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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

A DYNAMIC THEORY OF OFFENDING BEHAVIOUR

BY

JOANNE MAH

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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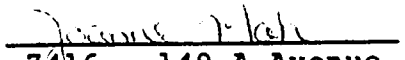

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled A DYNAMIC THEORY OF OFFENDING BEHAVIOUR submitted by JOANNE MAH in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of MASTER OF ARTS.

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AUGUST 31, 1993

ABSTRACT

While recent research underscores the importance of the "situation" for understanding behaviour, criminologists have generally devoted little attention to situational factors such as opportunity and target attractiveness. Instead, the emphasis has been placed on dispositional theories that focus on the offender's biological or psychological characteristics or on the offender's social background. Unfortunately, dispositional theories cannot account for why individuals with similar attributes or upbringing do not engage in offending behaviour. Also, such theories fail to explain why a particular crime is committed at a certain time against a specific victim.

In this thesis, an attempt is made to provide a theoretical account of offending behaviour that combines a dispositional theory with a situational theory. Specifically, a theoretical integration between power-control theory and the lifestyle/routine activities approach. A review of the theoretical and empirical research based on each of the perspectives is presented. Based on the literature review, it is suggested that integrating the two theories provides a more comprehensive explanation of offending behaviour as well as victimization.

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

RESEARCH TOPIC

Current theories of offending behaviour frequently locate the genesis of such behaviour in the characteristics or social background of the offender. In other words, the objective of these theories (whether biological, psychological or sociological in orientation) is to show that some individuals are born with, or come to acquire, a disposition for behaving in a criminal manner. However, dispositional theories of crime do not explain why other individuals that possess similar characteristics or a similar upbringing do not engage in offending behaviour. In addition, these theories cannot adequately account for why an offender commits a particular crime in a certain situation against a specific victim (Cullen, 1984; Fattah, 1991).

The deficiencies in theories of offending behaviour is due to the lack of recognition given to the crucial role played by situational factors (e. g., opportunity, target suitability, etc...) in the etiology of crime. Situational factors shape and determine the offender's behaviour in a particular situation (Clarke, 1980; Cohen and Felson, 1979; Cullen, 1984; Hindelang, Gottfredson, and Garofalo, 1978; LaFree and Birkbeck; 1991). As Fattah(1991: 84) points out:

> The commission of a crime is the outcome

> of a process where many factors are at work. In most cases, crime is not an action but a reaction (or overreaction) to external and environmental stimuli.

Since offending behaviour is a reaction to environmental stimuli, it is impossible to understand such behaviour without also examining the environmental stimuli. Obviously, one of the most significant elements of the environment and the situation that influences the behaviour of the offender is the victim. The victim's characteristics and behaviour in a particular situation will no doubt affect the offender's behaviour. The fact that the probability of being a victim of crime is not evenly distributed throughout the general population suggests that offenders do not choose their victims without some consideration. Consequently, offending behaviour should not be viewed as a unilateral action but instead as the product of a dynamic interaction where "the offender, the act, and the victim are inseparable elements of a total situation that leads to the crime" (Fattah, 1991: 84).

THESIS OUTLINE

Unfortunately, there have been few theoretical endeavors that have provided a model for adequately examining offending behaviour as the outcome of the interaction among the offender and situational factors. The following is an attempt at a comprehensive model

which examines the dynamic relationship between offending behaviour and situational factors.

Since gender is the most persistent and prominent correlate of offending behaviour and victimization, an adequate theory should be able to explain why males commit more crimes and are criminally victimized more often than females. However, theories of criminal behaviour seldom explicitly incorporate gender into their explanations. For this reason, Chapter Two will examine criminal behaviour in terms of power-control theory. The theory is one of the few explanations that has explicitly examined gender differences in offending behaviour. Following an elaborate description of the theory, a review of the theoretical and empirical work based on the theory will be initiated. Based on the critique of the work, an evaluation of power-control theory as an explanation of offending behaviour will be made.

Chapter Three will be devoted to examining situational factors in terms of the lifestyle/routine activities perspective. This chapter will feature a detailed discussion of the perspective including a review of the theoretical and empirical research based on the perspective. The review of the research will serve as the basis for an assessment of the approach as an explanation of victimization.

Chapter Four consists of the theoretical integration of power-control theory and the lifestyle/routine activities perspective. Assuming the compatibility of the frameworks, a more elaborately specified explanation of offending behaviour will be suggested. The explanatory capability of the integrated theory will then be demonstrated through an application of the theory.

Chapter Five contains an evaluation of the strengths and weaknesses of the integrated theory. In addition to the assessment of the integrated theory for explaining offending behaviour, the possible avenues for future research will also be discussed.

CHAPTER 2 POWER-CONTROL THEORY

INTRODUCTION

A considerable body of research exists comparing the substantial differences in male and female delinquency rates (Cernkovich and Giordano, 1979; Jensen and Eve, 1976; Smith and Paternoster, 1987). In an attempt to explain the greater involvement of males in delinquency, Hagan, Gillis and Simpson (1979, 1985, 1987) developed power-control theory.

Power-control theory is an attempt to integrate two theoretical traditions in criminology, namely the macro structural dimension (the power side) and the micro structural dimension (the control side). Power theories focus on the relations of dominance that derive from unequal access to resources; control theories deal with why people do not engage in rule breaking.

The power-control theory of common delinquency claims that gender variations in parental control are connected to the relative economic position of parents, and that these variations influence the delinquent involvement of children (Hagan et al., 1987: 791-793). The link between the micro and the macro dimension is based on the "parent's social reproduction of their own power relationships through the control of their children"(Hagan et al., 1987: 792).

In order to gain a clearer understanding of power-control theory, the main arguments of the theory will be reviewed. After the review, a critique of the theory examines the theoretical issues and empirical evidence associated with the theory. Based on the critique, the strengths and weaknesses of power-control theory as an explanation of delinquency will be assessed.

POWER-CONTROL THEORY

I. Family Class Relations and Domestic Social Control

Power-control theory begins by elaborating on an observation by Max Weber. Weber (cf. Hagan et al., 1985) believed that two distinct social spheres result from the separation of home and work in developed industrial capitalist economies. The first sphere focuses on "labour power and direct production" and is populated by men. The second sphere focuses on "domestic labour and consumption" and is populated by women. For example, since the criminal justice system and other formal control agencies are concentrated within a public sphere of production, these structures have predominately dealt with the control of men's behaviour rather than women's behaviour. In contrast, the family and the household are characterized by informal control processes in which women tend to be more involved in than men (Hagan et al., 1979).

Today, given the decline of the gender division between the consumption and production spheres, represented by the increased participation of women in the labour force, there are more variations in family structure. According to Hagan et al.,(1987) contemporary family structures vary between two ideal types: patriarchal and egalitarian. The "patriarchal" family consists of a husband who occupies a position of authority outside of the home and a wife not employed outside of the home. In the "egalitarian" family form, both the husband and the wife are employed in authority positions outside of the home. Thus, in a patriarchal family structure, the consumption and production spheres are separate and distinct; whereas in an egalitarian family structure, the two spheres overlap.

II. Parental Power Relationships and Parental Control

According to Hagan et al.,(1979, 1987) the gender division in the consumption and production sphere is socially reproduced by an instrument-object relationship. Historically, men were the instruments and objects of formal social control, while women were the instruments and objects of informal social control. The result of social control stratification is that mothers assume responsibility for the control of children since the family is a socialization agency. The family provides the

principal means of reproducing gender division across generations.

In the patriarchal family, fathers and particularly mothers(i.e., as the instruments of social control) are expected to exercise more control over daughters than sons(i.e., as the objects of social control). This imbalanced instrument-object relationship is a result of the division in domestic social control labour and is a distinguishing characteristic in patriarchal families (Hagan et al., 1987: 792). In the egalitarian family, there is a tendency to reproduce the overlap between the production and consumption spheres. Parents in the egalitarian family tend to redistribute control efforts to make daughters subject to controls typical of sons. Since mothers are employed outside of the home, they gain power in the sphere of production. As a result, daughters gain freedom relative to sons in the home. Thus, "in terms of social reproduction, the imbalanced instrument-object relationship helps to perpetuate patriarchy and its absence facilitates equality" (Hagan et al., 1987: 792-793).

III. Parental Control and Delinquency

The ultimate dependent variable of Hagan et al.'s version of power-control theory is common delinquency (i.e., minor forms of theft and aggression). Hagan et

al.(1979) claim that "delinquency involves a spirit of liberation, the opportunity to take risks, and a chance to pursue publicly some of the pleasures that are symbolic of adult...status outside of the family" (p. 29). Parental control patterns are linked to common delinquency by a sexually stratified socialization process of risk taking. Power-control theory postulates that children's attitudes toward risk taking are distributed across gender by patterns of familial class relations or more specifically, by the acuteness of the imbalanced instrument-object relationship within the family" (Hagan et al., 1987: 793).

A patriarchal family structure, where mothers are the primary instruments of social control and daughters are the objects of this social control, the family is characterized by acutely imbalanced relationships. Female socialization encourages passivity. "Risk taking is the antithesis of the passivity that distinguishes the cult of domesticity" (Hagan et al., 1987: 793). As a result, daughters are taught to avoid risks, which is in line with their future domestic role in the consumption sphere.

In an egalitarian family, there is a balanced instrument-object relationship (i.e., both parents are employed outside the home and control their sons and

daughters to a similar degree) which means that daughters and sons are both encouraged to be more open to risk taking.

> In part, this accommodation of risk is in anticipation of its role in the entrepreneurial and other activities associated with the production sphere, for which daughters and sons are similarly prepared in egalitarian families. (Hagan et al., 1987: 793)

Essentially, power-control theory predicts that the greater the degree of parental control, the greater the aversion to risk and perception of sanctions associated with risk taking, the lower the likelihood of engaging in common delinquency. As a result, patriarchal families should be characterized by the largest gender differences in delinquency, whereas egalitarian families should be characterized by the smallest gender differences.

IV. Further Developments in Power-Control Theory

A. Class Relations

Since its initial formulation, power-control theory has been elaborated in two important directions. The first direction relates to the development of more explicit theoretical linkages between family and class relations. Hagan et al.(1985) approach class from a Marxian perspective. Hagan et al. conceptualize class in terms of the degree to which people have control over the means of production, control over the work of others, and their relationship to labour power. There are four class

positions: employers, managers, workers and unemployed workers. "Employers" are all owners of the means of production, in control of employees, and are buyers of labour power. "Managers" consist of nonowners of the means of production. They are in control of subordinates and are sellers of labour. "Workers" are nonowners of the means of production, they exercise no control over others at work and are sellers of labour. The "unemployed class" of workers are nonowners of the means of production, have no control over other workers and are unable to sell their labour.

Power-control theory maintains that children whose parents are at the top of the class structure (i.e., the employer class) are more likely to engage in common delinquency than children whose parents are in subordinate positions because they are controlled less by their mothers and are less likely to perceive the risks of being punished for their behavior (Hagan et al., 1985: 1173). Hagan et al. base their assumption on the belief that "power has an intoxifying effect, such that holders of power come to see themselves as above (i.e., free of) the moral and legal precepts that control ordinary persons" (1985: 1155).

In an effort to apply power-control theory more specifically to female delinquency, Hagan et al.(1987)

incorporate the type of household into the class analysis of delinquency developed in their 1985 article. In their 1987 article, Hagan et al. focus on the relational position of husbands and wives and female-headed households. This conceptualization divides families into "patriarchal" and "egalitarian" structures. The prediction across types of family structures is that female rates for common delinquency will increase and become more equal to the rate of male delinquency within egalitarian families. In female-headed households, the female delinquency rate is hypothesized to approach the rate for males because females are freer to deviate because there is no power imbalance between parents (p. 793).

This model of family class relations further distinguishes between the "command" class and the "obey" class (refer to Table 1). The "command" class consists of members that exercise authority themselves. In contrast, members of the "obey" class exercise no authority and are subject to the authority of others. Thus, the "command" class is composed of employers and managers and the "obey" class is composed of employees and the unemployed class (Hagan et al., 1987: 795). When both the mother and the father have authority in the workplace, the family is in the upper-command class. The

Table 1. Dahrendorfian Model of Family Class Relations

Wife's Authority in Workplace	Husband's Authority in Workplace: Has Authority	Husband's Authority in Workplace: Has No Authority
Has Authority	Upper Command Class: Husband and Wife in Command Class (a)	Husband in Obey Class and Wife in Command Class (b)
Has No Authority	Husband in Command Class and Wife in Obey Class (b)	Upper Obey Class: Husband and Wife in Obey Class (a)
Not Employed	Husband in Command Class and Wife Not Employed (b)	Lower Obey Class: Husband In Obey Class Wife Not Employed(a)

(a) Balanced class relation
(b) Unbalanced class relation

Source: Hagan et al., 1987: 796.

large gender differences in delinquency" (Hagan et al., 1987: 798). In contrast, gender differences in delinquency rates are greatest in patriarchal families because the instrument-object relationship between parents and daughters and the gender differences between daughters and sons in risk preferences are the most apparent.

B. Instrumental and Relational Controls

The second development in power-control theory involves attempts to clarify questions regarding the content of familial control (Hagan, Simpson, and Gillis, 1988). In the initial formulation of power-control theory, Hagan et al.(1979) dealt primarily with instrumental controls. Instrumental controls are concerned with dimensions of surveillance and supervision (Hagan et al., 1988: 307). However, based on research from a feminist perspective, it is apparent that the content of familial control does not consist solely of surveillance and supervision. In addition to instrumental controls, familial control also consists of relational controls. Relational controls reflect dimensions that involve "shared intimacy, mutual understanding, caring and other kinds of interpersonal affect" (Hagan, 1989: 236). According to Hagan et al.(1988) relational processes are more characteristic of women than men. By

incorporating relational controls into the power-control framework, the theory contends that

> mothers in patriarchal families are assigned roles in controlling daughters, relationally and consequently instrumentally, more than sons, and that this leads daughters to prefer risk taking less than do sons. Therefore daughters in such families engage in less delinquency than do sons. (Hagan et al., 1988: 301)

LITERATURE REVIEW OF POWER-CONTROL THEORY

I. Macro-level and Micro-level Links

The key premise that links the macro and micro dimensions of power-control theory together is the assumption that"authority in the workplace translates into power in the household" (Hagan et al., 1987: 798). In the patriarchal family, there is a perpetuation of the gender division in the consumption and production spheres. However, with the increased participation of women in the labour force, women gain power in the family. As a result, the family structure becomes more egalitarian because there is an overlapping of the two spheres. Thus, "in egalitarian families, as mothers gain power relative to husbands, daughters gain freedom relative to sons" (Hagan et al., 1987: 792).

In addition, class is predicted to be positively related to delinquency because children from the command classes are hypothesized to have the power to deviate, are freer from formal and informal controls, and are more

likely to take risks than children in the obey classes. Is this link between the macro-level and the micro-level a valid assumption?

A. Theoretical Issues

As formulated, it is apparent that power-control theory accepts a general liberation theory of female delinquency. Briefly, liberation theory argues that "as women increase their participation in the labour force their opportunity to commit...crime also increases" (Simon, 1975: 40). Power-control theory's emphasis on a connection between mother's employment and female delinquency establishes a possible variation on the liberation hypothesis. In this variation, a mother's employment is presumed to lead to the daughter's criminal behaviour, if not her own. Given power-control theory's reliance on the liberation argument, it is not surprising that both theories can be criticized for relying too heavily on the women's movement as the cause of increases in the rate of female delinquency.

Simpson(1989: 611) argues that because "the liberation thesis is so limited, it divert[s] attention from the . . . structural forces that shape women's lives and experiences." For example, cultural definitions define appropriate roles for women, economic forces impose limitations on women's work and, legal constraints

define and limit women's rights and freedoms. Theoretically, it is evident that other factors, besides the women's movement must be considered if an adequate understanding of the causes of female delinquency is to be achieved.

Also, Jensen (1993) maintains that power-control theory must conceptualize and operationalize "power" as distinct from the absence of control. Since social control theories use the absence of control to explain delinquency, Hagan et al.(1985, 1987) must demonstrate that the "presence of power has an impact on delinquency independent of the absence of control" (Jensen, 1993: 364).

However, Jensen points out that Hagan et al. fail to distinguish power from control. Hagan et al.(1985, 1987) measure the occupational power of parents in terms of the freedom from control by others and the ability to control others. Children in command class families are subject to fewer controls and are socialized to engage in risk taking and perceive lower risks of punishment. But, in the extension of the theory to children, the focus is on freedom from control rather than the reproduction of power relationships. Although it is assumed that parents' command status at work is reproduced in control relationships between parents, why is the relationship

not reproduced between the parent and child? In other words, "if father or mother has power (i. e., control others) at work, why is it not reproduced in greater control of children (i. e., power rather than control?)" (Jensen, 1993: 368).

B. Empirical Evidence

Assessments of official and self-report data of crime and delinquency support the contention that female involvement has increased in some ways over the last twenty years (Adler, 1975; Steffensmeier and Steffensmeier, 1980). However, the increase occurred mostly before the 1970s, when the effects of the movement would not have been at its peak and levelled off in subsequent years, when the impact of the movement would be expected to gain momentum (Box and Hale, 1984; Steffensmeier and Steffensmeier, 1980). Indeed, during the last decade when both women's labour force participation accelerated and the number of female-headed households increased, aggregate female delinquency either declined or remained stable (Berger, 1991; Chilton and Datesman, 1987). In addition, Simon(1975) reports that the significant increases that occurred in female crime were in nonviolent property offenses such as larceny, fraud, and check forgery. Simon argues that these increases are not indicative of a change in the nature of

female lawbreaking. Rather, the rise in divorce rates, number of female households, and females on welfare or employed in low-paying jobs provide the incentive and/or opportunity for females to commit these non-violent offenses.

Also, in order to attribute the increase in female crime and delinquency to the women's movement, the relationship between liberated attitudes toward the feminine role and female criminality should be established. However, empirical evidence does not establish the connection. For example, Giordano and Cernkovich(1979) report that girls who hold traditional female sex role attitudes are actually more delinquent than girls who expressed liberated attitudes towards gender roles in the family and occupational sector. In fact, Balkan and Berger(1979: 224) argue that liberated attitudes and involvement in the women's movement may increase females' ability "to express their grievances against oppressive economic, political and social conditions in constructive ways."

Focusing on the link between the macro and micro dimensions, the empirical evidence does not support power-control theory's contention that in egalitarian families, there is an overlapping of the spheres of production and consumption. Research indicates that

although employed wives spend fewer hours on housework than full-time homemakers, their husbands' contributions do not increase significantly (Berardo, Shehan and Leslie, 1987; Johnson and Firebaugh, 1985; Shelton, 1990). Also, the research suggests that egalitarian marriages tend to become more traditional in terms of the division of labour once children are born (Cox, 1985). As a result, it appears that traditional gender roles still prevail across the continuum of family types. One possible explanation for the continued existence of traditional gender roles could be that the greater parental control of daughters is a means of limiting their sexual behaviour. There is support for the argument that girls are controlled to a greater extent than boys when examining the literature on sexual vulnerability (Burt and Estep, 1981; Riger et al., 1978; Warr, 1984, 1985). Regardless of class and family type, the parental motivation of limiting the sexual behaviour of daughters offers a competing explanation for the greater control of daughters.

Finally, in an attempt to replicate Hagan et al.'s(1985, 1987) findings of a positive relationship between class and delinquency, Jensen and Thompson(1990) analyzed three U.S. surveys conducted between 1964 and 1979. Jensen and Thompson did not find the same patterns

reported by Hagan et al. in either the class-delinquency relationship or the interaction between gender and class.

Furthermore, Singer and Levine(1987) measuring class in the same way as power-control theory, fail to find a significant positive relationship between class and delinquency and indicate opposite class-gender interactions. In addition, employing a similar neo-Marxist framework, Colvin and Pauly(1983) find that obey classes have higher delinquency rates than children in the command classes. Consequently, the evidence suggests that power-control theory must demonstrate more convincingly that "power and control are structured at the macro level by class as predicted and that structural variables affect delinquency through supervision and risk" (Jensen and Thompson, 1990: 1021).

Thus, the research literature suggests that even with the migration of women into the production sphere, traditional gender roles have not changed significantly. Since gender roles have not changed, it is debatable whether "authority in the workplace translates into power in the household" (Hagan et al., 1987: 798).

II. Opportunity

Whether delinquent offenders engage in theft, vandalism or assault, they are motivated by the reasoned belief that "delinquency involves a spirit of liberation,

[and] the opportunity to take risks" (Hagan et al., 1979: 29). Basically, for Hagan et al. adolescents are motivated to engage in delinquency because it "is fun" (p. 29). Although Hagan et al. may be able to account for motivation, they do not adequately account for "the opportunity to take risks." The motivation for becoming delinquent is distinct from the actual opportunities available for engaging in delinquency.

A. Theoretical Issues

In his theory of illegitimate means, Cloward(1959) argues that just as access to success goals by legitimate means is limited, access to illegitimate means is also limited. For example, access to the appropriate learning environments such as colleges or teachers of criminal values and skills is not available to everyone. In addition, even having acquired the formal training necessary is not sufficient for success because other forces intervene which determine who succeeds and fails in the legitimate or illegitimate occupational structure. Success also requires the availability of appropriate opportunities to perform the occupational role. As a result, Cloward argues that the means, as well as opportunity is socially structured. For instance, a person's class, gender, race, neighbourhood conditions, etc. . . determines not only whether one is more likely

to become involved and successful in a conventional occupational role, but also involvement and success in an illegitimate occupational role. Thus, in order to engage in any form of deviance, there must be

> Appropriate learning environments for the acquisition of the values and skills associated with the performance of a particular role; and second, that the individual has opportunities to discharge the role once he has been prepared. (p. 168)

In other words, even if the adolescent is free from parental control, enjoys risk taking and perceives little risk of getting caught, they are unlikely to engage in common delinquent acts if the opportunities to do so are not present. Thus, power-control theory needs to give more attention to how the availability of opportunities to engage in delinquency is structured by factors other than class (Jensen and Thompson, 1990).

B. Empirical Evidence

As discussed earlier, increases in female crime are accounted for almost entirely by rising female arrest rates for petty property offenses such as shoplifting, check and credit card fraud. Besides the increased participation of women in the workforce, Steffensmeier and Allan(1988) suggest that the increases in female crime rates can be attributed to greater economic pressures facing women, to more opportunities for

shoplifting created by the rise of retail marketing, and to the expansion of consumer credit and governmental welfare fraud.

Drawing on the distinction made between the production and consumption spheres, power-control theory could argue that the petty property offenses that women tend to engage in represents an extension of the female role as consumer (Messerschmidt, 1986). Since girls go shopping more than boys, it is not surprising to discover that when there are more opportunities available for petty property crimes, the female crime rate increases.

Thus, by including the opportunity structures, it appears that power-control theory better explains female delinquency. Not only can power-control theory better account for motivation, but the theory can also account for the form of the resulting behaviour.

III. Social Bonds

In their later work on power-control theory, Hagan et al.(1988) extend the theory by incorporating the concept of relational controls. Relational controls are based on themes of affiliation, connection and caring; whereas instrumental controls focus on dimensions of supervision and monitoring (pp. 304-305). Briefly, power-control theory postulates that mothers in patriarchal families control their daughters relationally and

instrumentally more than sons. As a result, daughters prefer risk taking less and perceive a greater risk of getting caught; consequently they engage in delinquency less than sons.

Although Hagan et al. deal with relational and instrumental controls, it is important to note that they omit other dimensions of control relevant to other control theories(e.g., Hirschi, 1969; Reckless, 1967) without explanation. For example, Hirschi(1969) conceptualized four elements in the social bond which ties a person to society. "Attachment" refers to the psychological and emotional connection a person feels for others. Attachment encompasses the development of a conscience, the internalization of social norms and notions of discipline and supervision. "Commitment" is the result of a cost-benefit analysis to delinquency. It involves the time, effort, money and status expended and accumulated in terms of conformity versus the costs of engaging in unconventional behaviour. "Involvement" refers to the time and energy dimension of the bond. Since there are limits on time and energy, involvement in conventional activities acts as a constraint on delinquent behaviour. The final element, "belief" refers to one's acceptance of the moral validity of the social rules and norms of the conventional system.

Instrumental and relational controls as defined by Hagan et al. appear to be encompassed by the attachment dimension in Hirschi's conceptualization of the social bond. What about the other dimensions of the social bond?

A. Theoretical Issues

According to Jensen(1993), the omission of variables such as "commitment" and "belief" is unjustified. It is not inconsistent with a Marxist perspective to argue that "youth are part of a surplus labour force that is controlled to some degree by the promise of better things to come " (Jensen, 1993: 372). For example, youths that pursue an education will be more likely to find economic success. Thus, it is generally assumed that commitment and belief in conventional goals inhibits crime and delinquency. However, Jensen contends that these arguments implicitly assume that there is a negative relationship between class and delinquency, and for that reason may explain why they have been excluded from power-control theory.

Although power-control theory is partially based on control theory (Hirschi, 1969), it should be noted that the theories have a different view of the delinquent. Hagan et al.(1979: 29) suggests that

> it is useful to regard criminal and delinquent behavior as pleasurable, if not liberating. . . . [D]elinquency is

> fun - and even more importantly, a type of fun infrequently allowed to females.

Whereas Hirschi's(1969) delinquents are emotionally immature and indifferent to others, Hagan et al.'s (1979: 29) delinquency "involves a spirit of liberation, the opportunity to take risks, and a chance to pursue publicly some of the pleasures that are symbolic of adult male status outside the family." Delinquency is equated with independence and assertiveness.

According to Hagan et al.(1979), the conforming female is passive, dependent, compliant, controlled, and risk-avoiding. However, Hirschi's (1969) formulation of the conformist is one of a rational and responsible agent capable of evaluating the costs and benefits of engaging in delinquency. Thus, Naffine(1987: 75) argues that

> If the male who is found to be committed to conventional activities and persons as depicted by Hirschi in terms of his rationality and calculation when it comes to the decision to obey the law, why should not the conforming female who displays similar conventional associations be depicted in like manner?

In addition, by not examining other dimensions of control, power-control theory does not sufficiently recognize that adolescents are faced with conflicting values in society. As adolescents spend more time away from the family and they interact with other people and institutions, it is questionable whether parental controls can adequately explain the taste for risk

taking, the perception of the risk of getting caught and the subsequent involvement in delinquency.

According to Thornberry(1987), adolescents should not be seen as being propelled along a unidirectional path between delinquency or conformity. Delinquent behaviour should be considered an interactive process that develops over the individual's life cycle.

> During early adolescence, the family is the most influential factor in bonding the youth to conventional society and reducing delinquency. As the youth matures and moves through middle adolescence, the world of friends, school and youth culture becomes the dominant influence over behavior. Finally, as the person enters adulthood, new variables, especially commitment to conventional activities and to family, offer a number of new avenues to reshape the person's bond to society and involvement with delinquency. (p. 886)

Based on Thornberry's argument, if Hagan et al.(1988) are examining a sample in early adolescence, they may be correct in their assumption that parental controls determine the taste for risk, the perception of the risk of getting caught and delinquency involvement. However, Hagan et al. do not indicate the age group of the sample, except to state that the data was "collected in seven secondary schools" (1988: 31). If the sample contains any adolescents in middle or late adolescence, power-control theory cannot adequately explain subsequent behaviour because the theory does not acknowledge the

variables that have the most influence in these age groups.

B. Empirical Evidence

Hill and Atkinson(1988) examined a portion of power-control theory in an effort to specify the types of familial control exercised relative to males and females. Parental support is measured by indications of the adolescent's relationship with their parents. Appearance and curfew rules refer to parental expectations with regards to the adolescent's personal appearance and curfew schedule. Hill and Atkinson conclude that parental support is inversely related to delinquency among males, while maternal support inhibits female delinquency. Also, parental support is more strongly associated with delinquency (i.e.,inversely) than is either set of rules. Thus, the researchers suggest that males and females are equally the instruments and objects of informal familial control. Rather, it is the type of familial control that is gender stratified (1988: 143-144).

Although Hill and Atkinson's results are consistent with the Hagan et al.(1988) reformulation of power-control theory, it should be noted that Hill and Atkinson report that the

> low overall explained variance of the model suggests that other dimensions of

> informal social control (e.g., peer relationships) may be more important to an understanding of patterns of both delinquency and formal social control than familial control"(1988: 144).

Furthermore, the empirical evidence suggests that the effect of the social bond on delinquency is age specific. Some research concludes that the processes hypothesized by Hirschi(1969) are more applicable to adolescents in their middle teens (i.e., age 15) than to younger or older youths, (LaGrange and White, 1985) while other studies suggest that the strength of the bond is greater among younger adolescents and for less serious offenders (Agnew, 1985; Massey and Krohn, 1980). In addition, other research concludes that the influence of the social bond on delinquency varies with age. Shoemaker and Gardner(1988) report that family variables are more significant among younger adolescents, while school variables are more important with those in middle adolescents. For older youths, conventional beliefs assume a greater role in preventing delinquent behaviour.

Given the theoretical and empirical research, it is obvious that power-control theory needs to consider other dimensions of social control. The explanatory capability of the theory could be extended if it could explain how different degrees and types of parental control affect one's relationship with other dimensions of social

control, such as the peer group, the school system and the criminal justice system.

IV. The Influence of Peer Groups

It is noteworthy that Hagan et al.(1985, 1987) fail to consider the influence of peers in the power-control framework except to state that:

> It is [our] hypothesis that peer groups, and later work groups, help to extend patterns established in childhood socialization. Thus, male peer groups may continue to encourage and facilitate independence, assertiveness, and aggressiveness among their members. Within this context, the male delinquent peer group may not stand so much as an alien subculture in society, but rather as an exaggerated reflection, or even a caricature of the male sex role and its emphases. . . . Notwithstanding the recent efforts of feminist groups, many female peer groups probably still reinforce dependence, compliance, and passivity among their members. From our perspective, male and female peer groupings are simply elaborating patterns made possible by the sexually stratified control system of the family. (Hagan et al., 1979: 35)

A. Theoretical Issues

If Hagan et al. are correct in their assumption about the influence of peer groups, it is important to include the variable in future elaborations. There is considerable support in the delinquency literature for the link between gender and delinquency (Cerkovich and Giordano, 1979; Jensen and Eve, 1976; Smith and Paternoster, 1987) and the relationship between peer groups and delinquency (Brownfield and Thompson, 1991;

Morash, 1986; Conger, 1976). By including the effect of peer associations in their analysis, one assumes that the explanatory power of their theory would be increased. Peer groupings are encouraging the continuation of the gender-based system of sexual stratification that characterizes delinquency.

Hagan et al.'s argument appears to support the reasoning put forward by social learning theory. Social learning theory is summarized as follows:

> Social behavior is learned by conditioning, primarily instrumental or operant, in which behavior is shaped by the stimuli that follow or are consequences of the behavior and by imitation or modeling of others' behavior. Behavior is strengthened by reward (positive reinforcement) and avoidance of punishment (negative reinforcement) or weakened (punished) by aversive stimuli (negative punishment). Whether deviant or conforming behavior persists depends on the past and present rewards and punishments attached to alternative behavior - differential reinforcement. (Akers, 1985: 57).

It should be pointed out that Hagan et al. themselves incorporate the language of socialization into their theory.

" . . . In patriarchal families daughters are taught by their parents to be risk averse. Alternatively, in egalitarian families, daughters and sons alike are encouraged to be more open to risk taking" (1987: 793).

Social learning theory postulates that the most important individuals and groups controlling rewards and

punishments during adolescence are the family, the peer group and the school (Elliott et al., 1985; Thornberry, 1987). It is the attitudes, motives and rationalizations observed and learned in primary groups that are crucial in the generation of delinquency or conformity during adolescence. However, in large part, neither the family nor school is considered to be a deviant learning environment since both are regarded as conventional in orientation (Hirschi, 1969; Kornhauser, 1978; Elliott et al., 1985). Thus, Thornberry concludes that "the most salient variables in the production of delinquency are likely to be external to the home, associated with the youth's activities in school and peer networks" (1987: 878-879). Although there are differences between power-control theory and social learning theory, both theories appear to agree that in order for delinquency to occur, the must be "some exposure to delinquent behavior patterns and some social reinforcements for these behaviors, [otherwise] delinquent acts are unlikely to be initiated and even less likely to be maintained over time" (Elliott et al., 1985: 35).

B. Empirical Evidence

Social learning theory implies that involvement with delinquent peers increases the likelihood of engaging in delinquent behaviour (Akers, Krohn, Lanza-Kaduce and

Radosevich, 1979). In contrast, control theory argues that delinquent adolescents have less intense relationships with peers and are less likely to be attached to their peers (Hirschi, 1969). As a result, there is an inverse relationship between peer group associations (i.e., low peer group involvement) and delinquency.

Empirically, the research literature supports a positive correlation between peer associations and delinquent behaviour. Delinquency is more common among those adolescents that report friendships with other delinquent, or unconventional peers. However, as postulated by control theory, peer associations with more conformist or conventional peers is correlated with lower levels of involvement in delinquency (Elliott et al., 1985; Gardner and Shoemaker, 1989; Hindelang, 1973; Linden and Fillmore, 1981; Matsueda and Heimer, 1987; Patterson and Dishion, 1985; Thompson, Mitchell and Dodder, 1984).

Furthermore, there is evidence that suggests that delinquents and conformists have similar types of friendship patterns. Giordano, Cernkovich and Pugh(1986) report little difference in terms of caring, trust and length of friendship across levels of delinquency involvement. Thus, while the normative content of peer

interaction may be different between delinquents and conformists, the patterns of friendship groupings are quite similar.

Finally, Singer and Levine(1988), attempt a partial replication of Hagan et al.'s (1985, 1987) power-control theory incorporating the influence of peers. Measures of family structure, orientation towards risk taking and delinquency are similar to those used by Hagan et al., except the influence of peers is measured by taking into consideration the "taste for group risk" within the taste for risk variable. Singer and Levine find support for many of the predictions of power-control theory. Girls are subject to more control than boys, maternal control is more pronounced with girls than boys and boys prefer risk taking more and perceive less risk compared to girls (1988: 635). However, Singer and Levine report a number of results that contradict Hagan et al.'s findings. Although power-control theory assumes that in the egalitarian family the gender difference in delinquency rates would be smaller than the difference in the patriarchal family, Singer and Levine find the opposite. The gender difference in delinquency rates is larger in the egalitarian family than in the patriarchal family. Also, Singer and Levine find that boys in egalitarian households are more delinquent than girls. Finally, the

researchers report that girls in patriarchal households were more delinquent than expected.

In general, the study by Singer and Levine provides mixed support for power-control theory. The discrepancy between the findings of Singer and Levine and Hagan et al. is accounted for by the measure of willingness to engage in group risks. The variable "suppresses some of the relationship between gender and delinquency in the [patriarchal] families, and it mediates much of the relationship between gender and delinquency in [egalitarian] families" (Singer and Levine, 1988: 643). Hagan et al.(1979: 35) may be able to attribute the greater than expected delinquency of boys in egalitarian families to "patterns made possible by the sexually stratified control system of the family," but would appear to have difficulty explaining why girls in unbalanced families are more delinquent than expected. Where do girls in patriarchal families acquire the taste for risk taking?

Based on the Singer and Levine(1988) study, it is apparent that peers do have an influence on the relationship between gender and delinquency. Although Singer and Levine have already examined the effect of peers, their analysis did not treat the influence of peers as a distinct variable. Instead, they treat the

effect of peers as an indicator of the respondent's taste for risk taking. However, in order to assign any explanatory power to peers, the variable needs to be included within the power-control framework.

CONCLUSION

Based on the assessments of the theoretical issues and the empirical evidence with respect to power-control theory, it is evident that the theory is an imperfect explanation of delinquency. Specifically, the theory requires elaboration of the macro-micro link, the role of the opportunity structure, the influence of social bonds and peer associations. However, in order to improve the predictive ability of power-control theory, it is necessary to integrate the theory with an approach that not only encompasses the areas but also is compatible with the framework. The approach that will hopefully accomplish both tasks is the lifestyle/routine activities approach. Thus, the next chapter will focus on the lifestyle/routine activities approach examining its theoretical basis and empirical support.

CHAPTER 3 LIFESTYLE/ROUTINE ACTIVITIES THEORY

INTRODUCTION

For decades, the study of crime has focused disproportionately on explaining individual criminal motivation. An important recent development in criminology has been the development of the criminal opportunity perspective. While alternatively described as lifestyle or routine activities, both of these theories focus their attention on the victims of crime (Hindelang, et al., 1978; Cohen and Felson, 1979). The perspective presumes that the habits, lifestyles and behavioural patterns of potential victims of crime determines their likelihood of contact with potential offenders and consequently increases their chances of being victimized. In other words, the approach emphasizes the importance of the behaviour of people in predicting victimization risk. What people do and how they behave places them at a higher or lower probability of victimization.

The premise of the approach is an apparently simple notion. However, upon further examination it will become evident that the approach encompasses a sophisticated analysis of victimization. The present discussion will examine the main arguments of lifestyle theory and the routine activities approach. After a review of the

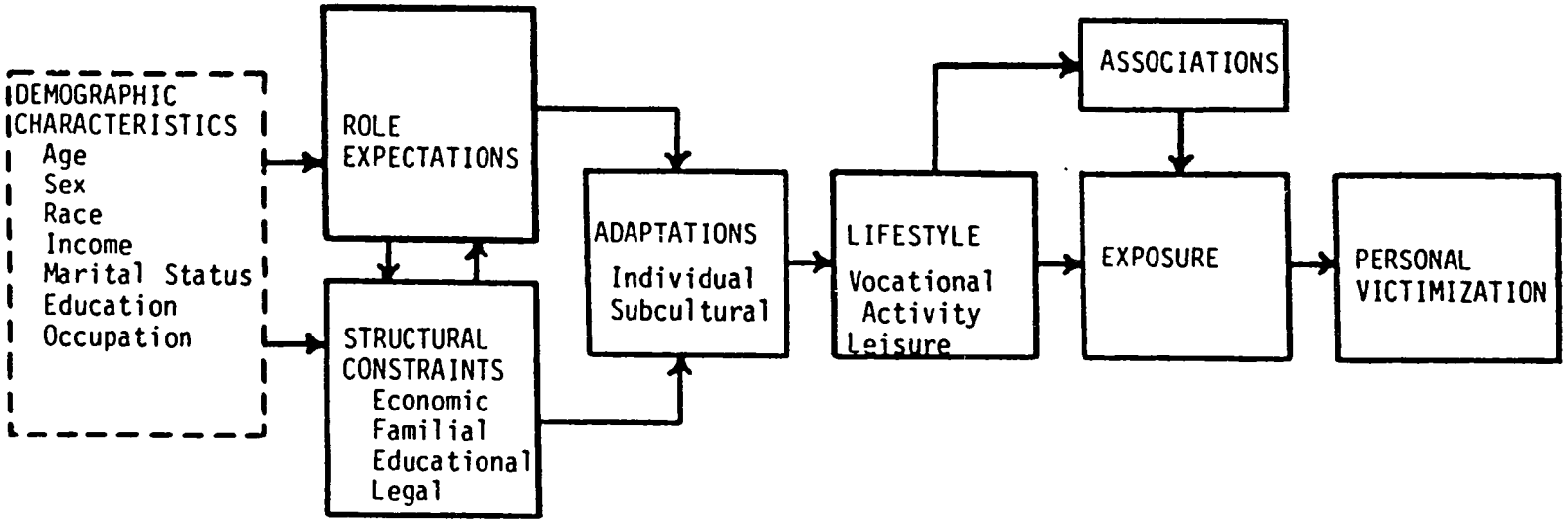
theories, the similarities and differences between them will be explored. In addition, a critique of the criminal opportunity perspective will be undertaken in an attempt to assess its adequacy as an explanation of victimization.

LIFESTYLE THEORY

The lifestyle theory of personal victimization was first presented by Hindelang and his associates as an attempt to link lifestyle and its antecedents with victimization. Lifestyle theory argues that lifestyle- defined as routine daily activities, both vocational (work, school, keeping house, etc. . .) and leisure activities- determines the likelihood of personal victimization (Hindelang et al., 1978: 241).

The basic model is illustrated in Figure 1. According to Hindelang et al.(1978), role expectations and the social structure impose constraints on the individual. If the individual is to function smoothly in society, they must adapt to the role expectations and structural constraints. Demographic characteristics are enclosed by dashed lines since these characteristics do not cause role expectations and structural constraints. Rather, "role expectations and structural constraints for any individual depend upon the individual's constellation of demographic characteristics" (p. 242).

Figure 1. Original Lifestyle Model of Personal Victimization



SOURCE: Hindelang et al. (1978: 243).

Role expectations are defined as the "cultural norms that are associated with achieved and ascribed statuses of individuals and that define preferred and anticipated behaviours" (Hindelang et al., 1978: 242). For example, gender role socialization involves different role expectations with respect to propriety of dress, manner, expression of emotion, etc. . . - depending on the biological sex of an individual.

Structural constraints refers to the "limitations on behavioural options that result from the particular arrangements existing within various institutional orders, such as the economic, familial, educational, and legal orders" (Hindelang et al., 1978: 242). For instance, economic factors impose limitations on the range of choices people have with respect to the kinds of neighbourhoods people can afford to live in, the likelihood of engaging in leisure activities, and access to educational opportunities.

Structural constraints combine with role expectations to affect adaptations. Adaptations refer to the skills and attitudes that an individual learns. Adaptations allow one to operate with some individuality in adapting to structural constraints and role expectations (Hindelang et al., 1978: 244). For example, attitudes and beliefs about crime, including the fear of

crime, can be incorporated into the lifestyle of the individual, frequently as limitations on behaviour.

Hindelang et al. argue that adaptations can occur at the group or individual level. At the group level, structural constraints and role expectations exert similar influences for individuals that share similar demographic characteristics. As a result, similar adaptations may develop for groups that have similar demographic profiles. At the individual level, structural constraints and role expectations exert their influence on adaptations in a way that results in regularities in behavioural patterns. According to lifestyle theory, regularities in behavioural patterns can include routine daily activities, which constitutes lifestyle.

According to Hindelang et al.(1978: 244-245) lifestyle can be seen as

> A characteristic way of distributing one's time, one's interest, and one's talent among the common social roles of life - those of worker, parent, spouse, homemaker, citizen, friend, club or association member and user of leisure time.

Thus, differences in lifestyle patterns occur as a result of variations in role expectations, structural constraints, and adaptations.

The lifestyle model as a theory of criminal victimization postulates that

> Variations in lifestyles are related differentially to probabilities of being in particular places at particular times and coming into contact with persons who have particular characteristics; because criminal victimization is not randomly distributed across time and space and because offenders in personal crimes are not representative of the general population. (Hindelang et al., 1978: 245)

In other words, there are locations, time periods and people with certain characteristics that involve a greater level of risk for the individual exposed to them.

According to Figure 1, there is a direct link between lifestyle and exposure to high risk situations. However, as illustrated by the model, there is also an indirect link that operates through the intervening variable referred to as associations. "Associations refer to more or less sustained personal relationships among individuals that evolve as a result of similar lifestyles and hence similar interests shared by these individuals" (Hindelang et al., 1978: 245). Since offenders share particular characteristics in a disproportionate number compared to the general population, association with people possessing these characteristics serves to increase the risk of victimization.

Thus, "lifestyle patterns influence (a) the amount of exposure to places and times with varying risks of

victimization, and (b) the prevalence of association with others who are more or less likely to commit crimes" (Garofalo, 1987: 26). In other words, differences in lifestyle lead to varying probabilities that individuals will be present at particular places, at particular times, under certain circumstances, in contact with particular people that possess different propensities for engaging in crime.

ROUTINE ACTIVITIES THEORY

Cohen and Felson(1979) added a more dynamic aspect to lifestyle theory by demonstrating that crime trends have been consistent with long term social changes. These social changes have consequently altered people's routine activities. Cohen and Felson(1979: 59) define routine activities as

> Any recurrent and prevalent activities which provide for basic population and individual needs, whatever their biological or cultural origins. Thus routine activities would include formalized work, as well as the provision of standard food, shelter, sexual outlet, leisure, social interaction, learning and child rearing.

Routine activities theory suggests that crime is a function of people's everyday behaviour. Cohen and Felson argue that there has been a major shift in the routine activities of people since World War II. There has been a dispersion of activities away from the household and families towards nonhousehold activities.

As a result of the dispersion, there has been an increase in crime rates because the opportunities for crime have increased.

> Structural changes in routine activity patterns can influence crime rates by affecting the convergence in space and time of the three minimal elements of direct-contact predatory violations: (1) motivated offenders (2) suitable targets, and (3) the absence of capable guardians against a violation. (Cohen and Felson, 1979: 589)

I.Elements of Direct-Contact Predatory Violations

A. Motivated Offenders

Motivation or criminal inclination is taken as a given in the routine activities approach as well as in the lifestyle model. The focus with respect to motivation is on the "contexts that allow the inclinations to be translated into action" (Garofalo, 1987: 27).

B. Suitability of Target

In their opportunity model of predatory victimization, Cohen et al.(1981) refine Cohen and Felson's (1979) formulation of routine activities theory and particularly target suitability, by specifying the aspects of lifestyle/routine activities which make people and their property prone to victimization. First, exposure refers to the "physical visibility and accessibility of persons or objects to potential

offenders at any given time or place" (Cohen et al., 1981: 507). In other words, the potential offender must be aware of the target and must be able to come into physical contact with the target.

Second, proximity refers to the "physical distance between areas where potential targets of crime reside and areas where relatively large populations of potential offenders are found" (Cohen et al., 1981: 507). The opportunity model postulates that the closer the residential proximity of potential targets to large populations of motivated offenders, the greater the risk of victimization.

Third, target attractiveness refers to the

> Material or symbolic desirability of persons or property targets to potential offenders as well as the perceived inertia of a target against illegal treatment (i. e., the weight, size, and attached or locked features of property inhibiting its illegal removal and the physical capacity of persons to resist attack). (Cohen et al., 1981: 508)

Target attractiveness is further differentiated on the basis of whether the motivation to take action against a certain person or object is instrumental (i. e., the act is a means of acquiring something one desires) or expressive (i. e., the act of attacking a person or stealing property is the only reward sought in doing so).

C. Absence of Capable Guardians

Guardianship refers to the "effectiveness of persons . . . or objects . . . in preventing violations from occurring, either by their presence alone or by some sort of direct or indirect action" (Cohen et al., 1981: 508). Generally, capable guardians can be grouped into three areas: target-hardening activities, formal social control agents and informal social control agents. Target-hardening activities include the use of locks and security alarms. Formal social control agents refers to the police, courts, and corrections. Informal social control agents refers to individuals and groups of citizens preventing the victimization of potential targets through surveillance and supervision. According to the routine activities approach, as the levels of guardianship increase, the likelihood of victimization will decrease (Cohen & Felson, 1979; Cohen et al., 1981).

Thus, routine activities theory assumes that direct-contact predatory crime involves the convergence in time and space of motivated offenders, suitable targets, and the absence of capable guardians. "The lack of any of these elements is sufficient to prevent the occurrence of a successful direct-contact predatory crime" (Cohen & Felson, 1979: 604).

SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN LIFESTYLE THEORY AND ROUTINE ACTIVITIES THEORY

Although there are apparent differences between lifestyle theory and routine activities theory, the differences relate more to how the theories were explicated rather than to differences in substance (Garofalo, 1987: 27). For example, Hindelang et al.(1978) focus on linking the lifestyle differences of population segments at a particular time to differences in victimization rates, and concentrated on personal crimes (i. e., crimes that involve direct physical contact between the victim and the offender), although the model could also be applied to property crimes. In contrast, Cohen and Felson(1979) concentrate their efforts on linking the changes in the routine activities of the aggregate U.S. population to changes in crime rates. In addition, Cohen and Felson focus on personal crimes, as well as crimes against property in which the victim is not present.

It is implicit that both the lifestyle model and the routine activities framework can be applied cross-sectionally and longitudinally (Garofalo, 1987: 27). Another similarity between lifestyle theory and the routine activities approach lies in the fact that they both basically assume that there is a symbiotic

relationship between legal and illegal activities. Essentially, illegal activities feed upon the legal activities (i. e., lifestyle/routine activities) of everyday life. Consequently, "changes in the daily lives of the community alter the amount of criminal opportunity in society, hence altering crime rates" (Felson, 1986: 121).

LITERATURE REVIEW OF THE LIFESTYLE/ROUTINE ACTIVITIES APPROACH

I. Conceptual Clarity

Lifestyle/routine activities theory assumes that demographic characteristics are associated with concepts such as: role expectations, structural constraints, target suitability, absence of guardianship, motivated offenders and lifestyles and routine activities. Given such broad and general concepts, any proper examination of the lifestyle/routine activities approach must be conceptually clear in its operationalization of these key concepts. Otherwise, the theoretical and empirical validity of such research is seriously in doubt.

A. Theoretical Issues

Lifestyles and routine activities are defined as recurrent and prevalent activities (i. e., formalized work, provision of food and shelter, and leisure activities) which provide for basic population and

individual needs (Cohen and Felson, 1979: 593). Upon examination, it is clear that the lifestyle/routine activities concept is rather vague. Lifestyle can include countless behaviours that people engage in on a routine basis. As a result, Garofalo(1987: 28) argues that the vagueness of the lifestyle/routine activities definition leads to the situation where

> It is easy to account for correlations or their absence, between victimization and various factors by claiming that some of the factors (those showing an association) are indicators of lifestyle, while others are not. This, however, makes the theory virtually nonfalsifiable.

Consequently, it is not surprising that the approach has been criticized for creating a strong temptation for engaging in ex post facto explanations (Garofalo, 1987; Hough, 1987; Lynch, 1987; Miethe, Stafford, and Long, 1987; Miethe and Meier, 1990).

Another problem with conceptual clarity arises because of the reliance by the lifestyle/routine activities approach on indicators that tap multiple concepts. Miethe and Meier(1990: 26) suggest that "exposure and proximity are treated as the same or different concepts, attractiveness is sometimes equated with exposure, and rarely are measures of both social and physical guardianship included." For example, female

labour-force participation may serve as an indicator of exposure, target suitability or decreased guardianship (Smith, 1987). As women shift from a domestic orientation, it could be argued that their presence in professional, social and leisure settings has increased. As female labor-force participation increases, women may be perceived as carrying more money and personal items of value. Furthermore, women are less capable of defending themselves from attack, which contributes to their suitability as targets. In addition, personal guardianship is decreased as women move away from a socialized dependence on men and they feel freer to pursue activities on their own.

Finally, Miethe and Meier(1990) argue that many of the concepts in lifestyle/routine activities theory are multidimensional (e. g., attractiveness, guardianship). However, previous research has not employed multiple indicators. The researchers contend that multiple indicators would "provide a more general test of the predictive power of [lifestyle/routine activities theory]" (p.261).

It is apparent that the lifestyle/routine activities approach suffers from considerable conceptual ambiguity. Unless greater clarity is employed in defining the key

concepts of the approach, inferences about the relative importance of each theoretical component is questionable.

B. Empirical Evidence

A review of the empirical evidence for lifestyle/routine activities theory suggests that most previous research has not used direct measures for key lifestyle/routine activity variables or has used demographic characteristics as proxies, presuming that variation in lifestyles or routine activities is the cause of differential rates of victimization (e. g., Cohen and Cantor, 1981; Hindelang et al., 1978; Messner and Blau, 1987; Miethe et al., 1987). Some researchers, for example, Collins, Cox and Langan (1987) argue that the relationships usually found between certain demographic variables and victimization risk might be spurious. The researchers report that their use of direct lifestyle measures either weakens, and in some cases eliminates the relationship between demographic characteristics and victimization risk once lifestyle variables were controlled. Thus, it is apparent that an adequate assessment of the contribution of different activities to victimization risk requires a more direct analysis of those activities.

In addition, while some demographic characteristics are related to target suitability, lack of guardianship,

role expectations, structural constraints and lifestyles/routine activities, an adequate test requires independent measures of key concepts. Without separate measures of key concepts, it is impossible to determine if higher victimization rates among some individuals is due to their lifestyles/routine activities, their proximity to high crime areas, or a combination of other variables. Thus, it is not surprising that Maxfield(1987: 29) finds that "virtually every test of lifestyle theory concludes with a call for better measurement."

Furthermore, the empirical evidence indicates that only a few studies actually provide operational definitions of key concepts and employ multiple indicators of multidimensional concepts (e. g., Cohen et al., 1981; Hough, 1987; Lynch, 1987; Miethe and Meier, 1990). However, the terminology used in these studies is not consistent. The ideal solution to the problem of terminology would be to develop rigorous definitions of key concepts. However, in practice "there is no widespread agreement on a definition of lifestyle and on the variables that are indicators of lifestyle" (Garofalo, 1987: 29).

Based on the discussion on conceptual clarity, it is evident that the tremendous amount of empirical support

for the lifestyle/routine activities approach must be accepted with some caution. Unless more precision is employed in defining key concepts and in developing indicators of such concepts, it will be unclear exactly what is being measured.

II. Motivation and Violent Victimization

It is noteworthy that the lifestyle/routine activities perspective has little to say regarding motivation except to state that:

> Unlike many criminological inquiries, we do not examine why individuals or groups are inclined criminally, but rather we take criminal inclination as given and examine the manner in which the spatio-temporal organization of social activities helps people to translate their criminal inclinations into action.
> (Cohen and Felson, 1979: 589)

Since the perspective postulates that motivated offenders is one of the three minimal elements necessary for victimization, it is ironic that such little attention is devoted to the element itself.

A. Theoretical Issues

The question of motivation is particularly important when examining different types of crime. Is the motivation in the commission of a property crime the same as the motivation for a violent crime? If motivation does vary, the question of whether the lifestyle/routine

activities approach is an adequate explanation of property and violent crime arises.

According to Miethe et al.(1987), the lifestyle/routine activities approach is based upon the offender's rational choice. Rational choice assumes that

> Offenders seek to benefit themselves by their criminal behavior; that this involves the making of decisions and of choices, however rudimentary on occasion these processes might be; and that these processes exhibit a measure of rationality, albeit constrained by limits of time and ability and the availability of relevant information. (Cornish and Clarke, 1986: 1)

Miethe et al.(1987) contend that property crimes (e. g., theft) are instrumental, rational acts, in which the lifestyle/routine activities approach would predict that both target suitability and the absence of capable guardians would directly affect the level of victimization risk. However, given the spontaneous and impulsive nature of most violent crimes (e. g., assault), it is debatable whether target attractiveness and the absence of capable guardians can adequately predict its occurrence. Thus, the motivation for violent crimes appears to be "incongruent with the strictly rational characterization of human behavior underlying lifestyle/routine activities theory" (Miethe et al., 1987: 186).

However, other researchers argue that the offender's choice of a particular crime victim still involves a subjective evaluation of the value of the target and its level of guardianship (Garofalo, 1987; Hough; 1987; Miethe and Meier, 1990). Consequently, the offender continues to exercise some degree of rational choice.

B. Empirical Evidence

The empirical evidence suggests that the lifestyle/routine activities model is a good predictor of property crimes (Cohen and Felson, 1979; Lynch and Cantor, 1992; Massey, Krohn, and Bonati, 1989). However, the predictive power of the model with respect to violent crime is still under debate. Miethe et al.(1987) find that lifestyle/routine activity variables exhibit stronger effects on the risk of property victimization (i. e., attempted and completed burglary, household larceny, and motor vehicle theft) than violent victimization (i. e., attempted and completed acts of assault, robbery and personal larceny). Miethe et al.(1987: 192) account for their results by arguing that not only do violent crimes defy the rational characterization of criminal motivation underlying the lifestyle/routine activities perspective, but also that such crimes rely more on the interpersonal and situational nature of a particular social setting. Other

empirical research also supports the findings of Miethe et al. (Bennett, 1991; Cantor and Land, 1985; Smith, 1987).

However, Kennedy and Forde(1990a) argue that lifestyle/routine activities theory is applicable to both property crime and violent crime. Using data from the Canadian Urban Victimization Survey, which contains more specific measures of lifestyle/routine activities, Kennedy and Forde (1990a: 149) find that violent crime "is still contingent on the exposure that comes from following certain lifestyles." For example, the researchers find that all demographic variables significantly predicts assault victimization, although there is a poor fit to the data. However, by including lifestyle/routine activity variables, there is an improved fit to the data. Thus, in accordance with the theory, the demographic groups that are the most vulnerable to victimization are young unmarried males that frequent bars, go to movies, go out to work, or engage in activities such as walking or cruising. Therefore, since young unmarried males, more than any other group, engage in a lifestyle or routine activities that brings them into contact with more people, they are exposed to a higher level of risk for violent victimization - regardless of whether such victimization

is instrumentally or expressively motivated. Consequently, while violent crime occurs spontaneously, exposure to risk suggests that young unmarried males are more likely to be the victims of violent crime because they are more likely to be present in places where conflict is more likely to arise (Collins et al., 1987; Gottfredson, 1984; Kennedy and Forde, 1990a, 1990b).

Similarly, Jensen and Brownfield(1986) suggest that certain routines involve the active pursuit of fun and excitement and can be seen as indicative of particular lifestyles. For example, frequenting bars, cruising, and partying are likely to increase victimization risk because of exposure and the lack of guardianship. Drinking excessively or cruising for social activity involves a higher risk for assault because such behaviour occurs more often at bars, parties, and other social gatherings where victimization potential is high. In addition, engaging in these activities may enhance victimization risk not only for assault, but also for other crimes such as robbery. However, the primary risk of victimization of such activities lies in the motivations of both potential victims and offenders involved in such routines or lifestyles.

Given the empirical evidence, it is debatable whether motivation plays a key role in the

lifestyle/routine activities perspective. As a result, it is clear that the role of motivation needs to be examined in more detail so as to judge the validity of the perspective for violent crimes.

III. Exposure to Risk

A part of the appeal of lifestyle/routine activities theory lies in its commonsense logic. Individuals or property that are not exposed to potential offenders are not subject to any risk of victimization. However, it is this same commonsense logic that has lead critics of the approach to the position that the theory is "true by definition, and, therefore, uninformative and trivial" (Garofalo, 1987: 28). In other words, the term exposure to risk is tautological because one could argue that exposed targets are those which are victimized, for whatever reason. However, can lifestyle/routine activities theory really be reduced to such an argument? It should be noted that a passive lifestyle which may involve little exposure to risk can also have implications for victimization. According to the lifestyle/routine activities approach, the elderly are routinely less likely to be involved in risky situations. The elderly's lack of involvement can be regarded as a precaution which leads to their lower rate of victimization. However, an implication of the elderly

isolating themselves is that they are disproportionately the victims of crimes that occur in the home, such as theft-related homicide. "The activity of the burglar coupled with the inactivity and vulnerability of the elderly renders crime possible, and for some, perhaps irresistably attractive" (Kennedy and Silverman, 1990: 316).

A. Theoretical Issues

Gottfredson(1981) makes the distinction between absolute and probabilistic exposure to risk.

> Absolute exposure consists of those characteristics of persons, objects, time, or space that are logical requisites for the occurrence of a specific form of criminal victimization. Without absolute exposure a crime cannot occur. (Gottfredson, 1981: 715)

However, Gottfredson makes the point that victimization is not guaranteed whenever simple contact takes place. Since offenders do not commit crimes in every encounter in which they come into contact with the potential victim, other factors of the situation must be considered which may be conducive to committing the crime (e. g., the offender must believe that they have a high probability of being successful). As a result, Gottfredson(1981: 716) uses the term probabilistic exposure to refer to "differences among people, places, and times in their opportunity for victimization, given

that victimization is logically possible." Thus, the more frequently a person or object is exposed to potential offenders in situations that facilitate the commission of a crime, the greater the likelihood of victimization.

B. Empirical Evidence

The key assumption of lifestyle/routine activities theory is its contention that people and property are not equally exposed to the risk of victimization. Furthermore, the variation among persons and property in exposure to the risk of victimization varies as a function of lifestyle or routine activities.

Stafford and Galle(1984) argue that previous research typically fails to consider differential exposure to risk when computing victimization rates. Conventional victimization rates are typically calculated by dividing the number of victimizations by the number of persons in the population. However, the use of number of persons in the population assumes that all persons are equally exposed to the risk of victimization, which is an untenable assumption. According to Stafford and Galle(1984: 174), a more defensible victimization rate must include a consideration of exposure to risk.

Empirical research based on the lifestyle/routine activities perspective assumes that exposure to risk is

indicative of an individual's or an object's overall visibility and accessibility to being a target of crime. Typically exposure is measured by the level of nonhousehold primary activity (Cohen and Felson, 1979; Messner and Blau, 1987; Miethe et al., 1987). However, measuring lifestyle/routine activities only in terms of the amount of time spent away from the household is problematic if adjustments are not made to consider the nature and temporal patterning of these activities. For example, research indicates that engaging in activities outside the home at night involves a greater risk of victimization than day-time activities outside the home (Cohen and Felson, 1979; Gottfredson, 1984; Hindelang et al., 1978; Miethe, Stafford and Sloane, 1990). Also, findings from the Canadian Urban Victimization Survey indicate that young people under the age of 25, students, unemployed and single people, all report evening activities that were both quantitatively and qualitatively different from the evening activities of employed, married or older people (Canadian Urban Victimization Survey, 1987: 4).

Quantitative and qualitative differences were also apparent with respect to gender. Men were more likely to report regular involvement in high risk evening activities such as frequenting bars, going to movies and

sporting events. In contrast, women were more likely to report activities such as attending meetings, or visiting friends or relatives in their homes (Canadian Urban Victimization Survey, 1987: 4). Jensen and Brownfield(1986) argue that because gender appears to be the most persistent correlate of victimization (e. g., Hindelang et al., 1978; Jensen and Brownfield, 1986; Kennedy and Forde, 1990a, 1990b; Canadian Urban Victimization Survey, 1987, 1988), the lifestyle/routine activities approach as a general theory of victimization must adequately explain the gender difference. Obviously male and female lifestyles differ. Females are less likely to be exposed to offenders, and are more likely to be guarded against victimization; however, it cannot be maintained that women are less attractive targets. Jensen and Brownfield(1986: 91-92) suggest that one variable contributing to the gender difference in victimization risk is that males are more likely to be involved in routines that involve the "recreational and social pursuit of fun" such as partying, cruising and frequenting bars.

Future research must be more sensitive to the qualitative and quantitative differences in peoples' lifestyles or routine activities. These differences

obviously affect one's exposure to risk which ultimately affects victimization risk.

IV. The Link Between Offending and Victimization

A common theme running throughout the literature on victimization and offence rates is that victims and offenders share similar demographic profiles - for example, violent offenders and victims of violent crime tend to be young, male, black and live in urban areas (Canadian Urban Victimization Survey, 1983; Gottfredson, 1984; Hindelang et al., 1978; Mayhew and Elliott, 1990). Why is there a connection between offending and victimization?

A. Theoretical Issues

According to lifestyle theory, the explanation for the similarity in demographic profiles between victims and offenders is the principle of homogamy. The "principle of homogamy" states that individuals are more likely to be victimized the more frequently they come into contact with members of demographic groups which contain a disproportionate share of offenders (Hindelang et al., 1978: 256-257). Adolescent males then, are more likely to be the victims of crime because they are more likely to associate with other males who themselves are disproportionately involved in offending.

However, Jensen and Brownfield(1986) contend that the principle of homogamy creates an artificial dichotomy between victims and offenders. Interaction with offenders or proximity to them are considered the key explanatory variables. But, Jensen and Brownfield(1986: 87) point out that

> In terms of routines or lifestyles, it can be hypothesized that criminal or delinquent routines are the most victimogenic of all routines and that the similarity in background characteristics of victims and offenders is, at least in part, a product of that correlation.

Thus, offending behaviour can be viewed as a type of lifestyle or routine activity that enhances the risk of victimization because of the motives, vulnerability, or culpability of people involved in those activities.

B. Empirical Evidence

In general, the victimization-offending link has not been extensively explored in the empirical research on victimization. As Jensen and Brownfield(1986: 98) concluded: "A major individual level variable, offence activity, has been ignored in recent elaborations of a formal opportunity or routine activities theory of personal victimization." Sampson and Lauritsen(1990) suggest that the lack of empirical research is due to the lack of data sets that are designed to examine victim-offender interrelationships.

However, there a small number of studies that have examined the connection between victimization and offending (Gottfredson, 1984; Jensen and Brownfield, 1986; Kuhlhorn, 1990; Lauritsen, Laub and Sampson, 1992; Lauritsen, Sampson, and Laub, 1991; Sampson and Laub, 1990; Singer, 1981). For instance, Jensen and Brownfield(1986) report positive associations between routine activities such as drinking, cruising and going to parties and bars, and property and violent crime victimization among a sample of middle-class high school students. In addition, they find a positive relationship between being in trouble with the police and victimization. Jensen and Brownfield conclude that factors which explain the link between background characteristics and victimization may be the same variables that explain relationships between those characteristics and offence behaviour.

Sampson and Lauritsen(1990) using data from two British Crime Surveys conducted in 1982 and 1984, find that offence activity - either violent or a minor deviance such as drinking or drug use - directly increases the risk of personal victimization. In addition, Sampson and Lauritsen report that their results were generally replicated across time and across type of victimization (e. g., crimes by strangers versus

acquaintance-crime), and are independent of major demographic correlates of victimization.

The link between offending and victimization is also investigated by Lauritsen et al.(1991) using longitudinal data from the National Youth Survey. Lauritsen et al. report that adolescent involvement in delinquent lifestyles had the most significant direct effect on assault, robbery, larceny and vandalism victimization. Also, the study finds that a considerable proportion of victimization risk incurred by certain demographic subgroups - particularly males - derives from their greater involvement in lifestyles that include participating in delinquent activities.

The link between victimization and offending appears to be a promising avenue of research in the victimization literature. Indeed, some researchers even contend that victimization patterns cannot be adequately understood without a consideration of criminal and deviant activities (Lauritsen et al., 1991, 1992).

V. The Link between the Ecological Context and Victimization

It is noteworthy that the lifestyle/routine activities approach has neglected the community, or the ecological level in which crimes occur, as a theoretical

factor in the explanation of victimization risk. As Cohen et al.(1981: 508) argue,

> Of two potential targets whose personal characteristics imply equal exposure (e. g., household structure, employment status), but who differ in proximity [i. e., the physical distance between areas where potential targets of crime reside and areas where relatively large populations of potential offenders are found], the person in closer proximity to populations of potential offenders will have a higher level of risk.

The ecological context has been examined in only a small number of empirical tests of the lifestyle/routine activities theory (Lynch and Cantor, 1992; Sampson and Laurit[illegible], 1990; Sampson and Wooldredge, 1987; Smith and Janjoura, 1989). As a result, the question of whether observed relationships between sociodemographic characteristics and victimization can be attributed to the lifestyle or routine activities of the victim or to the ecological context in which the victimization occurs, remains debatable.

A. Theoretical Issues

Sampson and Wooldredge(1987) contend that an examination of the ecological context is important for two reasons. First, one of the major assumptions of the lifestyle/routine activities approach is that there is a positive relationship between the risk of victimization and the ecological proximity of potential targets to

motivated offenders that is unmediated by lifestyle or routine activities. For example, Garofalo(1987:38) argues that the constraints of the economic system and the housing market significantly determines where people live. Therefore, individual lifestyles may predict variations in victimization within certain areas, but "the base level of risk that they face is heightened by sheer proximity to - and hence exposure to - potential offenders."

Second, the importance of the ecological structure derives from the macro-level assumption that the spatial structure of routine activities and opportunities plays an integral role in determining the frequency with which motivated offenders encounter suitable targets in the absence of capable guardians (Cohen and Felson, 1979: 589-591). Sampson and Wooldredge(1987) suggest that motivated offenders may be influenced by the criminal-opportunity structure of entire areas, not just by individuals and their households. For instance, suitable targets for burglary include neighbourhoods characterized by low surveillance (e. g., a high rate of single-adult households). Thus, Sampson and Wooldredge(1987: 373) maintain that "regardless of one's household family composition and even proximity to offenders, living in a

community with low guardianship and surveillance may increase victimization risk."

B. Empirical Evidence

Sampson and Wooldredge(1987) used British Crime Survey in an attempt to measure the extent to which differences in the risk of victimization is influenced by demographic characteristics, lifestyle/routine activities, and the ecological context. The results indicate that similar to previous studies, victimization risks are highest among the young, unmarried, and those who frequently go out at night or leave their homes unoccupied. Also, the researchers find that burglary victimization is related to age, household family type, and guardianship. However, independent of the micro-level effects, burglary risk increased directly with community family disruption, percentage of singles, unemployment and housing density. Sampson and Wooldredge contend that their results clearly demonstrate the importance of considering the ecological context and that an individual or ecological model alone is insufficient for examining patterns of victimization.

Lynch and Cantor(1992) attempt to refine the lifestyle/routine activities framework by examining several different levels of the ecological context.

Lynch and Cantor(1992: 339) argue that previous models of victimization risk

> use one area unit when there is good reason to suspect that opportunity dimensions, including proximity, may be affected by factors operating at different levels of aggregation (e. g., block, neighbourhood, and community.

Examining household larceny (i. e., theft from both around and inside the home) and burglary, Lynch and Cantor(1992: 334-335) find that neighbourhood attributes such as the level of community disorganization, the presence of establishments that attracts outsiders, and whether offenders are from the area, has a significant effect on the risk of household larceny and burglary. The findings suggest that neighbourhoods affect the degree of guardianship and the extent to which residents are exposed, and the proximity to offenders, independent of factors operating at the block level such as existing crime rates. In addition, the researchers report that since their indicators of guardianship, exposure, and attractiveness continue to have an effect on victimization when proximity is held constant, opportunity is not solely a function of social context. Consequently, Lynch and Cantor conclude that the lifestyles/routine activities of individuals also influences the risk of victimization.

It is clear that from the discussion on the ecological context that victimization is not merely influenced by people's lifestyles/routine activities, but also by the context in which these activities occur. As a result, future research would be remiss to ignore the embeddedness of the victimization process in its ecological context.

CONCLUSION

Based on the literature review of the lifestyle/routine activities approach it is undeniable that a great deal of research remains to be done before the approach can be considered a comprehensive theory of criminal victimization, capable of predicting victimization with a high degree of accuracy. It is apparent that many of the problems of the theory are conceptual and measurement problems. In addition, the review of the literature indicates that future research needs to examine two directions: First, the possibility of linking criminological theories with victimological theories; and second, the potential of integrating the micro and macro level explanations of criminal victimization.

CHAPTER 4 THEORETICAL INTEGRATION OF POWER-CONTROL THEORY AND LIFESTYLE/ROUTINE ACTIVITIES THEORY

INTRODUCTION

Criminology has and continues to be preoccupied with trying to understand offending behaviour. Criminological theories have generally emphasized some enduring characteristic or social background that differentiates the offender from the rest of the population. Unfortunately, most of these theories have proceeded on the apparent assumption that a criminal disposition is all that is necessary to explain the commission of a crime. However, the presence of a suitably motivated offender is only part of the equation for explaining offending behaviour - a number of situational factors must also be taken into account. For example, the victim's characteristics and behaviour are elements of the situation that affect the offender's behavior.

Whereas dispositional theories have generally ignored or minimized the role of situational factors in the explanation of offending behaviour, victimization theories have given little attention to the criminal inclinations and motivations of the offender (Fattah, 1991; Garofalo, 1987; Massey et al., 1989; Miethe and Meier, 1990). However, the risk of victimization cannot be accounted for simply through an examination of the situational determinants of victimization such as target

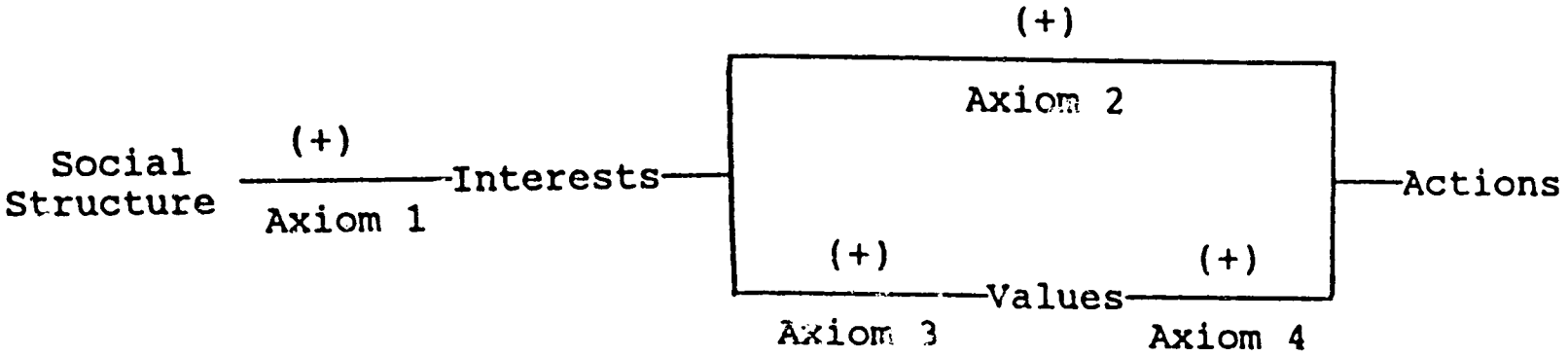
suitability and exposure. Attributes such as suitability and accessibility involve subjective factors, since perceptions guide the offender's actions. Consequently, these factors need to be understood from the viewpoint of the motivated offender.

Based on the previous chapters, it is apparent that power-control theory is not an adequate explanation of offending behaviour, and the lifestyle/routine activities perspective is insufficient as an explanation of victimization. To deal with some of the deficiencies inherent in each of the theories, a theoretical integration of the frameworks is proposed. First, a detailed description of the theoretical approach that is to be employed is discussed. Second, the extent to which the theories can be integrated given the proposed theoretical approach is addressed. Finally, an application of the integrated theory will be presented demonstrating its explanatory potential.

THEORETICAL APPROACH TO INTEGRATION

A theoretical integration approach developed by Thomas Bernard(1989), as illustrated by Figure 2, consists of four axioms linking four constructs. The theoretical approach is referred to as the "theory of action." Essentially, the approach is a "deductive integration" or an "up-and-down integration".

Figure 2. Theory of Action



Source: Bernard, 1989: 151.

"[Integration] is accomplished by identifying a level of abstraction or generality that will incorporate some of the conceptualization of the constituent theories" (Liska, Krohn, and Messner, 1989: 10).

I. First Causal Argument

A. Social Structure

The first construct, "social structure" is defined in terms of "the different social positions and the soc[illegible]ions among those different positions" (B[illegible] 1989: 141). It is assumed that the performance of different activities, differential access to resources, and variation in links to other social positions leads to differences in needs, interests and values according to social position (Kornhauser, 1978: 7).

B. Interests

"Interests", the second construct, refers to the range of choices available to individuals as possible courses of action, and the costs and benefits associated with those actions. The interests construct is similar to Parson's (1937) ideas on "means" (e. g., facilities, tools, or resources). According to Parsons, the actor chooses among available means or resources to arrive at desired ends, while constrained by conditions over which the actor has no control over. An illustration of the

construct is Akers'(1985) concept of "differential reinforcements." Differential reinforcements operate when the individual chooses between two or more alternate actions in a given situation, taking into consideration the relative rewards and punishments associated with alternative behaviour.

C. Axiom 1

Axiom 1 stipulates that interests vary with social structure. In other words, available choices and the relative costs and benefits associated with those choices are affected by one's structural location. In addition, "individuals in higher structural locations tend to have a greater range of available choices with more benefits and fewer costs than individuals in lower structural locations" (Bernard, 1989: 141).

Hirschi's(1969: 20-21) discussion of commitment is an example of the axiom. After evaluating the costs and benefits associated with different lines of action, individuals with high levels of commitment find that their interests are best served by engaging in legal acts, while those with low commitment find that their interests are best served through criminal acts.

D. Actions

"Actions" are defined in terms of "voluntary choice within the context of a socially structured situation"

(Bernard, 1989: 141). The third construct is based on Parsons'(1951) ideas on the social shaping of action. Parsons' basic action scheme consists of an actor who is motivated in achieving a desirable goal or end. The action occurs in a situation, which includes available means or resources and is constrained by conditions or obstacles that arise in the pursuit of the goal. In short, the actor selects among socially structured means to achieve goals.

E. Axiom 2

Axiom 2 argues that actions vary directly with interests. As a result, "individuals tend to act in ways that maximize benefits and minimize costs within the context of available courses of action" (Bernard, 1989: 141). The axiom is illustrated by Cullen's(1984) "structuring perspective." Cullen contends that deviant motivational conditions - whether they be weak bonds to society or exposure to deviant values - do not lead to any single form of deviance. Rather, deviant motivational conditions may have several possible responses. As a result, it is necessary to examine the variables that structure deviant choices and determine why one deviant direction is pursued instead of another. In comparison to Cullen, Bernard(1989) assumes that people's actions are "structured" in terms of the

available choices and the costs and benefits associated with those choices.

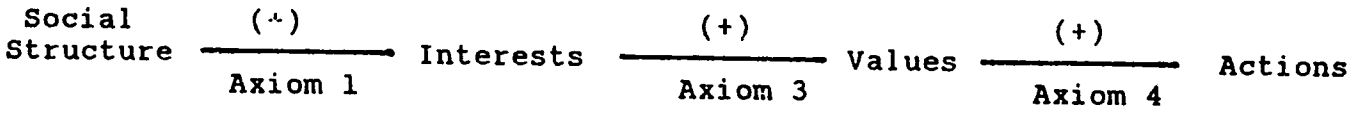
II. Second Causal Argument

A. Values

In addition to the link from social structure to interests to actions, Bernard postulates the existence of another link mediated by values as illustrated in Figure 3. The fourth construct, "values" refers to "shared ideas, attitudes, orientations, and beliefs that contain moral evaluations of actions in the context of situations" (Bernard, 1989: 147). Acts are judged as good, right, appropriate, justified or at least excusable, or they are regarded as bad, wrong, inappropriate, unjustified, and inexcusable.

An illustration of the values construct can be found in Hirschi's(1969) discussion of beliefs. "Beliefs" refers to the acceptance of the moral validity of social rules and norms of conventional society. Hirschi(1969: 200) assumes that conventional beliefs are differentially reinforced by parents, but "whether these definitions are accepted depends upon the extent to which they are congruent with the person's attitudes and experiences vis-a-vis conventional society." Thus, beliefs are linked to the social structure and interests but also have an independent effect on actions.

Figure 3. Second Causal Argument of Theory of Action



Source: Bernard, 1989: 148.

B. Axiom 3

According to Axiom 3, there is a tendency for individuals to believe that those actions that personally benefit them are good, right, appropriate, justified or at least excusable, and those actions that personally harm them are bad, wrong, inappropriate, unjustified and inexcusable (Bernard, 1989: 148). It is assumed that values vary with interests, given the tendency for people's evaluative beliefs to conform to their interests.

C. Axiom 4

The fourth axiom assumes that values have an independent effect on actions. People's actions are influenced by what they think is good, right, appropriate or by what harms them personally.

The four constructs and the four axioms together form a single theory of action. Essentially, the "theory of action" contends that "people tend to think and act in ways that are consistent with their socially structured interests " (Bernard, 1989: 152).

THEORETICAL INTEGRATION

The theoretical integration of power-control theory and lifestyle/routine activities theory is achieved by locating these specific theories within the more general approach of the "theory of action." The theory of action

focuses on the points where different theories make similar predictions for similar reasons. By determining the relationship to the theory of action, the links between the two specific theories are established.

I. Social Structure

Power-control theory and lifestyle/routine activities theory both rely on a macro-level explanation. Whereas micro-level theories have individual actions as the dependent variable, macro-level theories have the rates and distribution of actions as the dependent variable. Since Bernard(1989: 138) assumes that the integration of macro and micro theories is only possible at the macro level, integrating power-control theory and the lifestyle/routine activities approach is not inconsistent with the theory of action.

Basic assumptions of macro-level explanations are

> Every act, including every criminal act, is located somewhere in a social system. Every kind of act is distributed somehow in a social system. Social systems are extended and differentiated in space and time; acts are therefore located and distributed in both dimensions. (Cohen, 1985: 230)

Thus, macro-level explanations focus on the properties in the social system that account for the variation in the types of behaviours within the system and how these behaviours are distributed in time and space.

A. Power-control Theory

Power-control theory assumes that the gender-delinquency relationship is a function of variations in the family structures and the social and economic conditions that result in these variations. Specifically, Hagan (1989b: 222) asks: "What is it about the macro-development of industrial capitalist societies that accounts for the way in which they reproduce gender relations?" The answer lies in the emergence of the egalitarian family structure, in which the spheres of consumption and production are not differentiated by gender.

In the patriarchal family structure, where the two spheres are separate, relational and instrumental controls are applied more selectively and extensively to daughters than sons. Consequently, these girls are more averse to risk taking and ultimately have lower delinquency rates than boys.

In contrast, the egalitarian family structure is "part of an overlapping of the consumption and production spheres, which a post-industrial society no longer so clearly keeps apart; such families are a part as well as a product of changing economic relations" (Hagan, 1989b: 224). As a result, such families do not subject daughters and sons to different degrees of control. As a

result, there is little or no gender differentials in risk preferences or delinquency rates.

B. Lifestyle/Routine Activities Theory

Lifestyle/routine activities theory's consideration of the social structure may be generalized to include an examination of role expectations and structural constraints. The two components are reciprocally related. As an example, Hindelang et al.(1978: 244) suggest that sex role expectations have been modified so that there is some convergence of role expectations for males and females. This change has lead to structural changes in the family and in the economic realm.

The theory assumes that regularities in behavioural patterns (i. e., lifestyle/routine activities) develop as individuals adapt to role expectations and structural constraints (Garofalo, 1987; Hindelang et al., 1978). It is the lifestyle/routine activity patterns of individuals which determines their likelihood and degree of contact with potential offenders and thereby influences the probabilities of a crime occurring. Thus, "changes in the daily life of the community alter the amount of criminal opportunity in society, hence altering crime rates" (Felson, 1986: 121).

C. Link Between Power-control Theory and Lifestyle/Routine Activities Theory

Upon examination, it is apparent that the economic and social conditions assumed by power-control theory are compatible with the structural constraints and role expectations components of the lifestyle/routine activities framework. The linking of the lifestyle/routine activities approach with power-control theory acknowledges that the social structure influences, shapes and conditions the offender's behaviour in a particular situation. Consequently, offending behaviour can be seen as a response to conditions originating in the environment, conditions that eventually must include a consideration of the characteristics and the behaviour of the potential victim (Fattah, 1991).

II. Axiom 1

A. Power-control Theory

Power-control theory focuses on the social origins of control, the characteristically hierarchical forms of this control, and the variation in the degree of this control across social and historical settings. According to Hagan(1993: 383):

> Power and control both involve hierarchical influences in social relationships that impose (conformity with) the wants and wishes of others. These wants and wishes may be most influential when they are felt to come from within the individual; but they are also prominently located in an exogeneous causal

> sense, in the interests and desires of others.

Consistent with Axiom 1, power-control theory contends that there is a gender-related distribution of power and control in the family. Thus, it is assumed that "males are freer to deviate than are females," it is also taken that "males are freest to deviate in the higher classes" (Hagan et al., 1985: 115). This situation is due mostly to the presence of upper class parental controls - especially maternal control - that constrain females socially to a larger degree than males (Hagan, 1989b). Thus, it is the presence of power and the absence of control which create conditions conducive to common forms of delinquency.

B. Lifestyle/Routine Activities Theory

The mediating variables between social structure and interests in lifestyle/routine activities theory are "exposure" and "proximity." The theory assumes that social changes in everyday lifestyles or routine activities fosters a criminal opportunity structure by enhancing proximity and exposure to offenders (Cohen et al., 1981; Messner and Blau, 1987). These target suitability factors are treated as "structural features because both factors pattern the nature of social interactions and predispose individuals to high risk environments and situations" (Miethe and Meier, 1990:

244). For example, people with economic resources have more choices regarding where they live. Consequently, these people can avoid living in high-crime areas, thereby limiting their proximity and exposure to motivated offenders (Garofalo, 1987: 39-40).

In addition, the fact that victims and offenders have similar demographic profiles is explained by the "principle of homogamy." The principle contends that people are more likely to be victimized the more frequently they associate with, or come into contact with, members of demographic groups which contain a disproportionate share of offenders (Hindelang et al., 1978: 256-257). As suggested by the principle of homogamy then, demographic factors have a direct effect on victimization independent of a victim's propensity for engaging in delinquency (Sampson and Lauritsen, 1990).

C. Link Between Power-control Theory and Lifestyle/Routine Activities Theory

Lifestyle/routine activities theory is compatible with the idea that social control mechanisms affect lifestyle/routine activity patterns and the risk of victimization. The linking of the theories recognizes that power and control structure one's proximity and exposure to motivated offenders. Accordingly, males in the higher classes not only have the highest delinquency rates, but also the highest rates of victimization

because they are more likely to associate with other youths who are themselves, disproportionately involved in offending behaviour.

In contrast, females in the lower classes are controlled to a greater extent. Consequently, they are less likely to engage in offending behaviour. Since females are more restricted, they are less likely to be exposed and in proximity to motivated offenders, their probability of victimization is reduced.

III. Interests

A. Power-control Theory

According to power-control theory, the economic interests of daughters and sons are defined by the distribution of power and control. The patriarchal family structure with its acute instrument-object relationship between parents and daughters, controls daughters to a greater extent than sons. Greater control leads to a lower preference for risk taking among daughters. These lower preferences for risk taking prepare daughters for their future role in domestic labour and consumption.

In contrast, the egalitarian family structure controls daughters and sons to a similar degree. As a result, children in egalitarian families are more open to

risk taking, in preparation for their entrepreneurial role in direct production.

B. Lifestyle/Routine Activities Theory

Implicit within the lifestyle/routine activities approach is the idea that people realize that victimization does not occur randomly. This assumes that potential offenders engage in some form of rational thought regarding target selection, and that conversely, potential victims make conscious efforts to avoid victimization (Fattah, 1991; Hirschi, 1986; Massey et al., 1989; Miethe and Meier, 1990).

Lifestyle/routine activities theory recognizes that the opportunity structure consists not only of the objective conditions of the physical and social environment, but includes the perceptions and evaluations of these conditions by potential offenders and victims. In other words, the theory assumes that the opportunity structure defines the range of choices available to potential offenders and victims, and the costs and benefits associated with those choices.

C. Link Between Power-control Theory and Lifestyle/Routine Activities Theory

Power-control theory's economic interests can be incorporated into lifestyle/routine activities theory's conception of differential opportunities. Power and control define the opportunities available to daughters

and sons, including the economic opportunities. Thus, the link hinges on the argument that the presence of power and the absence of control provides opportunities for engaging in delinquency; whereas, the absence of power and the presence of control limits those opportunities.

The link between the theories is significant because it establishes that "although people may have lots of desires and inclinations, they cannot always carry them out. The opportunity structure of society places a limit on human ability to act, including on inclinations to commit crimes " (Felson, 1986: 120).

IV. Axiom 2

A. Power-control Theory

Axiom 2 assumes that individuals weigh the costs and benefits associated with different lines of action (Bernard, 1989: 145). From the perspective of power-control theory, it is consistent with the axiom to argue that risk taking preferences operate as a mediating variable between interests and actions. That is, children that are more open to risk taking find that it is in their best interests to engage in activities associated with their future role in the production sphere. As Hagan et al.(1979: 29) state:

> One reason why delinquency is fun, is because it anticipates a range of activities, some having to do with criminal and others with more conventional occupations.

In contrast, daughters that are controlled to a greater extent, refrain from risk taking given their interests of a future domestic role in the consumption sphere.

B. Lifestyle/Routine Activities Theory

According to Miethe and Meier(1990: 245), "routine activities may predispose some persons and their property to greater risks, but the selection of a particular victim within a socio-spatial context is determined by the expected utility of one target over another." If victims of crime were chosen at random, we would expect to find that crime victims represent an unbiased cross-section of the general population. In addition, we would also expect the risks and rates of victimization to be evenly distributed within the population. However, this is not the case. Victimization is disproportionately distributed within certain groups and certain areas. Thus, it seems reasonable to assume that offenders generally do not choose their victims/targets in an entirely random and blind fashion. Consequently, it should be acknowledged that situations are not straightforward determinants of behaviour. "Choice is available to individuals, both in terms of which situations they enter and what behavior they adopt in

each situation" (LaFree and Birkbeck, 1991: 75). Thus, an important assumption underlying lifestyle/routine activities theory is that offenders are to some extent rational in the planning and executing of their crimes.

However, it should be noted that accepting a rational choice model does not require assuming a degree of planning and foresight beyond the bare minimum necessary for the act to occur. It is sufficient that the decision maker choose between different courses of action based on their immediate perceptions of the benefits and costs involved (Clarke and Cornish, 1985).

It can be postulated that the notion of rational choice operates as a mediating variable between interests and actions at Axiom 2, since both argue that individuals pursue those actions which maximize benefits and minimize costs. In a cost-benefit analysis, the benefits from crime can depend on the chance of success and reward obtainable. Costs can include a calculation of the likelihood of being caught, the criminal sanctions involved, or the time allotted to criminal activity.

C. Link Between Power-control Theory and Lifestyle/Routine Activities Theory

Lifestyle/routine activities theory assumes that motivated offenders are necessary, yet the theory fails to discuss what it is exactly that renders them so and who it is that fits into this category (Fattah, 1991;

Hirschi, 1986; Miethe and Meier, 1990). Motivation is difficult to examine directly within the framework; however, the role of the offender cannot be causally dismissed. Although it is not explicitly stated, power-control theory's ideas on risk taking preferences, as well as lifestyle/routine activities theory are based on notions of rational choice. As Hagan et al.(1985: 1161) point out:

> The theory we have proposed assumes that the presence of power and the absence of control exercise their influence, at least in part, through a cognitive process in which actors evaluate courses of action . . . . These variables [i. e., taste for risk and the perceptions of getting caught and punished] represent cognitive states. For them to be operative, there must be some calculation that leads to the delinquent behavior considered.

Thus, both theories present images of individuals as reasoning decision makers that "exercise some degree of planning and foresight and adapt their behavior to take account of proximal and distal contingencies " (Akers, 1990: 663). If the motivated offender is a risk-taker whose general situation is such that they are likely to perceive the benefits outweighing the costs of crime, it is not inconceivable to imagine the motivated offender weighing victim/target selection factors such as target attractiveness, guardianship, degree of risk, etc. . . . (Fattah, 1991; Hough, 1987; Miethe and Meier, 1990).

Providing the theory with a suitably motivated offender is especially important for understanding why a particular crime is committed in a particular situation against a particular victim/target. Attributes such as attractiveness, suitability, accessibility are neither absolute or objective. It is the perceptions of the potential offender as to who is attractive, suitable, or accessible that influences the choice of a particular victim. In fact, LaFree and Birkbeck(1991: 92) contend that, "the situation has no obvious relation to criminal behavior unless examined in terms of potential offenders' perceptions and motivations."

V. Actions

A. Power-control Theory

For power-control theory, the resulting action is common delinquency. The theory basically explains the relationship among structure, interests and actions by combining a macro-level class analysis with a micro-level control theory (Hagan et al., 1985, 1987). On a macro or power level, between-class gender differences in delinquency are the result of interclass variations in relational dominance. However, within-class variations in gender differences are dealt with on a micro or control level in terms of restricting the behavioural latitude required to engage in delinquency.

B. Lifestyle/Routine Activities Theory

Lifestyle/routine activities theory argues that the risk of victimization can be determined by studying the extent to which the activity patterns of potential victims places them in situations conducive to crime. Lifestyles that promote the convergence in time and space of a motivated offender, suitable targets, and the absence of capable guardians create conditions conducive to victimization (Cohen and Felson, 1979; Hindelang et al., 1978).

C. Link Between Power-control Theory and Lifestyle/Routine Activities Theory

It is evident that power-control theory explains the supply of criminal offenders but does not sufficiently examine the supply of opportunities; whereas, the lifestyle/routine activities framework accounts for the supply of opportunities but assumes the presence of criminal offenders. The combining of the theories establishes the point that even though an offender is motivated to commit a criminal/delinquent act, their preference can be thwarted by the structure of choices made by potential victims to avoid victimization.

> Each [criminal or delinquent] event requires that one party fail to get what it wants. If a crime occurs, the victim failed to get what he or she wanted. If a crime does not occur, the potential victim succeeded but not the offender. The rational order of how many of the one and how many of the other occur goes beyond the preferences of one actor.

(Felson, 1986: 120)

The integrated theory is particularly useful for exploring the victimization-offending relationship. Consistent with power-control theory and the lifestyle/routine activities approach, delinquency can be seen as a type of offense activity that is characteristic of a type of lifestyle or routine which involves the active pursuit of fun and excitement (cf. Jensen and Brownfield, 1986). It is this quest for fun and excitement that leads potential victims and offenders to become involved in a lifestyle that is associated with offending behaviour. In power-control theory terms, the processes that encourage risk-taking and subsequent offending behaviour are similar to the processes in the lifestyle/routine activities approach that influences the probability that individuals will be in high-risk places at high-risk times. By linking the theories, it is quite reasonable to suggest that power and control affect lifestyle/routine activity patterns leading to different risks of victimization. For instance, engaging in a risky lifestyle not only increases the probability of engaging in delinquency, but also enhances the risk of victimization. As suggested by Sparks(1982), offenders are ideal targets of crime because they can be victimized with relative impunity. In other words, offender-victims are likely to be considered vulnerable because they are

probably less likely to call the police than victims not involved in offending behaviour. As pointed out by Jensen and Brownfield(1986: 89-90):

> Such routines [delinquent activities] do not merely passively affect victimization through exposure, proximity or guardianship, but are conducive to victimization because of the [similar] motivations and orientations of those pursuing such activities.

Consequently, the similarity in background characteristics of victims and offenders is partly due to offense activity being a type of routine activity that enhances the risk of victimization (Fattah, 1991; Jensen and Brownfield, 1986; Lauritsen et al., 1991, 1992; Sampson and Laub, 1990).

Integrating power-control theory with the lifestyle/routine activities approach produces the argument that if sons are encouraged to take risks, not only does their involvement in offending behaviour increase but so does their probability of victimization. By contrast, girls that are discouraged from risk taking are less likely to engage in offending behaviour and have a lower rate of victimization.

VI. Second Causal Argument

The second causal argument adds a value construct to the first causal argument. Thus, in addition to the direct link from structure to interests to actions, the

second causal argument maintains that there is a second link mediated by values. The term "values" refers to

> shared ideas, attitudes, orientations, and beliefs that contain moral evaluations or actions in the context of situations-in these circumstances, those acts are good, right, appropriate, justified, or at least excusable, or they are bad, wrong, inappropriate, unjustified, and inexcusable. (Bernard, 1989: 147)

Although interests are not the only determinant of values, Bernard postulates a positive relationship between the two constructs. Consequently, Axiom 3 maintains that values vary directly with interests. As a result, people have a tendency to believe that actions that benefit them are good and that actions that harm them are bad. Since values have an independent effect on actions, Axiom 4 maintains that actions are determined by what people believe is right and wrong and by what benefits or harms them.

Unfortunately, since neither power-control theory or the lifestyle/routine activities perspective discuss the role of values, the second causal argument and consequently, the theory of action is incomplete. The question that remains then is: Do values have a role in each of the theories? If so, how might values fit into power-control theory and the lifestyle/routine activities perspective?

A. Power-control Theory

Power-control theory posits that children have risk taking preferences to varying degrees which affects their perceptions of the risks of punishment. Variation in the acceptance of norms and values as morally binding is excluded from the theory without justification. However, normative variables are logically consistent with the theory. According to Jensen(1993: 372)

> Ideology is a controlling and constraining force in other Marxist criminologies. . . and the notion of false consciousness can encompass acceptance of values, norms, and beliefs that serve the interests of dominant groups. The view that people can be controlled to some degree by what they are taught to believe is perfectly consistent with a Marxist approach.

B. Lifestyle/Routine Activities Theory

A value component is also missing in routine activities theory; however, is present in lifestyle theory. The discrepancy between the theories is due to lifestyle theory's focus on the antecedents of lifestyle; whereas, the routine activities approach's emphasis is on how the routine behaviour of individuals transforms them into suitable targets.

Lifestyle theory incorporates a consideration of values in its "adaptations" component. "Adaptations" refers to attitudes and beliefs derived from the limitations imposed by structural constraints and role expectations (Hindelang et al., 1978: 242). For

example, adaptations could include attitudes and beliefs concerning the moral validity of the law.

Although lifestyle theory and the routine activities framework are considered to be complementary approaches, research based in this perspective has largely ignored the role of values (Fattah, 1991; Hough, 1987). However, attitudes and beliefs should be examined since they play a crucial role in determining the type of lifestyle (e. g., criminal or conformist lifestyle) that an individual pursues (Fattah, 1991).

C. Link Between Power-control Theory and Lifestyle/Routine Activities Theory

It is not inconsistent with a theory of action to argue that a patriarchal or egalitarian family structure is a representation of values in society. When societal values are internalized by youths, socialization into a type of lifestyle occurs. For instance, the acceptance of norms and values associated with an egalitarian family structure suggests that youths are more likely to engage in lifestyles/routine activities characterized by risk taking behaviour, in anticipation of an entrepreneurial role in the production sphere.

APPLICATION OF INTEGRATED THEORY

Some of the most well-documented findings in the empirical research literature on reactions to crime

involve the interrelationships among gender, fear and victimization. Studies examining fear of crime find an incongruity in the manner in which victimization and fear of crime is distributed between men and women (Balkin, 1979; Hindelang et al., 1978; Riger, Gordon and LeBailley, 1978; Smith and Hill, 1991; Stafford and Galle, 1984; Warr, 1984). Men typically experience a relatively high rate of victimization, yet they express low rates of concern regarding their personal safety. However, according to victimization surveys, women are less likely to be victimized than men, and are more likely to express concern over their personal safety (Canadian Urban Victimization Survey, 1985, 1987).

In general, there are two prominent explanations for the fear-victimization paradox. The first explanation relies on women's lesser physical strength, meaning that they are less able to defend themselves in the event of an attack (Garofalo, 1981; Hindelang et al., 1978; Skogan and Maxfield, 1981). Although women have lower reported rates of victimization, their physical vulnerability makes them particularly susceptible to sexual assault, which is a particularly fear-provoking crime. Consequently, women have an additional crime to fear that men usually do not fear (Riger et al., 1978). This argument may be persuasive in explaining broad gender

differences in fear level, however; it is debatable whether such an argument can adequately explain the wide variation of fear levels within the female population. Although women are more likely to be afraid than men, all women are not likely to have the same fear levels (Baumer, 1985; Garofalo, 1981; Gordon and Riger, 1989; Sacco, 1990; Warr, 1984). In addition, even if women believe that they are weaker, this does not necessarily indicate that they perceive themselves as being more vulnerable to victimization (Don, 1989: 18).

The second explanation maintains that women have lower victimization rates because their lifestyles/routine activities include fewer opportunities for victimization. However, "their victimization rates, it is argued, may well be higher per unit of exposure, and hence commensurate with their fear" (Warr, 1984: 682). As a result, measures of exposure will mediate the effects of gender on rates of victimization (Balkin, 1979; Stafford and Galle, 1984). However, in a review of the empirical studies founded in the lifestyle/routine activities approach, Maxfield (1987: 278) found that

> variations between . . . male and female [victimization] rates are reduced, in some cases substantially, by incorporating routine activity variables, but differences in risk [of victimization] often persist across certain sociodemographic groups.

Thus, women do not possess lower rates of victimization solely because they are more afraid of being victimized than men (Miethe et al., 1987; Sacco, 1990).

Assuming the fear-victimization paradox is accurate, the attempt to solve the paradox must concentrate less on the study of objective threats and more on the perception of threats. "Objective circumstances notwithstanding, surely females . . . may have higher fear because their perceptions of the seriousness of offences differ markedly from others" (Warr, 1984: 682). Thus, women's greater levels of fear may be accounted for by their greater sensitivity to the risks that they do perceive rather than just perceiving themselves as being at risk.

The weakness of previous explanations of the fear-victimization paradox is that they fail to consider the perceptual causes of fear. That is, women may have higher levels of fear because they are more sensitive to the risks and experiences of crime than men. Employing the integrated theory, the incongruity in the distribution of fear and victimization can be explained by taking note of the differences in male and female socialization processes.

According to Hagan (1990: 140), "mother-daughter forms of relational and instrumental control make daughters and later mothers more averse to risk taking,

which in turn leaves women less vulnerable than men to most other forms of crime victimization." The implication of these greater restrictions on females is that their lifestyles or routine activities are qualitatively different than males. The risk and fear of victimization, as well as the activities associated with the consumption sphere are obviously different than those associated with the production sphere. Thus, it can be postulated that risk taking is negatively related to gender differences in fear of victimization, but positively related to rates of victimization.

However, a passive lifestyle which involves little risk taking behaviour also has implications for victimization (Fattah and Sacco, 1989; Kennedy and Silverman, 1990). According to the lifestyle/routine activities approach, women are routinely less likely to be involved in risky situations. Women's lack of involvement can be regarded as precaution which leads to their lower rate of victimization. However, an implication of women isolating themselves is that they are disproportionately the victims of crimes that occur in the home, such as domestic violence (Horton, 1986: 60).

CONCLUSION

The theoretical integration of power-control theory and the lifestyle/routine activities approach provides a framework the recognizes that offending behaviour and victimization are sufficiently related so that similar factors produce both offenders and victims. More precisely, a combination of constraints imposed by the social structure, similar interests and values often produces the potential pool of offenders and the potential pool of victims and the situations in which they are likely to come into contact with one another.

CHAPTER 5 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

INTRODUCTION

Chapter Five features a discussion of the advantages and problems associated with the theoretical integration of power-control theory and the lifestyle/routine activities perspective. Based on the evaluation of the theoretical integration, directions for future research are suggested.

ADVANTAGES OF INTEGRATION

I. Macro-Micro Link

The integration of the theories has elaborated on the macro-micro link within each theory. For power-control theory, the addition of lifestyle/routine activities theory illustrates how society provides an opportunity structure for criminal behaviour. Also, the link allows us to consider the implications of engaging in certain types of lifestyles. For example, engaging in a risky lifestyle increases the likelihood of involvement in offending behaviour, as well as the risk of victimization.

In addition, the link suggests that future research needs to examine in more detail target/selection factors (Fattah, 1991; Kennedy and Forde, 1990a; Kennedy and Silverman, 1990; Miethe and Meier, 1990) because this is where the macro-micro link is established. Information is

necessary on how offenders themselves perceive the compatibility among risks, opportunities, sanctions, skills needed, and rewards with their motives, expertise, and goals (Brantingham and Brantingham, 1984; Cornish and Clarke, 1987; Fattah, 1991; LaFree and Birkbeck, 1991). These perceptions provide a basis for selecting among alternative courses of action, and eventually structure the offender's choice. Instead of assuming that potential offenders are driven by a general disposition to offend which makes them indifferent to the nature of the crime they commit, the integrated theory contends that specific crimes are chosen and committed for certain reasons.

The theoretical integration, with respect to lifestyle/routine activities theory serves to elaborate on the nature of the structural forces that shape lifestyle patterns. Specifically, power-control theory provides an explanation for the qualitative differences in the lifestyles/routine activities of men and women. Thus, the integration gives a more refined account of how these differences affect one's exposure to risk and eventually the risk of victimization.

II. Crime Prevention

If crimes are to prevented and crime control policies developed, the study of criminal behaviour and

victimization must not focus only on the offenders, we also need to understand the criminal acts themselves. According to Cornish and Clarke (1986: vi):

> If crimes are the result of broadly rational choices based on analyses of anticipated costs and benefits, it suggests that, instead of seeing crime as a unitary phenomenon, our analysis of criminal behavior must become much more crime-specific. . . Instead of concentrating attention solely on the criminal and on factors governing his involvement in particular crimes, attention must be paid to the criminal event itself and the situational factors that influence its commission.

By understanding those features of crimes which make them attractive to certain groups of offenders, effective situational crime prevention strategies can be developed. In addition, such an approach will enable policy makers to anticipate the amount and direction of displacement to other similar forms of crime (Cornish and Clarke, 1987).

III. Links Criminological and Victimological Theories

The linking power-control theory to the lifestyle/routine activities framework is an attempt to link criminology to victimology. Given the interdependence of crime and victimization, the study of crime would not be complete without a study of victims and the study of victimization is incomplete without studying criminals (Fattah, 1991; Gottfredson, 1981 Miethe and Meier, 1990).

An examination of the crime and victimization requires a holistic approach that links criminological theories with theories of victimology so that we have a better understanding of who victimizes whom and why. "At the very least, an understanding of how variations in crime are interrelated with variations in patterns of legitimate behavior should temper the urge to offer simplistic one-sided explanations of crime" (Garofalo, 1987: 41).

PROBLEMS WITH INTEGRATION

I. Role of Values

As discussed earlier, the role of values is not incompatible with either power-control theory or the lifestyle/routine activities framework. The integration of the two theories is not inconsistent with the argument that children are socialized by their parents so that they internalize the values of society. If a capitalist society places a value on economic success, then children develop a disposition oriented towards risk taking behaviour. Consequently, this risk taking behaviour increases the likelihood of engaging in delinquency and subsequently the risk of victimization. Thus, the role of values is an area that future research needs to address.

II. Role of Peers

As noted by Bernard(1989: 151), the theory of action does not incorporate the role of peers in forming or transmitting values. Besides a consideration of the effect of involvement with delinquent associates on victimization risk, the integrated theory ignores the transmission of criminal values. While the role of peers in the transmission of values remains a debated issue in criminological research, (c.f., Akers, 1985; Hirschi, 1969) the debate does not prevent integration and can be put aside pending future research (Bernard, 1989: 151).

III. Bernard's Theoretical Integration Approach

Gibbs(1987) argues that Bernard's(1989) axioms are incomprehensible because Bernard does not justify treating social structure, interests, values, and actions as quantitative properties or values. That is, how can actions or values vary among social units in any quantitative sense? "Bernard's integrated theory is not couched in terms of types of anything, and for that reason alone his axioms are empty formulas" (Gibbs, 1987: 193).

Although Gibb's criticism is valid, his preoccupation with quantifying the theory ignores the distinction between proposing a theory and testing a theory. Bernard's theoretical approach suggests types of

questions that must be asked in constructing a theory of action. By linking power-control theory and the lifestyle/routine activities approach, it appears that the questions posed by Bernard can be answered. For the theorist, the objective then is to determine whether these questions are adequately dealt with by the theoretical integration. As Elliott(1985) contends, it is to be expected that causal relationships in a new theory are proposed on purely logical grounds, with no direct empirical evidence to support or refute them. Bernard's theoretical integration approach should be regarded as a formulation of linkages among different theoretical arguments. Thus, "the key question to raise when considering the rationale for theoretical integration is whether or not it is, in fact a more useful strategy for theoretical growth and development than are other strategies" (Liska et al., 1989: 2). Based on this rationale, Bernard's theory of action appears to satisfy the criteria.

CONCLUSION

For power-control theory, the lifestyle/routine activities framework has provided a fuller understanding of the macro-micro link and the role of the opportunity structure. From the perspective of the lifestyle/routine activities framework, power-control theory has

contributed a motivated offender, a way to explain the gender difference in exposure to risk which affects victimization, and has elaborated on the offending-victimization link.

Although the theoretical integration provides a more comprehensive explanation of the interaction between offending behaviour and situational factors, it is apparent that there is still a vast amount of theoretical research to be done. Up to this point, we can only speculate on the role of values and peer groups. In addition, the question of the adequacy of the theory of action and the testing of this theory remain debatable issues.

Despite the problems associated with the integrated theory, future research would be remiss if it did not examine the interaction between offending behaviour and situational factors in more detail. The integration of power-control theory and the lifestyle/routine activities approach is a step in that direction.

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