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The application of the delinquency area concept to a non-western society

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BOSTON UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL

Dissertation

THE APPLICATION OF THE DELINQUENCY AREA CONCEPT
TO A NON-WESTERN SOCIETY

by

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TO: MORRIS BLACKMAN SANDERS, M.D.
Former United States Public Health
Attache in the Middle East

Whose understanding and sympathetic
attitude toward the problems of
Western and Eastern cultures has
been of friendly aid to me in ob-
taining a better insight into
American culture.

Saied Ewies

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FOREWORD

Since the early nineteenth century, Egypt has been increasingly affected by Western ideas, Western techniques, and Western ways of life. This impact of Western civilization has caused some changes in Egyptian society, but it has not made Egyptian society a Western society. The basic themes of the Egyptian culture of the past have continued to be important.

Egypt is now experiencing a rapid transculturation. New ideas, such as democracy and nationalism, have come into being and new social conditions due to the expansion of urban communities have arisen. From a rural country without any major industry at all, Egypt has now gone forward into the development of industry and urban life. With the advent of the twentieth century, due to the introduction of industry during the First World War, the rising of new cities during the period between the wars, and the increase of migration from rural areas to urban areas during the period from the start of the Second World War until now, the processes of urbanization and urbanism have been developing in Egypt very rapidly. In 1882 the population of Egypt was 6,804,000, nineteen per cent of which, or 1,292,760, lived in urban areas.* By 1952, the

* By urban areas, is meant the Governorates, Capitals of Provinces, Towns of Districts, excluding the Governorates of Frontiers. This definition is equivalent to that of the American urban areas; thus both Egyptian and American urban areas are comparable.

population of Egypt was 21,403,000, thirty-two per cent of which, or 6,848,960, lived in urban areas. Within the last seventy years, then, (1882-1952), the proportion of urban dwellers in Egypt has increased thirteen percentage points, and the number of the urban dwellers has expanded more than five times.*

The City of Cairo has also been notably affected by the urban movement. Since 1882, its population has increased more than five times.** With this increase in number, the people have become more and more socially and economically heterogeneous.

The migration from rural areas to urban areas has created certain problems for both the migrants and the older city dwellers, and there has been an accompanying degree of social disorganization. One expression of this has been an increase in crime and delinquency.

It has already been established that the social phenomenon of "delinquency area" exists in the urban areas of Western societies such as the American society. This study tries to find out whether or not this phenomenon exists in urban areas in a non-Western society such as that of Egypt.

It is hoped that this study, with its implications, may contribute to improved understanding of juvenile delinquency as an urban problem in Egypt.

* The Egyptian Census Dept., "The Annual Pocket Census." (in Arabic) (Cairo: The Gov. Press, 1954, pp. 1-3).

** The Egyptian Census Dept., "Governorate of Cairo." (in Arabic) (Cairo: The Gov. Press, 1952, p. 2).

B O O K O N E

PART I

AN INTRODUCTION

1. Statement of Problem

The theories of urbanization and especially those of "delinquency area," as they exist today, have been developed with reference to Western societies. This study attempts to test them in a non-Western society. Broadly, it is an examination of the relation between certain aspects of urbanization and juvenile delinquency. More specifically, it is an attempt to determine the applicability and usefulness of the concept of "delinquency area" in Egyptian society by means of a comparative study of the Roxbury area in Boston, Massachusetts, and that of Boulac in Cairo.

2. Basic Hypothesis

Stated explicitly, the basic hypothesis of the study is:

"That urbanization in Egypt is accompanied by the emergence of areas that conform to the pattern of delinquency areas as defined by Shaw and others for American society, in spite of differences in the general structure of the two societies as illustrated by a comparative study of delinquency areas in Boston and Cairo."

The concept of "delinquency area" is a derivative of the ecological approach to the problem of delinquency. Human ecology, as an academically recognized intellectual discipline, is very young. It borrowed its conceptual framework and many of its methods from plant and animal ecology.

"In distinguishing it from plant and animal ecology, Park stressed the unique characteristics of man and the human community. He noted that, unlike plants and animals, human beings in large measure make their own environment; they have relatively great powers of locomotion and thus are less attached to the immediate habitat in which by nature they are placed; they are conditioned by their capacity for symbolic communication, by rational behavior, and by the possession of an elaborate technology and culture." 44*

The names most frequently associated with the application of this approach to the study of delinquency are those of Clifford R. Shaw and Frederic M. Thrasher, although Alfredo Nicefaro "anticipated the ecological approach of modern criminologists in his 'La Delinquenza in Sardegna', published in 1897, in which he recognized the existence of definite 'Zone delinquenta'." 21 We are going to deal with the concept of "delinquency area" in some detail in Part II.

3. Scope of Study

The scope of the study covers a general comparison between two areas: the Roxbury area (Western area) and the Boulac area (non-Western area). But the focus is the social characteristics which make an area a delinquency area, so that it may be demonstrated whether or not the two areas chosen for comparison are delinquency areas. The choice of these two areas was made for the following reasons:

1. Both areas are near the industrial and/or commercial centers of their cities.
2. Both areas are somewhat deteriorated areas.

* Numbered references will be found in the Bibliography, page

3. Both areas contain disproportionately large numbers of unskilled laborers.
4. Both areas seem to have a high rate of delinquency.

Added to these is the fact that the writer has first-hand knowledge of the two areas. The Boulac Area is known to him for the following reasons:

(a) The writer has worked as the Director of the Cairo Juvenile Social Service's Bureau, and as the Senior Probation Officer of Cairo, since 1943.

(b) The writer has been an active member of the Council of the Cairo Social Service's Association for the Underprivileged Neighborhoods ever since it was formed in 1948.

(c) Under the auspices of the above-mentioned Association, the writer undertook the first study of its kind in Egypt on the state of the dwelling units of Boulac.⁷

The Roxbury area is also known to the writer for the following reasons:

(a) The writer has lived in this area since September, 1953.

(b) As a resident of "Norfolk House Center," the writer has worked as a group worker during the same period.

4. Methods of Study

Basically, the method used is a comparison of American and Egyptian societies, with special reference to the two urban areas selected for study. By carefully examining the Roxbury and Boulac areas, each in relation to the general

structure of the wider urban community in which it is situated, it has proved possible to isolate relevant variables and to arrive at tentative conclusions concerning the validity of the hypothesis.

Other methods have also been used: such as direct and indirect observation, social survey, interview, and statistical method.

The emphasis will be on those statistics - computed from the official censuses and other sources - which reflect the social characteristics of both areas and have relevance to the study.

The major Egyptian sources of data, other than the official census data, are:

- (a) Social Survey (by the writer)
- (b) Official Reports of the Cairo Juvenile Social Service's Bureau (from 1942 to 1953)
- (c) Official Reports of the Cairo Social Service's Association for the Underprivileged Neighborhoods (from 1948 to 1953)
- (d) A Survey of all the Cairo juvenile offenses during the years 1949-1953

The American sources of information used are:

- (a) U.S. Department of Commerce - Bureau of the Census, "1950 United States Census of Population: Boston, Massachusetts"
- (b) United Community Services of Metropolitan Boston, "Social Facts by Census Tracts" (Boston, 1953)

- (c) Research Division, United Community Services of Metropolitan Boston, "Neighborhoods of Boston" (Boston, 1953)
- (d) Greater Boston Community Council, "The People of Boston and its Fifteen Health and Welfare Areas" (Boston, 1944)
- (e) Civic Department, Boston Chamber of Commerce, "Metropolitan Boston" (Boston, 1954)
- (f) Official Reports of the "Special Youth Project" (Boston, 1954)

5. An Appraisal of Sources of Information

As an appraisal of sources of information, especially the Egyptian sources, we may say this: '

As to the Egyptian census, the following account may be relevant.¹⁰

Some attempts were made to estimate the population of Modern Egypt during the French Campaign and in the time of Mohamed Ali. Such attempts were based on the enumeration of houses, without a proper census being taken in the scientific sense of the term.

Only in 1882 had the population of Egypt been enumerated on a single date. The second census was taken in 1897; and since that date, Egypt has carried out a systematic enumeration every ten years.

It may be noticed that the census in Egypt is based upon the de facto and not upon the de jure principle.

In a country like Egypt, with a high percentage of illiteracy* and long periods of oppression, a large number of the people look on census operations with apathy and suspicion. They naturally lose sight of the various important aspects of the census and see only one side of the picture: that is to say, its service to the ruling classes. Such an attitude must have affected the returns of all censuses, and it will not be difficult to realize this fact in discussing the characteristics of the population of Cairo and the Boulac area.

The technical side of census-taking, the way in which it had been carried out, the time chosen for enumeration, and the material tabulated and published, cast some doubts on the accuracy of some of the census results. The absence of some data, for instance, makes it difficult and sometimes impossible to accomplish a satisfactory comparative study of some of the most important social aspects.

As regards the date of enumeration, it is extremely important that the day should correspond to the time when the population is in its normal status, and it should be fixed. But, owing to the moving of the Moslem Lunar Calendar eleven days forward every year, and since it is essential to avoid taking the census during the fasting month of Ramadan, or when people are celebrating their religious feasts, it has become

* According to Census 1947, illiteracy in Egypt is 74 per cent (see the Annual Pocket Census, p. 13).

practically impossible to take the census on, or near, the same day each time. This factor, however, can be guarded against by adjusting the returns to a fixed date, when strict accuracy is needed.

For the above-mentioned reasons, the writer has relied on the social survey which was made in 1951 on the state of the dwelling units of the Boulac area. It is the first effort of its kind ever made in Egypt. Its conclusions are drawn from data collected from a random sample of 1,000 families which live in the area. It is hoped that by making use of this survey, some of the important social facts which are lacking in the census can be provided.

The Boulac area comprises thirteen neighborhoods; five of these were chosen as an area of investigation. They were: El Adawya, Farrag, Sandabisi, Kallaya, and Turgoman. The choice of these neighborhoods was somewhat arbitrary, because it was the area where the Cairo Social Service's Association for Underprivileged Neighborhoods rendered its services.

Before starting the investigation, the writer - accompanied by two social-worker assistants - had visited the area many times. They went through all its streets and alleys. In short, they studied its geographical characteristics. They got acquainted with all the public-service agencies in the area: such as schools, hospitals, public baths, clinics, and public water taps. By so doing, they became known to the people and they acquired some knowledge about the external characteristics

of the area and its people. They felt that the people of the area had accepted them, knew their faces, and had become accustomed to their presence. A kind of relationship between the workers and the people arose. It took two months to achieve this: from February 1 to March 31, 1951.

The sample chosen approximated a random one. One family out of ten was to be investigated. If the chances were that twenty families lived in one house, the worker investigated only one family from this house, and a second family from the immediately neighboring house. The cases were drawn first from alleys and then from streets, so that the sample might cover the whole area and become more representative.

The workers had the task of filling out a special form for each family. By questioning the members of the families and through observations during the interviews, the workers collected their data. In this way, 1000 families were investigated. The work was done in six months, from April to September 30, 1951.

The work began in the Farrag neighborhood; then in Turgoman, Adawaya, Kallaya, and Sandabisi neighborhoods, respectively. Each neighborhood contributed a number of cases in proportion to its population according to the census of 1947. The number of individuals of all cases was 4,891. When the work was done in each neighborhood, each worker wrote a special report of his observations, impressions, and experiences.

A meeting was held each week under the chairmanship of the writer, to discuss general items and difficulties which might have arisen in relation to the investigation. Points of view were exchanged in these meetings. Thus the work could be considered as team-work, though the writer was held responsible for the general policy of the work, the interpretation of the facts, and the writing of the final report.

It may be relevant to mention here some of the difficulties which the workers had to face during the investigation.

(1) Some people thought that this investigation was being made on behalf of the authorities and in relation to the compulsory-education system or the children's correctional schools.

(2) Some people thought that this investigation was being made on behalf of the authorities and in relation to military service.

(3) Some people thought that the Government intended to clear the area of the old houses and build new ones in their places.

(4) Some people suspected that the workers were governmental employees representing the Taxation Department, the Light and Electricity Department, the Building Department, the Sewage Department, and/or the Cairo Water Company.

(5) Some people were afraid to give information lest the owners of their houses might be angry with them. They insisted

that the owners of the houses must be present during the interview. However, the workers made the nature of their work clear to the people, before collecting the data. Eventually, the people accepted the workers and felt at ease in their presence. People became very co-operative and willingly and graciously rendered every help needed.

When the process of interviewing began, the workers felt assured that the data collected were reliable and their accuracy was reasonable. In some cases some families were interviewed a second time, when the case required more accuracy.

The following are some observations made by the workers during the investigation:

(1) It was observed that some people, especially in the Turgoman neighborhood, did not know the number of their houses. They knew their houses in relation to the owners' names. A very few did not know the name of their alley or street.

(2) Some people did not know the name of the public water tap they usually used. (Each public tap is named after the area where it is located.)

(3) Some people were disgusted by the throwing of dirty water and garbage into the streets.

(4) Most people, in spite of their poor state, were very enthusiastic about sending their children to school. They poured out their complaints to the workers concerning the difficulties they had met in this respect.

As to the other sources of information, the Cairo Juvenile

Social Service's Bureau and the Cairo Social Service's Association for the Underprivileged Neighborhoods, the writer is held responsible for all the data provided by the former until April 1951; and for those provided by the latter, until August 1953. The survey of all the Cairo juvenile offences during the years 1949-1953 was made by the "Department of Juveniles" of the Ministry of Social Affairs, and was sent to the writer in June 1955.

PART II

DELINQUENCY AREAS

1. Delinquency Areas; Defined

Delinquency areas are sometimes called blighted areas. This, in fact, is not accurate; because, while blighted areas may not be delinquency areas, delinquency areas are more than just blighted areas. A delinquency area is more than a concentration of poor housing and physical deterioration; it is also a way of living, a pattern of habits, attitudes, and reaction. The physical deterioration of the delinquency area is reflected in culture conflicts and personality maladjustments in the minds of the delinquency-area dwellers.

A blighted area can be defined as:

"an area usually but not necessarily residential which has lost use value to such an extent that it can no longer return economic rents, pay fair taxes, and provide for fundamental repairs. Because of the resulting deterioration, it tends to fall at an accelerating rate toward slum status but is not properly a slum until it has passed the point of economical rehabilitation without extensive demolition and clearance." 37

For a tentative definition of a delinquency area, at this stage, we may borrow McConnell's definition:

"It is an area of a city marked by an abnormal delinquency rate as compared to other areas of the city of similar size and population. Such areas are often located in zones of transition, and are marked by industrial buildings, waterfronts and railroads, deteriorated buildings, and population of mixed nationalities." 37 *

* Reference 37, p. 14.

In their study, "The Delinquent Child and the Home," Breckinridge and Abbott mentioned what they called 'delinquent neighborhoods.' They showed on a spot map that certain areas in Chicago housed more delinquents than others, and found out that the region from which the children of the Court chiefly come is the densely populated West Side; that the most conspicuous centers of delinquency in this section have been the congested wards which lie along the river and the canals. They described the West Side as the most densely populated section of the city, and as a large tenement and lodging-house district lying between the two branches of the river and between wide and unsightly stretches of railroad tracks, and enclosed by a dense, semi-circular belt-line of manufacturing and commercial plants.^{6,31}

The figures, in this study, concerning juvenile-court appearances in Chicago for the ten-year period July 1, 1899, to June 30, 1909, analyzed by sex, age, color, offence, nativity of parents, disposition of case, number of arraignments, and place in economic group, are considered by some sociologists to be the classic in geographic measurement.

Shaw and his colleagues, however, were the pioneers whose work gave impetus to many studies of delinquency in various metropolitan centers. In their study, "Delinquency Areas - a Study of the Geographic Distribution of School Truants, Juvenile Delinquents and Adult Offenders in Chicago,"³⁵ the data are arranged in nine series selected as representative of

Chicago's delinquent population from 1900 to 1927. The findings are as follows:

1. The first and perhaps most striking finding of the study is that there are marked variations in the rate of school truants, juvenile delinquents, and adult criminals between areas in Chicago. Some areas are characterized by very high rates, while others show very low rates
2. A second major finding is that rates of truancy, delinquency, and adult crime tend to vary inversely in proportion to the distance from the center of the city. In general, the nearer to the center of the city a given locality is, the higher will be its rate of delinquency and crime.
3. Another striking finding in this study is the marked similarity in the distribution of truants, juvenile delinquents, and adult criminals in the city. Those communities which show the highest rates of juvenile delinquency also show, as a rule, the highest rates of truancy and adult crime. There are, of course, exceptions to this rule but the rates of all of the series vary rather consistently.
4. A fourth finding of this study is that the difference in rates of truancy, delinquency, and crime reflect differences in community backgrounds. High rates occur in the areas which are characterized by physical deterioration and declining population Comparisons between high- and low-rate areas which are studied in detail should reveal the significant social factors in delinquent areas.
5. the main high-rate areas of the city - those near the Loop, around the Stock Yards and the South Chicago steel mills - have been characterized by high rates over a long period It should be remembered that relatively high rates have persisted in certain areas notwithstanding the fact that the composition of population has changed markedly.

6. the rate of recidivism varies directly with the rate of individual delinquents and inversely with the distance from the center of the city From these facts it is clear that delinquents living in areas of high delinquent rates are more likely to become recidivists, and that the recidivists from these areas are more likely to appear in court three or more times than are recidivists from areas with low rates of delinquents.³⁵

Other studies by Shaw and his associates in seven cities of the United States have supported the relations between certain areas in the city and delinquency. In a relatively recent study by Shaw and others, "Brothers in Crime,"³⁴ particular emphasis is placed upon three major aspects of the community where the Martins have resided since they established their home:

1. Its physical deterioration and low economic status.
2. The confusion and diversification of its cultural standards and patterns of behavior.
3. Its delinquency traditions.

Sutherland showed that the number of crimes decreases as the distance from the city (Chicago) increases. He showed that, in 1931-32, stores of a certain large chain were robbed twice as frequently inside the city as they were in a 25-mile zone around the city (59.6 to 29.8). Moreover, the proportion of stores burglarized or robbed decreased by 25-mile zones steadily until it reached 6.2 per cent in the zone 100 to 125 miles away from the city.³⁸

Gangs thrive in the delinquency area.⁴⁰

Heterogeneity also marks this area. Zorbaugh found, in Near North Side of Chicago, twenty-eight specified foreign nationalities: the Negro, and the category 'all other countries,' in addition to the native-born population.⁴⁶

The population is also highly mobile in this area. In the Chicago rooming-house section which he studied, Zorbaugh found the turnover to be 300 per cent a year.⁴⁶ *

It is indicated that such an area is characterized by large numbers of detached individuals, and there is little family life. Lack of normal social life may produce mental patients or attract them, but most of the cases of mental breakdown occurred among persons who had lived for some time in the district.¹¹

Other studies conducted by other sociologists interested in this phase of ecology have been made in other localities with similar conclusions.

2. Evaluation of Delinquency-Area Concept

The concept of delinquency area has been criticized by some sociologists and by psychiatrists in general. To the former, the concept is a broad one and is vaguely defined, and thus the reliability of data collected in the light of the concept may be questioned. The psychiatrist is not much impressed with the ecological or statistical studies concerning juvenile delinquency.

* Reference 46, p. 72.

In his efforts for improving the depth and precision of our criminological knowledge, Professor Morris advocates that

"Criminology, if it is to mature, must go beyond such broad concepts as those of crime, and such related and vaguely defined factors as parental inadequacy and delinquency areas, to identification and analysis of specific types of criminal behaviour and the specific etiological factors associated with them." ²²

The term "delinquency" is so variously defined and considered, and so subjectively interpreted, that it cannot be used as a unit of measurement. Mrs. Sophia Robison has something to say in this respect:

"Although the delinquency area technique of study, developed in Chicago and later extended to an examination of the locus of delinquency in other cities, has received official recognition, the suspicion persists that this method is not only essentially invalid to indicate the extent of juvenile delinquent behavior but that it does not furnish any very useful approach to the problem of understanding or preventing delinquent behavior." ³¹

The arrest or juvenile-court appearances do not provide an adequate measure of delinquencies. In delinquency areas where poor families live, the policeman is more prone to suspect the poor man's child of theft, while in areas where wealthy and socially powerful families reside, he is apt to suspect the rich man's child of a prank. In the latter areas, to be sure, there is a certain degree of immunity against arrest. ³¹ *

Also, certain groups - national or religious - maintain

* Reference 31, p. 28.

welfare agencies which take problem cases that would otherwise be referred to the police or to the juvenile court, while other groups have no agencies of this nature.³¹ *

The place of a delinquency area should also be considered. Are the delinquency areas apt to be found anywhere in a city?

Studies of delinquency rates may serve an important purpose in indicating the concentration of delinquency in certain areas within each city. But the question is: How can we determine the rate which makes an area a delinquency area? How high should the rate be to consider the area in question a delinquency area, or a non-delinquency area, or of a certain-degree-of-delinquency area? Also the delinquency rates do not throw sufficient light on the varying reactions of individuals living in such areas: They do not explain, for example, why the majority of the children living in the delinquency areas are not brought to court as offenders, though exposed to the same conditions as their delinquent neighbors. This is "a fact which should give pause to those who are anxious to assume a crude cause-and-effect relation between slum (delinquency) areas and crime."²¹ **

Most studies of delinquency areas indicate the fact that they are to be found near the industrial and commercial centers of the city. Breckinridge and Abbott called attention to the

* Reference 31, pp. 37-39.

** Reference 21, p. 75.

possible relationship between the number of delinquents in the area - under their study - and the presence of railroad tracks.³¹ * Sutherland states that in some smaller cities in America the residences of delinquents are adjacent to the railway tracks or to the "dumps" on the outskirts of the town.³⁸ ** However, this is not evidence that the centers of concentration are the same in cities of other countries.

The concentration of delinquents near the business and industrial centers of cities can be due to the fact that the areas of concentration are areas of physical deterioration, congested population, decreasing population, economic dependency, rented homes, mixed population, adult criminality, and few institutions supported by the local residents. Another interpretation which is favored by psychiatrists is that the areas in which delinquency rates are high are low-rent areas, and that a population segregated on the basis of rent-paying ability involves a selection of the constitutionally inferior.³⁸ +

It should be noted, however, that this approach looks upon the significance of poor housing, overcrowding, low standard of living, low educational standards, and other such conditions, merely as symptomatic of mere basic degenerative processes: that is, "Delinquency areas are due to the deterioration of the fundamentals and characteristics of social control."¹

* Reference 31, p. 13
 ** Reference 38, p. 140
 + Reference 38, p. 141

Mackay, in his article, "The Neighborhood and Child Conduct," has elaborated on this by saying that a delinquency area is an area of conflicting values: that is, an area in which alternative educational processes are in operation. Part of the social life with which the child comes in contact is conventional and part of it is non-conventional. The result is that he may be educated in either or both of these lines of activity. This is described by Sutherland as differential participation in conventional and non-conventional group activities.

But why is there a lack of consensus in areas of high rates of delinquents? The answer to this question is not easily found. The problem is: Under what conditions do alternative value-systems come into existence in an area, and why are they not driven out by groups representing the dominant conventional values?

Mackay suggests that these alternative values arise most frequently in the struggle for position or status where the institutional organization is inadequate. If the institutional arrangements were completely adequate, the competition and conflicts through which persons and groups establish their status would be regularized. But, in the absence of such adequacy, alternative devices for making a living and for getting ahead develop and are tolerated. Such developments are due to a few favorable conditions. The alternative devices for the acceleration of the process of upward mobility outside of the traditional institutional arrangements, have been developed most

openly in the areas of low economic status in large cities. But many elements common to other types of situations are involved in the process. Among these are:

- (i) The tradition of a fluid status structure in which the possession of material goods is the symbol of power and prestige.
- (ii) Free competition for the acquisition of goods.
- (iii) The weakening of traditional controls through the organization of society on an impersonal basis.
- (iv) The presence of obstacles to the acquisition of the technical skills or education which are so important in the status struggle.
- (v) Implicit also in the literature, radio programs, and advertising is the assumption that all persons have access to the luxury pattern of life, and that if the person does not have access, he is being deprived of what he justly deserves.

When these elements are coupled with the institutional weakness of inner city areas, the competitive process is most likely to take on new forms. And where it does take alternative illegal forms, the child is exposed to illegal modes of behavior.¹⁹

The foregoing ideas and interpretations seem very suggestive. They also emphasize the deterioration of the fundamentals and characteristics of social control, and how this deterioration comes into being. As important as they sound, these interpretations can be best described as hypotheses, and their test remains to be seen.

As we have already found out that it is doubtful - unless, of course, we refine our methods - to determine, with an element

of precision, the delinquency rate which may help us to indicate that a specific area is a delinquency area. We are also apt to fail to determine accurately the size, or to set the exact boundaries of such an area. Valid as this criticism is, we still notice that there are certain areas where delinquencies and crimes, of some kind or another, are concentrated. This has been proved, as stated above, by the statistical surveys of delinquency rates in certain areas, and has gained support from the analysis of groups of offenders. The work of the Gleucks, "One Thousand Juvenile Delinquents,"¹² studied, among other factors, the physical conditions of the home and the neighborhood of the boys treated by Judge Baker Foundation and the Juvenile Court in Boston. It was found that 62 per cent of the homes were unwholesome, and 86 per cent of the boys came from unfavorable neighborhoods.

Also, the precision and accuracy of setting boundaries of a delinquency area may not, for practical purposes, be very badly needed, especially if we are trying to fight against delinquency and crime. When an area is labelled as being a malaria-stricken area, for example, the usual practice is to draw hypothetical boundaries of this area, so that we may successfully combat the disease. These boundaries are not usually accurate and precise. In this example, we know for sure that a certain type of mosquito causes the disease. Even when we do not have complete knowledge of the causes of a disease such as polio, we still make use of drawing hypothetical boundaries

of an area where, supposedly, the rate of disease seems to be relatively high. The danger lies, to be sure, when we oversimplify and try to make use of the concept of delinquency area, assuming a crude cause-and-effect relation between delinquency area and delinquency or crime.

The concept of delinquency area can also be of great use, if refined, in research. In this case we should assume that delinquency is of various types. Some of these types may exist in certain areas, and others may exist in other areas. If we are after finding out the dynamic factors that may cause a type or types of delinquent behavior, the concept will provide us with a starting point from which to look for these factors. For example: We may be able to find out the reasons that certain types of delinquency occur in certain areas of a city and do not occur in other areas, or that they occur more often in certain areas than in other areas of the same city.

In conclusion, we may say that there is no doubt that the above criticisms are worthy of record; that the delinquency-area concept has served a useful purpose in assisting in the fight against delinquency and crime; but that there is a danger that the concept may be used as an oversimplification of the problem of delinquency and crime, because of the extreme complexity of delinquency and crime causation and the inconclusive nature of most statistical data on this subject.²⁹

3. Juvenile Delinquency; Defined

The concept of juvenile delinquency has various meanings. We are going to confine ourselves to the social, legal, and psychological meanings of the concept.

The following is an evaluation of these meanings:

(a) Social Meaning of Juvenile-Delinquency Concept:

"Juvenile delinquency" implies a behavior or behaviors which must be human. This behavior, according to the traditional legal definition, is the violation of the law. This violation is assumed to be harmful to society and should be forbidden. But juvenile delinquency as a violation of the law is merely one type of behavior code, and thus the delinquents are but persons who are not essentially different from violators of other behavior codes. They are not a separate species. On the other hand, laws vary from time to time and from one society to another. The conception of what is harmful to society may differ very much from one society to another. This is because societies differ in their organizations and cultures from one another. Also, in the course of time, any given society changes its values and attitudes. Thus, in many European countries, a minor is legally considered a delinquent only if his breach of the penal code is an offence for the whole population. On the other hand, in other countries - particularly in the United States of America - the charges on which a minor appears before a court cover a wide range of behavior: truancy from school, consistent disobedience

to parents, consumption of alcohol, smoking in public - to give but a few examples - are all considered juvenile offenses.

(b) Legal Meaning of Juvenile-Delinquency Concept:

The law always contains an arbitrary element. This can be shown by a statement of the maximum and minimum age as it is sometimes found in the legal definition of a delinquent child. To illustrate this arbitrary element in such a statement, we may state the following example:

"According to English law, a boy is not considered capable of having sexual relations before his fourteenth birthday, so that a juvenile court was powerless to return a verdict other than 'not guilty' in the case of a boy, aged thirteen and a half, who had raped a small girl, thereby causing her death."

In addition, the way the police enforce the law, whether more or less strictly, introduces a further arbitrary element into the concept of juvenile delinquency. A country with an efficient police force will have a higher delinquency rate than a country where the police are slack. The social position and influence of parents may influence the decision whether to refer a boy to a juvenile court or not. Also, the severity with which an offense is viewed may vary a great deal, not only from one country to another, but also from one judge to another.

Under the present law (General Laws, Chap. 119) in Massachusetts, a neglected child is defined as any child under sixteen years of age who

"by reason of orphanage, or the neglect, crime, cruelty, insanity, or drunkenness or other vice of its parents, is growing up without education, or without salutary control, or without proper physical care, or in circumstances exposing him to lead an idle and dissolute life, or is dependent upon public charity." (Chap. 119, Sec. 42)

The purpose of this law has been construed to be for "the removal of children from those parents who are undesirable and unfit, and not from parents who are merely poor." And also the word "neglect" in the law "is construed to import culpability or at least intentional non-performance of duty" (Com. vs. Dee, 222 Mass. 184, and Com. vs. Ball, 259 Mass. 148).

The delinquent child is defined under this law as "a child between seven and seventeen who violates any city ordinance or town by-law or commits an offense not punishable by death."

A wayward child is defined as "a child between seven and seventeen years of age who habitually associates with vicious or immoral persons, or who is growing up in circumstances exposing him to lead an immoral, vicious, or criminal life." (Chap. 119, Sec. 52, of the Massachusetts General Laws)⁴

In Egypt there is no special definition of juvenile delinquency given in the law, but reference is made to the definition of juvenile offenders. The Penal Code of Egypt defines a juvenile delinquent as "any male or female who has completed the age of seven but has not completed the age of fifteen years and is found guilty of any offense punishable by law." It should be noted that the Penal Code of Egypt makes special provision for young offenders above the age of juvenile delinquents

as defined by the Code. The age group covered is from fifteen to seventeen years.

In the Egyptian Penal Code, a distinction is made between a juvenile who is a delinquent and one who is vagrant. The age limits fixed by the Egyptian Penal Code with respect to juvenile offenders do not apply to vagrant minors. Under the recent Law No. 124 issued on August 8, 1949, the upper age limit of vagrant minors was fixed at eighteen. A vagrant minor, as defined in Article 1 of the Egyptian Vagrancy Law No. 124, is a person - whether male or female - who has not completed the age of eighteen years and is guilty of the following:

- (a) Begging - mendicancy includes selling worthless articles or performing acrobatic games in the streets;
- (b) Collecting cigarette butts or refuse;
- (c) Performing any act in connection with prostitution, fornication, corruption of conduct, or gambling, or serving persons who are guilty of these offenses;
- (d) Associating with vagabonds, suspected persons, or persons of ill fame;
- (e) Being of bad conduct and refractory to the control of his father, sponsor or guardian, or mother, if the guardian is dead, absent, or incompetent;
- (f) Having no fixed place of residence or habitually sleeping in the streets;
- (g) Having no lawful means of livelihood and no honest means of support, the parents being dead, in prison, or absent.³³

(c) Psychological Meaning of Juvenile-Delinquency Concept:

The psychologist and the psychiatrist consider juvenile delinquency as but one of the many aspects of the vague concept: social maladjustment. And while the majority of juvenile delinquents are found among the members of the so-called socially maladjusted group, not all are delinquent. Furthermore, not all delinquents are maladjusted. Also, juvenile delinquents do not fall into one simple homogeneous psychiatric or psychological category.

"In one respect, however, the group of juvenile delinquents appears homogeneous to the psychiatrist. Once a juvenile delinquent, whatever his make-up, has been classified as such and has been subjected to various measures, secondary psychological reactions occur, unrelated to the origins of his delinquent behavior, but common to all who share his fate. On the other hand, public opinion, because he has been labelled delinquent, takes up special attitudes towards him regardless of the individual features of his case." 5 *

We should also note that a large percentage of juvenile delinquents do not show any signs of mental or physical illness. In such widely separated places as Chicago, Lausanne (Switzerland), and Cairo, the percentage of delinquents, in cases in which a psychiatric examination was considered necessary, and where there has been close collaboration between the Juvenile Court and child psychiatrists, has only varied between five and twelve per cent. 5 **

Cyril Burt, the British psychologist, defines delinquency as occurring in a child "when his anti-social tendencies appear

* Reference 5, page 10

** Reference 5, page 18 (for information on Chicago and Lausanne only)

so grave that he becomes, or ought to become, the subject of official action";³⁹ while the definition of delinquency set by the White House Conference of 1930 considers the maladjusted child not delinquent until his behavior seems serious enough to enlist the police power of the court.³⁹

4. Urbanization - Defined

(a) The Concept of Urbanization

With the concept of "urbanization" the concept of "urbanism" is sometimes associated.

In his article "The Folk Society,"⁴³ Robert Redfield constructed an ideal type for what he calls a "Folk Society." This ideal type is an imagined entity created only because through it we may hope to understand reality. The concept "urbanization" is to be found implicit in Redfield's article. His definition of rural (folk) and urban is in terms of behavior and relationships. Associational Societies,^{*} as covered by Wilson and Kolb, are meant to be urban communities of our modern age. Urbanization, here, is also explained in terms of behavior and relationships. In this study, however, we are going to adopt the meanings of the concepts "urbanization" and "urbanism" as given by Queen and Carpenter;³⁰ for to them, the two concepts have different meanings. The former means a way or ways of life that are not always well defined and sometimes not reduced to measurement. The latter simply means the number and density of population. Queen and Carpenter consider urban and rural as ideal types, and the actual human communities

* Reference 43, pp. 345-349.

fall along a continuum extending from occupationally non-specialized, sparsely settled groupings at the rural extreme, to occupationally specialized, densely populated settlements at the urban extreme. They have shown that as human communities are arrayed along this rural-urban continuum, consistent variation occurs in the pattern of behavior and social structure. To Mumford, both concepts are used in the same sense. They may mean a way of life or the density of population.²⁵

(b) Characteristics of Urban Life

Delinquency areas are urban phenomena. Their existence is largely due to the herding together in large cities of heterogeneous multiple numbers of human beings.

Mere differences in number between rural areas and urban areas are not significant. Our attention should be concentrated on how do people live? The significant differences between the rural and urban people can be pointed out in terms of behavior, beliefs, organizations, and relationships.

Heterogeneity of urban people is another characteristic of urban life. Urban people are diverse in language, customs, codes of behavior, occupation, education, religion, wealth, appearance, and status. Their contacts are usually secondary and tend to be temporary, casual, and superficial.

On the other hand, if we apply the social contact as a criterion, we find that, unlike rural areas, urban areas have within their bounds special-interest groups which represent the machinery for getting many things done. So we find trade

unions, social associations, chambers of commerce, civil-liberties clubs, and countless others, each with a more-or-less well-defined purpose. The most significant aspect of this is that the special-interest groups have taken over many functions from kinship and locality groups such as the family and the neighborhood; and the latter are growing gradually weaker. The increasing dominance of interest groups brings about the result that membership in many groups produces "segmentalization of human relationships," and a "city person may be said to give just a small part of himself to each of the groups to which he belongs, withholding many of his ideas, skill, much of his time and energy from other organizations." *

Another feature of the social life in the urban communities has to do with making a living. Vocations can be counted by the hundreds, with wide variety - from gambler to social worker. Unlike the rural areas, where we find that every one seems to be a jack-of-all-trades, in the urban areas most people are rather helpless outside of their own specialties. In urban areas we also find specialized production for sale in a market, and people consume goods from the ends of the earth and distribute their own products far and wide. We also find that residence and work place are usually separated.

Another feature may be called social control. In the rural communities, the restraining forces of convention, custom, and communal opinion operate far more effectively than in

* Reference 30, p. 21.

crowded urban areas. More and more aspects of life are dealt with by formal regulations and specially designated officials.

Mobility can also be proposed as a distinguishing characteristic of urban life. Whether mobility refers to the daily coming and going to and from work, recreation, and the like, or whether it means the changing of residence or employment or the changing in socio-economic status, the foregoing statement holds true.

Other aspects of human experience and behavior have been suggested for inclusion in a scheme for identifying degrees of difference in rural and urban populations. Among them are personality traits, social institutions, and rates of change.*

* Reference 30, p. 22.

B O O K T W O

PART III

THE CITY OF BOSTON: ROXBURY AREA

1. An Historical Background

The Roxbury area was one of the early settlements established by the colonists. In the 1790's it was purely an agricultural village and was not connected with Boston proper.

The city of Boston - at this period - was still a town of a small number of artisans and handicraftsmen. "Its industry centered in the need for satisfying the home market."¹⁵ Its population of 18,000 people lived on a peninsula of seven hundred acres.²⁸

The growth of the city, however, made the well-to-do wealthy; the people spread out, and at the same time were localized in distinctive areas. "The very wealthy either remained on Beacon Hill, or moved to the rural suburbs, Roxbury or Cambridge." *

By 1845, the Roxbury area formed a new township - Roxbury as distinct from West Roxbury - leaving the urban districts to the metropolis.

In the succeeding decades, however, urban Boston spread beyond its original limits; and although by 1850, forty per cent of Roxbury's population comprised foreigners or children of foreigners, these were primarily prosperous groups.⁴⁵

Before 1858, some changes took place: as, for example,

* Reference 15, pp. 18-19.

after the extension of Washington, Harrison, and Suffolk (later Shawmut) streets; and the introduction of horsecars in 1856 through the South End to Roxbury. But Roxbury was still somewhat isolated by high fares. "Only the opening of the street railroads in 1858 exposed Roxbury to the masses, who thereafter moved in, forcing their predecessors back into West Roxbury and Dedham." *

In 1867, the Roxbury area was annexed and connected with Boston proper.²⁴

2. Some General Characteristics of Roxbury Today **

With the end of the isolation of Roxbury, radical changes occurred in the area. Some of these were: the relative increase of its population, its heterogeneity, and the disappearance of the atmosphere of cultural homogeneity which had prevailed before.

The flow of people retreating from areas such as the South End relatively increased the population. The people who moved into the area were more or less marginal. They were unskilled laborers who hovered around the bare subsistence level. Thus, when they moved into the area, a kind of centrifugal movement took place. Also, the rising of business centers in the area permitted heterogeneous people to find their way there and to settle down. The very proximity of business centers gave real estate a high speculative value. But the buildings were allowed

* Reference 15, p. 105.

** All data from here on appear in Part V of this study unless it is otherwise stated.

to deteriorate.

"Because it was unprofitable to make or maintain improvements where there was a marked discrepancy between the value placed on the property by the owner and its value for any uses to which it could immediately be put, landlords permitted their buildings to deteriorate.*

At present, Roxbury is a community of about 112,936 people, one of the fifteen health and welfare districts of the city of Boston. It contains fourteen per cent of the total population of the city, and about sixteen per cent of the boys and girls under the age of twenty.

The boundaries of the Roxbury area are roughly identical with its original boundaries as an independent community. However, Roxbury tends to divide itself into several smaller areas or neighborhoods, and the lack of a feeling of common unity among these neighborhoods is one of the problems of Roxbury. To the west of the New Haven main-line tracks lie "Mission Hill, Parker Hill, and Heath Street neighborhoods." At the end of Roxbury nearest the center of the city are "Lower Roxbury and Dudley Street East," lying between Dudley Street-Roxbury Street and Northampton Street. These two neighborhoods together contain by and large the poorest housing, lowest incomes, and highest delinquency rates of the area.¹³

South of Dudley Street, and lying between Warren Street and Washington Street, is the area generally known as "Outer Roxbury." Still another neighborhood extends from Roxbury

Street and John Eliot Square to Egleston Square, and the final section lies between Warren Street and Blue Hill Avenue.

Economically, Roxbury varies from a very-low-income area in Lower Roxbury to a middle-income area at the extreme end of Outer Roxbury. In 1950, median incomes by census tracts varied from a low of \$1,508 to \$3,437.⁴¹

The population of Roxbury is heterogeneous. In 1950, it contained 22.5 per cent non-white and 60 per cent of the Negro population of Boston.⁴¹ Sizable groups of Canadian-born live in Roxbury, as well as groups of Irish and Italian extraction. Jewish persons of Russian descent compose a large share of the population. English and French Canadians are found.

In addition to several Jewish congregations, there are a number of Catholic churches, including one Catholic church serving primarily Negroes. Various Protestant denominations are in the area; some with a predominantly white congregation, some that are mixed, and some that are completely Negro. There are a number of schools, both public and parochial. Recreation programs exist in several settlement houses, a boys' club, scouts, churches, and municipal recreation buildings.

Housing for residents of Roxbury is widely varied. Old single-family houses and apartments may be found, along with wooden and brick tenements. Vacant lots, trash, and dreary-looking houses mark this area. Within Roxbury are seven Federal city low-income housing projects accommodating some

13,000 people, or about nine per cent of the total population of the area.¹³

Juvenile delinquency has been a marked problem in the Roxbury area. During the four-year period, 1948-1951, Roxbury had by residence 27 per cent of the juvenile court cases in the city, with 16 per cent of the youth of juvenile age. This meant an average of 422 cases a year.¹³

The Roxbury area comprises twenty-one census tracts:
Q-1, Q-2, Q-3, Q-4, R-1, R-2, R-3, S-2, S-3, S-4, S-5, S-6,
U-1, U-2, U-3, U-4, U-5, U-6A, U-6B, V-1, and V-2.

PART IV

THE CITY OF CAIRO: BOULAC AREA

1. An Historical Background

Cairo had no existence before the Middle Ages. Before the Moslem Arabs invaded Egypt in 640, there was no Cairo; and, strictly speaking, there was none till three centuries later than that when the Fatimid califs laid the foundations of the palace city and it received the name "El Kahira," which Europeans twisted into "Cahere", "Caire", and "Cairo."

There was a Moslem Capital from the days of the Conquest; and though it was not called El Kahira, it was close to the present city, which is merely an expansion of the original town. The original Arab settlement, "El Fustat" (the town of the tent) rose in 641.

"It was founded on the east bank of the Nile some miles north of Memphis, the old Pharonic Capital, by Amr ibu El-As, the general who conquered the country for Omar, the second calif, in A.D. 640." ³²

To this was added, in 751, a northeastern suburb, the official residence of the governors and their troops; hence named El Askar (The Cantonments). A new small city was built still more to the northeast by Ibn-Tulun, the Egyptian king, about 860, which was known by the name of El Katai (The Wards), because it was divided into separate quarters for different nations and classes. "So far, the three towns were practically contiguous; El Fustat was the commercial capital." *

* Reference 17, p. 33.

The fourth foundation was still farther to the north-east, and a considerable vacant space was left between it which almost destroyed El Katai, in order to preserve the safety and seclusion of the caliphs for whom it was built in 969. This was the true "El Kahira," but it was not the commercial and residential capital, any more than El Askar or El Katai had been. Fustat, resting on the bank of the Nile, was still the commercial center and the metropolis of business and culture, while Kahira was but a palace, a barracks, and a seat of government.

"It was only when "Fustat" was deliberately burned in 1168, to save it from giving cover to the Crusaders, that "Kahira" took its place as the real capital as well as the official Centre of Egypt." *

Saladin, in 1187, was the creator of Cairo as we know it. It was he who planned the wall that was to enclose not only El Kahira but the Citadel and what remained of El Katai and Fustat; and from his time began the building over the space intervening between the Citadel and the palace of El Kahira and between El Kahira and the Nile which gradually filled up the Cairo which we now see.

As time went on, Cairo society was no longer the limited place within the high walls. It spread on all sides save the east. It had flowed out beyond the northern gates, and formed the new suburb of the "Hoseniya" where many mosques and chapels sprang up. It had spread to the west over the space between

* Reference 17, p. 34.

the Old Fatimid Wall and the Nile, and the river had conveniently receded and allowed the new port of Boulac and a whole colony of houses to be built on what had been the bed of the Nile,

"till the wreck of the good ship Elephant helped to make a sand bank, called the Elephant's Isle, 'Geyirat-El-Fill,' which altered the river's course and provided an excellent building site." *

Makrizy, the Egyptian historian, tells us that the Elephant's Isle was flooded only at high Nile, and during the rest of the year it was a links of sandbanks and coarse grass where the elite of the city used to practise archery. But, as the Nile receded,

"people began in 1313 to erect houses, in consequence of the improvements made in that part by El Nasir (the ruler of Egypt who dug the new canal then known as 'the Kalig El Nasiry' and now as the 'Ismailyia' which drained the tract. And a proclamation was made in Kahira (Cairo) and Misr (Egypt) inviting every one to build there without delay. So the emirs (princes) and soldiers and merchants and common folk built houses there, and Boulac was created at that point." **

The modern section of Cairo, which is also called in foreign literature "the European Quarter," has been constructed in the last 150 years. It lies in the comparatively restricted area between the railway station and the Nile, and to the south extends as far as Roda Island. It has wide

* Reference 17, p. 257.

** El Makrizy's History, ii, pp. 130-131. (Quoted by Stanley Lane-Poole, "The Story of Cairo," pp. 258)

modern streets, fine shops, and some exceptionally high blocks of flats.

To the east and south of it lies the older city. It is full of monuments, and boasts as many mosques as there are days in the year. It still preserves much of its medieval Arab character, but it has also been considerably modernized by a series of wide arterial roads to deal with increased traffic.

The expansion of the city continues. To the north, Heliopolis and Kubba are now large residential towns; and to the west across the Nile, new quarters have been created on Gizira Island and Giza along the Pyramids Road as far as the desert. "Today Cairo is the twenty-first largest city in the world and the largest city in Africa." ³³ And according to the 1947 Census, the Cairo population was 2,090,654.¹⁰

Cairo has an influence of its own which radiates far beyond the Egyptian borders. It has a modern press of considerable size, and the main Egyptian newspapers circulate all over the Middle East, where they and the views they present are widely absorbed. It is also a notable Arabic publishing center, and the books issued in Cairo are sold freely throughout the Arab world.

Cairo has the greatest Islamic institution of learning in the world, "El Azhar University," and four splendid modern secular universities.

"It has streets that look as if they might be in Chicago, and others where palms arise like slim

vases for 100 feet and then burst into an umbrella of green bloom." 14

While Cairo has a grasping mercantile class, certain areas have arisen within its boundaries which can be labeled as delinquency areas. The Boulac area, the little river port of the fourteenth century, had been extended; and from being a residential area of the elite, it has become a residential area of unskilled laborers.

2. Some General Characteristics of Boulac Today*

Modern Cairo has been the produce of the impact of Western civilization during the nineteenth century and after. The "Europeanizing Movement," which started with Mohamed Ali (1808-1842), inevitable and in many ways most desirable as it was, brought with it extraordinary changes in Egypt in all spheres of activity, whether connected with communications, agriculture, the army, education, and industry, or with the erection of fine buildings and palaces.

The Boulac area was also tremendously affected by this movement. In Boulac, we find that the ambitious Mohamed Ali established, for example, the first Government Workshops and the first Government Press. This had undoubtedly affected the area socially and physically. With time, Boulac has increased in population and in size. Its population, which in 1882 was only 64,784, became 232,423 by 1947. At present, its

* All data from now on appear in Part V of this study, unless otherwise stated.

boundaries comprise areas on both banks of the Nile of about 5.3 square miles. The introduction of industry into the area brought about a type of centrifugal movement which permitted a relatively heterogeneous people to reside in the area, and the former elite class who lived there to flee and seek residence in other areas. The cultural homogeneity which had prevailed before, disappeared. As time went by, the buildings were permitted by the landlords, for economic interest, to decay.

At present, the Boulac area is a community of about 232,413 people. It contains 11 per cent of the total population of the city of Cairo, and about 11 per cent of the boys and girls under the age of twenty.¹⁰

Most of those who dwell in Boulac are not able to pay much for their housing; their incomes are also low, and they are largely unskilled laborers. They comprise a heterogeneous class of people.

Housing for residents of the area is very poor, and the dwelling units are largely converted tenements and not well equipped. The disposal system in the area is very defective; many families dispose of their water in the street, and there are only a few who enjoy the use of the sewage system. The streets are very narrow, not paved, and poorly lighted. Visitors are impressed with the dirt, smoke, rubbish, noise, odors, and other marks of confusion and disorder.

Juvenile delinquency and vice have been major problems in the area.

Boulac comprises twenty-eight neighborhoods where the lack of consensus and common goals among them prevails. These neighborhoods are:

Abu El Ela, Ahmadeen, El Turgoman, El Galladine, El Gawayer, El Hutya, El Khutery, El Saptieh, El Sandabisi, El Shiekh Aly, El Adawya, El Fransawi, El Khalaya, Tag El Dowal, Geziret Dmbaba, Geziret Mit Okba, Hode El Zohar, Darb El Shiekh Farag, Darb Nasr, Senan Pacha, Suke El Asr, Sharkas, Ezbet Abd El Moneum, Eshash El Nakhal, Kafr El Shawam, Kafr El Shiekh Ismaiel, Mit Okba, and Mit Karak.

BOOK THREE

PART V

ECOLOGICAL STUDY OF
ROXBURY AND BOULAC AREAS

In this part we are going to find out whether or not the Roxbury and Boulac areas are two delinquency areas. Before we start, however, it is necessary to refer to Part III, particularly under the topic "Delinquency Areas; Defined," where the characteristics which make an area a delinquency area are dealt with. The following are chosen as major characteristics. The reasons for this choice are determined by the fact that the data concerning the other characteristics are not available. Such data concerning, for example, the persistence of delinquency rates in both areas, notwithstanding the fact that the composition of their population has changed, and the rate of recidivism, are very hard to get, especially those of the Boulac area. Also the fact that the chosen characteristics are generally comparable.

1. A typical delinquency area is a zone of deterioration. The dwellings are largely converted tenements, rooming houses, and alley dwellings. Visitors are impressed by the dirt, rubbish, smoke, noise, odors, and other marks of confusion and disorder. Gas, electricity, telephone, mechanical refrigeration, and running water are scarce.

2. From the economic aspects of the delinquency area we find that most of those who dwell there are not able to pay much for their housing. They are largely unskilled laborers with low and irregular incomes.

3. Demographically, this is an area of declining population, partly because some dwellings are demolished, but chiefly because of the centrifugal flight. But in spite of the decline in actual numbers, the density of population is still relatively high. Heterogeneity also marks this area.

4. The population is also highly mobile in this area.

5. Sociologically, this area is characterized by large numbers of detached individuals.

6. Shaw and his colleagues make it quite clear that a definite relationship exists between these areas and juvenile delinquency. High rates of delinquency occur in the "areas which are characterized by physical deterioration and declining populations."

In trying to make the comparison clear and simple, we shall attempt to compare the characteristics of the Roxbury area with those of the city of Boston as a whole, and to compare the characteristics of the Boulac area with those of the city of Cairo as a whole. Whenever the data are available, we shall try to compare the characteristics of both the Roxbury and the Boulac areas with those of other sections of the city of Boston and the city of Cairo.

By adopting this procedure, the position of Roxbury and of Boulac can be seen in relation to the larger urban communities in which these areas are located. By considering the relative characteristics of the sub-areas in their respective cities, many of the difficulties which would be encountered

in a direct cross-cultural comparison may be eliminated.

In a later part, we shall make a summary of the similarities and differences of both the Roxbury and the Boulac areas, and draw the conclusions which are relevant to the study.

Mathematically, the percentage and median as units for comparisons are used. In very rare cases, the arithmetical average is used.

1. The Physical Aspects of the Two Areas

A. ROXBURY AREA

Table 1

All Dwelling Units in
Boston and Roxbury, 1950*

No. of Units in Boston	No. of Units in Roxbury
222,079	31,208

Table 2

Occupied Dwelling Units in
Boston and Roxbury, 1950**

Area	Owner	%	Tenant	%	All Occupied Dwelling Units
Boston	54,266	24.9	163,837	75.1	218,103
Roxbury	4,424	14.4	26,259	85.6	30,683

* U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, "1950 United States Census of Population, Tract Bulletin P-D6, Boston, Massachusetts."

** Ibid.

Table 3Vacant and Non-Resident Dwelling *
Units in Boston and Roxbury, 1950

Area	Vacant and Non-Resident Dwelling Units	%
Boston	3,976	1.79
Roxbury	396	1.68

Table 4Value of One-Dwelling Unit Structures
Owner-Occupied and Vacant, for Sale in
Boston and Roxbury, 1950**

\$	No. of Units in Boston	%	No. of Units in Roxbury	%
15,000 or more	2,473	12.2	28	2.4
10,000 - 14,999	6,772	33.4	108	9.3
7,500 - 9,999	4,684	23.1	231	19.9
5,000 - 7,499	3,778	18.6	403	34.9
Less than 5,000	2,576	12.7	387	33.5
Total	20,283	100.0	1157	100.0

Median value of one-dwelling unit structure in Boston - \$9,472

Median value of one-dwelling unit structure in Roxbury - \$6,123

* U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, "1950 United States Census of Population, Tract Bulletin P-D6, Boston, Massachusetts."

** Ibid.

Table 5
Tenements - Monthly Rent
in Boston and Roxbury, 1950 *

Monthly Rent \$	No. of Units in Boston	%	No. of Units in Roxbury	%
Less than 20	17,032	10.7	3,197	12.5
20 - 39	78,718	49.2	13,790	53.8
40 - 59	46,951	29.4	7,117	27.8
60 and over	17,041	10.7	1,502	5.9
Not reported	4,095	-	653	-
Total	163,837	100.0	26,259	100.0

* U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census,
 "1950 United States Census of Population, Tract Bulletin P-D6,
 Boston, Massachusetts."

Table 6

Boston District Comparisons
Median Contract Monthly Rents - 1950 *

Area **	Median Rent \$
North End	21.49
East Boston	25.03
Charlestown	26.88
South End**	27.76
South Boston	29.75
<u>Roxbury</u>	32.87
Hyde Park	35.19
Dorchester North	35.87
Jamaica Plain	36.86
Roslindale	39.00
Dorchester South	39.23
Brighton	44.42
West End	48.81
Back Bay	56.16
West Roxbury	57.91
<hr/>	
Boston	35.40

* Research Division, United Community Services of Metropolitan Boston, "Neighborhoods of Boston," October, 1953 (computed).

** Excludes Census Tract G-3, Kerry Village Neighborhood.

Table 7
Dwelling Units in Boston and
Roxbury - Year Built - until 1950*

Year	No. of Units in Boston**	%	No. of Units in Roxbury**	%
1940 - 1950	11,085	5.1	3,570	11.7
1930 - 1939	8,440	3.9	575	1.9
1920 - 1929	29,025	13.5	2,110	6.9
1919 or earlier	167,205	77.5	24,180	79.5
Not reported	6,324	-	773	-
Total	222,079	100.0	31,208	100.0

Table 8
Heating Fuel in Boston
and Roxbury - 1950*

Type	No. of Units in Boston**	%	No. of Units in Roxbury**	%
Central Heating	157,485	73.4	19,010	63.3
Non-central Heating	51,345	23.9	9,415	31.4
Not Heated	5,730	2.7	1,575	5.3
Not Reporting Heating Equipment	7,519	-	1,208	-
Total	222,079	100.0	31,208	100.0

* U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census,
*1950 United States Census of Population, Tract Bulletin P-D6,
Boston, Massachusetts.

** Statistics based on 20-per-cent sample.

Table 9

Boston District Comparisons - Percent of Dwelling Units Which Had no Private Bath or Running Water, or Were Dilapidated - 1950*

Area	Percent
North End	78.9
South End	50.9
East Boston	33.2
Charlestown	24.3
South Boston	21.9
<u>Roxbury</u>	16.2
West End	11.3
Back Bay	9.0
Hyde Park	7.2
Dorchester North	6.0
Jamaica Plain	5.5
Brighton	4.1
West Roxbury	3.1
Roslindale	2.1
Dorchester South	2.0

* Research Division, United Community Services of Metropolitan Boston, "Neighborhoods of Boston," October, 1953 (computed).

Table 10

Boston District Comparisons
Percent of Dwelling Units With
1.01 Persons or More Per Room*

Area	Percent
North End	22.0
Charlestown	19.4
South Boston	19.3
South End	17.5
East Boston	17.3
<u>Roxbury</u>	17.2
Back Bay	11.2
Hyde Park	10.9
Jamaica Plain	10.4
Dorchester North	10.2
West End	9.8
Brighton	9.1
Dorchester South	7.4
West Roxbury	7.1
Roslindale	6.8
<hr/>	
Boston	12.7

* Research Division, United Community Services of Metropolitan Boston, "Neighborhoods of Boston," October, 1953 (computed).

Table 11Refrigeration in Occupied Dwelling
Units in Boston and Roxbury - 1950*

Type	No. of Units in Boston**	%	No. of Units in Roxbury**	%
Mechanical	177,870	83.0	22,595	75.1
Ice	31,610	14.8	6,675	22.3
Other or None	4,735	2.2	670	2.6
Not Reported	3,888	-	743	-
Total	218,103	100.0	30,683	100.0

* U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census,
"1950 United States Census of Population, Tract Bulletin P-D6,
Boston, Massachusetts.

** Statistics based on 20-percent sample.

CONCLUSIONS

From the above tables, we can draw the following conclusions:

(1) That the dwelling units in Roxbury area are deteriorating

(a) While the percentage of vacant and non-resident dwelling units in Roxbury is 1.68 per cent, and that of Boston is 1.79 per cent (Table 3), Table 4 illustrates the fact that the median value of one-dwelling unit structures is much lower in Roxbury than in Boston as a whole. This may indicate that this type of structure in Roxbury is, by and large, either very small or is deteriorating. The writer is inclined to discard the first alternative, because the percentage of old dwelling units in Roxbury is, in general, more than that of those units in Boston as a whole. Table 7 indicates that about 79.5 per cent of the units in Roxbury were built in 1919 or earlier, while only 77.5 per cent of those in Boston were built at the same period.

(b) Tables 5 and 6 show that, in the Roxbury area, the median monthly rent is \$32.87; that this puts the Roxbury area among the lowest six areas of Boston in this category; and that in Boston the median monthly rent is \$35.40. These facts may help us to conclude that the dwelling units in Roxbury are deteriorating.

(2) That the dwelling units in Roxbury are largely tenant-occupied

While in the city of Boston, as a whole, we find that 24.9 per cent of its population are owners of their dwellings, in Roxbury they are only 14.4 per cent. In Roxbury, about 85.6 per cent of its people are tenants, while only 75.1 per cent of the people are tenants in the city of Boston as a whole (Table 2).

(3) That the dwelling units in Roxbury are not well equipped

(2) Tables 8, 9, and 11 illustrate how the Roxbury area lacks equipment and facilities such as central heating, private baths, running water, and mechanical refrigeration. About 73.4 per cent of the dwelling units in Boston have central heating, and 83.0 per cent have mechanical refrigeration; while in Roxbury we find 63.3 per cent and 75.1 per cent, respectively. Roxbury is ranked among the highest six areas of Boston, in percentage, which have no private bath, or no running water.

(b) Under this heading, we may add that the dwelling units in Roxbury may be considered as crowded. The percentage of dwelling units with 1.01 persons or more per room, in Roxbury, is 17.2. The highest percentage, among health and welfare districts in Boston, is 22, while the lowest is 6.8 (Table 10).

B. BOULAC AREA

Most of the statistical data given here are based on a social survey which the writer undertook in 1951.

Table 12Occupancy of Dwelling Units
(1000 Units), Boulac Area, 1951

<u>% Owners</u>	<u>% Tenants</u>
24%	76%

Table 13Boulac Area (1000 Family Dwelling Units) - 1951

Neighborhood	No. of Families	Average No. of Units Per Structure
El Adawya	352	5.2
Farrag	122	3.2
Sandabisi	107	4.6
Kallaya	188	6.6
Turgoman	231	6.5
General Average of Units	--	5.5

Table 14Percent of Rooms per Dwelling Unit (1000 Units) - Boulac Area - 1951

One Room	Two Rooms	More than Two Rooms
71%	15%	14%

Table 15Number of Persons Per Room in Cairo and Boulac - 1947 ¹⁰

Area	No. of Persons	No. of Rooms	No. of Persons Per Room
Cairo	2,090,654	1,039,742	2.01
Boulac	232,423	94,440	2.46

¹⁰ Egyptian Census Dept., "Governorate of Cairo" (in Arabic) (Cairo: The Gov. Press, 1952).

Table 16

Running Water (1000 Units)
Boulac Area: Percentage - 1951

<u>Percent of Units With Water</u>	<u>Percent of Units Without Water</u>
33%	67%

Table 17

Reasons Given for Lack of Running Water
(1000 Units): Percentage - Boulac Area
1951

<u>Expense</u>	<u>Antiquity of Dwelling Unit</u>	<u>Other Reasons</u>
50%	40%	10%

Table 18

Sources of Water Supply for Units
Without Running Water (670 Units):
Percentage - Boulac Area - 1951

<u>Public Water Tap</u>	<u>Neighbors' Water Tap</u>
90%	10%

Table 19

Water Disposal System (1000 Units):
Percentage - Boulac Area - 1951

<u>Street</u>	<u>Sewer</u>	<u>Trench</u>
35%	13%	52%

Table 20

Private Bath (1000 Units):
Percentage - Boulac Area - 1951

<u>% of Units with Private Bath</u>	<u>% of Units without Private Bath</u>
21%	79%

Table 21

Width of Street (1000 Units):
Percentage - Boulac Area - 1951

<u>Width of Street Per Meter</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
10 or more	27.0
9 - 5	29.0
4 or less	44.0

CONCLUSIONS

From the above tables, we can draw the following conclusions:

(1) That the dwelling units in the Boulac area are deteriorating

(a) About 40 per cent of the dwelling units investigated are too old to install pipes for running water (see Table 17).

(b) The size of the dwelling units is too small. Seventy-one per cent of the dwelling units are composed of one room only. The average number of persons per room in the city of Cairo as a whole is 2.01, while in Boulac it increases to 2.46.

(See tables 14 and 15.) It should be observed that there is no standard size for a room. Rooms vary considerably in size. In some cases they are very small, very dark, and very dirty.

(c) The streets of the area are very narrow; 44 per cent of the families investigated live in streets of four meters or less in width. In two cases, the width of the street is not more than one meter (see Table 21).

(2) That the dwelling units in the Boulac area are largely tenant-occupied

Table 13 indicates that about 76 per cent of the families are tenants.

(3) That the dwelling units in the Boulac area are not well equipped

Tables 16, 17, 19, 20, and 21 illustrate how the Boulac area lacks equipment and facilities such as a running-water system, a disposal system, and private baths. The state of the dwelling units in this area is very bad indeed. About 67 per cent of these units are without water; 90 per cent of those units without water are dependent on the public water taps in the area (there are five public water taps in the area); and 10 per cent are dependent upon the good-will of their neighbors. The disposal system is very defective in these dwelling units; 35 per cent of the families dispose of their water in the streets; 52 per cent, in trenches; and only 13 per cent enjoy the sewage system. About 79 per cent of the units are without private bath.

2. The Economic Aspects of the Two Areas

A. ROXBURY AREA

Table 22

Boston Districts Comparisons
Median Income in 1949 of
Families and Unrelated Individuals*

Area	Median Income \$
South End	Less than 1,500
Back Bay	" " 1,807
Charlestown	" " 2,062
West End	" " 2,180
North End	" " 2,227
<u>Roxbury</u>	" " 2,438
South Boston	" " 2,713
East Boston	" " 2,860
Dorchester North	" " 3,212
Jamaica Plain	" " 3,282
Brighton	" " 3,292
Dorchester South	" " 3,565
Hyde Park	" " 3,586
Roslindale	" " 3,678
West Roxbury	" " 4,220
Boston	" " 2,643

* Based on "Neighborhoods of Boston."

Table 23

Total Persons Fourteen Years
Old or Over in Civilian Labor
Force in Boston and Roxbury*
1950

Status	Boston	%	Roxbury	%
Employed	311,816	92.6	41,246	91.7
Unemployed	24,876	7.4	3,697	8.3
Total	336,692	100.0	44,943	100.0

Table 25

Median School Years Completed:
Adults Twenty-Five Years of Age
and Over in Boston and Roxbury*

Area	Median
Boston	11.0
Roxbury	9.4

Table 26

Dwelling Units With Television
Sets in Boston and Roxbury, 1950**

Status	No. in Boston	%	No. in Roxbury	%
With T.V.	51,635	24.2	6,380	21.2
Without T.V.	162,155	75.8	23,700	78.8
Not reported	4,313	-	603	-
Total	218,103	100.0	30,683	100.0

* Based on "Social Facts by Census Tracts."

** U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census,
"1950 United States Census of Population, Tract Bulletin P-D6,
Boston, Massachusetts."

Table 24

Occupational Classification in Boston
and Roxbury of Total Persons Fourteen
Years Old or Over Employed in April 1950*

Occupation	No. in Boston	% of Gainfully Employed	No. in Roxbury	% of Gainfully Employed
Professional, Technical and Kindred Workers ...	32,461	10.5	3,236	7.9
Managers, Officials, and Proprietors (including Farms).....	23,901	7.8	2,525	6.2
Clerical and Kindred Workers	60,533	19.6	6,563	16.1
Sales Workers	26,051	8.4	2,952	7.3
Craftsmen, Foremen, and Kindred Workers	42,100	13.6	5,171	12.7
Operatives and Kindred Workers	61,170	19.6	9,535	23.4
Private Household Workers	5,065	1.7	1,340	3.3
Service Workers (except Household).....	39,930	12.9	6,361	15.6
Laborers	17,881	5.9	3,077	7.5
Total	309,092	100.0	40,760	100.0

* Based on "Social Facts by Census Tracts."

CONCLUSIONS

From the above tables, we can draw the following conclusions:

- (1) That in the area of Roxbury we find that the average family or individual is not able to pay much for housing.

As the economic status of a community is strongly reflected in the rents paid for dwellings, we find in this area that the median monthly rent is \$32.87, while in Boston as a whole it is \$35.40. Table 6 shows that the Roxbury area ranks among the lowest six districts in Boston in this category. Also, while in Boston those who pay less than \$40.00 monthly rents constitute 59.9 per cent of the population, we find that in Roxbury the people of the same category constitute 66.3 per cent (see Table 5).

- (2) That in the area of Roxbury, we find that income is low and unemployment is relatively high.

(a) The median income in Boston in 1949 was \$2,643; while in Roxbury - at the same period - it was \$2,438. Roxbury is ranked among the lowest six districts in Boston in this category (see Table 22).

(b) Economic insecurity can be reflected by the degree of unemployment. Those persons who were sixteen years old or over and unemployed, in the Roxbury area, in April 1950, constituted 8.3 per cent of the civilian labor force, while in Boston the percentage was 7.4 per cent (see Table 23).

(3) That many of the people who live in the Roxbury area are unskilled workers

(a) The largest employed group in the labor force in the Roxbury area is composed of operatives and laborers (30.9 per cent), but those who are engaged in clerical and sales occupations are nearly 23.4 per cent. Those who are classified as service workers form an unusually large group (15.6 per cent), possibly because there are several large hospitals in the area, and also because the service occupations constitute a field in which Negroes are frequently employed. In Boston, the same figures for the same categories are 25.5 per cent, 28.0 per cent, and 12.9 per cent, respectively (see Table 24).

(b) The median school years completed by Roxbury adults twenty-five years old and over are 9.4 years, a figure which is below 11.0 years for that of the adults of the city of Boston as a whole.

B. BOULAC AREA

Table 27Tenements - Monthly Rent
Boulac Area (500 Cases)*

Monthly Rent (E.L.)**	Per Cent
Less than 1/2 an E.L.	13.8
One half an E.L. to less than one E.L.	39.4
One E.L. or more	46.8
Total	100.0

Table 28Income Per Year Per Head
Boulac Area (500 Cases)*

Income (E.L.)**	Per Cent
Less than 6	0.6
6 - 12	39.6
18	13.0
24 - 36	23.4
More than 36	23.4
Total	100.0

* These cases are families of children of an elementary school in Boulac. They all live in Boulac. The sample can be considered representative, because education is compulsory for all children. Computed from the Egyptian Association for Underprivileged Neighborhoods - Reports 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953.

** An E.L. is worth \$2.85.

Table 29Education in Cairo and
the Boulac Area - 1947*

Status	No. in Cairo	%	No. in Boulac	%
Literate	755,839	44.9	57,718	31.8
Illiterate	926,712	55.1	123,873	68.2
Not reported	117,634	--	15,239	--
Total	1,800,185	100.0	196,830	100.0

Table 30Occupation in Cairo and
the Boulac Area - 1947*

Status	No. in Cairo	%	No. in Boulac	%
Employed	1,622,095	90.1	171,844	87.3
Unemployed	178,090	9.9	24,986	12.7
Total	1,800,185	100.0	196,830	100.0

* Ref. No. 10, "The Governorate of Cairo," (children under five years old are excluded).

Table 31
Classification of Occupation
in Cairo and the Boulac Area*

Occupation	No. in Cairo	%	No. in Boulac	%
Agricultural	22,867	1.4	3,560	2.1
Mining	1,776	0.1	19	0.0
Manufacturing and Industry	181,547	11.2	23,512	13.7
Building Industry	33,447	2.1	5,777	3.4
Transport	51,028	3.1	6,831	3.9
Commerce	139,474	8.9	16,425	9.6
Personal Services	755,256	46.6	82,660	48.1
Social Services Public and Private ^(a) ...	147,721	9.1	9,425	5.4
Unproductive and not Reported ^(b)	288,979	17.5	23,635	13.8
Total	1,622,095	100.0	171,844	100.0

* Ref. No. 10 (computed)
 (a) Civil servants and members of social Organizations.
 (b) The bulk of these are students.

CONCLUSIONS

From the above tables, we can draw the following conclusions:

- (1) That in the area of Boulac, we find that most of those who dwell there are not able to pay much for their housing

The monthly rents in the Boulac area are very low. Statistical data on monthly rents in Cairo, as a whole, are not available, but the average citizen pays at least E.L. 5 (\$14.24) for rent per month. In the Boulac area, however, 39.4 per cent of the cases pay less than E.L. 1 (\$2.85), while 13.8 per cent pay less than half of this amount, and 46.8 per cent pay E.L. 1 or more. In each case the rents are obviously very low (see Table 27).

- (2) That in the area of Boulac, we find that the income is low and unemployment is high

(a) We do not have any data on the incomes of Cairo per head, but the national income of the Egyptian population per head is \$39.00 per year.*

Table 28 illustrates the fact that 40.2 per cent of the cases have an income less than the national income per head (about \$34.20). Those who earn E.L. 36 or more (\$102.60) are only 23.4 per cent.

It seems relevant at this point to state that the national income per head may seem low in comparison with that of the

* The Commercial and Industrial Research Organization, "The Egyptian Economic and Political Review - International Review" (Cairo, Egypt, February, 1955, No. 2).

American: i.e., \$799.* It gives the idea that the average American lives twenty times as well as an Egyptian does. But the comparison is misleading in more than one respect.

- (i) Climatic conditions are different; and while a person living in Egypt could be very well off with 1500 to 2000 calories, the same cannot be said of an inhabitant of the United States.
- (ii) The cost of living in each country should be borne in mind. Thus the average salary of a typist in the United States is \$250 per month: i.e., E.L. 87.7, but in no way can an American with \$250 lead the life of an Egyptian with E.L. 87.7.

For our purpose, however, we have to prove that the incomes in the Boulac area are very low; which is the case, as has been mentioned above.

(b) Table 30 shows that the percentage of unemployment in the Boulac area is 12.7 per cent; it is higher than that in Cairo as a whole, which is 9.9 per cent.

(3) That the people who live in the Boulac area are largely unskilled laborers

(a) In the Boulac area the illiterate are 68.2 per cent, while in Cairo as a whole they are only 55.1 per cent (Table 29).

(b) In Table 32, two figures may help us to illustrate that unskilled laborers in the Boulac area are more numerous than those in Cairo. First, 48.1 per cent of the people in Boulac are engaged in "personal services," while in the City

* The Commercial and Industrial Research Organization, "The Egyptian Economic and Political Review - International Review" (Cairo, Egypt, February, 1955, No. 2).

as a whole the percentage is 46.6 per cent. Second, the percentage of those who are engaged in "Social Services" in Cairo is 9.1 per cent, but in the Boulac area it decreases to 5.4 per cent.

3. The Demographic Aspects of the Two Areas

A. ROXBURY AREA

Table 32

Change in Population in
Boston and Roxbury Area*

Area	Pop. in 1940	Pop. in 1950	Percent of Change 1940-50	Percent of Change 1930-40	Percent of Change 1920-30
Boston	770,816	801,444	+ 4.0	- 0.9	+ 0.1
Roxbury	107,002	112,936	+ 5.5	- 1.3	+ 4.5

Table 33

Density of Population in
Boston and Roxbury Area³

Area	Net Land in Use Sq. Mile	Population	Density of Population per Sq. Mi.
Boston	43.18	801,444	18,561
Roxbury	2.53	112,936	48,591

* Reference 31. Also, "The People of Boston and its Fifteen Health and Welfare Areas," Boston, 1944.

Table 34
Nativity and Race in
Boston and Roxbury - 1950*

Nativity and Race	No. in Boston	%	No. in Roxbury	%
Native White	614,608	76.7	70,268	62.2
Foreign-Born (white)	144,092	18.0	17,223	15.3**
Negro	40,057	5.0	25,222	22.3
Other Races	2,687	0.3	223	0.2
Total	801,464	100.0	112,936	100.0

CONCLUSIONS

From the above tables, we may draw the following conclusions:

(1) That the population in the Roxbury area has recently increased, and its density is very high

(a) The population of the Roxbury area increased by 5.5 per cent from 1940 to 1950, but the trend within the last thirty years has been uneven. Sometimes the percentage has increased and sometimes it has declined. (See Table 32.)

It is interesting to observe that the characteristic which says "that a delinquency area is an area of declining population" does not apply here.

* U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, "1950 United States Census of Population, Tract Bulletin P-D6," Boston, Massachusetts.

** According to "Study of Roxbury - Health and Welfare Area," this item includes more than fourteen different nationalities.

(b) However, the density of population in the Roxbury area is much higher than that in the city of Boston as a whole. It is actually more than double (see Table 33).

(2) That the population in the Roxbury area is highly heterogeneous

(a) In the Roxbury area, we find that about 37.8 per cent of the population is composed of different ethnic groups, while the percentage in the city of Boston as a whole is only 23.3 per cent (see Table 34).

(b) There are more than fourteen different nationalities in the Roxbury area, and Negroes comprise 22.3 per cent of the population. The Negroes comprise only 5.0 per cent of the population of Boston (see Table 34).

Table 35

Change in Population in Cairo and the Boulac Area¹⁰

Area	Pop. in 1882	Pop. in 1897	%	Pop. in 1907	%	Pop. in 1917	%
Cairo	398,683	589,373	⁺ 3.2	678,433	⁺ 1.5	790,939	⁺ 1.7
Boulac	64,784	91,862	⁺ 2.8	107,466	⁺ 1.7	111,543	⁺ 0.4

Area	Pop. in 1927	%	Pop. in 1937	%	Pop. in 1947	%
Cairo	1,064,567	⁺ 3.5	1,312,096	⁺ 2.3	2,090,654	⁺ 5.9
Boulac	144,465	⁺ 3.0	156,638	⁺ 0.8	232,423	⁺ 4.8

B. BOULAC AREA

Table 36Density of Population in
Cairo and the Boulac Area¹⁰

Area	Population	Net Land in Use Sq. Mile	Density of Population per Sq. Mi.
Cairo	2,090,654	68.96	30,460
Boulac	232,423	5.29	43,936

Table 37Population Nativity in
Cairo and the Boulac Area¹⁰

Area	Population	Number of Foreigners	%
Cairo	2,090,654	56,138	2.8
Boulac	232,423	2,759	1.2

Table 38Religion in Cairo and the Boulac Area*

Area	Population	Moslems	%	Christians	%	Others	%
Cairo	2,090,654	1,759,039	84.1	289,178	13.8	42,442	2.1
Boulac	232,413	218,113	93.8	13,900	6.0	400	0.2

* Reference 10 (computed).

CONCLUSIONS

From the above tables, we may conclude the following:

(1) That the population of the Boulac area is increasing and its density is very high

(a) The percentage of increase in the population of the Boulac area has always been less than that of the city of Cairo as a whole, except on one occasion: that is, in 1907 (see Table 35). Here we observe that Boulac is similar to Roxbury: that is, it is not an area of declining population.

(b) However, the density of population in Boulac is higher than that in the city of Cairo as a whole (see Table 36).

(2) That the population of the Boulac area is relatively more homogeneous than that of the city of Cairo as a whole

(a) Table 37 reveals the fact that while 2.8 per cent of the population of Cairo are foreigners, it is only 1.2 per cent in Boulac. This may be explained if we take into account the fact that the majority of foreigners in Egypt, if not all, are in the middle-class or upper-class categories.

(b) Table 38 illustrates the fact that Cairo has more Christians than the Boulac area: that is, 13.8 per cent and 6.0 per cent, respectively.

(c) The lack of adequate statistics makes it impossible to determine the percentage of ethnic groups in Cairo and in the Boulac area.

4. Population Mobility in the Two Areas

A. ROXBURY AREA

Table 39

Boston Districts Comparisons - Percent
of Population in a Different Residence
in 1950 From That in 1949*

Area	Percent
Back Bay	25.6
Charlestown	25.0
South End	23.9
West End	21.6
Roslindale	18.0
Hyde Park	16.0
South Boston	15.4
North End	15.0
<u>Roxbury</u>	13.2
Brighton	12.8
Dorchester North	11.6
Jamaica Plain	11.3
Dorchester South	10.8
West Roxbury	10.3
East Boston	9.7
<hr/>	
Boston	15.0

* "Neighborhoods of Boston."

CONCLUSIONS

From Table 39, we may draw the following conclusion:

that the population of Roxbury is mobile.

The table reveals the fact that the population of the Roxbury area does move and change residence more than the six other neighborhoods of Boston. True, the percentage of this change is less than that of the city as a whole; in the Roxbury area it is 13.2 per cent, while in Boston it is 15 per cent.

B. BOULAC AREA

No statistics are available on this matter. It has been noticed, however, that ever since the Second World War a change has been taking place in the trend of population distribution because of the large migration movement during the war, and a shift of some rural youth from agricultural areas to the cities. The writer's observations are: that most, if not all, of the migrant families have gravitated to areas such as Boulac. The Boulac area has undoubtedly been affected by this invasion movement and, by the same token, by some sort of centrifugal flight movement as well.

5. The Sociological Aspects of the Two Areas

A. ROXBURY AREA

Table 40

Detached Individuals in
Boston and Roxbury Area*
1950

	Total Population	No. of Detached Individuals**	%
Boston	801,444	97,050	12.1
Roxbury	112,936	9,115	8.1

CONCLUSIONS

From Table 40 we may draw the following conclusion:
that the percentage of detached individuals in the Roxbury
area is less than that of those in Boston, and their number
in Roxbury is high.

In Boston the detached individuals amount to 12.1 per cent, while they decrease in the Roxbury area to 8.1 per cent.

B. BOULAC AREA

No statistical data are available on this matter. The writer's observations are: that if these persons exist in Egyptian society, they must be very rare. The people of Egypt still retain the family ties in the urban areas as well as in the rural areas. It seems, however, that the family ties in the rural areas are stronger.

* U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, "1950 United States Census of Population, Tract Bulletin P-D6," Boston, Massachusetts.

** Statistics are based on 20-per-cent sample.

6. Juvenile Delinquency in the Two Areas

A. ROXBURY AREA

Table 41Boston Districts Comparisons - Rates
of Total Appearances, 1948-1951*

Area	Rate
West End	36.3
South End	34.4
<u>Roxbury</u>	22.4
North End	21.3
Charlestown	18.7
East Boston	15.3
South Boston	15.2
Back Bay	14.4
Dorchester North	10.1
Jamaica Plain	8.2
Brighton	6.8
Hyde Park	6.8
Roslindale	6.5
West Roxbury	5.3
Dorchester South	4.5
<hr/>	
Boston	15.4

* "Neighborhoods of Boston." (computed)

Table 42Average Annual Rate of Court Appearances
per 1000 Population Seven to Sixteen
Years Old in Boston and Roxbury Area*

Period	Rate in Roxbury	Rate in Boston
1936-40	18.1	---
1943	29.9	17.4
1942-46	27.5	---
1950	22.4	15.4

Table 43Crimes Committed by Male and Female
Juveniles During 1952 in Roxbury Area¹³

Class of Crime	No. of Cases	%
Against persons	22	8.3
Against property	171	64.8
Sex	5	1.9
Drunkenness	1	.4
Motor vehicles	34	12.9
Minor infractions	24	9.0
Miscellaneous Against public order	7	2.7
Total	264	100.0

* "The People of Boston and its Fifteen Health and Welfare Areas," 1944; and "Neighborhoods of Boston," 1953.

CONCLUSIONS

From the tables above, we may draw the following conclusions:

(1) That the rate of delinquency in the Roxbury area is high.

(a) From Tables 41 and 42 we can see that the number of appearances of Roxbury juveniles per 1000 population, age seven to sixteen, for 1948-1951, is among the highest three areas in Boston. It is larger than that of the city as a whole. In 1943 and 1950, the rate was also higher in the Roxbury area than it was in Boston as a whole. In 1950, the rate in Roxbury (22.4) was about 25 per cent higher than it was in the pre-war period, 1936-1940 (18.1). This may be due to the conditions of the post-war period, and to a lack of adjustment to peaceful social life. It may also be due to the fresh migration movement of the Negroes from the South, which has taken place soon after the war. Both factors might have caused a certain degree of social disorganization in the area, which in turn might have caused the rise in the rate of delinquency.

(b) From Table 43, we observe that the majority of offences committed by 264 juvenile delinquents in 1952 are those of Class 2 - i.e., offences against property; and that Class 7 offences (drunkenness) were the lowest in number.

B. BOULAC AREA

Table 44Juvenile Delinquency - Cairo Districts
Comparisons - 300 Cases in a Juvenile
Delinquents Institution in Cairo - 1941*

Area	No. of Cases	%
<u>Boulac</u>	64	21.3
Shoubra	42	14.0
El Sayeda	39	13.0
El Darb El Ahmar	23	7.7
El Gammalia	21	7.0
El Khalifa	16	5.3
Bab El Shaaria	13	4.4
Misr El Khadima	11	3.7
El Wayli	10	3.3
Abdin	8	2.7
Zuton	8	2.7
Ezbakia	7	2.3
El Mouski	4	1.3
Helwan	3	1.0
Misr El Gadida	1	0.3
Outside Cairo**	30	10.0
Total	300	100.0

* In 1941, the writer undertook a research study of an institution for juvenile delinquents in Cairo. It was found that the Boulac area had the highest percentage of the cases.

** Juveniles whose homes were in rural areas.

Table 45

Juvenile Delinquency - Cairo Districts
Comparisons - 500 Court Appearances - 1952-53 *

Area	No. of Cases	%
<u>Boulac</u>	68	13.6
Ezbakia	63	12.6
Shoubra	60	12.0
El Sayeda	47	9.4
Rode El Farag	33	6.6
Bab El Shaaria	32	6.4
El Darb El Ahmar ...	30	6.0
Misr El Khadima	30	6.0
El Khalifa	27	5.4
El Wayli	25	5.0
El Mouski	23	4.6
Abdin	19	3.8
El Gammalia	18	3.6
Embaba	5	1.0
Helwan	5	1.0
Misr El Gadida	4	0.8
El Maadi	4	0.8
Zuton	4	0.8
Kasr El Nil	3	0.6
Total	500	100.0

* Computed from the cases of the Cairo Juvenile Court Social Services' Bureau during the period 1952-53 (Bureau does not take all juvenile court cases.)

Table 46

Crimes Committed by Male and Female
Juveniles Who Appeared Before the
Cairo Juvenile Court During 1952
(Boulac Area)*

Class of Crime	No. of Cases	%
Against persons	65	34.6
Against property	47	25.0
Minor Infractions	28	14.9
Miscellaneous Against public order	48	25.5
Total	188	100.0

Table 47

Analysis of Class Miscellaneous -
Against Public Order - 48 Cases

Components of Class 10	No. of Cases	%
Gathering cigarette butts	43	89.2
Begging	2	4.2
Vagrancy	3	6.2
Total	48	100.0

* Compiled from the files of The Cairo Juvenile Court.

CONCLUSIONS

From Tables 44 and 45, we may draw the following conclusion:

That the Boulac Area has the highest percentage of delinquent cases of all the districts of Cairo.

(a) In Egypt, the statistical data on juvenile delinquency are generally misleading. They are based on the place of arrest and not on the place where the juvenile lives. For this reason, two series of data have been chosen. The first is for 1941. The population of a correctional institution for juvenile delinquents was chosen (Moassessett El Zefaf at Abbassia). There were 300 juvenile delinquents who appeared before the court and were sent to the institution. The result showed that the greatest number of them came from the Boulac area (Table 44). The second sample was chosen from the cases of the "Cairo Juvenile Social Services' Bureau." All the cases of the year 1952, and of the first four months of the year 1953, were chosen. The result showed also that the greatest number of these cases came from the Boulac area (Table 45).

These two series may be somewhat unreliable, but they are the best that can be done at the present time. The rate of delinquency of each district cannot be obtained, because of the lack of the breakdown of the data on the Cairo population. However, the two series may indicate something: a fact, a tendency; and they clearly support the argument that the Boulac area has a high rate of delinquency.

B O O K F O U R

PART VI

SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TWO SOCIAL STRUCTURES

We mean by the two social structures, of course, the American social structure and the Egyptian social structure. In this part, we shall attempt to prove that the two social structures are different. This does not mean, however, that they are standing opposite to each other. On the contrary, the two structures, in a general way, through cultural channels have met each other; and to a great extent they do coexist in Egypt.

In this respect, we may say that the tide of cultural influence has been steadily and continuously from West (European and American cultural influence) to East (Egyptian and other Eastern cultures) during the last century and a half since the Napoleonic era.

This part will not cover all the aspects of the two social structures. The writer has found it necessary to discard such areas as the historical background of both structures. Not only is this irrelevant, but also no reader needs to be reminded that Egypt was one of the cradles of civilization; that considerably more of recorded history's time span lies before Mohamed and Jesus than has elapsed since their days; and that the civilization of Egypt is several times older than that of America.

However, the discussion will be confined to three general

aspects: i.e., the basic themes of culture, the family system, and urbanism. When discussing the themes of culture and family system of each social structure, reference will be made to two types of society:

(a) The themes of culture and family system of both American and Egyptian society in general. (In the case of American society, the discussion will be confined to New England society where Boston stands, rather than to other parts of the American continent.)

(b) The themes of culture and family system of both Roxbury and Boulac society, in particular.

1. The Basic Themes of Culture

A. In American Society in General

Like any culture, the American culture - in specific respects and in its totality - is different from any other (such as the Egyptian culture), both in content and in organization. The term "theme" is used here in a technical sense to denote "a postulate or position, declared or implied and usually controlling behavior or stimulating activity, which is tacitly approved or openly promoted in a society." ²⁶

If we try to identify the basic themes of American culture, we can say that some of them may be:

(a) Some of the basic themes of American culture can be traced back, in some form or other, to those which were brought by the immigrant Puritans from England, beginning in 1620 and especially after 1629. Roughly, they were of two varieties:

- (1) There were the basic Idealism and Mythology which the immigrant Puritans shared with Christendom.
- (2) There were the principles of the Calvinist wing of the Reformation which the immigrant Puritans shared with the body of English Puritans, and in terms of which their forebears for four or five generations had been in determined, passionate, and dangerous revolt in England.

(b) Another set of themes which either came to America in relatively theoretical form, or are special American adaptations of basic English Puritan or a result of social conditions, are idealism, equalitarianism, individualism, independence, and democracy.

(1) Idealism is the basic assumption of Christianity. In the past - seventeenth century - and especially "in New England, conduct is directed by an uncodified Idealism."³⁶ At present we find that "the Yankees have lost their great ideals, but they have never lost their idealism." *

(2) Equalitarianism: It drew from the Reformation's doctrine of the equality of all before God. This doctrine, it seems, when social conditions were ripe, has contributed to the democratic ideals.

(3) Individualism: Roger Williams interpreted the doctrine of equality as meaning something like individualism, both ecclesiastically and civilly.²³ However, when the capitalistic system had been fully developed in America,

* Reference 36, p. 46.

individualism or aggressive individualism became one of its major values, and still continues to be.

(4) Independence: This theme is of religious origin. Since all men are equal before God, all men are, with respect to their fellows, independent in matters pertaining to God: that is, in matters of private opinion.

"From this, there followed two reciprocal features of New England culture. First, the inner independence Second, it gave every man, subject to the externals of social responsibility, a tolerance of the private views of every other man." *

(5) Democracy: The rise of capitalism has brought, among other things, democratic values in both political and economic fields. The respect of the individual, the right to vote, freedom of expression, and freedom of choice, are but some of the democratic values in the political field. As to those values in the economic field, we find success, making good, self-expression in the material sense, private enterprise, and the consumer as a king.

B. In the Roxbury Area, in Particular

We concluded, in Part V, that the people who live in Roxbury have some specific characteristics, such as their low occupational status, their relatively low income, and the relatively high unemployment. They are not able to pay much for housing, and about 85.6 per cent of them are tenants. The population in the area is heterogeneous, and the rate of

* Reference 36, p. 26.

juvenile delinquency is high. Thus it may be correct to infer that the Roxbury area is generally a lower-class area. We may also correctly assume that its inhabitants are likely to differ from those who inhabit middle- or upper-class areas, especially in their values and patterns of behavior.

As the people of Roxbury are heterogeneous, it is hard to state accurately their habits or customs and value-orientation. As we have stated in Part III, Roxbury tends to divide itself into several smaller neighborhoods which lack a feeling of common unity; this makes our task even harder. Also we must mention that Roxbury at present is a changing community. The Negro population is increasing in number, and some Negroes have been moving into sections still predominantly white; lower-income Negro families have been moving into sections where professional and upper-income Negroes have been living. These facts, in particular, represent a threat to the white population which has not been able to move out of Roxbury. In general, the value systems of both whites and Negroes are alike, though one may find a few differences. According to the Negroes, it is much easier for them to get into trouble, but much harder to get out of it. A Negro, they say, must prove himself by working three or four times as hard as the average White, or the Negro is lost. Among the Negroes, you find co-operation and a sense of unity which are often lacking among the Whites.

In the face of this threat, the Whites seem to be frustrated. This can be easily observed when a white owner speaks

of the loss - in economic value - of his house, because of the presence of Negroes nearby. His bitterness seems not only to be transmitted to all members of the household, including his sons and daughters, but it appeals also to his white neighbors, who may be non-owners and of low incomes, but whose interests as wage earners are threatened by the presence of the Negroes in the labor market. The bitter attitude of the man's children and his neighbors' children toward the sons and daughters of the Negroes is very clearly reflected when social interactions may take place in a school or among the members of a settlement house such as Norfolk House Center. In the gym, and especially in a social gathering such as a dance, one does not fail to realize the frustration which fills the atmosphere.

But if there is no common universe of discourse among the people of Roxbury in general, one may presume that they - Negroes or Whites, Christians or Jews - are actually affecting and being affected by one another. However, from the writer's experience of living and working in Norfolk House Center, a settlement which renders social services to Roxbury society, the following values and patterns of behavior can be generally detected:

1. Those values which stimulate the individual's activity to achieve pecuniary success can be easily seen operating in the area. The major part of the people's activity, it seems, is devoted to accumulating money by any means. One must make

good in the material sense, or one is not smart. You have to be smart so that you may live and be highly respected as well as envied in Roxbury. To be smart implies that you get what you want (anything) the easiest way. One must out-smart his teacher, his leader, his boss, his parent, and his peers as well. The policeman, in particular, must be out-smarted by all means.

2. In Roxbury, a substantial number of adults - or minors - should drink, or they are sissies. They should smoke, or they are sissies. If you drink only wine, you are a sissy. If you smoke a filter-cigarette, you are a sissy. The motto is: to be tough. Male adults or minors, especially, must be tough; they must be quick to use physical force or a weapon of any kind. When they speak, they swear; when they joke, they are indecent. Male adults or teenagers, when socially interacting with the opposite sex, must behave rudely; this is an expression of being tough.

3. Some young girls, as well as some young men and some adults of both sexes, seem to have access to free sexual relations of any degree. Young people, especially, seem to have a relatively precarious moral code in this respect. They take it for granted that they should have fun in their own accepted way. When they dance, they prefer to dance the "dirty bogy"; when they sit together, they prefer to "neck."

4. The people in Roxbury can largely be described as rugged individualists and hard-working men. In dealing with

intimates or with others, the value of being a "rugged individualist" is clearly observed in the people's attitude. They seem to take a certain pride in being so. The Negroes are somewhat different in this respect. Because of their situation, they tend to co-operate socially and work together successfully.

But this picture should be completed. One gets the impression that there is a kind of hero worship in the attitude of the people and, in particular, that of the teenagers. In politics, and especially during elections, in business, and even in gangs, there is always a boss to depend upon for decisions in time of crisis. This boss may be revered, or may be hated or envied, but he is always there to look up to.

To repeat: The above-mentioned values or patterns of behavior are but generalities. It is the writer's conviction that there are variations and differentiations. What has been stated is but observations which have come under the writer's eyes through contact and work.

We should emphasize the fact that the people of Roxbury are exposed to and continuously affected by the general basic values of the American culture in its totality, through such means of communication as radio, T.V., magazines, and movies; and through such institutions as the school and the church. This is not only so, but also the codes which are embedded in the law and enforced in this area by the courts represent a different type of morality. The policy makers who control

radio or T.V., the editors of magazines, the producers of the movies, the teachers, the ministers, and the makers of legislation do not usually come from a lower-class society like that of Roxbury; and even if a few do come from such a class, by the fact that they have moved upward to the middle or upper classes, they have changed and can no longer represent the lower class from which they have originally come. In respect to their philosophies, ideas, interests, and concepts of morality, they have become, generally, outsiders.

Thus, not only are the people of Roxbury - as a lower-class people, it may seem - in conflict with the hard facts of a very highly competitive life, but also their values as a class are in conflict with other types of values which are imposed upon them by outsiders from other classes: i.e., the middle or upper classes. They are facing two different sets of values. Their children are facing alternative educational processes. Part of the social life with which the child comes in contact has a certain set of values, and part of it has another set of values. The result is that he may be educated in either or both. Those who are largely educated in their own class values may eventually get into trouble with the representatives of the other class values (police, courts, church). Those who are largely educated in other class values may eventually get into trouble with the representatives of their own class values (peers, parents). If they continue to live in the area, the social pressure of their groups may be so powerful

that they may become outcasts and marginal; or they may be converted and compelled to get along with their groups by rejecting the outside values. Those who are educated in both sets of values may be puzzled and confused; or they may attain a certain level of equilibrium by reconciling the opposing values; or they may follow one set of values and reject the other. This seems to be an oversimplification of the processes that may take place. Assuming the dynamic nature of the factors that may enter the scene, we may believe that something along these lines may operate. However, we should not ignore the states of frustration and insecurity which may arise as a result of these processes.

Vague as it is, this general interpretation may help us to understand the fact that in spite of the high rate of delinquency in Roxbury, most residents in the area are still non-delinquents. This of course may be correct, if we assume that all delinquent acts are reported to the police and actions against them are taken by the court. But this assumption seems to be unsound, because we all know that those who are in authority to enforce the code tend - under certain conditions - to be permissive. This is very true in Roxbury.

C. In Egyptian Society in General

In Egypt we may find it difficult to identify the themes of culture at present. Egypt is now in a transitory phase of her life. She is in a phase where rapid transculturation is

taking place. Her existing order of society is rapidly being transformed. The processes of social disorganization are going on. In any case, one may venture to say:

(a) Islamic ideology, as well as its values, exerts great influence upon the Egyptians (especially in the country-side); controls their behavior; and stimulates their activities. As to the city life, it may be noticed that the Islamic ideology is not fully observed. As an example, one may consider the institution of the family, which will be more fully discussed later in this part. In regard to alcoholism, which is forbidden by Islam, we find - especially in cities and among the adult population - an apparent laxity. Fasting Ramadan, while it is observed in rural areas, is not observed by many city dwellers. The same with going to the Mosque; the city dwellers are, in general, reluctant to do so.

The main tenets of Islam are very simple. They have been eloquently expounded by those early followers of the Prophet who emigrated to Abyssinia for fear of persecution by the Koreish Tribe.

"O King," they said, "we lived in ignorance, idolatry, and unchastity; the strong oppressed the weak; we spoke untruth; we violated the duties of hospitality. Then a Prophet arose, one whom we knew from our youth, with whose descent and conduct and good faith and truth we are all well acquainted. He told us to worship one God, to speak truth, to keep good faith, to assist our relations, to fulfill the rights of hospitality, and to abstain from all things impure, ungodly, and unrighteous. And he ordered us to say prayers, give alms, and to fast. We believed in him; we followed him." 8

About 640 A.D., when the Governor of Egypt asked his envoys who had returned from an embassy to an Arab camp, about what manner of men the Moslems were, they answered:

"We found a people who love death better than life, and set humility above pride; who have no desire for enjoyment in this world; who sit in the dust and eat upon their knees; but frequently and thoroughly wash, and humble themselves in prayer; a people in whom the stronger can scarce be distinguished from the weaker, or master from the slave." *

The following quotations from the Surahs of Koran may help to illustrate further some of the Islamic Idealism and Teachings:

"Say: He is Allah,** the one!

"Allah, the eternally Besought of all!

"He begotteth not nor was begotten.

"And there is none comparable unto Him." 16

"There is no compulsion in religion. The right direction is henceforth distinct from error. And he who rejecteth false deities and believeth in God hath grasped a firm handhold which will never break. God is Hearer, Knower." ***

"O Mankind: Be careful of your duty to your Lord who created you from a single soul and from it created its mate and from them twain hath spread abroad a multitude of men and women. Be careful of your duty toward Allah in Whom ye claim (your rights) of one another, and toward wombs (that bare you). Lo! Allah hath been a Watcher over you." †

* Reference 17, p. 37.

** Allah = God.

*** Reference 16, Surah II, verse 254.

† Reference 16, Surah IV, verse 1.

"O Mankind! Lo! We have created you male and female, and have made you nations and tribes that ye may know one another. Lo! The noblest of you, in the sight of Allah, is the best in conduct. Lo! Allah is Knower, Aware." *

"You are the best community that hath been raised up for mankind. Ye enjoin right conduct and forbid indecency, and ye believe in Allah." **

From these quotations we see the emphasis on the unity of God, and on tolerance. All men are the same; they were created from a single soul. The fact that people are different, whether they are individuals, nations, or tribes, is meant to contribute to the knowledge of peoples of one another and to promote understanding. What is most important in Islam is good conduct. It is not wealth or social status. "The noblest of you, in the sight of Allah, is the best in conduct."

As is expected, it is only the Moslems who are the best. The reasons given are: that Moslems, among other things, do (1) enjoin right conduct; (2) forbid indecency; and (3) believe in Allah.

Added to this is the fact that Moslems believe that Islam has a wide meaning; that it comprises and regulates all human affairs, including all modern problems; and that it is not restricted to purely religious and spiritual matters. Islam regulates the affairs of this world and the next. In this sense, and with relation to this world, Islam is a social

* Reference 16, Surah XLIX, Verse 13.

** Reference 16, Surah III, Verse 110.

system. And as a social system, it is not rigid. It does allow for social change and urges people to change for the better. "God will not change the conditions of men until they change what is in themselves." *

Islam is individualistic, communal, and socialistic all together. It is individualistic in the sense that it is up to the individual Moslem, in relation to his God, to follow or not to follow the religious teachings. It is according to his own conscience to observe these teachings and to act accordingly. It is communal in the sense that Moslems are asked to do things together. They are asked to pray together, to fast a whole month together, to go to Mecca as pilgrims together. They are asked to do so regardless of their race, color, or language. Moslems are also asked to act as agents of social control. If there is something that may harm society, they have to interfere physically and prevent it. If they cannot do so, they have to express their indignation and disagreement. If they cannot do this, they have at least to be conscious of what is going on and admit to themselves their disagreement.

Islam is socialistic in the sense that Moslems are asked to pay annually the poor-due. Every Moslem who is able is asked to pay 2.5 per cent of what he owns, in money or in kind, to the poor every year. It is something like compulsory taxation.

* Reference 16, Surah XIII, Verse 11.

Islam denies any divine right to a ruler. It is for popular election. It is both a doctrine and a nation. Islam is universal. The duality between Church and State does not exist in Islam. "Believers are but brethren"; therefore the adoption of any theory of Western nationalism by each Moslem unit would mean the geographical and political separation of the brethren. Any place where a Moslem makes his declaration of the faith is the Moslem's "patria."

(b) Western ideology has had great impact upon the people in general and upon the city people in particular. Modern Egypt has been born through the influence of the impact of Western civilization, its democratic ideas as well as its knowledge, its organization as well as its tools.

(c) Christianity and its values, especially those of the Orthodox Church, have had an effect upon a section of the Egyptian people: namely, the Egyptian Coptics, whose population is about 1,344,221.⁹

(d) Remnants of the past, certain themes that have survived the centuries, still control the behavior and stimulate the activity of a majority of the Egyptian Fellaheen (peasants),* Coptic and Moslem alike. The accumulated lore of centuries, for example, is the Egyptian Fellaah's birthright, and he derives therefrom a knowledge which equals, if it does not surpass, any amount of book learning. Some of these themes can

* Reference 9. (About 68 per cent of the population)

be considered as mere superstitions, but they still have their influence upon the life of the Egyptian Fellaheen.

D. In the Boulac Area in Particular

It has been concluded in Part V that the people of Boulac have some specific characteristics, such as: They are largely unskilled laborers; illiteracy among them is about 68.2 per cent; their income is relatively low; and the unemployment among them is relatively high. They are not able to pay much for their housing, and about 76 per cent of them are tenants. The rate of juvenile delinquency is also high in the area. Thus, like the Roxbury area, it may be correct to infer that the Boulac area is generally a lower-class area and its inhabitants are likely to differ from those who inhabit middle- or upper-class areas, especially in their values and patterns of behavior.

The population of the Boulac area is relatively more homogeneous than that of the city of Cairo as a whole. The lack of adequate statistics makes it impossible to determine the percentage of ethnic groups in the Boulac area. However, there is - to be sure - no White-Negro problem in the area. But, as in Roxbury, it is hard to state accurately the habits or customs and value-orientation of the people of Boulac society. However, even if there is no - or at least, little - common discourse among the people of Boulac in general, one may presume that they are actually affecting and affected by one another, and that certain values and patterns of behavior

can be generally detected. Some of these are:

(1) The people of Boulac, in general, are hard-working people. They live a day-to-day life. They do not care much about tomorrow, because there is - to be sure - a God to take care of tomorrow. Money to them is a curse. Rich people are bloodsuckers; they are miserable in spite of their wealth. But the people of Boulac care for money as a means. They may save money, if there is anything left, because "the white pennies are needed on black days." But they do not worry too much about money; after all, "you produce money and money does not produce you."

(2) The people of Boulac may say, "We are poor, but we are good. We take care of ourselves and our families. We do not hurt women or old people. And we enjoy friendship."

(3) To be in good health, to eat well, and to enjoy sexual intercourse legally or illegally (in the latter case one must be very cautious), are good achievements. But a man may have a smoke or two of "Hashish" (a drug), because this is the way to express one's manliness. Or you may eat a piece of "opium" with a cup of bitter coffee or bitter tea. This is the way men should do. Like Hashish, opium gives you sexual power and helps you to forget the miseries of the day. Or you may have some "Boza" (a liquor made from flour). This is not only a drink but also a food; it is cheap; it inspires your imagination and makes you feel good.

(4) The people of Boulac can get angry; and when they are

in such a state, they care for nothing and fear nobody. They get angry when anybody attempts to lower the status of any member of their family. Swearing, such as "son of a bitch" or "son of a dog," may cause murder, or at least assault of any degree. They also may get angry when somebody attacks a relative or a friend. They must sacrifice for such a sacred relationship; they must display their loyalty.

When they interact socially with people from the middle or upper classes, they are aware of the difference. They may act humbly on the surface, because in their inner selves they are proud people. They may seem patient, but there is a limit to their patience. When they are very badly treated, or are cynically provoked, they get angry and become really wild.

(5) The people of Boulac may commit crimes against property. They may be motivated by revenge or by real hunger.

The above-mentioned values or patterns of behavior are but generalities. There are certainly variations and differentiations.

It should be noted that, like the people of Roxbury, the people of Boulac are exposed to and continuously affected by the general basic values of Egyptian culture in its totality, through such means of communication as radio and movies and - to a very limited extent - magazines, and through such institutions as the school and the mosque. Also we must note that the codes which are embedded in the law and enforced in this area by the courts represent a different type of morality;

and that not only are the people of Boulac, as a lower-class people, in conflict with the hardships of everyday life, but also their values as a class are in conflict with other types of values which are imposed upon them by outsiders from other classes: i.e., the middle or upper classes. It seems that processes similar to those discussed under B. In Roxbury Area in Particular are also operating in the Boulac area.

2. The Family System:

A. In American Society in General

It seems very difficult to identify the American family system and to have a clear picture of it, because the American family "means the family of every type of culture that exists in the world." ¹⁸ However, the general characteristics of the American middle-class family can be traced and states as follows:

(a) The American family is a nuclear family. Marriage is monogamous. There is no child marriage.

Since it is a nuclear family, we find that kinship does not dominate the social structure. There is a far greater part played by non-kinship structures. In other words, in American society there is a reduction of the importance of kinship units other than the nuclear family. This has also resulted in the transfer of a variety of functions from the nuclear family to other structures of the society, notably the occupationally organized sectors of it. "This means that the family has become a more specialized agency than before, probably more specialized than it has been in any previously known society." ²⁷

Its functions may be:

- (1) The primary socialization of children so that they can truly become members of the society into which they have been born.
- (2) The stabilization of the adult personalities of the population of the society.

(b) The members of the nuclear family in American society comprise parents and their still dependent children. Ordinarily they all occupy a separate dwelling not shared with members of the family of orientation of either spouse, and this household is, in the typical case, economically independent.

The presumption is that a newly married couple will stand on their own feet, supporting themselves from their own earnings.

There is a large number of women in the American labor force. However, "a large proportion of gainfully employed women are single, widowed, or divorced, and thus cannot be said to be either taking the place of a husband as a breadwinner of the family, or competing with him."* Another large number is those who either do not yet have children or whose children are grown up and independent. The number in the labor force who have small children is still quite small and has not shown a marked tendency to increase.*

(c) The pattern of inheritance calls for equal division between children regardless of order of birth or sex.

(d) As to the roles of the sexes in the American family, we find that the American family maintains a more flexible

* Reference 44, p. 16.

pattern than most societies.

"Father helps mother with the dishes. He sets the table. He makes formula for the baby. Mother can supplement the income of the family by working outside. Nevertheless, the American male, by definition, must provide for his family. He is responsible for the support of his wife and children. His primary area of performance is the occupational role, in which his status fundamentally inheres, and his primary function in the family is to supply an 'income!'; to be the 'breadwinner!'. There is simply something wrong with the American adult male who does not have a job. American women, on the other hand, tend to hold jobs before they are married and to quit when 'the day' comes; or to continue in jobs of a lower status than their husbands'. And not only is the mother the focus of emotional support for the American middle-class child, but much more exclusively so than in most societies. ... The more expressive type of male, as a matter of fact, is regarded as 'effeminate'...

"The distribution of authority is legitimized on a different basis in the 'democratic' family than in the so-called 'traditional' one, but the father is 'supposed' to remain the primary executive member. The image of the 'henpecked' husband makes sense only on this premise. His 'commands' are validated on the basis of 'good judgment' rather than general obedience due a person in authority.⁴⁶

To sum up, we may say that the adult woman in the American family is a wife, a mother, and a manager, while the adult male's role is primarily anchored in the occupational world: i.e., in his job. The fact of the absence of the husband-father from the home so much of the time means that the mother has to take the primary responsibility for the children and the management of the household as a whole. This situation

has been strengthened by the very fact that the nuclear family in the American society is isolated. This isolation focuses the responsibility of the mother role more sharply on the one adult woman, to a relatively high degree cutting her off from the help of adult sisters and other kinswomen.

(e) The American mother loves her children and, in some cases, she attempts to understand rationally the nature, conditions, and limitations of that love.

(f) In American society, interracial marriage is not generally approved.

B. In the Roxbury Area, in Particular

From the writer's observations and contacts, the family system in Roxbury society operates along the following lines:

(1) Dating among unmarried people of both sexes is a recognized institution in this area. There seems to be a somewhat precarious moral code in this respect. Girls sometimes become pregnant before they are married; in such a case, marriage may not take place.

(2) People, as a whole, tend to marry early. Marriage is monogamous, and the family is a nuclear family. The child has only his own parents and siblings to live with. Both parents have made love of supreme importance in their relation to the child - theirs for him, and his for them. If the child is rejected or even threatened to be rejected, he is at a real loss.

(3) Families tend to be large ones. The average number of children of 147 families (of members of Teenage Program in

in Norfolk House Center) is found to be five. You find among these families about 54 families with five children or more (36.7 per cent); one family with fourteen children; two families with thirteen children; four families with ten children; and seven families with nine children.*

(4) Among these families we have found that 51 (about 34.7 per cent) have no male parent around, either because he is deceased, or because of separation. In five cases it was found that the male parent was a sick man. We may correctly assume that mothers of these families, like mothers of the larger families, must work to provide, or to help provide, for the family; and that they have not much time left to take care of their children.*

(5) Children are generally looked upon as liabilities rather than assets, in the sense that they represent a direct interference with most of the dominant value of Roxbury society: i.e., pecuniary success. Thus children, while in school, must do some work so that they may meet some of the necessities they need. Or if they do not work, for one reason or the other, they have to find a way - any way - to get a "buck."

(6) The children of Roxbury, while they seem to be dying for affection, love, care, or understanding, are too proud to take it when it is genuinely offered. Unlike the Egyptian children of the same age and more or less under similar circumstances, they seem to be more complex and very suspicious. It

* Norfolk House Center, "Teenage Program Files," 1955-56.

seems that this pride springs from an inner value that one should behave, in facing life, as a self-sufficient individual. Or, this pride may be just a self-defence against an unexpected offer, because of the well-developed tendency to view one's relations with others in terms of what one can get out of them, or because it is a way to defy authority which the person who offers (in this case he may be a teacher or a leader) may represent in the mind of a child.

From the above general observations, one may not fail to notice how many frustrations the residents of the Roxbury area may encounter, whether they are fathers, mothers, or children; and how different the family system in this area is, in some respects, from that of American society in general.

C. In Egyptian Society in General

The general characteristics of the Egyptian middle-class family can be stated as follows:

(a) Unlike the American family, the Egyptian family is an extensive one. Polygamy is still practised in Egypt, but it is limited to four wives. On the other hand, monogamy is more desirable, and actually it is the general practice among the educated and the middle-class people.*

There is no child marriage.

As an extended family, we find that kinship dominates the social structure. In Egyptian society there is an importance

* Official polygamous marriages, according to the Census of 1947, are less than four per cent.

in kinship units. The functions of the Egyptian family are more varied than those of the American family. They may be stated as follows:

(1) The family is a significant unit in the political power system.

(2) The family itself engages in much economic production.

In contrast to this, we find that individual members of the American family participate in these functions (1 and 2), but they do so as individuals, not as members of the family.

(3) The primary socialization of children so that they can become members of the society into which they have been born.

(4) The stabilization of the adult personalities of the population of the society.

Also we must add:

(5) The ideology which says: Allah (God) has endowed man with the sex instinct for the purpose of reproduction. Procreation is the noblest of human functions. As to sexual intercourse before marriage, which is not for procreation but only for the satisfaction of desire, it is immoral.

(b) The members of the Egyptian family may include both families of orientation and of procreation. They all ordinarily occupy the same home with separate dwellings. Members of the family of orientation of either spouse can share the home.

Old people enjoy great respect and authority, particularly

when they are religious or educated.

A newly married couple expects financial support from their parents and intimate relatives.

There is a very small number of women in the Egyptian labor force, though this number has been steadily increasing. The vast majority of these hold jobs before they are married. They usually quit these jobs when they are married.

(c) The pattern of inheritance differs from that of the American. It calls for unequal division among children because of sex. A male has twice as much as a female for his share. Not only can a widow remarry, but also she has the right to inherit one fourth of her husband's property and to enjoy her own property as well.

(d) As to the sex roles in the Egyptian family, we find that - unlike the American - the Egyptian women do all the housework and care for the children. In rural Egypt, women milk the cows and buffaloes and do some light work in the field. In urban Egypt, women are only confined to their tasks at home. The Egyptian male is responsible for the support of his wife, his children, and other relatives - female or dependent children - of either spouse.

Segregated quarters for women are not found in houses. Islam puts much emphasis upon the segregation of women and their putting on veils and drawing their cloaks around them when they go out of their houses. Islam also teaches how men should act when they see strange women, and how women should act when they see strange men.

"Tell the believing men to lower their gaze and be modest. That is purer for them. Lo! Allah is aware of what they do.

"And tell the believing women to lower their gaze and be modest, and to display of their adornment only that which is apparent, and to draw their veils over their bosoms, and not to reveal their adornment save to their own husbands or fathers or husbands' fathers, or their sons or their husbands' sons, or their brothers or their brothers' sons or sisters' sons or their women, or their slaves, or male attendants who lack vigor, or children who know naught of women's nakedness. And let them not stamp their feet so as to reveal what they hide of their adornment. And turn unto Allah together, O believers, in order that ye may succeed." *

These patterns still have a great influence upon people's minds in most of the Moslem countries. But in Egypt, ever since the First World War, women have increasingly adopted the Western patterns. The veil has become very rare; segregation of women, and the cloak, are, by and large, considered now as something out of the past. However, in spite of these facts, mental segregation of the sexes is still the rule. There are social relations among relatives, men and women; there are also social relations and business relations between men and women in general. Women have the right to own property as men do.

Husbands are usually in charge of their wives. This notion has played a decisive part in the life of the Egyptian family. It can be traced to Islamic ideology in this respect. The Koran says:

* Reference 16, Surah, XXIV, verses 30, 31.

"Men are in charge of women, because Allah hath made the one of them to excel the other, and because they spend of their property (for the support of women). So good women are the obedient, guarding in secret that which Allah hath guarded." *

Islam, however, has guaranteed some essential rights to the wife: her right to be well treated, her right to inherit her deceased husband's possessions, and her right - together with her husband - to make terms of peace between themselves. But the change has or may come when women can help in supporting the family as they earn their living, or from their own property.

(e) Since procreation is the noblest of human functions, children are well taken care of with devotion by parents, husbands and wives as well. Islam has much concern for children, nursing them, weaning them, and giving them to nurses. The maximum time for suckling is two years. But this period can be shortened by the mutual consent of father and mother. Great care of orphans is well observed. Orphans should be well treated until they reach the marriageable age. Their property and wealth should be kept for them. To improve the orphan's lot is the best deed a believer can do. Islam has also much concern for needy children, as well as for wayfarers. Thus the Koran says:

"Righteous is he who believeth in Allah and the Last Day and the Angels and the

* Reference 16, Surah IV, Verse 34.

Scripture and the Prophets; and giveth his wealth for love of Him, to kinsfolk and to orphans and the needy and the wayfarer and to those who ask, and to set slaves free; and observeth proper worship and payeth the poor-due." *

(f) In Egyptian society, the interracial marriage is approved.

D. In the Boulac Area, in Particular

From the writer's observations and contacts, the family system in Boulac society operates along the following lines:

(1) The institution of dating among unmarried people of both sexes is not recognized in this area. Sexual relations to any degree, before marriage, are strongly taboo. However, there may be some laxity in this respect in Boulac.

(2) People, as a whole, tend to marry early. Polygamy is practised in this area, in spite of the poor economic condition of most of the people (see (6) below).

(3) The family is largely an extended family in the area, and as such it educates its members through experience and the appreciation of personal ties. The whole set-up is for each individual to be loyal. Each views himself as functionally associated with others in a common purpose. Persons - in themselves - are the most important things. A man is considered powerful, or has a high social status, because he is a member of a certain family.

One may find in the folklore in Boulac society what may

* Reference 16, Surah II, Verse 177.

support this point of view. For example: One may find, "My brother and I have to unite against our cousin; my cousin and I have to unite against a stranger." Even among friends the ties of friendship seem to be stronger than those of material things, as indicated by the saying, "Between two friends money is not important; what is in one's pocket belongs to the other." Those who may deviate from this pattern are condemned or at least rebuked, as may be found in the song, "On sea I have not deserted you, on land you have; for gold I have not exchanged you, for straw you have."

We should also note that a sizable number of married men live, without their wives, in Boulac, with relatives or acquaintances. These men are usually from rural areas, who come to the city for a certain period of time to work. Their wives and children are left behind under the care of their husbands' families.

(4) Children of these families, while seeking love and affection from the adult members of the family, have usually an ample choice. Each child may have one or two substitute fathers (grandfather or uncles), and one or two substitute mothers (grandmother or aunts), other than his own. If rejected by his own parents (a case which is unlikely) or if one of his parents dies or is divorced, or if both parents die, he will find acceptance and recognition from other adults in the household. Thus, in these families, one finds that the supply of persons producing affection and love, in one degree or the

other, is abundant.

But we must note that though the children in themselves are wanted, according to traditions, in general, and to the ideology that says, "Procreation is the noblest of human functions," in particular, they are not adequately taken care of and seem to be neglected. This neglect is not deliberate and is against all themes of culture in Egyptian society in general. The reason for this situation is, it seems, that the people of Boulac lead a very hard life. All members of the household have to sweat so that they may obtain the bare necessities of life, such as food, clothing, and shelter. These are the primary goals; others, such as taking care of children, are forced to become secondary. Thus you may sometimes hear a desperate father say what seems to be in contradiction to what has been mentioned before: "If your sorrows have become like a deluge, put your child under your feet (so that you may save yourself)."

(5) Families in Boulac society tend to be large ones. The average number of children of a thousand families who live in Boulac is found to be 5.5.* And as the means of these families are not adequate, mothers as well as fathers have to work. Children also work at a very early stage in their lives. All work done, especially by women and children, is unskilled.

(6) Polygamy and divorce seem high among the families of

* "A Study of the State of the Dwelling Units of Boulac."

Boulac. From an analysis of a hundred delinquent boys,* we have found the following:

(a) Forty-four boys live with their parents, who are alive and still married.

(b) Each of three boys has a father who is married to more than one wife besides the boy's own mother.

(c) Each of fourteen boys lives with his mother, who has remarried since the death of the boy's father.

(d) Each of seven boys lives with his mother, who has not remarried since the death of the boy's father.

(e) Each of four boys lives with his father, who has remarried since the death of the boy's mother.

(f) Each of seven boys lives with his father, who has not remarried since the death of the boy's mother.

(g) Each of three boys lives with his father, who has been divorced from the boy's mother and has remarried.

(h) Each of six boys lives with his father, who has been divorced from the boy's mother and has not remarried.

(i) Each of three boys lives with his mother since her divorce and remarriage.

(j) One boy lives with his mother, who has been divorced and has not remarried.

(k) Eight boys live with relatives.

From the above general observations, two major things may be noticed: First, the fact that the family system in Boulac

* The Cairo Juvenile Court Social Services' Bureau, "Boulac Cases of 1950."

is different from that of Egyptian society in general. Second, the fact that the low standard of living of the people of Boulac brings about continuous frustration and, to a great degree, despair.

3. Urbanism:

A. In the American Social Structure

Urban development in the United States has been very great. As one might expect, the growth of cities has been especially marked.

"With 'a continent to conquer', unbelievable natural resources, a growing flood of immigrants (until 1914), new inventions appearing at an accelerated rate, and a philosophy of 'bigger and better', it is not surprising that the United States has had a great urban development." *

Thus we find that during the period 1840-1850, the population of the United States was about 17,000,000; of this, 10.9 per cent was urban people. During the period 1940-1950, the population was about 151,000,000, while the percentage of urban population was about 63.7 per cent. **

If we consider the increased speed range of means of communication, and that the United States, at the present time, is, as Professor Albert Morris says, "a nation on wheels," we can imagine the extent of closeness of urban areas to rural areas - a closeness which has helped to make possible not only the supplying of cities from their hinterlands, but

* Reference 30, p. 58.

** Reference 30, p. 63.

also the transaction of business between distant cities, and increasingly the dominance over entire peoples by their urban centers.

B. In the Egyptian Social Structure:

As has been stated before, about two thirds of the Egyptian people lead a rural life and live in rural areas. Within the last seventy years (1882-1952), however, the proportion of urban dwellers in Egypt has increased 13 percentage points, and the number of urban dwellers has been more than five times as much. Urban people comprise, at present, 32 per cent of the Egyptian population.

The number of urban regions increased from 1927 to 1937 by six, with a population of 77,592; and from 1937 to 1947, by twelve, with a population of 150,802.*

The gap between rural and urban areas is very great. Egypt devotes the major part of her efforts and resources to the town and large-city people. The neglect of the Fellaheen (Egyptian peasants) has been so great that it has reduced them to a state of weakness and debility, rendering them an easy prey to disease, poverty, ignorance, and propaganda.

* "The Pocket Annual Report, 1953."

PART VII

SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TWO AREAS

We mean by the two areas, of course, the Roxbury area of Boston, Massachusetts, United States of America, and the Boulac area of Cairo, Egypt. In Part V, we have generally proved that the major social characteristics which may make an area a delinquency area - with two exceptions - exist in both the Roxbury and the Boulac areas. The exceptions are: that both areas are not areas of declining population, and that the Boulac area is relatively a homogeneous area.

As delinquency areas, the Roxbury and Boulac areas have much in common, but they are also different from each other. This difference is, in most cases, a difference in degree rather than in kind.

(1) Similarities and Differences in the Physical Aspects of the Two Areas

A. Similarities:

- (a) The dwelling units in both areas are deteriorating.
- (b) The dwelling units in both areas are largely converted tenements.
- (c) The dwelling units in both areas are not well equipped.

B. Differences:

(a) In the Roxbury area we find that about 79.5 per cent of the dwelling units were built in 1919 or earlier; while in the Boulac area there are 40 per cent of the dwelling units

investigated which are too old to install pipes for running water (Tables 7 and 17).

(b) The median monthly rent in the Roxbury area is \$32.87. It is lower than that of Boston as a whole. The Roxbury area is ranked among the lowest six areas of Boston in this category.

In the Boulac area, however, 39.4 per cent of the cases pay less than E.L. 1 (\$2.85) per month; while 13.8 per cent pay less than half this amount, and 46.8 per cent pay E.L. 1 or more. This indicates that the median monthly rent in Boulac is very low, if we remember that the average person pays at least E.L. 5 (\$14.24) for rent per month (Tables 6 and 27).

(c) In the Roxbury area, about 85.6 per cent of the people are tenants; while in the Boulac area, we find that 76 per cent of the cases are tenants. Both percentages are relatively high (Tables 2 and 12).

(d) The Roxbury area, with a percentage of 16.2, is ranked among the highest six areas of Boston which have no private bath or running water. As to the Boulac area, the state of the dwelling units, in this respect, is very bad indeed. We find that about 67 per cent of the units investigated are without water; 90 per cent of these are dependent on the public water taps in the area (there are five public water taps in the area); and 10 per cent are dependent upon the goodwill of their neighbors. We also find that about 79 per cent of the units are without private bath. The disposal system

in the Boulac area is very defective; 35 per cent of the families dispose of their water in the streets; 52 per cent, in trenches; and only 13 per cent enjoy the sewage system. Boulac is radically different from Roxbury in this respect (Tables 9, 16, 18, 19, and 20).

(d) The use of a means of central heating and refrigeration is known only in the Roxbury area. In the Boulac area, however, there is no great need for central heating, because of climatic conditions. As to refrigeration, the people in Boulac are too poor to make use of it. They have their own simple ways of preserving their food, if any remains, or of cooling their drinks.

(e) The streets of the Boulac area are very narrow: 44 per cent of the families investigated live in streets of four meters or less in width. In two cases the width of the street is not more than one meter. This is another difference between Roxbury and Boulac in this respect (table 21).

(2) Similarities and Differences in the Economic Aspects of the Two Areas:

A. Similarities:

(a) In both areas we find that most of those who dwell there are not able to pay much for their housing [see (1)(b)].

(b) In both areas we find that the income is low and unemployment is high.

(c) In both areas the people who live there are largely unskilled laborers.

B. Differences:

(a) The median income in the Roxbury area is found, in 1949, to be about \$2,438, and Roxbury is ranked among the lowest six areas in Boston in this category.

We do not have any data of the incomes in Cairo per head or per family. But the Egyptian national income per head is \$39.00 per year. If we realize that the average size of the Egyptian family is five, we may conclude that the national income per family is \$195 per year. In the Boulac area, we have found that 40.2 per cent of the cases have an income less than the national income. Those who earn, on the average, E.L. 36 or more (\$102.60 per head or \$513 per family) are only 23.4 per cent. In either case the difference between these incomes and that of the Roxbury area seems very great. It gives the idea that the average American family in Roxbury lives more than four times as well as 23.4 per cent of those who live in Boulac, or at least twelve times as well as 40.2 per cent of those who live in Boulac. But the comparison is misleading in more than one way, as we have already said in Part V. This does not deny the fact that there is a difference between the incomes in the two areas, but the difference does not sound so great as it looks at its face value. (Tables 22 and 28)

(b) Those who were unemployed in the Roxbury area in April 1950 were 8.3 per cent, while the percentage of unemployment in Boulac in 1947 was 12.7 per cent. The difficulty of making any comparison is quite clear, because the dates of

collecting the data about this item are different (Tables 23 and 30).

(c) In the Boulac area the illiterate are 68.2 per cent. In the Roxbury area, however, the median school years completed by adults twenty-five years old and over is 9.4 years. The difference in this respect is very great (Tables 25 and 29).

(d) Those who are classified as service workers in the Roxbury area form 15.6 per cent of the population. This is considered by the prevailing standards as an unusually large group. In the Boulac area, however, we find that 48.1 per cent of the people are engaged in personal services (Tables 24 and 31).

(3) Similarities and Differences in the Demographic Aspects of the Two Areas:

A. Similarities:

In the two areas we find that the population is increasing and its density is very high.

B. Differences:

(a) The population of Roxbury has increased from 1940 to 1950 by 5.5 per cent, but the trend within the last thirty years has been uneven. In the Boulac area the population has been continuously increasing ever since 1882 (Tables 32 and 35).

(b) The density of population in Roxbury, per square mile, is 48,591; while in the Boulac area it is 43,936 (Tables 33 and 36).

(c) While the population of the Roxbury area is more

heterogeneous than that of the city of Boston (37.8 per cent of the population of Roxbury is composed of different ethnic groups, and only 23.3 per cent of the population of Boston), we find that the population in the Boulac area is less heterogeneous than that of the city of Cairo (in Boulac, 1.2 per cent of the population are foreigners and 6.0 per cent are Christians; while in Cairo, the percentage is 2.8 per cent and 13.8, respectively). (Tables 34, 37, and 38)

(d) There are more than fourteen different nationalities in the Roxbury area, and the Negroes, who comprise 22.3 per cent of the population. The lack of adequate statistics makes it impossible to determine the percentage of ethnic groups in the Boulac area. However, most of these ethnic groups in the Boulac area are of rural background and Middle and Near East background. This may indicate a difference in the backgrounds of the ethnic groups in both areas (Table 34).

(4) Similarities and Differences in the State of Juvenile Delinquency in the Two Areas:

A. Similarities:

The two areas are ranked among the highest delinquency areas in their cities. Boulac has the highest percentage of delinquent cases of all the Cairo areas. Roxbury is ranked among the highest three areas in Boston (Tables 41, 42, 44, and 45).

B. Differences:

We are here concerned with the differences between the types of crimes committed in the two areas. Table 43 indicates

the types of crimes committed by some male and female juveniles in the Roxbury area during the year 1952. Table 46 indicates the types of crimes committed by some male and female juveniles in the Boulac area during the same year. If we compare the figures, we may conclude the following:

(i) That the classes of crimes (against person, against property, minor infractions, and miscellaneous against public order) appear in both areas. In the Roxbury area, classes of crime such as sex, drunkenness, and motor vehicles appear alone. The percentage is 1.9, 0.3, and 12.9, respectively.

(ii) In the Boulac area we find that 34.6 per cent of the cases commit crimes against person; while in the Roxbury area, 8.3 per cent of the cases commit the same types of crimes.

(iii) In the Roxbury area we find that 64.8 per cent of the cases commit crimes against property; while in the Boulac area, 25 per cent of the cases commit the same types of crimes.

(iv) In the Boulac area we find that 14.9 per cent commit minor infractions; while in the Roxbury area, 9.1 per cent of the cases commit the same types of crimes.

(v) In the Boulac area we find that 25.5 per cent of the cases commit miscellaneous crimes against public order; while in the Roxbury area we find that only 2.7 per cent of the cases commit the same types of crimes. However, in the Boulac area we find that 89.6 per cent of these cases commit the offence which is called "collecting cigarette butts," 6.2 per cent are guilty of "vagrancy," and 4.2 per cent are guilty of "begging" (Table 47).

From the foregoing, we may infer that while the majority of cases in the Boulac area commit crimes against person (the majority are minor assaults), the majority of cases in the Roxbury area commit crimes against property. If one tries to find out reasons for this difference, one may venture to speculate as follows:

As a broad interpretation, it can be stated that in Boulac society, as we have already seen, the individualism of Roxbury society is lacking. Thus, in order to succeed and achieve status and recognition, one should try to look to persons for support. Good personal relations with the members of one's family, one's neighbors, and one's colleagues, and the respect of the public in general, are considered very important. Persons, in themselves, are more important to an individual than their belongings. When an individual's success, or his status, or his recognition is hindered or threatened, he usually thinks in terms of such person or persons as hindering his success, or threatening his status, or discouraging his recognition. Thus he may try to revenge himself by removing the cause: in this case, the person concerned.

On the other hand, in Roxbury society, in general, success, status, and recognition can be attained only by accumulating material things. To the people of Roxbury, in general, what matters is what one owns. If one's success, status, and/or recognition are hindered or threatened, the way out is to acquire material things by any means. Property, to one, is a

symbol of success or status or recognition. Persons or personal relations, in themselves, are not relatively very important. One has a well-developed tendency to view one's relations with others in terms of what one can get out of them.

This broad interpretation may be supported by the following observations:

(a) Egyptian society is still largely traditional. The relationships of people are generally close and their social interactions are personal. This description is very true of Boulac society.

(b) As an extended family, the family in Boulac society educates its members through experience and the appreciation of personal ties. The whole set-up is for each individual to be loyal. Each individual views himself as functionally associated with others in a common purpose. Persons - in themselves - are the most important things. A man is considered powerful, or has a high social status, because he is a member of a certain family (see Part VI, The Family System - in Boulac in Particular).

The child in Roxbury society, however, is in a different situation. He lives in a nuclear family where he has only his own parents and siblings. Both parents have made love of supreme importance in their relations to the child - theirs for him, and his for them. If the child is rejected or even threatened to be rejected, he is at a real loss. Children are generally looked upon as liabilities rather than assets,

in the sense that they represent a direct interference with most of the dominant value of Roxbury society: i.e., pecuniary success (see Part VI, the Family System - in Roxbury, in Particular).

(c) Until very recently, the Egyptian people in general, and especially the lower-class people, have been exploited and oppressed by various rulers - native and foreign as well. These rulers were in a position to be able to be in the people's way to progress and develop. Thus persons such as these must have been considered very powerful, because they alone (people must have believed) controlled their destiny. A tendency must have been developed by the lower-class people in general to believe that all pressures could be caused only by certain people. Therefore, to remove the cause of any type of pressure could be accomplished by removing those persons who were believed to be the cause.

We also notice that such crimes as sex, drunkenness, and motor vehicles are not known in the Boulac area, while such a crime as collecting cigarette butts is not known in the Roxbury area. To venture an interpretation of this difference, we may say:

(a) Sex: The writer is inclined to question the data on this crime. Sex is a taboo in Egyptian society as a whole (Boulac society is included), but it is so strong a taboo that people may not dare to face the facts. Thus, if a crime of this type is committed, and especially by minors, the odds are

that those who are responsible - whether they are parents, teachers, or police - may cover it up and keep it so dark that it may not find its way to the light.

(b) Drunkenness: Ethically and morally, drunkenness is strictly forbidden in Egyptian society. However, in lower-class areas it is likely that a few adults may consume alcoholic drinks and, in particular, such a drink as "Boza"; but they do so privately, for fear of social condemnation.

(c) Motor Vehicles: Egyptian children do not have a chance to steal cars or to violate the traffic laws, because there are not so many cars available for them as for the American children in general. It is estimated that for every 10,000 Egyptians you find only 29 private cars, or for every private car in Egypt you find 91.3 private cars in the United States.²⁰ Such private cars, to be sure, are not expected to belong to any of the residents of the Boulac area.

(d) Collecting Cigarette Butts: The collecting of cigarette butts in the Boulac area is part of the process of a trade. Children collect cigarette butts as a job. They work for an adult, usually a woman, in exchange for shelter and meals, or for money. This woman, in turn, prepares the tobacco out of the cigarette butts for resale. Poor people usually buy such tobacco because it is cheap.

The collecting of cigarette butts for processing and resale is not found in the Roxbury area, because of economic reasons. The standard of living is so high that one can get a package of cigarettes without much ado.

BOOK FIVE

PART VIII

CONCLUSIONS

I. A Summary

1. We have tried in this study to test the hypothesis which says that "urbanization in Egypt is accompanied by the emergence of areas that conform to the pattern of delinquency areas as defined by Shaw and others for American society, in spite of differences in the general structure of the two societies as illustrated by a comparative study of delinquency areas in Boston and Cairo."

2. The Roxbury area in Boston, Massachusetts, and the Boulac area in Cairo, Egypt, were chosen for comparison. The choice of these two areas was made for the following reasons:

- (a) Both areas are near the industrial and commercial centers of their cities.
- (b) Both areas appear to be somewhat deteriorated areas.
- (c) Both areas seem to be inhabited by unskilled laborers.
- (d) Both areas seem to have a high rate of delinquency.

3. The concepts of delinquency area, juvenile delinquency, and urbanization have been thoroughly discussed. The writer is inclined to believe that in spite of the criticisms of the concept of delinquency area, the concept has served a useful purpose in assisting in the fight against delinquency and crime. He believes also that there is a danger that the

concept may be used as an oversimplification of the problem of delinquency and crime, because of the extreme complexity of delinquency and crime causation and the inconclusive nature of most statistical data on this subject. The writer is also inclined to think that the concept of delinquency area, if refined, can be of great use in research. In this case, we should assume that delinquency is of various types. Some of these types may exist in certain areas and others may breed in other areas. If we wish to find out the dynamic factors that may cause a type or types of delinquent behavior, the concept will provide us with a starting point to look for these factors. For example: we may be able to find out the reasons why certain types of delinquency occur in certain areas of a city and do not occur in others; or why they occur more often in certain areas than in other areas of the same city.

4. A part of the study was devoted to the historical backgrounds of the cities of Boston and Cairo and of the Roxbury and Boulac areas.

5. The study tries to find out whether or not the Roxbury and Boulac areas are two delinquency areas. Some major characteristics which may make an area a delinquency area were chosen. This choice was largely determined by the fact that data concerning the other characteristics were not available.

6. A part of the study was devoted to the discussion of the American and Egyptian social structures. All the aspects of the two social structures, however, were not discussed. The

discussion was confined to three general aspects: i.e., the basic themes of culture, the family system, and urbanism.

References, when discussing the themes of culture and family system, were made to the American and Egyptian societies in general, and to the Roxbury and Boulac societies in particular.

II. THE FINDINGS

From the study, recognizing its limitations, we find the following results:

1. That the American and Egyptian social structures, in general, and the Roxbury and Boulac societies in particular, are different.

2. That it has been generally proved that the major social characteristics (those which are discussed in the study) which make an area a delinquency area - with the exception of two characteristics - exist in both the Roxbury and the Boulac area. The exceptions are: that both areas are not areas of declining population, and that the Boulac area is relatively homogeneous.

3. In comparing the Roxbury and Boulac areas, we have tried to compare only four general characteristics out of six. These four characteristics are:

- (a) The physical aspects
- (b) The economic aspects
- (c) The demographic aspects
- (d) The state of juvenile delinquency

The other two characteristics are: the population mobility, and the state of detached individuals. Because of lack of sufficient

data, we were not able to compare the latter two general characteristics.

4. As delinquency areas, the Roxbury and Boulac areas have much in common, but they are also different from each other. This difference is, in most cases, a difference in degree rather than in kind.

5. We have found, for example, that the majority of juvenile delinquent cases in the Boulac area commit crimes against person, while the majority of cases in the Roxbury area commit crimes against property. We have given a broad interpretation of these differences. It is based on the fact that the individualism of Roxbury society is lacking in Boulac society. This may be due, as we shall see later, to the type of urbanization as a way of life which exists in Egyptian urban areas. But this interpretation is but a speculation which needs to be scientifically proved.

Also we have noticed that such crimes as sex, drunkenness, and motor vehicles are not known in the Boulac area; while such a crime as collecting cigarette butts is not known in the Roxbury area.

6. To conclude, we may say that while the basic hypothesis of this study has been generally proved, that is: urbanization in Egypt is accompanied by the emergence of areas that conform to the pattern of delinquency areas as defined by Shaw and others for American society, in spite of differences in the general structure of the two societies, we have also found

that there are similarities as well as differences between delinquency areas in both societies, as illustrated by a comparison of the Roxbury and Boulac areas.

III. A TENTATIVE EXPLANATION OF FINDINGS

The major issue to be discussed under this heading is: Why have we found an area like the Boulac area in Egyptian society which can be labelled as a delinquency area, and as such, is - in many respects - similar to an area in American society like the Roxbury area, in spite of differences in the general structure of American and Egyptian society?

The answer to this question is not at all easy. But this study may allow us to infer that the process of urbanization, in general, tends to produce delinquency areas in both American and Egyptian society, in spite of their differences; and that these differences can be vividly manifested in the patterns of delinquent behavior.

We may also say that the process of urbanization tends to reduce the differences of societies in general. Or we may say that the process of urbanization tends to overcome the effects of other differences, such as those which exist in the social structures of the Boulac and Roxbury areas.

However, if urbanization is seen as a way of life which includes all aspects that may make a way of life, we would expect it to produce similar characteristics in different societies. We have seen above that the characteristics of urban life, and in particular those of delinquency areas in Egyptian society,

tend to be similar to those of delinquency areas in American society. They exert in both areas, such as Roxbury and Boulac, similar effects. But while this may be the case, one may have the impression that residents of the Boulac area have a different way of life from that of residents of the Roxbury area. This may be because the degree of urbanization in both areas is different. The process of urbanization in Egypt as a whole, and particularly in the Boulac area, may be different for two reasons: first, it is relatively new. Second, because it is relatively new, it has not reached the same intensity or degree as that of American society as a whole, and particularly that of the Roxbury area. If we understand the process of urbanization as a continuum, we may find that in American society (or Roxbury society) and in Egyptian society (or Boulac society), urbanization stands at different points on the continuum. It may be suggested that urbanization in American society (or Roxbury society) may be closer to the urban pole than that in Egyptian society (or Boulac society). Or we may think in terms of various types of urbanization, instead of one type alone. We may say that the type of urbanization in Roxbury differs from that in Boulac.

This may explain the reason that while we have found that the Roxbury and Boulac areas are delinquency areas, we have also found that there are similarities as well as differences in both areas. These differences, one may suggest, are due to the differences in the degree or type of urbanization in both

areas, as well as to the general socio-cultural differences between the American and Egyptian societies.

IV. CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE STUDY

1. We have found that the patterns of delinquent behavior in both the Roxbury and the Boulac area are different.

The writer is inclined to suggest that because the social structures of both areas are different, the patterns of delinquent behavior are also different. Or we may put it in a different way: that is, because the types of urbanization in both areas are different, the patterns of delinquent behavior are different. Thus, if a hypothesis may be generally suggested, one may say: "Different types of urbanization produce different patterns of delinquent behavior."

2. We have found that neither the Roxbury area nor the Boulac area is an area of declining population. Thus, a delinquency area need not be an area of declining population.

3. The assumption that urbanization as a way of life may be of different types - that is, urbanization of American society is different from that of Egyptian society, or may also differ from that of English society or Russian society - needs further study.

This study, however, has proved that urbanization in Egyptian society and in American society produces similarly delinquent areas.

4. The assumption needs to be further studied and empirically proved, that not only are lower-class people, such

as those of the Roxbury and Boulac areas, in conflict with the hard facts of a very highly competitive life, but that also their values as a class are in conflict with other types of values which are imposed on them by outsiders from other classes - i.e., middle or upper class.

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A DELINQUENCY AREA IN A NON-WESTERN SOCIETY

Abstract of a Dissertation

Submitted in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

BOSTON UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL

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A DELINQUENCY AREA IN A NON-WESTERN SOCIETY

Abstract

The concept of "delinquency area" denotes a social phenomenon. It is generally defined as an area of a city marked by an abnormal delinquency rate as compared with other areas of the city of similar size and population. Such areas are located in zones of transition, and are marked by industrial buildings, waterfronts and railroads, deteriorated buildings, and population of mixed nationalities.

In spite of the criticisms of the concept of "delinquency area," it appears to serve a useful purpose. There is a danger that the concept may be used as an oversimplification of the problem of delinquency and crime, because of the extreme complexity of delinquency and crime causation and the inconclusive nature of most statistical data on this subject. Probably the concept of "delinquency area," if refined, would be of increasing use in research. However, it should be noted that delinquency may be of various types. Some of these types may exist in certain areas, and others may breed in other areas. If we wish to find out the dynamic factors that may cause a type or types of delinquent behavior, the concept will provide us with a starting point from which to look for these factors. For example: We may be able to find out the reasons why certain types of delinquency occur in certain areas of a city and do not occur in others; or why they occur more often in certain areas than in other areas of the same city.

1. A Statement of the Problem

The theories of urbanization, and especially those of "delinquency area," as they exist today, have been developed with reference to Western societies. The problem of this dissertation is to attempt to test them in a non-Western society. Broadly, it is an examination of the relation between certain aspects of urbanization and juvenile delinquency. More specifically, it is an attempt to determine the applicability and usefulness of the concept of "delinquency area" in Egyptian society by means of a comparative study of the Roxbury area in Boston, Massachusetts, and that of Boulac in Cairo, Egypt.

2. The Basic Hypothesis

Stated explicitly, the basic hypothesis of the study is:

"that urbanization in Egypt is accompanied by the emergence of areas that conform to the pattern of delinquency areas as defined by Shaw and others for American society, in spite of differences in the general structure of the two societies as illustrated by a comparative study of delinquency areas in Boston and Cairo."

3. The Scope of Study

The study is a general comparison between two areas: the Roxbury area (Western area) and the Boulac area (non-Western area); but the focus is the social characteristics which make an area a delinquency area, so that it may be demonstrated whether or not the two areas chosen for comparison are delinquency areas.

4. The Methods of Study

Basically, the method used is a comparison of American and Egyptian societies, with special reference to the two urban areas selected for study. By carefully examining the Roxbury and Boulac areas, each in relation to the general structure of the wider urban community in which it is situated, it has proved possible to isolate relevant variables, and to arrive at tentative conclusions concerning the validity of the hypothesis.

Other methods have also been used, such as direct and indirect observation, social survey, interview, and the method of statistical comparisons.

5. Conclusions

From this research in a delinquency area in a non-Western society, recognizing its limitations, the following conclusions were reached:

(1) that the American and Egyptian social structures, in general, and the Roxbury and Boulac societies, in particular, are different.

(2) that it has been generally proved that the major social characteristics (those which are discussed in the study) which make an area a delinquency area - with the exception of two characteristics - exist in both the Roxbury and the Boulac area. The exceptions are: that both areas are not areas of declining population, and that the Boulac area is relatively homogeneous.

(3) In comparing the Roxbury and Boulac areas, four general characteristics out of six have been used. These four characteristics are:

- (a) the physical aspects
- (b) the economic aspects
- (c) the demographic aspects
- (d) the state of juvenile delinquency

The other two characteristics are: the population mobility, and the state of detached individuals. Because of lack of sufficient data, we were not able to compare the latter two general characteristics.

As delinquency areas, the Roxbury and Boulac areas have much in common, but they are also different from each other. This difference is, in most cases, a difference in degree rather than in kind.

(4) It is found, for example, that the majority of juvenile delinquent cases in the Boulac area commit crimes against person, while the majority of cases in the Roxbury area commit crimes against property. A broad interpretation of these differences has been given. It is based on the fact that the individualism of Roxbury society is lacking in Boulac society. This may be due to the type of urbanization as a way of life which exists in Egyptian urban areas. But this interpretation is but a speculation which needs to be scientifically proved.

It is also noticed that such crimes as sex, drunkenness, and motor vehicles are not known among the juveniles in the Boulac area, while such a crime as collecting cigarette butts

for processing and resale is not known among the juveniles in the Roxbury area.

(5) To conclude, it may be said that while the basic hypothesis of this study has been generally proved (that is: Urbanization in Egypt is accompanied by the emergence of areas that conform to the pattern of delinquency areas as defined by Shaw and others for American society, in spite of differences in the general structure of the two societies), we have also found that there are similarities as well as differences between delinquency areas in both societies, as illustrated by a comparison of the Roxbury and Boulac areas.

6. Contributions of the Study

(1) The study demonstrates that the patterns of delinquent behavior in both the Roxbury and the Boulac area are different.

It is suggested that because the social structures of both areas are different, the patterns of delinquent behavior are also different. Putting it in a different way: Because the types of urbanization in both areas are different, the patterns of delinquent behavior are different. Thus, if a hypothesis may be generally suggested, one may say: "Different types of urbanization produce different patterns of delinquent behavior."

(2) We have found that neither the Roxbury area nor the Boulac area is an area of declining population. Thus, a delinquency area need not be an area of declining population.

(3) The assumption that urbanization as a way of life may be of different types - that is, urbanization of American society

is different from that of Egyptian society, or may also differ from that of English society or Russian society - needs further study.

This study, however, has proved that urbanization in Egyptian society and in American society similarly produces delinquency areas.

(4) The assumption needs to be further studied and empirically proved, that not only are lower-class people - such as those of the Roxbury and Boulac areas - in conflict with the hard facts of a very highly competitive life, but that also their values as a class are in conflict with other types of values which are imposed on them by outsiders from other classes: i.e., middle or upper classes.



A BRIEF AUTOBIOGRAPHY

I was born in Cairo, Egypt, on February 17, 1919, the son of Mr. and Mrs. Mohamed A. Ewies. I attended the Elementary School when I was five years old. At the age of eight, I joined the Primary School "OM Abbas" and graduated at the age of thirteen. Then I joined the "Khedivieh Secondary School" and the "El Thanawia El Lialia School," and received the Egyptian Baccalaureate Certificate in 1935. In 1937, I was among the first who joined the then newly opened "The Cairo School of Social Work," and in 1940 I obtained its diploma.

In 1939, I was chosen by the Dean of the School to work on the first project for the Vagrant Children of Cairo. In 1943, I was appointed as the director of "The Cairo Juvenile Social Services Bureau." I felt the necessity of the academic knowledge so that my colleagues and I might be able to cope with our work. How little time could we have to spare for this, then?

So, in 1946, I joined the evening classes of both the American University at Cairo and the British Institute. I joined the latter so that I might improve my English. In January, 1948, I obtained the Matriculation of the University of London. In February, 1948, I was invited by the British Council for a visit to the United Kingdom to study the British Probation System. I spent seven profitable months there.

In 1949, I was chosen with another as a delegate of "The

Egyptian Association for Social Studies," to attend the "Seminar of Social Studies for the Arab States at Beirut."

In January, 1951, I left for London to enter the University of London. In my spare time, I studied journalism and obtained the diploma of the London School of Journalism in 1952. I also joined the evening classes of Morley College for the academic year, 1951-1952, to study Modern Philosophy and the History of Science. My studies in London were interrupted in August, 1952, and I had to go home. However, I sat the examination for the General Certificate of Education, Advanced Level (University of London) in Cairo, in June, 1953, and passed this examination.

During my stay in London I was appointed by the Government, in April, 1951, as a Senior Probation Officer in the Juvenile Department of the Ministry of Social Affairs of Egypt.

During the period, 1939-1951, I supervised many students from both "The Cairo School of Social Work" and "The High Institute of Social Work for Girls" who were trained or who worked under me. I was invited to give lectures and talks in "The High Institute of Social Work for Girls," in "The American University at Cairo," in "The Cairo School of Social Work," and in public. I have worked with or helped in many social associations. I was among those who founded "The Association of Social Services for Underprivileged Neighborhoods at Boulac" in 1948.

In November, 1952, I was delegated by the recommendation of the Minister of Social Affairs to work - as an expert in

Social Work - in the Prime Minister's Office. I stayed in this office, in this capacity, until I left for the U.S.A. in August, 1953.

During my stay in the U.S.A., I obtained an A.M. degree from Boston University in June, 1954. As a resident of Norfolk House Center (since September, 1953), I started working with the first group of Negro boys who ever joined the House, as their leader. For almost three years I have enjoyed working with this group, "The Vipers," and it has been a thrilling and very productive experience for me.