



**SECOND UNITED NATIONS CONGRESS
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**

REPORT PREPARED BY THE SECRETARIAT

**UNITED NATIONS
Department of Economic and Social Affairs
New York, 1960**

A/CONF.17/4

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. THE CONCEPT OF SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION	3
III. URBANIZATION	4
IV. THE DEMOGRAPHIC IMBALANCE IN MIGRATION	7
V. URBAN JUVENILE DELINQUENCY	9
A. Aetiology	9
B. Development of Constructive Peer Groups	9
C. Urban Occupational Opportunities for Youth	10
VI. THE MAINTENANCE OF THE EXTENDED FAMILY SYSTEM OR ALTERNATIVES TO IT	11
A. Prevention of Disruptive Policies	11
B. Alternatives	11
VII. COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT	14
VIII. THE IMPACT ON RURAL LIFE OF SOCIAL CHANGES ACCOMPANYING ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT	15
IX. FINAL REMARKS	17
BIBLIOGRAPHY	20

I. INTRODUCTION

1. In 1953, the Economic and Social Council included in the work programme of the United Nations in the social field a project on "the prevention of types of criminality resulting from social changes and accompanying economic development in less developed countries". In the words of the Secretary-General's report at that time, "the project is regarded as particularly timely and appropriate in view of the rapid and far reaching social and economic changes at present taking place in less developed regions. The proposed study is designed to serve as a basis for United Nations technical assistance to less developed countries in the field of social defence and as a practical guide to the rational planning of social policy concerned with the problem of crime in such countries".^{1/}

2. That same year, the ad hoc Advisory Committee of Experts on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, in presenting its views on the methods by which this project might most profitably be approached, recognized that the project was concerned with one of the most important problems of criminal policy in the less developed countries and pointed out its pertinence both to countries where a culture of alien origin is being superimposed on an indigenous culture and to countries which are endeavouring to develop new types of economic and social organization, retaining their roots in traditional cultures. The Committee considered that the problem existed both in independent countries and in non-self-governing territories.^{2/}

3. It was understood that the problem of urbanization was a major aspect of this wider problem and in keeping with the attention to be given to this project, a special report was prepared by the Secretariat entitled "Urbanization and Crime and Delinquency in Asia and the Far East", and presented for discussion at the joint UN/UNESCO Seminar on Urbanization in Asia and the Far East held in Bangkok in 1956.^{3/}

4. The following year, the Report on the World Social Situation^{4/} dealt largely with social problems of urbanization in economically less developed areas and in

^{1/} "Work Programme and Priorities (1954-1955). Report by the Secretary-General" (United Nations, E/CN.5/292), p. 32.

^{2/} "Report of the Ad Hoc Advisory Committee of Experts on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders", United Nations, E/CN.5/298.

^{3/} Urbanization in Asia and the Far East, Proceedings of the Joint UN/UNESCO Seminar, Bangkok, 8-18 August 1956 (UNESCO, 1958 - SS.57.V.7A), chapter IX, pp. 230-250.

^{4/} United Nations publication, Sales No. 1957.IV.3.

this context, reported, inter alia, on crime and delinquency in relation to urban growth.

5. The two general reports prepared at the request of the Secretariat on this topic for presentation to the Second United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders represent a further contribution to the growing literature on this subject. Among the publications directly related to this project should also be mentioned the study prepared under the auspices of UNESCO, at the request of the United Nations, by Professor G. Balandier of the International Research Office on Social Implications of Technological Change, entitled "Problems of Social Disorganization Linked with the Industrialization and Urbanization of Countries Undergoing Rapid Economic Development", for presentation to the First United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders held in Geneva in 1955.

6. All of these papers have pointed to the seriousness of the problem and some have indicated possible means of prevention. The present report has for its purpose the focussing of attention on those special characteristics of the problem concerning which, through research and new emphasis in social policy and programmes, steps might now be taken toward the establishment of a comprehensive programme for the prevention of the types of criminality resulting from social changes and accompanying economic development in the less developed countries.

II. THE CONCEPT OF SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION

7. It is generally recognized that prominent among the social characteristics identified with a transition to a modern type of economy accompanied by social change are to be found the phenomena of crime and delinquency. Crime and delinquency are, of course, not peculiar to this process; they have existed throughout recorded history. Nor can all crime and delinquency occurring within a setting of rapid social and economic change be identified as resulting directly or indirectly from this process. It is clear, however, notwithstanding the inadequacy of criminal statistics and the dearth of competent research, that most countries subjected today to gross change accompanying economic development are conscious of wide-spread problems of crime and delinquency as primary or secondary consequences of this rapid change. Many countries are particularly disturbed at the involvement of youth in aggressive anti-social behaviour.

8. It is generally assumed, moreover, that it is inevitable that the social change which accompanies economic development will have as a concomitant a marked increase in crime along with the emergence of types of criminality not significantly observable in the past. This assumption is seldom challenged, primarily because crime has always been a characteristic of society in transition. In its simplest form the contention is that there must be social breakdown before new social codes and social institutions can be created, and that this lag breeds crime. It remains to be determined, however, whether the inevitable, and generally welcome, social change must proceed in a manner so haphazard as to produce disastrous gaps in social control. The urgent question is whether society can develop the techniques and take the measures necessary to allow for orderly social change, while maintaining all the elements required for assuring a stable society. To determine the feasibility of such a proposition, let alone the techniques and measures required, a great deal more national and international effort must be directed toward an understanding of the relationship between social change and criminality.

III. URBANIZATION

9. It is sometimes assumed that the increase in criminality and delinquency observed in less developed countries undergoing rapid economic development results from industrialization and the attendant concentration of population. There is, however, little evidence that these phenomena, of themselves, are directly responsible for increased crime and delinquency. Rather, it is the social changes and the consequent social disorganization which provide the background for forms of behaviour which are defined as criminal or delinquent in the urban setting.

10. It is true, moreover, that the complexity of urban living places special restrictions and requirements upon the individual in order to maintain an orderly society. It is not easy for the new city dweller to understand the necessity of them and to develop the readiness and competence to submit to them. This may result in accidental or even wilful negligence of the responsibilities of urban living, and frequently culminates in arrest, prosecution and punishment. This is true of such things as licences for street vending and other trades, compliance with sanitation codes, restrictions on the use of child labour, etc. That these failures to conform to urban prohibitions and requirements result in the identification of the individual as one who has committed an offence is a matter of serious concern in itself; even more serious, however, is the fact the punitive measures employed against the individuals themselves often result in a perpetuation and intensification of illegal activity, and even in a way of life. The social identification of the individual as a "criminal" and his exposure to the society of consistent offenders in the setting of the lock-up and the gaol are highly conducive to the development of a criminal career.

11. This suggests two separate approaches. The first is to prepare people for the requirements of urban living, both those individuals in the village who are contemplating migration to urban areas and those who have already arrived in the city. Such preparation can be imparted through the machinery of adult education schemes and programmes of local leadership, especially rural and urban community development programmes, about which more will be said later.

12. The second approach would be more radical. It would call for other measures of a non-punitive character for gaining compliance with unfamiliar urban restrictions and requirements. Part of this approach would be to devise measures whereby compliance would be greatly facilitated. For example, the licensing of street trades might be made simpler and less costly, even eliminated in some

instances. The pollution of waters could be largely avoided by the provision of easier access to sanitary facilities, etc. Another phase of this approach would be to handle the transgressor with greater flexibility and leniency, substituting administrative corrective measures for punishment. Analyses of some criminal statistical data for certain Asian and African communities reveal that often the bulk of criminal prosecutions involve noncompliance with regulations which are peculiar to urban living and which, in the majority of cases, are very little understood by the population recently arrived from rural settings. In this connexion, the failure of the urban wage earner to pay his taxes is a special case, since poor planning, gross financial limitation and a lack of awareness of the responsibility often result in the complete inability of the individual to meet his tax obligation.

13. Related to this as a cause of increased crime and delinquency in urban settings is the fact that while officially there may be only one recognized code of law for the entire country, it is often a fact that this had not been accepted as a basic aspect of the rural culture. In this respect, the rapid growth of some cities in African, Latin American, Middle Eastern and Asian countries presents problems and conflicts which rarely appear in the economically highly developed countries, where the pattern of life as far as criminal law is concerned is very much the same throughout the country.

14. While it cannot be expected that there could or should be two separate legal codes applicable to one society, it is imperative that national policy should take into account the real social and cultural situation and should not judge all behaviour by a single set of standards. This would call for the individualization of justice to a high degree. The law would have to allow for great flexibility, giving to the courts wide latitude in the administration of justice. In the hands of inadequately trained or improperly motivated individuals, such power could be dangerously abused. Thus it is of paramount importance that there should be developed a corps of administrators and members of the judiciary who are highly trained in an understanding of the social and cultural dynamics at work in countries undergoing rapid social and economic change, so that they would have the insight, together with the power, to prescribe measures appropriate to the special social and cultural factors involved.

15. Acts of violence as a manifestation of vengeance by one group upon another, for example, may have grossly different meanings in urban and in rural societies;

and while they cannot be condoned in either setting, their meaning and the approach to them must be quite different. It is sometimes overlooked that, even though the offence occurred in an urban setting, the standards of behaviour and the code of honour serving as background for the act were as truly rural or tribal as if it had occurred in that type of setting. Indeed, it is known that in some countries, this particular matter has been recognized to be of major importance and a solution is being urgently sought.

IV. THE DEMOGRAPHIC IMBALANCE IN MIGRATION

16. A factor which is widely recognized as contributing to criminality where rapid social change accompanying economic development in less developed countries is taking place, is the gross demographic imbalance of the urban population. The general pattern is that the first to arrive in the city from the rural area are the young men unaccompanied by any members of their families. Often their stay in the city had been intended to be only temporary but generally, after occasional brief returns to the rural setting, urban residence becomes permanent. Next come the women, generally wives planning to join their mates in the city. Then come the children of those unions. The elders arrive last, if at all. This pattern presents a number of criminogenic situations. The young men arrive without ties, without visible responsibilities and without the structure of social control to which they are accustomed. In response to a drive for companionship and sexual satisfaction, prostitution flourishes. Cohabitation in the city becomes a substitute for the family in the village and often the original responsibility to the legal family is not resumed. When the wife arrives in the city, she may be rejected or forced into an inferior role from which she seeks independence. When the children arrive, the family situation is not conducive to proper care. The mother may be required to work; at any rate, she has not available the many members of the extended family, especially the elders, on whom she had traditionally relied heavily for the care, instruction and guidance of the children. The children must largely find their own resources and often the resources thus available are those which are highly conducive to delinquency.

17. How far any policy can be carried out for the prevention of this imbalance is a complex question involving a great number of social and, particularly, economic factors. If it is found impossible to control the imbalance significantly, compensatory programmes will be called for. One would be a concerted effort to keep the young migrant male closely associated with his family. This could be done in part by devising urban employment and recruitment so that there would not be great distances between the city of residence and the community of origin. Another would be to facilitate regular visits by the urbanite to his village. Ties with the village community could be strengthened by the activities of tribal associations and societies. Policies of housing, employment, education and assistance in child care could be so oriented as to encourage the early reunion in the city of the woman and her children with the urban worker. Rural development

programmes might include preparation of the wife to play the required role of urban wife and urban mother.

18. Because, with the breakdown of the extended family structure, the elderly are a potential social and financial burden upon the state, there would be considerable justification for giving material aid to the urban wage earner to encourage him at an early date to include the elders in his urban household. There would be mutual advantage in this, assuming that the elders would in turn make a considerable contribution to the maintenance of family stability and the care of the children.

V. URBAN JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

A. Aetiology

19. While adult crime is to be found in both rural and urban areas, juvenile crime is very often a phenomenon of urban agglomerations. It can, of course, be argued that the juvenile who leaves the village for the city and comes into conflict with the law there had been predisposed to delinquency and that his departure from the village and migration to the big city was in response to an already established urge for a delinquent way of life. This is an important conception and should be explored by means of case studies. Data thus far available, however, do not substantiate completely such a theory. There are so many basic socio-economic factors at play in the rural area forcing the individual to leave it, that such a personal or psychological explanation of migration is completely overshadowed. Additionally, it has been reasonably established that urban patterns of delinquency and crime are not known in the simple urban life and could not therefore have been the conscious goal of the migrating village youth. Moreover it has also been fairly well demonstrated that youths have been inducted into criminal activity in the city by organized criminal groups and/or have been driven to criminal activity by economic pressure. Urban juvenile delinquency in less developed countries undergoing social change and economic development is generally marked by a high degree of naivety, with very little evidence that the origins of anti-social behaviour stemmed from anti-social personal proclivities.

B. Development of Constructive Peer Groups

20. With the weakening of the family and kinship ties and controls, a youth in the urban setting is especially influenced by the values and codes of his contemporary or "peer" group. In the disorganized setting of urban slums, the peer group very often functions as a gang, committing petty crimes, sometimes being responsible for organized vandalism and even serving as the willing agents of professional criminals. The orientation of the gang is acquisitive, hedonistic and cynical. Such situations have generally led to the advocacy of the suppression of spontaneous peer groups. On the other hand, it is known that a youth, especially in view of the breakdown of the traditional family structure, will continue to rely heavily on his peers for the formulation of his own standards and code of behaviour. It is also known that youth is not necessarily

any more prone to adopt the anti-social values developed among his peers than he is to adopt their positive values. It is largely a question of the intensity and persistence of exposure to these standards. This suggests the possibility of utilizing as part of a broad social policy, the informal or spontaneous peer groups as carriers of socially approved values and goals, and giving them assistance and encouragement so to serve. Formal recreational and civic youth programmes have a contribution to make, but they are often formulated by adults and may not be dealing with either the individuals or the system of social values under consideration here. The so-called "hard-to-reach" youth is especially easily reached by his own peer group. Administrators may therefore find it advisable to emphasize the development of services and facilities to influence the direction in which the culture and values of the peer group will go. In this instance, the less developed countries may profit from the experiences of some of the economically advanced countries, although ultimately the approach will have to be pragmatic and involve considerable experimentation.

C. Urban Occupational Opportunities for Youth

21. The economic maladjustment of the rural person entering urban life, his lack of requisite technical skills, his unfamiliarity with industrial discipline, etc., are all grave problems associated with the phenomenon of urbanization. They may contribute to, but are not directly responsible for, the development of patterns of criminality. There is, nevertheless, one aspect of this situation which is quite directly related and that concerns the occupational opportunities for youth. Especially where urban development characterizes the urban setting, youth is shunted into precarious employment, often on the fringes of legality and, very often, in settings of considerable moral hazard. With little or no opportunity to continue schooling and with formal or informal exclusion from the major sources of employment, youth is often economically exploited and gravitates toward jobs in street trades or cafe service or as tools in organized crime.

22. A direct contribution to the prevention of urban youthful criminality would logically then be the provision of increased opportunities for youth employment in socially desirable enterprises, vocational preparation for such employment and the full surveillance and control of the employment of youth. The development in some countries of youth brigades as a partial solution may warrant wider attention and suggest an avenue for action in other countries faced with the same problem.

VI. THE MAINTENANCE OF THE EXTENDED FAMILY SYSTEM OR ALTERNATIVES TO IT

A. Prevention of Disruptive Policies

23. Practically all studies of social change accompanying economic development in less developed countries place a major emphasis on the difficulties resulting from the breakdown of the traditional family structure and the absence of other social institutions to carry the function of enunciating and enforcing a set of standards of behaviour. It would seem to be a matter of urgency, therefore, that first attention should be given to devising methods for either the continued existence of the extended family or the rapid creation of social institutions to fill the void. Associated with this would be the scrutiny of social and economic programmes and policies to ensure they do not, unwillingly and unnecessarily, contribute to this disruption. Industrial and extractive projects (mines, oil fields, etc.) that encourage the migration of only the able-bodied male labourer (and even render it impossible for him to continue the original family relationship) are a case in point. Housing developments so designed as to allow only the conjugal family to reside together are another instance of how the breakdown of the traditional family unit may be accelerated.

It may be difficult to reconcile desirable social objectives with economic necessities, but it is evident that some errors that have been made would have been avoidable and probably would have been prevented, if these social values and consequences had been understood and given consideration in national planning.

B. Alternatives

25. Even accepting the inevitability of a certain degree of disruption and accelerated change, at least a partial solution can be found if the need remains uppermost in the minds of the planners. In this connexion the Report on the World Social Situation, published by the United Nations in 1957, declared that "the possibilities of promoting voluntary organizations and assisting groups that develop spontaneously and provide growing points for social reorganization have been barely explored as means of helping migrant families in the cities of less developed countries in their adaptation to the urban environment".^{5/}

^{5/} Op. cit., p.140.

26. One important consideration, which seems to have been given but little attention as a potential substitute for the extended family in certain functions of defining and enforcing social standards, is that even in highly urbanized agglomerations, recent immigrants tend to continue to live in small communities that are relatively homogeneous and receive first loyalty from their members. This is of prime importance, since it provides a social institution through which the nature and speed of social change can be controlled and through which a positive social force can be maintained.

27. In many Asian cities, for example, large segments of the population still reside in what amount to individual villages and retain thereby many elements of their folk culture which enable them to remain more or less impervious to the disorganizing factors of urban life. This phenomenon, too, deserves intensive study for the guidance it may offer in the development of social policy for the prevention of criminality.

28. Tribal associations have had many social and economic successes in aiding their members to cope with urban life. One function has been to ease emergency economic pressures in individual cases; another has been to provide the social cohesion the migrant urgently needs in a new and complex environment. Both of these considerations are closely related to the prevention of crime, since the failure to find solutions to urgent socio-economic problems may precipitate criminal acts. The contributions of tribal association to an orderly process of urbanization deserve study with a view to the possible strong support of them by Government as one phase of social policy. In such an examination, attention will need to be directed separately to the various elements of the activities of the tribal associations, since it may be that only some of them represent a positive contribution while others may, in fact, impede an orderly transition by the rural people to urban life. The latter might be the case if tribal associations worked against the attainment of equality by women or encouraged the exploitation of children. There have even been instances in which tribal associations have contributed to criminal activity by re-establishing individuals in illegal practices immediately following their release from gaol after serving sentences there for these same illegal practices. At any rate, the various elements of the programmes of tribal associations merit careful evaluation to determine those aspects deserving support as instruments for the prevention of criminal activity in communities undergoing urbanization.

29. It is sometimes contended that trade unions should assume a major role in providing some of the social safeguards and assistance which would contribute to the prevention of types of criminality resulting from social change and accompanying economic development in less developed countries. In principle, it would appear possible for a union to offer an individual protection from exploitation and to conduct campaigns against abuses. Perhaps the basic question is, however, whether labour unions in the less developed countries are, at this stage in their development, prepared and disposed to take on such functions. Fragmentary information indicates that some small attempts have been made in that direction but not enough data is now available to allow any conclusion to be drawn as to the feasibility of such an approach.

VII. COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

30. Programmes of rural community development are now an essential part of the social and economic policy of many Governments; as such, they are aimed at achieving many goals involved in raising the levels of living of the total population. Accordingly, it is appropriate to deal with them here only with particular reference to their potentiality specifically to prevent the development of patterns of criminality. Little is yet known, however, about this. It would appear that such programmes could be used to prepare rural individuals and groups anticipating urban migration for the complex social experience involved in their new setting. In this process, the person concerned would be familiarized with the types of social experiences he will face, the nature of criminality in urban areas, and the resources on which he may or may not rely there. He would profit from learning beforehand the nature of the requirements and restrictions for which he will be held legally responsible in city life. More particularly, he might be dissuaded from migration if the circumstances appear unfavourable to his successful social adjustment in the urban setting.

31. Programmes of urban community development are much less common than programmes of rural community development, but they offer particular promise in the field of crime prevention. Not only could they provide the sense of cohesion and mutual aid which the individual needs in the urban setting to maintain his equilibrium but, more particularly, they could offer protection and specific assistance in situations which might lead to criminality. Too little experimentation and research have been done on this. Recently, however, the Economic and Social Council has included in the work programme of the United Nations in the social field provision for attention to be paid to this question in conjunction with pilot projects on the applicability of community development to urban areas. Pilot projects carried out in Pakistan with United Nations technical assistance, particularly at Karachi, Lahore, and Dacca, are now leading to a province-wide urban community development programme in East Pakistan. A small pilot project has also recently been initiated by the municipality of Delhi with assistance from the Ford Foundation.

VIII. THE IMPACT ON RURAL LIFE OF SOCIAL CHANGES
ACCOMPANYING ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

32. The problem of urbanization has overshadowed the question of changes in the living patterns of the inhabitants of the rural areas who do not migrate to the cities and very little attention has been given to the criminogenic factors involved in this situation. Moreover, the social characteristics and the crime rates of rural communities vary greatly one from the other and some areas are notorious for their illegal activities, quite irrespective of any impact of urbanism or programmes of economic development. Unfortunately an analysis of urban as compared with rural crime rates is so severely hampered by statistical and other technical difficulties as to render any conclusions highly tentative.

33. Nevertheless, certain factors associated with social changes accompanying economic development suggest probable disturbing elements that may contribute to criminality in rural areas. The migrant worker who returns to his village with new and generally more materialistic values, with grossly altered conceptions of individual liberties and goals, disturbs the settled patterns of village authority and sows the seeds of discord and rejection of established norms of behaviour. This need not invariably lead to criminality but, unless properly interpreted and dealt with, may very likely do so. In these circumstances, local leadership (and the guidance given to the local leaders) must be prepared to aid the rural population in maintaining a proper perspective and in evaluating the true worth of the new value system to which they are indirectly exposed. By the same token, it appears inevitable that rural life must itself welcome those changes which will lead toward fulfilling the legitimate aspirations of the community, and particularly of youth. It would be not only unwise but futile to attempt to isolate the rural community from the social changes emanating largely from the urban setting; rather, they must be anticipated, evaluated and taken into account in the structure of the village life.

34. The sharpest impact on the rural community is made by the development of manufacturing or extractive industries in the rural area. Here, suddenly, an entirely new social and economic way of life is introduced, with no attempt having been made on the part of the inhabitants to seek it out. To prevent the type of social break-down which provides the breeding ground for crime, much more will have to be done, both in preparing the rural area for the arrival of large scale industry and in so structuring the industrial administration that the disrupting elements will be minimized and compensatory programmes made available.

35. The successes and failures achieved by those industrial undertakings which have already attempted to anticipate and provide for the social dislocations associated with their ventures merit study for the development of a comprehensive policy that would significantly contribute to the prevention of the types of criminality resulting from social changes and accompanying economic development in less developed countries.

IX. FINAL REMARKS

36. It is quite clear that the topic of the prevention of types of criminality resulting from social changes and accompanying economic development in less developed countries represents a new departure in the field of the prevention of crime and the treatment of offenders. Efforts in the past have been so largely concentrated on introducing humanitarian and rehabilitative principles into the treatment of offenders that well-considered programmes of crime prevention have received inadequate attention. It can be argued that certain progressive treatment methods are themselves preventive, in that they prevent the repetition of crime or, better, are applied so early that serious criminality can be averted. It can also be argued that all measures which have as their purpose the improvement of levels of living and the amelioration of social ills do, in some sense, contribute to the prevention of crime. It is not accurate to say that these arguments are fallacious but it is important to assert that they are not specific enough to offer the programmes being sought for the prevention of the types of criminality resulting from social changes and accompanying economic development in less developed countries.

37. Broad programmes of social services, in particular, are often regarded as being the essence of crime prevention programmes (and especially juvenile delinquency prevention programmes) and the support of such services is frequently advocated precisely on that claim. There is no doubt that they do make a contribution to prevention but recent experiences in some of the economically more advanced countries would suggest that caution needs to be exercised in viewing various social services as contributing significantly to the prevention of crime and delinquency, more particularly certain new forms of juvenile delinquency. On the other hand, there is reason to believe that the more a particular social service is created specifically with crime and the offender in mind and the more the staff is specifically trained and experienced in problems of criminal behaviour, the more it can be expected that that service will contribute to the prevention of crime and delinquency. This suggests that policy-planners in the less developed countries undergoing social changes accompanying economic development should emphasize in the staffing of their social service programmes a special competence in the area of criminality, if it is intended that social services should be relied upon as an important element of the total crime prevention programme.

38. A comprehensive programme for the prevention of crime, moreover, cannot be maintained exclusively by a corps of professionalized workers attempting to cope

with each problem situation on an individual basis. Not only is it beyond the capacity of any Government to provide such services in adequate quantity but the approach itself is too limited. The programme must involve the initiative of the people themselves and deal with the very fabric of society.

39. In this paper, a number of possible approaches have been suggested for exploration, experimentation and evaluation. Community development programmes have been suggested as offering possibilities of preparing the rural person for urban life - especially urban community development programmes to aid the city dweller in coping with a new and complex way of life. Special measures for youth have been suggested, particularly the utilization of peer groups as the promoters of stabilizing social values and aims and the organization of suitable job opportunities for youth.^{6/} Among the suggested approaches have been measures for the maintenance of the extended family system or alternatives to it, such as the encouragement of tribal associations, facilitating in urban centres the continuation of certain characteristics of village community life, and providing assistance to wage-earners in order to encourage them to provide accommodation in their own households for their elders. The potential role of labour unions in the provision of social safeguards and individual assistance has been pointed out.

40. Attention has also been drawn to the need for the prevention, in both urban and rural economic development, of socially disruptive factors associated with large-scale economic projects. This would involve a continual assessment of the social implications of economic plans so as to eliminate, where possible, all socially disruptive elements and provide compensatory social measures where social dislocations are inevitable. Special attention has been called to the problems attendant upon demographic imbalance. In the administration of justice, new constructive approaches, based on a sensitivity to the social factors in play, will need to be developed allowing especially for greater flexibility in dealing with infractions of regulations peculiar to urban life.

41. Certain broad factors in the composition of the character of a nation or of a community may also be examined for clues to the prevention of criminality resulting from social changes accompanying economic development in the less developed countries. In this connexion, attention is directed to observations made at the UN/UNESCO Asian Seminar on Urbanization when the topic of crime and delinquency in relation to urbanization was under discussion:

^{6/} For additional discussion of delinquency preventive programmes see the Secretariat report on New Forms of Juvenile Delinquency, A/Conf.17/7.

"It was felt that Asian countries might avoid the levels of crime and delinquency which occurred in Western Countries under comparable conditions, by reason of the following characteristics of many Asian nations: (1) the great general devotion to religion which is an important binding force and a form of social control; (2) the stabilizing effect of the high degree of nationalism prevalent in many Asian countries; and (3) the general orientation of the Governments of Asia toward the concept of the Welfare State, in which Government is intimately concerned with the well-being of each individual as well as general social progress and social protection. Moreover, it was felt that the experience of Western countries was available to help Asian countries as urbanization progressed".

These views were put forward in the nature of assumptions. It is essential that these assumptions be correctly evaluated before they can be accepted as elements of a preventive policy. Moreover, it is further to be determined whether these assumptions, which may be pertinent to Asian countries, might also be made with respect to the countries of the Middle East, Africa or Latin America.

42. This field of inquiry is an important one, since such broad assumptions hold out the prospect of avoiding a wide scale increase in crime associated with social change and rapid economic development. Indeed, the belief was voiced at the above-mentioned seminar that great increases in crime and delinquency need not necessarily accompany increased urbanization in Asia.

43. It is clear that there are at hand today only elementary clues to the development of a sound social policy realistically designed to prevent criminality. Experimentation must be carried out and it must be accompanied by sound research and evaluation. Such endeavours call for a high degree of national attention and international collaboration.

Bibliography

1. Aubin, P. La délinquance juvénile outre-mer. Rééducation (Paris) 9:1-30, August-September 1955.
2. Balandier, G. Problems of social disorganization linked with the industrialization and urbanization of countries undergoing rapid economic development. Information (Paris) 6:1-15, October 1955. (Translation from the original French.)
3. Banerjee, Gauri. Sex delinquent women and their rehabilitation. Bombay, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bureau of Research and Publications, 1955. 142 pp.
4. Burma. Ministry of Social Welfare. Report of the Anti-Prostitution Inquiry Commission. 1955. Processed. (Text in Burmese.)
5. Busia, K.A. Report on a social survey of Sekondi Takoradi. London, Crown Agents for the Colonies, on behalf of the Government of the Gold Coast, 1950. 164 pp.
6. Enochs, E.S. The children of Latin America in an age of anxiety. Journal of Educational Sociology (New York) 28:299-307, March 1955.
7. Eisenstadt, S.N. Delinquent group formation among immigrant youth. British Journal of Delinquency (London) 2:34-45, July 1951.
8. Hellmann, Ellen. Rooiyard; A sociological survey of an urban native slum yard. London /Oxford University Press/ 1948. 125 pp. (The Rhodes-Livingstone Papers No. 13).
9. India. Intelligence Bureau. Criminality resulting from social changes and economic development. 1956. 14 pp. Processed.
10. Lee, Rose Hum. The city, urbanism and urbanization in major world regions. Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1955. 568 pp.
11. Prevention of juvenile delinquency. The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (Philadelphia), vol. 322, 1959. 213 pp. Special issue.
12. Reifen, David. Juvenile delinquency in a changing society (Environmental factors among juvenile delinquents in Tel Aviv, Israel). Jewish Social Service Quarterly (New York) 31:401-416, Summer 1955.
13. Report of the Conference on Urban Problems in East and Central Africa held in Ndola, Northern Rhodesia, February 1958. Journal of African Administration (London) 10:182-251, October 1958.
14. United Nations. Processes and problems of industrialization in under-developed countries. E/2670. New York, 1955. 152 pp. (Sales No.:1955.IIB.1). Published also in French and Spanish.

/...

15. _____. Report of the Ad Hoc Advisory Committee of Experts on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders. E/CN.5/298, 25 June 1953. 19 pp. Published also in French.
16. _____. Report on a co-ordinated policy regarding family levels of living. ST/SOA/34. New York, September 1957. 71 pp. (Sales No.:1957.IV.7). Published also in French and Spanish.
17. _____. Report on the world social situation. E/CN.5/324/Rev.1-ST/SCA/33. New York, April 1957. 198 pp. (Sales No.:1957.IV.3). Published also in French and Spanish.
18. _____. Social aspects of industrialization in Africa South of the Sahara in rural areas. Report prepared by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. A/AC.35/L.250, 12 July 1957. 27 pp.
19. _____. Special study on social conditions in Non-Self-Governing Territories. ST/TRI/SER.A/14. 239 pp. New York, 1958. (Sales No.:58.VI.B.2).
20. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Social implications of industrialization and urbanization in Africa South of the Sahara. Paris, 1956. 743 pp. (Tensions and Technology Series.)
21. _____. The social implications of industrialization and urbanization; Five studies in Asia. Calcutta, 1956. 268 pp.
22. _____. Urbanization in Asia and the Far East; Proceedings of the joint UN/UNESCO Seminar, Bangkok, 8-18 August 1956. Calcutta, 1957. 286 pp.
23. World Federation for Mental Health. Africa, social change and mental health. London, 1959. 40 pp.

This archiving project is a collaborative effort between United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime and American Society of Criminology, Division of International Criminology. Any comments or questions should be directed to Cindy J. Smith at CJSmithphd@comcast.net or Emil Wandzilak at emil.wandzilak@unodc.org.