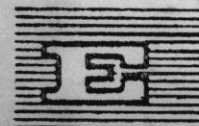


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RAPID SOCIAL CHANGE AND JUVENILE
DELINQUENCY IN AFRICA

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Introduction

Prevention of juvenile delinquency and a wise and constructive handling of the problem have formed part and parcel of national social development programmes in many parts of the world today. Studies and surveys of the problem have shown that incidence of juvenile delinquency is significantly higher in those countries of the world where economic prosperity and technology have advanced to a high degree than in the developing countries. By this is not implied that delinquency must necessarily follow economic prosperity and technological advancement. However, this is a point worth noting, in view of the aspirations and deliberate efforts of the economically under-developed countries to speed up their economic growth and achieve higher material standards of living for their people.

2. In Africa, today, the most distinctive feature of life is the rapidity of political, technological and economic development. This current revolutionary force, which is gathering momentum in most parts of the region, is bound to make a profound impact on the social structure. In many of these countries, the pace of change may be occurring so fast that national governments have little or no time to give due weight to the social and human consequences of technological and other changes or to make effective use of the available knowledge of human behaviour, as well as of the developing experience in the field of human relations.

3. This situation is particularly true of the new nation states which are coming into existence and of those areas of the world in which economic development is being telescoped into a fraction of the time it has taken the countries of Western Europe and North America. Towns are springing up almost overnight, peasant farming is giving place to large-scale methods of agriculture, mechanization and technological processes are introduced in countries which, a few short years ago, were not even on a money economy.^{1/}

^{1/} U.N. Publication Sales No.: 60.IV.1. page 7.

4. It has been observed that when such fundamental social changes take place there is a tendency for the rate of crime and delinquency to increase, in the transitional period at least. Since 1946, the problem of juvenile delinquency has been given special attention by the Social Commission of the United Nations and the matter has been the subject of various studies, conferences and seminars sponsored by the United Nations and its specialized agencies. The Second United Nations Congress on Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders, which took place in London, in August, 1960, devoted a significant part of its discussion to the subject of "prevention of types of criminality resulting from social changes and accompanying economic development in less developed countries."^{2/} It is of great importance to the Economic Commission for Africa, under whose primary auspices the first regional meeting on social defence in Africa has been arranged, that in this period of rapid change which differs only in degree from country to country, the social implications of accelerated economic development should be clearly recognized; and that due steps should be taken both to alleviate the strains and stresses placed on human society and its basic unit, the family, and to provide programmes of social development designed to prevent individual maladjustment and social disruption. Such action is necessary to ensure that economic development promotes the welfare of the people with the minimum amount of social disorganization.

5. What this paper sets out to achieve is to stimulate the awareness of the expert group to some of the major implications of the rapid social change currently taking place in the Africa region and, thereby, to enlist the group's co-operation in the purposeful examination of the problems which confront the African national governments in the development and administration of their national programmes for the prevention of juvenile delinquency and the treatment of young offenders.

^{2/} Report of the Second U.N. Congress on Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders. A/CONF. 17/20. U.N. Sales No. 61.IV.3. pp.24-28 & p. 62.

Definition of the term "Juvenile Delinquency"

6. The term "juvenile delinquency" suffers from a certain over-generalization; and, the advisability of restricting the meaning of the term has been considered on various occasions in recent years.^{3/} The extent and gravity of a social problem such as juvenile delinquency cannot be determined unless there is, as a safe point of departure, a clear and restricted delimitation of its scope. Not only does this have a bearing on the study of the causes of juvenile delinquency and on the methods of its prevention but it also enables proper assessment of the real extent of the problem and helps to curtail any tendency to inflate the problem unnecessarily.

7. Juvenile delinquency is usually defined on the basis of: (i) the non-adult status of the person concerned and, (ii) an act on the part of such a person which is regarded as delinquent according to the laws of the country. Both elements vary with the legal system, which itself reflects the values and attitudes of the people concerned. The situation in most parts of Africa is complicated not only by the diversity of ethnic groupings and cultures but also by the co-existence of three juridical systems arising from national histories, viz. (i) the customary laws which still pervade the daily lives of even the urbanized population; (ii) the laws imported by the colonial regime (or ex-colonial regimes) from the metropolitan countries and imposed upon the indigenous people; and, (iii) the "new laws" which are now being passed mostly by the people themselves and which tend to reflect the views and mores of an educated middle class.^{4/}

8. The point regarding non-adult status is important because there is general agreement today that non-adults found guilty of transgressing the laws of the country should not be dealt with in the same way as an adult under the law. This is based on the proposition that adult ways of thought and behaviour are not usually attained before this age, and that, therefore, juveniles (non-adults) found guilty of breaking the law.

^{3/} Ibid., p. 61. International Review of Criminal Policy, Nos. 7-8, 1955, pp. 11-16 for details.

^{4/} See also International Review of Criminal Policy (UN): No. 9 of 1956, p. 71, and No. 20 of 1962, p. 53. for a similar viewpoint.

could profit by measures of protection, guidance and reformation. Modern statutory law sets an upper age limit which defines the dividing line below which a person is accorded the status of a non-adult or juvenile for purposes of applying special measures consonant with this status. The chronological age is the commonly employed criterion for this purpose. It has not been easy to fix an upper chronological age limit objectively and there is no uniformity in practice as natural and cultural conditions of growth vary. Eighteen (18) years is the most preferred upper limit in Europe, North America and Latin America, though it ranges from 15 to 18 years in individual countries. In Asia, the Far East and the Middle East the upper age limits are comparatively lower than in the aforementioned regions, though a Middle East Seminar held in Cairo in 1953 recommended 18 years for the Middle East.^{5/}

9. In-so-far as an upper age limit fixed by statutory law is concerned, there is the same kind of variation between the individual African countries (or territories) as noted in the other regions. In respect of 23 countries, for which information is available, the age limit ranged from 15 to 18 years, and clustered around two age points: 16 and 18 years.^{6/} Generally, the French-speaking territories favoured 18 as the upper age limit, and the English-speaking 16 years. The variations would appear to reflect to some extent past historical associations with the colonial powers and their metropolitan policies. There has been a tendency throughout the world, for better or worse, to fix the upper age limit at a level higher than in the past.^{7/} A consequence of raising the age level would be that a greater number of juveniles would become eligible for special treatment. It is essential in the circumstances that adequate services in terms of personnel, equipment, etc., should be made available to meet the increased load in order not to defeat the aims of the rehabilitation of the juveniles

^{5/} International Review of Criminal Policy (UN), Nos. 7-8, 1955, p. 15.

^{6/} 15 years: UAR, Ethiopia.

16 years: Uganda, Tanganyika, French West Africa, Somalia, Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Swaziland.

17 years: Sierra Leone, Gambia, Ghana, Mauritius.

18 years: Cameroun, Congo (Leopoldville), Dahomey, Ivory Coast, Senegal, French Equatorial Africa, Madagascar, Nyasaland, N. Rhodesia.

^{7/} International Review of Criminal Policy, Nos. 7-8, 1955, p. 16.

concerned. It should be mentioned that some countries are, however, reconsidering the matter of raising the upper age limit as experience has shown that it covers persons who should be classified as adults. There is also a tendency to establish another category, that of the young offender for whom special measures may be provided.^{8/}

10. It should be noted too that the adoption of a chronological age brings with it certain difficulties of practical administration. As the registration of births is either non-existent in many areas of the region or the administrative machinery for ensuring that it be done is new or inadequate, problems arise in establishing the age of an individual. Very often this is left to the discretion of the presiding magistrate or officer who is dealing with the case. The question of establishing the age of a child also assumes importance when it is a matter of deciding whether a child who has committed an offence could be regarded, in law, as having attained the minimum age of criminal responsibility (which is usually fixed by statute and is known as the lower age limit). In this regard, the development of machinery for the registration of births greatly facilitates the implementation of a modern programme for the prevention and treatment of juvenile delinquency.

11. On the second element in the definition of juvenile delinquency, that is, the act by a juvenile which is regarded as constituting delinquency, here again one finds wide variations as between countries, and even between jurisdictions within the same country.^{9/} The point was discussed at the Second United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders (London, 1960) and it was noted that certain countries considered as delinquent acts "a series of minor acts of indiscipline or social maladjustment,"^{10/} and that this had the effect of inflating the problem unnecessarily. Without attempting to formulate a standard definition applicable to every country, the Congress

^{8/} Report on World Social Situation, 1963. Page 114, footnote 6. UN Sales No. 63.IV.4

^{9/} International Review of Criminal Policy, No. 7-8, 1955. p. 11.

^{10/} Report on the Second United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, 1960. p. 16.

recommended (a) that the meaning of the term juvenile delinquency should be restricted as far as possible to violations of the criminal law, and (b) that young people should not be penalized for specific minor offences which, when committed by adults would not be liable to prosecution.^{11/}

12. One of the problems which faces African countries in regard to the question of defining the term juvenile delinquency is the conflict between the norms set out in the penal codes (which are often based upon those of the ex-colonial powers or colonial powers) and the norms which are indigenous to the territories as well as the social goals and aspirations of the political authorities. Even where independence has been newly achieved, the necessities of the situation have compelled the utilization of the existing pattern of colonial laws. Another factor, which has also to be taken into account is that the norms of the indigenous population themselves are undergoing a change under the impact of urbanization and industrialization. The urban areas, in which juvenile delinquency has been identified as a growing social problem, are precisely the focal points where this cultural transition is most noticeable and where, it seems, a new set of social values and behavioural norms are being developed. It would, therefore, appear that for the immediate future there cannot be any rigid, hard and fast definition of what constitutes juvenile delinquency. A fair degree of flexibility and individualization of justice is called for at this time of rapid social change.^{12/} On the other hand, one cannot expect customary law to be adequate to meet the exigencies of the new social situation and, therefore, the penal code has to be brought into harmony with the rapidly changing way of life, especially in the towns and cities where the traditional moral and social sanctions are breaking down or are ineffective, and new patterns of social control are called for.

^{11/} Ibid, p. 61. Recommendations, paragraph 1.

^{12/} Ibid, p. 27/28, paras 213, 214.

13. A point to which some consideration might be given, by the expert group, is the distinction to be made between juveniles who have committed an offence and those whose circumstances make them only potential delinquents. In the latter category are vagrants, homeless, destitute, orphaned and neglected children and children in moral danger who may be taken into custody for purposes of protection. It seems from reports received from the region that a fair percentage of persons classified as juvenile delinquents really belong to this latter category, and, there appears to be the need to establish this category, separately and distinctly from those who have actually committed an offence, even though treatment measures for the two categories may, in many respects overlap.^{13/}

Extent of Juvenile Delinquency.

14. One of the continuing problems in this field is the measurement of the extent of juvenile delinquency. It is beset with many difficulties even in the countries with well-developed statistical services. This makes international, and even intra-country, comparisons unreliable. The main source of the difficulties arise from changing legislation, questions of definition, efficiency of the detecting machinery, and the consistency of reporting and the uniformity of recording procedures. No attempt will be made to analyse this aspect as it has been dealt with adequately elsewhere.^{14/}

15. It is not possible to give an accurate account of the actual extent (or trends) of juvenile delinquency in the Africa region, or even in any particular country or territory, due to lack of reliable and comprehensive figures. Whatever statistics are available should be interpreted with extreme caution. Nevertheless, it has to be emphasized that in order to formulate a policy with respect to the prevention of juvenile delinquency or the prevention of recidivism, it is of the utmost importance to know

^{13/} In Ghana this distinction is made and the case is treated accordingly. See Criminal Procedure Code, 1960 (Act 30), Section 375.

^{14/} International Review of Criminal Policy, Nos. 7-8, 1955. pp. 18-20.
U.N. Report on the World Social Situation, 1963. p. 114; and, footnote 6 on same page.

as accurately as possible what the existing situation is in a particular country. Accordingly, the preparation and study of statistics on juvenile delinquency are indicated as one of the immediate aims of those countries which feel that delinquency is of major concern.^{15/}

16. Though it may be difficult at the present juncture to state with any degree of confidence in quantitative terms how large is the problem in any one country, and to what extent it has increased or decreased, yet there is a growing body of reporting which lends support to the finding that juvenile delinquency is becoming more pronounced as a social phenomenon in the Africa region. There is general acceptance of the observation that the traditional forms and means of social control of juvenile behaviour through the family and the tribe has either broken down completely or is quite ineffective in exerting any influence in the new situation of increased geographical and social mobility, urbanization, industrialization and formal school education.^{16/} The gradual replacement of the old system of social control by modern statutory provisions and special juvenile correctional institutions, albeit based upon the European pattern, to cope with the problem is not only an acknowledgement of the changed social situation but is in itself evidence of the problem having made sufficient serious impact upon the public conscience and the administrative circles as to call for action.^{17/} Thus, throughout the region the ex-colonial administrations, and the remaining colonial administrations, enacted special legislation (or special chapters of criminal legislation) to deal with juvenile delinquency.^{18/} The statutory mode of dealing with juvenile and young offenders, or juveniles in need of care and protection, has been continued upon the attainment of independence.^{19/}

^{15/} Ibid, pp. 22/23

^{16/} W. Clifford, op.cit. p. 19.; Africa: Social Change and Mental Health pp. 14/15. W.F.M.H., 1959, London; U.N. Report of the World Social Situation, 1957 pp. 166-169; Processes and Problems of Industrialization in Underdeveloped Countries, p. 123. UN Sales No. 1955. 11B. 1.

^{17/} W. Clifford, op. cit. p. 20.

^{18/} Report of the Inter-African Conference on the Treatment of Offenders (Juvenile Delinquents) convened under the auspices of the Commission for Technical Co-operation in Africa South of the Sahara (C.C.T.A.) in Kampala, 1956. See also W. Clifford, op.cit. pp. 19-21.

^{19/} Lack of adequate treatment facilities often resulted in not strictly enforcing the law but this is another matter and does not do away with the existence of the problem.

17. Evidence of another kind that the problem is of sufficient dimensions to stir the public conscience and governmental concern may be found in the attention given to it in study groups, conferences and workshops and social investigations. For example, the Commission for Technical Co-operation in Africa South of the Sahara (C.C.T.A.) held an Inter-African Conference in 1956 in Kampala, Uganda to review the extent of the problem, the legislation, and current practice in the prevention and treatment of juvenile delinquency in the region.^{20/} In 1959 the C.C.T.A. and the International Children's Centre organized a symposium in Lagos on child welfare in Africa South of the Sahara, and here again special attention was given to juvenile delinquency under Section One of the agenda.^{21/} At this symposium it was reported that juvenile delinquency was already a considerable problem in the Belgian Congo, Madagascar and Lagos (Nigeria); and, a study was also presented on the Thieves' Market in Treichville (Abidjan) in which juveniles played a prominent role.^{22/} Again, the ECA Workshops on the Extension of Family and Child Welfare Services within Community Development Programmes (1960)^{23/} and on Urbanization in Africa (1962)^{24/} also devoted attention to this issue and found that the problem was growing and merited attention. Furthermore, the sending of two U.N. technical experts to Dahomey and the Cameroun, at the request of the governments, to study the problem of juvenile delinquency and advise on the measures to be taken^{25/}, and, the recent request of the Imperial Ethiopian Government for similar assistance, are also indicative of the serious view taken by the

^{20/} See footnote, reference 22.

^{21/} Child Welfare in Africa South of the Sahara. Centre Internationale de l'Enfance, 1959. Paris.

^{22/} Ibid. pp. 44, 96, 104.

^{23/} E/CN.14/79, pp. 19-26

^{24/} E/CN.14/170, p. 51.

^{25/} (i) Prevention et traitement de la delinquance au Dahomey by Mustapha El Aougi. Aug. 1963. U.N. Commissioner for Technical Assistance, New York.

(ii) La delinquance juvenile au Cameroun, by Pierre Zumbach. June 1963. TAO/CAMER/2. U.N. Commissioner for Technical Assistance, New York.

governments of the situation. The country statements of Northern Rhodesia, Nigeria, Ethiopia and Sierra Leone, for example, note with concern the growth of the problem in the urban areas especially since the Second World War.

18. Pierre Zumbach, investigating juvenile delinquency in Cameroun reports that the problem is practically non-existent in the villages and small towns but predicts a considerable increase in the towns and cities like Douala and Yaounde in the next fifteen years.^{26/} Paul Raymaekers reporting on Leopoldville (Congo);^{27/} the Secretariat-General of the League of Arab States on Morocco and the Sudan;^{28/} and W. Clifford on Northern Rhodesia,^{29/} also call attention to the increase in the extent of the problem.

19. The figures cited below (see Tables I and II) for Northern Rhodesia^{30/} and the Sudan^{31/} provide some idea of the growth of the problem in absolute terms. The Ethiopian country statement cites figures of male admissions to the Addis Ababa Training Center and Remand Home which show a rapid decrease from 312 in 1958/59 to 95 in 1961/62 and a sharp rise to 229 in 1962/63. It is specifically stated that these figures are no indication of the increase or decrease in juvenile delinquency, but that there is evidence of a fast increase, especially in the cities of Addis Ababa, Asmara and Dire Dawa. The figures of juvenile offenders in Ghana show a fairly even trend for the five years 1958 to 1962 fluctuating between 590 to 496. The country statement from Sierra Leone records with much concern that the number of juveniles charged before the Juvenile Courts increased from 512 in 1959 to 1,686 in 1963; and, the admissions

^{26/} International Review of Criminal Policy, No. 20, 1962 p. 45.

^{27/} Ibid p. 55.

^{28/} Ibid No. 19, 1962. p. 51.

^{29/} W. Clifford: Crime in Northern Rhodesia. Rhodes-Livingstone Communication, No. 18. Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, Lusaka, 1960. pp. 63-65.

^{30/} Combining above study with the country statement.

^{31/} See footnote reference 28.

TABLE I
Juvenile Offenders (N. Rhodesia)

Year	African	European	Eurafrican and Asian
1939	218	11	9
1946	260	40	9
1948	303	38	9
1957	174	59	9
1958	1,053	114	3
1959	1,114	79	3
1960	1,020	112	3
1961	1,119	101	4
1962	1,888	91	3

TABLE II

Juvenile Delinquents (Sudan)

Year	Juvenile Crimes Investigated.	On Probation	Under Care After Release
1952	356	86	11
1953	651	94	21
1954	902	208	37
1955	1,086	208	45
1956	886	99	79

to approved schools from 76 in 1962 to 132 in 1963. In the United Arab Republic, too, it would seem juvenile delinquency is on the increase. Leila Takla separating delinquency cases (felonies, misdemeanours and contraventions) from vagrancy cases reported that the former class of delinquents increased from 9,145 in 1958 to 14,023 in 1961; and, the latter from 5,034 to 16,986 in the same period.^{32/} On the other hand, one team of investigators conclude that there is no increase in juvenile delinquency in Dakar, as defined by the law, and, that most of the offences are elementary forms of delinquency which might be termed social maladjustment rather than positive criminal tendencies; they claim that there has actually been a decrease in 1961 as compared with 1953.^{33/} The figures for Tanganyika over a period of eight years also indicate a fairly constant trend as measured by convictions.^{34/}

20. Geographically the incidence of juvenile delinquency is in the towns and cities. All the country statements and the reports quoted above make the same observation: that it is essentially an urban problem. This fits in with the findings of studies on urbanization, not only in Africa but also in the other regions.^{35/}

^{32/} Leila I. Takla (Darwish): A Study on Juvenile Delinquency in Egypt, U.A.R., with special reference to Urbanization and the Problem of Vagrancy. Paper presented to the ECA Workshop on Urban Problems, Lagos, 1963.

^{33/} Interhational Review of Criminal Policy, No. 20, 1962: pp. 27 and 33.
^{34/} Juveniles convicted before the District Courts: 1955-630. 1956-711. 1957-791. 1958-794. 1959-756. 1960-709. 1961-720. 1962-682. Tanganyika: Annual Report for the Judiciary, 1962. p. 19.

^{35/} Government Printer, Dar-es-Salaam, 1963.
U.N. Report on the World Social Situation, 1957. Sales No. 1957.IV.3. p. 141ff. Part two of this report is devoted to studies of the social problems of urbanization in economically underdeveloped areas.

21. To put this social problem in the proper perspective, it should, however, be stated that juvenile delinquency is fractional in relation to the host of other urgent problems which confront the governments in the Africa region, as for example, unemployment and underemployment, shortages of trained manpower, illiteracy and inadequate educational facilities, low standards of health and nutrition, endemic diseases of man and animal, low agricultural productivity, poor communications and marketing facilities, low levels of personal income and purchasing power, sub-standard housing, rural exodus and urban overcrowding, disruption of family life and stability, antiquated and inequitable land tenure systems, and so on. At this stage of its development African society is overwhelmed with the primary problems of securing enough food, clothing, shelter and jobs, and while recognizing that crime and juvenile delinquency are on the upward trend the attitude of the leadership is, and rightly to a great extent, that with solution of these issues juvenile delinquency will be eliminated or, at least, considerably reduced.^{36/}

Types and Forms of Manifestation.

22. The offences committed by juvenile delinquents may be classified into three broad types, viz. (i) against the state and public order; (ii) against property; and, (iii) against persons. The trend appears to be that in both the English-speaking and French-speaking territories in the region the overwhelming majority of the offences were against property.^{37/} Offences against persons were also recorded but in proportion to the total offences committed they were fractional. Offences against the State and public order and morality were the least.

^{36/} W. Clifford, International Review of Criminal Policy, No. 21, 1962. pp. 17, 22.

^{37/} New Forms of Juvenile Delinquency: Their Origin and Prevention: Report prepared by the United Nations Secretariat for the Second United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders, 1960. A/CONF. 17/7, paras. 58, 61, 62, 64, 65.

23. The following tables (Tables III and IV) based upon available data from governmental sources for the last five years provide further evidence of this observed trend. In N. Rhodesia they constituted about 81 per cent of the total number of juvenile cases coming before the courts over a period of five years; in Ghana and Sierra Leone the figures were 73 per cent and 52 per cent respectively. In Kenya they were three-fifths of the cases admitted to approved schools and remand homes.

TABLE III

Percentage Distribution of
Total Number of Offences committed by
Juvenile Offenders over a Five-Year Period⁺

	<u>Against Public</u> <u>Authority</u> %	<u>Against</u> <u>Persons</u> %	<u>Against</u> <u>Property</u> %	<u>Other</u> %
Ghana	7.75	16.42	72.82	3.02
N. Rhodesia	7.46	7.93	80.51	4.10
Sierra Leone	8.49	11.02	52.11	28.38

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- ⁺ Note: 1. Re-classified from country statements, following the N. Rhodesian classification.
2. For Ghana and N. Rhodesia indicates the total number of offences for which juveniles were charged from 1958-62 inclusive; and, for Sierra Leone the total number of the "most common" types of offences from 1959-63 inclusive in Freetown (thus, the figures are not complete)
3. N. Rhodesia and Sierra Leone figures are for male offenders only.
4. N. Rhodesia figures are for Africans only.
5. Sierra Leone: "Other" includes 15.36 per cent vagrancy cases, and 13.02 per cent "Beyond Parental Control".
6. The annual figures have been totalled to obtain the average trend over the quinquennium.

TABLE IV

Percentage Distribution
of Total Number of Offences Committed by
Juveniles Admitted to Approved Schools and Remand Homes ++

	<u>Against Public</u> <u>Authority</u> %	<u>Against</u> <u>Persons</u> %	<u>Against</u> <u>Property</u> %	<u>Other</u> %
Ethiopia	9.51	8.05	39.64	42.78
Kenya	6.13	15.51	62.62	15.75

- ++ Note: 1. Ethiopia figures are for the Addis Ababa Training Center and Remand Home for the period 1958/59 to 1962/63 inclusive; and Kenya for 1959 to 1961 inclusive.
2. Source for Ethiopia: Country Statement.
Source for Kenya: Treatment of Offenders Annual Reports, 1959 (pp. 34-35), 1960 (pp. 45-46), 1961 (pp. 49-50) Government Printer, Nairobi.
3. The annual figures have been totalled to obtain the average trend over the quinquennium or triennium.
4. Admissions to an approved school or remand homes is but one mode of disposal of the cases, and, therefore, do not represent all the cases coming before a juvenile court. These figures give some idea of the general pattern of offences.
5. Ethiopia: "Other" includes 42.15 per cent vagrancy and truancy cases.

24. In Tanganyika 67 boys were newly admitted to the approved school in Malindi in 1960 and of this number 56 were for offences against property; and, similarly in 1962 out of 84 new admissions to the same school 78 were for offences against property. In comparison offences against the person for the same two years were 5 and 1 respectively.^{38/} In the towns of Yaounde and Douala in the Camerouns the statistics reveal the same trend:

^{38/} Tanganyika: (i) Treatment of Offenders Annual Report, 1960, Ministry of Home Affairs, p. 117.
(ii) Annual Report of the Probation Division, 1962, Ministry of Cooperative and Community Development, p. 2.

in 1961 out of 177 juvenile delinquent cases 131 had committed offences against property and 24 against persons.^{39/} In Dakar (Senegal) an analysis of the dossiers of boys and girls from 1953-1961 revealed that 67 out of 100 boys had committed offences against property, whereas only 9 cases were against the person; whilst 45 out of 104 girls had committed offences against property and 32 cases were against persons.^{40/}

25. A further examination of the offences committed against property reveals that the overwhelming proportion was theft (or stealing) of one degree of seriousness or another. In Northern Rhodesia, for example, the figure was 79 per cent of all types of juvenile offences committed over a five-year period, malicious damage to property constituting only 1.55 per cent;^{41/} and, in Ghana the corresponding figures were 72 per cent for theft and 1.12 per cent for damage to property. One investigation in Ghana, of the Volta region, noted that 55.4 per cent of the juvenile offences were stealing, and that stealing in the market place had become "very common" in the big centres of trade such as Reta, Ho, Kpandu, Hohol, Jasikan and Kadjebi.^{42/} In Sierra Leone out of 4,101 offences recorded over five years 52.11 per cent were of "larceny".^{43/} In Ethiopia and Kenya the most frequent type of offence for which juveniles were admitted into an approved school or remand home was again for petty theft or more serious forms of stealing: the figure for Ethiopia was 38.80 per cent and for Kenya 62.14 per cent.^{44/} At the Kampirengisa Boys' Approved School in Uganda out of 56 new admissions 26 were for theft in the year 1959/60.^{45/}

^{39/} International Review of Criminal Policy, No. 20, 1962, pp. 40/41.

^{40/} Ibid p. 29

^{41/} Analysis of country statements.

^{42/} Advance, July 1963. p. 11. Bulletin of the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development, Accra, Ghana.

^{43/} Country statement.

^{44/} Analysis of country statement of Ethiopia and Annual Reports on the Treatment of Offenders (Kenya), op. cit.

^{45/} Uganda: Annual Report of the Ministry of Social Development, 1959/60. p. 60.

Other reports from Leopoldville (Congo),^{46/} the United Arab Republic,^{47/} Madagascar,^{48/} Abidjan (Ivory Coast)^{48/} and Ethiopia^{49/} note a rising trend in this type of offence.

26. Reports on the objects stolen are not readily available but one investigation in Yaounde and Douala (Cameroun) records the objects stolen in the following order of frequency: money, clothing, household articles and personal effects, sewing machines, luxury articles like cameras, radio sets, jewellery, watches, cigarettes, bicycles, fountain pens, food, vehicles and domestic animals.^{50/} A similar pattern of petty theft is reported for Dakar: articles of utility but of small monetary value.^{51/} One interesting observation made in connection with petty thefts was that they were committed generally against persons outside the clan, and especially if they were against Europeans, it was regarded as "fair game" and caused little public resentment.^{52/}

27. Sexual offences are usually forbidden by native custom and were, therefore, infrequent. This was reported of Ghana as well as of the U.A.R.^{53/} Where such offences were reported in Douala and Yaounde it appears that the sexual relationship took place with the consent of both parties but without parental approval, and the matter came before the authorities as a complaint by the parents for non-payment of compensation in accordance with custom.^{54/}

^{46/}International Review of Criminal Policy. No. 20, 1962. pp 53/54.

^{47/}Takla, Leila I, A Study of Juvenile Delinquency in the UAR with Special Reference to Urbanization and the Problem of Vagrancy. Paper prepared for the ECA Workshop on Urbanization in Africa, 1963, pp. 8-9.

^{48/}UN Secretariat Report: New Forms of Juvenile Delinquency: Their Origin, Prevention and Treatment. A/CONF. 17/7, paras 58, 61, 65.

^{49/}Tesfaye Andargachew: Correction in Ethiopia. Article in Current Projects in the Prevention, Control and Treatment of Crime and Delinquency, Vol. III, 1963, pp. 7-11. National Research and Information Centre on Crime and Delinquency, National Council on Crime and Delinquency, New York.

^{50/}International Review of Criminal Policy, No. 20, 1962. p. 42. See also New Forms of Juvenile Delinquency, etc. - UN Secretariat Report, A/CONF. 17/7, para 61.

^{51/}International Review of Criminal Policy, No. 20, 1962. p. 29.

^{52/}U.N. Report A/CONF 17/7 - op.cit. in Reference 48 above.

^{53/}U.N. Secretariat Report, op.cit. A/CONF. 17/7: paras 57, 58.

^{54/}International Review of Criminal Policy, No. 20, 1962, p. 42.

28. Drunkenness as an offence is virtually unknown in the Arab States^{55/} owing to the strong prohibition against the taking of alcohol under Islamic code. But a common form of delinquency, under the UAR law, is the collection of cigarette butts and waste articles^{56/}, a kind of delinquency not recognized elsewhere, but probably related to a prohibition against the use of tobacco by juveniles and for hygienic reasons.

29. Other offences which appear to be on the increase are the use and sale of narcotic drugs (especially Indian hemp or bhang or dagga) and the carrying of lethal weapons. In the port areas stowing away on ships (e.g. Camerouns), and elsewhere the illegal boarding of trains (e.g. UAR) have also been reported to be on the increase: no doubt lured by a sense of adventure.

30. Vagrancy cases in the towns and cities are very much on the increase due to the migration of young people from the rural areas: often without the consent or knowledge of their parents and guardians and with no relatives to take care of them in the towns. In the UAR vagrancy cases had increased from 5,034 in 1958 to 16,986 in 1961 - a more than three-fold increase; and in the latter year they exceeded cases of juveniles who had committed an offence by nearly 3,000.^{57/} In Dakar, too, there are numerous youthful vagrants and many of the delinquents apprehended for committing offences were found to be also vagrancy cases, but according to this report vagrancy does not appear to be regarded in law as a serious offence requiring the attention of the police.^{58/} In Ethiopia vagrancy and truancy cases constitute 42 per cent of the admissions to the single approved school and remand home in Addis Ababa.^{59/} This class of youthful vagrants, predisposed to delinquent behaviour, are actually children in

^{55/} U.N. Secretariat Report, op. cit. A/CONF 17/7: paras 57, 58.

^{56/} Takla, Leila I: op.cit. p. 4.

^{57/} Takla, Leila I: op. cit. p. 8.

^{58/} International Review of Criminal Policy, No. 20, 1962, p. 30.

^{59/} Figures given in country statement.

need of care and protection. Whilst such cases are generally children newly or recently arrived from the country districts, however, many cases of juvenile vagrancy also arise amongst the families living in the towns. The root cause of the problem appears to be the disruption of family life and lossening of primary social controls in the rural areas as well as in the towns due to the long absence of the father from home, or to the neglect of children. Broken homes and illegitimacy are strong predisposing conditions to the neglect of children in the towns and cities.

31. In the cities gambling is a widely prevalent form of delinquency and is indulged in by juveniles to acquire the means to go to places of entertainment, especially the cinema. Amongst the girls, juvenile prostitution is a common form of delinquent behaviour.

32. Offences committed by juveniles in the region are not generally of a serious nature, and are classifiable as misdemeanours or elementary forms of delinquency.^{60/} Though most of the offences are committed in the towns a significant proportion of the juvenile offenders have their homes in the rural areas. For example, one study of the Moroccan situation reveals that out of 1,669 cases examined 723 (44 per cent) were rural dwellers.^{61/} However, the majority of the cases appear to be drawn from town dwellers. Furthermore juvenile delinquency is essentially an urban problem, presumably because of the opportunities provided by the towns and the conditions of urban living.

33. Organized juvenile gangs have emerged in the region (e.g. Ghana, Leopoldville (Congo), Dakar), but there are no reports of serious or widespread offences committed by such gangs (except, perhaps in the Republic of South Africa.^{62/} Paul Raymaekers in study of juvenile pre-delinquency and

^{60/} For example, such conclusions are drawn by Leila Takla in respect of the U.A.R., op. cit.; and Messrs Evelyn Pierre, J.P. Flammond and J.H. Collomb in respect of Dakar (International Review of Criminal Policy, No. 20, 1962, p. 33).

^{61/} International Review of Criminal Policy, No. 20, 1962, p. 21; See also p. 45, same issue, regarding Cameroun; and for Ethiopia, Andargachew Tesfaye, op. cit. p. 11.

^{62/} Ibid, pp. 53/54; Advance, op. cit. p. 11.

delinquency in Leopoldville (Congo) presents an analysis of the characteristics of some fifty gangs whose activities were of a negative nature and the majority of which were delinquency prone.^{63/} He also noted that there was an increasing tendency towards theft and violence, particularly by gangs.^{64/} The situation in Leopoldville is most probably influenced by the generally disturbed and unsettled state of affairs in the Congo since independence, which is often a condition for the increase of crime and delinquency. In the Camerouns, for example, thefts by organized gangs is still a rare phenomenon.^{65/} By and large juvenile delinquency is less associational and more individual in character in the region, especially with the age group 15-18 years.

34. Age statistics of juvenile offenders are hard to come by (and, in any case their reliability is questionable for reasons already stated earlier in this paper), and, therefore, very little is known of age variations either in the incidence of delinquency or the types of offences committed. A report from Ethiopia noted that 70 per cent of the offenders admitted to the Addis Ababa Training School and Remand Home are boys 12-16 years of age.^{66/} In the towns of Douala and Yaounde (Cameroun) of 177 cases investigated by S.P. Tschoungin and Pierra Zumbach 50 per cent were between 12-16 years of age; 68 per cent were between the ages of 16-18 years inclusive; and, the average age was 16.3 years for Yaounde and 14.6 years for Douala.^{67/} The Dakar Study noted that the ages ranged from 13-18 years, with the mode at 16 years for boys and 17 years for girls.^{68/} The Dakar Study also made the interesting observation that delinquent children born in Dakar were younger than those who had been born in the rural areas, but that their delinquency decreased with age. On the other hand, delinquency amongst rural youths started at an older age and delinquent behaviour con-

^{63/} International Review of Criminal Policy, No. 20, 1962. p. 54.

^{64/} Ibid p. 54.

^{65/} Ibid p. 42, para 12.

^{66/} Tesfaye, Andargachew, op. cit. p. 11.

^{67/} International Review of Criminal Policy, No. 20, 1962, pp. 39/41..

^{68/} Ibid, p. 28.

tinued to a higher age.^{69/} This would mean that the average age of urban youth would be lower than that of those who had come in from the rural areas. We do not have the data to say whether the trend in the region is towards younger age groups becoming involved in delinquency, as observed in Europe and elsewhere.^{70/}

35. There does appear to be a noticeable sex difference in the extent of juvenile delinquency. Most of the cases handled by the police and the court are male offenders. Cases of girl offenders are regularly reported for petty thefts, prostitution, and even acts of violence but the number is fractional in relation to the total number of juvenile cases coming up for attention. For example, in the Camerouns out of 173 cases brought before the courts in 1961 only 4 were girls;^{71/} in Dakar there were 90 boys for every 10 girls;^{72/} in Kenya out of 69 juveniles (14 to under 16 years) sentenced to imprisonment in 1962 there were only 7 girls.^{73/} In the towns of Accra, Kumasi, Sekondi and Takoradi (Ghana) the combined figures of juvenile offenders for 1958 - 1962 also yielded a ratio of 1 girl to 10 boys (i.e. 227 against 2,390).^{74/} The lower rate of delinquency amongst girls has been observed in the other regions and cultural factors such as strict behavioural norms for women are no doubt responsible for this. The actual extent may be masked, more so than in the case of boys, by the reluctance of parents and others to bring girls to the court, but it is markedly lower than the boys.

^{69/} Ibid, p. 29.

^{70/} UN Secretariat Report, op. cit. A/CONF. 17/7, para 111(c).

^{71/} International Review of Criminal Policy, No. 20, 1962, pp. 40/41.

^{72/} Ibid, p. 28. See also "Advance", op. cit., p. 12 for similar pattern in Ghana.

^{73/} Kenya Government: Treatment of Offenders Annual Report, 1962, p. 11.

^{74/} Table 2: Country Statement.

Factors Contributing to Juvenile Delinquency.

36. Theories of delinquent causation are now generally considered to be sociological or economic or medico-psychological in nature. Some believe that a combination of these factors offers a better explanation. The position today is that our knowledge has not advanced sufficiently far to determine the "causes" of juvenile delinquency. At best we may only speak of "contributing factors". There are so many variables involved, and the complexity of their interaction is so bewildering, that it is difficult to arrive at the real aetiology.^{75/}

37. Expert opinion is now tending to view juvenile delinquency as being the result of a learning process as much as of a selected set of factors.^{76/} Delinquent behaviour is not an isolated phenomenon and cannot be dealt with in a manner unrelated to the social matrix.^{77/} Juvenile delinquency presents its own particular characteristics in each region or even in each country. The Africa region has not advanced very much in its study and treatment of crime and delinquency partly because of its pre-occupation with a number of other political and economic problems and partly because it lacks much of the basic data from the other social sciences which are needed for the development of its social defence.^{78/} The analysis of the contributing factors presented below, therefore, suffers from this limitation, but nevertheless it attempts to summarise the observation and experiences of those most qualified to speak on the African situation. Practical measures for prevention and treatment cannot, however, await scientific precision, and administration must proceed on what knowledge

^{75/} The latest UN sponsored European Seminar on the Evaluation of Methods used in the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency held at Frascati, Italy in October 1962 admitted this with some disappointment for effective treatment obviously depended upon the accuracy of diagnosis. See Report, SOA/ESWP/1962/3. United Nations.

^{76/} UN Secretariat Report, op. cit. A/CONF. 17/7, para. 117.

^{77/} International Review of Criminal Policy, Nos. 7-8, 1955, p. 25.

This issue is devoted to a comprehensive report by the UN Secretariat on the problem of juvenile delinquency and the question of "causation" is reviewed fully, and, therefore, the argument will not be repeated

^{78/} in this paper.

Clifford, W., op. cit. p. 17.

is available of the contributing factors.

38. The first major observation that may be made is that the emergence and increase of juvenile delinquency (and crime generally) is associated with the rapid social changes that are taking place side by side with the accelerated pace of political and economic development in the Africa region. Similar trends in crime and delinquency have been observed in the economically less developed regions of Asia and Latin America which are also undergoing rapid social and economic transformation. The underlying factors are to a great extent different from those currently contributing to an increase of juvenile delinquency in the economically more advanced countries.

39. European colonisation of Africa, the rise of African nationalism, and the achievement of national independence by most countries in the region within the last decade, have all set into motion powerful forces making for far-reaching economic, political, cultural and social change. For example, the traditional subsistence economy around which the village social structure and tribal traditions were built has been forced to give way to a market and money economy. This change is by no means complete and, indeed, is likely to be deliberately speeded up to bring about greater economic growth.^{79/} The new pattern of economic activity has induced mass migration (internal as well as inter-territorial), the concentration of population in towns and cities, the establishment of modern forms of commercial enterprise and industrial production, and the training of labour in new kinds of skills and habits of work. Overlaying this basic economic revolution is the equally important intellectual and spiritual revolution brought about by the proselytizing activities of Christian missionaries, the dissemination of new skills of learning, and new ideas and ways of thought through a network of schools, colleges

^{79/} ECA/FAO Experts' Meeting on Government Measures to Promote the Transition from Subsistence to Market Agriculture, held in Addis Ababa, from 27 April to 8 May 1964. See also "Africa: Social Change and Mental Health", pp. 8-15 by Julia Henderson, an excellent summary statement of the social changes taking place in Africa. World Federation for Mental Health, London, 1959.

and other mass media of communication.

40. It was inevitable that all these developments would bring about changes in family life and social relations. Politics, economics and religion have thus combined to shake up and re-shape traditional African society. Large masses of the people have been affected by these conditions but they have yet to be adequately adjusted to and assimilate the new elements of living. African society is in the midst of a cultural, economic and political transition. It is a fluidic, dynamic and creative phase but nonetheless unsettled and unsettling, and conducive to the emergence or increase of different types of criminality and delinquent behaviour.

41. It should be noted, however, that criminality and delinquency are not necessarily a consequence of social changes accompanying economic development.^{80/} Social changes and economic development are both inevitable and welcome, and, under proper conditions may even contribute to a decrease in criminality, in-so-far as criminal tendencies and activity have been stimulated by the lack of certain basic economic necessities and social amenities.^{81/} The crucial aspect of social change which appears to be associated with the growth of delinquent behaviour lies in the manner and rate of change.^{82/} The findings of the Second UN Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders are that cultural instability, the weakening of primary social controls and the exposure to conflicting social standards are related to criminality, and these features are intensified when social change is disorderly, when the degree of social change is high, and when the gap between the breakdown of old social institutions and the creation of new institutions is great.^{83/}

^{80/} UN Report on Second World Congress, etc. op. cit. A/CONF, 17/20, p. 62.

Section 3, para 1.

^{81/} Ibid, p. 25, para 204.

^{82/} Ibid, p. 27, para 214.

^{83/} Ibid, p. 62, Section 3, para 4.

Social change is subject to a certain degree of control and should be a matter for national planning.^{84/}

42. Economic development is accompanied by migration (especially internal migration), urbanization and generally also by industrialization. These three aspects have often been erroneously assumed to be direct contributive factors to juvenile delinquency (and criminality). The viewpoint today is that it is not migration, per se, that is conducive to criminality, but perhaps the cultural instability, the weakening of primary social controls and the exposure to conflicting standards of behaviour associated with migration which are to be identified with crime causation.^{85/} The same conclusion is also to be applied to urbanization and industrialization.^{85/} The breakdown of social institutions and methods of social control (such as that exercised by the family and the tribe), and the failure to establish equally effective measures immediately were what mattered. The remedy indicated was planning for urbanization and industrialization accompanied by migration but without social breakdown and criminality.^{86/}

43. The unfavourable results which may accompany rapid migration to urban centres may be ameliorated by providing the rural areas with the social and economic advantage in search of which the rural inhabitant leaves the land for the city.^{87/} The social integrity of the rural migrant into an urban area is assailed immediately by the unfamiliarity of the urban setting and its way of living. It has been noted that the bulk of the criminal prosecution in certain African (and Asian) communities were for non-compliance with regulations peculiar to urban living, and little understood by the people recently arrived from rural settings.^{88/} It has been recommended

^{84/} Ibid, p. 62, Section 3, para 5.

^{85/} Ibid, p. 26, paras 206-109; p. 62, Section 3, para 6. The country statements of Sierra Leone and Ethiopia make the same analytical observation.

^{86/} Ibid, p. 26, para 208.

^{87/} Ibid, p. 62, Section 3, para 7.

^{88/} See UN Secretariat Report; op. cit. A/CONF. 17/4, para 9; also see A/CONF. 17/3, paras 14-24.

that rural migrants might be prepared for this experience and that the urban community itself should also be prepared to receive them.^{89/} This is a task in which the community development organization and services could play an important role.^{90/} Urban preparedness would involve the provision of reception and orientation services, including temporary shelter; town planning, including housing; educational and vocational opportunities for the new population; and family and child welfare services.^{91/} The unpreparedness of rural juveniles for the urban experience is even greater and the resulting cultural shock upsets the social and moral integrity of the individual more readily,^{92/} and makes them more delinquency prone.

44. The conflict of cultures and the breakdown of traditional mores under the impact of westernisation and the consequent effect of this upon the upbringing and development of children has been cited quite frequently in studies of juvenile delinquency in the region. Riby-Williams, for example, writing on the situation in Ghana describes in some detail the influence of contemporary western-oriented school education and the conflict of values and codes of conduct as between the older and the younger generation and makes the following observation: "The child himself, by acquiring new systems of values and 'the magic key' of English education finds himself naturally cut away from the spirit and personal influence of the home, with a great deal more freedom than can be socially controlled. His role in the home becomes uncertain and he naturally develops conflicting loyalties."^{93/} Evelyn Pierra, J.P. Flamand and H. Collomb, in their study of juvenile delinquency in Dakar^{94/} also stress the conflict of cultures caused by western education, and what they term as the consequent 'social maladjustment'." They prefer to regard

^{89/} UN Report on Second World Congress, etc. op. cit. A/CONF. 17/20, p. 62, Section 3, para 8.

^{90/} A.M. Khalifa in UN Report, A/CONF. 17/3, pp. 90-92.

^{91/} Ibid.

^{92/} A.M. Khalifa, UN Report, A/CONF 17/3, pp. 69-78, and especially para 132, 138, 140 and 146.

^{93/} International Review of Criminal Policy, No. 6, 1954, pp. 2-3.

^{94/} Ibid, No. 20, 1962, pp. 33-34. (English Summary).

juvenile delinquency more as "social maladaptation" due to the "potentially traumatic encounter with western civilization." They believe that the maladjustment of the young Africans is due to their difficulty in fully assimilating norms and demands culturally foreign to them, conclude that the problem is primarily one of education. Like Riby-Williams they state that the intrusion of western civilization has disrupted the traditional tribal system of education which was for the needs of the group. S.P. Tschoungui and Pierra Zumbach in their study of juvenile delinquency in the Cameroun,^{95/} and Abdellatif El Bacha in his study of juvenile delinquency in Morocco^{96/} also stress the same cultural factors as contributing to the emergence of the problem in the African region.

45. The weakness and instability of family life as a major factor contributive to juvenile delinquency has also been cited in recent studies. Abdellatif El Bacha, for example, has this to say of the situation in Morocco:

"Another disquieting phenomenon is the collapse of the traditional family structures, the transformation of the tribal family into the family of two. The heterogeneity of the present is replacing the homogeneity of the past. The importance of the family decreases as the implications of the inevitable 'incidentals of modern life' become more pronounced: the school, the factory, the trade union, the political party, and so forth... The instability of the family remains a serious problem in the new Morocco. The most readily apparent and the gravest consequence of these various factors is the non-satisfaction of emotional needs." What the maladjusted young Moroccan often needs above all is more affection. The parents are no longer able to cope; frequently their reaction is to take the line of least resistance and to abdicate their responsibilities for dealing with their children's problems."^{97/}

^{95/} Ibid, pp. 45-46. (English summary).
^{96/} Ibid, pp. 22-23. (English summary).
^{97/} Ibid, p. 23.

46. Evelyn Pierre, J.P. Flamand and H. Collomb in the aforementioned study of Dakar^{98/} also relate juvenile delinquency to fundamental changes in family structure and disorganization (or lack of organization) of family life resulting from the economic and social transformation of Senegalese society. The general tendency in the towns and cities appears to be a breakdown of the extended family system and the establishment of nuclear families; and, where both parents go out to work the children are often left to their own devices. W. Clifford^{99/} also notes the breakdown of traditional controls over children because of the confused family and social situation in the towns.

47. The relevance and importance of family stability and parental control is brought out well in the aforementioned study in the Volta Region of Ghana. An examination of the case histories of 80 delinquents showed a combination of two or more factors, but the predominant ones were as follows:^{100/}

Weak home control resulting from parents living apart:	55 per cent
Fatherless or orphan children	15 per cent
Antagonism of step-mother, etc.	12.5 per cent
Strained family relationships	17.5 per cent

48. Only 24 out of the 80 children lived with both parents, and the rest lived either with one parent, or some other relative or even non-relatives; and, seven of them actually lived on their own. The author of this study (Mr. F.K. Egan) accounts for this situation by pointing to the instability of marriage, and the frequency of separations and divorces.

49. 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 "peer" group. In the disorganized setting of

^{98/} Ibid, p. 30.

^{99/} International Review of Criminal Policy, No. 21, 1964, op. cit. p. 19.

^{100/} "Advance", July 1963, pp. 12-13. The country statements of Ghana, Ethiopia, and Sierra Leone also stress the breakdown of family stability and cohesion as contributory factors.

urban slums, the peer very often functions as a gang, committing petty crimes, organized vandalism, and even serving as the willing agents of professional criminals.^{101/} Such peer groups may also be used as carriers of socially approved values and goals.

49. The lack of educational facilities and opportunities may also contribute to juvenile delinquency.^{102/} But there is a direction in which education actually seems to contribute to juvenile delinquency. Educated youth from the rural areas drift to the towns and seaports in search of non-manual or "white collar" jobs.^{103/} These jobs are either scarce or the job-seekers do not have an adequate educational background to qualify for them (having left school too early). Consequently they tend to drift from place to place or live in comparative idleness, and sooner or later are driven to commit delinquent acts, such as thefts. W. Clifford reports that even after several periods in prison the young prisoners he had interviewed were still not prepared to accept work which they regarded as having no status. They preferred to dress well and to keep up appearances by illegal practices rather than to accept the level in society which would otherwise be their lot (i.e. by engaging in unskilled labourers' jobs).^{104/}

50. Thus, in the short run because the educational systems are incomplete in that they are not diversified enough curriculum-wise and not adapted to industrial, commercial and agricultural development, and, also because enough employment opportunities of the kind sought after by African youth are not available at this stage of economic growth, we have a situation in which the army of unemployed school-leavers is growing. This also is a strong contributing factor to the emergence and increase of juvenile delinquency.^{105/}

^{101/} UN Secretariat Report, A/CONF. 17/A, para 20.

^{102/} See country statements of N. Rhodesia, Sierra Leone and Ethiopia for similar views.

^{103/} International Review of Criminal Policy, No. 21, 1964, p. 24, Section (e). Article by W. Clifford. See also country statement by Sierra Leone.

^{104/} Ibid, p. 24. See also International Review of Criminal Policy, No. 20, 1962, p. 45 on the situation in the Camerouns.

^{105/} The lack of employment opportunities and actual unemployment have been noted in the country statements of Nigeria, N. Rhodesia, Sierra Leone and Ethiopia.

51. A point that has been well made in respect of urban occupational opportunities for youth and which is directly related to delinquency proneness, is that youth is shunted into precarious employment, often on the fringe of legality, and very often, in settings of considerable moral hazard. Youth is also frequently economically exploited and gravitates towards jobs in street trades or cafe bar service, or as tools in organized crime.^{106/} A direct contribution to the prevention of urban youthful criminality would be to increase opportunities for youth employment in socially desirable enterprises, vocational preparation for such employment and the full surveillance and control of the employment of youth.^{107/}

52. The educational and employment factors contributing to juvenile delinquency are matters which would have to be dealt with in a comprehensive manner under a national economic and social development plan. The demographic structure complicates the solution for the African population is a "youthful population" - about 45 per cent are under 15 years of age. The gap between population growth and economic growth is large.

53. There are also other environmental conditions such as stresses of family poverty, poor housing, and lack of recreational facilities which contribute to juvenile delinquency. It is more than probable that such conditions have a direct bearing on the development of the individual personality. However, two investigators^{108/} are convinced that the juvenile delinquent, in the Cameroun at least, does not suffer from character and behaviour disturbances requiring costly rehabilitation and very individualized and thorough medical psychological treatment such as that provided for now-a-days in Europe and the economically more affluent countries. According to them, delinquent children in Cameroun

^{106/} UN Secretariat Report, A/CONF. 17/4, para.21. See also International Review of Criminal Policy, No. 20, 1962: p. 23 on the Moroccan Situation; p. 33 on the Dakar Situation.

^{107/} UN Secretariat Report, A/CONF. 17/4, para 21. See also International Review of Criminal Policy, No. 20, 1962: p. 23 on the Moroccan Situation; p. 33 on the Dakar Situation.

^{108/} S.P. Tschoungui and Pierre Zumbach in their study of Cameroun, op. cit. pp. 45-46.

are merely uneducated and not ill-bred and once they are educated, they can become extremely valuable citizens. However, the field of psychological and psychiatric aspects of juvenile delinquency in the Africa region is still relatively unexplored and awaits careful scientific investigation.