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Delinquency professionals: the influence, extension and adoption of the culture of control[1]

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Abstract

This thesis examines delinquency professionals' perceptions and explanations of young male lower working class assaultive violence. Eleven semi-structured interviews were conducted with the delinquency professionals. These were then analyzed within the theoretical frameworks of Royce (2009), Garland (2001), Messerschmidt (1993, 2000) and Cohen (1985). The analysis of the data found the delinquency professionals' perceptions and explanations of young male lower working class assaultive violence to be individualistic and pathological. Specifically, the delinquency professionals maintain that young male lower working class assaultive violence may be attributed to a "culture of the poor" which requires young men to enact violent masculinities, consists of poor family structure and provides a social learning environment conducive to delinquency. These perspectives ignore the macro structural disparities faced by young lower class males (Royce 2009; Messerschmidt 2000). Rather, they align with the neo-liberal and neo-conservative ideologies present in many post modern Western industrialized nations (Garland 2001). Through ideological semblance it becomes clear that delinquency professionals are influenced by the culture of control, serve as an extension to the culture of control and adopt the individualistic pathological ideology of the culture of control. With the proliferation and expansion of this "professional class" it is important to have a better understanding of how delinquency professionals perceive young male lower working class assaultive violence and their role in the social control system.

Key words

Canada; Criminology; Neo-conservative; Neo-liberal; Penal Turn; Culture of Control; Youth Crime; Post-modern; Structure; Masculinities; Delinquency Professionals; Gender; Violence; Poverty

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1. Introduction

The purpose of this thesis is to examine delinquency professionals' (those who have direct contact, within a working capacity, with violent male youth) perceptions of young male lower working class assaultive violence (From here on YMLCAV). This research takes a gendered and structural approach which is distinguished by its attention to power relations (Hagan and Palloni 1986). Therefore I will also examine delinquency professionals' perceptions of gender and socio-economic status (From here on S.E.S) in relation to YMLCAV.

There are a variety of explanations of YMLCAV represented in both past and present Criminological literature. Critical criminologists pay special attention to the political and economic disparity of the poor. Likewise, strain and anomie theories connect delinquency to the market mentality of western industrial nations and economic deprivation. Further, social disorganization theories provide us with a way to understand how social circumstances and environment contributes to criminal behaviour. Finally, male peer support theories investigate the individual and personal development which occurs from social interactions among male peer groups.

While all of these theories differ in their explanations of YMLCAV each contributes a piece to the puzzle. Importantly, each theory considers structural inequality, the guiding theoretical perspective of this thesis. Rather than focusing on individualistic explanations of YMLCAV, the consensus seems to be that delinquency is a result of macro structural forces which induce vast social inequalities. These theories are the building blocks of this exploratory study and have prompted further lines of inquiry into this phenomenon by examining a working perception of YMLCAV.

To date, there is little research on delinquency professionals' perceptions of YMLCAV. This is an important area of study as these experts of delinquency play a large a growing role in society (Garland 2001). They are the "first line" of the social control system and their reach extends far beyond the formal social control system (i.e. prison). For example, they engage with youth who have not had formal contact with the criminal justice system, those who are currently within the confines of the criminal justice system and those on their way out of the criminal justice system. It is essential to investigate their perceptions to gain an understanding of how they engage with and impact their most regular clients, lower working class youth, and to better understand their role in the social control system.

To examine delinquency professionals' perceptions of YMLCAV this research takes a qualitative approach consisting of eleven semi-structured face to face interviews. These interviews are then transcribed and analyzed within the theoretical frameworks presented by Royce (2009), Messerschmidt (1993, 2000), Garland (2001) and Cohen (1985). Royce (2009) maintains that structural inequalities, within the economic, political, cultural, and social realms are the main causes of poverty and delinquency (Royce 2009). Similarly, Messerschmidt (1993) holds that structural inequality amongst youth shapes their adoption and expression of masculinities. Further, Garland (2001) contends that citizens of "Western" industrialized countries live in a culture of control. The ideology of this culture has been bred from neo-liberal economic freedoms accompanied by neo-conservative crime control policies. Finally, Cohen (1985) suggests that delinquency professionals are a) deeply influenced by the culture of control; b) serve as an expansion of the culture of control and; c) like the culture of control, individualize and pathologize the poor, blaming them for crime and poverty.

The delinquency professionals' perceptions and explanations of YMLCAV will first be analyzed within Royce's (2009) structuralist perspective of poverty and delinquency in order to situate their understanding of S.E.S and YMLCAV. Second, the delinquency professionals' accounts of YMCLAV will be assessed within Messerschmidt's (1993, 2000) structured action theory in order to situate their

explanations of gender, S.E.S and YMLCAV. The discourse which emerges will then be analyzed within Garland's (2001) culture of control theory in order to examine ideological semblance between the two. Finally, I will position the delinquency professionals' perspectives and explanations of YMLCAV within Cohen's (1985) theory of delinquency professionals in order to locate their role in the culture of control.

Through the combination of these theories I will show that poverty and delinquency is deeply interwoven into the economic, political, cultural and social disparity created by the culture of control which blames the offender, silences excuses, ignores root causes and sees the punishment of wrong doers as the proper response (Garland 2001). Further I suggest that delinquency professionals adopt the ideology of the culture of control and therefore do not account for structure in their perceptions and explanations of YMLCAV nor its relation to gender and S.E.S. Delinquency professionals are influenced by the ideology of the state which creates and classifies deviance and through their role as delinquency experts they serve as an extension to the culture of control (Royce 1985). Delinquency professionals then adopt the ideology of the culture of control as they individualize and pathologize the poor, blaming them for poverty and crime.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Critical Criminology

Critical criminology is a pertinent and growing field of inquiry which investigates a range of issues, from gendered violence and corporate crime to youth culture and the media. For the sake of space I will focus on the critical concern with class and capitalism. Many critical criminologists bring economics to the forefront in the discussion of criminality. For Bonger (1969), crime is a matter of egoism; placing self interest above communal interests. Egoism is the product of the capitalist mode of production which allows the bourgeoisie to prosper while the proletariat fall deeper into the bowels of poverty. The bourgeoisie see the proletariat only as a means of production, they pay very little for their labour and feel no obligation to their well being. This exploitive relationship, combined with the living conditions of the proletariat, cause altruism to diminish and egoism to flourish (Bonger 1969).

"Capitalism breeds egoism" because its core values are that of individual autonomy and self interest (Bonger 1969). For the bourgeoisie, capitalism develops a "spirit of domination", for the proletariat, it "awakens jealousy and servility" (Bonger 1969). The living conditions of the poor are not conducive to altruism; there are moral consequences for bad housing conditions and the poor "become embittered and malicious through a lack of the necessities of life" (Bonger 1969). For Bonger, the economic system present in Western industrial society weakens "social feelings", and "the part played by economic conditions in criminality is preponderant, even decisive" (Bonger 1969, p. 197).

Similarly, Richard Quinney in Class, State and Crime (1980) approaches the subject of crime from a Marxian perspective. Quinney maintains that the bourgeoisie break the law in order maintain their status in the social hierarchy. Most importantly the capitalist's break social codes, which are not part of state law but nevertheless cause injury to the proletariat, such as racism, sexism and economic exploitation (Quinney 1980). Quinney maintains that the crimes of the working class are a result of the economic and social conditions of Capitalism. In response to this environment the proletariat commit crimes "as a means of survival".

Critical criminologist, Elliot Currie (1985), further examines the inequality created by the capitalist state. Currie suggests that capitalism is the root of crime for two reasons: First, the "market economy" is created in such a way that the rich get richer while the poor get poorer thus creating enormous amounts of wealth while simultaneously creating enormous amounts of poverty (Currie 1985). Second, the

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deterioration of the welfare state has a crippling effect on the losers of the market economy. According to Currie, the market economy's emphasis on individual responsibility for both success and failure coupled with welfare retrenchment results in a state which applauds the rich for their successful capitalist ventures while chastising the poor as undeserving and lazy. For Currie, massive levels of inequality accompanied by a government which is unwilling to help those in need is a "potent and toxic brew" which creates America's high rate of violent crime (Currie 1985). For these and many other critical criminologists the concern is with class and how capitalism and the economic order shapes crime, law and social control (DeKeseredy 2011).

2.2. Male Peer Support Theory

Classic support theories such as Mead (1934) and Durkheim (1951) indicate that social integration and the quality of interactions within social networks have important individual and social consequences. Specifically, Mead (1934) suggests that the individual development of ones mind and self identity are created out of social exchanges. While, Durkheim (1951) maintains that high or low levels of social integration were related to suicide.

A very important exemplary model of support theory which directly relates to YMLCAV is known as the male peer support theory. This theory was developed by Dr. Walter Dekeseredy (1988) and is used to describe men's violence against women. Dekeseredy (1988) contends that men face many different types of stress in their dating relationships. This stress may come from sexual frustration, challenges to patriarchy, financial stress and so on. Under these circumstances many men turn to other men for guidance, advice and support. The support given by male peers may encourage and justify women abuse under certain conditions (Dekeseredy, Ellis, & Alvi 2005). There is some empirical support for Dekeseredy's model. For example, in an analysis of self-report survey data gathered from a sample of 333 Canadian male undergraduates, DeKeseredy found that men who have social ties with other physically, sexually, and/or psychologically abusive peers and who spend a lot of time with their male friends are more likely to abuse women and be "companions in crime" (Dekeseredy 1988).

DeKeseredy and Schwartz (1993) later developed the modified male peer support model of woman abuse in college dating which incorporates; absence of deterrence, the ideology of social and courtship patriarchy, alcohol consumption and membership in formal groups (e.g., fraternities) (DeKeseredy and Schwartz 1993). The addition of these variables is meant to widen the scope of male peer support theory by taking broader social forces into account.

The absence of deterrence incorporates the reluctance of bodies of social control, both formal and informal, to punish men who abuse female intimates (DeKeseredy, Ellis & Alvi 2005). Further, social patriarchy is the set of beliefs in society which suggests that men should be in various positions of power and authority (DeKeseredy, Ellis & Alvi 2005). Similarly, courtship patriarchy refers to the "romanticism" of a dating relationship which suggests that these relationships are handled differently than more permanent relationships (Lloyd 1991). For example, DeKeseredy et al (2005) suggest that the connection between "who paid for dinner and whether a man is owed sex" can be rather different in the later stages of a relationship.

The inclusion of alcohol suggests a correlation between alcohol and mens' violence against women. This relationship was expressed in Schwartz and DeKeseredy et al (2003) where CNS data revealed that college men who drink two or more times a week and have male peers who support psychological and physical abuse of women are ten times as likely to admit to being sexually aggressive. Likewise, Schwartz and Pitts (1995) found that 17.1 percent of the U.S. college women in their sample reported a man having sexual intercourse with them while they were under the

influence of alcohol and unable to resist. Finally, Schwartz and DeKeseredy (1997) suggest that alcohol is also used in settings that support patriarchal conversations, for example in bars.

Finally, membership in social groups accounts for; fraternities, sport teams, business luncheons etc (DeKeseredy, Ellis and Alvi 2005). It is in these settings where men develop a very narrow conception of what it means to be a man. The constant judgment of masculinity by peers elicits a need to continuously prove hegemonic masculinity. How this is achieved is dependent upon that specific social milieu. For example, the peer pressures of young male athletes to engage in sexual intercourse and the peer pressures of young lower working class youth to engage in sexual intercourse may be accomplished in much different ways, nevertheless each may exhibit a violent masculinity.

It then is important to also consider economic exclusion in the male peer support model. Messerschmidt suggests, like affluent men, impoverished men form "specialized relationships with one another (Messerschmidt 1993). Such "bonds" may promote violence by men as a means of reclaiming the masculinity stripped from them by their economic situation (DeKeseredy, Ellis and Alvi 2005). For it is within this social milieu that men have a significantly more difficult time "doing gender" and may resort to the use of violence to confirm gender (Messerschimdt 1993; Dekeseredy, Ellis & Alvi 2005).

DeKeseredy and Schwartz et al (2003) contend that men, unable to financially support their families and live up to the socially prescribed role of breadwinner, experience high amounts of stress. These men may turn to other male peers as a means of a support system. However, this advice and counsel may lead to violence, specifically the abuse of their spouse. For example, many economic and socially excluded men view wife beating as a legitimate means of "repairing damaged masculinity" (Messerschmidt 1993; Raphael 2001). The inclusion of economic exclusion is becoming increasingly pertinent given the drastic economic changes of post-modern society (i.e deindustrialization). Importantly, DeKeseredy and Schwartz do not see this as a predictive model, rather the authors take a heuristic approach so as not to isolate specific offenders.

This theory resembles the common sociological argument of differential associations theorists such as Sutherland and Cressey (1960) and Akers (1994). Specifically, that the victimization of women is a behavior that is socially learned from interaction with others. However, the authors stretch beyond a social learning theory by giving great consideration to broader social forces, specifically social patriarchy and economic disparity. With the addition of macro structural components male peer support theory becomes a structural explanation of social learning and differential association.

2.3. Social Strain and Anomie

For strain theorists, American society places prestige on money, power and success yet little concern for how these are achieved. Non-economic goals and roles are devalued, for example little value is placed on academic achievement or the role of parenting (Merton 1938). The drive to attain what society has deemed important is unregulated and can lead to criminal behavior. Such societies are characterized by normlessness or Anomie (Merton 1938).

This strain is felt differently according to S.E.S. For example, Merton (1938) maintains that the economically disenfranchised are pressured into achieving cultural goals yet experience a great deal of strain when they are incapable of doing so. The concept of relative deprivation contends that, it is not the lack of big screen T.V's or expensive clothing which cause young men to feel disenfranchised, rather it is the deprivation they feel in comparison to others, "poverty in the midst of plenty"

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(Cohen 1955; Dekeseredy & Schwartz 2010). As a result lower working class youth may engage in criminal behavior as a means of achieving these goals.

Messner and Rosenfield (2001) expand on Merton's (1938) theory of Anomie. Their focus is on the capitalist economy which "naturally cultivates a competitive and innovative spirit," of which many are unable to keep up (Mesner & Rosenfeld 2001). Our society pressures young men to achieve socially prescribed goals (i.e. money, status, academic achievement) but then prevents many of them from achieving these status symbols in socially acceptable ways. For example, the "American dream" causes people to want it all without taking into account how one achieves this goal. In addition, they argue that the economy dominants all aspects of the culture, overshadowing important informal social controls. The economy is central whereas the family, school and social welfare are forgotten (Merton 1938). With these institutions out of the picture it becomes harder and harder to teach socially appropriate ways to achieve success.

Albert Cohen (1955) drew heavily from Mertons strain theory and focused on delinquent sub-cultures. In similar fashion, Cohen (1955) maintains that the inability to achieve culturally prescribed goals leaves young men feeling deprived and frustrated with their status in society, which in turn increases chances for criminality. However, lower working class boys are not only concerned with the value of money, cars, or clothes, but seek something of greater worth; the prestige and comforts of the middle class. These young men may achieve monetary success through criminal activities, however they cannot successfully achieve the status of middle class; you cannot steal status (Cohen 1955). The answer then is to achieve status within a system that is available to young working lower class men, the delinquent sub-culture. This subculture deals with these problems by providing a criteria of status which these young men can meet (Cohen 1955).

Cloward and Ohlin (1960) agree that the inability to obtain financial success contributes to crime among lower working class males and that strained members may also join delinquent sub-cultures. Frustrated young men begin to find commonalities with other like minded young men who are also denied masculine status in respectable society, because they cannot meet the criteria of the respectable status system (Coward and Ohlin 1960). In this arena, delinquent boys are able to set up their own value system, which Cohen (1955) maintains is largely in opposition to the middle class life style. For Cloward and Ohlin (1960), these subcultures justify criminality as a "natural response" to American society. The strain and frustration of Western economic liberalization accompanied with the pressure to achieve success is a potent ingredient of YMLCAV.

2.4. Social Disorganization

In the early 1900's sociologists from the University of Chicago sought to explain the high amount of crime originating in urban areas. They did this through the development of social disorganization theories; social disorganization is defined as an inability of community members to achieve shared values or to solve jointly experienced problems (Bursik 1988). There have been many different approaches to this theory since its conception, however most theorists maintain that poverty, residential mobility, ethnic heterogeneity, and weak social networks decrease a neighborhood's capacity to control the behavior of people in public, and hence increase the likelihood of crime.

This theory was pioneered by Shaw and McKay in their book Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas (1942). In this study, the authors used Park and Burgess's cocentric zone model to research the social disorganization of youth in Chicago. Park and Burgess argue that the neighbourhood has a "biotic order" which reflects the greater market system and in turn results in the existing pattern of land usage and locations of certain populations (Park and Burgess 1925). This is best exemplified by Burgess's cocentric zone theory. The theory breaks down the city of

Chicago into five zones in an attempt to explain social disparity geographically. The zones included are know as (inside to outside circle); the central business district (CBD), factory/industry district (transitional), low class residential (inner city), middle class residential (inner suburbs) and the high class residential (outer suburbs).

Burgess's model suggests a relationship between S.E.S and the distance from the CBD; the further you are from the CBD they more income you earn. The rich live in the high class suburbs, the middle-working class closer to the city center and the poorest closest to the city center. With this in mind Shaw and McKay (1942) conducted a study by examining arrest rates in Chicago from 1900-1933. The purpose for this was to determine if the high rates of immigration into the cities had an affect on the crime rate. Shaw and McKay concluded with two main findings: 1) the distribution of delinquency rates remained fairly stable among Chicago's neighborhoods between 1900 and 1933 despite dramatic changes in the ethnic and racial compositions of the communities; 2) Delinquency rates were negatively correlated with distance from the from the central business district (Shaw and McKay 1942).

Given that the S.E.S of citizens improved the farther they lived from the CBD, this also indicates a relationship between S.E.S and delinquency. However, Shaw and McKay understood this correlation in a different manner. Instead of suggesting a direct relationship between S.E.S and delinquency, Shaw and McKay maintain that patterns of delinquency were the result of an ecological "process" which gave rise to the social structures of the neighborhood. Specifically, due to ethnic diversity, communication becomes difficult because differences in customs and culture may cause fear and mistrust of one another (Sampson and Groves 1989). Moreover, when there is high mobility among residents of the population, the area is constantly changing, making it extremely difficult for the community to develop strong personal ties with one another or to form grounded informal social controls (i.e. community organizations). Therefore high mobility and heterogeneity may decrease the ability of the neighborhood to self regulate and discourage crime and social disorganization ensues (Shaw & McKay 1942).

Similarly, Sampson, Raudenbrush and Earls (1997) suggest that "informal social controls" and "social cohesion and trust" play an important role in the deterrence of crime. Their empirical analysis, based on a six year longitudinal survey in Chicago concluded that when people live in communities which have close ties with one another, and trust each other, they have a strong means of informal social control (Sampson et al 1997). Therefore neighborhoods with a low crime rate are defined by a collective identity whereas neighborhoods with high crime rates are marked by a individual identity and as a result less social control. Importantly, they suggests that a lack of "collective efficacy" is the micro community level factor which connects crime with the macro structural factors.

In the book Crime in the Making: Pathways and Turning Points Through Life Sampson and Laub (1993) examine delinquency over the life course. The authors attempted to understand how structural variables were related to the process of informal social control (Sampson & Laub 1993). They suggest that social interactions with childhood, adolescent and adult institutions of informal social control have important effects on crime and deviance. These sources of informal control take different forms across the life span. For a child they may be family, school and peers, for a young adult they may be university, work or marriage and for an adult they may be work, marriage, community involvement or being a parent (Sampson & Laub 1993). It is Sampson and Laub's view that the family and school processes of informal social control are key causal explanations of delinquency in childhood and adolescence. Youth delinquency is a product of weak social bonds, when the bonds linking youth to society are weakened, the probability for anti-social behaviour increases.

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In addition, Sampson and Groves (1989) maintain that crime in these neighborhoods depends on S.E.S, social mobility, heterogeneity, local networks and the supervisory capacity of the community. Likewise, Bursik and Grasmick (1993) stress the importance of informal networks of association. For these authors, community structure-the network among local residents and institutions and the networks among local representatives of the neighborhood and external actors, institutions and agencies-is important to maintaining order (Bursik and Grasmick 1993). They pose a "systemic" approach which considers the neighbourhood to be a "complex system of friendship networks and formal and informal social controls rooted in the family and personal socialization" (Bursik and Grasmick 1993).

In their book Neighborhoods and Crime (1993), Bursik and Grasmick maintain that social disorganization is imbedded in the political, social, and economic dynamics of the community. Changes in the economies of urban areas are central to this systemic model, the stability of neighborhoods depends on the stability of jobs (Bursik and Grasmik 1993). Sampson and Wilson (1995) further this notion by suggesting that the decay of a community and the crime which accompanies it is a reflection of poverty, inadequate health care, destroyed schools and the depletion of economic opportunity (Sampson & Wilson 1995).

However, while Sampson and Wilson hold structural inequality to be one of the foremost causes of crime, they warn us not to ignore the cultures which have developed from these neighbourhoods. Rather than attribute poverty and crime to the "culture of the poor" they attribute poverty and crime to macro structural inequalities which overtime have created a "culture" accepting of crime. The youth in these decaying urban areas observe and live in a disorganized community. They do not have access to higher education or a youth culture which is conducive to success, in short there is no such thing as the American dream (Sampson & Wilson 1995). Sampson and Groves (1989), find that local friendship networks, participation in formal and voluntary organizations, and a community's ability to supervise and control teenage peer groups explain "much of the effect of exogenous characteristics on crime and victimization". "Culture" is not the result of bad choices made by those living in poverty, rather it is due to gross structural inequalities which inhibit residents from forming the necessary social bonds

2.5. Contributions

The theories presented in this literature review give a broad but clear picture of YMLCAV. Specifically, they provide us with context from which to view the delinquency professionals' perspectives. Many variables interplay when attempting to describe YMLCAV. Critical Criminology sees crime and criminalization as rooted in the core structures of society and pays special attention to power relations (DeKeseredy 2010). Male-peer support theory examines the social structures which solidify male patriarchy as an acceptable part of society. Further, social strain and anomie theories incorporates the broader social forces which hinder lower working class youth from achieving economic goals. Finally, social disorganization theories considers the communities and informal social controls which are broken down by grave structural disparity. It is important to note that while each theoretical perspective has its own way of describing what leads to delinquency, or is situated within a distinct stream of criminology for that matter, the consensus seems to be that crime is a result of vast economic, political, cultural and social inequalities.

These theories are the building blocks of this exploratory study and have prompted further lines of inquiry into this phenomenon by examining a working perception of YMLCAV. It is important to grasp where delinquency professionals stand on the issue of YMLCAV, specifically in relation to current criminological literature. It is also important to have an understanding of how these perceptions are formed and how they impact the youth. Through the perceptions and explanations of delinquency professionals we may gain a better understanding of how they approach and

interact with their clients, who are predominantly made up of the lower working class. As the "front line" of the social control system they engage with youth pre, post and during custody. Given their social location within these communities, bolstered by their expertise and knowledge, their approach to YMLCAV may have a lasting effect on their clients. With the proliferation of this "professional class" and their role as "experts of delinquency" it becomes important to have a better understanding of their perceptions and therefore approach to YMLCAV.

What are delinquency professionals' perceptions of YMLCAV? What reasons or explanations do they give for YMLCAV? How do they relate masculinity and S.E.S to YMLCAV? Do they account for structure in their explanations of YMLCAV? These are important questions to answer and these theories provide us with a way to contextualize and situate the delinquency professionals' perceptions of YMLCAV within current criminological literature.

3. Theoretical perspective

3.1. Theoretical Perspective

This research follows a combination of theoretical perspectives laid out by Edward Royce (2009), James Messerschmidt (1993, 2000), David Garland (2001), and Stanley Cohen (1985). Royce and Messerschmidt stress the importance of structure when considering YMLCAV. Specifically, Royce (2009) develops the impact that economic, political, social and cultural disparity has on both S.E.S and delinquency. Moreover, Messerschmidt suggests that masculinity must be seen as structured action; by focusing on people in specific social settings, what they do to construct social relations and social structures, and how these social structures constrain and channel behavior is specific ways (Messerschmidt 1993).

Garland (2001) contends that citizens of Western industrialized nations live in a culture of control. The ideology of this culture has been bred from neo-liberal economic freedoms, which allow the rich to prosper, accompanied by neo-conservative crime control policies, which ensure the poor do not. Moreover, delinquency professionals are influenced by the culture of control, are extensions of the culture of control and adopt the ideology of the culture of control. They individualize and pathologize young male lower working class assaultive violence, while macro economic, political, cultural and social forces which contribute to deviance and poverty are ignored.

The relationship between these seemingly different theories may be found in their relational ideology. When giving consideration to crime, one must consider broader social forces which contribute to delinquency. However, the culture of control does not, and by influence and extension the delinquency professionals do not. An examination of these theories in conjunction with the delinquency professionals' perceptions and explanations of YMLCAV will allow sociologists to better understand how the culture of control (national) inter plays with delinquency professionals (local).

3.2. A Structural Approach

Edward Royce, in his book Poverty and Power: The Problem of Structural Inequality, explains the importance of structure when considering both poverty and delinquency. Given the characteristics of the neighborhood in which this research was conducted (deindustrialization, unemployment and social disparity) it is important to understand the role structure plays in YMLCAV. While an in depth investigation into macro structural inequality is not possible in this study, we must briefly address the economic, political, cultural and social disparity between the rich and the poor, in sharp contrast to the ideology of the culture of control.

We all need employment to stay out of poverty, however, as individuals we have little control over the availability of jobs or the salary we are paid as we are subject to the vicissitudes of the market (Royce 2009). We are not masters of our own economic fate, rather we are at the mercy of much larger social forces. Changes in the structure of employment opportunities are the primary determinant of fluctuations in the poverty rate (Hoynes et al 2006). Therefore when attempting to determine the causes of poverty, the first place to start is by investigating the economic and political forces which determine the quantity and quality of jobs.

As suggested above, the growing gap may be explained by pointing the finger at those in positions of political and economic power (Royce 2009). Specifically, fluctuation in the severity of poverty and inequality reflects government policy; economic neo-liberalism, the decline of the welfare state and the crime control policies of neo-conservatism. For example Dekeseredy and Schwartz (2010) state that;

> "We are experiencing an economic, social, and political crises spawned in large part by a movement toward the trinity of goals promoted by the late economist Milton Friedman: the elimination of the public sector, total corporate liberation, and skeletal social spending."

Three decades of economic restructuring have allowed the rich to prosper while the poor experience chronic unemployment, reduced wages and increased social disparity (Royce 2009). Government systems of neo-liberal countries resist social reforms in the name of capitalism; business is exceptionally powerful, unions are weaker, the poor are marginalized and attention is given to those with power (Royce 2009). With an economic and political focus on smaller government the poor experience structural constraints which predispose them to financial instability and increased chances for crime and punishment.

In addition, with neo-liberalism and the decline of the welfare state well underway, these economic and social policies have shown that the government is most responsive to those who "speak the loudest" (Royce 2009). In countries such as Canada, government policy shapes economic outcomes as it sets forth the rules of the game (i.e. the social welfare system and the criminal justice system) and these policies favor some interest over others (Royce 2009). For example, Dekeseredy and Schwartz (2010) maintain that;

> "In Canada full-time work is rapidly disappearing and the elevated unemployment levels are due, in large part, to the actions of politicians who support Friedman's economic model."

If people have money, social status, and power they have considerable influence and it is this lack of political power belonging to the poor which contributes to poverty. In the current political context poor Canadians are deprived of access to one of the most important features for improving their economic situation: the government (Royce 2009).

Furthermore, the "cultural landscape" is crucial determining factor in our approach to poverty. When people form an opinion on poverty and the people within, they are largely influenced by the greater cultural perspective. Royce (2009) maintains that "Americans" think about social problems in an extremely individualistic manner as the political culture, the mainstream media, and right-wing ideology predisposes us towards individualistic explanations of poverty and inequality (Royce 2009). In the United States, for example, the deception of the "American Dream" causes many people to wonder why certain individuals fall into poverty (Royce 2009).

This cultural system is an arena of power and conflict, what is accepted within this system determines whether average persons' view the poor as deserving or undeserving and whether the government should provide more or less assistance (Royce 2009). Think tanks, academics, businesses, political activists, labor activists, welfare rights advocates and many others battle over the reason why the

poor are poor (Royce 2009). However, terms gaining prominence in recent years have consisted of personal responsibility, illegitimacy, underclass and welfare dependency. This cultural system is very influential as peoples' views on poverty and welfare shape their political preferences and voting patterns, which in turn plays a role in the political and economic agendas described above. For example, Royce (2009) suggests that;

> "Whether we have more or less poverty, whether the hardships experienced by the poor are more or less severe, depends on the temperament of the middle class culture; the lives of the poor and their prospects for escaping poverty are constrained by ideological forces outside their immediate control (Royce 2009)."

Finally, the poor lack social capital. Bourdieu defines social capital as; made up of social obligations (connections), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility (Bourdieu 1986, p. 243). The connections people have with social networks, both systems and individuals, largely dictates their progress through life. The individualistic perspectives of poverty suggest that we chart our own life course which is a result of our personal choices and preferences, abilities and talents, knowledge and skills and attitudes and values (Royce 2009). Realistically however, a great deal of success and advancement is dependent on a person's social capital and this supply of social capital is a strong determinant of a person's economic position. Glen Loury (1977) suggests that;

> "The merit notion that, in a free society, each individual will rise to the level justified by his/her competence conflicts with the observation that no one travels that road entirely alone."

Peoples' ability to access valuable social capital is affected by their social relations, group affiliations, neighborhoods and communities, social networks and institutional ties (Royce 2009). Therefore the environment of the poor is socially constraining as people's economic outcomes are largely dependent on their social locations, a factor outside of their control (Royce 2009).

Poverty and crime is not an individualistic phenomenon, rather it has deep roots in existing macro structure and is a byproduct of the distribution and organization of power in society. Specifically, (1) neo-liberal economic restructuring, (2) access to the political system, (3) the cultural landscape, and (4) social capital are key determining factors of both S.E.S and delinquency. Rather than individualizing poverty and deviance, it is important that we connect social action with social structure. Young (1992 cited DeKeseredy and Schwartz 2010) suggests;

> "As is the case with illnesses, such as AIDS, prior to finding solutions to crime, we must first identify the causes."

Likewise, prior to identifying solutions for YMLCAV we must first identify the structural constraints these youth face, putting aside the individualist and pathological perspectives which serve the interests of the culture of control.

3.3. A Gendered Approach

Messerschmidt (1993), in his book Crime as Structured Action: Gender, race, class and crime in the making, explains how masculinities are adopted and expressed in a variety of ways, largely dependent on the structural stratum males inhabit. Specifically, gender grows out of social practices, in specific structural settings, and serves to inform these practices in reciprocal relation (Messerschmidt 2000). As this research takes a structuralist approach, with special attention given to gender, it is important to account for the delinquency professionals' perceptions of the relationship between masculinity, S.E.S and assaultive violence.

Messerschmidt maintains that gender roles do not occur "in a vacuum," rather they must be seen as structured action-what people do under special social structural constraints- and in order to fully understand YMLCAV, theory must connect social

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action such as violence (micro) with social structure (macro) such as S.E.S (Messerschmidt 2000). Power is an essential structural feature of gender relations. Because power is based on class (also sex, race, ethnicity, bodily ability, sexuality), middle class youth have greater power than lower working class youth. Power then is the relationship that structures social action among men (Messerschmidt 2000). The youth considered in this study strive to achieve hegemonic masculinity; the culturally honored and glorified masculinity. However, the masculinity inhabited by these lower working class males is a "subordinate masculinity" due to their subordinate positions in class power relations. It is this relationship between hegemonic and subordinate masculinities which reveals the major social structural differences (Messerschmidt 2000).

Hegemonic masculinity emphasizes authority, control, individualism, aggressiveness and violence (Messerschmidt 1993). For Walklate (1998) hegemonic masculinity is rampant in industrialized society and normalizes and legitimizes men's access to violence as a personal and political resource. When these young men enter their social milieu, they enact behavior which demonstrates their masculinity. How they enact their masculinity is largely dependent upon the resources the social setting provides for acquiring hegemonic masculinity (West and Zimmerman 1987). Since resources for achieving masculinity are situational, men must use the resources at hand to communicate masculinity to others. Due to its connection with hegemonic masculinity, for many men violence becomes a suitable resource for constructing masculinity (Messerschmidt 2000). Messerschmidt (2000) maintains that;

> "These men are pre-disposed to individual violence, not in the sense of a stable trait developed early in life but as an appropriation of a masculine resource in a specific milieu that constructs a tendency or an inclination to act in distinct ways during certain forms of social interactions."

This action attempts to correct the social structural situations the youth experiences, therefore opening the door to various forms of crime (Messerschmidt 2000). The dominance of hegemonic masculinity encourages men to act in specific ways, and the social structures these men inhabit shape their course of action for "doing gender." Messerschmidt (2000) maintains that in order to understand male working class violence, we must appreciate how "structure and action are woven inextricably into the ongoing activities of violent predisposition, masculinity challenges, motivation, opportunity and the resulting violent masculinity."

3.4. Canadian Economic and Political Context

Since the early 1970's Canada has slowly receded from its position as a social-welfare state and began to define itself in the terms of the free market. While the social policies of post WWII Canada reflected appreciation for social citizenship and universality, the rhetoric from the 1980's on has been of globalization, market capitalism and economic rationalism (Baker 1997). Today, Canada views social benefits as temporary, based on need and designed to encourage self sufficiency, work incentives and employability (Baker 1997).

This shift was born out of a neo-liberal call for the deregulation of markets and a neo-conservative call for more penal control (Garland 2001). Proponents of capitalism watched as the upper middle class thrived while the gap between Canada's rich and poor rapidly expanded. For example, by 2009 the richest 20% of Canadians took home 44.2% of the total after-tax income, in contrast to the poorest 20% whose after-tax income share was only 4.9% (CCPA 2011). Further, Dekeseredy and Schwartz (2010) maintain that 400,000 jobs were lost in Canada since the fall of 2008, and that by the summer of 2009, one out of every four Canadians aged 18 to 24 was unemployed.

This growing gap requires the attention of more restrictive crime control policies and Canada has began to mimic the American model of Criminal Justice. For

example, in 2008 the Canadian government introduced the Omnibus Tackling Violent Crime Act which shares the ideology of similar American policies such as the "three strikes you're out" sentencing law (DeKeseredy 2010a). Further, in September 2011 the government of Canada introduced a nine-part crime bill, the Safe Streets and Communities Act, which seeks to strengthen Canada's approach to a range of offenders, from drug dealers to sexual predators, to what the conservative government call "out-of-control young people" (Chase 2011).

As for the Canadian welfare state, in 2006 the conservative government made cuts to human resources and skill development by $153 million; $18 million was cut from adult literacy programs, $55.4 million from youth employment and $17.6 million from programs which aim to boost work skills (CBC 2006). As I write in May 2011, the conservative government has been reelected. The proposed budget for the 2011-2012 fiscal year suggests a focus on smaller government, more cuts to social programs and more reliance on families and the private sector for support, meanwhile, investing more money behind the military and police. Canada has taken a turn towards neo-liberal economic freedoms and neo-conservative crime control policies which has led to the growth of a historically absent culture of control.

3.5. The Culture of Control

What I adopt from Garland's (2001) book, The Culture of Control: Crime and social order in contemporary society, is his explanation of post modern economic deregulation and crime control. Garland (2001) maintains that the neo-liberal and neo-conservative ideology of the state has formed a culture of control which benefits the rich and hinders the poor. The neo-liberal agenda entails the collapse of the welfare state to one which is primarily concerned with individual autonomy and responsability. In this system, the state is smaller and takes on less of a role in the lives of citizens. It is up to individual people to prosper or fail as the state takes a backseat in the economic order. In response to this economic shift the neo-conservative discourse finds its niche, driven to ensure state control over crime and punishment.

One would have to insist that these two opposing ideologies ought to clash. How can one, concerned with individual autonomy, work in tandem with the other, concerned with individual regulation? The neo-liberal front is committed to rolling back the state, while simultaneously the neo-conservative front is set on building a state that is stronger and more authoritarian. However, this post-modern ideology has a counteractive affect on the world of economics, those who can weather the storm prosper while those who cannot become victims of the market mentality and are subject to punishment.

Neo-liberal politics unwavering insistence on market dependency resulted in the widening of inequality and created an economy whereby the rich become richer and the poor become poorer. Under such a system the wealthy may enjoy the personal freedoms allotted by neo-liberalism, while the poor are subject to the discipline of neo-conservatism. For example, Wacquant (2001) suggests;

> "The increase of carceral populations in advanced societies is due to the growing use of the penal system as an instrument for managing social insecurity and containing the social disorders created at the bottom of the class structure by neo-liberal policies of economic deregulation and social-welfare retrenchment."

The rhetoric of neo-conservatism demonizes the poor, and they are blamed for the moral decay of society (Garland 2001). The prison then returns as the central theme of social control as there is a deep need "for a civilized and constitutional means" of segregating the problem populations created by today's economic and social conditions (Garland 2001).

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Therefore, crime and its control have acted as a lens from which to pathologize the poor as undeserving, deviant, dangerous, and different (Garland 2001). Garland (2001) suggests that;

> "The neo-liberal choice has been a fateful one in emotional as well as economic terms. Every individual is more and more obliged to adopt the economic attitude of the responsabilized, competitive entrepreneur. The corresponding psychic posture is that of tensed up, relentless individuals, regarding one another with mutual suspicion and no great deal of trust. The pursuit of freedom-moral freedom, market freedom, individual freedom-brings with it the risk of insecurity and the temptation to respond with oppression. In this cultural setting, it is no wonder that the undeserving poor are feared and resented. Choosing freedom comes at a cost, and all too often it is the poor and the powerless who are made to pay."

What emerges from the economic and political ideology of neo-liberalism and neo-conservatism is a culture of control. Crime control policy then organizes the politics of poverty as the ostracized underclass are the ones who must bear the blame for the pathologies of neo-liberalism (Garland 2001). The watch words of today are economic freedom and social control (Garland 2001, p. 100).

3.6. Delinquency Professionals

What I draw from Cohen's (1985) classic Visions of Social Control: crime, punishment and classification, is his perspective on the role of delinquency professionals in the culture of control. A delinquency professionals' take on what is normal psychology, social behavior, families, and individuals is assumed to be neutral and based on clinical judgments and scientific research (Garland 2001). However, the differences between delinquency professionals and the social control system are not as great as some may have imagined (Cohen 1985). Cohen (1985) suggests that delinquency professionals are a) deeply influenced by the culture of control; b) serve as an expansion to the culture of control and; c) like the culture of control, individualize and pathologize the poor, blaming them for crime and poverty.

First, delinquency professionals are dependent employees of public institutions and have little power in major policy decisions; they are influenced by the system not vice versa (Cohen 1985). Professionals in systems such as mental health, crime control, social work and so on are locked into a network of bureaucratic and corporate interests, therefore they serve those interests (Cohen 1985). To keep their jobs and justify their existence, to attract government support and grants, they must keep expanding in a way the system or state supports (Cohen 1985). For example, consider the "occupy movements" which have spread across the world in recent months. While some police officers may be sensitive to the issues at hand, their occupational role dictates that they must arrest protestors deemed as a security "threat" and evict them from their sites of occupation when commanded to do so.

Likewise, consider a social worker who must remove a child from his/her home due to the inability of the parents to provide. While the social worker may be sensitive to the structural barriers faced by the parent(s), they nevertheless must focus on the individualistic perspective which suggests neglect. Cohen (1985) holds the delinquency professionals as;

> "Part of the professional managerial class, who do not own the means of production and whose major function in the social division of labor is to reproduce capitalist culture and class relations."

Therefore, a delinquency professionals' occupational role is heavily influenced by the state and in turn reflects the ideology of the state. At risk is when the occupational role begins to dictate the delinquency personal perceptions of crime and poverty as they are influenced by the culture of control.

Second, Cohen (1985) maintains that the rise of the rehabilitative or correctional movement (Post WWII-1960's) supplemented rather than replaced the old system of punishment. While righteous in its intentions, numerous programs grew out of the movement widening the nets and increasing the reach of social control (Cohen 1985). Likewise, today the rehabilitative rhetoric produced by professionals is merely a guise as these programs are far from a de-structuring move; rather they are a supplemental addition to the system as a whole. The community approach of professionals, pulls in soft end criminals only to expand the states overall social control; delinquency professionals then become agents of social control (Garland 2001). For example, Cohen found that social workers made three times more recommendations for custody than probation officers (Cohen 1985 p98). The increasing dominance of private sector professionals then becomes a paradoxical transformation. What was supposed to reduce judicial contact has turned into a means of ensuring a steady supply of young clients for treatment (Cohen 1985).

The original criminal justice structure has become stronger as professionals and experts are proliferating dramatically and society is more dependent on them (Cohen 1985). Social workers, counselors and teachers or the more obvious police and probation officers are all a part of the panoptic world (Cohen 1985). Foucault has suggested that this is the ultimate fantasy of crime and punishment, to be represented in rituals spread throughout the punitive city; "hundreds of tiny theaters of punishment" (Foucault 1977). For Foucault; treatment is merely another source of state power disguised in the expertise and knowledge of delinquency professionals. Only experts know what to do (knowledge) and only they should be allowed to do it (power).

Finally, the power of this expert knowledge has a way of describing who is unfit for society and needs the help of the delinquency professional. The new expanded system prefers to include those who might not have committed offenses at all, but come from "deprived" backgrounds (Cohen 1985). For example, Cohen (1985) states that;

> "The proliferation of the delinquency professionals is directed toward creating new categories of deviance and social problems, that is defining more people as belonging to special populations and then slotting them into one category or another."

These agents and agencies are incapable of responding to the wider social contexts (class, race, ethnicity, power, sexuality, bodily ability) in which crime and delinquency are located. Rather, they contribute to these classifications through individualization and behaviorism (Cohen 1985). The delinquency professionals' job is to classify, between the normal and the pathological; soft/hard, treatable/untreatable, safe/dangerous. The primary concern of the experts working in this field is to identify the individual characteristics that differentiate us (normal) from them (pathological).

Professional treatment is purely an ideological vision used to center out individuals, causing us to miss the real impact of macro structural inequality (Cohen 1985). Foucault (1977) sees this system as irrational; it creates and classifies deviance rather than seeking out its underlying root causes (Garland 2001, p. 192). Delinquency professionals' adopt the ideology of the culture of control by individualizing and pathologizing their most regular clients, the poor. What seems to be help, disguised in the form of rehabilitation and correction, is really more oppression by means of classification and individualization. The result is a society and a culture which sees economic prosperity and deviance as the choice of individuals, forgetting macro economic, political, cultural and social forces which are outside the control of individuals. Cohen states; "so invisible was the machine, that its most benign parts (therapy, social work, counseling etc.) hid its most repressive operations" (Cohen 1985).

3.7. Limitations of the Culture of Control

There are several criticism aimed at Garland's culture of control theory and punitive turn theorists in general (Mathews 2005 and 2002; Hannah-Moffat 2005; Zedner 2002; and O'Malley 1999). It is important to briefly review this literature in order to demonstrate how the focus on this research (delinquency professionals) allows it to embrace the criticisms aimed at penal turn theory. The first critique is that there has simply been no punitive turn due a lack of intent to punish. Mathews (2002) suggests that for the punitive turn thesis to hold there must be clear evidence of punitive intent. He maintains that it is not the states main intention to punish and appeals to the recirculation of penal subjects or the collapse of community care causing an increased need to house the "mentally unstable" in penal institutions. As both of these examples lack the required punitive intent, the punitive turn thesis appears falsified (Hallsworth and Lea 2008).

However, Mathews is supporting an important aspect of this research. When considering the theoretical perspective of this thesis, we see that the criminal justice system need not be punitive to create a culture of control, but rather influence, expand and encourage others to adopt its principles. For example Hallsworth and Lea (2008) suggest that

> "the shift from social inclusion through welfare citizenship to social exclusion through criminalization is precisely one of the key shifts in the social policy of the advanced capitalist societies in recent decades and is one of the key factors driving the punitive turn."

Further, critics maintain that Garland (2001) and other punitive turn theorists fail to explore how risk management or rehabilitation has been revived as a central feature of penal control (Hallworth and Lea 2008). For example, O'Malley (1999) suggests penal turn theorists ignore reintegrative strategies such as restorative justice. While Hannah-Moffat (2005) rejects any notion that rehabilitation has been displaced by punitive ideals. Rather, she suggests that;

> "The two have been amalgamated in which the aim of intervention is to change or rehabilitate the offender, but by modern methods associated with the identification and management of the offender's "criminogenic needs" rather than older, welfarist-inspired rehabilitation strategies."

This critique provides another example of the expansion of the culture of control through the guise of benevolence. With risk/need approaches, the offender is responsibilized for their offending and their own treatment program (Hutchinson 2006). Hallsworth and Lea (2008) suggest that in a society of growing inequality and social exclusion, the idea that such self-responsibilization is not punitive is far from credible. Risk management becomes management of the poor, or management of lower working class youth. The drive to change or rehabilitate the offender in term of criminogenic needs is a reflection of the culture of control and the delinquency professionals housed within. This is precisely what my research intends to examine; the individualistic and pathological tendencies of the state which have been extended through the benign efforts of delinquency professionals.

Moreover, Matthews (2005) suggest that crime is neither peripheral nor insulated within the government, but rather, crime control has lost its distinct identity and "become enmeshed within a wider framework of community safety." In other words crime is de-centralizing and moving towards other mechanism for the management of the poor and other problem groups such as young lower class men (Hallsworth and Lea 2008). This critique provides another clear example of the culture of control, specifically with the addition of Cohen's (1985) delinquency professionals. The fact that crime has become part of a wider continuum of anti-social behaviour is precisely one of the ways in which crime control comes to exert a powerful influence on the workings of agencies and agents such as delinquency professionals. Lea (2002) suggests that;

> "Crime appears to be one harm among many precisely because so many other forms of sub-criminal harm have been effectively criminalized through various strategies of pre-emptive criminalization."

Hallsworth and Lea (2008) maintain that under these circumstances criminal justice takes on a scatter-gun character and effectively criminalizes those who have yet to enter serious criminality. The end result is that of more and more offenders being mixed deeper and deeper within the criminal justice system for doing less and less (Morgan 2003).

Finally, critics suggest that the punitive turn is not widespread and that penal welfarism is actually alive and well (Penna and Yar 2003). Garland leaves himself open to critique as he focuses largely on the U.S. and Britain in his study, leaving out other industrialized nations such as Canada, Australia, Germany, Scandinavia, Italy and so on. For example, in a discussion of Canada, Meyer and O'Malley (2005) conclude that "Canadian criminal justice cannot be subsumed under a general model of a global punitive turn." The implication is that the punitive turn must be rejected and if a culture of control does exist its explanation is localized and determined by forces within that specific milieu (Hallsworth, and Lea 2008).

In contrast, I have shown above that Canada has adopted a culture of control through its governing ideologies. Recall the neo-liberal economic policies, neo-conservative crime control policies and the welfare retrenchment of present day Canada. Moreover, In recent years several authors have presented evidence that Canada's incarceration rate for young offenders now rivals, if not exceeds, American rates (Sprott 2001, Sprott and Snyder 2000). Similarly, Ulla Bondeson (2005) sees Swedish penal welfarism as "swimming against the tide" and identifies clear signs of a shift towards punitiveness (Hallsworth and Lea 2008). Further, David Nelken (2005) sees that large scale immigration into Italy, much of it illegal, could become the vehicle for a new punitiveness (Hallsworth and Lea 2008).

Likewise, David Brown (2005) argues that in Australia the Aboriginal people were always excluded from penal welfarism and that a new punitiveness may be located in the extensions of the penal control of immigrants and asylum seekers (Hallsworh and Lea 2008). Punitive theory does not insist that all countries change at the same pace. Many resistances and survivals take place; the point is to understand them as precisely resistances to general trends (Hallsworth and Lea 2008). Canada and these other countries have merely been slower to take the punitive turn.

Importantly, this thesis situates the culture of control within ideology as opposed to mere prison statistics. Neo-liberal economic freedoms accompanied by neo-conservative crime control policies have created an environment where the poor have little chance of financial success and a great chance of interaction with the formal social control system. The notion of no punitive intent illuminates the expansion of the culture of control into categories deemed as in need of being controlled (i.e mental health). Further, the ideals of "risk management" and "rehabilitation" is realistically management of the poor, or management of lower working class youth.

Moreover, the suggestion that crime is enmeshed within the wider framework of community safety is exactly what Foucault (1977), Cohen (1985), Garland (2001), Wacquant (2004), Hallsworth and Lea (2011) and others means when discussing the expansion of the culture of control. Finally, the notion that punitive ideals are not widespread is falsified through a look at the current neo-liberal and neo-conservative economic policies in countries predominantly known for penal welfarism such as Canada, Sweden, Italy and Australia. The poor need not be put in prison to be caught within the nets of the social control system. Rather, the proliferation and expansion of delinquency professionals is what contributes to the growth of such a system. This thesis seeks to counteract the benevolence the social control system put forth by these authors by examining the ideological semblance

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between the culture of control and delinquency professionals. It is through this similar discourse that we will see the culture of control emerge in delinquency professionals perceptions of YMLCAV.

4. Methodology

4.1. The City

This exploratory research study was conducted in a city of central Canada. The city, once characterized by big name industry, has recently seen massive amounts of deindustrialization. This has led to job losses in the thousands, as the unemployment rate ranks among the highest of major Canadian cities. Where booming industry once provided the working class citizens with a wage higher than most middle class Canadians, this section of the city is now characterized by run down housing, massive unemployment, and a growing disparity between the rich (north) and the poor (south). With crime rates the highest in the region, the assault has yet to cease. We are left with a scene painted by poverty. The macro structural metamorphosis which has hit this city in recent years has left a lasting impact.

4.2. The Participants

The research participants consisted of 11 delinquency professionals; 5 female and 6 male. Specifically, the sample consisted of; two police officers, a school principal, a high school teacher, three youth gang counselors, the head of a youth anti-violence initiative, the manager of a government program directed towards youth involved in the criminal justice system, the manager of a secure custody youth facility and a child and youth worker (See Appendix A for a detailed breakdown of the participants). These participants either live, work or have direct working knowledge of the youth who inhabit the city under investigation.

4.3. Date Collection

Qualitative in depth semi-structured interviews were used in this research project. This type of interview involves the implementation of pre-determined questions and special categories, however the interviewer is allotted the flexibility to digress from the questions and probe far beyond the answers given by the participants (Berg 2007). As the jobs held by the delinquency professionals vary vastly in the capacity in which they work with violent youth (i.e. a police officer and a high school teacher), utilizing semi-structured interviews allowed me to assume that the participants would not find equal meaning in like-worded questions and that the participants may possess very different vocabularies based on their occupational role (Berg 2007). This granted me the freedom to adapt to the occupational role of the individual participants and focus on the central purpose of the investigation without adhering to a stringent list of pre-determined questions. Schwartz and Jacob (1979) suggest that this will result in the most appropriate questions arising from the interactions during the interview itself.

The in depth semi-structured interview method used for this study involved voluntary and confidential one on one informal conversations which were tape recorded and then later transcribed. Meetings were conducted where the participants felt most comfortable, usually at his/her office or residence, and the interviews ranged from an hour to an hour and a half in length. Conversations flowed quite well as I allowed the participants some leeway to take the discussions in the direction that they felt best explained YMLCAV. The central goal was to access a delinquency professionals' perspective, therefore granting the participant a semblance of control allowed him/her to be more open and to answer based on personal opinion created out of experience.

This however does not mean that the interviews were completely unstructured; rather, the conversation was guided around the three main topics of assaultive

violence, gender and S.E.S which acted as the core of the interview questions. I was seeking was a structural analysis of YMLCAV, while also giving great consideration to gender. Therefore the interviews were arranged around the delinquency professionals' perceptions and explanations of YMLCAV. However the topical themes of gender and S.E.S were adopted to understand how the delinquency professionals' perceptions and explanations of these two variables related to their perceptions and explanations of YMLCAV. These themes were important to myself as a researcher reflecting on current criminological literature (See chapter 2), the chosen theoretical perspective (See chapter 3), and the city in which this research took place. The categorical schemes of these topical themes were then used to formulate a list of questions to help guide the interviews (See Appendix B for the interview schedule).

Within the interviews and throughout the analysis masculinity was defined as hegemonic masculinity; a social ascendancy achieved in a play of social forces that extends beyond contests of brute power into the organization of private life and cultural processes (see R.W. Connell (1995) for a complete description of hegemonic, complicit, subordinate and marginalized masculinities). That is living up to the culturally defined role of "breadwinner" in heterosexual marriage/cohabitation; avoiding things socially defined as feminine; severely restricting emotions; showing toughness and aggression; exhibiting self-reliance; striving for achievement and status; exhibiting non-relational attitudes toward sexuality; and actively engaging in homophobia (Dekeseredy & Schwartz 2010).

Male delinquency was defined as physically assaultive violence. Specifically any deliberate action which may affect a person's physical well being; when an individual uses force against another person without their consent. It was also important for me to specify "assaultive" violence to differentiate from other forms of deviance (i.e. sexual violence, drug dealing, property crimes etc). Finally, borrowing from Messerschmidt (1999), S.E.S was defined as "a group of people who share the same position in the production system" and working class refers to those who work for wages and do not control the means of production (Beirne & Messerschmidt 1995).

Data saturation was determined after 11 participants. Strauss and Corbin (1998) suggest that data saturation is reached when "new cases no longer disclose new features" (Strauss & Corbin 1998). I analyzed the data throughout the research project and began to find certain patterns and similarities emerging in the first six interviews. I concluded that another five interviews would be manageable with the time allotted for this project and also sufficient for the exploratory nature of this study. While, ideally I would have liked to go well beyond the 11 participants, time restriction did not allow for such an in-depth analysis. As this is an exploratory study, data saturation was successfully reached when I felt that I had enough data to provide the reader with valuable insight into delinquency professionals' perceptions on YMLCAV.

4.4. Data Analysis

The analysis of the data took an interpretive approach. This provided a way for me to access the practical understanding of meaning and actions; the goal is the organization and reduction of data in order to uncover patterns of human activity, actions and meanings (Berg 2007). Coding took place in three stages, largely following the process laid out by Strauss (1987) which consists of open, axial and selective coding.

Initially I immersed myself in the transcripts to identify the ideas that seemed meaningful to the participants (Abrahamson 1983). I combed through each line of the data looking for any words, sentences or phrases which fit into the topical themes of gender, S.E.S, and assaultive violence. Connections were made by identifying the participants basic answers to the research questions. This process

helped cut out much of the conversation which led slightly off topic and allowed me to focus on the text pertinent to the study itself. What arose from this stage was the delinquency professionals' individual perceptions of YMLCAV and its relationship to gender and S.E.S. I then began a second textual analysis and intensively coded around the categories derived from the previous step. This step involves "breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualizing and categorizing data" (Strauss & Corbin 1998) often in terms of properties and dimensions. This process allowed me to further isolate the delinquency professionals' responses in order to determine their explanations. Through the explanations of YMLCAV I began to see some shared ideology between the delinquency professionals.

In the final stage I again thoroughly analyzed the participants answers and explanations to each question in order to identify similar phrases, meanings, patterns, commonalities and disparities which emerged (Berg 2007). This process required me to analyze the isolated individual perceptions and explanations uncovered in the last steps and develop themes important to the delinquency professionals as a whole. Combining the delinquency professionals' accounts of YMLCAV and assessing them within the topical themes of assaultive violence, gender and S.E.S allowed for large amounts of text to be reduced to a small set of themes which appear to describe the phenomenon in question. The patterns and themes which emerged from the data are the delinquency professionals' perceptions and explanations of YMLCAV.

4.5. Limitations of the Study

The semi-structured interpretive approach taken in this study has many benefits as indicated above; nevertheless it is only one form of research method. As Strauss (1987) states; "different methods tell different parts of a story and tell them differently". The issue comes to light when one considers the meanings external to the conversations (i.e. occupational role). The flexibility allotted in semi-structured interviews was important for this study given the varying occupational roles, nevertheless the delinquency professionals' occupational role could have a great amount of influence on how they perceive and therefore form answers to the questions being asked. For example, a police officer and a child and youth worker may have very differing opinions and explanations of YMLCAV due to their working experience. This effect was combated by pre-determined themes on which the interview would be based (Gender, S.E.S, and violence). The use of these themes ensured that the interview conversation stayed within the allotted box, while granting flexibility for the participants to form their own input and opinions. Given its exploratory nature this thesis seeks to access the "delinquency professionals'" perceptions and explanations of YMLCAV so as to incorporate the many varying occupational roles which may be understood as "experts of delinquency."

Further, it is important to consider the researchers role in influencing the answers of his/her participants. Considering that the delinquency professionals predominantly occupied positions of "authority" over a protected demography (youth), they may have been more cautious of their opinions and explanations. This may be further exploited by my position as a student. In other words, the delinquency professionals may be more careful of how they form their opinions of lower working class youth to a student doing his/her MA thesis. I feel I sufficiently combated this effect by gaining informed consent prior to the interview and explaining that the risk of identification was negligible (See appendix C for the informed consent form). I made it clear to the participants that the interviews were completely confidential and that their names, places of work and locations would not be exposed in the research. I explained that they would be identified through the use of a pseudonym, that all data would be stored securely on my locked personal computer and that the data would be destroyed by me upon the completion of my research.

Finally, when conducting qualitative research one also has to be aware of self-reported data. The delinquency professionals use of working examples based on experience cannot be independently verified. There are a few points to consider when conducting research using self-reported data; (1) selective memory (remembering or not remembering certain experiences); (2) telescoping (recalling events and attributing them to the wrong timeline); (3) attribution (making personal outcomes positive, and external outcomes negative); and, (4) exaggeration (to represent something as being larger, greater, better, or worse than it really is)(Gonyea 2005). However, this is not a great risk for this particular study, as I was seeking the delinquency professionals' personal opinions and explanations of YMLCAV.

5. Findings

5.1. The Culture of the Poor

> "I had to take a kid home once, and I was stepping over needles and condoms and crack heads in the corner. And I came from (city name), very middle class, and I was wondering where was I? I couldn't believe the poverty they were living in yeah, and the parents knew I was coming and the apartment was full of weed and they were half dressed." (Sarah)

The data revealed the delinquency professionals consistently appealing to a "culture of the poor." They maintained that this culture, specific to the lower working class, is conducive to criminal behavior. The analysis of the data discovered three main themes which the delinquency professionals utilized to promote the "culture of the poor." Specifically, they appealed to, a "different hyper masculinity" among lower working class youth, poor family structure amongst the lower working class and that lower working class males learn from their environment which promotes delinquency. In later pages these themes will be addressed, however it is important to first present the delinquency professionals' perceptions of the "culture of the poor" as the remaining three themes appear to be housed within this dominant perspective.

Daniel exemplifies the position of the delinquency professionals as he states;

> "In the lower class area, these people see their neighbours and they think it is normal that the police are at their doors, or the electricity is getting turned off, or no car, or mom and dad don't have a job, or everything is dirty in the house. They get used to that and they think that is normal."

This notion of the "culture of the poor" is a commonly held position which scholars refer to as the cultural theory of poverty and inequality. In short, this theory contends that the lower class are poor because they want to be and that this lifestyle has become an accepted normal part of everyday life. Ultimately, poverty is a result of "bad values" and a "lack of motivation to achieve" (Royce 2009). For example, Ryan demonstrates some of the individual problems of lower working class youth as;

> "General underachievement, early school problems or being out of school that is identified as the main factors. Inconsistent parenting or familial conflict, lack of role models particularly male role models. Acceptance of violence, acceptance for rule breaking, usually feelings of hopelessness, lack of meaningful social goals."

This explanation suggests a number of pathologies which the delinquency professionals commonly regard as plagues of the lower working class. Their poverty is attributed to their lack of effort, poor choices, their distinctive cultures and chosen conduct (Garland 2001, p. 196).

Further, the cultural theory of poverty contends that poor people have a distinct set of values, aspirations, beliefs, attitudes, dispositions, and psychological

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characteristics (Royce 2009). Adam supported this point and clarified some class differences which may lead to delinquency by suggesting that;

> "Income status is also a factor. So you know if I am coming from a two parent family that has a good relationship with me, I have a good healthy peer group, my income is middle class or above, I am you know in the 60th or 70th percentile intellectually, you know I am a brighter kid, tendency is I am not going to be as aggressive."

Banfield (1974) suggests that "the poor are inclined towards violence," they are not troubled by "dirt and dilapidation" and they prefer the "action of the street" to a steady job. Sarah supports this approach as she suggests that the poor don't want to work twelve hour days when they can just "sell crack from the corner and come home with $2000." Similarly, Max stated that "the poor don't want to work for three months to make the same amount of money they would have if they worked a different profession (illegal) for one weekend."

In addition, Mead (1992) maintains that the failure of the poor is due to their "defeatist culture" and lack of "personal organization" (Mead 2003). Magnet (1993) is more direct suggesting that the poor are "equipped with different mental and emotional furniture" which inhibit them from taking advantage of the American dream. Likewise, Charles Murray (2005) holds that poverty has little to do with opportunity and more to do with their "inability to get up every morning and go to work". Daniel feels that it "just takes a little personal motivation" on behalf of the poor. Here is an excerpt from our interview;

> Kyle: What do you think the idealized man is to these youth? Like you know, when you are a kid you want to grow up and be a man, what do you think their perception is?
>
> Daniel: I think, when you grow up you say I want to be whatever, a lot of these kids are all just I want to be a construction worker, I want to, they all want to be that rough throw a hammer around, they don't have the high ambition. I don't see anyone saying I want to be a doctor, I want to be an astronaut. A lot of them are just, yeah you know I want to do this. I just want to say; oh you are really shooting for the stars there eh? A lot of the kids just want the bare minimum, so that's what a lot of them do, they are in the trades, in the factory, and those are the jobs that the sometimes on edge kids lean towards.
>
> Kyle: Do you think it is fair, I mean for them to even try to aspire to be an astronaut or something like this?
>
> Daniel: Yeah, because there, you hear about it in the news, or you hear about success stories. I think that they do need to have those higher goals and just because they don't have money doesn't mean that they can't make something of themselves but I think that is what they think because that is how everyone else around them is.

For Daniel, and other delinquency professionals, lower class violent males have adopted the values of the "culture of the poor." They are lazy and lack the perseverance necessary to escape this environment. Banfield (1974) and other culture of poverty theorists suggest a "class cultural scale" with the lower class culture at the one end and its anti-thesis, high-class culture at the other.

Cultural theorists of poverty and inequality also maintain that poverty is generational; through the process of socialization parents pass the "culture of the poor" down to their children (Royce 2009). The parents transmit their self-defeating attitudes along with impoverished intellectual and emotional development which imprisons them in failure (Magnet 1993). Amy reflected on the this in our interview when she explained that;

> "In the lower socio-economic a part of it is they believe they are not going anywhere, they say well it doesn't matter Amy, I am going to quit school and live on the streets."

Further, Amy explains that she has worked in schools with students who are 5th generation social assistance receivers and that this teaches youth that they don't "need to get a job because they will pay them to sit at home." Likewise, Adam suggests that poverty is a "cycle" and that "when your family is on welfare, you are usually not first generation welfare, you are second or third generation welfare." According to the delinquency professionals the poor lack the necessary motivation and become entrapped within a cycle of poverty that is supported by the "culture of the poor."

In sum, the delinquency professionals' perspectives resemble the five key claims of the culture of poverty and inequality theory (Royce 2009). For example, Ainsley suggests that;

> "It's about dreaming bigger, I think it's what you look up to and what you admire, what you aspire to be. If you aspire to be you know a wall street worker you're not going to be involved in this sort of thing (delinquency)."

Likewise the first key claim of the culture of poverty perspective maintains that: (1) the psychology and worldview of the poor is drastically different from the middle class, they do not have the attitudes, commitment or belief to promote stable families and economic achievement (Royce 2009).

Moreover, Ryan recalled a recent study he had read when he suggested that;

> "People who are on welfare, people that are dependent, who have never worked and don't have skills but also don't have cultural needs, they condition themselves to live at the very minimum, even though they refuse social support, they welcome the cheque."

Similarly, the second key claim of the culture of poverty perspective maintains that; (2) due to cultural and psychological traits the poor are predisposed to a destructive lifestyle leaving them trapped in welfare dependency, single parenthood, and chronic joblessness (Royce 2009).

Next, Max suggests that the lower class have different ways to communicate as he explains;

> "Physical aggression played into that, I have seen a lot more fights in the poor areas and that is just kind of how it is done, as where my friends who work in banks, they don't fight, they just solve things, I don't know if it appears to be that way, whether it is socially accepted, culturally accepted."

Likewise, the third key claim of the culture of poverty perspective contends that; (3) the cultural and behavioral deviance of the poor is the primary cause of their poverty (Royce 2009).

Further, Adam maintains the biological inferiority of the poor as he suggests that;

> "In poverty, education tends to be less, that's from a variety of factors from nutrition to other habits that kind of ruin the brain and it's passed on genetically. You know you see more fetal alcohol syndrome in poor families, there is more drug abuse and that's all escapisms."

This supports the fourth key claim of the culture of poverty perspective which holds that; (4) the psychological and motivational deficiencies of the poor are transmitted from one generation to the next.

Finally, Ryan feels these youth are "being saturated with messages of the neighborhood, the subculture" and that there is;

> "An early acceptance of delinquency for rule breaking" and that "prosocial use of time needs to be taught, it needs to be encouraged and fostered as the lower S.E.S do not necessarily view that as desired."

Similarly, the fifth key claim of the culture of poverty perspective suggests that; (5) only by uprooting the culture of poverty itself or by having the poor undergo resocialization and moral reform, can the problem of poverty be alleviated (Royce

2009). The delinquency professionals' perceptions are in sync with the culture of poverty and inequality perspective; The poor are at fault for the poverty they experience and the delinquency which ensues. The "culture of the poor" promotes this lifestyle by undermining the pro-social values held by the middle class (e.g. cleanliness, education, peace) and advancing the anti-social values of the lower working class (e.g. welfare dependency, disorder, violence). As individuals the poor are lazy and lack the drive to escape poverty, rather poverty is a cycle comprised of deficient individuals housed within the "culture of the poor."

5.2. Explanations of Masculinity

> "There is our norms and there is their norms and their norms like what they would think would be masculine I think would be a lot different then what the rest of society would think would be masculine. To them a masculine guy I find, this is just, with like street level robberies and drug dealers and that sort of thing, its more you want the money and that sort of thing and you know to be, I dunno just, mostly money and cars and that sort of thing. Versus what I think the rest of society wants is somebody who has a good job and can provide for a family and that sort of thing." (Ainsley)

The delinquency professionals explained the relationship between gender and YMLCAV by appealing to socially prescribed gender roles. Specifically, they suggested that gender is a social construct and that society requires males and females to act in gender appropriate manners. For example, Amy suggested that "it goes back to boys will be boys," while Jeff believes it is the way young men are raised "to take care of business" while women are raised "to be at home." The delinquency professionals maintain that we live in a society which tells boys to be tough and women to be meek, and it is this understanding of roles which requires violence from men to live up to expectations.

However, throughout the interviews, the delinquency professionals suggested that gender roles are perceived and performed differently within the lower S.E.S and that there is a "different masculinity" among lower working class males which deviates from the norm. The concept of a "different masculinity" is supported throughout the literature. For example, Messerschmidt maintains that "boys will be boys" differently, depending on their position in social structures and, therefore, upon their access to power and resources (Messerschmidt 2000). However, rather than appealing to structure, the delinquency professionals suggested that this "different masculinity" is the result of the "culture of the poor" which requires young men to be violent and dominant.

The "different masculinity" of the poor was often described in opposition to the middle class. For example, Daniel suggests that among lower working class youth "to be a man you have to be tough" and to be tough "you have to use violence." While, Ainsley maintains that proper masculinity from the middle class perspective is 'being the provider of your family." For the average person masculinity is a positive notion, a source of pride, accessed through the role of a father or breadwinner. However, for lower working class youth masculinity is enacted in opposition, as a source power, accessed through violence.

Adam feels that the lower working class youth he works with "tend to have some skewed views on masculinity" as they seem to take on a "hyper-sense" of masculinity that is "over sensationalized." Conversely, for Jeff;

> "it's all about where you come from, as you can be masculine without being violent, the middle class calls for a normal masculinity, as their is a social obligation to take care of what you need to take care of, being a good parent, good husband, and friend without resorting to violence."

For the delinquency professionals, lower working class youth are not being the socially acceptable masculine, they are being "a different masculine," a type of masculine which is a product of their environment. The participants appear to take

an essentialist perspective on male masculinity, and the "culture of poverty" in general, as they consistently hold the poor and the middle class to certain properties and characteristics which become defining. For example, Daniel sums up the delinquency professionals' perspective nicely as he suggest;

> "I think masculinity is just skewed from the average. I don't think that these kids are being average masculine. I think they are being the rap video and the violent movie and that thing. I think the way society portrays it is the family type of man, the masculine role is support the family, do the manly things at the house and you know have a nice car kind of thing that is what I think more what society shows these kids. Not going around committing robberies and beating people up."

The "different masculinity" of the lower class was most often described in terms of violence or as a means of survival within the "culture of the poor." For example, Adam suggests, that lower working class youth view gender roles as more "black and white" and often what results is a "hyper-masculinity" which promotes a desire to dominate. Similarly Ryan maintains that it is a way of asserting themselves as he holds that "people within the lower S.E.S learn that to be heard, to be noticed, you have to be violent, you have to stand up for yourself." Here is an excerpt from the interview between Dillon and I which exemplifies this point;

> Kyle: The relationship between masculinity and violence. Do you think there is any?
>
> Dillon: They see it as a relationship definitely. They, they see that you are more masculine if you can physically dominate everyone around you.

Amy takes a slightly different approach as she suggests that "the low income is survival of the fittest." In this sense, while the youth utilize a violent masculinity, they do so for protection from their environment. Similarly, Max states; "it's more of a survival technique kind of within the criminal gang subculture that a lot of them might identify with kill or be killed". Likewise, Brenda maintains that;

> "I think it is all they know, all the ways that they can express themselves, but they are also fighting for survival. If you are being raised in a hostile community, in a violent community you can't afford to be seen as non-violent"

While this may appear to be an appeal to the structural environment of the youth, the perceptions were again housed within the "culture of the poor." This "different masculinity" is a way for these young men to react to their environment which is conducive to violence and crime, rather than as a response to structural inequalities which inhibit violence and crime. For example, here is an excerpt from the interview with Sarah;

> Kyle: What purpose do you think assault of violence serves for these young males?
>
> Sarah: Feeling in power and control of their own life, that they use violence to get what they need or to prove themselves.
>
> Kyle: What do you think given the socio-economic situations, or their violent past, violence means to them?
>
> Sarah: Power and control

According to the delinquency professionals, these young men are at the extreme end of the masculinity spectrum. Similar to Banfield's (1974) class cultural scale, the delinquency professionals suggests a lower class hyper masculinity at one end, with its anti-thesis middle class "average" masculinity at the other end. They maintain that while society does create socially prescribed gender roles-masculinities and femininities-, lower working class youth deviate from the norm. They are fighters instead of fathers; they are the gang type man instead of the family type man. For the delinquency professionals, then, masculinity among lower working class males is in opposition to middle class masculinity. The lower S.E.S calls for a hyper masculinity as there is a social obligation to be dominant and powerful. In this sense, the delinquency professionals appeal to the individual choices of the youth and the "culture of the poor" which promotes this masculinity.

5.3. Social Learning

> "Because the kids there (middle class) learned different things, again they are coming from two parent incomes, from stable homes, they are coming from social interactions, they have been in boy scouts, they have been to summer camp, they have been a part of a team, they have played hockey at a high level, so they had all of the social experiences where they learn proper ways to resolve conflicts. Then we come down here (low S.E.S), the kids haven't had that, they haven't had the social interaction, they may have only gone to school with others kids from one small school area. They didn't have interactions with the other kids; they didn't learn proper social resolution to conflict, so as a result they just bled out." (Daniel)

The delinquency professionals consistently maintained that youth learn from and mimic their environment, therefore an environment such as the "culture of the poor," conducive to violence, will illicit delinquent behavior. The delinquency professionals were appealing to a simplified version of social learning theory. In its most basic form social learning theory suggests that people learn from and model behaviour prominent in their environment. For example, Daniel suggests that "the youth mimic what they see; if they see violence they will mimic violence." Brenda agreed by suggesting that violent youth are merely "reflecting what they are hearing and seeing."

For Albert Bandura (1977) "most human behavior is learned observationally through modeling: "from observing others, one forms an idea of how new behaviors are performed, and on later occasions this coded information serves as a guide for action." When that "guide for action" models criminal behavior, the youth learn from this observation and reflect the learned behavior. Sarah gives an example of observational learning as she explains that;

> "If Johnny is growing up in a home where dad beats mom because she doesn't do the dishes properly, what is he going to fall back to? He is going to fall back to what his environment and experiences are. It is learned behavior, dad is beating mom because she missed a dirty dish and left it on the counter, they see that mom respects dad out of fear and that is how they gain the respect."

Similarly, Sutherland and Cressey (1960) and Akers (1994) argue that "we learn criminal behaviour through exposure" or observational learning. However, Sutherland and Cressey (1960) added the notion of "differential association", which suggests that the chances a person will become delinquent is increased and the probability of them conforming to "normal" social standards is decreased when they "differentially associate" with other delinquents. As, Adam describes;

> "I see kids who really learn that behavior, so that their role models are aggressive people or the people they tend to hang out with are aggressive people."

Akers (1994) expands on the theory of differential association by suggesting three more major concepts which play a role in social learning; definitions, differential reinforcement and imitation. These concepts were supported by the delinquency professionals throughout the interviews as important factors in the social learning process. Definitions are one's personal perspectives and attitudes they attach to a given behaviour; their moral and values of what is good and what is bad play a role (Akers 1994). Similarly, Max suggests it's about "what they learned, what they were taught, where they came from, how they were raised, and what their ideas are between right and wrong." Differential reinforcement takes into account rewards and punishment as a consequence of behaviour; committing or refraining from crime depends on the probability of being caught and the value of its reward (Akers 1994). Likewise, Dillon finds that

> "Youth learn what they are successful at and run with. It ends up that they are out committing assaults, they are out there doing b and e's, drug dealing and other criminal activity. If we can break that cycle and make them be successful somewhere else, you could make that all go away."

Finally, imitation draws from Bandura (1977) by suggesting that whether or not behaviours will be modelled depends on the characteristics of the model, the behaviour observed and the observed consequences of that behaviour. As mentioned above, imitation or observational learning is the concept the delinquency professionals most commonly appealed to. For example, Max suggests; "its what they grow up seeing and learning, so this is what marriage is supposed to look like, this is how men treat women, this how families operate."

The delinquency professionals specified that the lower working class environment promotes criminal behaviour as it teaches youth anti-social values and fails to instil the pro-social norms of the middle class. Amy expresses this polarization of class as she suggests that;

> "It is very different between middle class, upper class, and higher class. My experience is that they (lower working class) just need to do what they need to do to get by. I think because there has been such a lack of positive male role models in their lives, my experience is that they don't know anything else other than what they have experienced as a child, the cycle just perpetuates itself because there isn't any positive role models so they don't fully understand that if they are within a home of violence that, that is wrong."

Ainsley agreed with this approach as she specified certain lower class neighbourhoods which are more likely than others to reinforce delinquent behaviour. Here is an excerpt from our conversation;

> Kyle: Ok, What do you think about role models? What role do they play in the lives of violent young men?
>
> Ainsley: I think a lot of them their role models might be their older brothers. And that's all they see is just, you know, especially when they grow up in these town house complexes or in the group homes and stuff the only other peers that you have are people who are committing all these crimes so you learn it from those people you know. Like you see in the town house complexes like you know all the kids hanging out together and that sort of thing.

The consensus is that young men are impressionable and learn a great deal from their environment. Specifically, lower working class youth learn delinquent behavior because lower working class environments are conducive to such behavior. While social learning is present within all demography's, lower working class youth are surrounded by the "culture of the poor" and do not have "built in buffers" (Adam) (e.g. good families, social outlets, education etc) which help them escape the anti-social values present within the "culture of the poor." Because lower working class neighborhoods allow the presence of crime and delinquency within their communities, the youth mimic their models and engage in similar delinquent behavior. The promotion of delinquency within the community, combined with their inability to develop the tools necessary to combat this negative environment, leads to them absorbing the "anti-social" values of the model, of the "culture of the poor."

5.4. Poor Family Structure

> "Desperate moms, females, try to take on parenting in families, whether it is a nuclear family, or single parent family, which is more often than not a single mom than single father, so I notice that with kids that later on are violent, it's the early disconnection of the fathers as providers, advocates, parents, as a solid grounds of the family, they are emotionally unavailable or physically unavailable, so mom tries to fill that role."(Ryan)

The Delinquency professionals frequently suggested that poor family structure was a key component of the "culture of the poor" which greatly contributed to delinquency among young lower working class males. They specifically appealed to common stereotypical traits of the lower working class such as poor parenting,

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absent fathers, single mothers and parents conducive to delinquency. For example Daniel suggests;

> "I find a lot of times they are single parents, or unemployed parents or they have some issue, it is never a stable home. It is not the kids whose parents are going to their jobs everyday and coming home and making dinner, and taking the kids to baseball and soccer."

Like the delinquency professionals, there are several theorists who place a high amount of value on the family. Social bond theorists, Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) claim that parents are a key determinant in juvenile delinquency. When parents fail to be a source of structure, promote or ignore the misbehaviors of their children or fail to provide their children with appropriate social outlets, the result is delinquency (Hirschi & Gottfredson 1990). Here Dillon explains the pivotal role of structure in the family:

> "When you have a normal balanced two parent home, or single parent but balanced, proper mature, you know rules, regulations, routines, the kids learn that. When the kids see that there is violence in the household, or they see that there is drugs and alcohol abuse, when they see that there is physical violence and and there is discriminatory comments and intimidation, that's what they do."

Likewise, developmental theorists Patterson, DeBaryshe and Ramsey (1989) suggests that "how parents manage their children's conduct" determines delinquency. Delinquency professionals mimic these perspectives as they suggest that parents play a crucial role in determining the future life choices of their children, for example Brenda states;

> "I see a big difference between kids who have parents who interact with them on the nature/nurture and those who don't. I get much more behaviour problems from the ones that don't have that nature/nurture time. The difference is that mom might read to them or they go to the park for a walk after dinner."

Patterson, DeBaryshe and Ramsey (1989) feel that the family is "a social learning environment, and it is in this environment that youth learn how to engage in a socially appropriate manner." Central to the authors' theory is that parents of delinquent children fail to "correct negative behavior and reward positive behavior"; this in turn teaches the child the value of anti-social behavior. Maintaining position, the delinquency professionals explanations of poor family structure was again placed in opposition to middle class life and values. For example, Daniel suggests that;

> Violence is a big role. You go to the low income and you go to the high income, the kids aren't getting into the fights, the kids aren't doing the robberies. The low income, they don't have much, sometimes they are looking to get the money by robbing someone or getting things by stealing someone's iPod. The kids in the higher S.E.S, they have the mom and dad who will give them money, mom and dad will buy things, they have great Christmases so they don't need to even think about breaking into a house, they don't have to think robbing a convenience store for some cash, they don't have to think about fighting someone to show that they are tough."

Further, Brenda suggests that "the difference is that middle class families parents go out of their way to create opportunities for kids to be involved in sports and activities", likewise Daniel suggested that lower working class families "don't put the kids into baseball, soccer or hockey" which teach children how to interact in a prosocial manner.

Similarly Hirschi's social bond theory (1969) contends that crime and social bonds are related. Like Patterson et al and the delinquency professionals, Hirschi holds the family in high esteem as he suggests that a good relationship with parents is the "most crucial" aspect of curbing delinquency. Sarah agrees as she suggests;

> "you need to have consistency, you need to have structure, you need to make sure your kids are making good choices and have the opportunity to have social

> activities. If you cannot provide this whether it be art or sports, they will find their own activities and chances are it will be other kids that are hanging out on the streets and doing this and that and they may end up getting into the wrong group."

From the perspective of the delinquency professionals parents in lower working class communities are unable to provide the necessary structure for their children. Again, when considering single moms or a single parents inability to provide for their children, the delinquency professionals appear to appeal to structural disparity. However the burden falls back on the individual parents who cannot provide or the "culture" which promotes poor family structure. Specifically, the "culture of the poor" is not conducive to proper family structure or parents, such as single moms, are to busy trying to "keep up" that the structure of the family is ignored and breaks down. Amy gives a working example of "poor parents" who need help when she described the differences between two schools she has worked at;

> Amy: And I have heard this, you work in a south end school (lower-working class)
>
> Kyle: And where do you think they need better administration and direction?
>
> Amy: You know it kills me, kids are kids. They bring different baggage. When I left (city name), my first teaching position and I was going to (a working class community school) the first thing they said was "now you are not going to work nearly as hard down there, parents don't care whether the kids learn or not." So if anything I have worked harder because they need more. They are 100 times more needy and they need you to help guide them and the thing is we don't just teach kids. We teach parents.

For Hirschi parents are a key source of "indirect control". During the teenage years youth are more often found with peers as opposed to parents, therefore if the youth takes into account his/her parents' preferences the parent is "psychologically present" and in turn delinquency is averted (Hirschi 1969). If the youth pays no attention to parental preferences then "the child is free to commit the act (Hirschi 1969). For example, Daniel feels that;

> "It comes back to the parenting; all you need is parents to instil a little bit of drive into the kids and the knowledge that, that is not the way to go. If not, it is hopeless, they will fall into (delinquency) and there is no coming back."

Parents are the key source of informal social control; as the relationship between parent and child deteriorates the chances for delinquency increase.

Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) expand social bond theory by arguing that "direct control" is a crucial source of informal social control. If parents do not monitor their children and punish them for misbehaviours "self-control will not be instilled in the child" (Gottfredon and Hirschi 1990). As Daniel suggests

> "If the violence isn't condemned and it is condoned, it is going to happen and if the parents condemn it, he might be interested in it but he might have the fear, if mom and dad aren't saying there is something wrong with that he is going to think, there is nothing wrong with it."

Jeff agrees as he states; "you don't have to look any further than the parents to realize what their kids are like." The authors suggest that without the proper parenting youth will be "impulsive, insensitive, physical, risk-taking and non-verbal (Gottfredson and Hirschi 1990).

The consensus between these theorists and the delinquency professionals is that family structure, specifically poor parenting, plays a large role in young lower working class violence. Further, while the authors and the delinquency professionals hold parents as a key source of social control, the delinquency professionals suggest that the family structure is more likely to break down among the lower-working class. The delinquency professionals maintain that much of the crime within these communities stems from the parents inability to properly care for their children and teach their children pro-social values as they themselves adhere to the

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anti-social values of the "culture of the poor." For the delinquency professionals poor parenting, single mothers, absent fathers and parents conducive to delinquency is a problem of the poor, and a problem which breeds YMLCAV.

6. Discussion

6.1. Discussion

The data clearly indicates that the delinquency professionals take a very individualistic approach to YMLCAV as they focus on the pathologies of the poor. By targeting select characteristics of the poor the delinquency professionals spotlight personal defaults as explanations for both poverty and crime. Specifically, the delinquency professionals housed YMLCAV within a "culture of poor" which is representative of a "different masculinity", poor family structure and an environment conducive to delinquency.

The delinquency professionals ignored the root causes of crime and poverty, particularly by ignoring the macro structural changes the city has recently endured (deindustrialization, job loss). In contrast to the delinquency professionals, I will show how each theme which arose in the data may be explained by taking a structural approach to YMCLAV. I maintain that by neglecting structural explanations of YMLCAV and focusing on individualistic characteristics which seek to pathologize the poor for poverty and crime, delinquency professionals are influenced by the culture of control, serve as an extension to the culture of control and adopt the ideology of the culture of control.

6.2. Debunking the Culture of the Poor

To situate the delinquency professionals' comments, and the supporting theories of Banfield (1974), Mead (1992), Murray (2005) and Magnet (1993), within the ideology of the culture of control, we must first see how a "culture of the poor" approach is an extremely individualistic, pathological perspective, which lacks validity. Royce (2009) combats the culture of poverty theory with four main points. First he appeals to the work of Jens Ludwig and Susan Mayer (2006) which suggests that most of today's poor grew up in "mainstream families" as opposed to "an aberrant cultural environment." In short there is no theory of family values which explains why some youth become poor adults (Royce 2009).

Second, the poor share only one common trait; they do not have economic capital. Outside of this there are vast differences such as race (black/white), family structure (single/nuclear), geographical location (urban/rural), length of poverty (between jobs/chronic unemployment) and so on. Further, the poor are not only a heterogeneous group; they are a mobile group as well. Rank (2004) suggests that poverty is a mainstream event; it is not something unique to the deviant underclass, as people move in and out of poverty much more than we think. Finally, Royce (2009) contends that the cultural theory of poverty maintains credibility differentiating between the working class and the poor by depicting the poor as outside the norm. This strategy is employed to promote the notion that it is individual differences which account for poverty rather than macro social and economic forces (Royce 2009).

Originally, this theory was the product of Oscar Lewis (1968) and Michael Harrington (1993). These authors do not hold the poor responsible for their poverty, rather they maintain that the "culture of the poor" is a symptom of poverty (Lewis 1968). Both authors understand poverty to be an outgrowth of capitalism as the "culture of the poor" is something which results from economic deprivation, social segregation and political exclusion (Royce 2009). Likewise, as we saw in chapter two, Sampson and Wilson (1990) appeal to macro structural inequalities in neighborhoods experiencing social disorganization, which overtime have created a "culture accepting of crime."

Royce (2009) suggests that during the 1960's neo-conservative rhetoric began to twist the "culture of the poor" theory by transferring the responsibility of poverty on to the individual. Likewise, the "culture of the poor" approach taken by the delinquency professionals is not consistent with the real characteristics of poverty. For example, Royce (2009) appeals to "the loss of jobs in the manufacturing sector, the growth of low wage service industries, globalization and out sourcing, the decline of trade unions, erosion in the value of minimum wage and a surge of inequality (Royce 2009).

Given that the majority of the delinquency professionals I interviewed work in the heart of this city it was quite surprising none of the participants appealed to structural explanations of YMLCAV. By focusing on the "culture of the poor", the deindustrialization, unemployment, and social disparity which have ravaged the city in recent years were ignored. Rather, the delinquency professionals' perspectives held onto common conservative stereotypes which blame the poor for both crime and poverty. Explanations of the "culture of the poor" were individualistic, pathological and representative of the ideology of the culture of control.

6.3. Crime As Structured Action

The delinquency professionals suggested that lower working class youth attempt to fulfill their socially prescribed gender roles through violence, however they failed to understand how "doing gender" varies by social situation and circumstance. Rather than appealing to the different structural worlds inhabited by lower working class males, they individualized and pathologized young lower class males, by suggesting that they enact a "different masculinity" as a tool for violence, dominance or protection. To understand how the delinquency professionals' perceptions and explanations of a "different masculinity" exemplify the culture of control I will briefly review some current criminological literature on masculinities.

Masculinity theorists argue that mens' violence is a social phenomenon with deep roots in existing personal, social and institutional arrangements (Katz 2006). Masculinity is a dominant practice in society, it is equated with power and legitimates the superiority of men (Connell 1987). Connell (1995) developed the concept of hegemonic masculinity: (1) avoid all things feminine; (2) restrict emotions severely; (3) show toughness and aggression; (4) exhibit self reliance; (5) strive for achievement and status; (6) exhibit no relational attitudes toward sexuality; (7) and actively engage in homophobia (Connell 1995). This defines the predominant idea of what it means for men to "be a man", while excluding and demonizing all other ideas of "being a man" (Dekeseredy, Ellis and Alvi 2005). In contemporary Western industrial societies, hegemonic masculinity is defined through work in the paid labour market, the subordination of women, heterosexism, and the driven and uncontrollable sexuality of men (Messerschmidt 1993).

According to Wes and Fenstermaker (1995) "doing gender" renders social action accountable to those around you. In social situations men must engage in activities which are appropriate to the male sex category, if they fail to do so they risk having their masculinity called into question. This subjects men to act in a socially prescribed gender appropriate manner in every aspect of social interaction. Men are encouraged to live up to the ideals of being a man and are punished for not doing so, therefore crime is an important way for some men to "do gender" (Dekeseredy 2010b).

While all men may feel the social pressure to conform to gender roles, this pressure is felt differently by the economically disenfranchised. Messerschmidt's structured action theory explains that the structural and social positions one embodies in society is a determining factor in how young men enact masculinity in vastly different ways. He contends that theory which connects social action (micro) with social structure (macro) is essential to understanding adolescent male violence

(Messerschmidt 2000). For Messerschmidt masculinity grows out of social practices in specific social structural settings and serves to inform such practices in reciprocal relation (Messerschmidt 2000).

Upper and middle class males, although struggle with maintaining hegemonic masculinity, are able to prove themselves through other pursuits, such as academia, wealth or a career. While many socially handicapped young men, are unable to accomplish masculinity through academic achievements, participation in sports, or involvement in extra curricular activities (Messerschmidt 1993).Messerschmidt maintains that "boys will be boys" differently, depending on their position in social structures and, therefore, upon their access to power and resources (Messerschmidt 2000).

Many young males who face the challenge of economic discrimination are not only denied masculine status through their inability to perform athletically or academically but through unemployment due to deindustrialization and institutional racism (Hagedorn 1998; Wilson & Tuab 2008). The cumulation of variables leads us to what Currie (2008) has coined as the "historical legacy of discrimination" that disproportionately subjects these groups to the "social and economic disadvantages that tend to breed violence" (Dekeseredy 2010b). For these youth being tough and using violence may be the only way they are capable of asserting their masculinity (Dekeseredy, Ellis & Alvi 2005). Messerschmidt suggests that crime in lower working-class communities takes on a new and significant meaning, as violence is utilized as a resource for "accomplishing gender" (Messerschmidt 1993). For these youth, the street crime becomes a "field of possibilities" for transcending class and race and an important resource for accomplishing gender (Messerschmidt 1993).

While the delinquency professionals' explanations of socially prescribed gender roles are a positive step in the right direction, they were seen as having being shaped by individuals as opposed to ones social structural constraints. The delinquency professionals did not take power relations into account, specifically, how and why young lower working class males' construction of a "different masculinity" relates to their S.E.S. For the delinquency professionals, YMLCAV is the product of the "different masculinity" promoted by the "culture of the poor." Again these individualistic and pathological perceptions are representative of the ideology of the culture of control which ignores root causes and seeks to blame offenders.

6.4. Social Learning and The Family: A Structural approach

The delinquency professionals, and the supporting theories presented by Bandura (1977), Sutherland and Cressey (1960) and Akers (1994), focus on individual factors of the social learning process while forgoing structural constraints which may impact the environment of lower working class youth. Importantly, Akers (1998) takes the blame off the individual in the social learning process through the incorporation of macro structural variables. Specifically, Akers (1998) identifies four major elements of social structure which impacts social learning. First, differential social disorganization considers "the structural correlates of crime in the community", specifically variables which contribute to high or low crimes rates such as age and population density (Akers 1998).

Second, differential location in the social structure refers to "socio-demographic" characteristics of individuals such as class, gender, ethnicity, and how these characteristics situate lower working class youth within the larger social structure (Akers 1998). Third, theoretically defined structural variables take into account anomie, class oppression, social disorganization, group conflict, patriarchy or other theories which have been used to identify criminogenic conditions of communities (Akers 1998). Finally, differential social location considers personal membership in groups of informal social control such as the family, peers or school (Akers,1998).

Akers (1998) maintains that the social organization and personal socio-demographic characteristics of a community provide the learning context for individuals which either decreases or increases their chances of delinquency. Further, the differential social location provides a source of informal social control from which deviance is more closely monitored. Finally, the structural conditions identified with macro level theory (See chapter two) affects personal exposure to criminal association, models, definitions and reinforcements which promote or negate criminal activity (Akers 1998).

Ignoring elements of structure such as population density, class, social disorganization or personal membership, led to individualistic, pathological explanations of YMLCAV. For the delinquency professionals the "culture of the poor" supports and sustains a learning environment conducive to violence and poverty. By focusing on the aberrant "culture of the poor" the delinquency professionals rejected the notion that structural disparity may overtime create a "culture" accepting of crime." Rather, they converged on individualistic and pathological explanations of social learning such as child social interaction, mimicking violence, poor role models, rewards and so on. Discounting structure and blaming the poor for creating and sustaining a negative social learning environment reflects the ideology of the culture of control.

In addition, the delinquency professionals' perspectives, and the supporting theories presented by Patterson, DeBaryshe and Ramsey (1989) and Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990), fail to account for macro structural forces which contribute to poor family structure. Both commit what Currie (1985) calls the "fallacy of autonomy" which suggests that what happens within a family may be separated from macro social forces outside the family. For example, the loss of paid work, in this case due to deindustrialization, will have a lasting negative impact on the family. This structural component is important to consider when discussing the family. Recall male peer support theories inclusion of economic instability and its correlation with gendered violence (DeKeseredy and Schwartz 1993).

As indicated in Chapter 2, Shaw and McKay (1942), Sampson and Laub (1993) and other social disorganization theorists also hold the family as a strong source of informal social control. However, they include the greater structural dynamics of the community and focus on the breakdown of networks of social control such as the school, family and peers. For example, Sampson, Raudenbrush and Earls (1997) suggest that "informal social controls" and "social cohesion and trust" found in the "collective efficacy" of a community play an important role in the deterrence of crime. When considering the breakdown of these sources of informal social control it is important to look at the decay of a community and the crime which accompanies it as a reflection of poverty, inadequate health care, destroyed schools and depletion of economic opportunity (Sampson & Wilson 1995). While these authors contend that the family plays an important role in curbing delinquency, structure is at the forefront of their analysis.

Individual perspectives of crime and poverty, such as the perception of poor family structure put forward by the delinquency professionals ignores the root causes and focuses on the personal faults of the individuals who make up the low income community. While the family is a strong source of informal social control, we must also take into account exogenous factors which negatively impact the family structure. Both the delinquency professionals and the theories which support their comments individualize and pathologize families within the lower S.E.S as they fail to appeal to the economic, political, cultural and social disparity which impacts the ability of parents to raise their children correctly. By appealing to single parents, absentee fathers, lack of nurture and so on, the delinquency professionals' perspective once again aligns with the ideology of the culture of control.

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6.5. Delinquency Professionals and the Culture of Control

The delinquency professionals appear incapable of responding to the macro structural disparities experienced by the youth and are further incapable of responding to these set in the wider social context of race, class, or gender (Cohen 1985). Rather, they contribute to these classifications through individualization and behaviorism (Cohen 1985). As Foucault states;

> "The judges of normality are everywhere. We are in a society of the teacher- judge, the doctor-judge, the educator-judge, the social-work judge; it is on them that the universal reign of normative is based; and each individual, wherever he may find himself, subjects to it his body, his gestures, his behavior, his aptitudes, his achievements."

The individualistic perceptions of the delinquency professionals takes the focus away from the macro economic, political, cultural and social forces at work and places it on the pathologies of the poor.

The data presented in Chapter 5 supports the notion that delinquency professionals are a) deeply influenced by the culture of control, b) serve as an expansion to the culture of control, and c) like the culture of control; individualize and pathologize the poor (Cohen 1985). First, their conservative and individualized explanations of both poverty and delinquency suggest a discourse representative of the values of the culture of control. Like the culture of control, delinquency professionals ignore macro structure and the poor are blamed for their poverty and the violence which ensues. This may be due to the fact that delinquency professionals are predominantly dependent employees of public bureaucracies and are required to work in ways the system supports (Cohen 1985). In other words, their occupational roles as experts of delinquency may lead to a shared ideology between delinquency professionals and the social control system.

Second, delinquency professionals serve as an expansion of the system due to their contact with "soft end" offenders or those who would have otherwise escaped the trap that is the social control system. For example, many of the delinquency professionals I interviewed also work with youth who have not yet entered the criminal justice system. Susanna describes the reach of her particular occupation-a youth gang counselor- when she explains her program;

> "That's what is interesting about my program, because it is designed to not just take youth that are just as involved, youth that have never been or maybe going to head in towards that (crime), but kids who have never been in the justice system. I can take kids voluntarily that are being referred from a community center, from a community worker, from school, so it is different because it is more a premeditated action."

This is precisely what Cohen (1985) and Garland (2001) are talking about when they refer to expansion of the nets, or Foucault (1977) and his panoptic world. By individualizing and pathologizing the problem of YMLCAV the delinquency professionals create new categories of deviance and social problems, defining more people as belonging to special populations and then slotting them into one or another category. Further, due to the delinquency professionals' ideological semblance with the culture of control, this expansion must not be seen as benign or benevolent, but rather as malignant and malevolent; this is what labeling theory correctly means by the socially constructed nature of deviance (Cohen 1985).

An examination of the influence and extension of the culture of control suggests an adoption of ideology on behalf of the delinquency professionals. Like the neo-liberal framework, delinquency professionals posit an individualistic perspective which seeks to promote autonomy and responsibility for S.E.S and crime. Further, like the neo-conservative framework, the delinquency professionals posit a pathological approach to delinquency and crime which places the blame on individuals or the "culture of the poor". Finally, the delinquency professionals blatant ignorance of

structure, within their perceptions of YMLCAV, solidifies their role in the culture of control. Through the delinquency professionals' individualistic, pathological perceptions and explanations of YMLCAV, and their ignorance of macro structure, I maintain that they are greatly influenced by the culture of control, serve as an extension to the culture of control and adopt the ideology of the culture of control.

7. Conclusion

Royce (2009) suggests that when considering poverty and crime one must take into account; (1) neo-liberal economic restructuring which has vastly increased the disparity between the rich and the poor. (2) Ones ability to access the political system, "while poor people lack money, they also lack political power, and one reason why they lack money is precisely because they lack political power (Royce 2009)." (3) The social cultural landscape which determines the middle class approach to the poor. The attitudes and beliefs of the citizenry have both economic and political significance. Finally (4), social capital, as the connections people have with social networks, both systems and individuals, largely dictates their process through life. The environment of the poor is socially constraining as peoples' economic outcomes are largely dependent on their social locations, a factor outside of their control (Royce 2009).

Furthermore, Messerschmidt (1993) maintains that crime must be seen as structured action; what people do under specific social structural constraints. However, the data collected in this exploratory study revealed that the delinquency professionals' perspectives and explanations of YMLCAV was very individualistic, pathological and largely guided by conservative ideology. For the delinquency professionals, YMLCAV is the result of a "culture of the poor" which requires young men to be "a different masculine", consists of families and parents conducive to delinquency and provides the youth with an environment where delinquency prospers.

These individualistic perceptions must be seen from a structural perspective in order to fully understand the delinquency professionals connection to the culture of control. The "different masculinity" inhabited by these youth is a product of class power relations and when considering YMLCAV, theory must connect social action (micro) with social structure (macro) (Messerschmidt 2000). Further family structure, specifically parenting, is deeply influenced by structural forces outside the home. If the mother or father loses their job, for example due to deindustrialization, this may have a negative impact on family structure. Shaw and McKay (1942), Sampson and Laub (1993), Sampson and Wilson (1995) and other social disorganization theorists hold the family as a strong source of informal social control, however they also examine the greater structural dynamics of the community and how these affect networks of informal social control (school, family, peers).

Similarly, the environment in which these youth live and learn is deeply impacted by the social organization of a community. Further, the personal socio-demographic characteristics provide the learning context for individuals which either decreases or increases their chances of delinquency. The differential social location provides a source of informal social control from which deviance is more closely monitored and the structural conditions identified with macro level theory affects personal exposure to criminal association (Akers 1994). Finally, housing these explanations of YMLCAV within the "culture of the poor" lacks validity as there is no such culture. Rather, macro economic, political, cultural and social inequality has over time created environments which may be conducive to delinquency. By attributing poverty and crime to a "culture" the delinquency professionals completely side step macro structural inequalities which have plagued the city under investigation.

Through the theoretical perspectives of Royce (2009), Garland (2001), Messerschmidt (2000) and Cohen (1985) I have attempted to fill a gap in the

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literature by analyzing the delinquency professionals' perception of YMLCAV. By taking a structuralist approach, with special attention to gender, it becomes apparent that crime must been seen as structured action. In opposition, the ideology of the culture of control ignores roots causes of poverty and delinquency and seeks to individualize and pathologize the offender. In their position as "experts of delinquency," delinquency professionals are influenced by the neo-liberal and neo-conservative ideologies of the culture of control. This shared ideology and contact with "soft end offenders" positions delinquency professionals as extensions of the culture of control (Cohen 1985). Finally through individualism and behaviorism the delinquency professionals adopt the culture of control.

As experts of delinquency they play a large and growing role in society (Cohen 1985 & Garland 2001). That being said, it is important we understand that role and the impact they may have on the lower working class violent youth. From the evidence presented in this thesis it appears that the delinquency professionals are creating and classify deviance rather than attempting to eliminate it (Foucault 1977 and Cohen 1985). The influence, extension and the adoption of the culture of control is clearly evidence by the chosen discourse of the delinquency professionals. The expansion of the culture of control through delinquency professionals is something of great interest to criminology and should be further investigated.

7.1. Limitations of Findings and Future Research

The sample size of this study is relatively small and I cannot make claims of generality. Nevertheless this is an exploratory study therefore the sample size is sufficient for its purpose. However, future research should take this into consideration and attempt a sample size more reflective of the "working" field. This representative sample would provide a much larger, clearer picture and give a better understanding of the delinquency professionals' perceptions of YMLCAV and their connection to the social control system. It may also be beneficial to take a more focused approach by isolating a certain category of delinquency professionals. For example, it would be interesting to isolate police officers or social workers perceptions of YMLCAV. This would eliminate the issue of multiple occupational roles and allow the research to focus on one "working" perspective. With the consideration of a specific occupation the results would be more generalizable and provide a better explanation of that specific occupations perspective of YMLCAV and its contribution to social control.

Lack of prior research on delinquency professionals' perceptions posits a problem for this study. There is a great deal of criminological literature dedicated to the study of violent young males, S.E.S and even specific occupational roles such as "police culture" however; there is little knowledge of delinquency professionals' perceptions of YMLCAV. Specifically, what these perceptions are, how they are formed and how they impact the youth. Further research in this area would be greatly beneficial both for the delinquency professionals and the youth themselves. This exploratory study indicates that delinquency professionals take an individualistic perspective of YMLCAV, as they seek to blame individuals and the lower working class culture as conducive to poverty and delinquency. The proliferation and expansion of this "professional class" and its contributions to social control should be something of interest to social control theorists and sociologists in general.

Importantly, however, such future research must also attempt to move beyond an ideological analysis of the Canadian culture of control and attempt to empirically situate Canada within punitive turn theory. To date, little work has been done on punishment in Canada. The majority of research thus far has held Canada as an exception to punitiveness. For example, Doob and Webster (2005) develop Canada as very politically and culturally different than their American neighbours. In contrast, Grab and Curtis (2005), Simpson (2000) and Statistics Canada (2001)

suggest that there is little difference between U.S. and Canadian citizens concerns about controlling crime and maintaining law and order. Certainly, at first glance, Canada may appear to be a "kinder and gentler nation", but not to the extent assumed by many outside observers (DeKeseredy, Alvi, Schwartz and Tomaszewski 2003). In recent years Canada has experienced serious welfare retrenchment, a growing disparity between the rich and poor, crime bills mimicking the zero tolerance policies of the U.S., legislation infringing on the Canadian Charter of Right and Freedoms, cumulated by an increasing number of adults being admitted to federal custody.

Nevertheless, there remains several controversies pertaining to the measurement of a penal turn and many empirical questions need answering when considering specific nations. For example; To what extent can neo-liberalism be blamed? What factors resist a punitive turn? What factors contribute to a punitive turn? What role does a countries social and political culture play? How has a countries history (e.g legal) affected a penal turn? Each nation will vary vastly in the answers to these questions and therefore cannot be classified under a singular model of the penal turn (Nelken,2006; Hallsworth and Lea 2008). Moreover, a concept as intricate as punitiveness is poorly represented by a single indicator analysis such as the detention rate (Nelken 2006). To better understand this phenomenon it is important to move away from an exclusive focus on punishment and the penal economy and to focus instead on the wider context of which penal development is a part (Hallsworth and Lea 2011).

This thesis presents something beyond the numbers of prison populations. Rather, it aims to show how, through the insecurities of a post-modern world, crime and its control may take different forms. Todays economic rationalism, combined with the behaviorism and individualism attributed to economic failure, has built a system whereby the poor are blamed for their individual deficiencies and pathologized as deviant. The connection between delinquency professionals and the culture of control is ideological, symbolized by their similar approaches to both poverty and crime. The semblance of ideology between the delinquency professionals and the culture of control suggests a new type of authoritarianism, beginning at the periphery and preoccupied with the management of the poor and socially excluded, gradually infecting core social institutions such as the occupations represented in this research; the police, the youth criminal justice system, group homes, youth gang counsellors, even teachers and principles. In order to further build on the connection between the culture of control and delinquency professionals we must have a better understanding of a culture of control specific to Canada.

What needs further examination is the state which is said to influence these delinquency professionals. Hallsworth and Lea (2011) suggests a critical need to re-engage with state theory, an area of critical criminology that theoretical criminologists appeared to have forgotten (Hallsworth and Lea 2011). The massive surge in coercive state intervention following 9/11 has formed a starting point for the theorization of a new "state of exception" and more general documentation of the authoritarian tendencies of present governments (Raab 2009). In short, the authors suggest that the distinct areas of social policy, crime control and national security are giving way to the emergence of a security state. This state is in fact the creation of a state of mind, akin to the individualistic and pathological perspectives of the delinquency professionals in this thesis. Hallsworth and Lea (2011) suggest "if the welfare state aimed to end poverty, the security state works to criminalize poverty via the punitive containment of the poor".

Like the delinquency professionals, the emerging security state, reconstructs social problems as risks requiring coercive management. For example, Simon (2007) suggest that crime control has become the preeminent paradigm through which all problems are interpreted and solutions sought. This thesis holds the state as responsible for the culture of control and found delinquency professionals to be

influenced by the culture of control, extensions of the culture of control and that they adopted of the individualistic and pathological ideology of the culture of control. New research must go beyond this and attempt to better understand the root of the culture of control; the state. Ultimately it is the state which has created the culture of control and in turn influenced the discourse of delinquency professionals. An empirical examination of the role of the Canadian security state would provide empirical answers to the questions above and, in turn, help situate Canada within the penal turn. The next step is understanding the "national" security state which houses the delinquency professionals examined in this thesis.

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APPENDIX A

Participant Information

NAME	OCCUPATION	DESCRIPTION
Amy	Vice-Principal	Amy is the Vice-Principle of a school located in the lower working class community in which this research takes place. Through this position Amy has close contact with many youth and parents living in the community.
Dillon	Teacher	Dillon is a teacher at a high school located in the lower working class community in which this research took place. Dillon's students are those who have been removed from "mainstream class," usually for severe behavioral issues.
Adam	School Board	Adam runs an anti-violence and drug abuse program for the school board of the region; Through this program Adam has a great deal of contact with violent youth.
Ryan	Youth Counselor	Ryan is in a manager position as a youth counselor located in the lower working class community in which this research takes place. He provides clinical counseling and support services for at risk youth in conflict with the law.
Max	Youth Counselor	Max is a youth counselor located in the lower working class community in which this research takes place. He provides clinical counseling and support services to at risk youth in conflict with the law.
Susanna	Youth Counselor	Susanna is a youth counselor located in the lower working class community in which this research takes place. She provides clinical counseling and support services to at risk youth in conflict with the law. Susanna predominantly works with youth involved in gang activity.
Brenda	Government of Canada	Brenda is the manager of a program funded by the Canadian youth justice system (government). She is a clinical social worker with over 25 years experience working with youth in conflict with the law.
Jeff	Child and Youth Worker	Jeff is a child and youth worker. He works in group homes located in the lower working class community in which this research takes place. He works with youth who struggle with a variety of issues from mental health to delinquency.

NAME	OCCUPATION	DESCRIPTION
Sarah	Youth Secure Custody	Sarah works at a local youth prison. She is the manager of the Bailiff program designed to support the transportation of youth placed in the care of the justice system.
Daniel	Police Officer	Daniel is a police officer located in the lower working class community in which this research takes place. His job is the apprehension of criminals and the prevention and detection of crime and the maintenance of public order.
Ainsley	Police Officer	Ainsley is a police officer located in the lower working class community in which this research takes place. Her job is the apprehension of criminals and the prevention and detection of crime and the maintenance of public order.

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APPENDIX B

Interview Schedule (Adults)

Participants: 6 males and 5 females who work with lower working class males, ages 12-18 with a history of assaultive violence

Research Question: What are delinquency professionals' perceptions of young male lower working class assaultive violence?

Method: Semi-structured interviews

Assessment: Structuralist: presented by Royce (2009), Garland (2001) Messerschmidt (1993) and Cohen (1985)

Topic of Exploration: (1) Gender, (2) Socio-economic status, (3) Violence

Introduction: Have participants sign the informed consent form. Inform participants that you are looking for their perceptions and explanations of young male lower working class assaultive violence. Define for them how young, lower working class, and assaultive violence will be utilized in this thesis. Further, ask participants to consistently try and use their working knowledge or experience when answering questions.

Gender: Define for the participants the definition of gender and masculinity used for this thesis.

1. What do you think it means to be a man to these young men?
2. Why is it that boys commit the majority of crime?
3. How do these young men relate to women?
4. What do you think masculinity means to these young men?
5. What do you think society tell these young men about being a man?

Socio-Economic Status: Define for the participants the definition of S.E.S. used for this thesis.

6. What role do you feel socio-economic status plays in the lives of these young men?
7. What stands out to you in regards to the home the youth grows up in?
8. What can you tell me about the role of the family in the youth's life
9. What can you tell me about the role of peers in the youth's life?
10. What can you tell me about the role of the community in the youth's life?
11. What can you tell me about the role of social structure in the youth's life?

Violence: Define for the participants the definition of violence used for this thesis.

12. What purpose does assaultive violence serve for these young men?
13. Why is there a need to fight or act violently in certain situations?
14. Why is it that some choose violence and others do not?
15. What relationship, if any, is there between masculinity and violence?
16. What relationship, if any, is there between socio-economic status and violence?
17. What similarities, if any, do you see amongst lower class violent boys?

Conclusion: Ask the participants if they have any questions or if there is anything you could clarify for them. Thank them for their time.

APPENDIX C

Working Title: MA Research Thesis **Informed Consent**

Name: Kyle Mulrooney University: IISL
Contact: (905)-926-3404 Supervisors: Dr. Schwartz & Dr.Taylor
E-mail: mulrooneykyle@gmail.com

I am a student of Sociology of Law at the International Institute for the Sociology of Law located in Gipuzkoa, Spain. My current research aims to explore the relationship between economic exclusion and male masculinity as it pertains to violence among male youth.

This interview was designed to be completed in two sessions of an hour and a half each. However, please feel free to expand on certain topics or ideas throughout the interview. If there are any questions you feel you cannot answer or that you do not feel comfortable answering please do not hesitate to let me know and we will move on to the next question.

All information gathered throughout the interview will be kept completely confidential. Your name and the location of the interview will not be revealed. All data collected will be stored on my locked personal computer within a locked folder on an encrypted file. Finally, upon completion of the project, all data will be destroyed, or stored securely as indicated above.

Participants Agreement

I am aware that my participation in this interview is voluntary. If, for any reason, at any time, I wish to stop the interview, I may do so without having to give an explanation. I understand the intent and purpose of this research.

The researcher has reviewed the individual and social benefits and risks of this project with me.

I am aware the data will be used for the researcher's Masters of Arts thesis. I have the right to review, comment on, and/or withdraw information prior to the submission of the thesis. The data gathered in this study is confidential and anonymous with respect to my personal identity. I grant permission for the use of this information for the researchers Masters of Arts thesis.

I have read the above form, and, with the understanding that I may withdraw at anytime, and for whatever reason, I consent to participate in today's interview.

Participant's Signature: _____ Date: _____

Interviewer's Signature: _____

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