Sociological Views of Delinquency

CHAPTER OUTLINE

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Cultural Deviance

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CHAPTER OBJECTIVES

After reading this chapter you should:

1. Know what is meant by the term social disorganization.
2. Understand the relationship between neighborhood fear, unemployment, social change, and lack of cohesion and delinquent behavior patterns.
3. Be familiar with the concept of strain and anomie.
4. Comprehend the elements of general strain theory and the concept of negative affective states.
5. Understand how cultural deviance creates a breeding ground for gangs and law-violating groups.
6. Know the social processes that have been linked to delinquency.
7. Be able to differentiate between learning and control theories.
8. Identify the elements of labeling and stigma that reinforce delinquency.
9. Recognize the role that social conflict plays in creating an environment that breeds antisocial behaviors.
10. Be familiar with the social programs that have been designed to improve neighborhood conditions, help children be properly socialized, and reduce conflict.
The kids who are being helped by the No More Victims programs often live in tough urban environments in families torn apart and in stress. Although there may be some factors related to delinquent behavior at the individual level, the majority of delinquency experts believe that the key to understanding delinquent behavior lies in the social environment. Most delinquents are indigent and desperate, not calculating or evil. Most grew up in deteriorated parts of town and lack the social support and economic resources familiar to more affluent members of society. Understanding delinquent behavior, then, requires analyzing the influence of these destructive social forces on human behavior.

Explanations of delinquency as an individual-level phenomenon fail to account for these consistent social patterns in delinquency. If violence is related to biochemical or chromosomal abnormality, then how can we explain the fact that some areas of the city, state, and country have much higher crime and delinquency rates than others? Large cities have more crime problems than rural towns; inner-city areas have higher delinquency rates than suburban areas. It is unlikely that all people with physical or mental problems live in one section of town or in one area of the country. Some individual-level theorists believe that viewing violent TV shows can cause aggression. Yet adolescents in rural and suburban areas watch the same shows and movies as kids who live in the city. If the media causes violence, how can urban-rural delinquency rate differences be explained? If violence has a biological or psychological origin, should it not be distributed more evenly throughout the social structure, as opposed to being concentrated in certain areas?

**SOCIAL FACTORS AND DELINQUENCY**

What are the critical social factors believed to cause or affect delinquent behaviors?

- **Interpersonal interactions.** The shape of interpersonal relationships may be a source of delinquent behavior. Social relationships with families, peers, schools, jobs, criminal justice agencies, and the like, may play an important role in creating or restraining delinquency. In contemporary American society, there has been a reduction in the influence of the family and an increased emphasis on individuality, independence, and isolation. Weakened family ties have been linked to crime and delinquency.
Community ecological conditions. Residing in a deteriorated inner-city area that is wracked by poverty, decay, fear, and despair influences delinquency. These areas are the home of delinquent gangs and groups.

Social change. Political unrest and mistrust, economic stress, and family disintegration are social changes that have been found to precede sharp increases in crime rates. Conversely, stabilization of traditional social institutions typically precedes crime rate declines.³

Socioeconomic status. Socioeconomic status may also affect delinquency. It seems logical that people on the lowest rung of the economic ladder will have the greatest incentive to commit crime: they may be enraged by their lack of economic success or simply financially desperate and disillusioned. In either instance, delinquency, despite its inherent dangers, may appear an attractive alternative to a life of indigence. Economic influences may be heightened by the rapid advance in technology; kids who lack the requisite social and educational training have found the road to success almost impassable. A lack of opportunity for upward mobility may make drug dealing and other crimes an attractive solution for socially deprived but economically enterprising people.⁴

In this chapter we will review the most prominent social theories of delinquency. They are divided into three main groups: (1) social structure theories hold that delinquency is a function of a person’s place in the economic structure; (2) social process theories view delinquency as the result of a person’s interaction with critical elements of socialization; and (3) social conflict theories consider delinquent behavior to be a result of economic deprivation caused by the inequities of the capitalist system of production.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE THEORIES

In 1966, sociologist Oscar Lewis coined the phrase culture of poverty to describe the crushing burden faced by the urban poor.⁵ According to Lewis, the culture of poverty is marked by apathy, cynicism, helplessness, and mistrust of institutions such as police and government. Mistrust of authority prevents the impoverished from taking advantage of the few conventional opportunities available to them. The result is a permanent...
underclass whose members have little chance of upward mobility or improvement. This extreme level of economic and social hardship has been related to psychological maladjustment: people who live in poverty are more likely to suffer low self-esteem, depression, and loneliness.6

Nowhere are urban problems more pressing than in the inner-city neighborhoods that experience constant population turnover as their more affluent residents move to stable communities or suburbs. Social conditions have actually worsened in some urban areas during the past decade.7 As a city becomes hollowed out, with a deteriorated inner core surrounded by less devastated communities, delinquency rates spiral upward.8 Those remaining are forced to live in communities with poorly organized social networks, alienated populations, and high crime.9 Members of the urban underclass, typically minority group members, are referred to by sociologist William Julius Wilson as the truly disadvantaged.10

The impoverished are deprived of a standard of living enjoyed by most other citizens, and their children suffer from much more than financial hardship. They attend poor schools, live in substandard housing, and lack good health care. More than half of families in poverty are fatherless and husbandless; many are supported entirely by government aid. Instead of increasing government aid to the needy, however, in the past decade a concerted effort has been made to limit eligibility for public assistance.

Neighborhoods that provide few employment opportunities are the most vulnerable to predatory crime. Unemployment destabilizes households, and unstable families are more likely to produce children who choose aggression as a means of dealing with limited opportunity. Lack of employment opportunity also limits the authority of parents, reducing their ability to influence children. Because adults cannot serve as role models, the local culture is dominated by gangs whose members are both feared and respected. Predatory crime increases to levels that cannot easily be controlled by police. Hundreds of studies have documented the association between family poverty and children’s health, achievement, and behavior.11 Children in poor families suffer many problems, including inadequate education. They are less likely to achieve in school and to complete their schooling than are children with more affluent parents.12

Poor children are more likely to suffer from health problems and to receive inadequate health care. Unfortunately, the number of children covered by health insurance has decreased and will continue to do so for the foreseeable future.13 Lack of coverage almost guarantees that these children will suffer health problems that will impede their long-term development. Children who live in extreme poverty or who remain poor for extended periods exhibit the worst outcomes.14 Poor children are much more likely than the wealthy to suffer social ills ranging from low birthweight to never earning a college degree. The cycle of poverty can lead to a variety of adverse outcomes, including life- and health-endangering conditions (see Figure 4.1). Providing adequate care to children under these circumstances can be an immense undertaking.
This view of delinquency is both structural and cultural. It holds that delinquency is a consequence of the inequalities built into the social structure and the cultural values that form in inner-city, poverty areas. Even youths who receive the loving support of family members are at risk of delinquency if they suffer from social disadvantage.\footnote{15}

The social structure theories tie delinquency rates to socioeconomic conditions and cultural values. Areas that experience high levels of poverty and social disorganization will also have high delinquency rates. Residents of such areas view prevailing social values skeptically; they are frustrated by their inability to be part of the American
Chapter 4

The process of transforming a lower-class area into a middle-class mixed use. Gentrified, going from poor, commercial, or transient to stable, residential, and affluent.

Social Disorganization

The concept of social disorganization was first recognized early in the twentieth century by sociologists Clifford Shaw and Henry McKay. These Chicago-based scholars found that delinquency rates were high in what they called transitional neighborhoods—areas that had changed from affluence to decay. Here, factories and commercial establishments were interspersed with private residences. In such environments, teenage gangs developed as a means of survival, defense, and friendship. Gang leaders recruited younger members, passing on delinquent traditions and ensuring survival of the gang from one generation to the next, a process referred to as cultural transmission. While mapping delinquency rates in Chicago, Shaw and McKay noted that distinct ecological areas had developed what could be visualized as a series of concentric zones, each with a stable delinquency rate (see Figure 4.2). The areas of heaviest delinquency concentration appeared to be the poverty-stricken, transitional, inner-city zones. The zones farthest from the city’s center were the least prone to delinquency. Analysis of these data indicated a stable pattern of delinquent activity in the ecological zones over a sixty-five-year period.

According to the social disorganization view, a healthy, organized community has the ability to regulate itself so that common goals (such as living in a crime-free area) can be achieved; this is referred to as social control. Those neighborhoods that become disorganized are incapable of social control because they are wracked by deterioration and economic failure; they are most at risk for delinquency. In areas where social control remains high, children are less likely to become involved with deviant peers and engage in problem behaviors. Social institutions like schools and churches cannot work effectively in the climate of alienation and mistrust that characterizes disorganized areas. The absence of political power limits access to external funding and protection; without outside resources and financial aid, the neighborhood cannot get back on its feet.

Children who reside in disorganized neighborhoods find that involvement with conventional social institutions, such as schools and after-school programs, is either absent or blocked, which puts them at risk for recruitment into gangs.

These problems are stubborn and difficult to overcome. Even when an attempt is made to revitalize a disorganized neighborhood by creating institutional support programs such as community centers and better schools, the effort may be countered by the ongoing drain of deep-rooted economic and social deprivation. Even in relatively crime-free rural areas, areas that are disorganized because of residential instability, family disruption, and changing ethnic composition have relatively high rates of delinquent behavior and youth violence.

A number of concepts define contemporary social disorganization theory.

Relative Deprivation

According to the concept of relative deprivation, in communities where the poor and the wealthy live relatively close to one another, kids who feel they are less well off than others begin to form negative self-feelings and hostility, a condition that motivates them to engage in delinquent and antisocial behaviors. This feeling of relative deprivation fuels the frustration that eventually produces high delinquency rates.

Community Change

Some impoverished areas are being rehabilitated or gentrified, going from poor, commercial, or transient to stable, residential, and affluent.
Other formerly affluent communities are becoming rundown. As communities go through these changes, levels of delinquency increase.\footnote{26}

Communities on the downswing are likely to experience increases in the number of single-parent families, changes in housing from owner- to renter-occupied units, a loss of semiskilled and unskilled jobs, and the growth in the numbers of discouraged, unemployed workers who are no longer seeking jobs. These communities also tend to develop mixed-use areas in which commercial and residential properties stand side by side, an ecological development that increases the opportunity to commit crime.\footnote{27}

**Community Fear** Disorganized neighborhoods suffer social incivility—trash and litter, graffiti, burned-out buildings, drunks, vagabonds, loafers, prostitutes, noise, congestion, angry words. This evidence of incivility convinces residents that their neighborhood is dangerous and in decline.\footnote{28} They become fearful and wary and try not to leave their homes at night.

Fear of crime is much higher in disorganized neighborhoods than in affluent suburbs.\footnote{29} Residents have little confidence that the government can do anything to
counter the drug dealers and gangs that terrorize the neighborhood. They tell others of their experiences, spreading the word that the neighborhood is dangerous. Businesses avoid these areas and neighbors try to move out and relocate to other, safer areas. As people and businesses leave, the neighborhood becomes even more destabilized and crime rates soar. Neighborhood kids may adjust psychologically by taking risks and discounting the future; teenage birthrates soar, and so do violence rates. As crime rates rise, so does fear.

In fear-ridden neighborhoods, social institutions cannot mount an effective social control effort. Because the population is transient, interpersonal relationships tend to be superficial. Neighbors don’t know each other and can’t help each other out. Social institutions such as schools and religious groups cannot work effectively in a climate of mistrust. When community social control efforts are blunted, crime rates increase, further weakening neighborhood cohesiveness. As cohesiveness declines, fear increases, which reduces community cohesion and thwarts the ability of its institutions to exert social control over its residents. This never-ending cycle is shown in Figure 4.3.

**Community Cohesion** In contrast to disorganized areas, cohesive communities have high levels of social control and social integration; people know one another and develop interpersonal ties. Residents of these areas develop a sense of collective efficacy: mutual trust and a willingness to intervene in the supervision of children and help maintain public order. Communities that are able to maintain collective efficacy can utilize their local institutions—businesses, stores, schools, churches, and social service and volunteer organizations—to control crime. These institutions can be effective in helping kids avoid gang membership, thereby lowering neighborhood crime rates. Parents in these areas are able to call on neighborhood resources to help control their children; single mothers do not have to face the burden of providing adequate supervision alone.

**Anomie/Strain**

Inhabitants of a disorganized inner-city area feel isolated, frustrated, ostracized from the economic mainstream, hopeless, and eventually angry. These are all signs of what sociologists call strain. How do these feelings affect criminal activities? To relieve strain, indigent people may achieve their goals through deviant methods, such as theft or drug trafficking, or they may reject socially accepted goals and substitute more deviant goals, such as being tough and aggressive.

Strain theorists view crime as a direct result of lower-class frustration and anger. Strain is limited in affluent areas because educational and vocational opportunities...
are available. In disorganized areas, strain occurs because legitimate avenues for success are all but closed.

It was Robert Merton (1910–2003), one of America’s preeminent sociologists, who adopted the concept of strain to explain crime and delinquency. Merton argued that although most people share common values and goals, the means for legitimate economic and social success are stratified by socioeconomic class. Upper-class kids have ready access to good education and prestigious jobs; kids in the lower class rarely have such opportunities. Without acceptable means for obtaining success, individuals feel social and psychological strain; Merton called this condition anomie. Consequently, these youths may either (1) use deviant methods to achieve their goals (for example, stealing money) or (2) reject socially accepted goals and substitute deviant ones (for example, becoming drug users or alcoholics). Feelings of anomie or strain are not typically found in middle- and upper-class communities, where education and prestigious occupations are readily obtainable. In lower-class areas, however, strain occurs because legitimate avenues for success are closed. Considering the economic stratification of U.S. society, anomie predicts that crime will prevail in lower-class culture, which it does.40

**General Strain Theory** Merton’s view focuses on the strain that builds up when lower-class kids become frustrated because they lack the means for achieving their personal goals. In his general strain theory, sociologist Robert Agnew argues that there are actually more sources of strain than Merton realized (see Figure 4.4).41

1. **Strain caused by failure to achieve positively valued goals.** This type of strain will occur when youths aspire to wealth and fame but assume that such goals are impossible to achieve. Also falling within this category is the strain that occurs when individuals compare themselves with peers who seem to be doing a lot better, or when youths believe they are not being treated fairly by a parent or a teacher. Such perceptions may result in reactions ranging from running away from the source of the problem to lowering the benefits of others through physical attacks or vandalism of their property. For example, the student who believes

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**Figure 4.4 Elements of General Strain Theory**

- **Sources of strain**
  - Failure to achieve goals
  - Disjunction of expectations and achievements
  - Removal of positive stimuli
  - Presentation of negative stimuli

- **Negative affective states**
  - Anger
  - Frustration
  - Disappointment
  - Depression
  - Fear

- **Antisocial behavior**
  - Drug abuse
  - Delinquency
  - Violence
  - Dropping out

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**anomie**

Normlessness produced by rapidly shifting moral values; according to Merton, anomie occurs when personal goals cannot be achieved using available means.

**general strain theory**

Links delinquency to the strain of being locked out of the economic mainstream, which creates the anger and frustration that lead to delinquent acts.
According to Agnew, strain may be caused by the presence of negative pain-inducing interactions within the family, such as child abuse and neglect. Children who are abused at home may take their rage out on younger children at school or become involved in violent delinquency. On the other hand, a warm, supportive family life, such as that shown here, can help kids cope with delinquency-producing environmental strain.

He is being “picked on” unfairly by a teacher slashes the tires on the teacher’s car for revenge.

2. Strain as the removal of positively valued stimuli. Strain may occur because of the loss of a positively valued stimulus. For example, the loss of a girlfriend or boyfriend can produce strain, as can the death of a loved one, moving to a new neighborhood, or the divorce or separation of parents. Loss of positive stimuli may lead to delinquency as the adolescent tries to prevent the loss, retrieve what has been lost, obtain substitutes, or seek revenge against those responsible for the loss. For example, a child who experiences parental separation or divorce early in his life may seek out deviant peers to help fill his emotional needs and in so doing increase his chances of delinquency.

3. Strain as the presentation of negative stimuli. Strain may also be caused by negative stimuli. Included in this category are such pain-inducing social interactions as child abuse, criminal victimization, school failure, and stressful events, ranging from verbal threats to air pollution. For example, children who are abused at home may take their rage out on younger children at school or become involved in violent delinquency.

According to Agnew, adolescents engage in delinquency as a result of negative affective states—the anger, frustration, fear, and other adverse emotions that derive from strain. The greater the intensity and frequency of strain experienced, the greater their impact and the more likely they are to cause delinquency. Research supports many of Agnew’s claims: kids who report feelings of stress and anger are more likely to interact with delinquent peers and engage in criminal behaviors; people who fail to meet success goals are more likely to engage in illegal activities.

In sum, kids who feel strain because of stress, disappointment, and anger are more likely to engage in delinquent behaviors. To relieve their feelings of frustration, they may join deviant groups and gangs whose law-violating activities produce even more strain and pressures, which result in even more crime.

Agnew himself has recently found evidence that experiencing violent victimization and anticipating future victimization are associated with antisocial behavior. This finding indicates not only that strain is produced by actual experiences but that it may result from anticipated ones.
**Checkpoints**

- The social structure view is that position in the socioeconomic structure influences the chances of becoming a delinquent.
- Poor kids are more likely to commit crimes because they are unable to achieve monetary or social success in any other way.
- Kids who live in socially disorganized areas commit crime because the forces of social control have broken down.
- Strain occurs when kids experience anger over their inability to achieve legitimate social and economic success.
- The best-known strain theory is Robert Merton’s theory of anomie, which describes what happens when people have inadequate means to satisfy their goals.
- Robert Agnew’s general strain theory holds that strain has multiple sources.
- Cultural deviance theories hold that a unique value system develops in lower-class areas; lower-class kids approve of behaviors such as being tough and having street smarts.

To quiz yourself on this material, go to questions 4.1-4.12 on the Juvenile Delinquency: The Core 2e Web site.

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**Cultural Deviance**

The third structural theory, cultural deviance theory, holds that delinquency is a result of youths’ desire to conform to lower-class neighborhood cultural values that conflict with those of the larger society. Lower-class values include being tough, never showing fear, living for today, and disrespecting authority. In a socially disorganized neighborhood, conventional values such as honesty, obedience, and hard work make little sense to youths whose role models may include the neighborhood gun runner, drug dealer, or pimp. Those adolescents who share lower-class values and admire criminals, drug dealers, and pimps find it difficult to impress authority figures such as teachers or employers. They experience a form of culture conflict and are rendered incapable of achieving success in a legitimate fashion; as a result, they join together in gangs and engage in behavior that is malicious and negativistic.

Both legitimate and illegitimate opportunities are closed to youths in the most disorganized inner-city areas. Consequently, they may join violent gangs to defend their turf, displaying their bravery and fighting prowess. Instead of aspiring to be “preppies” or “yuppies,” they want to be considered tough and street-smart.

Youths living in disorganized areas consider themselves part of an urban underclass whose members must use their wits to survive or they will succumb to poverty, alcoholism, and drug addiction. Exploitation of women abounds in a culture wracked by limited opportunity. Sexual conquest is one of the few areas open to lower-class males for achieving self-respect. The absence of male authority figures contributes to the fear that marriage will limit freedom. Peers heap scorn on anyone who allows himself to get “trapped” by a female, fueling the number of single-parent households. Youths who are committed to the norms of this deviant subculture are also more likely to disparage agents of conventional society such as police and teachers. By joining gangs and committing crimes, lower-class youths are rejecting the culture that has already rejected them; they may be failures in conventional society, but they are the kings and queens of the neighborhood.

If the culture of the community helps promote delinquency, then it may be possible to prevent delinquency by reshaping community climate. That approach is the subject of the following Preventing and Treating Delinquency feature.

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**SOCIAL PROCESS THEORIES: SOCIALIZATION AND DELINQUENCY**

Not all sociologists believe that merely living in an impoverished, deteriorated, lower-class area is determinant of a delinquent career. Instead, they argue that the root cause of delinquency may be traced to learning delinquent attitudes from peers, becoming detached from school, or experiencing conflict in the home. Although social position is important, socialization is considered to be the key determinant of behavior. If the socialization process is incomplete or negatively focused, it can produce an adolescent with a poor self-image who is alienated from conventional social institutions.

Socialization is the process of guiding people into acceptable behavior patterns through information, approval, rewards, and punishments. It involves learning the techniques needed to function in society. Socialization is a developmental process that is influenced by family and peers, neighbors, teachers, and other authority figures.

Early socialization experiences have a lifelong influence on self-image, values, and behavior. Even children living in the most deteriorated inner-city environments will not get involved in delinquency if their socialization experiences are positive. After all, most inner-city youths do not commit serious crimes, and relatively few of those who do become career criminals. More than fourteen million youths live in poverty, but the majority do not become chronic offenders. Simply living in a violent neighborhood does not produce violent children; research shows that family, peer,
SafeFutures: Using Community Resources to Prevent and Control Youth Crime and Victimization

Youth violence and delinquency are particular problems for communities suffering from economic and social disorganization. In Boston, Massachusetts, the Blue Hill Corridor—consisting of the Grove Hill, Franklin Hill/Franklin Field, and Mattapan neighborhoods—has a history of poor economy, inaccessibility to resources, high unemployment rates, and violence. The SafeFutures program was created to help reduce delinquency in these and other neighborhoods suffering from high delinquency rates and economic problems. The goals of SafeFutures are as follows:

- Create partnerships among all levels of government.
- Develop graduated sanctions to hold youths accountable to their victims and communities.
- Reduce the risk factors of delinquency in the community.
- Provide services for at-risk juveniles and immediate interventions for juvenile offenders.

Program Components

SafeFutures has implemented a set of four services that build on community services, strengths, and supports:

- Treatment and enforcement programs
- Prevention and early intervention programs
- Gang-free schools and community initiatives
- Prevention and early intervention programs for at-risk and delinquent girls

The treatment and enforcement component strengthens relationships between the police department, district attorney, probation department, and city government institutions. This involves a day treatment center for increasing availability of after-care services (services provided after a child gets in trouble with the law), mental health services, counseling, job training, education programs, and enforcement of probation for the juvenile justice system. In addition, this component provides probation officers with funds to work on volunteer programs to help juveniles meet their probation obligations.

The prevention and early intervention component provides age-appropriate violence prevention programs that improve and expand existing mentoring programs. Annual open houses are held for families to meet local social service providers.

The gang-free schools and community initiatives are geared to prevent gang participation in middle schools and high schools. The initiative creates alternative schools for teens who are at a high risk of engaging in gang activity. Finally, there are also prevention and early intervention programs for at-risk and delinquent girls, including a case management system for girls sent to juvenile court, and counseling for girls in need. In a joint effort with local social service agencies, SafeFutures plans to create educational aid, mentoring, team and sport activities, health education, individual treatment help, family counseling, a twenty-four-hour help line, and vocational trade support.

SafeFutures is now being tried as a demonstration project in six communities. In addition to Boston, other sites include Seattle, Washington; St. Louis, Missouri; Contra Costa County and Imperial County, California; and Fort Belknap, Montana. Each of the six communities have received funds from the federal government to provide a group of services that build strength, service, and support in the community.

CRITICAL THINKING

Is it a wise use of scarce public funds to create prevention programs such as SafeFutures, or would society be better served by building more secure juvenile institutions and incarcerating youthful offenders? Would a deterrence strategy be a more effective method of gang control than one based on education, treatment, and counseling?

INFOTRAC COLLEGE EDITION RESEARCH


What Does This Mean to Me?

Tools That Can Make a Difference

When you think about your community, what organization might you start, or volunteer to assist, that could enhance children’s lives and help prevent gang violence and delinquency? Consider, for example, these:

- A peer-support hotline—to address issues and questions about gangs, drugs, crime, and personal problems.
- Preventive education programs—skits and workshops on topics such as suicide, child abuse, teen pregnancy, and AIDS presented at shopping malls, schools, and community centers.
- Improvement projects for neighborhoods—to encourage children and young people to participate in projects to clean up graffiti and improve neighborhoods.
- Learning public life skills—programs might include public speaking, planning, and active listening.
- Organizing young people for social change—volunteers work with children and young people to organize so that their voices can be heard.

Do you think these would work? What others might you suggest?

Even potentially productive activities such as an after-school job can promote crime if it means unsupervised involvement with peers who advocate that money earned be spent on bling bling, drugs, and alcohol rather than saving for a college education. Kids who maintain close relations with antisocial peers will sustain their own criminal behavior into their adulthood. When peer influence diminishes, so does delinquent activity.

Sociologists believe that the socialization process affects delinquency in three different ways.
Delinquency may be learned through interaction with other people. By interacting with deviant peers, parents, neighbors, and relatives, kids may learn both the techniques of crime and the attitudes necessary to support delinquency. According to this view, because they learn to commit crimes, children who are born “good” learn to be “bad” from others.

Control. Delinquency may result when life circumstances weaken the attachment a child has to family, peers, school, and society. Because their bonds to these institutions are severed, some adolescents feel free to exercise antisocial behavior. This view assumes that people are born “bad” and then must be taught to control themselves through the efforts of parents and teachers.

Reaction. Some kids are considered winners by others; they are admired and envied. Others are labeled as “troublemakers,” “losers,” or “punks.” They are stigmatized and find themselves locked out of conventional society and into a deviant or delinquent way of life. This view holds that kids are born neither bad nor good but become what they are through the reactions of others.

Each of these views is discussed in the following sections.

Dare to Be You

Dare to Be You (DTBY) is a multilevel, primary prevention program for children ages two to five and their families. The main goal is to lower the risk of future substance abuse. Program founders believe that a child’s future high-risk activities can be curtailed by improving parent- and child-protective factors in the areas of communication, problem solving, self-esteem, and family skills.

How Does It Work?

DTBY is a community-based program. Participants come from every social, racial, and ethnic background. The program targets low parental effectiveness, which causes children to be insufficiently prepared to enter school. The goals include these:

- Improved parental competence
- Increased satisfaction with and positive attitude about being a parent
- Adoption and use of nurturing family management strategies
- Increased and appropriate use of limit setting
- Substantial decreases in parental use of harsh punishment
- Significant increases in child developmental levels

The program has three main components:

- **Family component.** The program offers parent, youth, and family training, with activities teaching self-responsibility, personal and parenting efficacy, communication, and social skills. It seeks to help families suffering from poor communication, unstable family environment, and mental health problems. It consists of a twelve-week (thirty-hour) family workshop series and semiannual twelve-hour reinforcing family workshops.

- **School component.** The program trains and supports teachers and child-care providers who work with the targeted youth.

- **Community component.** The program trains community members who interact with target families: local health departments, social services agencies, probation officers, and counselors. It focuses on community problems such as levels of alcohol and drug use.

Outcomes and Results

The results of this prevention program have been quite good. Families enrolled in the program have experienced an increase in parental effectiveness and satisfaction with their children. Other success indicators are a decrease in parent-child conflict, a reduction in the use of harsh punishment, and an increase in the children’s developmental level. Researchers find that the addition of school and community components is necessary for a successful systems approach. Overall, the DTBY program builds on community strengths to establish efficacy.

CRITICAL THINKING

Do you believe it is possible for a government-sponsored program to overcome the negative outcomes of years of personal deprivation suffered by adolescents living in disorganized, deteriorated neighborhoods?

**INFOTRAC COLLEGE EDITION RESEARCH**


Social Learning Theories

Social learning theories hold that children living in even the most deteriorated areas can resist inducements to crime if they have learned proper values and behaviors. Delinquency, by contrast, develops by learning the values and behaviors associated with criminal activity. Kids can learn deviant values from their parents, relatives, or peers. Social learning can involve the techniques of crime (how to hot-wire a car) as well as the psychological aspects (how to deal with guilt). The former are needed to commit crimes, whereas the latter are required to cope with the emotional turmoil that follows.

The best-known social learning theory is Edwin Sutherland’s differential association theory. Sutherland believed that as children are socialized, they are exposed to and learn prosocial and antisocial attitudes and behavior from friends, relatives, parents, and so on. A prodelinquency definition might be “don’t get mad, get even” or “only suckers work for a living” (see Figure 4.5). Simply put, if the prodelinquency definitions they have learned outweigh the antidelinquency definitions, kids will be vulnerable to choosing criminal behaviors over conventional ones. The prodelinquency definitions will be particularly influential if they come from significant others such as parents or peers and are frequent and intense. In contrast, if a child is constantly told by her parents to be honest and never harm others, and is brought up in environment in which people “practice what they preach,” then she will have learned the necessary attitudes and behaviors to allow her to avoid environmental inducements to delinquency.

Social Control Theories

Social control theories suggest that the cause of delinquency lies in the strength of the relationships a child forms with conventional individuals and groups. Those who are socialized to have close relationships with their parents, friends, and teachers will develop a positive self-image and the ability to resist the lure of deviant behaviors. They develop a strong commitment to conformity that enables them to resist pressures to
violate the law. If, however, their bonds to society become fractured or broken, youths will feel free to violate the law because they are not worried about jeopardizing their social relationships (see Figure 4.6).

The most prominent control theory is the one developed by sociologist Travis Hirschi. In his classic book *Causes of Delinquency*, Hirschi set out the following arguments:

- All people have the potential to commit crimes—for example, under-age drinking—because they are pleasurable.
- People are kept in check by their social bonds or attachments to society.
- If these social bonds are weakened, kids are able to engage in antisocial but personally desirable behaviors.

Hirschi argues that the **social bond** a person maintains with society contains four main elements.

- **Attachment** to parents, peers, and schools
- **Commitment** to the pursuit of conventional activities such as getting an education and saving for the future
- **Involvement** in conventional activities such as school, sports, and religion
- **Belief** in values such as sensitivity to the rights of others and respect for the legal code

If any or all of these elements of the social bond weaken, kids are free to violate the law. For example, a boy who is not attached to his parents may also lack commitment to his future. It is unlikely that he will be involved in conventional activities such as sports, school, or church. It is also likely that he will not believe in conventional

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**Figure 4.6** Elements of the Social Bond

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**social bond**

Ties a person to the institutions and processes of society; elements of the bond include attachment, commitment, involvement, and belief.
values such as “honesty,” “hard work,” and “discipline.” Because he does not have to worry what his parents or teachers think about him or about how his behavior will affect his future, he is free to engage in unconventional activities such as shoplifting, substance abuse, and precocious sex. It really doesn’t matter if he gets caught, he has little to lose.

Hirschi’s vision of delinquency causation is one of the most influential of recent times. There is a significant amount of research evidence that supports his ideas:

- Positive social attachments help control delinquency.68
- Kids who are detached from the educational experience are at risk of criminality.69
- Kids who do well and are committed to school are less likely to engage in delinquent acts.70
- Kids who are attached to their families are less likely to get involved in a deviant peer group and consequently less likely to engage in criminal activities.71

Although many research efforts support Hirschi’s ideas, some important questions have been raised about his views. For example, Hirschi argues that commitment to future success, such as an exciting career, reduces delinquent involvement. What about the adolescent who wants to be a success but fails to achieve what he desires; would the resulting strain make him crime-prone?72 Questions have also been raised about the social relations of delinquents. Hirschi portrays them as “lone wolves,” detached from family and friends, while some critics believe that delinquents do maintain close peer group ties.73 In fact, there is some evidence that drug abusers maintain even more intimate relations with peers than do nonabusers.74 Hirschi would counter that what appears to be a close friendship is really a relationship of convenience—“Birds of a feather flock together.” Do you really believe that gang boys have close relationships and “bond” with one another?

According to Hirschi, kids who are involved in conventional activities, such as the champion athletes shown here, will enhance their social bond and resist delinquent temptations.
Despite these questions, Hirschi’s vision of control has remained one of the most influential models of delinquency for the past twenty-five years.

Social Reaction Theories

Another group of sociologists believes that the way society reacts to individuals and the way individuals react to society determines individual behavior. Becoming stigmatized, or labeled, by agents of social control, including official institutions such as the police and the courts, and unofficial institutions, such as parents and neighbors, is what creates and sustains delinquent careers.75

According to this view, also known as labeling theory, youths may violate the law for a variety of reasons, including poor family relationships, peer pressure, psychological abnormality, and prodelinquent learning experiences. Regardless of the cause, if individuals’ delinquent behaviors are detected, the offenders will be given a negative label that can follow them throughout life. These labels include “juvenile delinquent,” “mentally ill,” “junkie,” and many more.

The way labels are applied is likely to have important consequences for the delinquent. The degree to which youngsters are perceived as deviants may affect their treatment at home and at school. Parents may consider them a bad influence on younger brothers and sisters. Neighbors may tell their children to avoid the “troublemaker.” Teachers may place them in classes reserved for students with behavior problems, minimizing their chances of obtaining higher education. The delinquency label may also affect the attitudes of society in general, and youthful offenders are subjected to sanctions ranging from mild reprimands to incarceration.

Beyond these results, and depending on the visibility of the label and the manner in which it is applied, youths will have an increasing commitment to delinquent careers. As the negative feedback of law enforcement agencies, teachers, and other figures strengthens their commitment, delinquents may come to see themselves as troublemakers and “screw-ups.” Thus, through a process of identification and sanctioning, reidentification, and increased sanctioning, young offenders are transformed. They are no longer children in trouble; they are “delinquents,” and they accept that label as a personal identity—a process called self-labeling (see Figure 4.7).76

When kids who have been rejected by society violate the criminal law, they may be given official labels, applied in “ceremonies”—for example, during juvenile court trials or expulsion hearings in schools—that are designed to redefine the deviant’s identity.77 The effect of this process is a durable negative label and an accompanying loss of status. The labeled deviant becomes a social outcast who is prevented from enjoying higher education, well-paying jobs, and other societal benefits. Because this label is “official,” few question the accuracy of the assessment. People who may have been merely suspicious now feel justified in their assessments: “I always knew he was a bad kid.”

A good example of the labeling ceremony occurs in juvenile courts. Here offenders find (perhaps for the first time) that authority figures consider them incorrigible outcasts who must be separated from the right-thinking members of society. To reach that decision, the judge relies on the testimony of witnesses—parents, teachers, police officers, social workers, and psychologists—who may testify that the offender is unfit to be part of conventional society.78 As the label juvenile delinquent is conferred on offenders, their identities may be transformed from kids who have done something bad to “bad kids.”79 This process has been observed in the United States and abroad, indicating that the labeling process is universal.80 Kids who perceive that they have been negatively labeled by significant others such as peers and teachers are also more likely to self-report delinquent behavior and adopt a deviant self-concept.81 The labeling process helps create a self-fulfilling prophecy.82 If children continually receive negative feedback from parents, teachers, and others whose opinion they take to heart, they will interpret this rejection as accurate. Their behavior will begin to conform to the negative expectations; they will become the person that

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**stigmatized**
People who have been negatively labeled because of their participation, or alleged participation, in deviant or outlawed behaviors.

**labeling theory**
Posits that society creates deviance through a system of social control agencies that designate (or label) certain individuals as delinquent, thereby stigmatizing them and encouraging them to accept this negative personal identity.

**self-labeling**
The process by which a person who has been negatively labeled accepts the label as a personal role or identity.

**self-fulfilling prophecy**
Deviant behavior patterns that are a response to an earlier labeling experience; youths act out these social roles even if they were falsely bestowed.
others perceive them to be (“Teachers already think I’m stupid, so why should I bother to study?”). The self-fulfilling prophecy leads to a damaged self-image and an increase in antisocial behaviors.83

The labeling perspective can offer important insights:

■ It identifies the role played by social control agents in the process of delinquency causation; delinquent behavior cannot be fully understood if the agencies empowered to control it are ignored.

■ It recognizes that delinquency is not a pathological behavior; it focuses on the social interactions that shape behavior.

■ It distinguishes between delinquent acts and delinquent careers and shows that they must be treated differently.84

Labeling theory, then, may help explain the onset and continuation of a delinquent career. It clarifies why some youths continue down the path of antisocial behavior (they are self-labeled), whereas most are able to desist from crime (they are stigma-free).

SOCIAL CONFLICT THEORIES

According to social conflict theories, society is in a constant state of internal conflict, and different groups strive to impose their will on others. Those with money and power succeed in shaping the law to meet their needs and to maintain their interests. Those adolescents whose behavior cannot conform to the needs of the power elite are defined as delinquents and criminals.

According to this view, those in power use the justice system to maintain their status while keeping others subservient: men use their economic power to subjugate women; members of the majority want to stave off the economic advancement of minorities; capitalists want to reduce the power of workers to ensure they are willing to accept low wages. Conflict theory thus centers around a view of society in which an elite class uses the law as a means of meeting threats to its status. The ruling class is a self-interested collective whose primary interest is self-gain.85

Law and Justice

Social conflict theorists view the law and the justice system as vehicles for controlling the have-not members of society; legal institutions help the powerful and rich to impose their standards of good behavior on the entire society. The law protects the property and physical safety of the have-nots from attack by the have-nots, and helps
control the behavior of those who might otherwise threaten the status quo. The ruling elite draws the lower middle class into this pattern of control, leading it to believe it has a stake in maintaining the status quo. According to social conflict theory, the poor may or may not commit more crimes than the rich, but they certainly are arrested more often. Police may act more forcefully in areas where class conflict creates the perception that extreme forms of social control are needed to maintain order. It is not surprising to conflict theorists that complaints of police brutality are highest in minority neighborhoods. Police misbehavior, which is routine in minority neighborhoods, would never be tolerated in affluent white areas. Consequently, a deep-seated hostility is generated among members of the lower class toward a social order that they may neither shape nor share in.

**The Conflict Concept of Delinquency**

Conflict theorists view delinquency as a normal response to the conditions created by capitalism. In fact, the creation of the legal category *delinquency* is a function of the class consciousness that occurred around the turn of the century. In *The Child Savers*, Anthony Platt documented the creation of the delinquency concept and the role played by wealthy child savers in forming the philosophy of the juvenile court. Platt believed that the child-saving movement’s real goal was to maintain order and control while preserving the existing class system. He and others have concluded that the child savers were powerful citizens who aimed to control the behavior of disenfranchised youths.

Conflict theorists still view delinquent behavior as a function of the capitalist system’s inherent inequity. They argue that capitalism accelerates the trend toward replacing human labor with machines so that youths are removed from the labor force. From early childhood, the values of capitalism are reinforced. Social control agencies such as schools prepare youths for placement in the capitalist system by presenting them with behavior models that will help them conform to later job expectations. For example, rewards for good schoolwork correspond to the rewards a manager uses with employees. In fact, most schools are set up to reward youths who show promise in self-discipline and motivation and are therefore judged likely to perform well in the capitalist system. Youths who are judged inferior as potential job prospects wind up in delinquent roles.

**Class and Delinquency**  The capitalist system affects youths differently at each level of the class structure. In the lowest classes youths form gangs, which can be found in the most desolate ghetto areas. These gangs serve as a means of survival in a system that offers no reasonable alternative. Lower-class youths who live in more stable areas are on the fringe of criminal activity because the economic system excludes them from meaningful opportunity.

Conflict theory also acknowledges middle-class delinquency. The alienation of individuals from one another, the competitive struggle, and the absence of human feeling—all qualities of capitalism—contribute to middle-class delinquency. Because capitalism is dehumanizing, it is not surprising that even middle-class youths turn to drugs, gambling, and illicit sex to find escape.

**Controlling Delinquents**  Conflict theorists suggest that, rather than inhibiting delinquent behavior, the justice system may help to sustain such behavior. They claim that the capitalist state fails to control delinquents because it is in the state’s interest to maintain a large number of outcast deviant youths. These youths can be employed as marginal workers, willing to work for minimum wage in jobs no one else wants. Thus, labeling by the justice system fits in with the capitalist managers’ need to maintain an underclass of cheap labor.

Concept Summary 4.1 summarizes the various sociological theories of delinquency.
Social Structure Theories and Delinquency Prevention

Each of the various branches of social theory has had an impact on delinquency prevention activities and programs. The following sections describe a few of these efforts.

The decade of the 1960s was the heyday of delinquency prevention programs based on social structure theory. The approach seemed compatible with the policies of the Kennedy (New Frontier) and Johnson (Great Society/War on Poverty) administrations. Delinquency prevention programs received copious federal funding. The most ambitious of these was the New York City-based Mobilization for Youth (MOBY). Funded by more than $50 million, MOBY attempted an integrated approach to community development. MOBY created employment opportunities in the community, coordinated social services, and sponsored social action groups such as tenants’ committees, legal action services, and voter registration. But MOBY died for lack of funding amid questions about its utility and use of funds. The most prominent contemporary manifestation of a program based on social structure theory is Operation Weed and Seed, the federal multilevel action plan for revitalizing communities. The concept of this program is that no single approach can reduce crime rates and that social service and law enforcement agencies must cooperate to be effective. Therefore, there are four basic elements in this plan: law enforcement; community policing; prevention, intervention, and treatment; and neighborhood restoration. The last element, neighborhood restoration, is the one most closely attached to social structure theory because it is designed to revitalize distressed neighborhoods and improve the quality of life in the target communities. The neighborhood restoration element focuses on economic development activities, such as economic opportunities for residents, improved housing conditions, enhanced social services, and improved public services in the target area. Programs are being developed that will improve living conditions; enhance home security; allow for low-cost physical improvements; develop long-term efforts to renovate and maintain housing; and provide educational, economic, social, recreational, and other vital opportunities. A key feature is the fostering of self-worth and individual responsibility among community members.

Social Process Theories and Delinquency Prevention

Social process theories suggest that delinquency can be prevented by strengthening the socialization process. One approach has been to help social institutions improve their outreach. Educational programs have been improved by expanding preschool programs, developing curricula relevant to students’ lives, and stressing teacher development. Counseling and remedial services have been aimed at troubled youth. Prevention programs have also been aimed at strengthening families in crisis. Because attachment to parents is a cornerstone of all social process theories, developing
good family relations is an essential element of delinquency prevention. Programs have been developed that encourage families to help children develop the positive self-image necessary to resist the forces promoting delinquency.94

Prevention programs have also focused on providing services for youngsters who have been identified as delinquents or predelinquents. Such services usually include counseling, job placement, legal assistance, and more. Their aim is to reach out to troubled youths and provide them with the skills necessary to function in
Social process theories suggest that delinquency can be prevented by strengthening the socialization process and helping social institutions improve their outreach. Educational programs have been improved by developing curricula relevant to students’ lives such as job training. Here, Jeanetta Green (right) points to a section of Corrinda Calhoun’s practice job application during a training class at Northeast Magnet High School in Wichita, Kansas. The class, Summer Youth B.E.A.T. Employment Program 2003, is part of a program called Hope Street Youth Development, designed to help youth get better trained to find summer jobs.

their environment before they get into trouble with the law.

In addition to these local efforts, the federal government has sponsored several delinquency-prevention efforts using the principles of social process theory. These include vocational training programs, such as the Comprehensive Employment Training Act, as well as educational enrichment programs, such as Head Start for preschoolers.

Social Reaction Theories and Delinquency Prevention

As the dangers of labeling became known, a massive effort was made to limit the interface of youths with the juvenile justice system. One approach was to divert youths from official processing at the time of their initial contact with police. The usual practice is to have police refer children to treatment facilities rather than to the juvenile court. In a similar vein, children who were petitioned to juvenile court might be eligible for alternative programs rather than traditional juvenile justice processing. For example, restitution allows children to pay back the victims of their crimes for the damage (or inconvenience) they have caused instead of receiving an official delinquency label.

If a youth was found delinquent, efforts were made to reduce stigma by using alternative programs such as boot camp or intensive probation monitoring. Alternative community-based sanctions were substituted for state training schools, a policy known as deinstitutionalization. Whenever possible, anything producing stigma was to be avoided, a philosophy referred to as nonintervention.

The federal government was a prime mover in the effort to divert children from the justice system. The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention sponsored numerous diversion and restitution programs. In addition, it made one of its priorities the removal of juveniles from adult jails and the discontinuance of housing status offenders and juvenile delinquents together. These programs were designed to limit juveniles’ interaction with the justice system, reduce stigma, and make use of informal treatment modalities. (Diversion and deinstitutionalization are covered in more detail in chapter 14.) Although these programs were initially popular, critics claimed that the nonintervention movement created a new class of juvenile offenders who heretofore might have avoided prolonged contact with
juvenile justice agencies; they referred to this phenomenon as *widening the net.* Evaluation of existing programs did not indicate that they could reduce the recidivism rate of clients. While these criticisms proved damaging, many nonintervention programs still operate.

## Social Conflict Theories and Delinquency Prevention

If conflict is the source of delinquency, then conflict resolution may be the key to its demise. This is the aim of *restorative justice,* an approach that relies on nonpunitive strategies for delinquency control. Restoration involves turning the justice system into a healing process rather than a distributor of retribution. Most people involved in offender-victim relationships actually know one another or are related. Restorative justice attempts to address the issues that produced conflict between these people rather than to treat one as a victim deserving sympathy and the other as a delinquent deserving punishment. Rather than choose whom to punish, society should try to reconcile the parties.

Restorative justice is based on a social rather than a legal view of delinquency. The relationships damaged by delinquent acts can only be healed in less formal and more cohesive social groups, such as families and communities.

The restorative justice movement has a number of origins. Negotiation, mediation, and peacemaking have been part of the dispute resolution process in European and Asian communities for centuries. Native American and Native Canadian people have long used participation of community members in the adjudication process (sentencing circles, panels of elders). Members of the U.S. peacemaking movement...
have also championed the use of nonpunitive alternatives to justice. Gordon Bazemore and other policy experts helped formulate a version of restorative justice known as the balanced approach, which emphasizes that victims, offenders, and the community should all benefit from interactions with the justice system. The balanced approach attempts to link community protection and victims’ rights. Offenders must take responsibility for their actions, a process that can increase self-esteem and decrease recidivism. In contrast, overreliance on punishment can be counterproductive. To counteract the negative effects of punishment, restorative justice programs for juveniles typically involve diversion from the court process, reconciliation between offenders and victims, victim advocacy, mediation programs, and sentencing circles, in which crime victims and their families are brought together with offenders and their families in an effort to formulate a sanction that addresses the needs of each party. Concept Summary 4.2 summarizes the principles of restorative justice.

**SUMMARY**

- Social structure theories hold that delinquent behavior is an adaptation to conditions that predominate in lower-class environments.
- The social disorganization view suggests that economically deprived areas lose their ability to control the behavior of residents. Gangs flourish in these areas.
- Delinquency is a product of the socialization mechanisms in a neighborhood: unstable neighborhoods have the greatest chance of producing delinquents. Such factors as fear, unemployment, change, and lack of cohesion help produce delinquent behavior patterns.
- Strain theories hold that lower-class youths may desire legitimate goals but their unavailability causes frustration and deviant behavior.
- Robert Merton linked strain to anomie, a condition caused when there is a disjunction between goals and means.
- In his general strain theory, Robert Agnew identifies two more sources of strain: the removal of positive reinforcements and the addition of negative ones. He shows how strain causes delinquent behavior by creating negative affective states, and he outlines the means adolescents employ to cope with strain.
- Cultural deviance theory maintains that the result of social disorganization and strain is the development of independent subcultures whose members hold values in opposition to mainstream society. These subcultures are the breeding grounds for gangs and law-violating groups.
- Social process theories hold that improper socialization is the key to delinquency.
- One branch, called learning theories, holds that kids learn deviant behaviors and attitudes during interaction with family and peers.
- Control theories suggest that kids are prone to delinquent behavior when they have not been properly socialized and lack a strong bond to society. Without a strong bond they are free to succumb to the lure of delinquent behavior.
- Labeling and stigma may also reinforce delinquency. Kids who receive negative labels may internalize them and engage in self-labeling. This causes a self-fulfilling prophecy, which breeds even more deviant behaviors and locks kids into a delinquent way of life.
- Social conflict theory views delinquency as an inevitable result of the class and racial conflict that pervades society. Delinquents are members of the “have-not” class that is shut out of the mainstream. The law benefits the wealthy over the poor.
- Social views of delinquency have had a great deal of influence on social policy. Programs have been designed to improve neighborhood conditions, help children be properly socialized, and reduce conflict.

**KEY TERMS**

culture of poverty, p. 82  
derlass, p. 85  
truly disadvantaged, p. 85  
social structure theories, p. 85  
social disorganization, p. 86  
thansitional neighborhood, p. 86  
cultural transmission, p. 86  
social control, p. 86  
relative deprivation, p. 86  
gentrified, p. 86  
collective efficacy, p. 88  
strain, p. 88  
anomie, p. 89  
general strain theory, p. 89  
negative affective states, p. 90  
cultural deviance theory, p. 91  
culture conflict, p. 91  
socialization, p. 91
1. Is there a transitional neighborhood in your town or city?

2. Is it possible that a distinct lower-class culture exists?

3. Have you ever perceived anomie? What causes anomie? Is there more than one cause of strain?

4. How does poverty cause delinquency?

5. Do middle-class youths become delinquent for the same reasons as lower-class youths?

6. Does relative deprivation produce delinquency?

You are faced with suggesting an urban redevelopment program that can revitalize the area and eventually bring down the crime rate. You can bring any element of the public and private sector to bear on this rather overwhelming problem—including the military! You can also ask private industry to help in the struggle, promising them tax breaks for their participation.

- Do you believe that living in such an area contributes to high delinquency rates? Or is poverty merely an excuse and delinquency a matter of personal choice?
- What programs do you feel could break the cycle of urban poverty?
- Would reducing the poverty rate produce a lowered delinquency rate?
- What role does the family play in creating delinquent behaviors?

Before you answer, you may want to learn more about Operation Weed and Seed, the federal office most involved in community development projects designed to reduce delinquency, and on Canada’s National Crime Prevention Strategy, which aims to reduce crime and victimization by tackling crime before it happens. Just click on Web Links under the Chapter Resources at http://cj.wadsworth.com/siegel_jdcore2e.


Pro/Con discussions and Viewpoint Essays on some of the topics in this chapter may be found at the Opposing Viewpoints Resource Center: www.gale.com/OpposingViewpoints.