society.[1] Many indices are available for this purpose. Miller (1970:170) recommends the Warner, Meeker, Eells Occupational Rating Scale on the basis of its broad scope, concern with housing and residential area, and rigor. In addition, this scale does not require extensive interviewing of subjects. It therefore appears as the most advantageous for the purpose of a test of this theory.

The categorizing of a society or group into discrete social classes is an artificial device. Hence the second dimension -- the degree of class consciousness -- must be used in conjunction with the objective ranking. In a highly stratified, closed social system it would be expected that class consciousness would be high. That is, individual members would be able to place themselves accurately in the status hierarchy and to further be able to articulate the nature of the stratification system. Class, in this situation, takes on a subjective as well as objective reality. The more open the system, it can be assumed, the less the evidence of class

consciousness. In an open system, class would have less subjective reality for the members and social position could be expected to play a less crucial role in their aspirations, goals and perceptions of means. Measurement of this dimension should include indications of:

(a) the individual member's perception of the nature or existence of a social hierarchy;

(b) the individual member's perception of his class affiliation;

(c) the degree to which the individual member focuses his affiliations and interactions within his own class.

These results could then be compared with those of the objective scaling in order to determine the "goodness of fit" between objective and subjective perceptions of the degree of stratification. It can be assumed that such "fit" will be least in social systems lying toward the middle of a closed-open continuum, in those featuring, for example, an open or democratic ethos in a relatively crystallized system.

The third dimension is the degree of social mobility. Even a highly stratified society can be considered relatively open if high rates of social mobility are present. The social mobility factor has two aspects. First, actual mobility, which can be measured through comparisons over time and between generations on a standard socio-economic scale and through patterns of residential mobility. The second aspect is perceived mobility; that is, the extent to which individual mem-

ber's perceive that the society provides opportunity for mobility for him and/or significant numbers of his fellows.

It may be assumed that the more closed the system, the less will be both actual and perceived mobility. Conversely, an open system will demonstrate both high rates of actual mobility with high perceptions of mobility. Societies in the middle of the continuum, will logically produce the greatest amount of discrepancy between actual and perceived mobility.

The final dimension is that of culturally patterned goals and means. It can be assumed that the greater the degree of closure in the stratification system, the greater the variation in culture goals, values and normative means of goal achievement. A system with an ethos stressing fluidity and mobility will be characterized by a universal acceptance of similar culture goals, values and means. The first task in the operationalization of this dimension is to question a sample of members from all classes concerning their "life goals". The measure of such goals lies in tapping the attitudes or perceptions of the individual members. This phase would be accomplished through questions drawing information concerning individual member's perceptions of:

(a) the success symbols of the society,

(b) characteristics of a "good job"; "good life",

(c) characteristics of a successful person,

(d) individual life goals.

Mizruchi formulates indicators for these aspects in an attempt to test Merton's opportunity hypotheses. (1964:180-2)

The second phase would determine the norms or means perceived as legitimate and productive in the attainment of the culture goals. The first set of indicators would be statements from respondents concerning their understanding of legitimate means for culture goal attainment. Again, Mizruchi (1964:182) offers indicators for this phenomena. If desired, an objective rating of legitimate means can be obtained by examination of the careers and credentials of a sample of the "successful" in the society. This approach is utilized by Porter in studying Canadian elites in order to determine common elements in their routes to success. (Porter: 1965)

It appears reasonable to assume that the greater degree of closure in the system, the greater would be the degree of stratification of goals and, correspondingly, the greater the degree of stratification of means. These means should be appropriate to the goals of the respective classes in the society. Such stratification of means would not be a feature of the open system. A mid-state system, it can be suggested, would tend to feature a greater degree of disjunction between goals and means, for example acceptance of a set of universal goals for all class levels coupled with the stratification of perceived appropriate means, some of which would perhaps feature greater efficiency than others.

The measurement of the nature of the class system, then, would encompass the following dimensions with appropriate indicators.

CONCEPT	DIMENSIONS	INDICATORS
Class Structure	1. Degree of stratification	(a) objective SES Scale (Warner, Meeker, Eells) (b) degree of class consciousness (c) "goodness of fit" - measure (a) with measure (b)
	2. Degree of social mobility	(a) objective scale - SES inter-generation and geographic (b) perceived opportunity for social mobility (c) "goodness of fit" - measure (a) with measure (b)
	3. Degree of stratification of culture goals	(a) perception of culture goals and success symbols (Mizruchi)
	4. Degree of stratification of norms and means.	(a) perception of the nature of the legitimate means (Mizruchi) (b) objective rating of means based on common routes to success (Porter).

INTEGRATION

Integration, as defined in the terms of reference of this paper, provides control through supervision, intervention and socialization. It will be examined at both the family and the community or neighborhood area level. The family, the fundamental unit of supervision, intervention and socialization as well as the fundamental unit of the community will be the first level examined. Care will be taken to provide for parallel operationalization at the level of the community.

The first dimension of family to be considered is family

knowledge; that is, the extent to which juveniles in the family possess factual knowledge concerning other members of their family. While it perhaps seems obvious that all individuals possess rather extensive knowledge of this sort, this has been found not to be the case. Venezia (1968:148-174) discovered that as compared with non-delinquents of similar race and socio-economic status, delinquents demonstrated significantly "greater attitudinal distance from family, premature autonomy and less factual knowledge about family members". (emphasis added) A measure of knowledge of family information can serve not only as a preliminary measure of interaction within the family, a preliminary measure of the degree of socialization obtained by the juvenile within the family, but also as a measure of integration. To test this aspect, Venezia developed the Family Information Test (1968:170) which would appear to serve as an adequate measure for this aspect of integration.

The second element of family integration involves shared family activities. An integrated family will engage in both work and leisure activities as a unit thereby increasing both socialization and supervision functions of the family.[2]

A measure of this aspect would consist therefore of an inventory of joint family activities for some reasonable time span. This inventory would combine both the description of all activities involving family members and a statement of their span and frequency. The inventory would be compiled by both adult and juvenile members of the family for reliability. A simple direct relationship can be assumed between increasing

family activity and increasing integration.

The third dimension to be measured of family integration is that of control. It can be assumed that in a highly integrated family, adults will exercise considerable control over the activities of their children. Because such control can take diverse forms, the measurement will be subdivided into several elements:

(a) the degree to which parents possess information regarding the activities of their children,

(b) the degree to which parents supervise these activities,

(c) the degree to which parents exercise a sanctioning power over their juveniles.

The information can be obtained by a questionnaire in which parents are asked to describe their children's activities in the following areas:

(a) what their children do in their leisure time;

(b) where do their children go in the course of such activities;

(c) who are their children's friends and what supplementary information the parents possess concerning those friends;

(d) how do the parents obtain this information;

(e) the parent's estimation of the reliability of their information.

To increase reliability, a similar test would be given to the juveniles.

The supervisory element can be measured through the collection of information answering the following kinds of questions.

(a) the degree to which parent's permission is required for juvenile activities;

(b) the degree to which parents determine the nature of these activities;

(c) the degree to which parents exercise control over their children's choice of companions;

(d) the degree to which parents exercise direct supervision over juvenile activities.

The final element of control is sanctioning. Here information of the following kinds is required from the parents under study:

(a) the degree of importance attached to discipline by the parents;

(b) what is the relative importance given to qualities in children such as obedience, self discipline, manners, punctuality, independence and creativity. (It can be assumed that the greater the emphasis given to control by the parents, the greater will be the importance of such qualities as obedience);

(c) what methods are employed in disciplining the children as juveniles;

(d) how frequently are such sanctions employed;

(e) under which occasions are such sanctions employed;

(f) what is the perceived effect of such sanctions.

Again, a reliability check would be obtained through the questioning of the juveniles concerning these issues. It can be assumed that the greater the integration, the greater will be both the control and the less the discrepancy between the answers of juveniles and those of their parents.

The second major dimension of integration concerns the level of the community. A community or neighborhood which is integrated can be characterized as having significant communication networks, interaction, supervision and sanctioning processes. It is postulated, that these areas will enhance the basic functions of the family, as well as compensate for weak integration at the level of the family. This kind of function has been the subject of considerable attention from such various writers as Jacobs (1961), Angell (1957), Barth (1966), Maccoby (1958).

The first element to be considered is normative consensus or "moral integration". Angell (1957:115) defines this as "the degree to which there is a set of common ends and values toward which all the members are oriented and in terms of which the life of the group is organized." He has devised several indices which are highly correlated with such consensus, thus can serve as the basis for a measurement of this element of integration. These include:

A. Indices Positively Correlated

1. Welfare effort

2. Home ownership

3. Homogeneity - class
   race
   ethnicity
4. "Community" orientation of agencies, i.e., church and school

B. Indices Negatively Correlated
1. Crime (personal and property offences perpetrated against members of own community)
2. Mobility
3. Working wives
4. Growth in the community.

In addition, he has incorporated several attitude scales which are indicative of integration in the normative sense. These are:

1. degree of satisfaction with the community;
2. degree of satisfaction with the personal conduct of members of the community;
3. degree of participating at the community level;
4. degree of satisfaction with group relations at the community level.

These scales, particularly when used in conjunction with questions measuring orientation toward culture goals and means from Part I, can serve as a highly adequate measure of this factor.

The second aspect of integration to be considered is the degree of communication or interaction between community members. Several methods are applicable in the measurement of such a concept. First, a neighboring scale can be employed. Miller recommends Wallin's Guttman Scale for Measuring Women's

Neighborliness. (1970:298-299) This scale has the advantages of reliability, utility and applicability for both inter-personal and inter-community analysis. It seems, therefore, to be adequate for this purpose.

Second, a scale of community centered social participation is required to measure such variables as:

(a) number of community centered organizations present in the area;

(b) number of members of each (together with an analysis of interlocking memberships to cover the cases of a few members belonging to all the organizations with the majority of members belonging to none);

(c) scope of services of such organizations;

(d) degree of adult/youth joint participation.

At least a part of this aspect could be covered with the use of Chapin's Social Participation Scale, recommended by Miller (1970:289-293) and utilized by Mizruchi (1964:164) in his previously cited study.

Third, a measure of the attitudes toward communication of a personal nature coupled with a measure of the kind of information exchanged by residents, particularly as it relates to juvenile behavior, is required. Barth, Watson and Blanchard (1966) employed such a measure, determining that, in fact, rates of delinquency were significantly related to the extent of the neighborhood "communication network serving as a supplement to parental information."

Finally, integration involves intervention, control and

sanction. In an integrated community, members will take an active role in the enforcement of local norms, customs and patterns of expected behavior. The socialization process which began in the family will be re-enforced both through example and sanction. A distinction between ideal and actual intervention must be made since discrepancies between attitudes and actual behavior may be not found otherwise.

The measurement of the ideal intervention norms could be accomplished through the construction of a questionnaire measuring attitudes of the following kinds:

(a) attitudes toward the intervention of neighbors in the behavior of the individual's children;

(b) attitudes toward the individual's intervention in the behavior of children other than his/her own;

(c) the respondent's perception of the community norm concerning such intervention;

(d) the respondent's perception of the frequency of such interventions;

(e) the respondent's feelings concerning the form that such interventions should take.

In the second phase, the analysis of the actual norms covering intervention would require an inventory of the nature, frequency and participants involved with such interventions in the community. This would require direct observation and an examination of official records. The nature of the sanction employed is of considerable import. Intervention which takes the form of alerting the police to juvenile misconduct, while

possibly an indication of the level of public concern with order, cannot be seen as indicative of integration much above the level of complete failure to intervene. The kind of integration implied in this discussion involves the community assuming responsibility for the actions of residents, rather than relying on the control by official agents. A scale of interventions is therefore implied in the measurement of this concept. One tentative suggestion for the ranking of intervention types focuses upon two dimensions, the first ranging from action to inaction and the second from personal direct action such as calling the police. Hackler, in the Edmonton Community Cohesiveness Study (1970) has attempted to consider these dimensions. His attempt could be used as a guideline for further work in the area.

Hackler Intervention Scale (High to Low Integration)

action to be taken upon observing juvenile misconduct.

1. Tell the parents.
2. Wait until you see the teenagers again and talk with them.
3. Say nothing to the parents or teenagers, but tell other neighbors about it.
4. Try to find the owner (victim of the misbehavior) and let him do something about it.
5. Call the police.
6. Do nothing.

This scale is a primitive attempt at measuring a subtle concept. Possible additions would include a more subtle gradient of the

possibilities as well as the option to take direct action against juvenile misbehavior.

In summary then, the operationalization of the concept of integration would roughly take the following form:

CONCEPT	DIMENSIONS	INDICATORS
Integration Family Level	1. Family Information	(a) measure of juvenile's factual knowledge of family members. (Venezia)
	2. Shared Activity	(a) activity inventory
	3. Control	(a) information inventory (b) supervision inventory (c) sanction inventory (d) "goodness to fit" parents and juveniles' inventories
Integration Community Level	1. Normative Consensus	(a) positive indicators (b) negative indicators (c) attitudinal indicators (Angell's Scales)
	2. Communication	(a) neighboring scale (Wallin) (b) social participation (Chapin) (c) communication attitudes (Barth) (d) degree of communication
	3. Intervention	(a) ideal norm (b) actual norm (c) nature of intervention (Hackler)

OPPORTUNITY

The concept of opportunity, both legitimate and illegitimate, must be considered. Here the issue is the degree of accessibility to one or both opportunity structures. The operational measure of legitimate opportunity has, in the past,

tended to be concentrated on measures of perceived opportunity. (Landis: 1963), (Mizruchi: 1964), (Luchterland and Weller: 1966) The rationale for such an approach is expressed in Landis (1963:409)

> "...in dealing with limited access to legitimate opportunity, an attempt was made to measure self awareness of the Cloward-Ohlin variable rather than its actual existence. Since individuals act in terms of their perceptions, it was felt that the objective nature of the opportunity structure was of less importance than the attitudes and ideas that an individual has about his life chances."

This approach, unfortunately, confuses two separate issues, the actual distribution of opportunity and the perception of this distribution. If the theory is to be truly structural, as is opportunity theory and this proposed revision, then its primary concepts must be structural and not perceptual or psychological.

Another option chosen in the discussion of such theories is the analysis of opportunity through analysis of "results" for example, unemployment rates, welfare indices, etc.

These have the problem in confusing the separate issues of ability and performance with opportunity and therefore cannot be considered measures of opportunity per se.

Illegitimate opportunity generally has been discussed and described rather than measured or analyzed. (Thrasher: 1960) (Schulman: 1961), (Kobrin et al.: 1967), (Spergel: 1966) The primary method employed in these discussions has been observational. Such an approach is advantageous in initial stages; however, more rigorous treatment of the concept would

be beneficial at this juncture.

Merton has suggested several kinds of data necessary for the successful operationalization of his opportunity concepts. These are measures of the following aspects:

"1. exposure to the culture goals and norms regulating behavior oriented to that goal.

2. acceptance of the goal and norms as moral mandates and internalized values.

3. relative accessibility to the goal - life chances in the opportunity structure.

4. extent of discrepancy between accepted goal and the accessibility.

5. degree of anomie.

6. rates of deviant behavior." (Mizruchi: 1966:59)

Merton acknowledged the necessity for an assessment of the distribution of access to opportunity in the operationalization of his concepts on a structural level as distinct from the perceptions of individuals. This section, while acknowledging the inherent difficulties with such an approach, will outline a suggested method to this end.

The preliminary data necessary for this task will become available from the analysis of culture goals and means completed in the analysis of the nature of the class system, discussed earlier. A set of universal or stratified goals and legitimate means will be therefore available. These legitimate means will form the basis for the construction of description of a model of the opportunity structure. For example, for a culture goal of material success, appropriate means could include such factors as education, "connections", initial high

socio-economic status, access to capital and similar aspects. From this set of means and coupled with a description of the common routes to success compiled from the analysis of the lives of success figures in the society, a model of the system of opportunity could be designed, weighted and ranked.

The next step, therefore, would consist of a simple count of the distribution of the structure of means through the population under study. Such a measure holds both ability and personality constant. Although these factors may have a tremendous impact in the life chances of an individual, they are not germane to the discussion of a purely structural variable.

After the completion of this objective measure of access to opportunity, the more traditional techniques of measurement of the perception of opportunity could be employed. Here the technique of Landis, Dinitz and Reckless (1963:409) is appropriate. They employed questions measuring individual perceptions concerning life chance along the following dimensions: "education, occupation, power, influence, wealth, family, neighborhood." These two measures then will be compared as to the goodness of fit.

It can be assumed that perception will be based on the "objective of reality" of the situation. That is -- individuals will perceive restricted access in situations in which access is in fact limited. Similarly these individuals perceive restricted access such access will tend to be limited. If this is the case, the predicted behavior patterns of the proposed theory should be borne out.[3]

It is proposed that a similar tactic be adopted for the operationalization of illegitimate opportunity. Written material of professional crime, interviews where possible with successful criminals could come to serve as a basis for an outline of the structure of illegitimate means. The first stage would then consist of the construction of a model of the illegitimate structure, in similar fashion to that employed in the legitimate. The second stage would consist of the analysis of the actual distribution of these means in the system. Finally, the individual's perceptions of access to this structure of means would be considered from the point of view of the "goodness of fit" between perception and actual distribution.

It is important to note that perhaps the most significant means to illegitimate opportunity is the presence of visible successful illegitimate "connections". The same may well be said for the legitimate structure which underlines the impact of the socio-economic status of the parents in the distribution of access to opportunity.

An alternative method has been proposed and tested by Richard Jessor (1968). In a study of extensive alcohol use, Jessor devised a scale, based on the work of Meier and Bell (1959) to measure differential access to legitimate opportunity. His scale "is based upon eight dichotomized indicators of access, including age, marital status, language spoken at home, present occupation of breadwinner, education, between generation mobility of breadwinner, religion and social participation." (1968:247 There is a similarity but not identity between this

scale and a socio-economic scale.

In his study, only excessive alcohol use was considered. Although his discussion of access to illegitimate means is narrow, his technique of operationalization may prove valuable.

Access was broken down into three components:

(a) opportunity to learn the behavior;

(b) opportunity to engage in the behavior;

(c) differential operation of sanctioning systems.

The first aspect was measured through a determination of access to deviant role models, particularly models from the immediate family. The second aspect was examined through an analysis of temporal and geographic facilitation of the deviant behavior. The measurement of the third aspect encompassed analysis of the degree of absence of traditional social controls on the individual, for example, group membership, church affiliation, marital ties, etc. These three indices were then combined to give a total score representative of access to the illegitimate means; which in this case were means to the "goal" of excessive alcohol use.

The operationalization of opportunity will then take the following form:

CONCEPT	DIMENSIONS	INDICATORS
Access to Legitimate Opportunity	1. Nature of the Means	(a) encompassed in the discussion in Part I

CONCEPT	DIMENSIONS	INDICATORS
	2. Model	(a) ranking, weighting and ordering of the means in order to obtain a model of the structure. This is done on the basis of study of career patterns of successful figures
	3. Access	(a) frequency distribution of the means in the population
	4. Perception of Access	(a) attitude questions (Landis et al)
	5. Goodness of Fit	
ALTERNATIVE METHOD		Jessor's Objective Access Scale
Access to Illegitimate Opportunity	1. Nature of the Means	(a) analysis of structure of means taken from material on successful criminals
	2. Model	(a) ranked, weighted and ordered structure of the means
	3. Access	(a) frequency distribution of access in the system
	4. Percpetion of Access to Opportunity	(a) attitude question (modifications of the Landis scale)
	5. Goodness of Fit	
ALTERNATIVE		Jessor's scheme modified for wider application.

This completes the guidelines for the operationalization of the central concepts involved in the theory. The nature of the data required concerning delinquency rates and the definition of neighborhood areas remains to be discussed.

DELINQUENCY RATES AND NEIGHBORHOOD AREAS

Inasmuch as the majority of activity discussed by this reformulation is not likely to result in arrest and conviction, official rates would be inadequate for testing hypotheses derived from the reformulation. It is suggested that a combination of self report data and participant observation may be the best method available for obtaining required information. Participant observation was a technique employed by the author in the initial stages of investigation and development of this paper and is recommended on the basis of fruitful experience as a valuable tool. It should be noted that many descriptive studies, some of which are quoted in the body of this thesis, are available for the purpose of testing. Such work should not be ignored in the interests of avoiding useless replication.

Neighborhood areas can be identified in a number of fashions, for example, through census divisions (Hackler: 1970) geographic divisions, both natural and artificial, (Jacobs: 1961) or through the perceptions of residents. (Whyte: 1957) A combination of many such methods would perhaps serve the purpose most successfully. Geographic areas would be utilized too with the "natural" areas as defined by the residents making the divisions more precise. Whyte (1957:365-386) provides valuable guidelines for the use of resident perceptions and interaction patterns in the definition of neighborhood areas which could be used to advantage. It can be assumed that the greater the ease which residents display in the identification of boundaries of the neighborhood, the greater the integration

of the community; this initial definition of the area could therefore serve as the basis for a discussion of integration.

EDITORIAL FOOTNOTES

[1] Attention here is concentrated at the level of the total society, later being translated into references to the community level.

[2] It has been demonstrated that with increasing industrial and urban development, this kind of diffuse shared family activity decreases, the family unit tends to become more specified and limited in function. Hence this adds support to the earlier allegation that integration as a general phenomena is decreasing in North America, with the initial decrease at the level of the family, later spreading to the level of the community.

[3] It is also logically possible that perceptions could not be based on the objective reality of the distributions, for example, in a system of crystallizing status, with lowering rates of mobility, a lag could be present in which expectations and perceptions of opportunity out-stripped the access to such. Similarly, in the reverse situation of increasing fluidity of stratification, an ethos of "defeatism" and perceived lack of opportunity could remain as an obstacle to the utilization of newly acquired life chances. This could in fact be one of the most important obstacles to any sort of economic and social development programs. In any case the theoretical implications of such situations remain to be elaborated and are beyond the scope of this work.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

It has been the fundamental assumption of this thesis that differential opportunity theory, subject to relatively minor modifications, may provide a more comprehensive explanation of the scope of delinquent behavior patterns. While Cloward and Ohlin have successfully inter-related the concepts of differential access to legitimate and illegitimate opportunity and integration in the context of the urban slum, their statement can only be regarded as a partial realization of the wider applications of these concepts. The major criticism of their theory has been that it does not account for the diversity found in delinquent patterns and therefore has not been supported by a substantial proportion of the "empirical" literature.

It is the contention of this thesis that Cloward and Ohlin have ignored the potential applications of their theory to situations different from that of the urban slum. It is suggested that the expansion of their theory through the elaboration of the concept of integration generates an explanation which resolves the problems contained within the criticisms of the original theory. Furthermore, a discussion of integration and its relationship with class structure and opportunity may enable us to explain all the various patterns of delinquency.

In the development of this argument, the thesis has followed the following steps. The intellectual genesis of

opportunity has been traced in order to indicate its derivation and the sources of its integration. A summary of Cloward and Ohlin's statement of their theory was presented together with the major criticisms which this statement provoked. Cognizant of these criticisms the thesis then defined the proposed re-formulation of opportunity theory. This reformulation was considered conceptually and illustrated through the device of a typology accompanied by appropriate descriptive case studies. The model presented to correspond to the North American situation considers patterns of the following types: criminal-conformist, traditional conformist, traditional criminal, isolated rural poverty, innovative utilitarian, innovative life style, conflict, immitative rural drawing from the literature where appropriate for collaborating evidence.

In order to avoid the criticism of the tautological or untestable nature of the concepts employed, the thesis dealt with suggestions for the operationalization of the concepts. Each dimension of the concepts was considered and where these were available, reliable measures already in use were suggested.

The reformation contained herein is proposed to serve as a model for empirical test. It is suggested that due to the comprehensive nature of this model, its rigorous application should serve to reduce the problems of contradictory research findings since such conflicts, it is contended, often result from the restricted perspective of the theoretical model employed. This model allows, in fact, demands consideration of adult behavior patterns acknowledging the impact of these on

the formation of adolescent modes of action. This consideration serves to place the adolescent in the perspective of his social setting and answers the criticisms which both Matza and Bordua have levelled against opportunity theory.

The model seems particularly appropriate for a community case study. The need for such research is particularly acute in the hitherto neglected rural and suburban settings. The findings of such research could well undermine the traditionally held assumptions concerning the supposed relatively high rates of lower class and urban delinquency.

The model's discussion of the innovative life style delinquency pattern has far reaching social implications for the whole conception of delinquency as a social problem. Inasmuch as this style of delinquency occurs in the advantaged areas, those areas with unrestricted access to legitimate opportunity, the assumptions that delinquency can be eradicated through programs which enhance such access is rendered problematic. Such areas have extremely restriced access to the illegitimate structure; therefore, the assumptions that delinqency can be prevented by "stamping out crime" or "doing away with bad influences" is rendered similarly problematic. In other words it can be assumed that even if it were possible to eradicate the illegitimate opportunity structure and to make legitimate opportunity universally accessible delinquent behavior patterns would still persist. This permanence of delinquency is underlined by the decreasing integration which has been shown to characterize contemporary society. If anything,

delinquency could be expected to increase as communities resembling the conformity model become more of a rarity.

One implication which can be derived is that the goals of intervention programs aimed at the delinquency problem should be re-considered. It should perhaps become the goal of such projects to alter the situations of the target populations in light of humanitarian concerns and with an ideal of a "tolerable" kind of delinquent pattern to be produced. A "tolerable" kind of delinquency would be, for example, one in which physical disability and/or permanent adult criminal patterns were not features. "Tolerable" delinquency would allow for innovative behavior with the potential benefits this could entail.

Another implication derived from this model is that much of the current intervention is probably misguided. Three notions contribute to this assertion. The first is the aforementioned ubiquity of delinquency. The second is the phenomenon of maturational reform - the fact that for the majority delinquency is a transitory experience abandoned with the approach of adulthood. Finally, labelling theory demonstrates the repercussions of the stigmatization of deviance even if this is done in the name of rehabilitation. It is often those delinquents who have the misfortune to be subject to some form of "treatment" who are then formally labelled as delinquents to follow the expected pattern of secondary deviance and remain trapped in the deviant role. Inasmuch as it seems to be the case that the delinquent will always be with us, perhaps the

most beneficial social response to the phenomena is one of a judicial closing of the eyes.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Angell; "Moral Integration of American Cities", American Journal of Sociology; 1957; Vol. 1, No. 2, p. 115.

Becker; The Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance; New York, Free Press; 1963.

Bell; "Crime as an American Way of Life", The Antioch Review, June, 1953; 13:131-154.

Bordua, D.J.; "Delinquent Sub-Cultures: Sociological Interpretations of Gange Delinquency", The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 338; Nov. 1961, pp. 120-136.

Chein, I.; Narcotics, Delinquency and Social Policy, London, Tavistock, 1964; pp. 177-192.

Cloward, R.A. and Ohlin, L.E.; Delinquency and Opportunity: A Theory of Delinquent Gangs, New York, Free Press; 1960.

Cohen, A.K.; Delinquent Boys, Glencoe, The Free Press; 1955, pp. 24-32.

Cohen, A.K.; Deviance and Control, New Jersey, Prentice Hall, 1966.

Cohen, A.K. and Short, J.F.; "Research in Delinquent Sub-Cultures", Journal of Social Issues, Vol. 14; 1968, pp. 20-37.

Empey and Ericson; "Delinquency Theory and Recent Research", Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, Vol. 4; January 1967; No. 1, p. 31.

Farina; Been Down So Long It Looks Like Up to Me, New York; Dell Publishing Co.; 1966.

Faris, R.E.; Social Disorganization, New York, Ronald Press Co.; 1955, Ch. 5; 6; 10.

Finestone, H.; "Cats, Kicks and Color", Social Problems, Vol. 5; pp. 3-13.

Folta and Deck; A Sociological Framework for Patient Care, New York, Wiley; 1966: Barth, Watson and Blanchard; "Norms and Social Relations: Some Problems of Parent Child Relations in Mass Society."

Gannon, T.M.; "Dimensions of Current Gang Delinquency", Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 1967; Vol. 4; No. 1, pp. 119-131.

Glaser; "Criminal Theories and Behavior Images", American Journal of Sociology, March 1956; Vol. 61; pp. 433-445.

Greer, S.; The Emerging City, New York, Free Press, 1968.

Hackler; Community Cohesiveness Study; Unpublished research, University of Alberta, 1970.

Hardman; "Historical Perspectives of Gang Research", Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency; Vol. 4, January 1967; No. 1, p. 27.

Hood, R. and Sparks, R.; Key Issues in Criminology, New York, World University Library, 1970, Ch. 3.

Jacobs, J.; The Death and Life of Great American Cities, New York; Vintage Books, 1961.

Kerouac; On the Road, New York, New American Library, 1957.

Klein, M.W. and Crawford, L.Y.; "Groups, Gangs and Cohesiveness", Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, Vol. 4; 1967, pp. 132-141.

Kobrin, S.; "The Conflict of Values in Delinquency Areas", American Sociological Review, October, 1951, Vol. 16, pp. 653-661.

Kobrin, Puntel and Peluso; "Criteria of Status Among Street Groups", Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 1967, Vol. 4; No. 1, pp. 98-118.

Landis, Dinitz and Reckless; "Implementing Two Theories of Delinquency: Value Orientations and Awareness of Limited Opportunity", Sociology and Social Research, 1963, Vol. 47, pp. 408-416.

Lefton, Skipper and McCaghey, Approaches to Deviance, New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1968. Jessor; "Toward a Social Psychology of Excessive Alcohol Use: A Preliminary Report from the Tri-Ethnic Project".

Luchterland and Weller; "Delinquency Theory and the Middle-Size City: A Study of Problem and Promising Youth", Sociological Quarterly, 1966, Vol. 7; No. 4, pp. 413-422.

Maccoby, Johnston and Church; "Community Integration and the Social Control of Juvenile Delinquency", Journal of Social Issues, Vol. 14; 1958, pp. 38-51.

Marris and Rein; Dilemmas in Social Reform, New York, Atherton Press; 1969.

Meier and Bell; "Anomia and Differential Access to the Achievement of Life Goals", American Sociological Review, April 1959; Vol. 24, No. 2, pp. 189-201.

Merton, R.K.; "Social Structure and Anomie", American Sociological Review, October 1938; Vol. 3, pp. 672-682.

Merton and Nisbet; Contemporary Social Problems, New York, Harcourt, Brace and World Inc., 1971: Coleman, J.S.; "Community Disorganization."

Miller, D.C.; Handbook of Research Design and Social Measurement, New York, David McKay Co. Inc., 1970.

Miller, W.B.; "Lower Class Culture as a Generating Milieu of Gang Delinquency", Journal of Social Issues, 1958, Vol. 14, pp. 5-19.

Mizruchi, E.H.; Success and Opportunity: A Study of Anomie, New York, Free Press, 1964.

Moynihan; Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding, New York, Free Press, 1969.

Nettler, G.; Explanations, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1970, pp. 168-169.

Porter; Vertical Mosaic, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1965.

Rivera and Short; "Significant Adults, Caretakers, Structures of Opportunity: An Exploratory Study", Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, Vol. 4, January 1967; No. 1, p. 97.

Salisbury, H.; The Shook-Up Generation, New York, Harper & Bros., 1958.

Selby, H.; Last Exit to Brooklyn, New York, Grove Press, 1967.

Short, J.F. and Strodtbeck; Group Proces and Gang Delinquency, Chicago, University Press, 1965.

Shulman; Juvenile Delinquency in American Society, New York, Harper & Bros., 1961.

Spergel, I.; Racketville, Slumtown and Haulberg, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1964.

Sutherland, E.H.; The Professional Thief, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1937.

Sutherland, E.H. and Cressey; Principles of Criminology, Chicago, J.B. Lippincott Co., 1955, Ch. 4.

Thrasher, F.W.; The Gang, Chicago, University Press, 1963.

Urquhart, C.; "The Graveyard Shift: A Participant Observation Study", Unpublished manuscript, University of Alberta, 1971.

Vaz.; Middle Class Delinquency, New York, Harper & Row, 1967: Westley and Elkin; "The Protective Environment and Adolescent Socialization."

Venezia; "Delinquency as a Function of Intra-Family Relationships", Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 1968, Vol. 5; No. 2, pp. 148-174.

Whyte, W.F.; Street Corner Society, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1943.

Whyte, W.H.; The Organization Man, New York, Doubleday Anchor Books, 1957.

Wolfe; The Pump House Gang, New York, Bantam Books, 1968(a).

Wolfe; Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test, New York, Bantam Books, 1968(b).

Wolfe, T.; Radical Chic and Mau Mauing the Flak Catchers, New York, Bantam Books, 1970; Part II.

Wolgang, Savitz and Johnston; The Sociology of Crime and Delinquency, New York, John Wiley and Sons; 1962.

Yablonsky; The Violent Gang, New York, MacMillan, 1966.