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JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IN LEBANON

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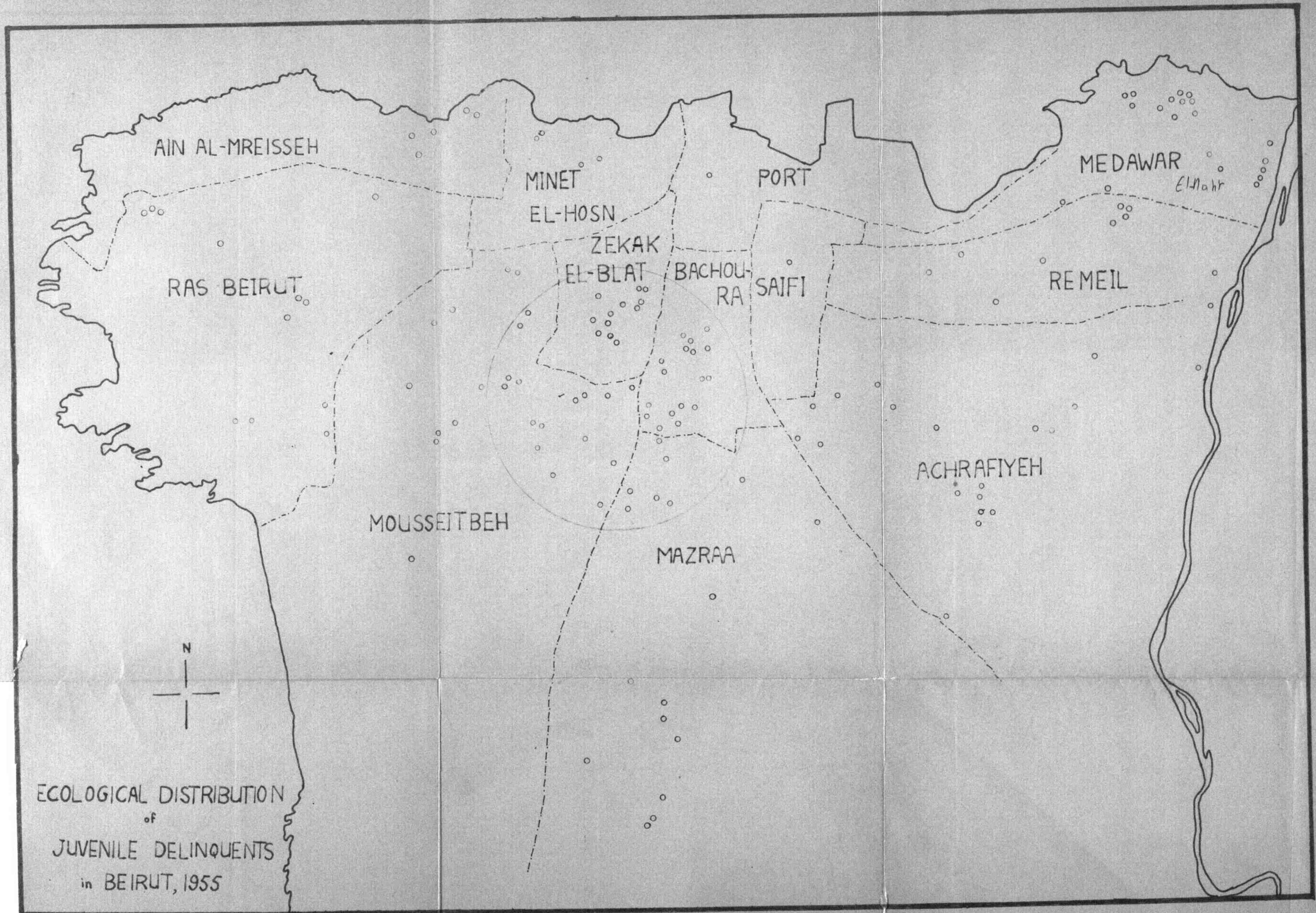
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ABSTRACT

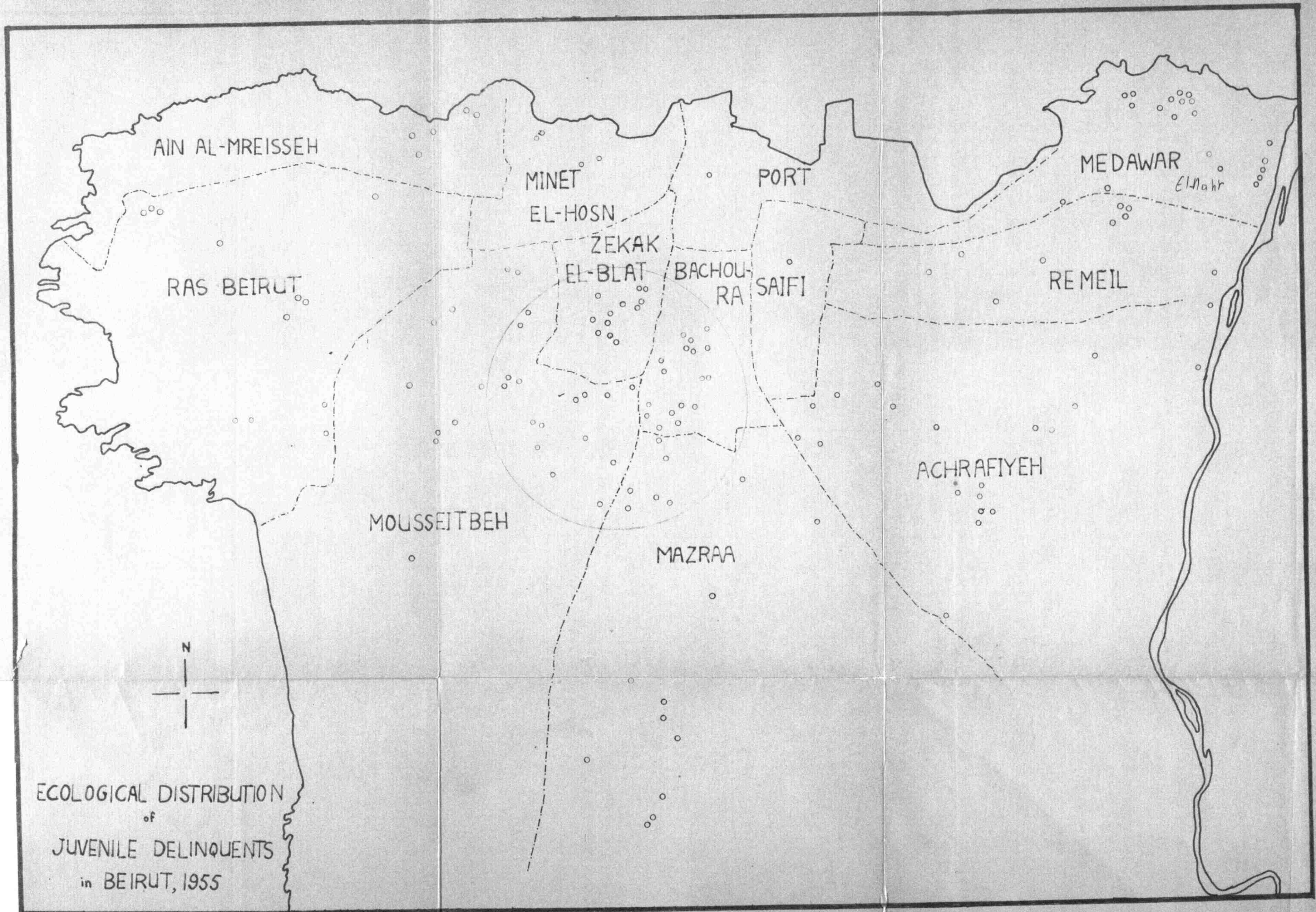
The present study was an attempt to gather all available information in Lebanon on the phenomenon of juvenile delinquency with a view to finding out if those factors which, in Western experience, have been found to be correlated with juvenile delinquency are also correlated with this phenomenon in Lebanon.

The picture of juvenile delinquency which the present study obtained was found to be pretty much like the picture of juvenile delinquency in the United States. In the entire Lebanon nearly six out of every thousand children of court age were reported to police authorities during the year 1955 but the magnitude of this rate varied from district to district. Two of the rural districts were found to contribute proportionately more juvenile offenders than the urban districts. This finding was thought to be unique about Lebanon. The ratio of boy to girl delinquents was found to be five boys to one girl. The five most frequently occurring offenses in Lebanon were, in a decreasing order of frequency, traffic or "pasture" law violations, theft, assault, mischievous behaviour, and running away and begging, respectively.

Most of Beirut delinquents came from the lower socio-economic classes. There was a clear tendency for those delinquencies to concentrate in the center of the city. The incidence of broken homes among our Beirut delinquents was found to be a little less than 25 percent. Finally, large



ECOLOGICAL DISTRIBUTION
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1 families in Beirut city were found to contribute proportionately more juvenile offenders than small families.

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I. INTRODUCTION

PURPOSE OF STUDY

The problem of juvenile delinquency has been the subject of much research in many Western countries. Unfortunately, not very many such studies have been carried out in this part of the world. This lack of interest may be justified in view of the fact that Lebanon is an underdeveloped state and, being so, it may be facing many problems which are more pressing than juvenile delinquency. However, there is considerable evidence that Lebanon is getting progressively more industrialized.¹ When this is viewed in the light of the common observation that juvenile delinquency is a concomitant of industrialization and its consequent urbanization, the need for an adequate understanding of the problem of juvenile delinquency in Lebanon as a first step for its control becomes apparent.

Naturally, the first step along this line would have to be the accumulation of all data on the subject available in Lebanon. This is precisely what the present study attempts to accomplish. Whenever possible, we shall try to evaluate our data but we must admit that most of these evaluations are tentative and will remain so until further research supports or refutes them.

1. Badre, A., and Nasr, A., Income Arising in the Industrial Sector. Monograph No. 3, Beirut, 1953.

II. SUMMARY OF RESEARCH ON JUVENILE
DELINQUENCY

1. Historical Background
2. Approaches
3. Findings.

Brief History of Juvenile Delinquency:

The term delinquency is a very old one dating as far back in history as the time of the Romans who used it to refer to failure or neglect of duty. When the word juvenile is used with it, it refers to a specific age group, i.e., children under a certain age.

Juvenile delinquency as we understand it today was first recognized in America around the year 1899. In this year the legislature of Illinois enacted the first juvenile-court law. Before this time juvenile offenders were considered criminals.

In reviewing the history of juvenile delinquency Barron¹ cites three roots which extend through centuries of history. The first root stems from the notion that immaturity frees the individual from responsibility for many acts which he commits. Hebraic law, for instance, exempted the male child from sinning until about the age of thirteen. Roman law, too, made special provisions for minors falling within certain age limits.

The second root of juvenile delinquency, according to Barron, is the English principle of equity or chancery. This called for special application of the law to cases of minors. The last root is traced by Barron to the reform and intellectual movements which took place in the 19th and 20th centuries.

1. Barron, Milton, The Juvenile in Delinquent Society, pp. 12-14.

Notable among these were Diken's novels which contributed to the establishment of special places for the detention and confinement of juvenile offenders. A similar but certainly deeper and broader influence accompanied the rise of modern psychology with its emphasis on the influence which childhood experiences have on the development of the individual's personality.

Definition of term:

The term delinquency developed in a more or less legislative framework. This may have been inferred from the preceding paragraphs. Such a legislative definition may simply be stated as follows: a delinquent is any child who has been so adjudged by law. The United Nations Comparative Survey on Juvenile Delinquency in the Middle East states: "Generally speaking, a juvenile offender is any young person, male or female, below a specified age, who has committed an offense, but is accorded special treatment of a nature defined by law."¹ In a short review of research into the causes of delinquency Mack states that "juvenile delinquency" is not an identifiable disorder or series of disorders. It is a classificatory term bringing together a great variety of pieces of behavior, very variously motivated, which have in common only the fact that if detected and dealt with by the police they will bring the subject into court on a criminal charge."²

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1. Comparative Survey on Juvenile Delinquency, Part V. Middle East, p. 1.
 2. Mack, J.A., Bulletin of British Psychological Society, No. 22, 1954, pp. 43-45.

Age Criteria of Juvenile Delinquency:

The upper age limit for juvenile delinquency varies from one country to another. In most countries the age 18 is set as the upper limit. Table 1 presents the age limits¹ of juvenile delinquency in Middle Eastern countries.

TABLE 1

AGE LIMITS OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

COUNTRY	LOWER AGE LIMIT	UPPER AGE LIMIT
Egypt	7	15
Iran	11	18
Iraq	7	15
Jordan	9	18
Lebanon	7	15
Syria	7	15
Turkey	11	18
Saudi Arabia	Age of Adolescence	Age of majority
Yemen	12-15	17-18

Incidence of Juvenile Delinquency:

Most statistics on the incidence or frequency of juvenile delinquency are no more than rough estimates. Accurate statistics are as yet not available. This is due to various reasons, chief of which, perhaps, is the fact that many

1. Comparative Survey on Juvenile Delinquency,
Part V. Middle East, p. 3.

children who commit juvenile acts do not, for one reason or another, come to the attention of the police and juvenile court. In one study Porterfield¹ compared three groups of college students with a group of delinquents with regard to their previous committance of one or more of fifty five specific offenses. The comparison showed clearly that a considerable number of the college students had indulged in one or more of the fifty five offenses, in some offenses the percentage of college students being higher than the percentage of delinquents and in other offenses the percentage of delinquents was greater. Similar findings were also reported by Wallerstein and Wyle.²

Escaping the "eyes of law" is by no means the only limitation of juvenile delinquency statistics. Many other factors do definitely contribute to the inadequacy of those statistics. Inefficient systems of reporting cases of delinquency, negligence of responsible officials, inconsistent application of the same law to children coming from different socio-economic backgrounds and ethnic groups, are only three of those factors.

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1. Porterfield, A.L., Youth in Trouble, Leo Potishman Foundation, 1946. Quoted from Hartley and Hartley's Fundamentals of Social Psychology. New York, 1952, Ch. XII.
 2. Wallerstein, J.S. and Wyle, C.J., Our Law-Abiding and Law-Breakers, Probation v. 25, 1947, pp. 107-12. Quoted from Hartley and Hartley, op.cit., Ch. XII.

Despite all those limitations, the use of delinquency statistics may be justified on the ground that though they are not 100 per cent accurate, they still may show general trends or shifts in the incidence of the phenomenon. Besides, some sort of estimates must be obtained if any overall picture of the phenomenon is to be had. So far these estimates have not been very accurate but at present many countries are devising efficient systems whereby accurate figures would be attainable.

With the limitations of delinquency statistics kept in mind we may now proceed to give a few of them that are reported in the literature. Before World War II nearly 47 out of every 1000 juveniles in the United States came to the attention of police annually. After the War, the Federal Bureau of Investigation reported that one out of every six persons reported arrested, was under twenty one years of age. When court cases were considered it was found that "alleged delinquents" constituted nearly 10 in every 1000 juveniles aged 10-16 inclusive.

Types of Delinquency Offenses:

The type of offense or delinquency is an important aspect of the delinquency problem. The available evidence seems to show that male delinquents and female delinquents differ with respect to the "most frequently committed delinquency".

* All those figures were drawn from Barron, Milton, The Juvenile in Delinquent Society, p. 49.

For males theft is commonly found the most frequently committed offense. Among girl delinquents, on the other hand, sex offenses are found to rank first.

In a study of delinquency (both males and females) in the West Coast of the U.S. Merrill¹ found the distribution of offenses as follows:

TYPE	PERCENT OF CASES
Theft	59.7
Beyond control	18.3
Sex	7.9
Malicious mischief	4.8
Vagrancy	4.6
Truancy	1.7
Assault	1.6
Forgery	1.4
TOTAL	100.00

Age and Sex Composition of Juvenile Delinquency:

Boys cases as well as girls cases seem to be concentrated in the same years, namely, the years of adolescence. However, the mean age of girl delinquents is higher than that of boys. Barron¹ cites two possible explanations:

1. Merrill, Maud. Problems of Child Delinquency, p. 364. Quoted from Barron, op. cit., pp. 50-51.

2. Barron, op. cit., p. 54.

- (a) more supervision of girls up to age sixteen.
- (b) majority of delinquencies among girls are sexual in nature. Girls normally do not become desirable sexually before the age of fifteen or sixteen.

In their study the Gluecks found the mean age of¹ their 500 delinquent boys to be thirteen years, 5 months; and that over a third had seriously misbehaved when they were eight years or younger. Healy and Bronner² found that the modal age of 153 delinquents was between twelve and fourteen years.

Available statistics show that more boys than girls get involved with delinquent acts. In the U.S. some studies have estimated the ratio of boys' to girls' cases at 10:1. However, when court cases have been considered this ratio has been found to be smaller.

Rural-Urban Distribution of Delinquency:

Evidence seems to show that juvenile delinquency is in the main a "city problem". Available statistics show that urban industrial communities contribute more delinquents³ than rural communities. Here again Barron cites two possible explanations:

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- 1. Glueck, S. and E. Unravelling Juvenile Delinquency, p. 37.
 - 2. Healy and Bronner. New Light on Delinquency and Its Treatment, p. 37.
 - 3. Barron, op.cit., p. 58.

- (a) Juvenile courts are located mainly in cities. Delinquents in rural areas may therefore escape the "attention of those courts".
- (b) The family, church, and the neighborhood in the rural areas may assume greater responsibility for the treatment of such cases.

Approaches to the Study of Juvenile Delinquency:

The progress in man's thinking on the causes of crime and delinquency seems to have passed through a number of stages, each stage having certain characteristics. Primitive man thought of the criminal as a person possessed of the devil. Through time this belief took different forms and underwent various modifications until around the middle of the nineteenth century when it was replaced by more reasonable yet not fully scientific conceptions. Crime here was assumed to be caused by such factors as heredity, climate, feeble-mindedness, psychopathology, familial tension, religion, inadequate recreation, etc. Each one of those factors was thought to be singly responsible for criminal behavior.

Modern thinking of crime causation is based on the idea that this kind of behavior, just as any other kind of motivated behavior, is a function of a multitude of factors, some of which are related to the individual himself and others related to the environment in which that individual lives. These factors were at first thought to have the same effect from one delinquent case to another. Nowadays it is understood

that the influence of these factors is functionally inter-related and their net product may therefore vary from one case to another.

Actually the phenomenon of juvenile delinquency offers a good example of a social psychological problem which has roots extending through many areas of human life some of which belong to the domain of no single branch of science. True, some sciences, e.g. sociology, have shown greater concern about the problem but even these sciences have failed to unravel all aspects of the phenomenon. This failure may be attributed to the fact that the approaches which these sciences have employed have emphasized certain factors at the expense of neglecting other equally important factors. The structural approach, for example, has emphasized the hereditary basis of crime but has overlooked the factors of family and of personality. The sociological approach, on the other hand, has emphasized the social structure of the community in which children are brought up.

The foregoing arguments make it clear, therefore, that a thorough understanding of the phenomenon of juvenile delinquency necessitates the joint collaboration of workers from different fields of science. Studies assuming such a multi-dimensional approach have actually been undertaken and though their number is relatively small they seem decidedly promising.

Perhaps the best illustration that could be given of a study which has employed the multi-dimensional approach is

that of the Gluecks.¹ In this study 500 persistent delinquents were matched with 500 non-delinquent boys in respect to ethnic derivation, age, intelligence quotient, and residence in underprivileged areas. The two groups were then classified according to "body type" and were given medical and psychiatric examinations, intelligence and achievement tests, and the Rarchach test. The family, school, and community background of each boy were thoroughly investigated. The data thus gathered for the two groups were then compared with regard to four variables: body build, socio-economic conditions, intellectual ability, and temperament. A brief summary of the major findings of this study will be presented in a later section of this thesis.

Some Important Factors Related to Delinquency

In the preceding section the idea has been developed that studies assuming the uni-factor causation of crime have not proved adequate for the understanding of criminal behavior. Such studies, nevertheless, have yielded some valuable information as to the tentative significance of some factors which are often found to be correlated with criminal behavior. Of particular importance, too, is that these studies have attempted to investigate how these factors act on the individual and drive him into delinquent or criminal acts.

Obviously, science is not content only by discovering what causes crime, but it is equally interested in "how"

1. Glueck, S. and E., Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1950.

criminal or delinquent behavior is caused. This becomes of special importance when the phenomenon under investigation is to be controlled. In our discussion of some of the important factors that have been found to be correlated with crime we shall try to emphasize the "how" aspect of the relationship. Needless-to-say that as we go through the discussion of these factors we shall constantly bear in mind that they do not act singly on the individual, and that none of them alone is responsible for delinquent behavior.

1) Socio-Economic Conditions

The first factor which we shall now take up is socio-economic status or poverty. The question that is to be asked here is whether destitution drives children to commit juvenile acts. The studies that have been designed to answer this question have, in general, aimed at finding the proportion of delinquents which comes from each class of society. These proportions were then compared with one another. It is reasoned that if the poorer classes contribute proportionately more delinquents then poverty can be given credit as a relevant factor.

Most studies have found a positive correlation between juvenile delinquency and poverty. In one nineteenth century study, Fornassari di Verce¹ showed that the poorer classes of

1. Fornassari di Verce, "La Criminalita'e le vicende economiche d'Italia", 1894, pp.3-4. Quoted from Teeters and Reinemann's The Challenge of Delinquency, p. 129.

Italy, amounting to about 60 percent of the total population, contributed 85 to 90 percent of the convicted criminals. In Britain, Burt¹ found that 19 percent of the delinquents of London came from the homes of the very poor, whereas 8 percent of the city's total population came from such a group; 37 percent came from the next two classes, "moderately poor," whereas 22 percent of the total population fell in these two classes. The poor and the very poor families of London thus contributed over half of the population of juvenile delinquents. In the United States the Gluecks² found that the families of their delinquent sample had a lower income and standard of living than the families of their control group.

The studies that have been cited and many other similar ones make it clear, therefore, that juvenile delinquency is correlated with socio-economic status. Many students of the subject, however, caution against any dogmatic interpretation of this finding. To say that poverty causes juvenile delinquency would mean committing oneself to a statement which is scientifically unjustified. It is true that the poorer families contribute a disproportionate number of delinquents but what is also equally true is that it is only a very small proportion of these families which turns out criminal or delinquent.

The conclusion that can be drawn, therefore, is that poverty per se does not force the child into delinquent acts

1. Burt, Cyril, The Young Delinquent, p.p. 60-67.

2. Gluecks, S. and E., op.cit., pp.79-91.

but it disposes him to antisocial behavior by creating the conditions that are conducive to it. Poverty is usually accompanied by more subtle factors which have great influence on the behavior of human beings. A child who is born in a poor family does not usually suffer only from inadequate food and clothing. Such a child may have little if any opportunity at all to go to school. He may, by virtue of family poverty, have little if any recreational facilities. Such a child may also, and by virtue of the same fact, live in the midst of a wretched community, full of delinquent gangs which may act as an exciting trap to this growing child.

These are only some of the factors which usually accompany low socio-economic status. Such factors are of course acting on a living human organism who constantly perceives and constantly responds to the conditions which he encounters in his everyday life. It is precisely how the child perceives the situations which he encounters that matters. Poverty may stimulate individuals to a wide variety of behaviors. This of course is axiomatic for no two people have identical perceptions of the same thing. Destitution inevitably results in frustrations and here again the reaction of even two identical twins to the same frustrating situation may not be the same. One twin, for example, may adjust to the frustrating situation by aggressing against the frustrating object, whereas the other twin may withdraw altogether from the situation. These are only two of a number of possible ways

in which those two twins may adjust. Delinquencies, just like any other kind of behavior, may be ways of adjusting to frustrating situations. Healy and Bronner have stressed the unsatisfactory human relationships which result from poverty.¹

2) Family and Juvenile Delinquency

No discussion of the causes of juvenile delinquency can possibly miss the important factor of family life. Juvenile delinquency is in the main a child problem and in our culture most of the pressure exerted on the child is that of the family. There is no wonder, then, why so much research has been carried out on this factor.

Insofar as the community as a whole is concerned perhaps the major function of the family is the management of the process of socialization. In essence this process involves teaching the child the habits, attitudes, mores, etc. of his culture. Since it is a learning process it could, like any other learning process, be either diverted from its normal path or be blocked, either temporarily or permanently. In this section, therefore, we shall try to examine those factors which are likely either to divert or block the gradual process of socialization.

Normal and abnormal behavior are, no doubt, relative terms in the sense that they are culture bound. What one

1. Healy, W. and Bronner, A., New Light on Delinquency and Its Treatment, p. 201.

culture considers normal behavior may be considered abnormal by another culture. Anthropology has given us illustrations of this. In one tribe, the Mundugumor, men as well as women are taught to be "ruthless, aggressive and positively sexed"¹. In our culture these personality characteristics are considered highly undesirable. This and other similar evidence suggests that the delinquent family may be a deviant form of the family or, in other words, it suggests that the delinquent child may have learned his delinquency from within his family.

Many studies have given evidence which supports the argument raised in the preceding paragraph. In a century-old study, Miss Carpenter² argued that a large group of the delinquents she studied, forming one class, had learned their³ delinquency from their parents or from other persons. Burt showed that vice and crime were nearly four times as frequent in the homes of delinquents as in the homes of non-delinquents.⁴ The Gluecks found that criminality, drunkenness, and mental

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1. Mead, Margaret, Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Tribes, pp. 119-164.
 2. Carpenter, Mary. Juvenile Delinquents, London: W. and F.G. Cash, pp. 23-32. quoted from Teeters and Reinemann. op.cit., pp. 130-132.
 3. Burt, op.cit., pp. 90-98.
 4. Glueck S. and E., op. cit., p. 93-107.

deficiency were more frequent in the families of their delinquent group than in their non-delinquent group.

Another aspect of family life which has been thought to have great bearing on juvenile delinquency is parental rejection. By parental rejection is implied poor discipline and lack of understanding of the child's needs. A home in which a child feels rejected will most likely acquire negative valance in the eyes of that child. Consequently, the child will try to keep away from it. This in turn, is likely to bring the child in closer association with delinquent and criminal gangs from which he could learn delinquency. If, however, this child commits delinquent acts which he has not learned from any such gangs, then it is possible that his acts are forms of adjustment to his familial situation.

Many studies confirm this argument. Carpenter,¹ whose study was referred to earlier, believed that a large group of the delinquents she studied were driven into delinquencies because of parental rejection. Merrill² found that poor discipline was more frequent in the homes of delinquents than in the homes of non-delinquents. Poor discipline here was identified as very lax, extremely rigid, or very erratic. Burt³ showed that defective family discipline existed in 60.9

1. Carpenter, Mary, op.cit., pp. 23-32.

2. Merrill, Maud. Problems of Juvenile Delinquency Houghton Mifflin Boston, 1947, pp. 87-88.
Quoted from Barron, op.cit., p. 132.

3. Burt, op.cit., pp. 90-98.

percent of his delinquent group whereas such discipline existed in 11.5 percent of the non-delinquent group. Finally, the Gluecks¹ found that their delinquents were more often the victims of indifferent or hostile parents and that, as a consequence, they were less attached to them than the non-delinquents. The pattern of discipline in the delinquents' homes was found to range from extreme physical punishment to extreme laxity.

In our discussion, so far, we have assumed that both parents and children live in the same home. We shall now examine another type of families - broken homes - in which either or both parents are absent, whether by divorce, separation, or any other reason. The findings of research on this subject seem to be varied and sometimes even contradictory. Earlier studies have, in general, found a higher correlation between juvenile delinquency and broken home than the more recent ones. This, however, has been attributed to the poor sampling procedures which the former studies have employed.

The evaluation of research on the subject of broken home is often rendered tentative because of the absence of estimates of the prevalence of broken homes among the population in general. The use of control groups has been one way of overcoming this difficulty but the fact remains that if the proportion of children in the population living in broken homes is known, then better comparisons and therefore more valid

1. Glueck S. and E. op.cit., pp. 93-107.

generalizations could be drawn.

Early in this century Sheidler¹ estimated that about 25 percent of the children of the United States were reared in broken homes. He concluded that the ratio of broken homes among delinquents and the general child population is about 2:1. The White House Conference study of the child states: "Estimates as to the prevalence of this condition (broken home) in the histories of juvenile delinquents range from about 20 to nearly 50 percent."² The Gluecks³ also found a higher percentage of broken homes among their delinquent group.

In concluding our discussion of the relation between juvenile delinquency and the family we may say that, in general, "the homes from which delinquents come most frequently are characterized by one or more of the following conditions: (a) other members of the family criminalistic, immoral, or alcoholic, (b) parents separated, (c) crowded housing conditions, (d) lack of parental control through ignorance or other sensory defect, or absence of one, or both parents,

1. Sheidler, E. Family Disintegration and the Delinquent Boy in the United States. Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology. 715, January, 1918, pp. 709-732. Quoted from Teeters and Reinemann op.cit., p. 153.

2. The Delinquent Child, Report of the Committee on Socially Handicapped Delinquency, Century, New York, 1932, p. 531. Quoted from Teeters and Reinemann, op.cit., p. 152.

3. Glueck, S. and E., op.cit., p. 91.

(e) parental neglect, (f) home uncongeniability, (g) irritation¹
at home, (h) severity and harshness of parents, (i) poverty."

3) The Gang.

The importance of the gang as a factor affecting juvenile delinquency has been partly discussed in connection with our discussion of the family. It was mentioned at that point that children who are driven out of their homes by unpleasant experiences are likely to have closer association with criminal or delinquent gangs which may exist in the community and in this way learn their delinquency.²

Evidence for the importance of the gang comes from the fact that a boy or a girl seldom commits delinquencies alone. Association with a group of "like-aged" and "liked-mannered" boys or girls is perhaps the rule in juvenile delinquency. Shaw and McKay, to mention only one out of many similar studies, studied the juvenile court records in Chicago. They found that 88.2 percent of the boys committed their delinquencies in company with others.³

The sense of security which the gang gives to its members and the loyalty to the group which it expects of them are perhaps the two outstanding features of the gang since

1. Sutherland, E., Principles of Criminology, p. 157.

2. This point was stressed by Sutherland in his theory of "differential Association", Principles of Criminology, pp. 164-166.

3. Shaw, C. and McKay, D. Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas, Chicago, 1942 pp. 193-199. Quoted from Sutherland, op.cit., p. 144.

they may drive children to commit acts which they would not ordinarily commit if they were alone. Some kind of "division of labor" may exist in the internal functioning of some gangs, for example, one member may be assigned the task of driving the car, another guiding the group, etc.

✓ Delinquent gangs are usually found in large cities and particularly in the slum areas of those cities. ✓

Thrasher,¹ studied 1,313 gangs in the Loop district of Chicago. He showed that the "gangland" extended between the business district and the residential districts. Thrasher argued that village and small-town gangs do not usually turn to criminality and therefore they do not usually constitute a social problem.

In concluding our discussion of the gang, we may say that the mere association of a child with a gang does not necessarily make of him a delinquent. The effect of group suggestion on any child depends on a number of factors, some of which relate to the personality of the child and others to his life conditions. In the words of Tappan, "delinquency results not from contact with patterns of illegality alone but from the numerous variables which may be associated with that fact, especially what the individual himself brings to it."²

1. Thrasher, Frederic. The Gang. pp. 5-26.

2. Tappan, Paul. Juvenile Delinquency, p. 146.

4) Mobility

The factor of mobility is often emphasized as being related to juvenile delinquency. This factor is often held to account for the preponderance of crime and delinquency in the central slum areas of large cities or "delinquency areas". The continuous going in and coming out of people to and from the delinquency area is thought to do away, either completely or in part, with the influence which the neighborhood usually has on the child as an agency of social control.

The factor of mobility is also brought up in relation to the immigrant family. Many studies have shown that immigrant families contribute proportionately more juvenile delinquents than native families. One commonly accepted explanation for this fact is made in terms of a "clash" or "conflict" between the new culture of the family and its original native culture which is revealed through the standards, values, attitudes, etc., of the parents. This clash is said to leave the child in a state of indecision or, in psychological terms, in a conflict. This child is likely to be mocked by his peers if he obeys whatever his parents tell him. On the other hand, he will be under the threat of parental punishment if he ignores their teachings. Delinquency may, therefore, be one way in which the child adjusts to this state of affairs.

5. Delinquent Personality

One line of thought about juvenile delinquency has been concerned with the personality of the delinquent and how this differs from that of the non-delinquent child. The child is conceived here as one who is "socially mal-adjusted" in the sense that his or her pattern of adjustment deviates from the code of conduct which society prescribes for children of the same age.

The evidence that is available at present shows that delinquents, taken as a class, are different from non-delinquent children in some personality traits. The Gluecks,¹ to mention only one important study, found that their delinquents differed from their non-delinquents in physique or body build, temperament, attitude, and in intelligence. On the physical level delinquents were found to be more mesomorphic (muscular) in body build; on the temperamental level they were found to be more impulsive, extraverted, aggressive, destructive (often sadistic); on the attitude level they were found to be more hostile, defiant, resentful, suspicious, stubborn, socially assertive, adventurous, unconventional, non-submissive to authority; lastly, on the psychological level the delinquents were found to be more concrete in their intellectual expression and less methodical in their approach to problems.

1. Glueck, S. and E. op.cit., pp. 79-251.

III. SOURCES OF DATA

SOURCES OF DATA

For the present study we have depended mainly on four sources of data. These are:

- 1) Youth Protection Association
- 2) Boys Reformatory at Dahr El-Sawwan
- 3) Churchill, C.W., The City of Beirut: A Socio-economic Study. Beirut, Dar El-Kitab, 1954.
- 4) Comparative Survey on Juvenile Delinquency, Part V, Middle East, New York, 1953 - United Nations Publications.

In the following few paragraphs we will try to briefly summarize the contributions of each of those four sources to the present study.

I. Youth Protection Association

The Youth Protection Association is a private institution located in the city of Beirut and has, as its main function, the protection and assistance of youth in Lebanon. The Union was established in 1939. Its functioning is made possible by a subsidy from the Lebanese Government and by subscriptions from institutions and from individuals. The responsibilities of the Union are carried out by 6 women social workers and an advocate.

The Union fulfills its duties through preparing case studies for all juvenile cases referred to the court. Such

case studies are designed to investigate the physical, psychiatric, educational, and social conditions of the juveniles involved. In addition to that, the case study usually includes the suggestions of the social worker as to the best treatment of the juvenile involved. The case study and the suggestions are then submitted to the juvenile court and after receiving all this information the court issues its decision.

The case studies are prepared by the social workers, two of whom are assigned for Beirut District and the four whom are assigned to the remaining four districts, one for each.¹ The advocate of the Union is assigned the duty of defending the rights of juvenile offenders before the Court.

The Union has recently issued a small booklet in which it summarized its main works and efforts during the year 1955. The booklet includes some statistics about juvenile delinquency in Lebanon. These statistics were found inadequate for the present study and we therefore asked permission from the office of the Union in Beirut to look at the case studies of the delinquents whose cases were referred to the court during the year 1955. Accurate statistics were available only for this year and this was the reason for restricting our study to it. Information about each case was systematically

1. Lebanon is divided into five districts or "Muhafazas": Beirut, Mount-Lebanon, North Lebanon, South Lebanon, and Beka'a.

copied on separate sheets which were prepared in advance.

II. Boys Reformatory

This institution will be taken up in a later section of this thesis.

III. Beirut City: A Socio-Economic Survey (book):

As the title indicates this was a study of the social and economic conditions of the Beirut population. The study was undertaken by Dr. C.W. Churchill, Associate Professor of Statistics and Sociology at the American University of Beirut, and the staff of the Economic Research Institute, (a research institute attached to the Department of Economics in the mentioned University). The study may be summarized as follows: A random sample of housing units in Beirut was taken and information was obtained about the following factors: household composition, education, mobility, occupations, housing, income and savings, and family expenditures and debts. This study has been a valuable source for comparison data and reference will be made here and there in this thesis to specific aspects of it.

IV. Comparative Survey on Juvenile Delinquency, Part V, Middle East; New York, 1953.

This is the fifth part in a series of United Nations publications on the subject of juvenile delinquency in various parts of the world. The booklet deals with the legal aspect,

treatment and prevention of juvenile delinquency in the Middle Eastern countries: Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, and Yemen. The booklet served as the chief source for the information presented in the fourth chapter of this thesis.

IV. DEFINITION, LEGAL ASPECT, AND TREATMENT
OF JUVENILE DELINQUENTS IN LEBANON

DEFINITION, LEGAL ASPECTS, AND TREATMENT
OF JUVENILE DELINQUENTS IN LEBANON

Not unlike most other countries the age limits and the offense committed constitute the main part of the definition of juvenile delinquency in Lebanon. In this country the lower age limit of juvenile delinquency is 7 years and the upper limit is 15 years. A juvenile offender may therefore be defined as any young person aged 7 to 15 years who has committed an act which is prohibited by law. Children who are above 15 years but below 18 years of age, though officially not classed as delinquents, are still given special treatment. On the other hand, children below 7 years of age are not considered responsible for their acts no matter how serious these acts may be.

Charges or complaints against juvenile offenders in Lebanon have usually to pass through the police authorities. If a charge then is deemed a case of prima facie it will be put before the court.

The apprehension of juvenile delinquents in Lebanon is carried out usually by the ordinary police. The procedure is not different from that used with adults. When the

* The bulk of the material in this chapter was drawn from the United Nation's "Comparative Survey on Juvenile Delinquency" part V, Middle East, (pp. 1-53.

delinquent is to be detained he is usually detained in a special section of the ordinary adult prisons. It is noteworthy to mention, however, that the juvenile court has jurisdiction to order the detention of only a limited number of cases of delinquency and even in these cases it has to provide sufficient justification.

The juvenile court is a special court which has jurisdiction over children under 15 years of age. The court is formed by a judge of the peace or a judge of the Court of the First Instance; the former tries contraventions and the latter felonies. The decisions of the juvenile court are final. Until this time only one such court has been established in Lebanon. It is located in the capital. The judges of this court are usually ordinary judges. No training in juvenile delinquency is required of them. It is worth mentioning, however, that a new judge who has had training in some European juvenile courts, was appointed to the Beirut Juvenile Court in 1954.

As soon as the juvenile court receives a complaint against a juvenile from the police it refers the case to the Youth Protection Association which, in turn, prepares a case-history study. This case study is supposed to include all available information about the background of the child: his age, education, socio-economic status, familial situation, etc. When this case study is completed it is sent back to the juvenile court and with it the association sends its suggestions

as to appropriate measures to be taken in the treatment of the case. In the light of the case history study and the Association's suggestions the juvenile court then proceeds to try the case. Although the juvenile court is under no obligation to adopt the suggestions of the Association, most often these suggestions are taken as measures for treatment. This idea was expressed to the writer by the social workers of the Association.

In prescribing measures for treatment of juvenile offenders, the basic philosophy of the Association, as was revealed to us by the social workers, is that, whenever possible, the juvenile should be kept with his family. It is the firm conviction of the Association that family life is indispensable for the growth of normal personality. Besides, the Association feels that the reformatories, as they are now, are extremely unsatisfactory and therefore cannot be depended upon for adequate treatment of delinquency cases.

For the reasons mentioned in the last paragraph we find that a considerable proportion of convicted juveniles are sent back to their homes on condition that their parents will take better care of them. This is shown in Table II. If the juvenile's family fails to comply with its promise then it will be liable to the payment of a fine of 10 to 50 Lebanese pounds. Failure in this case is judged when the child commits another delinquency.

When the parents of the delinquent are unable to take care of him, whether for moral or financial reasons, then the delinquent may be delivered to his grandparents or to a member of the family aged 30 or more years. These will also be liable to a fine of 10 to 50 Lebanese pounds if they are thought to have failed to take good care of the delinquent. In case the juvenile court fails to find any relative of the delinquent who is capable of taking sufficient care of him then it is authorized to deliver him to a trustworthy person from outside the family who is capable of educating him.

When the juvenile court and the Youth Protection Association think that the delinquent should be kept in an institution then he may be sent either to a private institution or to a government institution. At present there are only two private institutions: one for Christian girls called "Arrai'i Assaleh," and the other for Moslem girls called "Dar Al-Alaitam Al-Islameya".

In Lebanon there is only one government institution or reformatory and it accepts only male delinquents. Girl delinquents do not have any such reformatory. The reformatory is located in Dahr El-Sawwan, an isolated small village at a distance of about 25 kilometers from the capital, Beirut. It is under the supervision of the Ministry of Social Affairs.

Reformatory treatment is usually thought of as a last resort. Delinquents who are sent there are usually

those whose offenses are very serious and whose life conditions are extremely severe or who have no one to support them. In these cases the reformatory is thought to offer partial relief if not reformation.

The treatment program at the reformatory has two phases: scholastic and vocational. The scholastic education program extends up to the fifth elementary class. Delinquents who are illiterate or who have not completed the fifth elementary class are required to enroll in this program. The vocational program includes training in a few skills: carpentry, sewing, and shoe making. No social or psychological treatment of any kind is provided in the reformatory.

Recreation in the reformatory is limited to football, basket-ball, and volley-ball and even for these activities there are no adequate facilities. At present there is only a single radio in the reformatory which is placed in a small reception room just adjacent to the office of the director of the reformatory. Inmates are usually given leaves of absence on special occasions.

The principal as well as the teaching staff of the reformatory are usually ordinary teachers. No training in juvenile delinquency is required of them. Recently, however, a young new director has been assigned to the reformatory. The new director seems quite enthusiastic about making the reformatory a really effective correctional agency.

The last kind of treatment that is given to juvenile delinquents in Lebanon is imprisonment. This treatment is

usually resorted to when the delinquent fails to respond to all other treatments or when his offense is a very serious one. The death penalty, it should be mentioned, is not applied to juveniles in Lebanon. The Lebanese Penal Code has special provisions for the imprisonment of juveniles who have committed felonies, misdemeanours, or contraventions.

V. FINDINGS

1. Frequency and Age and Sex **D**istribution
2. Ecological Distribution within the
City of Beirut
3. Mobility
4. Socio-economic Conditions of Delinquents'
Families
5. Other Social Conditions associated with
Delinquents' Families

Rate of Juvenile Delinquency in Lebanon in 1955.¹

Accurate statistics on the extent of delinquency in Lebanon are available only for the year 1955. These are presented in Table 3. The rate of delinquency per thousand children of court age was computed for each of the five districts and for the entire Lebanon. The rate of delinquency for the latter is 5.8 but this rate varies from district to district, the range being from 4.3 to 8.3 delinquents.

-
1. Since there was no census of child population in Lebanon we had to follow a somewhat crude technique to get a reasonable approximation of the child population. In Beirut city it was found that there was a fairly consistent tendency for each child age group between the ages of 7-15 inclusive and even 0-15 inclusive to form a little over 2 per cent of the general population. The average per cent for all the age group falling between 7-15 inclusive was found to be 2.4 and 2.3 for males and females respectively. The corresponding average for the age groups falling between 0-15 inclusive was found to be 2.3 and 2.1. Mortality rate was thought to be higher in the other four districts and in the suburbs of Beirut city than in the city itself. For this reason the figure 2 per cent was thought to give the nearest approximation of the number of Lebanese children. All the figures of column 3 of table 3 were obtained by means of this formula.

TABLE 2

DISPOSITION OF CASES*

SENTENCE	Beirut					Beka'a					Mt. Lebanon					S. Lebanon					N. Lebanon					Total
	1	9	5	5	5	1	9	5	5	5	1	9	5	5	5	1	9	5	5	5	1	9	5	5		
Male Reformatory	30					5					82					29					12				158	
Female Reformatory	-					-					-					1					1				2	
Non-Christian Reformatory	1					-					1					10					1				13	
Kept in institution chosen by Ministry of Social Affairs	10					-					-					-					2				12	
Given to Family on conditions	57					97					47					66					132				399	
Kept under supervision of Youth Protection Association	12					-					1					-					2				15	
Set free	5					26					34					24					37				126	
Court has no jurisdiction	7					3					19					30					11				70	
Case dismissed	11					17					5					29					37				99	
Prison	-					-					-					-					-				2	

* Figures in this table refer to the cases which passed through the juvenile court during the year 1955.

The pattern of juvenile delinquency rate in the five districts of Lebanon appears to be a unique one. One would expect to find that rural districts contribute proportionately fewer juvenile delinquents than urban districts. This does not seem to be true of Lebanon. To start with, as many delinquents per thousand children of court age come from Beirut district, which is mainly an urban center (consisting of Beirut city and vicinity with an estimated population of 400,000¹ as from Mount Lebanon district which is predominantly rural in nature. On the other hand, the delinquency rate in the other three districts, Beka'a, South Lebanon, and North Lebanon, which are to a large extent rural, is higher than the rate in the Beirut district. The highest rate of juvenile delinquency is in North Lebanon.

We possess no definite explanation for such a unique distribution of juvenile delinquency. However, we can point to one or two notions which, at least in part, may account for such a pattern. The first notion is derived from Table 4 which presents the offenses charged against children during the year 1955. A look at that table will show that the majority of cases in Beka'a, North Lebanon, and South Lebanon, were arrested because they had violated traffic, or "pasturing" laws. Since these three districts are mainly rural it is

1. Estimate was drawn from Pine, The International Year Book, and Statemen's Who's Who pp. 376-379 The estimate here is for Beirut district and not Beirut city alone. Our main source, III, has an estimate of the latter only.

logical to conclude that the majority of those cases were charged with violating the "pasturing" law, or, in other words, they were charged with pasturing their flocks in land owned by others.

An adequate explanations of this fact would no doubt have to take into account the geographical and the social conditions in those three districts. We will not attempt to examine those conditions but we will try to portray one notion which may be the key to an adequate explanation. The three districts are mostly agricultural, the majority of people in them being either owners of small pieces of land or workers in the lands of others. They depend mostly on animals for ploughing the ground and accomplishing all the other processes associated with agriculture. They also need animals for their meat and milk. The task of pasturing these animals is usually assigned to young male children and it does not need much effort to understand how these young children become involved in violations of "pasture" law.

The other hint about juvenile delinquency rate in the five districts has to do with the work of the Youth Protection Association. This association, it may be recalled, is located in Beirut and its efforts are concentrated mainly in this district. This Union, besides its function as a protector of young children who have been accused of delinquent acts, is also supposed to take preventive measures in cases of children suspected of being potentially delinquent. The Union receives complaints against children being hard to control from parents

TABLE 3

*
RATE OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IN LEBANON IN 1955

District	Population	Children reported to Police in 1955 - Age 7-15	Estimated Child Population Age 7-15	Delinquency rate per 1000 children Age 7-15
Beirut	490,000	346	78,400	4.4
Beka'a	160,000	188	25,600	7.3
Mount Lebanon	280,000	193	44,800	4.3
South Lebanon	220,000	238	35,200	6.8
North Lebanon	260,000	347	41,600	8.3
Whole Lebanon	1,410,000	1,312	112,800	5.8

* Unless otherwise indicated, figures on the extent of delinquency in each district and in the entire Lebanon refer to police arrests.

or relatives of such children. The writer was told this by the social workers at the Association. Though the efforts of the Union along this line are very limited they probably help in alleviating delinquency in Beirut district.

Offenses Charged against Children in 1955

The offenses charged against delinquents and the frequency of each offense are presented in Table 4. In analyzing this table we get a better picture if we consider each district by itself rather than consider the frequency of offenses for delinquent children in all the Lebanon.

Theft appears to be the most frequent offense in Beirut and in Mt. Lebanon. On the other hand, violations of "pasturing" law is the most frequent offense in the other three districts, Beka'a, North Lebanon, and South Lebanon. For the reasons discussed in the preceding paragraphs the second finding is not difficult to understand. We may conclude, therefore, by saying that there is a tendency for each district to have one offense that is most typical of it. In all of the five districts there is a large drop in the frequency of occurrence of the second most frequent offense.

The last column of table 4 shows the frequency of occurrence of each offense for the entire Lebanon. In a decreasing order of frequency the five most frequent offenses are, traffic or "pasturing" law violations, theft, assault, mischievous behavior, and running away and begging, respectively.

When the frequencies of these offenses are compared with corresponding figures in the U.S. we find that though the order of frequency of the offenses in the U.S. differs from their order here, yet all the offenses, except the first one, are still the most frequent offenses. One important difference between the two countries seems to lie in the frequency of occurrence of sex offenses. Table 4 shows that sexual acts, both homosexual and heterosexual, were charged against only 15 or 1.1 per cent of all the cases of delinquences. Although there may be a number of subtle factors which underlie this difference, two points seem pertinent: first, the upper age limit of juvenile delinquency in Lebanon is 15 years whereas in many states of the U.S. this limit is set at age 18. Since "sex desirability" in both sexes develops after puberty it is reasonable to think that there would be an increase in the occurrence of sex offenses in Lebanon if the upper age limit of juvenile delinquency were extended two or three more years.

An alternative possibility to the above argument may be found in the extent to which sex behaviour in Lebanon is susceptible to police arrest. Although no clearcut evidence is available on this point it is quite possible that sex behaviour does not lead to arrest so often in Lebanon as in the United States. Another aspect of this same argument is related to the legality of prostitution in Lebanon. It is perhaps reasonable to believe that the legality of prostitution helps, at least in part, in reducing the incidence of sex offenses in Lebanon.

MISSING PAGE

Age Distribution of Delinquents:

TABLE 5

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF DELINQUENTS IN LEBANON

AGE	7-10		11-13		14-15	
	District	Number	Percent of all cases	Number	Percent of all cases	Number
Beirut	58	16.8	154	44.5	134	38.7
Beka'a	21	8.9	75	39.9	92	48.9
Mt. Lebanon	37	19.2	86	44.6	70	36.3
South Lebanon	80	33.6	103	43.3	55	23.1
North Lebanon	69	19.9	126	36.3	152	43.8
Whole Lebanon	265	20.2	544	41.5	503	38.3

The age distribution of juvenile delinquents arrested during the year 1955 is shown in Table 5. Nearly 80 percent of the children arrested during this year are between 11 and 15 years of age. Though the size of this number varies from district to district, in no one district is there any deviation from the general trend. This finding is in perfect agreement with other studies elsewhere.

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2. ECOLOGICAL DISTRIBUTION OF DELINQUENTS IN
BEIRUT CITY

We have mentioned in an earlier section of this thesis that many studies of the distribution of delinquency in large metropolitan cities in Western countries show that there is a heavy concentration of delinquency in the slum area that is usually located near the older business centers of the city. Shaw called these "delinquency areas". In the present study we have dealt with our material concerning ecological distribution in two ways: First, we got the number of delinquents per thousand children coming from each section of Beirut. Second, we have spotted all the Beirut cases of delinquency on the attached map of Beirut according to the residential area of the delinquents.) The map and its division into sections were adopted from Dr. Churchill's study referred to elsewhere. The table below presents the number of delinquents per thousand children of court age who come from the different sections of Beirut.

(Sections of Beirut which have the larger proportions of delinquents are: Port, Zoukak El-Balat, Bachoura, and Medawar.) The proportion indicated for the Port area is misleading because relatively few people live in there and actually only one delinquent comes from there. Medawar's

high proportion of delinquents is more than merely apparent. In this section there is quite a large slum section and it was found that most of the delinquents either come from this slum area or live around it. This slum area is close to the slaughter house of Beirut city. The other two sections, namely, Bachoura and Zoukak el Balat will be taken up in connection with our discussion of the distribution of delinquency in Beirut city as is shown on the attached map.

TABLE 7
*
DELINQUENCY RATE IN SECTIONS OF BEIRUT

Section	Population	Estimated Child Population Age 7-15	Children Reported to Police in 1955	Delinquency Rate per thousand children Age 7-15
Port	377	60	1	16.7
Medawar	12056	1929	20	10.4
Bachoura	14734	2357	17	7.2
Zoukak El-Balat	10656	1705	12	7.0
Mouseitheh	43782	7005	27	3.9
Ain El-Mereiseh	9734	1557	5	3.2
Achrafieh	47796	7647	20	2.6
Ras Beirut	29503	4721	12	2.5
Remeil	26934	4309	9	2.1
Minet El-Hosn	12361	1978	4	2.0
Mazra'a	56304	9009	16	1.8
Saifi	10068	1611	1	0.6

(A glance at the attached map of Beirut will show that there is a relatively heavy concentration of delinquency in

* The figures presented in the first column are drawn from Churchill, C. op. cit., p. 30.

the area that is bounded by a circle. Such an area seems to include parts of four sections. The four sections are: Zoukak El-Balat, Bachoura, Mazra'a, and Museitbeh. This area, which seems to fall in the center of the city, has the major characteristics of a "delinquency area": the area is resided by people who belong to the very low socio-economic classes; the houses are old, poorly built, and overcrowded; people who live there come from different ethnic backgrounds and mobility is an evident process.)

(Our findings regarding the ecological distribution of delinquency seem to be in line with other similar studies done in other countries.) Our map shows that though there is a clear concentration of delinquency in the area bounded by a circle, yet some delinquency does occur in practically every section of Beirut. One possible explanation for this may be found in the fact that small slum areas are scattered over many areas in Beirut and are not, as is the case in many other large cities, found in one large section usually located in the center of the city. There is a clear tendency for delinquency to be found either in or around these slum areas. It is not uncommon in Beirut to see a huge modern building just adjacent to a very small house which is more of a hut than a building.

3. MOBILITY

(On the question of mobility two kinds of information were sought: first, we tried to get information on the proportion of delinquents who are Lebanese and those who are non-Lebanese.) Our data along this line are presented in the table below.

It is difficult to comment on the figures presented in this table for there are no estimates of the size of the different non-Lebanese minorities to which the non-Lebanese delinquents belong. The only available estimate is that of the Palestinians who were living in Lebanon during the year 1955. The number of those was 101,305.* When the number of Palestinian children between the ages of 7-15 is computed, it is found that approximately 5 Palestinian children per thousand children of court age were reported to the Police authorities during 1955. This rate is lower than the corresponding rate in the entire Lebanon.

The other kind of information we sought was on the birth-place of the arrested children. Such information was obtained only for 146 of those children who were arrested in Beirut district in 1955 and whose cases passed through the juvenile court during this same year. Our findings are presented

* Figure drawn from a report on Palestinian refugees in Lebanon. Prepared by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, Beirut, January, 1956.

TABLE 8

ETHNIC ORIGIN OF LEBANESE DELINQUENTS

Ethnic Group District	Lebanese	Syrians	Pales- tinian	Kurds	Gypsies	Others
Beirut	234	43	27	25	9	8
Beka'a	176	2	8	-	2	-
Mt. Lebanon	175	5	13	-	-	-
South Lebanon	213	-	22	-	3	-
North Lebanon	373	3	7	-	-	-
TOTALS	1,135	53	77	25	14	8

in table 9. Nearly half of our delinquents were born outside Beirut, either in other parts of Lebanon or in countries other than Lebanon. No corresponding estimates for the Beirut child population are available at present. The only available

TABLE 9

BIRTHPLACE OF 146 BEIRUT DELINQUENTS 1955

BIRTHPLACE	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
Beirut	79	54.1
Other parts of Lebanon	43	29.5
Outside Lebanon	24	16.4
TOTALS	146	100.0

estimate is that of the proportion of Beirut children who were born outside Lebanon.

The little evidence that is available on the question of mobility seems to show that children who come through Beirut from foreign countries are more likely to commit delinquencies than children who are born in Beirut city.

4. SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF DELINQUENTS' FAMILIES

The first thing we were concerned with in connection with the socio-economic conditions of our delinquent group was father's occupation. Professor Churchill has classified the occupations of his sample into 17 categories but for the sake of simplicity we have reclustered those 17 categories into five broader ones. These five are: The professionals, the managers, the small businessmen and the clerical workers, the laborers, and the miscellaneous which includes the housewives, the retired or the ill, and the unemployed. Our findings are summarized in Table 10 below.

TABLE 10
OCCUPATION OF FATHER

Occupational Category	Observed Number of Delinquents (observed Frequency)	Estimated Number of Delinquents (theoretical Frequency)	Level of Significance
Professionals	1	16	Less than 0.01
Managers	1	17	Less than 0.01
Small Businessmen & Clerical workers	37	37	Not significant
Laborers	90	60	Less than 0.01
Miscellaneous	32	27	More than 0.10

The table shows clearly that all but two of the delinquent group come from the lower three classes of society, which may be described as being either "poor" or "very poor". The last column of table 10 shows the level at which the difference between our findings and those of the Beirut population is significant. It is clear that in the cases of the first, second, and fourth classes the difference is significant. This means, in simpler terms, that the chances that this difference has been caused by chance is less than one in a hundred. On the other hand, the difference in the cases of the third and fifth classes is not significant at any acceptable level of significance. In summarizing our findings we may say that relatively few delinquents come from the professional and managerial classes and that relatively more delinquents come from the laboring class.

Further support for the importance of poverty may come from a consideration of the proportion of delinquents who were not in school in the year 1955. Our findings along this line show that over half of the delinquents, 55.8 per cent, as compared to only 18.7 per cent of children of the same age in the Beirut sample, were out of school during the year 1955. A large difference such as this can hardly be attributed to chance factors and we cannot think of any factor other than poverty that is principally responsible for this difference.

This argument, however, needs further evidence if it is to become a reasonable one. For such evidence, we admit, we

have to depend on inferences based on impressions for there is no scientific evidence as yet with which we could support our argument. The argument will, therefore, have to be subjected to the limitations of these impressions.

TABLE 11

PERCENT OF DELINQUENTS WHO WERE IN SCHOOL IN 1955

	DELINQUENT GROUP		BEIRUT SAMPLE	
	N	%	N	%
In School	70	41.2	660	81.3
Out of School	100	58.8	212	18.7
TOTAL	170	100.0	818	100.0

The first impression that we have is that education in Lebanon has a high prestige value and that the majority of the people in this country strive to educate their children. There are, no doubt, some people who do not appreciate education but it is our impression again that "not appreciating education" is the exception and not the rule.

The other point that may support our argument is inferred from Dr. Churchill's finding, that the large majority of Beirut population who had formal education had this education in private schools. This should not be taken to mean that

people prefer private schools but it only means that people have to go to such schools if they want to have an education since public schools are extremely few. In 1953-1954, for example, there were around 10 public schools in Beirut city which had around 85 classes. If we assign 30 pupils to every class then the most that these schools could take was 2550 pupils. This figure falls far short the total child population in Beirut. It is to be noted, too, that there is no compulsory education for any age group in Lebanon. It remains for us to say, therefore, that poor people can hardly support their children at private schools which are likely to charge relatively high fees.

In concluding our discussion of the socio-economic conditions of delinquents we may say that in spite of difficulties of classification our study agrees with others that frequency of delinquency is higher among lower classes and among children not in school.

5. FAMILY CONDITIONS OF DELINQUENTS

In our study we were able to get data on the incidence of broken homes among our Beirut delinquents who passed through the juvenile court during the year 1955. Our findings are presented in Table 12 below.

TABLE 12

INCIDENCE OF BROKEN HOMES AMONG BEIRUT DELINQUENTS

CONDITION	NUMBER	PERCENT
Parents living together	132	76.7
Father only deceased	13	9.3
Mother only deceased	14	8.1
Both parents deceased	1	0.6
Both parents imprisoned	1	0.6
Parents divorced	6	3.5
Parents separated	2	1.2
TOTALS	172	100.0

The majority of the delinquents' families were found to be complete (i.e., both parents living together). On the other hand, nearly 18 per cent of our delinquents' homes were found to be broken by the death of either or both parents and nearly 5 per cent broken by divorce or separation. Summing up all the cases in which either or both parents were dead,

imprisoned, divorced, separated, we get a total of 40 cases or 23.3 per cent of the total number of cases.

In trying to evaluate our findings here we find ourselves facing the same obstacle that other investigators face, namely, the absence of figures on the incidence of broken homes among the total population. No estimates have been made of the incidence of broken homes among the population of Lebanon. This fact raises serious limitations to any evaluative statement as to the importance of broken home as a factor influencing juvenile delinquency in Lebanon. This relationship cannot be further measured until the proportion of children in the entire population living in broken homes is known.

The second aspect of family life which has been investigated was family size or the number of children the delinquent's family had. We have found that the majority of our delinquents (Beirut delinquents) came from families which had five or more children, the figure being 86.9 per cent. Comparing this number with the corresponding figure for the Beirut population (the median here falls nearly at a family with four children), we may be justified in saying that the factor of family size was found to be associated with juvenile delinquency in Beirut city. This, of course, means only that large families (those with five or more children) were found to contribute proportionately more juvenile offenders than small families (those with less than five children).

Family size is, of course, only one aspect of the delinquent's family gestalt. It always has to be considered in conjunction with the other aspects of that gestalt such as socio-economic conditions of the family, intra-family relations, sibling rivalry, parents attitudes towards children, and the kind of neighborhood the family has. Many studies in the United States have shown that reproduction rate is correlated with the plane of living (socio-economic status), the lower rate being found in the higher classes and the higher rate in the lower classes.¹

TABLE 13
SIZE OF DELINQUENTS' FAMILIES AS SHOWN BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN

Number of Children	Frequency	Percent of all Cases
One child	1	1.2
Two children	1	1.2
Three children	5	5.9
Four children	4	4.8
Five children	7	8.4
Six children	12	14.3
Seven children	15	17.9
Eight children	19	22.6
Nine children	8	9.5
Ten children	9	10.7
Eleven children	2	2.4
Twelve children	0	0.0
Thirteen children	1	1.2
TOTALS	84	100.0

1. Landis, Paul. Population Problems. pp. 369-372.

VI. SUMMARY

SUMMARY

✓ The problem of juvenile delinquency has been subjected to very little if any research in Lebanon. The present study was aimed at gathering all the available information on the problem. The study depended mainly on four sources: the Youth Protection Association, the Boys Reformatory, Churchill's book "The City of Beirut: A Socio-Economic Survey", and part V of the United Nations Publication, "Comparative Survey on Juvenile Delinquency".

Research literature on the subject of juvenile delinquency was reviewed in the first part of the thesis. Special emphasis was laid on the progress in man's thinking on the causes of crime and delinquency.

The basic philosophy of the Youth Protection Association regarding the treatment of juvenile offenders is that these should be sent back to their homes whenever this is possible. Two kinds of institutions are at present found in Lebanon: private and government institutions. Of the former there are two and of the latter **only** one. Girl delinquents do not as yet have a government reformatory. No psychiatric, social, or psychological treatment is offered in the boys' reformatory.

✓ Many of our findings seem to agree pretty much with the findings of similar research in other countries particularly the United States. ✓ The rate of juvenile delinquency for the

entire Lebanon was found to be around six cases per thousand children of court age. However, this rate showed considerable variation from district to district. Two of the rural districts were found to have a higher rate of delinquency than the urban districts. This finding was thought to be unique about Lebanon.

The five most frequently occurring offenses were, in a decreasing order of frequency, traffic or "pasture" law violations, theft, assault, mischievous behavior, running away and begging. The relative low frequency of sex offenses was explained, in part, by the fact that prostitution in Lebanon is legalized; and, in part, by the fact that the upper age limit of juvenile delinquency in Lebanon is set at 15 years of age. Sex offenses are more likely to occur after this age. The ratio of boy delinquents to girl delinquents in Lebanon was found to be five to one.

The socio-economic conditions of our delinquent children were judged according to father's occupation. It was found that most Beirut delinquents came from the lower three classes which may be described as being "poor" or "very poor". The incidence of broken homes among our Beirut delinquents was found to be a little less than 25 per cent.

The distribution of delinquency in Beirut city was found to be quite similar to the distribution of delinquency in many large American cities. The heaviest concentration was found to be near the center of the city.

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