



SOCO 110 – Contemporary Social Problems  
San Diego Mesa College  
Study Guide Essay – Midterm 1  
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## **Chapter 1 - How do sociologists study social problems?:**

Define "Sociology" and the "sociological imagination."

**Sociology:** Sociology is the scientific study of human society that focuses on society, human social behavior, patterns of social relationships, social interaction, and aspects of culture associated with everyday life. Traditional focuses of sociology include social stratification, social class, social mobility, religion, secularization, law, sexuality, gender, and deviance. Recent studies have added socio-technical aspects of the digital divide as a new focus. Social research has influence across various industries and sectors of life, such as among politicians, policy makers, and legislators; educators; planners; administrators; developers; business magnates and managers; social workers; non-governmental organizations; and non-profit organizations, as well as individuals interested in resolving social issues in general.

**Sociological imagination:** the ability to appreciate the structural basis for individual problems, stresses that individual problems are often rooted in problems stemming from aspects of society itself. A term coined by C. Wright Mills's (1959). Mills felt that many problems ordinarily considered private troubles are best understood as public issues.

Describe the three theoretical paradigms that guide how sociologists analyze social patterns.

**Functionalist theory:** Just as we can understand the body by describing and understanding the functions that its parts serve for its health and stability, so can we understand society by describing and understanding the functions that its parts—or more accurately, its social institutions—serve for the ongoing health and stability of society. Functionalism emphasizes the importance of social institutions such as the family, religion, and education for producing a stable society. Functionalists are skeptical of rapid social change and other major social upheaval. “Any sudden change in society thus threatens its stability and future”. Functionalism views social problems as arising from society’s natural evolution. According to functionalism, gradual social reform should be all that is needed to address the social problem. They even argue that social problems must be functional in some ways for society, because otherwise these problems would not



continue. Mira nomas la mamada. An example is crime; although being a social problem, according to functionalists, it is good for the economy because it creates hundreds of thousands of jobs in law enforcement, courts, corrections, home security, and other sectors of the economy, if crime disappears, so thee jobs.

Conflict theory: This theory emphasizes that different groups in society have different interests stemming from their different social positions. These different interests in turn lead to different views on important social issues, conflict theory favors social change to reduce inequality. Conflict theory in its various forms views social problems as arising from society's inherent inequality, the inequality contributing to social problems is based on social class, race, and ethnicity, gender, or some other dimension of society's hierarchy. Because any of these inequalities represents a fundamental flaw in society, conflict theory assumes that fundamental social change is needed to address society's many social problems. Opposite to functionalism but ironically also grew out of the industrial revolution, thanks largely to Karl Marx (1818-1883) and his collaborator, Friedrich Engels (1820-1895). According to Marx and Engels, every society is divided into two classes based on the ownership of the means of production (tools, factories, and the like). In a capitalistic society, the bourgeoisie, or ruling class, owns the means of production, while the proletariat, or working class, does not own the means of production and instead is oppressed and exploited by the ruling class. This difference creates an automatic conflict of interest between the two groups. The bourgeoisie is interested in maintaining its position at the top of society, while the proletariat's interest lies in rising up from the bottom and overthrowing the bourgeoisie to create an egalitarian society. Therefore, revolution is inevitable because of structural contradictions arising from the very nature of capitalism. The bourgeoisie's interest lies in maximizing profit, to do so capitalists try to keep wages as low as possible and to spend as little money as possible on working conditions. This eventually prompts the rise of class consciousness, or an awareness of the reasons for their oppression, among workers. Their class consciousness in turn leads them to revolt against the bourgeoisie to eliminate the oppression and exploitation they suffer.

Symbolic interactionist theory: focuses on the interaction of individuals and on how they interpret their interaction. Symbolic interactionism views social problems as arising from the interaction of individuals. Socially problematic behaviors such as crime and drug use are often learned from our interaction with people engaging in these behaviors, we adopt their attitudes. We also learn our perceptions of a social problem from our interaction with other people, whose perceptions and beliefs influence our own perceptions and beliefs. Symbolic interactionism emphasizes the subjective nature of social problems. Symbolic interactionists feel that people do not merely learn the roles that society has set out for them; instead they construct these roles as they interact. As they interact, they unconsciously negotiate their definitions of the situations in which they find themselves



and socially construct the reality of these situations, relying heavily on symbols such as words and gestures. Symbolic interactionism focuses on individuals, an example is the familiar symbol of shaking hands, a symbol of greeting and friendship. They use and interpret various symbols in their interaction. Social order is possible because people learn what various symbols mean and apply these meanings to different kinds of situations.

These perspectives look at the same social problems, but they do so in different ways. Their views taken together offer a fuller understanding of social problems than any of the views can offer alone.

Understand the types of data that sociologists use to analyze social problem.

Types of data are only two: qualitative data, non-numerical, descriptive information used to understand concepts, thoughts, or experiences, often answering "why" or "how" behind human behavior; and quantitative data, information that can be measured, counted, and expressed in numbers. However, sociologists use four research methods to obtain these two types.

Survey: most common method by which sociologists gather their data. Especially the Gallup poll. Surveys gather data with the help of a questionnaire that is given to a group of respondents.

Experiments: Cause-and-effect is assured because of the way the experiment is set up. It consists on an experimental group and a control group, with subjects randomly assigned to either group. The research does something to the experimental group that is not done to the control group. The experimenter sees the differences in the results of each group. In sociology, experiments occur in a natural setting, field experiments.

Observational studies: also known as field research, consists in observing people and social settings. Participant observation and nonparticipant observation, in the former, the researcher is part of the group that she or he is studying, whereas the latter the researcher observes a group of people but does not interact with them.

Existing data: Analyses census of data already archived, especially quantitative data of statistical studies, or qualitative data such as court records.

Explain what a "social problem" is, how it differs from "individual problems," and why that difference is important for analyzing the causes of societal problems like addiction, crime, etc.

A social problem is any condition or behavior that has negative consequences for large numbers of people and that is generally recognized as a condition or behavior that needs to be addressed. It must have negative consequences for large numbers of people. A social problem emerges when a social entity (such as a social change group, the news



media, or influential politicians) begins to call attention to a condition or behavior that it perceives to be undesirable and in need of remedy. This group tries to influence public perceptions of the problem, the reasons for it, and possible solutions to it, the group usually tries to persuade the government to take some action—spending and policymaking—to address the problem, but the claims need to be legitimate.

Personal troubles (or individual problems) refer to a problem affecting individuals that the affected individual, as well as other members of society, typically blame on the individual's own personal and moral failings. Whereas public issues, whose source lies in the social structure and culture of a society, refer to social problems affecting many individuals.

## **Chapter 2 - Poverty vs. Economic Inequality:**

Define and explain concepts related to economic inequality, including poverty measures, consumer exploitation, worker exploitation, neoliberalism, social policy, and structural violence.

Poverty measures: Poverty line: you multiply the cost of a very minimal diet by three, thus a family whose cash income is lower than three times the cost of a very minimal diet is considered official poor. This is out of date since 1963. This ignores expenses such as electricity, transportation, health care, etc. Families often need incomes twice as high as the federal poverty level to get by. Another one is the Supplemental poverty measure: this measure takes into account the many family expenses in addition to food, as well as geographic differences in the cost of living, taxes paid, food stamps, Medicaid, and other kinds of government aid. This yields an estimate of poverty that is higher than the rather simplistic official poverty measure. One third of the U.S. population, or more than 100 million Americans have incomes no higher than twice the poverty line.

Consumer exploitation: When we are overcharged relative to the value of something we purchase, we experience consumer exploitation, such as luxury brands of cars and attire. They elevate your social value for some reason. Our vulnerability to exploitation grows as our liberty shrinks. Poor Americans aren't just exploited in the labor market, they face consumer exploitation in the housing and financial markets as well.

Worker exploitation: Poor employed adults work more hours per week than wealthier adults. When the laborer is underpaid relative to the value of what he or she produces it is called labor exploitation. The best way to battle this malady is to empower workers.

Neoliberalism: A time when governments cut aid to the poor, lowered taxes and slashed regulations. Neoliberalism is a political-economic philosophy that advocates for free-market capitalism, deregulation, privatization, and minimal state intervention to maximize economic efficiency and individual freedom. Emerging as a response to post-



WWII Keynesianism, it emphasizes privatization, reduced public spending, and wealth accumulation, often shifting power toward corporations and the wealthy.

**Social policy:** Social policy in sociology refers to government actions, laws, and regulations designed to address social needs, improve human welfare, and tackle social problems like poverty, education, health, and housing. A positive example is the New Deal (1933-1938), where the United States implemented banking reforms, union protections, and social programs. A negative example is the Powell Memo, titled "Attack on American Free Enterprise System," was a confidential document written by lawyer Lewis F. Powell Jr. to the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. It urged corporate America to aggressively defend capitalism against 1960s-era liberal critiques by influencing media, academia, politics, and the courts, fundamentally shaping the modern conservative movement and corporate lobbying.

**Redlining:** Redlining is the systematic, discriminatory practice of denying financial services, particularly mortgages and insurance, to residents of specific neighborhoods—primarily those with high minority populations—deemed "hazardous". Coined in the 1960s, it refers to red lines drawn on maps to restrict investment, fueling segregation, wealth gaps, and long-term urban decay.

**Structural violence:** Poverty results from problems in society that lead to a lack of opportunity and lack of jobs. Blaming-the-system approach. These problems include racial, ethnic, gender, and age discrimination; lack of good schooling and adequate health care; and structural changes in the American economic system, such as the departure of manufacturing companies from American cities in the 80s and 90s that led to the loss of thousands of jobs.

**Functionalism view on poverty:** Stratification is necessary to induce people with special intelligence, knowledge, and skills to enter the most important occupations. For this reason, stratification is necessary and inevitable. It argues that the promise of very high incomes is necessary to encourage talented people to pursue such an important and long career such as surgery. If physicians and shoe shiners made the same high income, would enough people decide to pursue medicine? To be honest, that is a good point. However, we can keep those earnings, but we shouldn't let the shoe shiner die of hunger either.

**Conflict theory view on poverty:** Stratification results from lack of opportunity and from discrimination and prejudice against the poor, women, and people of color. It is neither necessary nor inevitable. It attributes stratification and thus poverty to lack of opportunity from discrimination and prejudice from the bourgeoisie against the proletariat, poor, women, and people of color.

**Symbolic interactionism view on poverty:** Stratification affects people's beliefs, lifestyle, daily interaction, and conceptions of themselves. The poor often lead lives of quiet



desperation and must find ways of coping with the fact of being poor. Beliefs about the causes of poverty shape attitudes toward the poor. Today, in an individualistic perspective, the poor lack the “ambition and motivation to work hard and to achieve success”.

Analyze seemingly unrelated social problems, like homelessness and environmental destruction, as symptoms of structural violence.

Homelessness as a symptom of structural violence: Economic Inequality is a form of structural violence that compromises public health and perpetuates inequities. Many poor families spend more than half their income on rent, living in poor neighborhoods that lack job opportunities, good schools, and other features of modern life that wealthier people take for granted.

Environmental destruction as a symptom of structural violence: where societal systems—political, economic, and cultural—disproportionately expose marginalized communities to pollution, climate disaster, and resource depletion. It is a systemic harm, where environmental degradation is not accidental but a result of, or tolerated by, embedded inequalities.

### **Chapter 3 - Gender, Race, and Intersectional Inequities:**

Define and explain concepts like gender, sex, sexuality, intersex, race, ethnicity, intersectionality, implicit vs explicit bias, racial covenants and redlining, and de jure vs de facto segregation.

**Gender:** Gender refers to the socially-constructed characteristics of women and men – such as norms, roles, and relationships among and between groups of women and men. The social construction of gender refers to how meanings of gender are created through social interaction and social norms. Teaching, learning, performing, and policing gender behavior in light of expectations of appropriate conduct are also part of the ongoing process of social construction.

**Sex:** Sex refers to the different biological and physiological characteristics of males and females, such as reproductive organs, chromosomes, and hormones

**Intersex:** Intersex refers to a wide range of natural bodily variations in chromosomes, hormones, genitalia, or reproductive organs that do not fit typical definitions of male or female bodies

**Race:** refers to a category of people who share certain inherited physical characteristics, such as skin color, facial features, and stature. Another way to say this is that race is a social construction, a concept that has no objective reality but rather is what people decide it is.



**Ethnicity:** refers to the shared social, cultural, and historical experiences, stemming from common national or regional backgrounds, that make subgroups of a population different from one another. Similarly, an ethnic group is a subgroup of a population with a set of shared social, cultural, and historical experiences; with relatively distinctive beliefs, values, and behaviors; and with some sense of identity of belonging to the subgroup. So conceived, the terms ethnicity and ethnic group avoid the biological connotations of the terms race and racial group.

**Intersectionality:** A different perspective, called intersectionality, refers to the ways in which different types of social relations are linked together in complex ways, creating very different experiences for different groups of people. Developed by legal scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw, intersectionality argues that gender, race, class, (dis)ability, sexuality, geography, and other characteristics intersect and interact to shape individual experience. This means gender can never be examined or understood in a vacuum. We always have other identities, interactions, and relations that affect who we are and how we experience the world.

**Implicit vs explicit bias:** Implicit bias refers to unconscious, automatic attitudes or stereotypes that affect understanding and actions, while explicit bias is conscious, deliberate, and known prejudice. Both forms can result in discriminatory behavior, but implicit bias operates outside of awareness, often contradicting personal values, whereas explicit bias is clearly expressed.

**Racial covenant:** Racial covenants were legally binding clauses inserted into property deeds, predominantly in the early-to-mid 20th century, that prohibited non-White people from buying, leasing, or occupying land, aimed at enforcing racial segregation in housing. Though unenforceable since 1948 and illegal since 1968, they remain in many old property titles, serving as a legacy of systemic racism. **Deed Exclusions:** Deeds often included explicit language stating the property could not be sold or rented to specific racial or ethnic groups, such as "African Americans," "people of color," or sometimes specific nationalities or religions (e.g., Jewish or Asian people). **Racial Zoning:** These covenants were used to establish "white only" residential areas, particularly in developing suburbs and subdivisions.

**De jure vs de facto segregation:** De jure segregation is separation enforced by law (e.g., Jim Crow laws), while de facto segregation is separation that exists "in fact" through custom, economic factors, or private choice. De jure is state-mandated and unconstitutional, whereas de facto is harder to fix legally because it stems from societal habits rather than direct policy. Jim Crow laws were a collection of state and local statutes in the United States, predominantly in the South from the 1880s to the 1960s, that enforced rigid racial segregation and disenfranchisement. Based on the "separate but



equal" doctrine, these laws mandated segregation in all public facilities, schools, and transportation, while systematically restricting Black voting rights.

Redlining: When loan officers review mortgage applications, they consider many factors, including the person's income, employment, and credit history. Because members of these groups tend to be poorer than whites and to have less desirable employment and credit histories, the higher rate of mortgage rejections may be appropriate, albeit unfortunate. Practices like these that discriminate against houses in certain neighborhoods are called redlining, and they also violate the law. Because the people affected by redlining tend to be people of color, redlining, too, is an example of institutional discrimination.

Describe contemporary economic inequities related to gender, race, and intersections thereof, the racial and gender wealth gap and the gendered dual labor market.

Contemporary economic inequalities related to gender, race, and intersections thereof: Racial prejudice influences other public policy preferences as well. In the area of criminal justice, whites who hold racial stereotypes or hostile feelings toward African Americans are more likely to be afraid of crime, to think that the courts are not harsh enough, to support the death penalty, to want more money spent to fight crime, and to favor excessive use of force by police. Intersectionality as well.

Racial and gender wealth gap: The racial and gender wealth gap represents a profound economic disparity where white households hold 5–9 times more wealth than Black or Hispanic households, compounded by a gender gap where women own significantly less than men. Women of color face the largest gap, with single Black and Latinx women having median wealth near zero, largely driven by employment discrimination, pay gaps, and limited access to homeownership.

Gendered dual labor market: A gendered dual labor market splits the workforce into a primary sector (high-wage, stable, career-oriented) and a secondary sector (low-wage, precarious, part-time) along gender lines. Men frequently dominate the primary sector, while women are overrepresented in the secondary sector, often driven by structural discrimination, gendered roles, and caretaking responsibilities, resulting in significant wage gaps.

Understand the difference between using socialization and structural approaches for analyzing gendered, racial, and intersectional inequities.

Émile Durkheim, one of the founders of Sociology, explains that human beings have desires that result in chaos unless society limits them, we keep a strong society through two related social mechanisms: socialization and social integration. Socialization helps us learn society's rules and the need to cooperate, as people end up generally agreeing on



important norms and values, while social integration, or our ties to other people and to social institutions such as religion and the family, helps socialize us and integrate us into society and reinforce our respect for its rules.

Apply socialization and structural approaches to gendered, racial, and intersectional inequities: Socialization analyzes how individuals learn to perform roles, while structural approaches analyze how policies, institutions, and interconnected systems of oppression (race, gender, class) produce inequality.

#### **Chapter 4 – Crime and Criminal Justice:**

Define and explain the difference between deviance and crime and how the three sociological paradigms would explain both.

**Deviance:** Deviance is a behavior that violates social norms and arouses strong social disapproval. This definition reflects the common sociological view that deviance is not a quality of a behavior itself but rather of what other people think about the behavior.

**Crime:** Crime is a type of deviance. Crime violates written legal codes punishable by the state, while deviance is only for social norms. Many types of crime exist. Criminologists commonly group crimes into several major categories: violent crime; property crime; white-collar crime; organized crime; and consensual or victimless crime.

**Deviance and crime explained using functionalism, conflict theory, and symbolic interactionism:** Functionalism offers two theories to explain crime and deviance, Social Disorganization and Anomie Theory:

Social disorganization is a weakened of social institutions such as the family, school, and religion that in turn weakens the strength of social bonds and norms and the effectiveness of socialization, research today confirms that crime rates are highest in neighborhoods with several kinds of structural problems, including high rates of residential mobility, population density, poverty, and single-parent families.

**Anomie Theory:** In a nation like the United States that places so much emphasis on economic success, the poor who do not achieve the American dream feel especially frustrated, they adapt via adaptation conformity: they may continue to accept the goal of economic success and also the value of working a job to achieve such success, via adaptation innovation: continue to favor economic success but reject the value of working and instead use new, illegitimate means, such as theft, of gaining money and possessions, via adaptation ritualism:



abandon hope of economic success but continue to work anyway because work has become a habit, via adaptation retreatism: they reject both the goal of economic success and the means of working to achieve such success and withdraw from society either by turning to drugs or by becoming hobos, or preeminently, the most efficient one, via rebellion: people reject economic success and working and work to bring about a new society with new values and a new economic system.

The interactionist perspective (Symbolic interaction theory) explains that crime results from the social interaction of individuals with other people, particularly their friends and family, symbolic interaction theory explains it using three theories: differential association theory, social bonding theory, and labeling theory.:

Differential Association theory: adolescents and other individuals learn that it is acceptable to commit crime and also how to commit crime from their interaction with their close friends. Adolescents become delinquent if they acquire more and stronger attitudes in favor of breaking the law than attitudes opposed to breaking the law. As Sutherland put it, “A person becomes delinquent because of an excess of definitions favorable to the violation of law over definitions unfavorable to the violation of law.” Crime and delinquency, then, result from a very normal social process, social interaction.

Social bonding theory: Adolescents are more likely to be delinquent if they feel more distant from their parents and teachers, if they place less value on their family’s and school’s values, and if they spend less time with these two very important social institutions in their lives. It highlighted the importance of families and schools for delinquency and stimulated much research on their influence. Students who do well in school and are very involved in extracurricular activities are less likely than other students to engage in delinquency.

Labeling theory: it assumes that labeling someone as a criminal or deviant, which arrest and imprisonment certainly do, makes the person more likely to continue to offend. This result occurs, argues the theory, because the labeling process gives someone a negative self-image, reduces the potential for employment, and makes it difficult to have friendships with law-abiding individuals.

Lastly, Conflict theory’s major focus is on the use and misuse of the criminal law and criminal justice system to deal with crime. Three branches of the conflict perspective exist in the study of crime and criminal justice: Group Conflict theory, radical theory, and Feminism:

Group Conflict theory: assumes that criminal law is shaped by the conflict among the various social groups in society that exist because of differences in race and



ethnicity, social class, religion, and other factors. Given that these groups compete for power and influence, the groups with more power and influence try to pass laws that ban behaviors in which subordinate groups tend to engage, and they try to use the criminal justice system to suppress subordinate group members.

Radical theory: makes the same general assumptions as group conflict theory about the use of criminal law and criminal justice, but with one key difference: It highlights the importance of (economic) social class more than the importance of religion, ethnicity, and other social group characteristics. In this way, radical theory evokes the basic views of Karl Marx on the exploitation and oppression of the poor and working class by the ruling class. Dutch criminologist Willem Bonger (1916) blamed the high US crime rate on its economic system, capitalism. As an economic system, he said, capitalism emphasizes the pursuit of profit. Yet, if someone gains profit, someone else is losing it. This emphasis on self-gain, he said, creates an egoistic culture in which people look out for themselves and are ready and even willing to act in a way that disadvantages other people. Amid such a culture, he said, crime is an inevitable outcome. Bonger thought crime would be lower in socialist societies because they place more emphasis on the welfare of one's group than on individual success.

Feminist approaches: generally focus on at least one of four areas: (1) the reasons girls and women commit crime; (2) the reasons female crime is lower than male crime; (3) the victimization of girls and women by rape, sexual assault, and domestic violence; and (4) the experience of women professionals and offenders in the criminal justice system. (1) Research finds that women commit crime for the same reasons that boys and men commit crime: poverty, parental upbringing, and so forth. But it also finds that both women and men “do gender” when they commit crime. That is, they commit crime according to gender roles, at least to some extent. (2) Why female crime is less common than male crime? gender role socialization and gender-based differences in parental supervision. One additional reason derives from social bonding theory: Girls feel closer to their parents than boys do, and thus are less delinquent. (3) Contributes to girls' delinquency and, more generally, female drug and alcohol abuse. (4) This body of research certainly goes beyond the scope of this book, but it documents the many blatant and subtle forms of discrimination that women face as police, attorneys, judges, prison guards, and other professionals. Studies tend to find that females receive somewhat more lenient treatment than males for serious offenses and somewhat harsher treatment for minor offenses, although some studies conclude that gender does not make too much of a difference one way or the other.



Identify and explain how what we define as "criminal" reflects institutionalized racism, and the relationship between social policy and criminal patterns.

One study suggests that, among American men between the ages of fifteen and thirty-four, the number who were treated in emergency rooms as a result of injuries inflicted by police and security guards was almost as great as the number who, as pedestrians, were injured by motor vehicles. Urban police forces are nearly always whiter than the communities they patrol. American police are armed to the teeth, with more than seven billion dollars' worth of surplus military equipment off-loaded by the Pentagon to eight thousand law-enforcement agencies since 1997. In eighteenth-century New York, a person held as a slave could not gather in a group of more than three; could not ride a horse; could not hold a funeral at night; could not be out an hour after sunset without a lantern; and could not sell "Indian corn, peaches, or any other fruit" in any street or market in the city. Stop and frisk, stop and whip, shoot to kill. Population growth, the widening inequality brought about by the Industrial Revolution, and the rise in such crimes as prostitution and burglary all contributed to the emergence of urban policing. So did immigration, especially from Ireland and Germany, and the hostility to immigration: a new party, the Know-Nothings, sought to prevent immigrants from voting, holding office, and becoming citizens. Also, unlike their British counterparts, American police carried guns, initially their own. Outside big cities, law-enforcement officers were scarce. Officers of the federal courts who could act as de-facto police, but only to enforce federal laws. If a territory became a state, its counties would elect sheriffs. Meanwhile, Americans became vigilantes, especially likely to kill indigenous peoples, and to lynch people of color. By 1916, African-American churches in the city were complaining to Savannah newspapers about the "whole scale arrests of negroes because they are negroes—arrests that would not be made if they were white under similar circumstances." African-Americans also confronted Jim Crow policing in the Northern cities to which they increasingly fled.

Analyze juvenile delinquency as a contemporary social problem, and the relationship between profit-making and juvenile justice systems.

*Bastards of the Party* presents juvenile delinquency not simply as individual failure, but as a predictable outcome of structural inequality, racialized marginalization, and the breakdown of community institutions. The film traces how groups like the Bloods and Crips emerged as alternative social structures in response to exclusion, showing that what is labeled "delinquency" often reflects adaptation to limited legitimate opportunities. At the same time, it implicitly critiques the profit-making dimensions of the juvenile justice system: policing, detention, and incarceration become institutional responses that sustain funding streams and bureaucratic expansion rather than addressing root causes. This creates a cycle in which marginalized youth are more heavily surveilled and punished,



feeding a system that benefits from their criminalization. In this way, juvenile delinquency is not just a social problem to be solved, but also a condition that certain institutions are materially incentivized to manage rather than eliminate.