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ON THE PREVENTION OF CRIME
AND THE TREATMENT OF OFFENDERS

(London, 8 - 20 August 1960)

PREVENTION OF TYPES OF CRIMINALITY RESULTING FROM SOCIAL CHANGES AND ACCOMPANYING ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

PART I

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PART II

Report by A. M. Khalifa, Director, National Center of Social and
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UNITED NATIONS
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FOREWORD

Two general reports on the prevention of types of criminality resulting from social changes and accompanying economic development in less developed countries have been prepared at the request of the Secretariat for presentation to the Second United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, which will take place in London from 8 to 20 August 1960. This topic is on the agenda of the Congress. One report was prepared by Mr. J.J. Panakal, Head of the Department of Criminology, Juvenile Delinquency and Correctional Administration, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay, India, and in this report the focus is on Asia. The other report was prepared by Mr. Ahmad M. Khalifa, Director, the National Center of Social and Criminological Research, Cairo, United Arab Republic and it places special emphasis on the Arab States and Africa.

These reports were prepared on the basis of material provided by the Secretariat and of data collected by the experts themselves. The topic of the prevention of types of criminality resulting from social changes and accompanying economic development in less developed countries had already been considered in connexion with urbanization, especially at the UN/UNESCO Seminar on Urbanization in Asia and the Far East,[1/] which was held in Bangkok, Thailand, in 1956, and in the United Nations Report on the World Social Situation[2/] in 1957. Data had also been gathered from a number of national correspondents in Latin American countries for the UN/UNESCO Seminar on Urbanization in Latin America, which took place in Santiago, Chile, in 1959. In addition, contributions of data specifically for the present report were requested from a number of United Nations national correspondents, selected non-governmental organizations and certain individuals. In response to this request, special reports were received from: Mr. Pakorn Angsusingha, correspondent to the United Nations, Director General, Department of Public Welfare, Bangkok, Thailand; - Mr. Henri Ph. Junod, Director, Penal Reform

1/ UNESCO SS.57.V.7.A.

2/ Sales No.: 1957.IV.3.

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League of South Africa, transmitted by the International Criminological Society; - Professor Jonko Dj. Tahović, Faculty of Law, University of Belgrade, Yugoslavia, transmitted by the International Criminological Society; - Kwon Soon Young, Chief Judge, Seoul Juvenile Court, Seoul, Republic of Korea; Dr. El Said Moustafa El Said, correspondent to the United Nations, Rector, University of Cairo, Cairo, United Arab Republic; - J.K. Institute of Sociology and Human Relations, Lucknow University, Lucknow, U.P. India; and the National Institute of Crimonology (now the National Centre of Social and Criminological Research), Cairo, United Arab Republic. In the text of the reports, all quotations not otherwise identified are from these reports.

Thanks are due to all who have contributed material for these reports and to Mr. Panakal and Mr. Khalifa for having prepared them.

In addition to these two general reports, the Congress will have before it a report prepared by the Secretariat on this topic, as well as other relevant papers prepared by the specialized agencies of the United Nations and non-governmental organizations.

PART I

REPORT BY J.J. PANAKAL

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1. Background

1. The last decade and a half has been one of special significance to Asian countries, for it was during this period that most of the territories under colonial rule up to the end of the Second World War achieved their political independence. While each new Government was confronted with problems peculiar to its country, a distinctive feature of this region is that all of them face a few common problems. In nearly all the countries, for example, a major problem is that of the rapid growth of population out of proportion with existing facilities and levels of development. This problem arises primarily because of the steadily declining death rate and continuing high birth rate.

2. Because the predominantly agricultural countries of Asia have low land-population ratios, which consequently exert a tremendous pressure on the agricultural economy and result in subsistence levels of living, rural people migrate to urban areas in large numbers in search of better means of livelihood. This movement is aggravated by economic development and industrialization, which now constitute the main programmes in an attempt to improve standards of health and nutrition and to raise the levels of living of the people.

3. Economic development, or for that matter, any fundamental alteration in the economic structure, inevitably tends to bring about change in organization - change which may be beneficial or detrimental to progress.

4. In the first place, it affects the economic system even though technology may be introduced at the most rudimentary level. This in turn influences the existing social patterns and traditional forms of behaviour. It may, in some cases, affect society adversely. Finally, it leads to conflicts between the pre-industrial way of life and the new industrial environment and disruption of those societies into which modernization is introduced. It may also result in failure on the part of individuals to adapt themselves to this change, in maladjustment, in socially unacceptable forms of behaviour and, in extreme cases, to criminality. Thus, during the transitional period, economic development and

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the social change accompanying it may give rise to some social problems - problems which are the outcome of this impact of new values on old ones.

5. This is not to say that economic development and consequent social change will always result in the violent dislocation of the pre-industrial society. The extent of such disruption will depend on the manner in which modernization of the economic system is introduced. If, in implementing it, due consideration is given to the existing social structure, the transition from a non-industrial to an industrial society will be smooth and balanced. Such arrangements will reduce maladjustment to a minimum, render it manageable, and permit adaptation, thus reducing criminality. In the final analysis, while in the past some forms of rapid industrialization created conditions conducive to an increase in crime, delinquency and prostitution, it would be premature, in the absence of adequate data, to conclude that industrialization in Asia will, by itself, be a determinant of criminality. It can, however, be stated that criminality may be a form of reaction on the part of some to a disequilibrium, and the extent to which this behaviour becomes a permanent feature of established industrial society will, in turn, determine the degree to which the society is disorganized.

6. When economic development and, in particular, when industrialization is accompanied by urbanization, there is further change in the social system through the impact of new values. This may obstruct adjustment, lead to frustration, and function as a potent force conducive to criminality. But these are only surmises, and no unequivocal conclusions concerning the relationship between population growth in urban centres and industrialization, characterizing urban development on the one hand and increased criminality on the other, can be drawn at present.

7. In the following pages, the various features mentioned above will be discussed to the extent that data are available. Stress will be laid on the impact of industrialization and urbanization on the individual, the family and the cultural pattern, and their relationships to criminality in Asian countries.

8. Briefly, what are the salient features of under-developed countries in terms of economic development and social change?

2. Economic Development

9. A precise definition of economic development is difficult. This is mainly because it is a process which is continuous, nowhere complete and nowhere absent, and a product of simultaneous development in many fields.

10. "For all these people, particularly those in the under-developed areas but not limited to them, economic development means change - changed methods of doing things, changed equipment and other resources with which to work, changed habits of consumption, saving, and investment, changed relationships to other people, changed availabilities of goods and services, and often changed attitudes, motivations, and ways of life."[1/] It has beneficial aspects including higher standards of nutrition, health and education, increased security of the individual and social stability. A comprehensive programme of economic development necessarily implies substantial modifications in the economic and social structure of an under-developed country and calls for extensive adjustment and adaptation. "The ease with which these adjustments are made is the function of a number of variables, such as the level of living in the agrarian society, density of population, type of industries established, and speed with which they result in greater production, the equity of the physical system, the adequacy of education, the type and layout of factories and workers' houses and the nature and strength of the pre-industrial culture. Social changes of this type, however, are inevitably unsettling, often protracted and usually accompanied by frictions which derogate to a greater or lesser extent from the many social and economic advantages which may be expected to flow from the growth of secondary industry ... Loss of traditional forms of social control, and emergence of anti-social behaviour, often considered to be among the direct results of industrialization, are also known to occur simply with the introduction of a system of law which undermines the authority of the elders in a pre-industrial community."[2/]

11. Disruption of the social order stems from innovation. In addition, difficulties arise which unsettle the customary ways of living. "Every society manifests itself through a continual process of becoming; it always reveals, although to a lesser degree, a continual trend of destructuration and restructuration. In the case of societies undergoing 'modernization', it is the

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1/ Bert F. Hoselitz, The Progress of Under-developed Areas (The University of Chicago Press, 1952), p.206.

2/ Processes and Problems of Industrialisation in Under-developed Countries, (United Nations publication, Sales No.: 1955.II.B.1), p.119.

rate of these changes, much more than the changes themselves, which must be taken into account when problems of social pathology are examined."[3/]

12. A major aspect of economic development is industrialization, though, as already seen, it is not the only form of development. Industrialization also implies change. "The extent and rate of change that take place are heavily dependent on such economic factors as the nature and accessibility of resources, prices, and demands in world markets and rates at home and in capital-exporting countries. The extent and rate of change are even more heavily dependent, however, on the personality and culture characteristics of the society seeking development."[4/]

13. The absence of relevant data makes the study of the rate of economic change in the various under-developed countries an impossibility. But, in general, one may say that the countries are at different stages of industrialization and economic development. For example, we have at the one extreme, countries which are only now moving out from an economy based on barter and subsistence, to a system based on monetary value, wages, profits, and calling for motivation, economic and social planning and programming. Thailand, for example, is now in a transition stage, both economically and socially. The annual rate of population increase is relatively high, and urbanization is also taking place. At the other end, we have a country like Japan which is highly industrialized, so that one wonders if it represents in any way the Asian situation except in the matter of rapid population growth. But despite their stage of development, all countries in the region are undergoing a metamorphosis in economic structure and way of life, accompanied by social tensions, which in turn contribute to an upward trend in criminality.

3. Social Change

14. Social change, as we have already seen, is a product either of a change in the methods of technology or of a shift in the social structure; or it may be the result of both. Inevitably, social change produces effects which may be desirable in some cases and detrimental in others. In the latter case, there emerge elements of disorganization.

15. Historically speaking, simple societies were regulated by long established practices. "Behaviour in the folk society is traditional, spontaneous and

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3/ From the paper prepared by Professor G. Balandier and published by the International Research Office on Social Implications of Technological Change in Information, No.6, October 1955, p.2.

4/ Bert F. Hoselitz, ed. op. cit., p.207.

uncritical ... what one man does is very much the same as what another does, and ... the patterns of conduct are clear and remain constant throughout the generations."[5/] As societies became more complex through social change and its attendant alterations in social structure, custom lagged behind and relations between individuals could not be adequately controlled. Further, the more unified the society had been, the greater was the conflict between it and the new culture, for then there was a greater likelihood of maladaptation and a break-down of the prevailing code of behaviour. In general, under further pressure, especially through change in the economic pattern, the effect is most disruptive, ending up in a collapse of the family system and the cultural pattern and ultimately leaving an agglomeration of individuals with impersonal relations and an apathy towards the old culture. No wonder, under such tremendous pressure readjustment expresses itself in deviant conduct. "Under sufficient pressure, changes can be produced in any culture. Those which accompany alteration in fundamental economic patterns, whether of production, distribution, or ownership, are certain to be far-reaching and to result in disruption of the existing social system ... Under the steadily increasing pressure exerted by changes in the community's environment, such things as the opening of roads, establishment of markets, settlement of more advanced groups nearby, and so forth, the old culture is maintained with desperation until the pressure finally becomes too great, when it collapses, leaving the community little basis for reintegration and adjustment. It becomes a disorganized aggregate of individuals incapable of functioning as a unit and held together only by common language and common dislike of the outsider."[6/] Changes in the demographic characteristics of those involved also affect society. Abnormal sex ratios, usually prevalent among migrants, and the conflicting rural and urban cultures, also contribute to criminality.

16. "The lag in social change and the resultant worsening of the problems of transition usually reflect the failure of a community to develop new institutions, organizations, habits and ways of life - in respect of the provision of security, personal status, social acceptance, moral controls of behaviour, leadership, forms of recreation and so on, to replace those associated with the extended family or local community which are no longer appropriate to an industrial society."[7/]

5/ "Urbanization and crime and delinquency in Asia and the Far East", in Urbanization in Asia and the Far East, Proceedings of the Joint UN/UNESCO Seminar, Bangkok, 8-18 August 1956 (UNESCO, SS.57.V.7.A), p.233.

6/ Bert F. Hoselitz, ed. op. cit., p. 87.

7/ Processes and Problems of Industrialization in Under-Developed countries, op. cit., p. 122.

17. Social change takes place not only as a result of economic change, but also through urbanization. Urbanization is primarily the process of movement of large numbers of persons from rural areas to urban settings. While urbanization may usually be a complement to industrialization, it is not always so. For example, in most of the Asian countries, urbanization tends to be greater than industrialization.

18. Considering the influence of urbanization on social change, it is difficult to say which is the cause and which the effect. This is because "urbanization implies profound social and cultural changes for those involved in it, particularly in the less developed regions where the gulf is vast between life in a large modern city and life in a traditional village... the process of urbanization is today but part of a larger process of economic and social change which is affecting the countryside as well."8/

19. Just as in the case of industrialization, urbanization also leads to beneficial or to undesirable consequences. The beneficial aspects of urbanization "favourable to economic progress in general are the occupational diversification, the greater opportunity of occupational and social mobility and greater readiness to adapt, and the dynamic influence of the technical progress which cities reflect through their contacts with other centres of economic progress."9/ The opportunities for education are also greater in the cities than in the countryside. "If these potentials are fully exploited greater urbanization could bring about more abundant means of livelihood to more people and completely reverse the trends of crime."10/

20. The undesirable consequences are primarily seen in the problems created by housing shortages and bad sanitation. Further, urbanization has its effect on education, leisure, public morality, etc. It also brings in its train a new way of life upsetting patterns of faith and conduct. Under such disturbances to the existing structure, new forms of thought and behaviour emerge. Depending on the degree to which socially approved norms are being formed, problems of social

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8/ Report on the World Social Situation (United Nations publication, sales no.: 1957.IV.3), p.112.

9/ See "Conclusion of the Seminar" in Urbanization in Asia and the Far East, op. cit., p.36.

10/ "Statement on Prevention of Types of Criminality Resulting from Social Changes and Accompanying Economic Development in Thailand", prepared by M. Pakom Angsusingha, national correspondent (Thailand) to the United Nations.

disorganization may manifest themselves in the form of ill health, conflict and personal disorganization. Ultimately, it may result in social disparity, disruption and criminality. But it is difficult to establish which is cause and which is effect, or even to say emphatically that they are of a permanent nature, since change as such is always dynamic and always evolving out of the interaction of innumerable forces.

21. A study of the available data on urbanization trends in Asia indicates that the urban population has been increasing. While the population of Asia living in cities of 100,000 inhabitants or more increased prodigiously from 19.4 million in 1900 to 105.6 million in 1950, the percentage of the total population living in such cities increased only from 2.1 per cent to 7.5 per cent.[11/]

22. The present distribution of the urban population of some Asian countries and areas is given below:-

Urban population of the countries of the ECAFE region in 1950

	Percentage of total population in places of	
	20,000 persons and more	100,000 and more
Hong Kong	94.0	94.0
Japan	42.1	25.6
Federation of Malaya	25.9	17.9
Korea	19.0	13.2
Brunei, North Borneo and Sarawak	14.0	-
Philippines	12.7	5.1
India	12.0	6.6
Ceylon	11.4	5.4
Burma	10.0	5.0
China (including Taiwan)	10.0	7.0
Indonesia	9.1	7.0
Cambodia, Laos and Viet-Nam	8.0	6.5
Pakistan	7.8	4.8
Thailand	7.6	6.7
Afghanistan[a/]	4.5	1.7
Nepal	4.4	3.0
ECAFE Region	12.7	8.1
Total Asia	13.1	8.3

a/ In 1951.

Source: "Demographic Aspects of Urbanization in the ECAFE Region", in Urbanization in Asia and the Far East, Proceedings of the Joint UN/UNESCO Seminar, Bangkok, 8-18 August 1956 (UNESCO,SS.57.V.7.A.), p. 101.

11/ Report on the World Social Situation, op. cit., p.115.

23. As regards the effects of urbanization in Asia, suffice it to say that these have varied from country to country, depending on the extent to which rural norms and traits still prevail and are retained in urban areas, and the extent to which rural populations remain isolated from urban influences.

24. Although it seems obvious that industrialization and urbanization are related, in the absence of reliable data the precise interrelationships have not been studied in great detail. There is, however, a general tendency to exaggerate the close relationship between the two. Not infrequently all the problems found in an urban setting are attributed to industrialization and urbanization. A major feature of urbanization in Asia is the existence of "primate" cities. These cities grew up even before industrialization set in. Decentralized industrialization also does not necessarily lead to urbanization. "In many cases the so-called 'consequences' of industrialization or urbanization represent little more than the transfer, through migration, of rural poverty to the cities where it becomes more concentrated and conspicuous."12/

"... although a rather small élite indigenous population appears in Asian cities with the same characteristics as those possessed by urban residents in the West, the mass population of many Asian cities are resident in village agglomerations and tend to retain 'folk' characteristics."13/

4. Migration - Causes

25. In the light of the above, we may now consider the situation as it exists in the different countries of the Asian region. Since the commencement of the Second World War, there has been a rapid rise of urban agglomeration of rural people. "It is not exactly an urbanization of rural people as we understand by a change from rusticity to urbanity or coarseness to refinement. Nor was it civilization but merely a citification - throwing together as it were in a melting pot, of rugged rural-minded and a little individualistic people from various parts of the vast country-side into old centres of populations or in new conurbations."14/

12/ Report on the World Social Situation, op. cit., p.112.

13/ "Conclusions of the Seminar" in Urbanization in Asia and the Far East, op. cit., p.35.

14/ J.F. Bulsara, "Urban Community Development", Sectional Chairman's Address, Indian Conference of Social Work, Ninth Session, Jaipur, December, 1956, Indian Journal of Social Work, (Bombay), vol. XVII, March 1957, p.249.

26. In Burma, for example, the United Nations Social Services Mission, 1953, found this trend of rapid "unplanned and uncontrolled conurbation of uninitiated rural and rustic populations in closely settled towns and cities."[15/]

27. In various countries, the movement of a large number of people to urban areas cannot be explained by one factor alone. Such factors are many and varied, the most important being economic in nature, though this does not imply industrialization or the consequences of economic planning and programming. No doubt these, too, do contribute to some extent to the stream of people moving into urban areas. But, more specifically, it has been found that "where stagnant and depressed agricultural communities force into the industrial centres uprooted peasants and tribesmen in numbers far beyond available opportunities for gainful employment, urban growth tends to reflect not the expansion of the industry but the wretchedness of agricultural conditions and the high incidence of under-employment in rural areas."[16/]

28. Again, migration has taken place and is continuing to take place because of such factors as political partitions resulting in refugee movements, desire for social and educational betterment, etc. These will now be discussed in some detail.

29. It is considered that the growth of many cities including primate cities in Asia and the Far East, is the result of the lack of balance in economic opportunities between rural and urban areas. In seeking to explain the rapid increase in city population in the economically under-developed countries, most emphasis has been placed on those factors which stimulate people to leave the rural setting, such as the low levels of rural living, the primitive agricultural techniques, the ownership and tenancy systems, wide-spread unemployment and under-employment, and the low productivity of the rural people, which accounts largely for their poverty and destitution. In Thailand, for example, "people migrated where land was infertile and people who lived there cannot get enough income to support themselves and families."[17/]

15/ Ibid.

16/ Processes and Problems of Industrialization in Under-developed Countries, op. cit., p.122.

17/ "Urbanization in Thailand", a paper prepared by L.C. Trakarnkosol and S. Hutachareon for the Joint UN/UNESCO Seminar on Urbanization in the ECAFE region, Bangkok, August 1956 (UNESCO/SS/CONF. URB/W/8/-ECAFE/ URB/8).

30. The seasonal nature of employment in agriculture also creates migratory flows to urban areas. In Thailand it was found that many families, and especially those males in the working-age groups, tended to move from their farms in search of better working conditions, levels of living and accommodation in the cities.

31. In addition to the economic consideration, political situations also incite migration. In the Republic of Korea, for example, the insecurity of the country-side resulted in thousands of homeless villagers deserting their farms and seeking safety in the suburban slums of the cities. The large movement of the refugees into and out of India as a result of partition of the subcontinent is another example. The migration was so large that it tended to create economic problems. Besides, the occupational skills of immigrants, especially in the case of Pakistan, were different from the skills of the emigrants, thereby upsetting the character of the labour force.

32. People migrate for other reasons as well. Many who are adequately employed in the rural areas still desire migration to the urban areas because of the supposedly higher standards of life there, because of the glamour of the cities and in the hope of better employment. They are attracted by the opportunities for free movement and behaviour.

33. Other factors which contribute to migration to the urban areas, as found in Asia, are the better educational facilities for children, more leisure amusement facilities, and better amenities.

5. Some Effects of Social Change and Economic Development

34. The next relevant question is, what effect has this migration on urban areas and the migrants? Primarily, it results in an agglomeration of heterogeneous persons. From a demographic point of view, it results in more males than females. This abnormal sex ratio accounts for the break-down of moral standards and the prevalence of prostitution.

35. Another feature of the migrant population is the higher proportion of young men of the working-age groups. The absence of older people in the urban population is said to cause "instability in all domains as it is this age group which is the repository of tradition and experience. If the presence of old people is sometimes considered as an obstacle to progress, it acts both ways: it is also an obstacle to rapid deterioration. If it slows up the adaptation

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process, it also enables the youth to remember and perhaps retain what is good in the former ways of life of their ancestors. Moreover, it (the absence of old people) also means indiscipline: the village youth who suddenly becomes his own master in town, without any elder to guide and protect him, is likely to misuse his newly born freedom."[18/]

(a) Housing

36. Scarcity of housing leads to overcrowding in urban areas. More often than not, the new migrants and their families, failing to obtain suitable accommodation, take up the available, but generally the least desirable accommodation, often at exorbitant rents, or even share rooms with equally stranded families. Some migrants move into slums, or in the absence of slums, start them. This problem of housing is most acute in Asia and perhaps worse than in any other part of the world. For example, in Hong Kong, the huge post-war increases have led to gross overcrowding in the already crammed urban areas having high population densities. Its major consequence is the drastic physical changes evident in the extensive slums found in urban Hong Kong.

37. These slums are practically the same as rural areas in the matter of environmental hygiene, housing construction, etc. In general, one may say that conditions which create an ideal environment for the development and spread of disease and general ill health arise from the congested and highly insanitary way of living.

38. Slums themselves play a part in social maladjustments. They lack that social cohesion which is a characteristic of a stable community, mixing people with different backgrounds, inducing patterns of behaviour which run contrary to socially acceptable standards, and offering youngsters opportunities for delinquent behaviour. In Karachi, for example, such conditions were found to lead to a "great disruption of values of living a life of decent ease, privacy and comfort."[19/]

18/ "Urbanization and crime and delinquency in Asia and the Far East", op. cit., p. 236.

19/ Q.M. Fareed, "Cultural Implications of Industrialization in Pakistan", Federal Economic Review (Karachi), vol. 3, No. 1, July 1956, p. 15.

39. This does not necessarily imply that "poverty and substandard housing as such cause delinquency any more than high rates of tuberculosis and child mortality found in delinquency areas cause delinquency. It is only where poverty and slum housing are associated with delinquency - including ways of life, social disorganization, culture conflicts and the presence of a delinquent subculture - that they are related to delinquency rates." 20/

(b) Employment

40. Employment is another sector in which a large influx of population affects the urban setting. It is commonly felt that the promise of a higher standard of living attracts the rural migrant to the city. In fact, by coming to the urban areas in large numbers, the migrants, usually unskilled, are responsible for flooding the labour market with an excess of supply over the demand for workers, and are forced to accept low-paid unskilled jobs or to take to hawking, domestic work, etc. Because of this, under-employment and unemployment are rampant. The availability of cheap and unorganized labour hampers efforts to improve living and working conditions and places difficulties in the way of campaigns to increase productivity and introduce rationalization. The low wages of the heads of families are inadequate for the family, so that every able member of it is forced to take employment and earn what he or she can. In Burma, for example, "women coming from rural areas to the big towns in search of security or economic well-being usually lack the necessary background to get well paid urban jobs and are obliged to earn their living by becoming either coolies or bazaar sellers, jobs with low remuneration. It has been attributed that women in such circumstances fall an easy prey to exploiters and become prostitutes." 21/ This phase of unemployment affects not only the economy but also family life for it leads to family parasitism, which places a heavy responsibility on active workers. "This reserve mass made up of the individuals camped in the towns in the hope of finding work can only exist with the aid of expedients and is easily conducive to deviant forms of behaviour." 22/

20/ Harold L. Wilensky, and Charles N. Lebeaux, Industrial Society and Social Welfare (New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1958), p. 185.

21/ "Urbanization and crime and delinquency in Asia and the Far East", op. cit., p. 239.

22/ From the paper prepared by Professor G. Balandier, op. cit., p. 6.

41. To sum up, "levels of wages that are inadequate to maintain family life, long hours of work, women's night work, industrial home work, sweatshop methods and child labour have been common in the early stages of industrial expansion in nearly all countries."[23/] Quite often, parents force their children to become beggars. It is also natural to expect juveniles to take to any form of work; or they go in for delinquent activities.

(c) Cultural Factors

42. In societies unaffected by industrialization, traditional culture has a strong hold. "It provides those born into a society with means to adapt effectively to their human and natural setting by training them in the forms of behaviour recognized as valid by their group. More than this, however, it provides a background against which the creative aspects of the total human response pattern can be projected, a base from which exploration into new orientations in living can move. From the point of view of human personality development, culture is thus the medium through which adjustment is achieved, a point of particular importance when the maladjustments that result from contacts between peoples with disparate cultures are taken into account." [24/]

43. If, into this placid situation, industrialization and urbanization are introduced, it amounts to the super-imposition of alien values and systems. "For a time, the conflict between these two movements results in a lack of equilibrium, their specific cultural features are antagonistic and the individual finds himself in a state of bewilderment capable of having a pathological effect on his personality." [25/]

44. The dynamic nature of this materialistic urban culture breaks the conformity to, and the uniformity of, the well integrated and restricted social units. Naturally enough the older generations are antagonistic to this because, "that what is settled by customs, though it be not good, yet at least it is fit, and those things which have long gone together, are, as it were, confederate within themselves; whereas new things piece not so well; but, though they help by their

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23/ Processes and Problems of Industrializarion in Under-developed Countries, op. cit., p. 124.

24/ Bert F. Hoselitz, ed., op. cit., p. 104.

25/ From the paper prepared by Professor G. Balandier, op. cit., p. 1.

utility, yet they trouble by their inconformity; besides, they are like strangers, more admired, and less favoured." 26/

45. This conflict calls for a change from the simple pre-industrial way of rural life to the more intricate pattern of urban life, which apart from its potentialities for good and evil, undoubtedly inflicts strains on the individuals, families and communities involved.

46. If this phase of economic change and urbanization is preceded or accompanied by adequate preparation and socialization, there is every likelihood of deviant conduct being checked, if not altogether eliminated. "But, where motivation for deviance is not prevented from developing, deviance itself may still be prevented because of the extreme difficulty often experienced in the rebel's finding alternative economic roles that will permit him to live satisfactorily." 27/ Historically, in the early stages of industrialization, pre-industrial social structures have been seen to be a result of the introduction of even primitive industrial methods of economy. During this phase of poorly constructed and heterogeneous urban society, conflicts between behaviour and different cultural codes take place and may result either in the development of often entirely new urban cultures or the coexistence of different independent cultures.

47. Irrespective of the ultimate outcome, a feature of this heterogeneity of population is the effect it has on the intimate, spontaneous and primary relations, replacing them by relations which are impersonal, transitory, and utilitarian and by the formation of common interest groups. When social life becomes fragmented, the individual stands apart and loses the sense of participation. "Modern industrial society is to a considerable extent an 'Associational' society; and it involves an intricate framework of associations and groups, organized to foster, directly or through the Government, special interests and purposes professional, welfare, economic, political, artistic, religious and so on." 28/ The deleterious effects can be prevented only in so far as the migrants are adequately equipped to tackle them.

26/ Francis Bacon, Essay No. 24, "Of Innovations", The Works of Francis Bacon, (Philadelphia, Parry and McMillan, 1855) I, 32 as quoted in Bert F. Hoselitz, ed., op. cit., p. 207.

27/ Bert F. Hoselitz, ed., op. cit., p. 120.

28/ Processes and Problems of Industrialization in Under-developed Countries, op. cit., p. 126.

48. Where there is no proper solution of the conflict among the different indigenous groups, where social norms are endangered, and where deviant conduct is bound to play a major role, external secondary control in the form of legal restriction, laws and regulations are introduced. Thus traditional forms of control are further whittled down to insignificance.

49. Do the above facts, which describe the Asian situation, apply everywhere? To what extent can one say that "the city population shows either deculturization, detribalization, disorganization or anomie, that they are uprooted, wretched creatures leading a kind of animal existence until the doom of Mumford's Necropolis will devour them all"?[29/]

50. No doubt, Asian cities are usually heterogenecus, not in the ordinary sense of the word, but in the sense that they consist of many homogeneous group living in the same urban centre. That is to say, migrants from the same villages tend to live together or in close proximity in the urban areas. So much so, in fact, that one would think that such colonies were really only villages in an urban setting. Such homogeneous groups tend to continue their traditional rural life in an alien setting, and to carry on as before their religious practices, sometimes even more vigorously than when they were in their villages. Under such conditions, social controls do not become less effective, nor is there evidence of a total cultural replacement.

51. It was found that in Indonesian city kampongs, for instance, social control does not differ much from that in the rural areas. Here migrant villagers often display a marked liking for living together in an urban kampong, according to original residence or area, which reduces their difficulties in settling down to urban life. "In fact, these sub-divisions of kampongs, designated by serial numbers, form the real social units. Its (the kampongs) inhabitants form a typical primary group, they know each other by sight and through local gossip have ample information as to each other's doing."[30/]

52. In such settings, deviant behaviour is not tolerated, and the harshest form of punishment is the banishment of the culprit. The police are rarely taken into

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29/ "Some Socio-cultural Effects of Urbanization in Jakarta". Paper prepared by H.J. Heeren, for the Joint UN/UNESCO Seminar on Urbanization in the ECAFE region, Bangkok, August, 1956 (UNESCO/SS/CONF/URB/8 - E/CN.11/URB/8).

30/ Ibid.

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confidence or asked to deal with such deviants. Thus, "the cultural levelling process so characteristic of urbanism is impeded by the persistence of rural culture traits among the inhabitants ... rural survivals may include tradition, folkways, kinds of food, dress, housing and living arrangements, arts and music effectively preventing the deculturization or disintegration of the immigrants. Here and there are found new forms of organizations adapted to the urban environment. As there are signs that the greatest influx of immigrants is over, the city will probably embark upon a quieter future, in which it may try to build a better life for its inhabitants, both new and old."[31/] In other words, there exists no serious conflict between the city and the country.

53. There are, however, a few countries, like Japan, where the process of westernization of urban society, begun in the last century, is proceeding at an accelerated rate at all levels in the cities with the tensions and disorganization that accompany rapid urbanization.

(d) Family Break-down

54. The impact of industrialization and urbanization on the family system is a matter of considerable dispute. On the one hand, it is claimed that most of the families migrating to urban areas do not break up because "the strange surroundings, the struggle to obtain accommodation and to provide an education for children, as well as the desire to show those at home that one has succeeded in the city, all serve to bind the family together. Despite the change in the family's functions as a consequence of the transition from a subsistence to a monetary economy, the family continues to be the main source of security to the migrants."[32/] However true this may be in the final analysis, the dimensions of such change will depend largely on the environments from which and to which the family moves. The greater the similarity between the two, the less chance there is of a break-down of the family. Moreover, if the migrating family is initially a self-sufficient unit, and an emotionally integrated one, it will not be adversely affected by the urban environment. But if roles and relationships change radically, it cannot long survive in the urban setting.

31/ Ibid.

32/ José Matos Mar, "Migration and Urbanization". Paper prepared for the jointly sponsored UNESCO/UN Seminar on Urbanization in Latin America, Santiago, July 1959. (General, E/CN.12/URB/11/UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/11, 30 September 1958).

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55. On the other hand, it is said that disruption of the family system inevitably follows economic development and social change, especially in the under-developed countries of Asia, where it has been observed that the two aspects of the social system - caste and the joint family system - tend to break down under the impact of change. Social disorganization takes the form of changes from large and joint families to the small unitary family system. This disorganization is primarily attributed to the shift in the economic structure of the family. While in primitive rural societies the family is the economic unit, in an industrial and urban setting where men and money are predominant, the employment of women in industry and the subsequent change in their status tend to modify the family.

56. It has been observed in India that "the expansion of towns and the diversification of the employment opportunities, the rise of the new trades and the decline of the old ones, have been breaking the hold of the joint family ... Significant among the effects ... are the rise in the age of marriage, the improved status of women, the decline in the despotism of the joint family ruler ... and, in general, the increasing reorientation of the alignment of family relations from mother and son to husband and wife."[33/] In the Republic of Korea, for instance, it was found that families broke with the traditional cultural patterns when they had the opportunity to replace them by the new western cultural patterns. Thus, in general, "the initial patterns of family organization, of production units, and of authority and responsibility have broken down."[34/]

57. How does this disintegration take place? In the first place, as soon as a family migrates to an urban centre, it often faces many problems: economic, housing, social relation, etc. To obviate this, only a partial transfer of the family takes place. Once the family is physically settled it faces other problems in its attempt to build up an integrated family life.

58. The effects of this break-down are unfavourable. In the case of young men with urban employment, they become economically independent and tend to extend this freedom to other spheres of life. Initially they break away from tradition, delay marriage, and when they do marry, they are more likely than not to insist on selecting their own mates. All these things tend to undermine the authority of the parents and elders and to contribute to the weakening of the interdependence

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33/ B.K. Madan, "The Economics of the Indian Village and Its Implications in Social Structure", International Social Science Bulletin, (Paris), vol. III, No. 4, 1951, p. 817.

34/ Bert F. Hoselitz, ed., op. cit., p. 124.

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of the family members. This behaviour pattern in turn breeds insecure and unstable families, resulting in family break-down, desertion, abandonment of children, etc. In short, "the unofficial controls exercised by parents, family, neighbours, the community and the church, which, in the country, were knit into a single whole, tended to lose their force in the town, while those exercised by cliques and other small rival groups increase."[35/]

59. "In so far as industrialization breaks up the extended family and uproots workers from their traditional communities, it hastens the decay of those devices of self-help and mutual aid which, within the limits permitted by the generally low standards of living in the rural society, offer some protection to all members of the group, irrespective of their ability."[36/]

(e) Children

60. Children are generally sensitive to the environment: their inability to anticipate change makes the effects of economic development and social change all the more pronounced for them. At the same time, being little imbued in tradition, they are more susceptible to change. Where instability upsets living conditions, a child adopting antisocial characteristics tends to carry his antisocial personality over into adulthood.

61. In addition to this inevitable disequilibrium, the urban environment also provides an incentive to deviant behaviour. Children who live in slums or overcrowded localities spend their leisure time on the streets and are prone to live in a gang. This is further aggravated by the lack of family supervision and parental authority. Such uncontrolled and undirected freedom finds its expression in delinquency. Where the economic condition of the family is poor, children are sometimes goaded by their own parents into begging, stealing or prostitution. In other cases they are exploited by unscrupulous adult elements with promises of gain or by threat. Thus, even at an early stage in life children may show signs of developing antisocial behaviour.

35/ Lucio Mendieta y Núñez, "The Main Arguments Concerning Urban Sociology", presented and discussed at the Seventh National Congress on Sociology, Joint UNESCO/UN Seminar on Urbanization Problems in Latin America, Santiago, December, 1958 (General, E/CN.12/URB/4 -UNESCO/SS/URB/LA/4, 20 September 1958).

36/ Processes and Problems of Industrialization in Under-developed Countries, op. cit., p. 124.

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62. Apart from this, marital discord, separation, desertion or divorce - each leaves its mark on the children, who now become maladjusted victims of parental disharmony. Even when the intentions of the parents are good, when mothers are forced to find employment in order to make a meagre contribution to the total family income, children go unsupervised and uncared for during the day. Even school supervision, in cases where children do go to school, is nominal. Children who are left to look after themselves may take to vice.

63. It is reported from Hong Kong that "the demand for female labour in factories is influencing many Chinese women to give up their traditional role of housewife, confined almost entirely to the home, and to go out to work in order to supplement the family income. As a result, large numbers of young children are left uncared for in tenements and in the streets during the day time."37/

(f) The Individual

64. In addition to effecting changes in patterns of living, undermining the established authority of the traditional family and the community and breaking down close-knit group life and imposing new values, economic development and social change also tend to affect individual norms, create maladjustment and cause frustration. At the economic level, a migrant who seeks and obtains employment in an industry loses his individuality because "workers abruptly transplanted from rural to urban areas, particularly from a more or less primitive subsistence economy to a technologically more advanced exchange economy, tend to lack stability, have difficulty in adapting themselves to urban conditions."38/

65. In a paper submitted to the United Nations Seminar on Regional Planning, held in Tokyo in 1958, the author thought it would be generally agreed that "physical living standards for the vast majority are extremely bad by any standard, worse than in many primitive villages; that crowded insanitary housing (or no shelter at all) plus inadequate urban services, tend to enhance ill-health, social demoralization, broken families, unstable employment, productive inefficiency and political unrest; that there is much unemployment and in any case higher cash wages do not in general mean a better life for the urban

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37/ Hong Kong, Annual Departmental Report of the Director of Social Welfare, 1957-58, p. 6.

38/ "Conclusions of the Seminar", Urbanization in Asia and the Far East, op. cit., p. 42.

worker than the rural worker; that all these conditions tend to be worse for recent immigrants to the largest cities; but that, nevertheless, the great centres continue to have the highest growth rates, which probably means that the situation is getting steadily worse despite numerous costly remedial efforts; and that, therefore, in many ways, the urbanization process in its present form may be a hindrance rather than a help to both social and economic progress."39/

66. But the degree to which each individual involved in this mighty process is able to control such change will depend, among other things, on the strength of his cultural background. Irrespective of this, however, the individual goes through a phase of indecision, insecurity and helplessness. During this transition period, the unplanned and uncontrolled growth of urban population usually tends not only to impose social, economic, emotional and physical hardships on him but also to disturb his personality. The introduction to an alien environment threatens personality. Where the individual fails to overcome them effectively, personal disorganization may manifest itself in delinquency and crime. Contributory to this maladjustment is a lack of family life and control, which works against the integration process and conformity.

67. "The necessity for the rural peoples to live in the city away from their family for long or short periods is often the cause of their social disorganization and, in many cases, also of their personal demoralization. And, in this, the privations as well as the facilities peculiar to city life play their part ... It is in the city rather than in the village that pathological manifestations of sex impulse are most frequent. These abnormal sex practices have grown sufficiently common to assume a definite pattern of behaviour in the city."40/

68. Whether or not the individual is able to adapt himself to the changing social situation will depend partly on the prevalence of deviant conduct and criminality, and on whether or not he was living in a family environment before migration. Other factors which influence his adjustment are the degree of transplantation of rural habits into urban centres and the number of these that survive the impact of urbanism. For the dynamics of industrialization and urbanization test individual values and attitudes, loosen social controls and lead to the adoption of questionable behaviour patterns. The problem becomes

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39/ Catherine Bauer, "The Optimum Pattern of Urbanization", United Nations Seminar on Regional Planning, Tokyo, 1958. (Working paper No. 30, E/CN.11/RP/L.16).

40/ P.N. Prabhu, "A Study on the Social Effects of Urbanization" in The Social Implications on Industrialization and Urbanization (UNESCO, 1956), p. 102.

grave as the urban individual is faced with different norms. The prevailing laws and regulations in urban areas, the traditional norms of the individual involved and of other individuals belonging to different cultural backgrounds make his choice a difficult one. His selection is not of any one of these, but a little of each, depending on the benefits that he can reap from each of them.

69. The stresses and strains of the neo-urban culture affect the individual. He may be able to withstand its effects, provided it is akin to his own ways of life. If he attempts to evade the impact, he tends to drift. Thus he is caught in a network of conflicting and vague standards, of obligations, personal relations and struggles for survival in exceptionally arduous situations. Finally, he either comes out well adjusted or succumbs and takes to crime, prostitution, etc.

70. It is observed in Asia that, "this socio-economic phenomenon was bringing in its train various social ills and problems such as detribalization, family disintegration, and loss of social solidarity, further resulting in ill health, social diseases, juvenile delinquency, increased adult crime, commercialized vice, destitution and beggary. These social ills in turn gave rise to the problem of the derelicts of society, the all too numerous socially, mentally, morally and physically handicapped."[41/] Urbanization and industrialization do affect the individual; his is mainly a problem of substituting a traditionally set way of life by a pattern which involves at every stage a time element. His habits of eating, living, dressing, etc., tend to be affected. This may not in some cases lead to any serious difficulties, but quite often it entails conflicts resulting in maladjusted behaviour patterns, and impedes adaptation to and integration in an environment.

71. It is reported from Thailand, for example, that "the in-migrant has to face many new situations which call for initiative and adaptability on his part, and capacity to overcome the general feeling of instability engendered by the new challenge the city puts to his personality."[42/] The reason for this lies primarily in the fact that a change from a life dominated by a subsistence economy to a life which is moulded by a technologically oriented industrial economy can be achieved only with tremendous difficulty. The individual has to choose between

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41/ J.F. Bulsara, "Urban Community Development", op. cit., p. 249.

42/ Social Research and Problems of Economic and Social Adjustment in Conditions of Urbanization in Under-developed Countries, UNESCO, Paris, 10 November 1958.

the values he is used to and those forced on him in the urban setting; he has to acquaint himself with the new codes and secondary controls; and he has to struggle for existence and self-betterment in a highly competitive setting. The existence of unrest and insecurity among the people cannot be ignored. With reference to the Republic of Korea, it is stated that: Living in a country where war is an ever present threat, pleasure principle prevails and disregard for law and order is also noticeable, while high values are placed on material and monetary objects.[43/]

72. The in-migrant failing to adjust readily is, therefore, exposed to dangers of moral disorganization, delinquency, crime, prostitution, alcoholism, etc. In entering the urban society, he is also directly exposed to criminal patterns with which he had not been familiar. It was found in Pakistan, for instance, that: "on the social and cultural side, the people who come to live in towns lose quite a lot of family grip which is usually more prominent in rural areas. Many of them adopt a loose behaviour and some of them have caused certain disturbances. Their sons may also become juvenile delinquents. Their way of living is lower than the rural area. They might have to live in shabby huts and/or overcrawded rooms in small lanes."[44/]

73. "Hunger and starvation tempts them to tread the easy and devious path of crime. This tendency is accentuated by the absence of any family ties, caste influences and public opinion which might dissuade them from adopting a dishonourable course."[45/] Is this the experience of all Asian countries? It would be difficult to generalize because "one cannot directly relate these elements of disorganization to the city for it would be wrong to say that the city is the cause of criminal behaviour, but it is the break-down of traditional, informal, social controls in the new environment which may provide fertile soil for the growth of abnormal behaviour."[46/]

43/ "General Trend of Crime and Juvenile Delinquency with special reference to Recent Demographic Changes in Republic of Korea". Paper prepared for the United Nations Bureau of Social Affairs by Kwon Soon Young, Chief Judge, Seoul Juvenile Court, 23 February 1959.

44/ Alide, Eberhard, "Youghful Convicts in Lahore - a Study of Living Conditions prior to the Offence". A working paper prepared for the South Asia Colloquium, May 1958 (Cyclostyled), Centre for South Asia Studies, Institute of International Studies, University of California, Berkeley, California.

45/ B.S. Haikerwal, Economic and Social Aspects of Crime in India (London, G. Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1934), p. 64.

46/ UNESCO, Social Research and Problems of Economic and Social Adjustment in Conditions of Urbanization in Under-Developed Countries, op. cit.

CHAPTER II

CRIMINALITY

1. Reliability of data

74. It was pointed out earlier that while no definite relationahip can be established between economic development and social change as such, yet it is possible to unravel some of the consequences of these processes. In general, urbanization has some effects or other on the individual and the family, on social relations and cultural values. These effects may either lead to a better adaptation and adjustment to the different urban social units, or result quite often in antisocial behaviour and contribute towards the increase of criminality.

75. It may be that urbanization does tend to increase crime rates in under-developed countries undergoing economic and social change. This increase in crime is not necessarily due to change itself, but to the fact that it is too rapid for these countries.

76. In Thailand, for example, there seems to be a clearer connexion between the economic consequences of development and social change, largely as a result of the inequitable distribution of wealth. Similarly, the effect that living in urban areas seems to have on criminality in the Philippines has been deduced from the fact that juvenile delinquency is higher in urban Manila than in rural areas. This is explained by the various factors discussed earlier, the main one being that urbanization encourages crime through its complex structure and its provision of anonymity. Arguments however are not lacking to show that an increase in crime is seen not only in urban areas but also in rural areas. For example, "Japanese rural communities, however, have also been following the rising tide of juvenile criminality, mainly on account of the superimposition of urban culture on them particularly in recent years."[1/]

1/ Glimpses of Social Work in Japan, Japan Social Workers' International Club, 1958, p.117.

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This is explained principally by the expost of urban culture to rural areas. Thus "it would be rather premature to reach any general conclusion in view of the incompleteness and lack of comparability of available data and of the difficulty of distinguishing, as a point of departure, precisely between the characteristics of urban and rural life."[2/]

77. It is therefore necessary to study to some extent the pattern of criminality resulting from industrialization and urbanization. An obstacle to this objective study is the absence of reliable data. It would, however, be incorrect to say that official statistics are not collected in the different Asian countries. In fact in Japan, Thailand, India, Ceylon, Singapore, etc., official criminal statistics are compiled regularly. But a glance at these figures shows that they cannot be utilized as they are, mainly because the data are not presented regionally or by basic characteristic of the offender. But more serious is the fact that, because of the changes taking place in these countries, the trend cannot always be scientifically analysed in relation to developmental and other factors. Populations are increasing rapidly. At the same time, during this transition period, economic and social problems which formerly lay dormant are clamouring for solutions. These in turn require legislation, social and otherwise. Consequently a comparison of the statistics for any one country with reference to two different points of time becomes much more difficult. Even from an administrative viewpoint, it has been noted that these countries are from time to time changing their laws and procedures regarding criminality to such an extent that acts, which were at one time permissible later become illegal. These changes are reflected in the statistics. For example, in India, the introduction of prohibition in a number of States, tends to modify rates of criminality.

78. A final point to be remembered in discussing the reliability of criminal statistics is that quite often crime goes unreported or undetected. The extent of under-registration has not been estimated for any country, but its existence has been established. In a study undertaken in Colombo, Ceylon, it was found that juvenile delinquents did not receive as much attention from official quarters as was expected. The survey found that "163 juvenile offenders

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2/ "Urbanization and crime and delinquency in Asia and the Far East" Urbanization in Asia and the Far East, Proceedings of the Joint UN/UNESCO Seminar, Bangkok, 8-18 August 1956 (UNESCO, SS.57.V.7.A) p. 231.

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belonged to as many as 153 different gangs - and in the vast majority of these gangs only one member out of a possible membership ranging from 2 to 20 was in an institution."[3/]

79. Bearing in mind all these limitations, we may now study whatever data are available, irrespective of their reliability. It may be reiterated that, at best, these data are only underestimates. If accurate data were available they would only further strengthen the evidence.

2. Trends

80. If the existing criminal statistics of the different countries are considered as they stand, one has the impression that crime has been on the increase in the last few years in Asia. For instance, between 1953-54 and 1954-55, the number of cases reported in Hong Kong increased from 463,855 to 487,019, an increase of about 5 per cent. The distribution is shown in the table below:

	1953-54	1954-55
Crimes	21,059	27,100
Miscellaneous offences	266,082*	269,779
Reports disclosing no offence	176,714	190,140
	463,855	487,019

* These figures included 27,306 traffic office summons cases not accounted for in the last year's report. Source: Hong Kong, Annual Departmental Report of Commissioner of Police, 1954-55, p. 26.

81. In Thailand, the rates have increased much faster. In Bangkok, for instance cases of crime increased from 42,276 in 1948 to 139,618 in 1957, i.e., by about 230 per cent. In two provincial areas of Thailand, they increased during the same period from 183,987 to 293,454, i.e., only about 60 per cent. Taking the whole of Thailand into consideration, we find that cases of crime increased from 226,163 in 1948 to 433,076 in 1957, i.e., about 92 per cent. It will be seen that "while the crime rates of Thailand are perhaps about average among

3/ J.E. Jayasuriya and S. Kariyawasam, "Juvenile delinquency as a gang activity in the city of Colombo", Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies, 1 (2), July 1958, p. 214.

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the under-developed countries and lower than those of some Far Eastern countries, its rates for both petty and violent crimes are much higher than those for the most advanced countries. This serves to further strengthen the notion that the basic root of crime is economic backwardness giving rise to national poverty."4/

82. In Japan, "the number of criminal juveniles had been decreasing until 1950 when it again began to rise until finally it showed over 20 per cent increase in 1957 as compared with 1950. This trend is ... quite common in all large prefectures ... and in the country in general."5/

83. In the Republic of Korea, cases of crime increased from 24,391 in 1956 to 31,466 in 1957, a growth of about 29 per cent. In India there has been observed a downward trend in crime from 1952 to 1955 and then a rise in 1956 and afterwards.

84. In Hong Kong, "although juveniles brought before the Magistrates Courts reached the exceptionally high figure of over 55,000 in 1954-55 in a population of about two and a half million, 'juvenile delinquency is not a major social problem' since over 95 per cent of the juveniles had committed only technical breaches of the law such as obstruction or hawking without a licence"6/

85. "The number of repeaters in Japan has also been increasing from 33 per cent of all juvenile criminals in 1955 to 36 per cent in 1956, and to 37 per cent already in the first half of 1957."7/ In the Republic of Korea, juvenile delinquency increased by about 42 per cent between 1956 and 1957. "... Industrialization has a more pronounced effect on juvenile rather than adult crime ... it was found that juvenile crime in an acute form is confined to the

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4/ "Statement on Prevention of Types of Criminality Resulting from Social Changes and Accompanying Economic Development in Thailand", prepared by Mr. Pakorn Angsusingha, National Correspondent (Thailand) to the United Nations.

5/ Glimpses of Social Work in Japan, op. cit., p. 116.

6/ Special Study on Social Conditions in Non-Self-Governing Territories, (United Nations publication, Sales No.:58.VI.B.2), p. 95.

7/ Glimpses of Social Work in Japan, op. cit., p. 116.

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cities, particularly the cities of Eastern India and to some of the larger towns which have suffered from economic distress. It is not a problem of the rural areas."[8/]

3. Types of Criminality

86. A classification of the different types of crime reported from some of the Asian countries clearly indicates the increase in some types in the last few years and the decline in other types. In Thailand, for example, it is reported that the situation has shown signs of aggravation mainly through increases in certain offences listed below:

	1948	1957
Rape	1,197	2,656
Murder	2,526	3,845
Second degree murder	489	828
Attack with intent to harm	7,479	12,533
Stealing	18,660	23,573
Robbery	899	2,131
Swindles	1,084	2,013
Causing loss to property	1,241	2,101
Petty crimes	28,965	71,716
Crimes under Firearms Act	4,205	9,821
Crimes under Liquor Act	46,274	60,665
Crimes under Gambling Act	7,231	20,325
Crimes under Conscription Act	3,898	21,210
Other crimes	84,151	182,464

Source: "Statement on Prevention of Types of Criminality resulting from Social Changes and Accompanying Economic Development in Thailand", prepared by Mr. Pakorn Angsusingha, National Correspondent (Thailand) to the United Nations.

8/ Government of India, Intelligence Bureau, "Criminality resulting from Social changes and economic development", as quoted in Urbanization in Asia and the Far East, op. cit., p. 233.

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87. A characteristic of juvenile delinquents "is the marked aggravation in the roughness of their criminal conduct, such as blackmailing, violence, physical or sexual, or injury, while such cruel or atrocious crimes as burglary or murder have remained the same in the most recent periods, although the number of cases of rape has tremendously increased. This is one of the reasons why the total number of juvenile criminals have been increasing in spite of the marked decrease in larceny, and in connexion with stimulants and other drugs."[9/]

88. From the Republic of Korea it is reported that increases in crimes associated with urbanization are as follows:

	1953	1957
Charges of theft	1,568	9,881
Charges of injury	300	6,339
Charges of gambling	197	1,456
Charges of embezzlement	98	1,187
Charges of fraud	188	1,169

Source: "General Trend of Crime and Juvenile Delinquency with special reference to Recent Demographic Changes in Republic of Korea". Paper prepared for the United Nations Bureau of Social Affairs by Kwon Soon Young, Chief Judge, Seoul Juvenile Court.

89. In Hong Kong, except for the increase in illegal entry, common assaults, protection rackets, drug trafficking and corruption, there seems to be a decline in offences, including firearm offences, murder, larceny, robbery, forgery, etc. Among the juveniles of Hong Kong, hawking and gambling seem to be the urban crimes favoured and they are increasing.[10/] "Some consolation can be drawn from the fact that the main increases in serious crime are in the lesser categories, whilst in some of the major forms, notably robberies and breakings, there has actually been a reduction."[11/]

9/ Glimpses of Social Work in Japan, op. cit., p. 116.

10/ See Hong Kong, Annual Departmental Reports of the Commissioner of Police for years 1951-52 to 1957-58.

11/ Hong Kong, Annual Departmental Report of the Commissioner of Police, 1953-54, p. 29.

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90. In India, between 1952 and 1955, there had been a downward trend in total cognizable crime including murder, theft, robbery, dacoity, etc., but an increase in all these was registered during 1956. Kidnapping and abduction cases have been on the increase all through the years. The fluctuations have been attributed to many factors, but mainly to the political situation in some of the States caused by administrative reorganization, to better reporting and in at least one State, to the liberal issue of firearms. Some of the more obvious cases in industrial areas are those relating to bicycle theft and pocket picking. Bootlegging in prohibition areas, and begging are also indulged in by many, especially women and children.

4. Groups involved in crime

91. An analysis of the limited data on crime that are available from some of the Asian countries indicates that the groups most involved in crime are juveniles and particularly juvenile gangs. For instance in Colombo (Ceylon) and in Japan, gang activities are said to predominate among the offenders. Even among the juveniles the lower age groups seem to be getting increasingly involved in delinquency. It is reported from Japan, for example, that "the average ages of these juvenile criminals have been lowered to 14-15, in the last few years from 16-17".[12/] In Thailand, too, about 33 per cent of the prison inmates are between 16 and 24 years of age, i.e., about 7,216 out of 21,648 for 1956. Of these as many as 900 were under 20 years of age.

92. While the types of crimes committed by these juveniles vary, the offences seem to be directed against adults. Data to substantiate this are not available for all countries, but in Japan, it was reported that such crimes were increasing and in 1957 amounted to about 37 per cent of the total number of offences.[13/]

93. A study of the sex distribution of offenders brings out the fact that males are more prone than females to deviant conduct. No doubt the problem of prostitution exists in alarming proportions, and females are also being used as intermediaries in urban localities for bootlegging and as confidence tricksters, but still the cultural patterns requiring women and girls to fulfil their duties as mothers and wives act as stabilizing forces. For example, it is reported from Pakistan that female offenders there are in a minority, one attributable

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12/ Glimpses of Social Work in Japan, op. cit., p. 116.

13/ Ibid.

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reason for this may be the Moslem family organization; girls are more attached to the home, where they have distinct functional roles as future wives and mothers

94. If offences by women and girls are increasing, this is mainly an effect of the processes of industrialization and urbanization where women are increasingly being forced to seek employment and earn their living.

95. Looking at the same situation from the point of view of the economic status of offenders, we seem to find some evidence that this is mainly a problem of low income groups. Material data are lacking to strengthen this observation, but studies undertaken in the different Asian countries on the problem of juvenile delinquency and crime, and to some extent prostitution, point to the above conclusion. In Lahore (Pakistan), for example, a study of a group of delinquents and a group of comparable non-delinquents brought out the fundamental fact that the offenders belonged to the poorer families as compared with the families of the non-delinquents.[14/] Again, in a study undertaken in Lucknow (India), the fact that "delinquents in the majority of cases were not culturally refined, which may be attributed to such interrelated factors as poor educational standards of their parents and poor economic conditions of the family, which imply poor housing and neighbourhood conditions",[15/] bespeak a pattern not without significance. The main reasons for a concentration of crime in the lower classes are many, the primary one being aspirations which are rarely satisfied. The young person aspiring to upper class standards of life becomes maladjusted and, ultimately a delinquent.

96. The view is often expressed that the educational level of the parents is a factor in delinquency: the lower the educational level, the higher the probability of children becoming delinquent. However, in a study undertaken in Lahore (Pakistan), it was observed that it was not so much the educational level as the rural-urban characteristics of the family that contributed to delinquent behaviour.[16/]

14/ Alide, Eberhard, "Youthful convicts in Lahore - A study of living conditions prior to the offence", A working paper prepared for the South Asia Colloquium, May 1958 (Cyclostyled), Centre for South Asia Studies, Institute of International Studies, University of California, Berkeley, California.

15/ "Truancy and Basic Primary Education", J.K. Institute of Sociology and Human Relations, Lucknow University, India.

16/ Alide, Eberhard, op. cit., p. 27.

97. Finally, a distinction between the delinquent and the non-delinquent is made on the basis of parental harmony. In Lahore again, it was established in a study that "over half of village convict boys as well as over half of city convict boys came from broken homes in the sense that one or the other or both parents were dead or divorced. Also when a parental death or divorce took place, just as many village convict boys continued to live within the family as did city boys. Thirdly, one-third of rural origin boys as well as one-third of urban origin boys lived on their own and had separated from their families for the same range of reasons."[17/]

5. Factors in urban criminality

98. We have seen in the earlier sections that there is some support for a relationship between urbanization and industrialization on the one hand and increasing criminality on the other. It was also pointed out that a fundamental factor in this trend is the conflict between the individual and the changing social culture, which results in personality reorientation or disorganization and probably in deviant conduct. This strife may specifically arise from a number of factors, some of which will be discussed in the following paragraphs. But it is necessary to bear in mind that "the social problems of urbanization are self-perpetuating. The social condition which breeds new types of criminal activity in the first place, provides the setting for the development of an urban class of people who live by crime and who recruit the unwary into their ranks."[18/]

99. It must, nevertheless, be reiterated that the causes of criminality should not be sought solely in the industrialization and urbanization processes. In Thailand, for example, "while there are strong evidence which may support the general hypothesis, particularly in the case of juvenile delinquency, these evidences are not substantiated by dependable data. Nevertheless, it may still be safely concluded that the growth of urbanization, especially around the Bangkok metropolitan area, has resulted in increasing crime rates in the cities."[19/]

17/ Alide, Eberhard, op. cit., p. 27.

18/ "Urbanization and crime and delinquency in Asia and the Far East", Urbanization in Asia and the Far East, op. cit., p. 242.

19/ "Statement on Prevention of Types of Criminality Resulting from Social Changes and Accompanying Economic Development in Thailand", op. cit.

100. Some of the major factors may now be discussed in greater detail.

(a) Demographic

101. It is commonly felt that demographic changes in the urban structure do, to a great extent, cause problems of criminality. For example, prostitution has been considered as a predominantly urban problem arising out of abnormal sex ratios, and economic insecurity arising from low employment rates. Quite often a positive correlation is found between population growth and increase in delinquency. In Hong Kong, for instance, the main factor "for the higher crime figures has been gross over-population and a further deterioration in the economic conditions of the colony."[20/]

102. On the other hand, it is felt that population growth does not, by itself, increase criminality. It only gives rise to some social problems, which may or may not lead to an increase in crime. It is the experience of the Republic of Korea that "population alone does not have direct causal relationship to the offenders, but prevailing unemployment in urban areas and lower productivity in rural areas should also be taken into consideration".[21/]

(b) Environmental

103. Another major factor in urban crime and delinquency in the under-developed countries undergoing economic development and social change is the environmental factor. Quite often, slum conditions in general and poor housing facilities in particular are said to breed delinquents and criminals. To the slum areas are ascribable the characteristics of poor housing and gross overcrowding, unhealthy living conditions and unhygienic sanitary facilities, wide-spread ill health coupled with poverty, low economic levels of living and rampant unemployment, promiscuity, immoral ways of life and personal maladjustment and disorganization, etc. Consequently, it would not be surprising that urban areas should have very high rates of crime and delinquency, prostitution and immorality. In a study

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20/ Hong Kong, Annual Departmental Report of Commissioner of Police, 1954-55, p. 28.

21/ "General Trend of Crime and Juvenile Delinquency with special reference to Recent Demographic Changes in the Republic of Korea". Paper prepared for the United Nations Bureau of Social Affairs by Kwon Soon Young, Chief Judge, Seoul Juvenile Court.

undertaken in Colombo (Ceylon), it was found that, as a result of the above features of the slum area, juvenile delinquency appears to be present.[22/] In Manila, Philippines, the same explanation has been put forward.

104. However, "the 'poverty and social disorganization in the slum' theory stands up with this qualification: the delinquency rate in an area will be low despite bad housing, bad location, and poverty if the area is socially stable. Social instability under the physical conditions of slum life provides the opportunity for the development of delinquency."[23/]

(c) Economic

105. The most important element contributing to criminality in Asian countries is said to be the economic factor. This aspect of crime causation can be looked upon from two different viewpoints. One relates the increase in criminality to the general economic trends in a country. The other looks at it from the individual angle.

106. Generally poor economic conditions characterized by absolute poverty of urban society and a difficult employment situation tend to break down a number of social institutions, aggravate competition, and reduce wages, thus causing economic inequality and economic maladjustment. It has been reported from Pakistan, for example, that "with the cost of living increasing as a result of short supply of some goods and hoarding and black-marketing of others, city life has become very expensive. In such a situation, no wonder crime has greatly increased."[24/]

107. From an individual standpoint, crime is associated with economic hardship, particularly through low levels of living, the desire for wealth and monetary gain, etc. The study conducted in Lucknow makes the following observations:

> "Delinquency appeared to be significantly motivated by utilitarian considerations as suggested by the finding that the highest proportion of delinquents was of those who were convicted of various offences against

22/ J.E. Jayasuriya and S. Kariyawasam, "Juvenile delinquency as a gang activity in the city of Colombo", op. cit.

23/ Harold L. Wilensky and Charles N. Lebeaux, Industrial Society and Social Welfare, New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1958, p. 186.

24/ Q.M., Fareed, "Cultural Implication of Industrialization in Pakistan", Federal Economic Review, (Karachi), vol. 3 (1), July 1956, p. 15.

property. Even the miscellaneous offences, which came next, like the violation of Gambling Act, Vagrancy Section, Pure Foods Act and the Excise Act (in Kanpur only - and Kanpur is a town of prohibition) involve monetary gains. Compared to these cases, only a few delinquents were convicted for offences against person and against sex." 25/

108. In many cases individuals take to begging as a means of livelihood. In South and South-East Asia, for example, there are a vast number of persons disabled by disease and malnutrition, many of them without the customary claims on family or village, and for whose sustenance the modern economy fails to provide.

109. It is observed in the Philippines that of the 281 juveniles in the two Training Schools in 1947, 74.7 per cent were committed for offences against property; this may indicate that economic maladjustment is an important factor which contributes towards the delinquency of juveniles.26/

110. Again, in a study conducted in India, it was found that "the majority of these families of vagrant children were deteriorating economically; in most of the cases the occuaption of fathers and working mothers being unstable and so was the case with their income. Most of the vagrants were living in poor housing and neighbourhood conditions."26/

111. Another survey in India revealed that "truancy was heavier in schools situated in areas of poor income groups and market areas for the reasons that firstly, children in such areas become an economic asset to the family at an early age, and secondly, fall an easy prey to the excitements of the neighbouring market ... It was also seen that the parents and guardians of the truants were drawn from lower socio-economic strata of the society as evidenced by the finding that over one-thid of the truants were from the families of casual labourers and inferior service class alone, closely followed by those who came from families of retail traders like the vegetable, meat, fruit, fish and sweet-meat sellers."27/

(d) Familial

112. To the above aspect of crime causation are closely related the problems of the family, primarily its economic problems. Where families face intense economic

25/ "The Social and Economic Background of Juvenile and Adolescent Delinquency in Kanpur and Lucknow", J.K. Institute of Sociology and Human Relations, Lucknow University, India.

26/ "Juvenile Vagrancy", J.K. Institute of Sociology and Human Relations, Lucknow University, India.

27/ "Truancy and Basic Primary Education", op. cit.

pressure, children are neglected because parents have no opportunity to supervise them. In extreme cases, even the girls in the families are sold to brothel keepers in the hope of reducing the burden on the parents. Furthermore, living at subsistence levels, the parents are forced into disharmonious living and relationships with each other, and the victims are the children, who take to the streets and eventually pick up patterns of delinquent behaviour.

113. In Thailand, "the progress of the city after World War II is closely related to the problem of delinquency. With the progress of the city, the influence of the family declines. The tie of the family is not so firm and so close as before. Children and their parents are cut off from one another. A great number of youth wander into urban areas, and confronted with social problems and the different ways of living in the city, cannot adapt themselves to the new surroundings which finally might lead them into committing offences."28/

114. As we have already seen, change also weakens the traditional family system and undermines parental authority, at the same time modifying the role of the urban family. To this is closely related the factors of criminality, for where authority tends to slacken, the patterns of delinquency are set up, especially when the children are left to themselves throughout the day.

115. Indian data indicate that "most of the vagrants had no fixed company and had only partial affiliation with gangs. The average age of vagrants with full-fledged gang life was higher than those who either had partial gang associations or had no fixed company. It was also noted that the vagrants with full-fledged gang life were those who had either severed their ties with their homes or had strained relations and regularly absented themselves from their homes."29/

116. Finally, the disorganization of the family in the urban setting leads to the neglect of children and, in some cases, their abandonment, both of which favour the emergence of delinquency.

(e) Cultural

117. "Masses of migrants arriving in a society which is being built up and transformed at high speed, and where there are conflicts between norms of different tribal or peasant groups and those inherent in an alien urban pattern,

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28/ Thailand, Ministry of Interior, Department of Public Welfare, "The Treatment of Juvenile Delinquents and Pre-Delinquents", Bangkok, 1958, p. 10.

29/ "Juvenile Vagrancy", op. cit.

may find themselves in a situation of moral confusion and social normlessness, impeding adjustment."30/ In Asian countries this had led to a weakening of the primary group organization and of its controls, and also to friction causing irritability and perturbation seeking an outlet in some form of delinquency.

118. It has been observed in Japan also that "the conflict between the pre-modern and the modern cultures is regarded as one of the most serious causes of juvenile delinquency. Japanese youths have been strongly influenced especially by foreign ideologies and other cultures... There are at the same time traditional Japanese cultures which are lagging far behind, but which maintain a strong appeal to Japanese youth."31/

119. In a recent study of migrants to the national capital of India, the higher rate of criminality among them was interpreted thus: "The main reason lies in the tragic dichotomy between the old customs and moral values of the migrants and economic and social distress resulting from forced rootlessness. Every human being admires honesty, courage, decency and more so the simple villager. But the regard for these customary norms of behaviour is set aside by a powerful desire to gain rewards without effort; particularly when very little can be earned by honest efforts and there is almost no social control to curb the criminal instinct. Most of the small crimes committed by the migrants (ticketless travel, trespass and illegal occupation of lands for housing, small thefts, rowdyism, etc.) were directly connected with the hazards of the migratory life. Even the others which look more serious have their roots in the same situation."32/

120. In Hong Kong, "apart from those who had no desire for honest work, there were a very great number who could not find it, including many exiles soured by adversity and far from being assimilated in their new environment."33/

30/ Special Study on Social Conditions in Non-Self-Governing Territories (United Nations publication, Sales No.: 56.VI.B.1), p. 69.

31/ Glimpses of Social Work in Japan, op. cit., p. 119.

32/ M.B. Deshmukh, "A Study of Floating Migration", in the Social Implications of Industrialization and Urbanization, (UNESCO, Calcutta, 1956), p. 218.

33/ Hong Kong, Annual Departmental Report of Commissioner of Police, 1956-57, p. 3.

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(f) Other factors

121. Among other factors which account for the emergence of crime in urban areas may be mentioned the following:

(i) The educational system as it obtains in schools may not be related to the needs of the students, and there is often a lack of personnel and adequate facilities for all children who may be desirous of studying;

(ii) The low quality of literature and entertainment in urban areas, especially crime films, indecent shows, horror comics and immoral literature;

(iii) Administrative failures, such as scandal among high officials, inadequate police protection and patrolling, administrative slackness, and undue tolerance of some offences;

(iv) Legal shortcomings, such as loopholes in legislation, and inadequate provisions in the statutes.

CHAPTER III

PREVENTION

122. The Asian countries are going through a process of economic development and social change. In some of them, industrialization and urbanization are taking place rapidly and in some moderately fast. But these changes, irrespective of their rate, have tended to bring in their wake effects which may be beneficial or detrimental. Of particular importance are the ill effects which they exert in the form of criminality, prostitution and social and personal disorganization, which produce, as it were, a "cumulative effect which increases the difficulty and magnitude of the corrective actions which will be required"[1/] adequately to meet the situation and make the changeover a desirable one.

123. There are, however, some difficulties in implementing the appropriate corrective measures, for there is yet no clear-cut theory of crime causation in under-developed countries. "Delinquent behaviour is not an isolated phenomenon and cannot be dealt with in a manner unrelated to the social matrix. It presents different facets and creates different problems for remedial or preventive action, depending upon the presence or absence in the social structure of various situations which may either be conducive to the spread of delinquency or, on the contrary, curb its growth."[2/]

124. The UN/UNESCO Seminar on Urbanization, held in Bangkok in 1956, rightly stressed that "in formulating policies and programmes for the prevention of criminality, the following considerations are important: (a) the limits of prevention are to be determined, inter alia, by the necessity of protecting human rights against the theoretical and practical excesses of some preventive programmes and policies; (b) although social programmes, if well planned and implemented, must have a salutary effect in the prevention of crime and delinquency, it would be erroneous to conclude that by themselves these programmes may eradicate crime to any significant degree; and (c) the prevention of crime can be achieved only

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1/ Sattareh, Farman, "The Social Problems of Urbanization in Iraq", (United Nations, Report No.TAA/IRQ/4, 7 August 1958, p. 20.

2/ Special Study on Social Conditions in Non-Self-Governing Territories (United Nations publication, Sales No.: 58.VI.B.2), p.95.

if there is a co-ordination between social policies and programmes and those specifically directed towards the prevention of crime and the treatment of offenders."[3]

125. The underlying principle of any preventive work, let alone prevention in the field of crime and delinquency, is that those responsible for the planning of preventive programmes should first and foremost arm themselves with a comprehensive knowledge of the problem to be tackled in all its ramifications and its relationship to other conditions and problems. This thorough understanding of the different aspects of the problem is necessary if a realistic approach to the problem is to be made. Such a realistic approach can be made only when basic and reliable data on the existing situation are collected, processed, analysed and interpreted. This can be done only through research programmes. "Such research and study will also provide guides to the effectiveness of the work performed by the public and private agencies and to the effective co-ordination of the work of the concerned authorities."[4] Thus, research and action must go hand in hand. In greater detail, these studies should aim at objectively studying the underlying factors and relationships, the extent and incidence of crime; and some major characteristics of offenders, recidivists, etc.

1. Economic Approach

126. To the extent that urbanization and industrialization are related, and to the extent that problems of urbanization and its ramifications are linked with economic factors the resulting problems call for a broad economic approach.

127. If the disruptive aspects of industrialization are to be prevented, it is necessary to bring about this process in relation to traditional cultural patterns of the society into which it is to be introduced. It is essential to develop a procedure in which the industrialization process is least detrimental and most beneficial to the society involved. For this purpose it is necessary to know not only the patterns or ways of living and the traditions of the society involved, but also the possible implications of the introduction of technology, however primitive it may be.

3/ "Urbanization and crime and delinquency in Asia and the Far East", Urbanization in Asia and the Far East, Proceedings of the Joint UN/UNESCO Seminar, Bangkok, 8-18 August 1956 (UNESCO, SS.57.V.7.A), p. 246.

4/ Thailand, Ministry of Interior, Department of Public Welfare, "The Treatment of Juvenile Delinquents and Pre-Delinquents", Bangkok, 1958.

128. Where industrialization has already been introduced and urbanization has already made its mark, economic planning will have to take the form of providing more employment opportunities through industrial development and expansion, including the encouragement of small-scale and cottage industries.

129. A parallel programme in the rural areas, to increase agricultural productivity, may also be instituted. This assures higher rural incomes and levels of living. In Thailand, this is being done primarily through self-help land settlement schemes. "The initiation of an over-all national programme of rural development to improve standards of living in rural areas"[5/] should go a long way towards the control of urbanization. Governments' land distribution programmes for the settlement of landless farmers upon individual land allotments should be extended and expedited as in Thailand.

130. Another major aspect of crime prevention is in relation to environmental and social welfare services. "It is essential that proper measures be taken to ensure that economic changes do not create social distress; that families in areas undergoing industrialization are properly housed and settled; that socially pathological conditions such as delinquency and narcotic addiction do not undermine the efficiency of the population."[6/] The economic and educational standards of the people have to be raised and the children protected from ill health. Occupations should be provided to those who come from broken homes. Also, the police, the court and the gaol should be reformed. Above all, the attitude of the people towards ex-prisoners should be changed for the better.

131. Some of these aspects will now be discussed in greater detail.

2. Town planning and housing

132. One of the effective preventive measures that may be undertaken to combat crime and delinquency is that of controlled urbanization. This implies, among other things, that population movement to the urban areas should be restricted and controlled, the agglomeration of population prevented, and personal and social disorganization caused by maladjustment checked. Such restrictions on movement should be guided primarily by the absorptive capacity of the urban areas concerned

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5/ Sattareh, Farman, "The Social Problems of Urbanization in Iraq", op. cit., p. 22.

6/ Margaret Mead (ed.), Cultural Patterns and Technical Change (UNESCO, 1953), p. 26.

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and their level of economic well-being. This restriction on the inflow to urban areas may be brought about not only by controlling movement, but also by disseminating factual information in rural areas about urban life and the hardships that may be encountered by the potential migrant. It may be further strengthened by providing the rural areas with some of the amenities that are available to the urban people. Similarly, the economic conditions of the rural areas should be improved so as to provide higher standards of living. Such a programme for developing the rural areas calls for the initiation and encouragement of rural and cottage industries, the introduction of better techniques of agriculture, and the starting of co-operatives and of agricultural institutes so that farmers and their children may benefit from advances in knowledge about agricultural methods.

133. It is obvious that these plans may not be as effective as one might expect them to be, for no matter what the incentives provided in the rural areas, the glamour of the city and the hopes of a better life there will draw a large number of people to the urban centres.

134. In primate cities and other large urban areas over-population is already a major problem. To make the best of the existing situation, it will be necessary to undertake town planning, a major aspect of which is the eradication of slums. Areas which are recognized as slums, or as being overcrowded and not conducive to healthy living, should also be rehabilitated. This may also call for the decentralization of industries.

135. A further aspect of town planning is the need to provide adequate housing facilities for all people: for, the provision of housing, sanitation, water and transport at a minimum standard, plays a fundamental role in the process of the worker's integration into urban life. It is also necessary to facilitate the construction of dwellings. At the same time, Governments should as far as possible, undertake subsidized housing schemes. It is encouraging to note that this is being done in many of the Asian countries; special mention may be made of Singapore and of India, particularly Bombay and Calcutta. Thus, "appropriate housing and schooling arrangements, which permit the unity of such a group of rural migrants to survive during a period of adjustment, afford another possible way of meeting such a situation. But it must be recognized in addition that such a change of habitat also involves a loosening of habit which can be favourably utilized."7/

7/ Margaret Mead (ed.), Cultural Pattern and Technical Change, op. cit., p. 13.

3. Community services

136. The need for community services as a mode of tackling social disorganization cannot be overstressed. If crime is to be prevented and the number of delinquents reduced, many social agencies must be started and the existing ones improved and expanded. These agencies should cover a variety of programmes, such as helping their members fully to utilize their leisure time, and providing child and family welfare services, special services for migrants and low-income groups, and other specific services for the treatment of criminals and delinquents. With regard to recreational facilities, the need for open spaces, parks, and clubs has been felt in all Asian countries.

137. In order to prevent unnecessary duplication of services, proper co-ordination through a central agency would be worth while, even if this calls for the organization of a large number of social services. "...it is generally accepted that in combating the deleterious influences of urbanization on the rural migrant, broad programmes of social services have a significant role to play."[8/] These services would not only help the rural people to "grapple with the complexities of city life when they move to it, but also the centralization and absorption that the city implies would be somewhat minimized and a better social and economic equilibrium between urban and rural areas obtained."[9/]

4. Education

138. Literacy and education must always play an important role in the prevention of criminality, and steps should be taken to see that the provision of educational facilities keeps up with the pace of urbanization. This may be done by setting up more schools with better equipment and personnel.

139. In any effort to improve the earning capacity and general usefulness of migrants from rural areas, it is essential that vocational and guidance centres should be established. Steps should also be taken towards improving the knowledge and understanding of the public regarding the custody and care of children, including helping the public to understand the needs, development, and different problems of the child.[10/]

8/ "Urbanization and crime and delinquency in Asia and the Far East", Urbanization in Asia and the Far East, op. cit., p. 247.

9/ Ibid.

10/ Thailand, Ministry of Interior, Department of Public Welfare, "The Treatment of Juvenile Delinquents and Pre-Delinquents", op. cit.

5. Family

140. The major social institution which is adversely affected by social change and economic development is the family; this fact in turn, as already seen, contributes largely to the problem of delinquency. Where the traditional family structure, with parental authority still holding sway over its members, continues to exist, children have been well looked after and social control has been effective. But, unfortunately, the urban family has to face many problems which tend to affect the upbringing of children. Even among urban families "the children of the permanently settled urban families belonging to the lowest income groups are much better looked after as compared with the migrant children. A high percentage of them can attend the primary school, while in the case of the younger ones there are at least well-known neighbours to look after them in case every adult member of the family goes to work."[11/] The problem of bringing up children is a transitional one for the migrant families. But it is during this transitional period that much of the damage to children may be done.

141. Some of the major services that have been recommended to help the migrant family in its adjustment are proper guidance by family welfare services, and temporary allowances till the family is settled in friendly surroundings. Other measures have also been suggested to make the institutions of marriage and the family itself secure in the urban areas. For this purpose the simplification of marriage formalities, control of divorce, introduction of grants to widows and destitute children, assistance to poor families, and allowances for wives and minor children who do not work, are indicated. Family and child care centres also ameliorate the difficult conditions of life and help parents to take care of their children.

142. In addition, social services may also be initiated to provide consultation services for parents and teachers who, in turn, would be able to help the children to adjust themselves to their families, environment, groups and schools.

6. Children

143. The well-being of the child depends on the extent of the support he gets from his parents and the confidence he has in them. It is necessary to take care of the recreational needs of children and to provide efficient medical attention. It is

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11/ M.B. Deshmukh, "A Study of Floating Migration" in the Social Implications of Industrialization and Urbanization, (UNESCO, Calcutta, 1956), p. 215.

noteworthy that a lot of work is being done for children in most of the Asian countries. In Singapore, "three new hostels were opened in 1956 which serve the dual purpose of remand homes and probation hostels."[12/]

144. In Thailand, "there are such services as probation, family welfare services, counselling, employment services, and vocational training. The welfare of juvenile delinquents and pre-delinquents is the responsibility of the Division of the Child Welfare Services."[13/]

7. Individual adjustment

145. While social services for the family would be useful in helping it to stabilize its position in an alien environment, there are some problems peculiar to urban areas which can be properly dealt with only through the individual. He has to be aided to adjust himself to the new setting and to adapt himself to the new codes, which are quite different from the ones with which he was familiar in the rural traditional setting where patriarchal authority guided and controlled him in all spheres of life. The transitional period in which he must acclimatize himself to the urban norms is a critical one for him.

146. "When formulating a social policy in order to minimize the disruption caused by rapid and unplanned growth of urban society, efforts should be made to devise ways and means by which the rural migrants to cities will be able to enter into the urban setting better equipped to deal with circumstances of city life and the cities will themselves be better equipped to receive them."[14/]

147. Programmes which aim at helping the new migrant to adjust himself primarily cover such aspects as the provision of adequate accommodation, employment facilities, dissemination of factual information about city life and the demands it makes on an individual, financial help, if necessary, and so on.

148. It is, therefore, heartening to note that some countries of Asia have programmes along these lines. In Bangkok (Thailand), for example, "the Department of Public Welfare maintains an information and guidance centre at the railway

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12/ International Survey of Programmes of Social Development (United Nations publication, Sales No.: 59.IV.2) p. 111.

13/ Thailand, Ministry of Interior, Department of Public Welfare, "The Treatment of Juvenile Delinquents and Pre-Delinquents", op. cit.

14/ "Urbanization and crime and delinquency in Asia and the Far East", Urbanization in Asia and the Far East, op. cit., p. 249.

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terminal to assist migrants coming to Bangkok and those willing to return to the rural areas. Migrants are interviewed by social workers about their difficulties, cause of migration and need for services. They receive help in finding jobs, free shelter provided in a 'transit camp' near the railway station; and food, or a small daily money allowance in lieu thereof."15/

149. In Bandung (Indonesia), "the Municipality has built barracks for the temporary accommodation of poor migrants without relatives or friends in the city....Similar camps have been organized at Djakarta and Jogjakarta where children are sent to schools and adults without work are given a brief training to facilitate their adjustment to urban conditions."16/

8. Legislation

150. Legislation to combat crime and delinquency and particularly juvenile delinquency, has been introduced in only some of the Asian countries. "Thailand has already used some of the foreign principles and methods of treatment such as the Central Children's and Juvenile Court, social investigation, probation, welfare services and vocational training. There are, in addition, laws governing these children and juveniles, namely the Penal Code.

> "The Thai government also demonstrated clearly the intention to solve this problem when the Children and Juvenile Courts Constitution Act of 1951 and the Children and Juvenile Court Procedure Act of 1951 were passed.
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> "In 1954, the legislature passed another law with the objective of providing for the protection and correction of children who, though having not yet committee offences, might be expected to do so. It is the Act of Providing Vocational Education to Some Types of Persons. By this law, the government appointed Committee is authorized to consider and give orders enforcing the children to be brought to training school. The Act, however, was repealed in 1956 on the grounds that it was not effectively enforced.
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> "The Children's Court, Thailand, focuses on rendering welfare services rather than imposing punishment on juvenile offenders." 17/

15/ International Survey of Programmes of Social Development, op. cit., p. 178.

16/ Ibid., p. 179.

17/ Thailand, Ministry of Interior, Department of Public Welfare, "The Treatment of Juvenile Delinquents and Pre-Delinquents", op. cit.

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150a. In Hong Kong, "previously a court had only two means of dealing with an offender over the age of twenty-one years; to inflict imprisonment or fine or to bind him over to keep the peace. There was no power to subject the offender to supervision over a period. The main purpose of the Probation of Offenders Ordinance, 1956, Hong Kong, is to extend the probation system to include adults."18/

151. Hong Kong made provision for the establishment of probation hostels in the above Act. The Protection of Women and Juvenile Ordinance of 1951, Hong Kong, contains extensive provisions designed to protect females, especially young girls, against exploitation. Under the provisions of this Ordinance, "the Director of Sovial Welfare exercises powers of supervision, etc., on behalf of children in need of care and protection; these include children who have been ill-treated or have been found wandering by the police, infants who have been abandoned by their parents and children whose parents or guardians are unfit to look after them properly. Cases of serious ill-treatment are normally brought before the court whilst those of mild ill-treatment are often dealt with by the Department."19/

152. In Japan, "The Children's Charter was promulgated in 1951 by the Children's Bureau of the Ministry of Welfare in collaboration with scholars and those with experience in the child welfare field:

> "There are many laws in Japan dealing with the problems of juvenile delinquency through the creation of various organs such as the Juvenile Department of the Court of Domestic Relations, the Juvenile Distinguishing Station, and the Child Guidance Clinic." 20/

153. "Delinquency rates may not be lowered much in the long run save by basic changes in our society; either less accent on achievement, to reduce the status anxiety of those who do not achieve; or more equal opportunity for achievement, to reduce the discontent of able youngsters among the underprivileged; or both. Since values change only very slowly, the point of maximum leverage is, indeed, the social structure."21/

18/ Hong Kong, Annual Departmental Report of Commissioner of Police, 1956-57, p. 6.

19/ Hong Kong, Annual Departmental Report of the Director of Social Welfare, 1957-58, p. 8.

20/ Glimpses of Social Work in Japan, op. cit., pp. 119 and 120.

21/ Harold L. Wilensky, and Charles N. Lebeaux, Industrial Society and Social Welfare, New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1958, p. 217.

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PART II

REPORT BY A.M. KHALIFA

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1. This report deals with the prevention of types of criminality resulting from social change and accompanying economic development in less developed countries, one of the most important problems of criminal policy today.

The approach to the problem of prevention and the formulation of preventive policies implies a study in causation with the purpose of establishing correlations between the various elements of social change on the one side and the different aspects of criminal phenomena on the other.

2. Accordingly, one chapter of this report is devoted to causation and reflects both the difficulties of methodology and data-collecting, and the present state of information on the subject.

3. In another chapter, the question of prevention is dealt with; in it are discussed some necessary prerequisites for securing a better understanding of the problem.

4. The present brief introductory chapter has seemed necessary in view of the desirability of a clear definition of the constituent elements of the study and the delimitation of its scope.

1. Economic development and industrialization

5. It is impossible to define economic development precisely or in absolute terms. It involves in particular an increase in productivity, a more efficient use of resources to produce more and better food, clothing, shelter and the other necessities and amenities of life, at a less heavy cost in human toil and hardship.

6. Technical improvement, which is the core of economic development, is as old as civilization and since time immemorial the ways of life of whole peoples have been transformed by the introduction of new tools and new technical procedures such as the plough, the domestication of animals, writing, printing, the use of steam, the factory assembly line, and the internal-combustion engine.

7. At the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, technology reached its most rapid phase in what has been christened the Industrial Revolution. Factories replaced human muscle by the power of falling

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water or steam and skilled craftsmen by machine; the methods of production were revolutionized and this change profoundly affected all the rest of man's life.

8. When we say of a society that it has passed through the Industrial Revolution we have in mind a definite picture of its life and power. We are thinking of a society that makes great use of machinery, conducts its operations in industry and commerce on a large scale, and supplies the needs of its simplest members by an elaborate series of world-wide exchanges.

9. Industrialization may be defined as a change in the economy characterized by the introduction of machinery, increased production of goods to be sold at a profit and the employment of wage-earning labour in each unit of production.

10. This gives a broader meaning to the word industrialization than is common in ordinary use, for it includes the "technification" of agriculture and even of services, in addition to production as such. On the other hand this type of productive technology does not include various social techniques such as administrative organization, human relations or public relations.

11. But it is a part of industrialization, as is more or less mechanized agriculture, which could be the initial stage in the industrialization process. Further, processing industries connected with agricultural produce, extractive industries and the construction of lines of communication among others come under the heading of industrialization proper.

2. Urbanization

12. Rural areas may be described as those inhabited by a population living mainly on the exploitation of natural resources and organized into diverse functional groups varying in size and degree of concentration.

13. The urban milieu can be defined as a built-up zone differentiated from the surrounding areas by a central function which is sufficiently developed and diversified to influence the way of life of the majority of the inhabitants.[1/]

14. Directly or indirectly, industrialization is related to urbanization. If we can speak of an exclusively rural milieu in terms of the absence of

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1/ "Social Aspects of Industrialization in Africa South of the Sshara in Rural Areas", Report prepared by UNESCO (United Nations, A/AC.35/L.250) p. 5.

industries, we cannot, on the other hand, dissociate urbanization from industrialization.

15. The correlation of urbanization with industrialization is very high. A study of urbanization in all countries and territories of the world for 1950 showed a correlation of .86 with industrialization, as measured by the percentage of male workers engaged in non-agricultural pursuits.[2/]

16. Of course, the rapid growth of cities in the less developed countries is not always a result of industrialization or a consequence of economic policies and programmes. Political partition, the arrival of a great number of refugees or displaced persons, the achievement of political independence, political unrest, tense relations with other countries, crop failure, and a depressed level of rural living, may all contribute to rapid increases in urban population. But it should be remembered that industry, if not always the raison d'être of towns and cities, is the principal urbanizing force.

17. Unfortunately for one who wishes to make close comparisons, the definition of what constitutes urban population has not been by any means uniform from country to country. The most inclusive definition of urban population was that employed in Iceland, where all places of 300 inhabitants or more were counted as urban; and among the least inclusive definitions was that of the Netherlands, where a city had to have a population of 20,000 or more to be classified as a part of the urban area.

18. In addition to this demographic concept, urbanization means, from the point of view of the sociology of cultural change, a development towards a way of life - urbanism. Urbanism has often been described sociologically as consisting of the substitution of secondary for primary contacts, the weakening of bonds of kinship, the diminution of the social significance of the family, the disappearance of the neighbourhood, and the undermining of the traditional basis of social solidarity. Thus it is the concept of urbanism that is to be dealt with in analysing the relationships between criminality and social change accompanying economic development in less developed countries.

19. Mobility, impersonal relations, differential association, non-participation in community organizations, organized criminal culture, and a criminal social type, have all been identified as urban characteristics.

2/ George Balandier and others, Social, Economic and Technological Change : A Theoretical Approach, Paris, (International Social Science Council, 1958).

20. While urbanism, or that complex of traits which makes up the characteristic mode of life in cities, is not exclusive to settlements which are cities in the physical and demographic sense, these traits, nevertheless, find their most pronounced expression in such areas, especially in metropolitan cities.

3. The concept of under-development

21. It is customary to regard the Industrial Revolution as something that happened, changed the face of things, and then maintained a jog-trot pace far from revolutionary, at least in the Western world.

22. But scientific discovery continued and technology did not stop.

23. Having encroached on the work both of the skilled craftsman and of the unskilled, technology now goes on to find mechanical substitutes for the semi-skilled machine-tenders and the clerks. This is the culmination of the technological revolution, as far as the mechanized production of goods and services is concerned. Not only new machines but whole industrial plants are being designed for the purposes of the newcomer, automation.[3/]

24. What distinguishes machinery of the new type is that it takes over the responsibility of the human eye and brain. There is almost no limit to the possibility of substituting mechanical means for operations formerly directed by human eyes and executed by human fingers.

25. Certain countries, those which are powerfully equipped and have been the initiators of technological development, are now facing their second industrial revolution, the result of electronics, automation and the use of atomic energy.

26. It is therefore at present no longer relevant to use the term under-developed countries as a determinant of locality. The phenomenon of under-development, i.e., of non-adaptation to new stimuli of change, can be pointed out in all countries, though not in the same degree.

4. The scope of the present study

27. No society can pass directly from a primitive and simple economy to a complicated one. This process must be in some respects a gradual development.

3/ George Soule, What Automation Does to Human Beings, (London, Sidgwick and Jackson, 1956), p. 40.

28. In a pre-industrial society that strives for industrialization, dynamic factors result in enormous activity. It is the phase of transition which is the focus of this study, not the later process characterized by slower change and less instability, as in countries which have already had their full share of industrial development.

29. The study of the question of social disorganization is at its most interesting in newly industrialized areas. The Industrial Revolution in Europe was a cumulative process, spread over many decades, during which the whole social system gradually changed: it was preceded or accompanied by revolutions in agriculture, commerce, political systems and values, science, art and religion. In contemporary, newly industrialized areas, where rapid industrial expansion is under way, parallel changes in other sectors and other aspects of social life may lag far behind and fail to provide a basis for an integrated process of social and economic development.

30. The problem arises both in countries where a culture of alien origin is being superimposed on an indigenous culture and in independent countries retaining their root in traditional cultures.

31. Of all the criteria likely to enable us better to tackle the problem of social disorganization, two deserve special mention: juvenile delinquency and adult criminal behaviour, mainly because they are often the expression and the result of an apparent lack of adjustment on several other levels.

32. This study could not be reduced to a horizontal comparison between rural and urban criminality. Its subject is a dynamic process, and it must therefore be a vertical study dealing with the growth of a social phenomenon.

CHAPTER II

CAUSATION

1. Evaluation of data

33. Mere figures on juvenile delinquency and crime are difficult to use as they stand. They do not refer sufficiently to the social or the individual context, knowledge of which alone can allow scientific analysis. Statistics compiled for purely administrative needs cannot be used directly. The difficulties increase when the inquiry is dealing with countries which have to face up to problems of rapid economic development where social conditions often fluctuate.

34. Data presented from a number of urban areas in West and East Africa suggested that crude figures, on ill-defined samples, concerning, for example, juvenile delinquency and crime, are of very limited sociological value. Even when such incidents were reliably reported, their significance was very difficult to interpret without intensive study of the social context. Studies in this field should not therefore be of an ad hoc character.

35. The penal code in force might reflect norms that are not indigenous; the prohibition by these codes of certain conduct, however, is usually in agreement with the prevailing moral sense of the local population. Acts which are wrong according to the system of law in force may be considered normal with reference to the context of traditional society.

36. Thus, a crime may very well be considered as such only because there is a transfer from one system of law to another one incompatible with it.

37. A major hindrance to securing adequate statistical analysis to check the bearing of economic development and urbanization on crime and delinquency is the difficulty of establishing an urban-rural dichotomy.

38. There is no sharp line delimiting rural and urban areas but rather a continuum shading from the most urban to the most rural. Such a hazy condition in a basic classification impairs the reliability of statistical research in the field.

39. The report of the United Arab Republic: Egypt, for example, mentions that the urban figures do not include all the urban areas in Egypt, because it had been found that the criminal statistics available for some urban areas were intermixed with those of some rural areas.

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40. In addition to these specific considerations, it is widely admitted that, at present, statistics concerning social phenomena are full of shortcomings. As far as crime and delinquency are concerned, it would seem that the number of undetected cases, or of detected ones which are overlooked or tolerated, is far greater than the figures given in judicial and prison statistics. As regards police statistics, there again the number of cases undetected or not brought before the police is no minor matter. One example is sufficient: even in some highly developed countries many criminal deeds are perpetrated every day in the "business world". Furthermore, the growing interventionism of the State in many fields, especially industry and public works, offers easy abuse of opportunities to obtain advantages or benefits which, had they been more crudely or openly obtained, would have led to criminal procedures.[1/]

41. Moreover the degree and strictness of law enforcement differ from place to place. Thus, in Hong Kong, juveniles brought before the magistrates' courts reached the exceptionally high figure of over 55,000 in 1954/1955, although more than 90 per cent of them had committed only technical breaches of the law such as obstruction or hawking without a licence. A slight liberalization in the granting of hawkers' licences by the Government resulted in the decline of this figure to 30,947 in 1955/56.[2/]

42. In addition, penal systems differ and are sometimes divergent. The upper and lower age limits of juveniles vary in different countries and territories. In some countries, the category labelled "juveniles in need of care and protection" or "in moral danger" may not be legally considered delinquents and therefore may not be included in criminal statistics; in others, the number of cases may be greatly increased by the inclusion of specifically juvenile offences which laymen would not consider as delinquency, such as truancy, running away, being ungovernable, or acts of mischief such as are often common with children.

43. For these reasons, statistics for one country are not comparable with those for another. This is also sometimes true within the same country or territory at different periods.

1/ Manual Lopez-Rey, "New criminological approaches to the prevention of crime and the treatment of offenders". Paper submitted to the Second International Colloquium on Criminology, Copenhagen, October 1959 (mimeograph).

2/ Special Study on Social Conditions in Non-Self-Governing Territories, United Nations publication, Sales No.: 58.VI.B.2.

44. Statistical data must be cautiously interpreted. Although in a number of countries the urban incidence of crime and delinquency seems to be higher than the rural, it would be rather premature to reach any firm general conclusion in view of the incompleteness and lack of comparability of available data and of the difficulty of distinguishing, as a point of departure, precisely between the characteristics of urban and of rural life. Under these conditions comparisons between country and city cannot be made with accuracy.

45. The statistical data presented here tend to search for correlations by comparing crime figures between urban and rural areas over an extended period, thus leading toward the establishment of a link between the relative rise in urban figures and urbanization or industrialization.

1. Yugoslavia

46. Official statistics reveal the following figures for the period 1950-1956, in respect of which statistics have already been compiled. In 1950, the total number of offenders sentenced was 91,024, i.e., 558 per 100,000 inhabitants (in each case the total number of inhabitants is taken irrespective of age); in 1951, the total number of offenders sentenced was 100,290, i.e., 607 per 100,000 inhabitants; in 1952, it was 131,180, i.e., 785 per 100,000 inhabitants; in 1953, it was 113,413, i.e., 671 per 100,000 inhabitants; in 1954, it was 120,131, i.e., 693 per 100,000 inhabitants; in 1955, it was 139,105, i.e., 734 per 100,000 inhabitants; in 1956, it was 134,289, i.e., 702 per 100,000 inhabitants.

47. In particular, an increase can be noted in offences against property, offences involving bodily harm, and offences against the reputation of persons. Thus, the total number of persons sentenced for offences against property was 17,092 in 1950 (18.7 per cent of the total number of offenders sentenced in that year), 25,055 in 1951 (25 per cent of the total number of offenders sentenced in that year), 28,821 in 1952 (22 per cent of the total number of offenders sentenced in that year), 26,083 in 1953 (23 per cent of the total number of offenders sentenced in that year), 27,867 in 1954 (23.3 per cent of the total number of offenders sentenced in that year), 30,300 in 1955 (23.5 per cent of the total number of offenders sentenced in that year) and lastly, 31,113 in 1956 (23.6 per cent of the total number of offenders sentenced in that year).

48. The same trend may be observed in the case of offences against life and the person. In 1950, the number of persons sentenced for such offences was 11,895

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(13 per cent of the total number of persons sentenced in that year); in 1951, the figure was 14,628 (14.5 per cent of the total number of persons sentenced in that year); in 1952, it was 21,791 (16.6 per cent of the total number of persons sentenced in that year); in 1953, it was 23,442 (20.6 per cent of the total number of persons sentenced in that year); in 1954, it was 27,726 (23 per cent of the total number of persons sentenced in that year); in 1955, it was 30,389 (21.7 per cent of the total number of persons sentenced in that year) and lastly, in 1956, it was 27,899 (20.8 per cent of the total number of persons sentenced in that year).

49. The same is true of offences against the reputation of persons. In 1950, the number of persons sentenced for such offences was 14,858 (16.4 per cent of the total number of offenders sentenced in that year); in 1951, the figure was 17,943 (17.9 per cent of the total number of offenders sentenced in that year); in 1952, the figure was 23,576 (17.1 per cent of the total number of offenders sentenced in that year); in 1953, it was 24,816 (21.8 per cent of the total number of offenders sentenced in that year); in 1954, it was 26,519 (22.2 per cent of the total number of offenders sentenced in that year); in 1955, it was 29,961 (21.6 per cent of the total number of offenders sentenced in that year) and lastly, in 1956, it was 27,812 (20.7 per cent of the total number of offenders sentenced in that year).

50. As regards offences against the national economy, no general tendency to increase was observed, but there were marked variations in certain years.

2. United Arab Republic (Egypt)

51. To find out the trends in crime in the urban areas as well as in the non-urban areas during the period 1947 to 1957, the year of 1947, in regard to felonies or misdemeanours (less serious offences), has been taken as a basis for comparison.

52. The trend in felonies during this period can be summarized as follows:

(1) Felonies were generally decreasing during the period from 1947 to 1952. The rate of decrease in the non-urban areas was greater than in the urban areas. The years of 1950 and 1952 were exceptions.

(2) Since 1952 felonies have been generally increasing.

(3) The rate of increase in felonies was greater in the urban areas than in the non-urban areas. The year of 1956 was an exception.

53. Felonies in general tend to increase more in the urban areas and to decrease more in the non-urban areas.

54. The trend in misdemeanours, during the same period, can be summarized as follows:

(1) Misdemeanours were generally increasing from 1949 until 1956. They sharply decreased during the year of 1957.

(2) Misdemeanours in the non-urban areas were more gradual in their increase than those in the urban areas. During the year 1957, misdemeanours decreased more in the non-urban areas than in the urban areas.

55. Misdemeanours in general then tend to increase more in the non-urban areas than in the urban areas.

As for the nature of the crime:

A. Types of crime in Egypt in general:

56. Criminal statistics for the year 1957 indicated that for every 100,000 inhabitants 52 felonies and 1,851 misdemeanours were committed.

The felonies most often committed were:

(1)	Murder	(9 cases)
(2)	Aggravated assault	(8 cases)
(3)	Attempted murder	(6 cases)
(4)	Theft	(6 cases)
(5)	Arson, uprooting plants or poisoning animals	(5 cases)

The misdemeanours most often committed were:

(1)	Theft	(398 cases)
(2)	Assualt	(357 cases)
(3)	Unintentional injury	(148 cases)
(4)	Fraud	(85 cases)

B. Types of crime in the urban areas:

57. A comparison of the criminal statistics for felonies in the year 1957 with those for the year 1947 shows that:

(1) Crimes against the person, such as murder, attempted murder and aggravated assault, were fewer in 1957 than in 1947. The rate of

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decrease was greater in the urban areas (-22%) than in the non-urban areas (-15%).

(2) Crimes against property, such as theft, attempted theft, arson, poisoning animals, and uprooting plans, were fewer in 1957 than in 1947. The rate of decrease was greater in the non-urban areas (-53%) than in the urban areas (-27%).

(3) Sex crimes were fewer in 1957 than in 1947. The rate of decrease was nearly the same in both urban areas (-27%) and non-urban areas (-28%).

(4) Crimes against the public interest, such as bribery, forgery, and embezzlement, were greater in 1957 than in 1947.

58. Crimes such as indecent acts, defamation, insult and vagrancy greatly increased in the urban areas and decreased in the non-urban areas. In contrast, crimes, such as poisoning animals, uprooting plants, assault and resistance, manslaughter, and theft, decreased very much in the urban areas. They also decreased in the non-urban areas with the exception of assault and resistance which increased by 303 per cent.

Changes in felony rates 1947-1957

Type of Offence	Urban areas	Rural areas
Murder	-12%	-11%
Attempted murder	-24%	+ 5%
Aggravated assault (resulting in death)	-21%	-29%
Aggravated assault	-30%	-25%
Theft	-21%	-38%
Attempted theft	-10%	-60%
Arson, poisoning animals, uprooting plants	-51%	-62%

Changes in misdemeanour rates 1947-1957

Type of Offence	Urban areas	Rural areas
Assault and resistance	- 9%	+ 3%
Manslaughter	- 8%	- 6%
Bodily injury	+17%	+23%
Unintentional bodily injury	+10%	+13%
Indecent act	+235%	-17%
Libel and slander	+56%	-11%
Theft	- 7%	-10%

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Type of Offence	Urban areas	Rural areas
Poisoning animals and uprooting plants	- 40%	- 1%
Vagrancy	+ 47%	- 12%

3. Union of South Africa

Prosecutions in proportion to population

	Estimated population	Prosecutions	Per 1,000
1935	8,688,500	692,621	80
1940	10,341,200	831,345	80
1945	11,248,000	856,349	76
1950	12,789,000	1,183,186	92
1955	14,126,000	1,649,893	117

Statistics of serious crime

(A redefinition of "serious crime" took place in 1948-1949, a large number of offences were included in the new definition)

Year	Cases reported
1940	49,411
1945	69,036
1950	148,786
1955	193,986

59. The data on stabbimg may be very revealing. In 1940, the total number of cases of stabbing was 1,359, and of this number of accused persons, 188 were women. In 1945, the number was 2,475 (women 410). In 1950 it had risen to 4,336 (women 518). In 1955 it had reached 6,080 (women 888). That there has been a considerable increase in crimes of violence is further indicated by the increase in criminal acts of violence resulting in death: 2,544 in 1950; 3,639 in 1955.

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Cases of particular offences 1948-1957

		1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957
(1)	Gangsterism	12	18	16	13	50	48	49	14	16	74
(2)	Rape	1,197	1,415	1,547	1,533	1,655	2,119	2,636	2,684	2,586	2,656
(3)	Murder	2,526	2,534	2,585	2,788	3,189	3,047	2,887	2,619	3,010	3,845
(4)	Second degree murder	489	576	560	552	710	794	900	916	969	828
(5)	Stealing	18,660	16,893	15,795	16,336	14,929	16,754	19,709	21,432	21,845	23,573
(6)	Snatching of property	691	613	563	547	625	630	653	624	733	1,043
(7)	Robbery	899	923	1,000	1,225	1,203	1,185	1,422	1,606	1,851	2,131
(7)	Banditry	3,145	2,684	1,978	1,920	1,926	1,670	1,586	1,771	2,376	3,807
(9)	Threatening with intent to rob	130	97	85	78	95	100	110	80	88	149
(10)	Swindling	1,084	1,240	1,217	1,124	1,037	1,304	1,509	1,683	2,687	2,013

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4. Thailand

Total number of offences

Urban and rural areas

Year	Number of cases	
	Bangkok Dhonburi	Provincial area
1948	42,276	183,887
1949	35,948	210,814
1950	56,205	204,090
1951	55,333	184,774
1952	61,057	188,333
1953	151,268	242,282
1954	130,880	255,888
1955	142,172	264,547
1956	201,004	315,849
1957	139,618	293,454

60. Records indicate that in the Bangkok and Dhonburi areas there were 1,115 cases of juvenile delinquency in 1952; 1,071 in 1953; 1,203 in 1954; 1,288 in 1955; 1,580 in 1956; and 1,356 in 1957.

5. Republic of Korea

Types	Number of cases	
	1956	1957
Theft	9,786	9,881
Injury	4,343	6,339
Stolen goods	950	1,634
Fraud	772	1,169
Embezzlement and malversation	711	1,187
Robbery	591	769
Violence	505	963
Threat	420	571
Homicide	357	-
Bribery	247	383

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Types	Number of cases	
	1956	1957
Gambling	-	1,456
Others	5,709	7,114
Total	24,391	31,466

61. In the case of juvenile offenders as well, theft cases were very numerous and violence was very infrequent as shown in the following table:

Juvenile offenders: number of cases handled

	1956	1957
Theft	2,422	3,564
Threat	168	116
Robbery	141	106
Injury	140	121
Violence	40	41
Others	320	502
Total	3,231	4,600

62. It is quite clear that the above figures for five countries could not meet all the requirements of the present investigation. Firstly, the areas of adult criminality, juvenile delinquency and prostitution are not fully covered. In fact, only the Thai report contains figures on juvenile delinquency and no report contains any figures on prostitution. Secondly, there are gaps in the data; some figures, for example the material on the Republic of Korea, cover only two or three recent years because previous statistics were lost during hostilities. Other figures, while covering a period of ten or more years, sometimes give only total crime rates and thus are not refined enough to be of substantial help.

63. It must be acknowledged that, by ordinary standards, there is at present just not enough material for a thorough statistical study of crime trends. This is particularly true with regard to data on the nature of offences and offenders.

64. Thus, in any consideration of criminal statistical data for countries undergoing economic development, although they seem to show in most cases a continual rise in juvenile delinquency and adult crime, it is neither possible to deny the influence nor to accept it unquestioningly.

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65. The same is largely true of statistics on the subject in already industrialized countries; it must be remembered, however, that those countries are usually better equipped technically and are thus able to use more efficient methods of statistical investigation.

66. Statistical correlations may lend some support to the hypothesis that increasing urbanization will cause an increase in crime, but a statistical correlation is certainly not a proof, and the long time variations in the crime rates may very well be explained in other ways. Over a period of five to ten decades innumerable other factors which have not yet been observed or analysed may influence the development.

67. Yet quite often industrial development and the consequent rapid growth of urban society in recent years, particularly in the less developed countries, is regarded as having a close association with the appearance of, or increase in, criminality and juvenile delinquency.

68. The Yugoslav report expressly stated that "the development of criminality and the total figures for crime in the post-war period confirm the theory that economic development and social changes have, at the outset, an inevitable effect on criminality."

69. The South African report, in referring to the supposed relation between urbanization and industrialization on the one hand and crime on the other, states that "South Africa provides a very typical example of the reality of a link between the two phenomena. Only the mention that, in 1912, 46 persons per thousand were prosecuted for an offence, and that in 1955 the number had risen to 117 per thousand, is a clear indication of a trend in the incidence of antisocial behaviour."

70. The Thai report points to the strong evidence suggesting such a relationship and finds it safe to conclude that "the growth of urbanization, especially around the Bangkok metropolitan area, has resulted in increasing crime rates in the cities."

2. Misconception of the influence of industrialization

71. Industrialization itself is not justly to be regarded as producing criminality; that is, it is not *per se* a criminogenic factor. It is essential to distinguish between a factor which contains a force of causation, and a condition, which may encourage the emergence or the play of such factors.

Industrialization consists of a certain type of economic development which does not necessarily create, or is not necessarily accompanied by, certain factors encouraging crime.

72. It is not true to say that overcrowding, slum conditions and squalor, unemployment, poverty, destitution, delinquency and crime, various forms of labour exploitation, lack of sanitary arrangements, ill health, and all the other well-known characteristics often associated with rapid urbanization are inherent in the process of industrialization.

73. Indeed, some of them could be related less to the growth of industry itself than to one or other of the many political, cultural, legal or intellectual changes that might accompany that growth.[3/]

74. For example, the loss of traditional forms of social control and the emergence of anti-social behaviour, often considered to be among the direct results of industrialization, are also known to occur simply through the introduction of a system of law which undermines the authority of the elders in the pre-industrial community.

75. Even more striking, a war or civil dispute with resort to arms might produce evil social effects which might afterwards be mistakenly attributed to the process of industrialization.

76. There is need to curb the current tendency of ascribing to technological change some of the ramifications more appropriately to be identified with political and administrative changes.

77. The report from the Republic of Korea points out such factors as it states that "the highest rate of crimes in the theft and robbery /category/ were directly or indirectly related to economic difficulties of a particular group. This group consists of migrant refugees who failed to adjust to new environments, be it rural or urban, and ex-servicemen and disabled ex-servicemen who are bitter and find little place in the society in which they were once members." Or again that "moral deterioration caused by political, economic and social disorders have precipitated the present higher rate of crime."

78. It is, however, not to be implied that economic development gives rise to no social difficulties. It is inevitable, during the transition phase, that serious problems of maladjustment should arise. In a situation in which the social

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3/ Processes and Problems of Industrialization in Under-developed Countries (United Nations publication, Sales No.: 1955.II.B.1), p. 119.

structure is seriously maladjusted because of the rapidity and disparity in the rate of social change, the inevitable result is some degree of social disorganization. By the very nature of the social process, depressions are as normal as prosperity, social disorganization is as normal as social organization, and social change is as normal as social stability. Once the transition period has passed, new forms of equilibrium come into being.

79. But the nature and gravity of the changes in structure and the disorganization suffered by communities in a country which is being developed and modernized, and the precise relationship of the rapid growth of urban society in recent years to the increase in adult crime and juvenile delinquency, are yet to be adequately determined. Conclusive findings must await further study and improved statistical techniques.

80. Despite present shortcomings of research, however, it is apparent from authoritative reports and from the testimony of experienced observers that the relationship is a close one, that many types of crime are distinctively urban, that juvenile delinquency especially is an increasing problem in countries undergoing rapid social change and economic development, and that juvenile delinquency is to be identified as a peculiarly urban phenomenon in these countries.[4/]

3. Causation

81. A social phenomenon currently associated with economic development is rural-urban migration. The general or partial under-development of the rural areas encourages large-scale migration towards the industrial centres. With the progress of economic development, the national rate of rural-urban migration begins to rise. As more cities and towns come into existence, and as those already existing grow rapidly, the volume becomes large in relation to the total population.

82. When, finally, urbanization has reached the point where a substantial proportion of the people already live in towns and cities, the section of the population in agriculture has become so drastically reduced that it can no longer send many persons to the urban centres.

4/ Urbanization in Asia and the Far East: Proceedings of the Joint UN/UNESCO Seminar, Bangkok, 8-18 August 1956 (UNESCO, SS.57.V.7.A).

83. Any general proposition about internal migration is hard to prove because of the difficulties of measurement. But one cannot doubt that it is unquestionably linked to industrialization and urbanization and has most complex relationships with these two processes. Research into the more significant correlations is difficult and can hardly be undertaken on the basis of knowledge now at hand.

84. In a number of national reports, population increase in urban areas is clearly demonstrated. The report from Yugoslavia states that, according to statistical data, industrial growth and the investment in new branches of the economy greatly exceed the level of Yugoslav pre-war industry. This intensive industrialization relied especially on newly-trained workers who, for the most part, were drawn from villages. The pattern and nature of the urban population changed rapidly. In figures, this represents an increase of 30 per cent over the pre-war urban population; in some places, particularly in the great industrial centres, the increase amounts to 50 per cent and sometimes more.

85. In the Republic of Korea, the population increase in urban areas jumped from 11.6 per cent of the total in 1940 to 17.7 per cent of the total in 1952 and to 31.3 per cent of the total population in 1955.

86. As for the Egyptian region of the United Arab Republic, during the last fifty years the rate of urban dwellers has been gradually increasing. The census figures show that the rate of increase was 19 per cent in 1917, 21 per cent in 1927, 25 per cent in 1937 and 31 per cent in 1947. The rate for the 1957 census has been estimated at 33 per cent. All these rates exceed those of the general population increase.

87. In the Union of South Africa, in 1904, the urban population was less than a quarter of the total; in 1951 it was 42.6 per cent.

88. In our search for criminogenic factors in economically developing societies, we have to bear in mind that the social implications of technological development present us with a complex system of causality; it remains impossible to foresee all the consequences of technological change, and it seems difficult to distinguish clearly all the social conditions which have preceded it. The situation is quite different in developed countries (where many factors remain constant despite the growth of technology) from what it is in countries undergoing

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development, where many different changes are occurring all at once, and are conditioned, not only by the progress and spread of technology, but also by cultural contacts and even by social and political reforms.[5/]

89. There are two criminogenic factors, the consequences of rapid and unorganized internal migration, that are worth considering in greater detail. These are cultural shock and economic distress.

(a) Cultural shock

90. A revolution in technology was the heart of the process which transformed the Middle Ages into the modern world, although, to be sure, the process included other elements, such as new ideas, social mores, and economic and political institutions.

91. The dominance of one people by another, population balances, dynasties, and entire religious systems have been upset by some change in technology, just as the inventions which underlie technological change have themselves been the results of changing conceptions of nature and of man.

92. The dynamic nature of society involves a constant rearrangement of its constituent elements. The social change resulting from these rearrangements brings about the dissolution of institutional relationships and behaviour patterns which were once an integral part of the social structure.

93. After a rapid change, new patterns are not easily established and a society may carry on under norms and definitions that belong to a type that is gone. This is a variable generally present in social shocks such as wars, military defeats and revolutions: norms become obsolete before new norms come into being.

94. The failure of non-material culture to keep abreast of material culture accounts for part of the disruption. Nothing changes so slowly as an idea. Changes in material culture meet with less opposition because the advantages of new inventions are more easily recognized.

5/ G. Balandier, "Round table on the social implication of technological change," International Social Science Journal, vol. II, No. 3, p. 463.

95. Where urban deterioration sets in or improvement is unduly slow, it often provides a measure of the disparity between the pace of technological industrial change and the pace of social change.

96. Literature dealing with various social groups in South-East Asia or Africa south of the Sahara often mentions or describes the drastic effects of accelerated economic development, which in fact is coupled with the "settler" western culture, on traditional civilizations and societies.

97. As regards African cultures, it is obviously not possible to treat them as one united system. The divergencies between the Islamic communities of the Western Sudan, the Hottentots, the Baganda, the Bushmen, and the Congo Pygmies are so considerable that to place them within one cultural category would be absurd.

98. The nature of cultural change is determined by factors and circumstances which cannot be assessed by the study of one culture alone or even of both the indigenous and superimposed cultures independently. The clash and interplay of the two cultures produce something new.

99. The study of cultural change must take into account three orders of reality: the impact of the outer culture; the substance of native life on which it is directed; and the phenomenon of autonomous change resulting from the reaction between the two cultures. The impact produces conflict, co-operation, or compromise. The result is also deeply affected here by the rifts and inconsistencies within the European camp: that between missionary and entrepreneur on the one hand, and those between the real-politik of the settler policy, the law, and the demands of economic enterprise on the other.[6/]

100. Within the town, however, because it is a meeting place for different ethnic groups, local characteristics are weakened and remoulded, thus assuming more uniformity. This uniformity, while it favours a common basis for urban life, results in cultural decay and the loss of cultural heritage.

101. In static and highly integrated societies, status and role are defined by custom and the individual has little occasion to depart from the patterns laid down by the group. He continues to behave in a manner traditionally held appropriate to his prescribed status and passes from childhood to maturity and

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6/ B. Malinowski, The Dynamics of Cultural Change, (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1946), p. 4.

death in much the same way as his ancestors before him. This is the pattern which prevails in a rural environment where social units are well integrated and restricted in size and where direct personal relations dominate.

102. Contacts in the city are, to the contrary, impersonal. This is essentially what is meant by saying that the city is characterized by secondary rather than primary contacts. The contacts of the city may indeed be face to face, but they are nevertheless impersonal, superficial, transitory, and segmental. The reserve, the indifference, and the blasé outlook which urbanites manifest in their relationships may thus be regarded as devices for immunizing themselves against the personal claims and expectations of others.[7/]

103. The uniformity which prevails in integrated societies breaks down under urban life with its characteristic impact of increasing individualism.

104. The close living and working together of individuals who have no sentimental and emotional ties foster a spirit of competition, self-aggrandizement, and mutual exploitation.

105. It is quite obvious that different kinds of personalities might be expected to emerge from these different types of interaction.

106. The effects of technological change and industrialization on the family are not easy to discern. They are isolated only with difficulty from other effects upon the family of such factors as modern political transformations and the progress of education.

107. At any rate, important changes in family relationships occur in urban society. The extended family tends to lose its cohesion and the conjugal family to lead a separate and independent existence.

108. The emergence of the nuclear family does not mean that family relationships in the broadest sense have lost their force. In only a few cases are the links between kinsmen living in different parts of the town broken; usually contact is maintained through visits, joint celebrations, and mutual assistance. Family solidarity continues, for example, to inspire mutual assistance in educating and providing for young people. The family group still has a considerable power of attraction and the duty to come to the assistance of any relative is still strongly felt. But, while the traditional attitude towards the extended family persists,

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7/ Louis Wirth, Community life and Social Policy, (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1956), p. 6.

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sometimes at the expense of the responsibilities and duties of the husband and wife towards each other, the bonds between the members of the extended family are becoming looser, a process which frequently results in a deep sense of insecurity.[8/]

109. Economic and social changes are affecting family structure and organization, as well as relationships between members of the family group, in a number of other ways. Women, for example, are able to earn money either by working for wages or engaging in trade, and it is consequently easier for them to break their marriage ties and to rebel against the inferior status imposed on them by certain traditional systems.

110. Changes in reproductive behaviour should not be overlooked. The general desire for children is still very strong and the fear of sterility may contribute to the failure of some monogamous marriages; educated town-dwellers, however, are beginning to show an interest in family limitation in order to give their children a better education.[9/]

111. Also affecting the status of women is the progress of technology, which has done away with most of the traditional household toil and thus, by freeing the woman to leave her home, has lessened the differentiation between the roles of man and woman. This may leave the traditional woman's role of children's nurse totally or partially unfulfilled.

112. The size of families has diminished in almost all industrialized regions. It is possible that biological influences are at work; a carefully controlled experiment recently disclosed that rats on a starvation diet were sexually stimulated more frequently and had larger litters than rats on high protein fare. The chances are, however, that the change, as in most situations involving many active forces, cannot be traced to any single cause.

113. The word detribalization is often used to describe the phenomenon of assimilation to urban conditions. This raises the question of traditional values in a society in transition. The imprint of a culture on the habit and behaviour of the group is not easily destroyed. Even when the customary institutions seem to have been rejected, they exert a subtle influence upon and often transform those which have taken their place. Many traditional values have survived the

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8/ "Development and Problems of the Urban Family in Africa South of the Sahara", Report by UNESCO (United Nations document, A/AC.35/L.278), p. 32.

9/ Ibid., p. 45.

uprooting of rural populations and are found among the urban masses, however remote these may seem to be from their origins.

114. If the severance of ties with the original community is taken as the criterion, it will be found that in fact very few town dwellers may be regarded as entirely detribalized. Not even the fact of having been born in a town can cause a complete break with the traditional way of life. However, the new generations grow up largely in ignorance of village traditions, and those who receive a school education acquire ideas which often conflict with the beliefs and customs of their family environment.

115. Furthermore, the urbanite lives in loose association with numbers of people, some in his own city, some in distant cities; a great contrast with the compact local groups of former days. To the traditional modes of communication - rumour, gossip and personal contact, the school, market place and pulpit - have been added the mass media of the radio, the film television and the Press.[10/]

116. The country-dwellers who flow toward the towns, mining centres or plantations are lonely and have a deep sense of being uprooted. They react against isolation by seeking the company of relatives, friends and persons from the same village or area, with whom they attempt to re-create traditional organizations or to restore to the family the function it fulfilled in the village. Even when apparently successful, however, these attempts are nevertheless exposed to the evil of formalism: part of the inner substance of the traditional forms is lost or they cease to be completely adequate in the new social setting.

117. The friction and maladjustment so often noticed are reflected in the cultural and social sphere by the existence of a marginal area between two cultural models. Nowhere is the line between traditional civilization and modern life clearly drawn.

118. In Africa, although the westernized groups are still a small minority, the number of those who share to varying degrees in both cultures is constantly increasing. From the psychological standpoint, this means that the individual, while freeing himself of obligations to his parents, family group or tribe and seeking integration with other groups, is ultimately exposed to two sets of values and subjected to two kinds of pressure.[11/]

10/ E. Ericksen, Urban Behaviour (New York, Macmillan, 1954), p. 296.

11/ Special Study on Social Conditions in Non-Self-Governing Territories (United Nations publication, Sales No.: 1956.VI.B.1), p. 67.

119. The urbanized native, however, has not completely given up his tribal law, his customs, his kinship allegiances, and even his loyalties to the tribal authorities. But the hold which they have over him has been profoundly affected. He has not adopted the European outlook; he is by no means wholly subject to European cultural determinism. No man follows a system of laws willingly and with full consent unless he enjoys the privileges inherent in the obligations. And it is equally impossible to become fully associated with an economic system in which most of the burdens are placed on one section alone and most privileges are withheld.

120. It has been found that the impact of urbanism does not necessarily affect only the individuals migrating to the urban centres. There is a limited but highly influential traffic back to the village, bringing with it disturbing concepts of values and goals.

121. Moreover, we may infer that rural life will receive the imprint of urbanism to the extent to which, through contact and communication, it comes under the influence of the cities. Cultural norms of city behaviour are spilling over into the countryside, and the rural areas are becoming more and more urbanized as the result of good roads and the automobile.

122. Thus, while rural areas are also affected by the industrialization process, it is in urban areas that its social consequences are most direct and obvious. The larger, the more densely populated, and the more heterogenous a community, the more accentuated will be the characteristics associated with urbanism.

123. It could be said, on the whole, that the contact between divergent cultures is more of the nature of a clash, which is probably felt by those exposed to it as a kind of shock. The original familial setting, previously stable and habitual, is seriously impaired: the extended family is broken up into nuclear families; the former functions of the family are disappearing; family and parental authority is waning.

124. Such a condition emphasizes the fact that the transformation of a homogeneous and well integrated culture into a heterogeneous and badly integrated one leads to an increase in conflicting situations.

125. Contact is almost invariably characterized by tensions, or, alternatively, by compromises, which are expressed in behaviour.

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126. At the beginning of the industrialization process, the social groups directed towards this new economic sector may be those which are especially dispossessed and marginal. It is understandable that in such cases the integration of an individual into an effective social group is particularly difficult. His weakness as a single unit in the growing demand for mobility, his need of qualifications, and the general instability of his surroundings affect his behaviour as a whole and may maintain or increase the extent of his maladjustment.[12/]

127. Vacillation between the urban and the rural ways of living is retarding the process of final adjustment in addition to favouring instability in family life.

128. It is quite possible that the jump which has to be made from a rural environment, where individual relationships are well defined and concrete and where a subsistance economy still dominates, to an industrial one characterized by completely new technical and social relationships and a different economy, cannot be made smoothly.

129. The heavy incidence of crime and delinquency in towns and cities of recent industrial growth is related, in the first instance, to the disruption of the traditional family system and the consequent weakening of family authority and control over individual members. The individual tends to lose the older controls before he has acquired, under the impersonal sanction of the law, the new and more personal moral codes and controls which characterize urban societies.

130. It is quite clear that old and traditional forces of social control, deeply rooted in the hearts of the members of a given homogeneous group are much more effective than the force of law, and it is the latter that is the main force of social control in urban societies. Law has to undertake the combined functions of religion, belief, morals and even magical dogmas. It follows that urbanism, because it reduces the efficiency of group or rural social control, is a more adequate milieu for lawlessness.

131. This aspect of urban disorganization is evidenced by popular folk tales concerning the deleterious effect of the "wicked city" upon the good people of the country.

12/ G. Balandier, "Problems of Social Disorganization Linked with Industrialization and Urbanization of Countries Undergoing Rapid Economic Change" in Information, No. VI (October 1955), published by the International Research Office on Social Implications of Technological Change (BIRISPT/Inf.6/1955), pp. 1-15.

132. The new urbanite is also directly exposed to criminal patterns with which he is not familiar and with which he is very often quite unprepared to cope. This results in exploitation, especially of women and children, and leads to juvenile delinquency and prostitution.

133. The urbanization process has affected all groups, but it is particularly the young people who have experienced considerable disorganization. "As the processes of urbanization and industrialization proceed young people lose the sense of safety and significance that arose in older times from belonging to a large and close-knit family group which remained in one vicinity through several generations."[13/]

134. First-generation urban children who repudiate their parents as peasants and reject traditional familial authority before they have had an adequate opportunity to acquire the values and controls appropriate to the urban industrial environment are apt to show a particular propensity for antisocial and criminal behaviour.

135. As a result, at least in part, of family instability and inadequate parental supervision, there are territories or areas where juvenile delinquency is becoming or has just recently become a problem and where, in some instances, it is considered to be assuming serious proportions. This is the case in many African territories where there has been rapid economic and social change.[14/]

136. In the Republic of Korea, many juvenile offenders came from broken families uprooted from communities which had exercised considerable control. Social values and respect for one's elders have been weakened as the traditional cultural pattern has been replaced by the new western cultural pattern.

137. Much has been written about the development of gangs of children and adolescents in urban areas. The virtual absence of youth gangs in rural areas is explained by the fact that there is more supervision and less opportunity in the country.[15/]

138. It is necessary to distinguish between phenomena which are basically pathological and those showing the need for new differentiations and new social

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13/ Urbanization in Asia and the Far East, op. cit.

14/ Special Study on Social Conditions in Non-Self-Governing Territories, op. cit.

15/ Egon E. Bergel, Urban Sociology (New York, McGraw-Hill, 1955), p. 395.

relationships. The conflicts arising from the organization of juvenile gangsterism and those arising from the fact that the young people of the new towns are seeking to re-create social groups comparable to those in which they had been integrated in their traditional society cannot be treated in the same manner.[16/]

139. An element to be considered as a cause of increased crime and delinquency in newly industrialized countries is the fact that persons coming to the urban centres have to comply with a system of laws and regulations which, although officially the only recognized one, had seldom been accepted as an intrinsic part of rural cultures.

140. Laws proper to an urban environment and a single system of norms valid for all citizens develop only slowly. A vaccum appears which is a fertile breeding ground for phenomena of individual and social pathology.

141. The criminal law might be specifically pertinent to the norms of the dominant minority and would emphasize values different from those held by the masses.

142. An illustration of this is to be found in the vendetta and the bloodshed resulting from a certain hypersensitive interpretation of the notion of honour among particular non-urban groups. Crimes committed for such a motive are in obedience to prevailing social values and on closer investigation are not, strictly speaking, antisocial behaviour. They are formally breaches of the law of the dominant power.

143. There are further reasons for expecting more criminality in newly urbanized areas, especially of a sexual type. These new centres are characterized by a demographic imbalance, greater in some areas than in others, which militates against normal family life. This imbalance is due to the fact that a relatively small number of women and children take part in the exodus from the country. The result is that men greatly outnumber women, a situation which leads to the emergence of ambiguous and easily terminated unions.[17/]

16/ G. Balandier in Information, No. VI, October 1955, op. cit.

17/ "Development and Problems of the Urban Family in Africa South of the Sahara", Report by UNESCO (United Nations document, A/AC.35/L.278), p. 43.

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144. The drift to the towns is originally started by able-bodied men drawn by the labour market; this accounts for the predominance of males in urban population. It is a common phenomenon of the growing cities in many countries which are undergoing urbanization at the present time that there is a preponderance of males, particularly in the younger age-groups. This state of affairs in the cities is naturally associated with various kinds of sexual irregularity and immoral traffic in women.

145. Furthermore, this migration to industrialized centres may bring together groups of different cultures or sub-cultures, or who have a traditional hostility for each other. For example, in Yugoslavia "disputes between the native-born and the newcomers are by no means rare. There has not been enough time to promote understanding and to reconcile different habits of life. This leads to a large number of offences, particularly against life and the person and even against property."

146. The cultural shock may result in a kind of neurosis, as well as in overt criminal behaviour.

147. While it is still not possible to say, because of our lack of cross-culture criteria for mental disorders, that a given culture is less conducive to mental health than another, it can be stated that under situations of stress and strain, or rapid change and consequent disorientation, there is likely to be an increase in manifest mental ill health.

148. It is, in fact, difficult to keep one's balance in a rapidly changing society. In a static community, the future can be visualized in the light of the past. But in the contrary case of perpetual evolution and social revolution, the situation becomes very uncertain. The organization of personality requires an equilibrium not only as regards place but even more as regards time.

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149. To sum up, as a result of cultural shock, the immigrant may display a pronounced tendency to delinquent and criminal behaviour, to family disorganization, to sex irregularities, or to a neurotic state.

(b) Economic distress

150. In so far as industrialization breaks up the extended family and uproots workers from their traditional communities, it hastens the decay of those devices for self-help and mutual aid which, within the limits permitted by the generally low standards of living in rural society, offer some protection to all members of the group, irrespective of their ability. In the new industrial society the urban worker who is crippled, unemployed, or too old to work may have no tie with any group that feels a direct responsibility for his welfare.

151. Besides, in countries with a rapidly increasing population, the labour supply in the industrial areas, increasing constantly through new influxes from the country becomes disproportionate to the demand and exercises a depressing effect on the urban level of living; in some cases the newcomer to the town has merely substituted urban misery for rural poverty.

152. The exodus from the country is usually huge and great numbers of people come to live precariously in the towns in the hope of finding work. It is easy for them in such conditions to give in to deviant forms of behaviour.

153. The migratory movement involves numbers of children and young people. In rural society it is part of the normal life for juveniles, particularly those in the older age groups, to assist their parents or relatives in agricultural pursuits or work at home. With the spread of education to rural areas, however, juveniles who receive the more formal type of education often migrate into cities in search of work.

154. Particularly difficult situations may arise where the attraction of the cities for youth has been intensified by a variety of circumstances contributing to their dissociation from homes and villages. British Somaliland experienced such a situation in the post-war years. "Destitute and homeless children from the interior tend to migrate to the towns where they are usually too young and inexperienced to find work and, having no relatives, drift into a life of performing small tasks wherever they can in return for scraps of food. Too often this turns into a career of pilfering, of gambling and of eventual indulgence in other vices."

155. In Kenya, Nairobi is the centre of attraction for youth migration; in 1955 juvenile vagrants were very numerous and much of the crime in the city could be attributed to them.[18/]

156. One of the greatest hardships which face the recently urbanized family in its attempts to build up an integrated family life and to retain its hold on the children is the inability of the men to earn enough to support their families.

157. Rural migrants belong to the category of unskilled or semi-skilled workers and as such obtain employment with low wages, inadequate for a reasonable urban level of living. At the same time, the instability of the urban family results in increasing numbers of deserted mothers and abandoned children.

158. Economic conditions more conducive to permanent employment would doubtless help the urban family to achieve greater stability, but periodic unemployment, a consequences of mass-production, is almost inevitable. Modern industry has brought the whole world into close economic relationship and made the industries of one country dependent on conditions in far distant places.

159. On the whole, the city discourages an economic life in which the individual in time of crisis has a basis of subsistence to fall back upon, and it discourages self-employment.

160. The need for money is imperative in the city. While incomes of city people are on the average higher than those of country people, the cost of living seems to be higher in the larger cities.

161. The urban family has ceased to be a productive unit for which larger size often means increased welfare. Instead of contributing to their own support, children are costly to parents because of higher educational requirements.

162. In less developed areas, the family in economic distress is usually unable to continue educating its children and even requires them to start work very early in life to contribute towards the support of the family.

163. Some of these juvenile occupations are very menial and even morally harmful, like street-peddling and serving in cafés and amusement places. It is reported that children have been deliberately introduced to begging by their families because child begging may be very lucrative.

18/ "Social Aspects of Urban Development", Report prepared by the United Nations Secretariat (A/AC.35/L.281), p. 41.

164. Mothers are generally obliged to work outside the home and the nature and duration of this work is often such that the mother is almost completely cut off from her children. Domestic service is one of the main kinds of employment which are open to migrant rural women and girls in urban areas and it is recognized that this type of work may be morally hazardous and conducive to personal exploitation.

165. Deviations from the recognized system of values come partly as a protest against a society which fails to provide a proper share for the underprivileged. Crime also stems from the great contrast between rich and poor in the city, from ecological segregation which facilitates the formation of local groups with similar values, and from the increased opportunities of escaping the consequences of any offence committed. The poor are rejected by society or are not fully accepted; lacking full integration, they never acquire the values which that society transmits through formal and informal education to all its fully fledged members.[19/]

166. It might be useful in this connexion to consider research undertaken on the town of Oss in the Netherlands.[20/] On 1 January 1870 Oss had 4,540 inhabitants and on 1 January 1948 it had 22,929; the national population statistics were 3,579,529 and 9,715,890 respectively. This proportionately more rapid increase of the population of Oss must be ascribed for the greater part to its industrialization. In the period between 1924 and 1935, Oss and its nearest environs showed a very high and rapidly increasing criminality; public opinion and the Government were greatly alarmed.

167. An increase in criminality could be also identified at the end of the nineteenth century, a wave which appeared to reach its peak in 1893.

168. Industrialization attracted great numbers of labourers from the needy agricultural population of Oss and its environs, but very often they had difficulties in accommodating themselves to becoming factory workers and were forced back again to poverty or even unemployment. The tensions resulting from this led to aggression against "the others", i.e., the industrialists and authorities.

19/ Egon E. Bergel, op. cit., p. 392.

20/ According to an English summary of the dissertation by Dr. Nagel of the University of Leiden, Netherlands, on De Criminaliteit in Oss, The Hague, 1949, which he kindly forwarded to the author (Mr. Khalifa).

169. Even when no real want can be shown as a factor for economic criminality, the delinquents themselves pretend its existence. Indeed, they steal almost exclusively to satisfy other wants than those for food, clothes, etc. Envy often underlies alleged want; there is often too great a disparity between the luxury of the few and the relative poverty of most people.

170. There are, of course, basic conditions of urban life, especially for low-income classes of society, which impose great hardship; housing conditions are among the most burdensome of these.

171. The increase in urban population has had the inevitable result of bringing about a scarcity of accommodation, because the building of new living quarters could not keep pace with the rapid increase in the population of the towns.

172. The Yugoslav report mentions the fact that several families must sometimes share a single apartment and that a very large percentage of offences, such as libel and abuse in their various forms arise from relations between persons who have to live together in such apartments. Similarly, many offences against life and the person, particularly brawls and the infliction of minor bodily injuries, occur as a result of life in shared apartments.

173. Lack of comfort in the home, in addition to leading to many cases of libel and abuse, causes persons to spend their spare time in cafés and the like, thus increasing the consumption of alcohol and hence the number of offences committed under its influence, such as brawls, bodily injury, and even homicide.

174. The necessarily frequent movement of great numbers of individuals in a congested habitat causes nervous friction and irritation. Nervous tensions which derive from such personal frustrations are increased by the rapid tempo and the complicated technology under which life in dense areas must be lived.

175. Although some forms of sexual venality are to be found in rural areas, prostitution is an urban phenomenon. The city has the doubtful distinction of having almost a monopoly of prostitution. This, however, means only that there is an ecological connexion between the city and prostitution. It does not imply that prostitutes do not come from farms or that they have only urban customers. It does imply, however, that only the city provides sufficient patrons to make prostitution a profitable occupation. When prostitution is a punishable offense, city conditions make it possible to work under cover.

176. Another urban monopoly is the incidental provision of a setting suitable for the development of a class of people who live by crime and who recruit the unwary into their ranks.

177. In such cases, there is no suggestion of a drift into criminality as a solution to bewildering problems of social adjustment; but there is direct recruitment into organized criminality.[21/]

178. In the city, crime takes on an organized character, and may assume some of the characteristics of big business, and have large financial resources and corresponding political power.

179. The emphasis placed upon material well-being, the constantly changing production of complicated gadgets and the yearning to possess them which advertisers have created, all have stimulated a desire to obtain material comforts even if by illegal means.[22/]

180. White collar crime may be expected to increase both in size and complexity as the social structure of society becomes more specialized in the course of increasing industrialization and economic development. Penal codes tend to be framed with the more obvious types of crime in mind, such as larceny, burglary, robbery, and sex offences. The white collar criminal is a person of high status, and many of his activities are accepted as part of the business morality practiced in Western society. The less developed countries may expect to experience the effects of white collar crime as their social structure becomes more complex, and they will have to look at their legal system with this development in mind.[23/]

181. It is this materialism which characterizes urban crime. Most investigations have shown rural delinquency to be less than urban delinquency per unit of population. But it is more accurate to say that this is true as regards lucrative criminality alone. Offences against property are relatively more frequent in cities than in the country, while crimes of violence and sexual crimes are relatively more frequent in rural areas. Thus, it could be interpreted that with increased urbanization and industrialization materialistic delinquency tends to increase.

21/ Urbanization in Asia and the Far East; op. cit.

22/ M. Elliot and F. Merril, Social Disorganization (New York, Harper and Bros, 1950), p. 544.

23/ J.C. Spencer in an extract transmitted by the International Society of Criminology.

CHAPTER III

PREVENTION

1. Research

182. Facts are the necessary prerequisite for any effective preventive policy. Therefore, thorough and reliable statistics, criminal and non-criminal, are absolutely necessary. Population statistics covering all aspects of social and personal conditions are needed together with detailed criminal figures on the incidence of types of offences and crime variables, such as sex, age, civil status etc. These statistics should include data on offences known to the police and on persons found guilty, on a year to year basis.

183. Migration statistics are usually hard to collect with accuracy but such figures are indispensable to draw any sound conclusions about the relationship between urbanization and crime. Not only are extensive and reliable statistics unavailable, but equally lacking is the uniformity and standardization of statistical systems which would enable comparison on the international level.

184. In order to secure the facts on the urbanization-crime relationship, it is necessary first to conduct research into the characteristics peculiar to the industrialization and urbanization processes which operate within less developed countries.

185. This research should bring to light those criminogenic factors inherent in or associated with this process in a given area. Statistics should then be compiled to cover the actual incidence of criminality and juvenile delinquency. Finally, the study should endeavour to discover the correlation between criminogenic factors and the incidence of criminality.

186. The most satisfactory way of carrying out the proposed study would be to undertake field investigations in various areas, which should be in both independent countries and Non-Self-Governing Territories. The geographical size of the areas to be covered by the field studies should be limited in such a way as to make the project feasible while permitting thorough investigation of the problem. This kind of research should include an aetiological investigation of various types of criminal activities and juvenile delinquency.

187. A follow-up study would be most effective. Thorough research on a particular community before urbanization and the recording of the subsequent social change over a number of years would give a picture of the process, its effects and side effects.

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188. In short, the effort to understand should precede the act of prescribing. The United Nations has a major responsibility in this respect, but national authorities should promote research in the field in a systematic manner. The establishment of research institutes is a guarantee of continuity of effort. The report from Thailand mentions a Crime Prevention and Suppression Committee which conducts studies and research on crime problems. In Egypt (United Arab Republic), the National Institute of Criminology (now the National Center of Social and Criminological Research) is a research centre on crime and correction. Research can, and does, take place in a variety of national settings.

189. Because social change is in great measure an automatic process, in the sense that it is conditioned by massive impersonal forces, man can alter its course only by learning about these forces and their mode of operation.

190. Knowledge of what is irrevocably attached to industrialization can avoid time and money spent in an endeavour to stop necessary aspects of change during the process of industrialization. As for side effects which can be avoided, it falls upon social organization policies to take care of them. Social organization has thus to complete and refine the huge task of technology.

191. The policy could not possibly be to halt economic development. On the contrary, increased production from economically sound industrial expansion is often the chief hope for the amelioration of living conditions in less developed countries. These countries have an advantage over the more developed countries: they can learn from the errors and experience of the latter, which have had to pay for their mistakes.

192. It is true that facts are needed to formulate preventive policies but preventive measures should be taken pending better understanding of the problem, even if they have not yet proved fully effective.

2. Economic remedies

193. Because of the precarious conditions of life characteristic of most societies in the less developed countries, purely economic remedies are indispensable. The proposed solutions must lay stress on untapped resources and on the need for judicious planning to secure a great expansion of productivity.

194. Economic development is a main theme in the report from Thailand. It stresses the notion that "the basic root of crime is economic backwardness giving rise to national poverty. The most effective weapon, though long run in character, to combat this most apparent form of social ills is, therefore, an

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effective and vigorous plan of economic and social development ... The opportunities for education and for paid employment, for example, are potentially greater in cities than on farms. If these potentials were fully exploited, greater urbanization could bring about more abundant means of livelihood to more people and completely reverse the trends in crime."

195. There is no evidence at hand to demonstrate that the improvement of economic conditions entails a curb in crime and delinquency. Some countries with the highest standard of living suffer keenly from these social evils.

3. Measures of social welfare

196. The work to be undertaken by a social development organization on the social welfare side should be the provision of appropriate services in such fields as family, child and youth welfare, medical social work, mental health work and industrial welfare, particularly in government and quasi-government bodies.[1/]

197. A need is evident in the large towns for the development of existing social assistance services towards more comprehensive social security programmes. In areas of rapid change the need for the protection of the destitute who have lost the support of a traditional society may be no less evident.

198. Governments must assist those who are destitute and who cannot obtain help from other sources, and non-contributory social assistance schemes are a necessary and permanent part of any system of social security, even where contributory insurance schemes are in operation.

199. Within the broad scope of family and child welfare policies, the importance of the economic aspects of family welfare has been stressed in a number of the studies and reports of the United Nations. While underlining the fundamental unity between various policies designed to improve family levels of living, these reports lay stress on the part played in this respect by social security provisions, including social insurance, social assistance and other specific measures to ensure a minimum family income.

200. While inclusive social insurance schemes and adequate public assistance programmes have so far been established only in a limited number of territories, it is generally recognized that the expansion of social security, including social insurance and social assistance measures, is an integral part of planned

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1/ "Social Aspects of Urban Development", Report prepared by the United Nations Secretariat (A/AC.35/L.281), p. 17.

economic and social development and that the working out of a comprehensive social security system is a government responsibility.[2/]

201. In 1949, a committee was appointed by the Government of Kenya to examine the scope and method of welfare for relief of distress among the European and Asian communities and to make recommendations as to the policy which should be pursued, bearing in mind the part played or to be played by voluntary organizations and local authorities. The committee took the view that relief of distress is a national function which, in the last resort, should be exercised by the Government only at a basic minimum. Under this definition come provision for aged persons and care of the unemployable and of necessitous widows and orphans, which can taken the form, for instance, of homes for the aged, orphanages and similar institutions. This minimum may differ from community to community and be adapted to the community's standards and ways of life, but the help required to maintain special standards beyond that minimum must be provided by the community.

202. It is no less important to promote and encourage voluntary organizations, whether for the relief of distress or for any other kind of social benefit.

203. The stressing of the importance of more exhaustive welfare policies is receiving growing attention in preventive policies.

204. The report from the Republic of Korea maintains that "we could not tackle the problem without concerning ourselves with broader social welfare programmes".

205. The report from Thailand suggests, among other things, social welfare measures based on the assumption that "as cities grow bigger and presumably richer, income distribution is not made more equitable. As some people in certain classes become more wealthy and move to the suburbs, the overwhelming majority of the people are left as abjectly poor as ever".

206. Thailand, to strengthen and support family life, has envisaged a state policy and machinery for aid in the form of public assistance, i.e., family allowances, widows' grants, assistance to poor families, disaster assistance, general assistance and emergency grants.

207. Although social programmes, if well planned and implemented, may have a salutary effect on the prevention of crime and delinquency, it would be erroneous to conclude that by themselves they can eradicate crime to any significant degree.

2/ "Social Measures for Economic Welfare of the Family", Report prepared by the United Nations Secretariat (A/AC.35/L.267), p. 34.

208. This does not mean in any sense that these programmes are unnecessary. They are vitally needed. But there is a danger that sweeping programmes of social service may be misinterpreted and misused, with the result that parents, instead of accepting public assistance in connexion with their own responsibility for bringing up children properly, will act as if they have been relieved of this responsibility.

209. Attention has also been called to the fact that criminality and juvenile delinquency continue to be serious problems even in those countries possessing the most elaborately developed social security schemes, as for example, Sweden, the United Kingdom and the United States of America.[3/]

210. In fact, it might appear that the most logical and feasible scheme to combat criminality commonly attributed to urbanization and industrialization is the careful planning, as far as possible, of these processes due regard being paid to the social factors involved; this planning should be undertaken so as to avoid or ameliorate the two-fold criminogenic situation previously described of cultural shock and economic distress.

211. This could be done through the control of rural-urban migration; town planning; community development; direct intervention in "pre-delinquent" cases; and a revision of laws.

4. Control of migration

212. The intensity of the control exercised on those wishing to leave their traditional environment may play a considerable rôle in the prevention of crime and delinquency. In some districts of the Belgian Congo (the Province of the Equator, for example) there are only a small number of cases of juvenile deliquency because a local ordinance forbids minors to live in centres where their parents are not established. This policy, the aim of which is to insure that minors living in an urban environment have the benefit of real family life, contributes to the checking of the expansion of delinquency.

213. Where there are no restrictions on migration, the influx may be huge, including great numbers of juveniles. In Kenya, a number of juveniles who were

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3/ Manuel Lopez-Rey, "New criminological approaches to the prevention of crime and the treatment of offenders". Paper submitted to the Second International Colloquium on Criminology, Copenhagen, October 1959 (mimeograph).

orphans, or whose parents had been detained, but who yet had relatives in the reserve, had come to Nairobi in search of an easier and more exciting life. They were dealt with by the Juvenile Court or by direct repatriation in cases were relatives were known to be in the reserve. They continued, however, to return to Nairobi, and some were repatriated as many as seven times.

214. In formulating policies on migration, the necessity of protecting human rights against the theoretical and practical excesses of some preventive programmes and policies must be remembered.

215. If the surge of villagers to the urban centres is to be slowed, one necessary step will be to provide for the rural communities through rural development many of those advantages and opportunities so highly prized that an individual leaves for the city in search of them.

216. A government report on Malaya for 1957 has indicated that, in that country, the process of urbanization has created no problems serious enough in extent to require the framing of policies for the prevention of crime connected with the flow of population from rural to urban areas. Since the independence of Malaya, rural areas have received priority in national economic policies for the development of the country as a whole. Back-to-the-land projects financed or subsidized by Government and assisted by the resources of the departments of agriculture, fisheries, health and others, with the purpose of raising the rural standard of living to equal that of urban areas, increased production and the opening of undeveloped areas, have greatly diminished the flow of population.

217. Haphazard migration from rural areas to urban centres is to be avoided whenever possible.

5. Urban planning

218. By understanding the forces which shape the city and its growth, and by adjusting to them through city planning, waste and maladjustment may be minimized.

219. The solution to urban problems intensified by the rapid growth of towns is being increasingly sought in comprehensive long-term town planning policies covering the present and future needs of the city and providing not only dwellings but complete estates or neighbourhood units, with schools, playing fields, shops and other community facilities and amenities within easy reach of the inhabitants.

220. Housing is still inadequate both quantitatively and qualitatively. Sexual promiscuity and living conditions unfavourable to harmonious family development

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are frequently the result. A construction policy designed to provide suitable urban housing would yield good results in this respect:

> "if we are to escape the bad conditions which have accompanied industrial development in other parts of the world, and if we are to avoid squalor and discontent, it is not simply a question of providing housing. The problem is to create proper communities for those who go to live and work in the urban and industrial areas; communities which offer a hope of a reasonable life and provide for the education of children, for social welfare and for sport and recreation, communities designed to reduce to a minimum the evils of drink, immorality and disease which accompany badly planned towns... The Government will give its full attention to the solution of it and to the building up of properly planned and properly organized towns. Any other course would lead to disaster." 4/

6. Urban community development

221. The trend towards community development seems to be the most promising. In the past, technological progress has been encouraged although little provision was made to help people to adapt themselves and adjust to these drastic changes.

222. The lag in social change and the resultant worsening of the problems of transition usually reflect the failure of a community to develop new institutions, organizations, habits and ways of life in respect of the provision of security, personal status, social acceptance, moral controls of behaviour, leadership, forms of recreation and so on to replace those associated with the extended family or the local community, which are no longer appropriate to an industrial society.

223. The rural migrant must be given social and economic preparation for urban living, and the urban community must be prepared to receive him. Through this, not only would rural people be better prepared to cope with the complexities of city life when they move to it, but also the centralization and absorption that the city implies would be somewhat minimized and a better social and economic equilibrium between urban and rural areas obtained.

224. As all social change must take place through individuals, the task of devising ways of reducing the ill effects of such change by strengthening the individuals who must function within a changing situation, and of developing ways of rearing children to whom social change will not be disorienting, is a

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4/ Uganda: Statement of Policy on African Urban Housing (Entebbe, Uganda, 1954, p. 3), as quoted in "Social Aspects of Urban Development", Report prepared by the United Nations Secretariat (A/AC.35/L.281), p. 12.

mental health problem. Similarly, the analysis of cultural practices promoting or jeopardizing the mental health of individuals; the identification of practices which may once have been functional but which have become obsolete and harmful; and the development of practices to replace those which, although functional, were also harmful, are mental health tasks.[5]

225. The emphasis, then, will be on facilitating a harmonious change which will not produce too great a strain on the individuals involved, and not on technical problems of the psychiatric care of individuals, either in psychiatric institutions or in child guidance clinics.[6]

226. In the expansion and the achievements of community development in rural areas, a vital part has been played by the initiative and increasing self-reliance of the people in developing activities concerned with the welfare and progress of their communities.

227. In a small, compact, homogenous community it is possible for man to participate effectively in common affairs. He simultaneously feels interest and pressure from his fellow-citizens to do so. Indeed, it is virtually impossible for him to escape from his civic responsibilities.

228. In urban areas of recent rapid growth, the concept of welfare activities evolving from within the community is less well established. Comprehensive self-directed programmes of community development are known to exist in older cities, such as Hong Kong or Singapore, but they are less evident in, for instance, African urban centres.

229. It is necessary to organize communities which lack any suitable organization of their own, until they have reached a point from which they can proceed corporately to advance their own interests.

230. To develop urban cohesion and thereby individual adjustment, urban authorities should initiate and support those planning programmes that do not call upon urban man to play fundamentally contradictory rôles in his daily conduct. This may be achieved, among other methods, by family, school and vocational adjustment and by supervised recreation for youth.

5/ Meeting of the Arabic Speaking States on their Social Science Resources Relative to the Social Implications of Industrialization and Technological Change (Cairo, 18-25 November 1959), (UNESCO, UNESCO/SS/ASSR/3), p. 1.

6/ G. Balandier, "Round Table on the Social Implications of Technological Change", International Social Science Journal, vol. II, No. 3, p. 463.

231. The recognition of the importance of the family as the basic social unit is a corner-stone of social policies and programmes. This should be implemented by a variety of social measures, whose purpose is to strengthen the family as a unit, to contribute to its security, and to increase its social efficacy.

232. Education is a sine qua non of community development. The education of women should be improved both by promoting literacy and housewifely crafts and by enlarging their outlook generally; and the informal adult education of both men and women by group work should be encouraged.

233. The education of children and young people should not be restricted to its academic or vocational aspects but should be impregnated with those human and social values which increase the socialization process and help harmonious living in the community.

234. Community development has been adopted to some extent in most countries and territories. The ministries or departments of social welfare usually undertake the major part of this work.

7. Measures specifically directed toward the prevention of crime

235. The prevention of crime can be achieved only if there is co-ordination between social policies and programmes and those specifically directed towards the prevention of crime and the treatment of offenders.

236. The prevention of crime and deliquency involves complex human behaviour, still unpredictable to a certain extent, and a variety of factors whose impact on that behaviour remains partially unknown.

237. Measures taken in this connexion vary. Their general effect, however, is to diminish the formerly clear legal distinction between delinquent juveniles and non-delinquent juveniles considered to be in need of special care, and to transfer a part of the responsibility for the welfare and guidance of youth from primary, local or traditional groups,[7/] to the secondary agencies of society.

238. A number of officially sponsored welfare activities, largely or predominantly concerned with the prevention of juvenile delinquency, have been undertaken. These range from training in citizenship, education in the schools,

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7/ Urbanization in Asia and the Far East, Proceedings of the Joint UN/UNESCO Seminar, Bangkok, 8-18 August 1956 (UNESCO, SS. 57.V.7. A), p. 13.

the provision of counselling and advice in family matrimonial difficulties, and psychiatric and psychological treatment, to the establishment of recreational centres (such as play centres; summer camps, youth clubs, sports fields, etc.) and institutional facilities (such as hostels, homes, orphanages, various types of special schools, etc.); their aims are not only those of most welfare activities but also the removal of young people from surroundings considered conducive to crime or immorality and the promotion of the acceptance of the standards and values sanctioned by existing legislation. These activities are supplemented by legislation designed to secure a favourable home environment and to protect non-adults from the possibly harmful effects of indulging in practices common in adult society.

239. Clubs of this nature have been started under government supervision in many parts of Kenya. It is hoped that within the next few years more than 1,000 will be in operation, most of them in rural areas and serving an estimated total of 225,000 boys and girls.

240. Such clubs emphasize character building and agricultural training. Contributions of land and money have been made by African communities. Club members also have raised funds through the sale of produce, dressmaking, dances and concerts.

241. Other aspects of officially sponsored welfare activity are the aid directly given through skilled case-work to persons in need of assistance in their early rehabilitation, the arrangements made for their care by appropriate persons or institutions, and the provision of machinery for the care and protection of children.

8. Legal provisions

242. The law, in its turn, must remain attuned to the need for the prevention of types of criminality resulting from social changes and accompanying economic development in less developed countries. In the process of industrialization, the unifying force of common experience and common interests has been dissipated. The problems of juvenile delinquency and family relations, for which there were no provisions in the older laws, have so multiplied in number and have become so serious in character that in many cases special social institutions have been provided for dealing with them; the juvenile court and the court of family relations are both attempts to meet the problems that have come to the surface as a result of modern industrial civilization and complex urban life.

243. In new urban communities the character and environment of crime are also new and the demands upon enforcement agencies, including police, adjudication authorities, and penal treatment, are quite outside the experience of those who laid down the lines of the existing legal system and gave shape to the present day criminal law and procedure. Legal change must not lag behind social change.
