

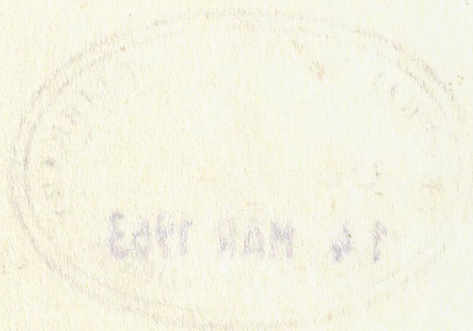


AS-020035

(176)

Juvenile Delinquency in the Higher Secondary
Schools of Dehra Dun as a result of the
Influx of Refugees.

By

Shrimati Dayal Pyari



CSL

' The onely stumbled for want of a lanthorne '

Henry Bates, 1647.

THE NAMES

East RAR AT



C O N T E N T S.

Preface	i
I Introduction	1
II Method and Scope of Study	36
III Case-histories	42
IV General Conclusions	102
V Epilogue	142.

Appendix.

Questionnaire to study Juvenile Delinquency.

(2)

Saharanpur on the south, PAURI GARHWAL on the east across the Ganga, Sirmaor state of Himachal Pradesh and Chakrata across the Yamuna on the west and by district Tehri Garhwal on the north. Chakrata Tahsil on the other hand consists of the area lying between the Yamuna and its tributary Tons and its main physical feature is the great ridge of water-shed between the two rivers. The Tahsil is surrounded by Tehri Garhwal district on the north and east, Tahsil Dehra Dun on south-east and Himachal Pradesh on the west.

The district has a fairly high rain-fall with an average of 76.33"; but there are no floods on account of excellent natural drainage and a porous soil. The climate is, therefore, moist and being sheltered from the summer hot winds and winter cold winds is less exposed to the extremes of temperatures.

From the social and cultural points of view the people of this district fall into ~~xxxxxx~~ two broad groups. The area known as Jaunsar Bawar comprising almost the whole of Chakrata Sub- Division has its own way of life entirely different from that of the Dun valley. The culture of Jaunsar Bawar presents highly interesting features from anthropological or social aspects of study but in as much as the area itself was not affected by the influx of the refugees it would not be necessary to consider it in the discussions which follow. The refugees almost exclusively settled in the Doon valley, where they wrought a great change.



The social and
cultural back-
ground.

The population of the Dun valley has been always rural as well as urban. Apart from the Municipalities and the Town Areas, the Society in ~~the~~ rest of the district is rural. The main industry is agriculture and its chief produce is rice and sugarcane. There is no pressure on land and the holdings are quite economical. Generally a cultivator can raise sufficient crop for his needs. The post-war rise in the prices of agricultural commodities enabled him to live a life of comparative peace and comfort. Like farmers all over the country, the Dun peasant is a contented, unambitious and simple man, who has to toil harder than his brother in the plains, to raise a crop on a hard and hilly soil.

The climate of Dehra Dun is particularly suited to the cultivation of tea and the district is dotted all over with tea gardens employing considerable labour. Another principal industry of the district is forestry which provides employment to a large number of people.

Thus rural society has upto now maintained simplicity in life, humility in behaviour and unenviability in character with no problems to be solved, no divergent ideologies to be reconciled or dissatisfaction to be removed.

The centres of urban population were before the partition, the principal cities and cantonments and a few townships then in their infancy. The cantonments started originally as small localities of military personnel and although after the war many

other people came to live there, the cantonments retained their basic pattern. There were certainly ^{their} a number of other establishments such as ~~the~~ shops and the cinemas run by civilians but they were primarily intended to serve the needs of the military.

The members of the armed forces lived a type of life that was, at its best, only an imitation of the English society. With their high salaries they were not confronted with ~~any~~ economic problems and a number of special facilities such as the supply of food-grains and consumer goods or liquor from military canteen enabled them to live a far better life than any other section of the society. Yet, on the eve of the partition, they had seen too much of the war and were tired. More than any other class of people they wanted respite from the arduous duties and were determined to make merry while the going was easy.

In the cities there were ~~only~~ two classes of society, the service class and the business community.

The war time boom had brought about a considerable increase of business; some of ^{men} the business/had amassed wealth so easily and in so short a period that they came to set store more by their vile tricks than by the cleanliness of their methods or reliability of their words or the integrity of their character. When the partition came the business bonanza had not ended. This class of society then by its very nature was indifferent to all except that which concerned it and was sceptical of all social and political reforms. Culturally, it had no special features, only it was a little more conservative than other classes of society. The business community was self-

(5)

satisfied and a ^{contented} ~~contented~~ class. It had no labour problems to solve or commercial difficulty to overcome. The labour class was mostly drawn from people from hills who were satisfied with little and were generally honest.

But the most peculiar feature of the urban life of Dehra Dun has always been the preponderance of the government officials, including military personnel. Apart from those who are posted here for some time there is a large number of persons who have retired from service and have grown roots here. They have acquired some property here, all have a comfortable house with a garden and a few pets; and their interests and amusements do not extend beyond these limits. They live a cloistered life, blissfully unaware of the changing times.

It was perhaps for these reasons as well as for its excellent climate that Dehra Dun came to have too good public schools, the Dun School and Colonel Brown's School on the pattern of English public schools. There were, of course, number of other educational institutions of the type met with elsewhere but the educational sphere too, on the eve of the partition, presented no special problem.

'Partition'
A Review.

And then the 'Partition' came. The ominous clouds of disturbances which had been gathering on the political horizon suddenly burst in the partition of the country into a havoc of communal frenzy. Communal relations in India were never so strained as during 1946-47 and never did distrust, hatred and fratricidal warfare of such unprecedented magnitude prevail in the country. From March to December 1947 an exodus



P R E F A C E

CSL

THIS investigation was undertaken on a scholarship from the Government of India for research in the humanities awarded to the author in October, 1954.

For sometime past there had been a steady deterioration in the general law and order situation in the district, particularly in the City. Especially noticeable were the facts that in the great majority of cases, the refugees were involved in some form or another, and that they were usually younger than others. They had come here bereft of most of their worldly possessions with a cynical despair towards the social values and the ability of the Government to rehabilitate them. Yet their attitude was, like the visible top of an iceberg, only a small part of their personality, not very significant in the larger context; for beneath the surface lay the dark huge mass of a troubled mind. It was, therefore, tempting to assume that the rise in the incidence of crime was another proof of saying that men were, after all, creatures of circumstance. It was another aspect of this problem, however, that offered to us a more interesting field of study. If the impact of these circumstances was so tremendous upon grown up minds, how much more was it bound to be on immature minds? This then was the question which posed itself before us, How were the young minds shaping themselves in the new circumstances?

This essay is a modest attempt to answer this question. Its purpose has been to observe juvenile delinquency in a limited sphere, as it is affected in the Higher Secondary Schools by the influx of refugees in this district. It lays no claim to spurious originality for the ideas expressed herein, and it must acknowledge its indebtedness to many



authors and workers in this field.

More explicit acknowledgement of the help they have given me must be made to Dr. R.N. Saksena, now Director of Institute of Social Sciences, Agra University, for his unfailing kindness, help and encouragement, and to the District Inspector of Schools, Principals of the various Higher Secondary Schools in Dehra Dun for their permission to use their official statements and to carry on this work in their institutions.

October 2, 1956

D.P.

CHAPTER I

I N T R O D U C T I O N .

Social, cultural
and economic
condition in
Dehra Dun.

The human personality is a complex interplay of various factors and its expression is moulded, to a certain extent even determined, by environment in which it grows. The refugee child who came to these parts of the country was not only a symbol of uprooted humanity and of political upheaval but also of a great social and cultural revolution. In order that this change may be appreciated it is necessary to study the environment into which the refugee child was so suddenly introduced.

It is a well recognised fact that its peculiar cultural atmosphere, social pattern and the economic set up of a place or region are largely the outcome of its geographical position and of historical development. In more than one respects Dehra Dun presents certain peculiar features to which it is necessary to call attention. We may, therefore, turn to a brief account of the physical features of the district, and to the social pattern and its economy as these existed on the eve of the partition and then proceed to mark the changes which were brought out as a result of the influx of refugees.

The Physical
Setting.

The district of Dehradun has an area of a little over 10.5 lacs acres, a very large part which consists of hills and valleys and rivers with abounding forests, all making this district a region of great natural beauty with salubrious climate all the year round. It is divided into two sub-divisions of Dehra Dun and Chakrata. Dehra Dun Tahsil comprises the Dun valley enclosed by Siwalik hills on the south, the Yamuna on the west, the outer Scarp of the Himalayas on the north. The Tahsil is bordered by district

of about four million people continued from West-Punjab, Sindh and N.W.F.P. There were Sikhs and Hindus from the Punjab and Sindh and Pathans from N.W.F.P., who had been driven out of their homes. Never in history were atrocities of such dimensions committed, never did fanaticism assume such heinous forms, never did men become so irrationally inhumane and never was the name of religion and patriotism so basely exploited.

All this happened because Muslim League had put the partition of the country as the price for its freedom and no consideration for the minority in the two states or ^{of the} ~~the~~ task involved in evacuating them from the danger spots could make the Muslim League turn from its demand for the partition of the country. The exodus of the Hindus from Pakistan to India far exceeded the fear of even the most pessimistic political leader and for a time consumed all the energies of the government in making this exodus as little difficult as possible and in rehabilitating the persons who had come here.

The Indian Independence Act, recognising the partition of India into two independent Dominions of India and Pakistan came into force on August 15, 1947. Exactly a year before, had begun with the great Calcutta Killing of August 16, 1946, the sorry tale of mass murder and arson, which was followed by Noakhali and Bihar. For some time the uncertainty about the exact line of demarcation between India and Pakistan caused further deterioration in the situation in the Punjab, N.W.F.P. and Bengal. There in the Muslim quarters, the embers of religious hatred were smouldering, as early as in March but the publication of



the Radcliffe Award on August 11, 1947, fanned these feelings into a terrible holocaust. On that day many Hindus living in the district gone to Pakistan became foreigners to the land of their birth; with one stroke all ties of culture and society, all bonds of affection had been snapped.

We are concerned in this study with the effect of the arrival of these people in our country. It is, therefore, necessary to know the background of their society and culture from which they were drawn.

Even since the beginning history the Punjab has been historically important, economically prosperous, politically less stable and culturally multi-coloured. Before the advent of the British, the Punjab had been historically the gateway to India. It has received not only bands after bands of invaders and conquerors but also repeated infusions of foreign culture and its people had, therefore, acquired remarkable degree of adaptability to the changing conditions. The people are sturdily built and being prosperous have not been very much interested in politics. The province was predominated by non-Muslims in financial and proprietary interests, in fact in every sphere except in numbers. According to the 1941 census, the Hindu-Sikh population of West Punjab was 32.04 lakhs, of N.W.F.P. 3.5 lakhs, and of Bahawalpur state, 2.4 lakhs, this making a total of 41.94 lakhs.

We may now take a bird's eye-view of situation in the district of Punjab reviewing them alphabetically for the sake of convenience.

ATTOCK was the last town of the Punjab on the Grand Trunk Road with 92.42% Muslim population. Even in March ~~in~~ 1947 the communal riots were of such nature and magnitude that the Hindus were not left in any doubt of their fate in case the partition was accepted by the political leaders of the country. The result was that the evaucations by the Hindus had began somewhat earlier in this district.



In BAHAWALPUR state the Nawab had assured the non-Muslims of safety but he went away to England and remained there till the end of September. The fury of the disturbances could not be checked beyond the first week of September and involved a huge loss of life.

In DERA ISMAIL KHAN with 87% Muslim population there was no great loss of life because of the assistance rendered by the authorities, particularly military, although the loss of property was considerable. Evacuation ^{by} of the Hindus had begun towards the close of August.

GUJRANWALA had a number of industrial centres chiefly in Komoke and Immabad, all controlled by the non-Muslims. There were practically no disturbances in March and April but, soon after the Boundary Award was given, stabbing cases began and the loss of life and property was widespread. The movement of the non-Muslim population began just after the Independenceday.

GUJRAT is on the southern border of Kashmir and then had a population of 85.58% Muslims. The relations between the two communities were, however, so cordial that the Hindus and Sikhs attended the Independenceday celebration with enthusiasm but soon afterwards the hooligans spread panic and the situation rapidly deteriorated.

In JHANG district unrest began soon after the 15th August. There was studied massacre and plunder on a mass scale, in some cases abetted by the authorities. On 25th August, the District Magistrate of Jhang issued orders banning movement of persons out of the district with any thing which they could not carry on their own persons.

JHELAM had a majority, 89%, of Muslims and the disturbances started soon after the announce-

announcement of the Boundary Award but one of the principal characteristics of the disturbances here was that the Muslims attacked the Hindus and the Sikhs not on the religious grounds but for personal gain.

In LAHORE 80% of labour and capital were controlled by non-Muslims. There were, however, very serious disturbances in March and the feelings between the communities were ~~xxxxx~~ very tense. Lahore was not only the metropolis administratively but also the political focus of the state. In August the Muslim League held meetings on 10th and 11th and immediately afterwards greater destruction and arson started. Movement of the Hindus started when Lahore was burning fiercely.

LYALLPUR on account of its agricultural prosperity had long been known as the granary of the country. It had always been financially rich, economically prosperous and industrially thriving district. On account of the excellent variety of cotton and wheat grown here, a large number of cotton ginning and weaving mills and flour mills had sprung up and there was a large number of grain markets, all controlled and managed by non-Muslims. Situation was calm till the 26th but afterwards there was the usual killing and looting.

In MIANWALI district with 86.7% of Muslim population there were no disturbances until September 1947 but soon afterwards the minority community was compelled to flee for life.

MONTGOMERY was inhabited by only 69% of Muslims but the Boundary Award had assigned a part of it to India which on account of the fact that the non-Muslims had proprietary
~~interax~~



agri-
interest in business and/culture infuriated the Muslims to a frenzy of murder and plunder and arson. The disturbances began just after the 11th August and the Hindus began their evacuation about that time.

Even in March the situation was bad in MULTAN. As the 15th August approached, the non-Muslim population intended to move out, but the lack of transport made their movement so difficult that emigration was hardly effective till the first week of October but by then the non-Muslims had immensely suffered in life and property in the district. There were large-scale forced conversions in the rural areas.

MUZAFFARGARH district had 86.42% of Muslim population. The disturbances began from the 20th August and reached their peak towards the first week of September. Mass conversion was chief feature of the disturbances and, therefore, the loss of life was not very great as compared to the loss of property.

RAWALPINDI had 80% Muslim population. The people had been known for their sturdy health and tall stature, qualities highly valued in the armed forces and for a long time the district had been a very good recruiting centre for the army and other defence services. Almost all villages, therefore, had retired military men possessing fire arms and skilled in using them. The March riots had been so serious here that most of the rural areas had been evacuated by the non-Muslims. The August disturbances were thus chiefly directed towards the cities. Arrival of the Muslims from the



east ^{at} aggravated the problem.

SHAHPUR had a population of 85% of Muslims and although Sikh villages were scattered throughout the district, the centres of the non-Muslim population were mainly the cities. Large scale conversion of the Hindus was also made while they were implicated in false cases and their property was either forfeited or otherwise usurped or plundered.

SHEIKHUPURA with 81.15% Muslims is the birth place of Guru Nanak and the Sikhs have been mainly responsible for all developments - agricultural or commercial. Disturbances began soon after the 11th August. The arrival of Muslim refugees and their behaviour incited the local Muslim population to persecute the Hindus. Meanwhile the means of communication and transport were not available to the non-Muslims and so with their meagre belongings the Hindus walked on foot on their journey out of the hell. The movement had begun by 20th August 1947.

The district of ~~SHALKOT~~ ^{SHALAKOT}, well known for its sport ^{goods} industry was ^Populated by 62% Muslims and was of historical and religious importance. On July 11, a bomb was thrown which created panic and by the 12th August plunder and arson and murder were so serious that the movement ^{of} of the people began.

Emigration from Sindh.

Before the port of Karachi assumed its present prosperity, the poverty of Sindh had been proverbial. It was a drag ~~ix~~ upon the central revenues. Without substantial help from the Government, the province could not ~~go~~ subsist at all. Above all until the very day of partition, politics in Sindh had always been unstable and uncertain.

Sindh had a population of 70.7% of Muslims and agriculture was the chief occupation of the people. Unlike the Punjab the Hindus in Sindh



were poor and dependent upon the rich Muslim population and their minority and poverty had made them docile by nature.

Sindh did not have any disturbance until the arrival of the Muslim refugees who began to wreak vengeance for their misfortunes on the non-Muslims. It is needless to say that in this they had the support of the local Muslim population. The result was that the existence of Hindus was not only made difficult but also rendered impossible. There was large scale looting and murder in which it is said that even the Government Officials took part. There was thus only one course left open to Hindus and that was to flee as fast they could. But when the exodus began on a large scale the Government started the permit system on the 15th February 1948 which put them to greater inconvenience and expense because only a few permits could be given in a day and that too after the submission of a clearance certificate. Further-more despite Indo-Pak Agreement the emigrants were searched at the border and many of their belongings confiscated. The authorities were indifferent and helpless and the Hindus greatly suffered.

Nevertheless there was no large loss of life in Sindh although the loss of property was considerable. More than 83% of the Hindu population left Sindh and the remaining are still inclined to do so.

Emigration
from the
N.W.F.P.

Inhabited by tall and sturdy people, proud and bold, indifferent to all personal risk, adventurous, the people of N.W.F.P. are a mixture of opposites in their nature, kind and cruel, extravagant and extortionate, loyal and vindictive to the same degree.

The province is populated by 91.7 percent



of Muslims. The Hindus were in helpless minority living chiefly in the urban areas and paying approximately 80 percent of the income-tax of the province. Besides the financial power wielded by the Hindus the political reins of the province were held by the Congress Party under the leadership of the Khan brothers and accession of the N.W.F.P. to Pakistan was more a matter of chance than a part of calculated plan. The issue should have indeed been decided by the provincial assembly but Mr. Jinnah succeeded in getting the approval of his suggestion for referendum on the ground that the assembly with the Congress predominance was not the real representative of the people. The Pathans had already set forth a claim for an independent state for themselves and so in the referendum there would have been three alternatives before the people - accession to India, accession to Pakistan and the formation of an independent Pathanistan but the Governor-General having refused to consider the third alternative, there remained before the people only two proposals. Bitterly frustrated, many people did not even go to polls and this fact contributed in a large measure to the Muslim League victory and so the N.W.F.P. went to Pakistan.

The success of arousing the Muslim Pathan of N.W.F.P. to religious hatred and communal fanaticism, to murder and plunder of Hindus is due to the Muslim League. The distance between N.W.F.P. and the Indian border, the lack of transport and the absence of security measures earlier than the end of January 1948 were some of the many difficulties which beset the non-Muslim emigrant on his way to India and many deeds of bravery and sacrifice and suffering were performed on that journey. But between August 1947 and January 1948 there was an orgy of destruction of life and property.

The influx of
refugees in
India.

"The persecuted minorities," Says Jacques Vernat



in 'The Refugee in the Post war World', "fled en masse from their burning towns and villages, leaving behind their kith and kin who were slaughtered by the thousand." The refugees stormed every means of transport, crowding on the roofs of ever-loaded railway carriages and using every available vehicle; a great number fled on foot at the cost of indescribable suffering, often fatal. It is the biggest migration of a population our era has known, perhaps the biggest of all times.

The movement began towards the end of August and the early part of September 1947, and in 42 days (September 18 to October 29), 24 non-Muslim foot columns, 8,49,000 strong with hundreds of bullock-carts and heads of cattle had crossed the border into India. The railways between August 27 and November 6, 1947 carried 13,62,000 non-Muslims into India. Motor transport in one month alone consumed a million gallons of gasoline, while chartered air crafts flew over 21,000 non-Muslims into India upto November 21. At the same time evacuation from Sind had been proceeding by sea, and rail. By November 21, nearly 133,000 non-Muslim evacuees had been cleared from Sind by steamer and country craft. From Hyderabad (Sind) two trains ran for a long time daily carrying refugees to Jodhpur.

Influx of
Refugees
in U.P.

Being Punjab's next-door neighbour, U.P. was naturally most affected part of the country, and although the refugees gradually spread all over the country, it was here that most of them made their permanent home. On December 1, 1947 there were nearly 2,80,000 persons, and in 1948 421,340; by 1951 this figure had risen to 4,75,772.

In western
district and
in Dehra Dun

The western districts of U.P. particularly Dehra Dun, Saharanpur, Meerut and Agra being nearer to the abandoned areas and having a somewhat

similar climate attracted evacuees most. population statistics show that about 60% of displaced persons have been concentrated in the eight western districts of this state. Dehra Dun by virtue of its proximity and climatic affinity to the affected areas was the most favoured spot for them, particularly those from Bannu, Kohat and Peshawar. The number of refugees from West Pakistan, who entered Dehra Dun, is as follows:-

1946	229
1947	30,005
1948	20,907
1949	15
1950	10
1951	1

In 1948, the total refugee population in the district was 51,106, in 1950, 44,558, and in 1951 it was 47,180. The fall off in refugee population after 1948 can be explained by the movement of refugees out of this district firstly because it offered them little scope for employment and secondly the town itself afforded poor living accomodation.

The aftermath of Partition.

Homeless, jobless and penniless, the immigrants had naturally to face a host of difficulties in the beginning, but their primary needs were food and shelter, clothing and gainful employment. If in these spheres of life the struggle for existence was keenest for the refugees, it was also in these aspects that their coming directly ^{impinged} ~~unpinged~~ upon the lives of the other people of the district. In the rigours of food rationing, in the acuter shortage of housing accomodation, and in the encroachment by the refugees on local, particularly small-scale business, but above all in the attitude of refugees towards it, the local population felt that its

charity and sympathy were misplaced at least in some instances, and that the influx of refugees had brought in its train more difficulties than blessings.

The food problem.

Even before the partition the country was importing food grains to feed its teeming millions, but now with the exclusion of parts of the Punjab and Bengal the food problem became very acute. The Government had, therefore, to make the existing rules of food grain rationing more rigid by framing new rules and to import food grains in greater quantities. The country on the whole was sincerely sympathetic towards the refugees but there was a lurking suspicion in the minds of the people that it was due to refugees that they had to undergo these hardships.

Housing Problem.

There was an acute shortage of residential accommodation. This problem assumed a colossal magnitude as by day the stream of migration increased in volume. These refugees are scattered in the city proper and its vicinity. At first the refugees were accommodated by charitable persons, but as their number increased, other provisions had to be made. But the problem was aggravated by two factors: one, by the offering of very lucrative "pugaree" by the rich refugees to the landlords, and two, the behaviour of the refugees as the most privileged guests, first forcibly or unlawfully taking possession of the houses and later refusing to pay rents or harassing the landlords in various ways, and otherwise uncouth behaviour towards people. The first factor caused an inordinate increase in the rents of the houses and took away this type of accommodation out of the reach of the ordinary refugee, while the second circumstance developed a sort of resentment towards the refugees on part of the local inhabitants.

Some occupied the houses vacated by the Muslims who had fled to Pakistan, or some managed to rent a quarter even some of the well-to-do among them purchased houses which were lying vacant when they came to Dehra Dun. But the major section of the refugees is to be found living in camps and colonies constructed by the Government.

With the influx of refugees, the Government found it necessary to convert the military barracks of Prem Nagar into a Refugee Relief Camp. The character of this Camp has now changed. It has now been given the status of township and the refugees have been allotted houses as owners in ^{partial} ~~partial~~ settlement of their claims for abandoned property in Pakistan.

Further, the U.P. Government started a colonization scheme, under which five colonies providing the following accomodation came into being:

Colonies.	Shop- cum- residence	B- Type	Stalls.
Patel Nagar	300	30	175
Govind Nagar	48	45	-
Rishikesh	120	-	70
Choharpur	100	-	-
Prem Nagar	1,263	-	-

'Shop- cum - residence' quarters consist of two rooms, 16' x 19' each, with a verandah on either side, and B. Types are single - roomed quarters with a verandah on either side without any bath room. Bath rooms and water taps are all common. The distinction between these two types of accomodations consists in nothing more than in number of rooms.

Civil lines is the preserve of the well- to- do



but Karanpur has the largest refugee population in the city and is typical of the conditions prevailing in other quarters of the city. It is a very old part of the city and was predominantly inhabited by the Muslims who left their houses vacant when they fled to Pakistan during communal disturbances. These houses are small, dirty, often delapidated, ill-ventilated and in a poor state of over - all existence. Usually a house is occupied by two families, having 12 members on the average.

The population of the city of Dehra Dun in 1941, was 44,558; in 1951 it rose to 1,16,404 and if the population of the cantonment area is also added to it, this figure would be 1,44,216. It has been estimated that out of the refugee population of forty-eight thousand, nearly 12,000 are living in the various colonies and camps, about 30,000 within the municipal limits of the city which the rest are scattered throughout the district. This fact alone was bound to have far reaching consequences on every aspect of life in the city. One result we have already noted was shortage of housing accommodation; another was over-crowding of families in the houses; and the third was the development of insanitary conditions in general in the city. But besides these ^{who} could find some shelter there always remained a considerable number which put up a poorly improvised camp by the road side.

The Economic Problem.

Every war brings in its wake economic depression and mass unemployment. World War II, which had just then ended was no exception. Partition of the country, coming at such time, doubly increased the misery of the people; those who had lived here no less than those who came suffered, and the difficulty of the Government in finding

employment for a large number of people who had been driven into this country was greatly increased. The Government did much to alleviate the sufferings of the refugees, by usefully employing them as best it could. It also extended financial aid to help them start small- scale industries to enable them to earn their living, but this help was abused in many cases.

This economic crisis was undoubtedly brought about by exclusive concentration of the refugees in the city and their utter dependence upon non-agricultural occupations. The census figures of 1951 definitely show that the character of the refugee population is essentially urban; out of the total number of 47,180 refugees, the urban population was 45,737 while the rural population was only 1,443. This point is also evident from their occupational distribution, as given below:

1. Cultivators of land, wholly or mainly owned, and their dependents.	218
2. Cultivators of land, wholly or mainly unowned, and their dependents.	281
3. Cultivating labourers and their dependents.	33
4. Non-cultivating owners of land; agricultural rentier and their dependents	91
5. Production other than agricultural	7,220
6. Commerce	18,634
7. Transport	3,053
8. Other services and miscellaneous sources	<u>17,600</u>
	<u>47,180</u>

It is, therefore, evident that the refugees in Dehra Dun are mostly business-men, industrialists, or given to other non-agricultural pursuits.

The refugees established one business or the

other which expanded the market without any corresponding increase in the business. The economic factor started working and the marginal enterprisers had to close down their business. The crisis was aggravated by the high figure of unemployment.

The refugees who came here were, as seen above, mostly drawn from the business class and the Muslims who went way to Pakistan mostly belonged to the labour class, and the vacuum could not be filled.

In such a transitory period it was difficult for any one to start any work. Those who had sufficient money to invest in business migrated to other places where they could get better returns. In this district there are neither industrial concerns or business organisations nor large Government offices which could take up the working class or the clerical personnel. Only manual labour offers scope, but this is to be found only in forests and quarries. Many refugees families earn their livelihood by picking ^lome-stones in the Tons river. Refugee women from Prem Nagar camp and Panditwari in cantonment took up picking tea in East Hope Town and Rajendra Nagar Tea Estates, but all these were seasonal occupations yielding a pittance of an income.

Any business was good enough for a community which had no work but which refused to beg on the streets or depend upon public charity. No work was too hard to deter such people, ^{none} ~~were~~ so humble or low as to discourage them. As vegetables ^{private} and ~~finds~~ ^{vendors} ~~vendors~~, as news-paper agents, cloth-sellers, hawkers of toilet goods or tit bits or home-made confectionaries, as grocers, as tangawalas or taxi drivers, managers of transport companies, as petty

restaurateurs, as masons and carpenters, these people could be seen anywhere and everywhere making for themselves a permanent place in the life of Dehra Dun people. These were the sure signs that independently of the Government aid the refugees would rehabilitate themselves.

Yet in search of work they could not get, they sometimes wandered into the darker alleys of life. An excise officer who has a long experience of dealing with such offenders told us that illicit distillation of liquor and its clandestine sale had increased many fold by the influx of refugees, where as previously it was confined to the hilly people operating on the outskirts of the city and suburbs. A reputable social worker confided to us that there had been a marked increase in social vice among the refugee population. There can be no doubt, as our enquiries have shown, that in the first instance these avenues of business were explored just to earn a living but they proved so lucrative - and also because they involve less labour or intelligence - that most of them find it impossible to give up.

The Emotional upheaval.

The refugees had been up-rooted from their homes and had more often than not lost all that they had in this world. Their sufferings had considerably lessened their sense of social and moral obligation and the impact of such a mass of people upon a society, which had not yet recovered from the aftermath of war, was bound to be tremendous. It was both a shock and an awakening. The absence of a moral code among the refugees shocked the people here but their great, almost aggressive, vitality and their irresistible urge for living impressed them.

To the refugees the present meant all and the future very little, while the past was a memory

which they could not easily forget. The emotional upheaval, the sense of insecurity, the strangeness of environment and the memories of the past had created a mental conflict and an unrest but their inexhaustible and irresistible zest for living had spurred them to an all-out effort to gain a foot-hold in this half known world in which they were thrown. Morality and culture, in short the finer sensibilities of life, require leisure and peace of mind for cultivation and ^{at} this time the refugees could not pause to think over these notions. The bond of moralities had been loosened. Rough and crude behaviour, haughty and inconsiderate attitude, selfish and retationory spirit, perverted imagination and a disbelief of others characterised their personality and coloured their actions; each facet of their behaviour was the reflection of atrocities to which they had been subjected.

The effect of these conditions upon the family life was devastating. Even the most normal of families need to be within visiting distance of relatives or to be in close contact with intimate friends who may be called relative - substitutes. Upon these we rely for variety in companionship, for physical and material support in times of illness or other difficulty for emotional support when we are miserable and lonely, for encouragement when we are dependent and for stiffening when we are negligent. These are the guarantees of the maintenance of our cultural tradition and the safeguards against demoralisation. Each family is part of a constellation of relatives and old friends, that is to say, a fraction of a clan-like social group which is intermediate between it and the population at large. A family torn from this setting by migration to another part, or even by



being re-housed in a large new estate among strangers and with no communal life, will be deprived of this social support. If it already contains some element of instability, then in the reassorting of neighbours and play-fellows it is likely to be shunned or forced to associate with other less desirable families.

The effect of uprooting a family and planting it elsewhere among strangers has a two-fold effect upon the children: they are bereft of their habitual playmates, and they are cut off from their favourite relatives. Whereas in most cases, there is a primary bond of affection between the children and their parents these extra-familial severances will hardly matter: their parents are likely to make new friends and the children themselves new playmates. But where the relatives have become substitute-parents, or the child's human world is entirely centred upon its age-contemporaries, the removal may spell breakdown.

Caught at an age when the mind and personality are in making, the refugee children born the shadows of these troublous times as abnormal, sometimes delinquent behaviour.

The cultural background of refugees.

The refugees who came here were drawn from two classes of people: the rich business community who had fore-seen the danger and migrated earlier when the going was safe; they had been able to bring here with them enough movable property and money to enable them to tide over the period till they were suitably rehabilitated; but the great majority of the people came at a time when no property or money could be brought into the country and the people themselves were of the upper or lower middle classes. The latter class of people were suddenly faced with

a hardstruggle for their very existence. But generally speaking both classes of the people sprang from a background which apart from its prosperity, its sophistication and a great energy and zeal for good living, ^{had} ~~and~~ little to give by way of cultural refinements. Again the refugees were educationally backward because the accent in their life ~~had~~ always been on trade and business and the development of cultural activities was considered to be a profitless proposition, a needless luxury, unworthy of their consideration. In a sense, however, they were contented and although most of them were literate they had read just so much as ~~was~~ necessary for proficiency in their business and trade. The higher education was an uncommon feature of their achievements thus when they came here they were curt in conversation, rude and stern in behaviour, rough in manners and with an educational knowledge which was largely utilitarian.

The refugees in Dehra Dun came principally from the N.W.F.P. and the Punjab. The N.W.F.P. was the frontier of India and both its rugged terrain and frequent incursions of the tribal people resulting in kidnapping, looting and killing had made the lives of its tall and hefty people insecure and primitive. Nor could they escape the influence of the Muslim civilization with its 'purdah' system and exclusion of women from all social, political and economic activities; the home inescapably bound its women. Education naturally had little use to such people. Pushto was the common language of the people, and the Hindus too used it in conversation with Muslims; among themselves, however, they used a language which was a mixture of Punjabi and Pushto.

The Punjabi refugee was very different. He was hardy and industrious and more educated, but he was also fond of life and good living.

But in these parts of the country to which the refugees came, the educational situation was very different. There was greater literacy in the Punjab, as the following figures of literates in refugee population will show:-

Age group	Number of literates per thousand.	
	Male	Female
5	676	451
5 - 9	388	277
10- 14	714	567
15- 24	775	586

But general education, specially higher education, was more widespread in this state. Moreover the standard of education was also definitely higher. The refugees, therefore, faced great difficulties in adjusting themselves to their environment with their meagre educational equipment. ~~But~~ By force of circumstances, rather than by choice the refugees sent their children to school.

There were, however, other difficulties.also. The first of these difficulties was that of the language which was in a sense inevitable and beset them in conversation and study. In Punjab, the Punjabi was the spoken language and with men Urdu the language of their written communication, while Gurmukhi was with the women. Here it was Hindi which was both spoken and written by all and at that time of new gained freedom was tinged with a puritancial fanaticism which was not prepared to compromise. This immensely increased their difficulty. In spite of all efforts on their part, deficiency in children lingered on in the form of incorrect pronunciation.

The second difficulty was in regard to the

standard of education. they had received. The poor standard of education up to the higher secondary stage of the Punjab had become by-word of cheap education. It was a common thing for a student who had consistently failed at the examinations of the U.P. Board to take a chance in the Punjab and come off with flying colours. Specially the girls who had studied privately at home and the boys who could not do well in the schools turned to the Punjab Board for success. The difficulty, therefore, of the refugee students who joined the schools here can well be imagined. Most of them on this account found teaching beyond comprehension and consequently turned truants or took to more serious delinquent behaviour.

The third difficulty of adjustment was inherent in the circumstances. The refugee child, like any other child, was anxious to go to the school but the parent wanted him to turn to some trade or profession which could fetch some money. There was thus a conflict between child and parents and even if the child was allowed to go to the school usually he had also to sell vegetables or newspapers or to do something to support his family. This meant diversion from study. Often he was attracted by the glitter of gold and the thrill of the free and adventurous life and he was always willing to give up his studies on the slightest pretext. Even if he did not actually leave his school he could hardly concentrate on his studies because the focus of his attention had shifted from the school to the outside world. Indeed this attitude was infectious, for other children also were attracted by the exploits of the refugee child and many of them formed groups and indulged in activities, unsuited to their age.



The refugee children in general had neither the opportunity - in the family or in outer world- to develop in a congenial atmosphere, nor the moral resources to draw upon in such times of turmoil and mental conflict as they had to face on coming here. A feeling of frustration and inferiority complex, of shyness and a general reluctance to mingle with ^{other} children thus developed in them.

This had serious repercussions. Shut out from ventilation the mind became a suffocating room where the finer sensibilities were stifled. It developed into a tendency to brood on imaginary difficulties and the iniquities of life and engendered an attitude of resentment against the society which had so unjustly treated them. The next step was natural and led out to a path of abnormal behaviour.

The Refugee Family.

But before we consider such behaviour, we must turn to observe the refugee family as such more closely. So far we have seen the refugees, more or less as a class by themselves with its own special features, against the background of the society into which they were thrown. We must now turn our attention to its primary unit- the family.

For to the refugee child, as to any other child, the family was the microcosm of the world at large. The child turned to the family not only for its sustenance, physical and spiritual, or for protection but also for enabling it to find its way into the uncharted world outside. The lessons the child has learnt in the family, are bound to determine, more than any other factor, its outlook and attitude to the world. The conditions of the family in which a child is reared therefore deserve attention.

Its Size.

At least in one aspect the refugee family was like any other family. It had on an average five children, and with their parents and usually one other dependent relation, has eight to nine members.



The economic
condition of
the Family.

In most other respects, however, the refugee family was different from its neighbour here. This difference was particularly marked in their economic conditions. Whatever was its status the refugee family, before the partition, was living in its homeland adjusted to its economic environment. When it was uprooted and brought into entirely new surroundings, this balance was profoundly disturbed. Naturally the worst sufferers in this process was the class of rentiers, the people who had to leave behind their property and who were deprived by the partition of their principal, sometimes only, means of income. Unaccustomed to manual labour, it was this class of people which had to work hardest to contrive to make a living. But all classes of people were affected.

The economic condition of 150 refugee families studied in this survey is summarised in the table below:

<u>No.</u>	<u>Income Groups.</u>	<u>No. of families</u> <u>in the income</u> <u>group before</u> <u>partition.</u>	<u>No. of families in</u> <u>the income group</u> <u>after partition.</u>
I	ZERO	-	10
II	1 - 50	6	57
III	51 - 100	35	46
IV	100 - 150	17	17
V	151 - 200	15	4
VI	201 - 250	14	4
VII	251 - 300	17	6
VIII	301 - Above	<u>46</u> <u>150</u>	<u>6</u> <u>150</u>

It would thus appear that the lower economic groups were most affected by the partition. Before the partition, there was no family which had no income at all, but now there are ten such families.

Then the upper economic groups have descended to lower categories with the result that the number of families in the lower groups has increased; for example, in group II the number of families has increased from 6 to 57. In the last group (VIII) on the other hand, the number has fallen from 46 to 6.



Monthly Income
Of
The Family.

The average monthly income of the family consists of the wages and allowances of the head of the family and other members, and also income from other sources such as subsidiary occupation, land or other property, contribution from relatives, etc. The following table shows the distribution of families in the various groups according to their average monthly income:

<u>Serial No.</u>	<u>Income Groups.</u>	<u>No. of families.</u>	<u>Percentage.</u>
I	ZERO	10	6.5 %
II	1 to 50	57	38.6 %
III	51 to 100	46	30.8 %
IV	101 to 150	17	11.7 %
V	151 to 200	4	2.8 %
VI	201 to 250	4	2.8 %
VII	251 to 300	6	3.4 %
VIII	Above	6	3.4 %
		<u>150</u>	<u>100.0 %</u>

It is evident from the above table that 45.1 % families earn below Rs 51/- and 6.5 % of them do not earn at all and are wholly dependent on alms and savings. Only a very small portion, 3.4%, has a decent income, above Rs 300/- p.m.

The School
Atmosphere.

Apart from the family, the school is the most important influence which moulds the child. It is therefore necessary at this stage to refer to the conditions which were created in the school as a result of the influx of refugee students.

The first and most obvious result was the schools were over-crowded, and short of accommodation and equipment. At the time of 'partition' the schools were already running full classes, the arrival of batches upon batches of refugee students created a crisis from which education has not yet been able to recover. The haphazard way in which this happened aggravated the situation. The Government insisted that the refugee students be admitted in schools in as large numbers as possible. On the other hand in order to help the refugees bear the burden of

educating their children, the Government offered substantial aid in the form of freeships, half-free ships and other scholarships in respect of tuition fees. This measure again only had the effect of drawing very large number of refugee students to schools. The following statement of governmental aid in the last three years will bear out this point:

	No. & Nature of Concessions		Total amount Sanctioned.
	Free-ship.	Cash Grant.	
1953-54.	1461	2100	Rs 54,627-0-6
1954-55.	1766	2007	Rs 62,105-5-6
1955-56.	1355	1429	Rs 57,952-12-0

There are eleven higher secondary schools for boys and six for girls in Dehra Dun city. The following tables of figures of admissions of displaced students in some of the representative and more important schools shows of the city/this effect of influx of refugees in the educational field.

D.A.V. HIGHER SECONDARY SCHOOL.

<u>Year.</u>	<u>Total No. on roll.</u>	<u>No. of displaced students on roll in classes VI to X</u>	<u>Percentage of refugee students.</u>
1947-8	1180	308	26.1 %
1948-9	1274	366	28.7 %
1949-50	1052	215	20.4 %
1951-2	1152	205	17.8 %
1952-3	1287	295	22.9 %
1953-4	1367	282	20.6 %
1954-5	1592	284	17.8 %
1955-6	1768	261	14.7 %
1956-7	2070	297	14.3 %

A.P. MISSION BOYS' HIGHER SECONDARY SCHOOL

1947-8	856	204*	23.8 %
1948-9	848	180	21.2 %
1949-50	732	184	25.1 %
1950-51	715	158	22.0 %
1951-2	766	147	19.0 %
1952-3	857	138	16.1 %

* Figures represent total no. of refugee students.

The figures point to the conclusion, already indicated elsewhere in another connection, that the influx of

displaced students reached a peak figure in 1949 to 1950, but subsequent figures show that there has been a slow, but perceptible assimilation of refugees in the local population. The conclusion is true also in respect of the Girls' Schools, as the following figures for the Mahadevi Kanya Pathshala Intermediate College, the largest girls' institution in the city will show:

Year.	Total No. on roll in classes VI to XII	No. of refugee students.	Percentage of refugee students.
1947-8	955	-	0 %
1948-9	1207	139	11.5 %
1949-50	1164	183	15.7 %
1950-1	1052	176	16.7 %
1951-2	921	107	11.6 %
1952-3	786	76	9.6 %

And for Nari Shilp Mandir Girls' Higher Secondary School, these figures are:

1947-8	575*	53*	9.2 %
1948-9	650	214	32.8 %
1949-50	696	136	19.5 %
1950-51	739	203	27.4 %
1951-2	834	158	18.9 %
1952-3	910	180	19.8 %

* Figures represent total no. of students in classes I to XII.

Incidentally, it may be noticed that, as compared to boys, very few refugee girls joined the school during the year of partition, 1947-48. This is natural because in the disturbed conditions in which they came, the education of girls was given secondary importance.

But there are variations also. In some schools there was a higher rate of admission of refugee students from the very beginning which has been more or less maintained, as in Gandhi Higher Secondary School or in Sri Guru Nanak Public Higher Secondary School:

Gandhi Higher Secondary School.

Year.	No. of students on roll.	No. of refugee students.	Percentage of refugee student
1948-9	349	96	27.5 %
1949-50	315	76	24.1 %
1950-1	299	111	37.1 %
1951-2	319	90	28.2 %
1952-3	343	89	25.9 %

(32)

Sri Guru Nanak Public Higher Secondary School.

Year.	No. of students on roll.	No. of refugee students.	Percentage of refugee studen- ts.
1949-50	514	380	73.9 %
1950-51	574	301	52.4 %
1951-52	618	318	51.4 %
1952-53	631	344	54.5 %

The very high number of admissions in the Sri Guru Nanak Public Higher Secondary School is clearly due to its denominational character.

But in one school at least this trend was reversed for beginning with a trickle, the rate of admissions has gradually increased in volume.

Sadhu Ram Higher Secondary School.

1947-8	1015	166	16.3 %
1948-9	1205	255	21.1 %
1949-50	1262	297	23.5 %
1950-1	1146	318	27.7 %
1951-2	1151	318	27.6 %
1952-3	1106	412	37.2 %

The causes of this phenomenon, however, need not concern us, as they obviously have no bearing upon our problem.

The effect of this increase in the number of students was twofold. In the first place, additional sections of classes were opened in the existing institutions to accomodate the students; in the second, many new schools and colleges were opened. The government grants-in-aid to schools did not increase in proportion to their expansion with the result that they became more and more grossly inadequate in equipment and staff. Many a school began working on the shift system, classes being held from early morning till late evening. The first casualty in the process was the relationship between the teacher and his students which all but disappeared as an influence in the school life.



Growth of new
educational
institutions

The new institutions which grew up were generally of two ~~kinds~~ sorts. There were in the first category State-recognized institutions, which beginning as an off-shoot of some other institution or, which was more often the case, as an example of public enthusiasm and charity happened to linger on till they won State attention. Even then they taught only some subjects of study with an ill-paid staff working in poor buildings and with little equipment. But far and away the larger class consisted of the so-called unrecognized institutions which were set up by some private individuals with the ostensible purpose of preparing students for ~~this~~ ^{this} examination and that. Such schools attracted those students who could not be admitted in any school but largely those who had to give up their studies and ~~while~~ ^{while} being engaged in some other profession desired to attain a particular educational qualification. These schools had many defects, but none was more serious than that they completely lacked the cohesion and unity of school life. No genius loci inspired their students to a tradition of learning, and imbued them with esprit de corps.

Little check, if any, was exercised upon admission of refugee students. In most cases, an affidavit as to the previous educational qualification of the boy was all that was required for admission in a particular class. In many cases the guardian anxious for the child to make up the time lost on account of partition or even otherwise did not give correct facts in his affidavit. Then there was wide disparity in the standards of education between U.P. and the Punjab. Thus in any case, the child found himself misplaced in his school.

These circumstances seriously impaired the efficiency of teaching and gave rise to slipshod

Change in the
methods of learning.

methods of learning which may be noted as second effects of partition. For some time even before the partition, the school education had been marked by the appearance of 'guides to examinations', 'solutions of examination papers', summaries and keys of various text books', and a general decline in standard. The lack of adequate teaching in the class rooms, threw the boy more and more upon his own resources which inevitably led to these books, for after all he had to pass the examination. This period therefore saw a rapid increase in the production of such books. Of course, there was another reason too. The books brought to their authors a fair income to supplement their meagre salary. In most cases they were designed to do away with the necessity of elaborate teaching in the class room. Very often, there was on part of the teacher a discreet suggestion in favour of these books, which were more often than not of a very poor quality. There is no royal road to learning, is an old saying. It is generally recognized now that the lamentable standard of education is in a large measure due to these innovations in the methods of learning.

Laxity of
school discipline

The third effect of an influx of such a large mass of refugee students in the schools was laxity in the school discipline. This indiscipline among students is the bane of school life and has assumed such proportions that it is now attracting the attention of educationists, administrators and the general public alike. Students are by and by assuming the role of a privileged class in society. A demand for concessions to places of entertainment, a habit to 'cut' classes, a refusal to accept a decision against their liking even in sports, growth of party factions sometimes with a political bias, rowdiness in public, and a tendency to violence as a



manner of protest, and the development of a highly agitational and provocative temperament even on issues remotely allied to education, these are the symptoms of the same malady. At its root lies the fact that the teacher and the school have ceased to have any influence in the lives of the students partly on account of their own moral character, if one can say so without meaning any disparagement of their role, or rather more correctly lack of a moral character. But it must also be admitted that another equally important cause is our failure to canalize the surplus energy of youth into healthy and socially desirable forms of activity. A student is left to himself except for attendance at the classes and it is no surprise that he fritters away his energies in irrelevant pursuits. In the case of a student who had his home, friends and relations here, this influence of the school life could do little harm, for it was counterbalanced by the ^{stable} ~~state~~ background of the family and the society. But in the case of the refugees the family had been uprooted and had too many troubles of its own to bother for the child, and the society was alien. It thus came about that neither the home nor the school exercised any restraint upon the activities of the refugee child.

CHAPTER II.

METHOD AND SCOPE OF STUDY

In the last chapter an effort was made to draw in broad outlines a picture of the conditions resulting from the partition of the country. It showed the birth pangs a new and independent nation, a society in turmoil, the stress and strain of economic life, the disturbance in the minds of men. Yet it was always the society which loomed large in the picture, here with one aspect in relief, there another; the individual, particularly the child, remained in the background. We must now correct the perspective according to our problem. The child must come to the foreground. We must observe the effects of these conditions on the child's mind and try to determine whether they aggravated the abnormal behaviour in the child.

We know much more today about the impulses and surrounding conditions of juvenile delinquency than we did, say, fifty years ago. The pioneering researches of Healy, Burt, Lindner, Shaw and others have shed much light on the intricate processes of maladapted behaviour. It has come to be recognized now that the problems of human motivation and behaviour involve the study of man as well as society, of nature as well as nurture, of segments or "mechanisms" of the human mind as well as the total personality, of patterns of intimate social activity as well as larger areas of social process or masses of culture. Without recognition of this fact, bias must weaken the validity of both method and interpretation. It is in this context that the picture drawn in the previous chapter becomes relevant to our enquiry.

Before proceeding further, we should define the concept of delinquency as used in our inquiry



The concept of
juvenile delin-
quency.

Any child who commits even a single minor act in violation of the law is technically a delinquent. But for our purposes delinquency refers to repeated acts of a kind which when committed by persons beyond the statutory juvenile court age are punishable as crimes—except for a few instances of persistent stubbornness, truancy, running away, associating with immoral persons and the like.

Children who once or twice during the period of growing up in an excitingly attractive milieu steal a toy in a shop, sneak into a motion picture theatre, travel without ticket on the railway, play truant and the like and soon outgrow such peccadilloes are not true delinquents even though, technically, they have violated the law. Indeed, it is nowadays recognized that a certain amount of petty pilfering ~~occurs~~ occurs among many children around the age of six or seven and is to be expected as part of the process **of** trying their wings* Children appear to be no worse for very occasional and slight experimental deviations from socially acceptable norms of conduct. Since they soon voluntarily abandon such behaviour, their misconduct or maladaptation ~~is~~ cannot be deemed either habitual or symptomatic of deep—rooted causes**

Legal defini-
tion of Juven-
ile Delinquency.

The legal definition of juvenile delinquency does not completely coincide with that used by psychiatrists. Indeed the term juvenile delinquency has nowhere been defined in law. But there is a general agreement that this

* A. Gesell and F. L. Ilg.: "The Child Five to Ten, New York, Harper and Bros., 1946.

** Compare Burt's definition: "A child is to be regarded as technically a delinquent when his anti-social tendencies appear so grave that he becomes, or ought to become, the subject of official action." — The Young Delinquent, London, 1944.



term embraces non-adult offenders. The age of the juvenile and the nature of the offence committed by him are important considerations which enter to the legal definition of juvenile delinquency.

In law the juvenile is defined by an upper age limit, a lower age limit and an age based upon the concept of discernment.

According to section 82 I.P.C. nothing is an offence which is done by a child under seven years of age.

The concept of discernment is used in conjunction with the definition of the lower age limit of juvenile offenders. Section 83, I.P.C. lays down that nothing is an offence which is done by a child above seven years of age and under twelve, who has not attained sufficient maturity of understanding to judge the nature and consequences of his conduct on that occasion. ~~Sometimes~~

Sometimes within the juvenile age limit there is a distinction between a child and a young person. In India, the Bengal Children Act, the Madras Children Act and the Bombay Children Act (1924) subdivided juvenile offenders into two major categories, namely, child meaning a person under the age of 14 years and a young person meaning a person who is 14 years of age or over but under the age of 16 years.

In the areas to which the whipping Act or Special Children Acts are applicable, the upper age limit for juvenile offenders is 16 years, but in those areas where the Reformatory Schools Act operates the upper age limit is 15 years.

For these reasons, in our investigation we have considered an offender as juvenile if he is above seven years of age but under sixteen years. Since our investigation is largely concerned

The Scope
&
Applicability
of enquiry.

with students in the Higher Secondary Schools (the erstwhile High Schools and Intermediate Colleges), it would be obvious that, generally speaking, it is applicable to students from V to X standards. At a later stage, we refer to the average age of students in various classes in the schools of this district, but it will suffice here to note that although there are some juvenile students in higher classes upto XII (Intermediate) class also, it is more proper to regard them as adults.

The problem
of
methods.

The multiplicity of factors causing juvenile delinquency is the great difficulty which ~~besets~~ besets any investigator. He must, therefore, devise some methods to view the various factors in their proper perspective, to discern the more important among them from the general and indirect factors, or, in other words, he must be able to determine the degree of influence of various factors. Unless therefore he measures delinquents against a yardstick of non-delinquents, he is likely to be led astray in his conclusions.

The second difficulty arises out of complex interplay of these factors. In order to study a large enough sample of variables certain other sets of factors must first be "held constant". In deciding which such factors to equalize among the two groups in pairing off, delinquents and non-delinquents as a first steps toward their later detailed comparison, we have been guided principally by the aim of our study—to determine the effect on juvenile delinquency as a result of influx of refugees. But we have also had in view two other considerations; first, since the ultimate comparison should cover processes of personality and environment, the more general or cruder factors

should be controlled in matching; and second, those factors which typically affect a whole range of factors ought to be held constant. Overriding all these aims, however, was the practical difficulty of matching two series of a large number of human beings.

The working solution.

We further assumed that the effect of the refugee movement in consequence of partition of the country could be best seen among the refugees themselves. To a certain extent this was an oversimplification of the problem, for the impact of the refugees was also felt by the local people. But since the deviation from the normal character would be most pronounced in those directly affected by the partition, we have chosen the delinquents from among the refugee population. Secondly, because our aim was to study the effect of the refugee movement on juvenile delinquency, we contrasted the refugee delinquents with the non-refugee non-delinquents, taking care to see that the non-delinquents as far as possible came from similar circumstances of economic standards, cultural and religious ~~background~~ background, and living conditions.

Some hundred and fifty delinquents were studied with the help of ^a questionnaire which is given at the end of this ~~report~~ report. Their school reports were examined and where they have been brought before a court of law, their police or jail records looked into. In the latter case the probation officer was also consulted if the offender had been committed to his care.

The questionnaire represents in a convenient form the lines of approach to the problem. It does not follow that in all cases these very questions were put to the person contacted;

the questions ^{iv}rather show that information on these points was gathered during investigation.

It is not possible to describe in detail all the cases that we came across in our enquiry. In the next chapter, however, we give detailed case-histories of a few selected examples. Although no two cases of human behaviour are identical in all respects, we believe these cases sufficiently illustrate the general conclusions arrived at by us in this study.

The general conclusions of our study are summarised in Chapter IV, which is an analysis of our results. The final Chapter (ChapV) gives some suggestions as to the part the school and the teacher can play in the detection, control and treatment of juvenile delinquency.

CHAPTER III.

CASE & HISTORIES.

Case No.1

Name: R.S.

Age : 14 years.

Resident of Sialkot.

R.S., a young boy in his teens with an engaging appearance, comes of a good Khattri family which has obviously seen better days. Now his father, a middle-aged man of 45, is a hawker plying his little hand-drawn cart laden with fruits and vegetable. But back in the good old days before partition in his own home town of Sialkot, he ran a grocery and general merchandise shop, had a fairly good income and a house of his own. In August 1947, in the mounting ~~fer~~ fury of communal disturbances, along with his wife and four children he migrated to India. R.S. was then only seven.

For some time on coming here the family lived in the state organized refugee camps and then had to move from one house to another, but for the last four years it has been living in a two-roomed house in Mohalla Moti Bazar.

R.S. has two elder sisters—now both married—and three younger brothers, the last being just two years old.

When we first encountered R.S. a little over 2 years ago, he was studying in VI class; but apart from a certain waywardness in his behaviour gave little indication of his future career; now he seems to be firmly set on a career of crimes and has already served a ~~term~~ ^{term} in the jail

In this period was written the career of his life.

R.S. enjoys ^{robust} ~~robust~~ health and so far as could be ascertained, he has never ~~suffered~~ suffered any serious illness. His parents too are in excellent health, although since their arrival here, nutrition could not but be just sufficient.

The neighbourhood of R.S.'s home is ~~in~~ alive with exciting activities. Motibazar is in the heart of the city, and only a stone's throw from the main business centre of the town. But it is particularly well known for its junk shops and small bakeries and confectionery shops, and its houses of ill fame.

For a year before R.S. went to the school, he served as an apprentice to his father, accompanying him through the bazar on his rounds. Since he has joined the school, he does not like to do this work, but he has to take his father's place when he is ill. Sometimes his father would even compel his son to go with him if it is a Sunday or another holiday when R.S. did not have to go to school.

Now ^{we} ~~we~~ step from the street influences across the threshold into the home.

The family which at present consists of R.S.'s father and mother and four children — all boys — lives on the ground floor of a three-family tenement. They have two rooms for which they pay Rs.15/-. The verandah has been ^{improvised} ~~improvised~~ into a kitchen. There is a common water tap and lavatory for the group of families living in that house. Although in the past conditions were extremely crowded in this home, some having had to lie on the floor,



at present R.S. has a bed which he shares with his younger brother. The youngest child still sleeps with his mother while the other child with his father.

There is sufficiency of ~~his~~ furnishings in the home, enough to meet the necessities; no extras and no luxuries. R.S's father has to work hard to make both ends meet; his mother too works in her spare time to earn a modest sum by knitting or tailoring for her neighbours.

Let us now look into some personal aspects of what might be called under-the-roof situation in the home.

The behaviour standards in the household leaves ^{much} to be desired. R.S's father once prided himself on being a self-made man; now that the luck has turned against him he is somewhat demoralised. The mother came from a well-to-do agriculturist family, but the financial hardship has made her a grumbling, grudging woman. But she is a tidy house-keeper and makes every effort to keep herself and the home neat and clean.

Sometimes when R.S. misconducted himself, his father and mother resorted to "licking" him. More generally, however, they were lax in discipline. Neither of them made any great effort to control the boy. Father, of course, has very little time to care for the children.

In the home, mother is definitely the "boss." She directs the affairs of the family, controlling the spending and to a large extent the activities of the children.

The relationship of the boy's parents to each other has always been good. R.S's father had had little affection for him, and his

(45)

mother's attitude is well reflected in a casual comment that "the children make me tired." Despite this R.S. is strongly attached to her, but he is quite indifferent to his father whom he does not admire.

Let us now turn to a consideration of intellectual make-up of R.S.

R.S. had an average ~~intelligence~~ intelligence, his I.Q. being 98. His performance score is higher than his verbal ability. Evidently he learns largely through doing things with his hands.

The fact is ^{clearly} ~~clearly~~ reflected in his school history. When we first met R.S. he was in VI class. His achievement in arithmetic was particularly poor, and his school record showed that he was not much interested in his studies. He tended to slip into the make-believe land of phantasy. His approach to problems was erratic and haphazard.

R.S. was found to be an extrovert, both in action and in feeling. He is highly suggestible, that is easily swayed by an appeal to his feelings, even though against his better judgment. He is acquisitive, being inclined to acquire material things over and above any desire or any immediate need for them. He is adventuresome, that is, he has a strong impulse towards change, excitement, risk-taking.

R.S. is also defiant, destructive, and has a great inner need for power, superiority, and status. Yet he does not suffer from feelings of insecurity, anxiety, inferiority and frustration. He discharges his feelings vehemently, without much control, working them off in emotional outbursts

or "explosions".

His school history showed that R.S. had begun to be troublesome when he was some nine years of age. On account of frequent punishments that he received at his parent's hands, he had begun to disregard his elders and to behave impudently towards them. He liked his companions more than his family, although his love for his brothers and sisters continued to be great. But at times he quarrelled violently with his friends and in his relationship with his class mates was aggressively hostile unless he had his own way with them.

Being dis-satisfied with the home conditions the child sought satisfaction in the school and was at first very much interested not only in studies but also in other aspects of the school programme. But, as he himself said, the treatment at home disturbed his mental equilibrium, so much so that he even felt disinterested in going to school. Somehow he felt that he would be happier if he was transferred to another school and a vague hope often made him stay away from school. R.S. was then hardly nine.

It was in this period that an older boy showed him how easy it was to pick this article or that unnoticed from the crowded shop. R.S. thought it great fun and adventure, but soon it grew upon him as an irresistible force.

Two years ago, while lifting a book from a book shop, he was caught and handed over to the police. R.S.'s explanation was that he had no money to buy the book which



he had needed so badly. But the book was of a much higher standard than could be of use to him, and he therefore found himself convicted by a court of law. He was, however, let off on probation of good conduct. After his release he relapsed into his previous society and was soon arrested for breaking into his neighbour's house while he was away to a night show of the cinema. This time R.S. was awarded a ^{term of} six months rigorous imprisonment.

CASE NO.2

Name: A.N.

Age : 13 years.

Resident of Kohat.

A.N. comes of a small middle-class family, His father, who was a municipal clerk before he came here, migrated with his wife and two children in 1947 just before the disturbances began. At first he had to depend upon the generosity of some of his friends who were more fortunate and who could help him find ill paid temporary jobs. But he was a hard-working man and soon started on his own as a cloth merchant. As yet he has not been able to have a permanent shop, for that requires paying a considerable sum as "pugree" he cannot afford. So on the door steps of a banking house in Paltan Bazar, he spreads his cloth shop and in the night he collects his merchandise in a bag and returns home.

The family is small, A.N. being the eldest child in the family. His own mother died when he was three, but his father re-married, and A.N. has now a step-mother and a step brother.

They all live in a single room in Mohalla Khurbhura, which is part of a large house, accomodating some six or seven families. They use the public water tap just outside their room, and the public lavatory a furlong down the lane.

It is a crowded and dirty part of the Mohalla where they live. At the water tap as they would await their turn, men and women would discuss the day's gossip ^{often} ~~and then~~ leading to frayed tempers and dirty abusive behaviour. Opposite A.N.'s house lives a washerman who usually returns home dead drunk and it is touch and go with him to make him violent towards his wife and ~~children~~ children. In calmer moments he would drift wistfully into a dream land and would tell his hearers what he would have done if he had greater power. Then there are the streets urchins who play with marbles all the day, and few, if any, go to the school. Most of them smoke, and in their games stray far away from their homes, sometimes returning only after night-fall.

A.N. looked at this scene and was disgusted. He scorned the company of these boys whom he considered his inferiors in all respects. But his step mother was harsh to him and made a ~~distinction~~ distinction between him and her own child which hurt him, particularly because he loved his brother. But ^{had} he _{to} do all sorts of work in the house and did not have even a bed to sleep. He had to make his bed on the floor.

But he joined the school as a normal child. When we first encountered A.N., he had just left the V class, and was 13. He had been withdrawn from the school because he had twice failed to pass the V class. But A.N. told us that his failure was entirely due to the fact that he had to do all chores in the house which left him no time for study.

A.N. was a boy with normal intelligence, his I.Q. being 92. At the school he was poor in the languages and in arithmetic, but was fairly well up in drawing. His teachers however told us that he was careless, impudent, lazy and inattentive. To his own school mates, he was almost a 'terror'. He would play practical jokes upon many smaller boys and evidently took delight in frightening them out of their wits.

In the home the necessities of the family are just met by the income of his father. The family is poverty-stricken, but it manages to keep its head above water. However, for a long time they had not known the little amenities of life, which relieve its hardness. Though they all had good health, they had not had milk or fruits or other delicacies. Even in what the family could afford, A.N. had a meagre share. His turn came last, sometimes it would not come at all.

One thing A.N. found impossible to understand. Why should his father who earned all the family income let his mother persecute him? Was he not his own son? Why should he be just a meek lamb before her and why should he

be so indifferent to what went on in the ~~house~~ house?

A.N. began by trying to find some excuse to stay away from home as long as he could in the day. When he joined the school he sought refuge there, but soon he turned away from it, and began to truant slowly he slipped away into bad company, and came to lead the band of street urchins whom he had once detested.

While yet a student of 3rd class, A.N. had fought with a boy and had even attacked him with a pocket-knife. Fortunately, before he could do great harm to the boy, he was caught but A.N. had then thrashing of his life. He was then barely 9 years.

His ^{acquaintance} ~~acquaintance~~ with professional crime came about in a different way. After he had been withdrawn from the school, he became such a great nuisance to the family that he was told to fend for himself. He found a job as a menial servant in a distant quarter of the city. There was also another servant with that family and he used to steal money occasionally but who remained unsuspected because he had been so long with the family that it had come to have an implicit faith in his honesty. He used to share the booty with A.N. whenever he suspected detection, so that A.N. might not speak out. But one day the ~~in~~ mistress of the house forgot her gold ring in the bath room, and the older servant quietly picked it. The disappearance of the ring was soon noticed, and the servant

servants began to be closely questioned. Fearing that he ~~may~~^{might} be discovered, he put the ring in a match box and placed it in the pocket of his shirt, A.N. had kept in the Verandah. The mistress called both servants and questioned them about the ring. A.N., innocent as he was, pleaded complete ignorance and offered to let a search of his person being made. Of course, there was nothing incriminating on him, but then the other servant suggested that A.N's shirt might also be searched. That was done, but there was nothing in it except the match-box and a few annas. The match box was being returned to the pocket when it made a dull sound. More out of curiosity than suspicion, it was opened and out came the ring. The situation atonce changed, and the boy, (A.N.) was duly handed over to the police.

Later when we met A.N. in the jail, he had already spent some months. He was bitterly resentful against all and said that finding that truth and honesty did not pay he had vowed to make crime the career of his life, and he told us with a malicious delight that he had already learnt many tricks of the trade.

At about the age of eight, A.N. was ~~was~~ introduced by a somewhat older boy to sex plays with other boys. He is now a homosexual, and the short jail life has given him a further impetus in this direction.

Since no one, not even his father was prepared to stand as a surety for him, A.N. has not been released on probation.

CASE No. 3

Name: R.L.

Age : 12 years.

Resident of Lyallpur.

R.L. was barely five when his father had migrated with his family to Dehra Dun in 1947. Some thirty years ago, his father had moved from the village to the town, built up a good tailoring business and acquired some property in the city. When partition came and he had to leave Lyallpur, all that was lost. Whatever money he could take away with him was spent in his journey to this place. Slowly on coming here he picked up again the strands of life and set up a small tailoring shop in Mohalla Laxman Chowk. He has a steady, though meagre, income which is just sufficient to meet his needs.

R.L.'s mother had died when he was four, but his father did not remarry in spite of the entreaties of R.L.'s grandmother for, so we were told, his father was deeply attached to the boy's mother. For sometime the shock of his bereavement had greatly disturbed his father, but he gradually settled down to normalcy. He was a quiet, soft-spoken man and lenient to a fault. When R.L.'s mother died, he became all the more solicitous of the boy's needs and comforts and went out of his way to please him and enable the child not to miss his mother. R.L.'s own grandmother was alive and was the house keeper, but on account of her age she could really do little to care for the children. R.L. ~~has~~ had four elder

elder brothers and an elder sister.

They all lived in a small three roomed house which had a kitchen, a bath room and a lavatory. The furnishings in the house are sufficient.

All of them enjoy good health. But as a child, R.L. suffered from frequent colds and coughs and perhaps it was because of this fact, that he was his mother's favourite.

Before he went to school, R.L. used to be sent with his father to his tailoring shop. Thus he unwittingly made an early entry into the company of much older persons, — workers, mostly illiterate, who were employed by his father. From them he learnt the ways of the world and ^{from} their vulgar ways and conversations he easily acquired many dirty habits and thoughts. It was intended that under the observation of his father the boy would read the alphabets before he could be sent to school. But the father remained busy with his work and naturally had no time to look after the child. In fact the child was sent away with his father, so that the boy would not be troublesome at home for his grandmother could not keep any control over him. R.L. noticed there that his father managed to ^{save} ~~some~~ cloth from the piece his customers had given him ^{for} sewing and used it for his own purpose. Though he himself or his father did not realize it, he thus learnt the basic element of theft.

R.L. joined the school when he was seven, having spent two years at his



father's shop. But he did not like it and used to run away from the school on the slightest pretext. When his father rebuked him for leaving school and coming to him time and again R.L. spent the time roaming about in the bazar with his friends. That he found far more interesting than the school. When we first met R.L., he was studying in the V class, and was already twelve. Last year he had been detained in this class on account of his bad school record. He had failed to put in reasonable attendance at the school, and had very poor achievements in all the subjects of the curriculum.

His teachers told us that the boy was not unintelligent, for he could arrange buntings and the flowers for some celebration in a way no other boy could. In fact his I.Q. was 106. But he was uncertain and moody. He would take up a work with the greatest zeal, get fed up with it in the middle of the work and would leave every thing in a mess, as if he had never started on it. So it was with his studies also. He could not sustain interest in any subject for long, and after sometimes he looked for a change. So also it was with the way he made friends and left them.

Once when he was just eight years old, he had stolen a book from the ~~stolen~~ satchel of another boy. After he had done it, he had not probably given it another ~~and~~ thought, but he was surprised and shocked when he was beaten on the the discovery of the theft. On another occasion he had felt such great resentment against a teacher who rebuked him for not having done home work that ^{he} took

away the bell from his cycle. But he was again caught and given a good beating.

When R.L. failed in the second attempt to pass the V class, his father withdrew him from school and asked him to assist him and learn the art of tailoring. R.L. was dexterous with the scissor and the tape, but was no longer interested in tailoring, or in the company of the assistants of his father. His field had grown wider. He soon began to frequent the cinemas and cultivated expensive habits. These required more money than his father could spare.

R.L.'s father had business relations with many cloth stores and the boy was sometimes sent to fetch the piece of cloth a customer had approved for sewing. One day R.L. took the piece the draper gave him, but while passing a customer at the counter he tried to slip another bundle of cloth in his bag. He had expected that in the ^{the} crowd of customers he could remain unnoticed. But he failed and he was caught red-handed and given over to the police. He was convicted by a court of law but was let off after admonition.

He now felt disgusted with all the world, his family and others. He used to remain at house and there he fell in love with a girl neighbour and when she went away he was driven to distraction. He had been introduced to sex play much earlier by a much older assistant at his father's shop and when he was barely fourteen began going to brothels and committed thefts to pay for them.

Only a month ago, he was found removing a box from the railway ^W waiting room and sentenced to five years' detention. In the jail



we have been informed that his interest in tailoring has been revived and that generally R.L. is proving himself useful there.

Case No.4

Name : R.C.

Age : 12 years.

Resident of Rawalpindi.

R.C. is a boy of ten and is the youngest son of an electrician-lines man in the local electric supply company. His father is a middle-aged man of 35, and has been employed with this company ever since he came here. His pay at present is about Rs.100/- which is sufficient to meet the needs of his family which consists of his wife and three children.

They live in a small three-room -ed house for which they pay Rs.20/-, but the locality—Indar Road—is one of the better known quarters of the city. In fact, it is not an independent house at all but is an outhouse of a big bungalow of a flourishing lawyer, also a refugee, from N.W.F.P. They use the lavatory meant for the servants of the household and draw water at the tap near the kitchen house.

On the whole the family has fared well in the partition. Back in his own home town of Rawalpindi, R.C's father earned a modest living ~~and~~ as an electrician-fitter in a mechanical engineering firm, and had lived in a rented house. For he really belonged to the country and his father was an agriculturist of no mean status. He had come to the city for school, and the city had caught his fancy. He determined to study and following the bent of his mind joined the firm

(57)

first as an apprentice and rose to be an honoured employee of the firm. The technical experience stood him in good stead and soon ~~after~~ after he came here in September 1947, he was able to get an employment with the present company.

R.C's father had married young and even ~~now~~ ^{now}, more than fifteen years later, is happily devoted to his wife. In his own words, theirs was a 'love match', and R.C's only complaint is that they are so much attached to each other that all other things—even the children—come afterwards. For some strange reason, R.C. feels that he is not their first concern as are other children with their parents. We have had an opportunity of coming into close contact with the family and we are convinced that although the relationship between his parents is very deeply tender and loving, R.C's feeling is but an unreasoning suspicion, or perhaps his jealousy of his mother ^{for} ^{so} giving ^{so} much of herself to his father.

In fact, whatever might have been the case with other children in the family, R.C. had the least cause for any such grievance. Apart from being the youngest and therefore receiving greater attention than his elder brothers, R.C. was an intelligent, lively child. His father had set his hopes on him, and had determined to give him the best he could afford. Indeed he had gone beyond his means and sent R.C. to a convent school in the beginning.

But R.C. was struck with the contrast between himself and his school mates. Most of the other children in the school came from rich families. They came dressed in fine clothes and accompanied by their liveried servants. R.C. was almost friendless in this alien world, resentful that his parents should have been able to do so little for him. R.C. began demanding this thing and that of his parents, and when they failed to satisfy his requirements, he was the more embittered towards them. Slowly he began to run away from the school and to remove books and coloured pencils from the school bags of his class mates. On one occasion, R.C. was caught red-handed and caned publicly. His anger and shame then only made him more defiant of the school authority, more hostile towards his class mates.

The result was that after nearly two years at the convent school, R.C. was withdrawn and sent to a regular school. R.C.'s attitude did not change; if any thing, it ~~showed~~ showed evidence of greater hostility to the school and its environment. R.C. believed he had been ^{disgraced} ~~disgraced~~, and considered his school mates as his inferiors. There were other difficulties too. R.C. was poor in Arithmetic and History and Hindi which was compulsory. His father himself knew Urdu and not Hindi and his mother Gurmukhi, in the family only Punjabi was spoken. His convent education had given him some advantage in speaking English, but he hardly knew even the most elementary Hindi. R.C. had unconsci-



ously imbibed something of the discipline, cleanliness, and smartness of the convent school education and he despised his class fellows who were far below those standards. Even the teachers failed to impress him. He shunned school and began to spend most of his time in the company ^{of a} few select friends outside the school. He began to visit cinemas and other places of entertainment. When he got no money from his ~~home~~ parents, he began to steal money from his home or books from the library or from other students desks and sell them as second-hand books.

Usually his wanderings took him far away from his home or school. He would take a bicycle on hire and roam about all day on it ~~in~~ to various places. On some occasions he would stay with his friends to ^{at} lunch and dinner. Sometimes his father after he returned from his duties would set out in search of the boy ~~in~~ and find him in the house of his friend. According to R.C., on these occasions he was dragged home and beaten, which made him all the more determined to go his own way. Then he began coming late in the night, sometimes staying away couple of days altogether.

R.C. ^{is} however good at sports and it is usual to find him on the playing field with his friends who are usually much older to him.

But R.C. has a volatile temper and among his companions known to be an unpredictable friend. On one occasion, R.C. lost a doubles badminton match. He roundly ~~abused~~ abused his own partner for his mistakes and when his friend remonstrated he quarreled with



him, tore his hair and shirt.

At the same time, if a suggestion caught his imagination, R.C. would throw himself into it without another thought. There was a cricket match one day in the school, and the spectators had left their bicycles nearby as they stood ^watching the game. One of his friends suggested that it would be very convenient if they could pinch a cycle from the great number lying about there. It was not very difficult, for the spectators' eyes were turned to the game; and it was ^a remote chance that the owner of the machine was also in the last row of the spectators near them. R.C. approved the plan, took the bicycle and rode away. But hardly had he gone a few yards, before the ~~owner~~ owner spotted him out, raised an alarm and R.C. was caught. He was handed over to the police and prosecuted, but was released on probation. R.C. was then just 12.

R.C. thus came near being expelled ^ofrom school, but his father secured pardon from the school authorities.

R.C. however managed to scrape through the examination, for he was certainly an ^eintelligent boy, his I.Q. being 102. But he failed last year in this class.

R.C. had gone so far when we found him in V class. There is as yet no sign of any improvement in his behaviour. If any thing, we are told by parents and by his teachers, he has grown more stubborn in his ways; and careless in his studies. We have also just heard that he has failed again. That was, as the school reports showed, a foregone conclusion.

He is in excellent health and has never known serious illness for a day.

CASE NO.5.

Name : P.C.

Age : 16 years.

Resident of Lahore.

It was past midnight in June 1955 while waiting for the down Frontier Mail at Saharanpur railway station that we found ourselves sitting next to two young boys on a bench on the open platform. Obviously they were accompanied by their friends who were strolling about nearby, smoking and talking about the results which had just arrived by the evening train. The boys themselves had the news-sheet with them and now and then looked into it, exchanged a word or two and relapsed into silence. It appeared that the High School and Intermediate Examination results had been announced and the boys had gone there to receive the news. It was also clear that they had failed and that they had already anticipated the result and thought of their future course of action. Their conversation aroused our curiosity and we began by borrowing their news paper with the ostensible object of looking for the results of our own interest. They obliged us and when we told them that our words had also failed, they revealed that they came from Dehra Dun, and had come there after informing their parents that they would return next day; but in their heart they had ~~not~~ ~~known~~ known the result and so had made up their plans to leave their homes for good. With great difficulty we were able to ~~xxxxxxx~~ persuade ^{them} to



return, and able to see them board the Dehra Dun bound Mussoorie Express on their way home. On acquaintance with P.C.—the younger of the two boys——began in this strange fashion. He was then just 16.

P.C's father runs a small tea-shop in the Cannught Place on the Chakrata Road. In fact it is more of a wooden stall than a masonry building, and in the back portion of the stall, lives P.C's family. The residential portion consists of a verandah divided into two parts, one of which is used as a kitchen and a store-room while the other serves as the living room. P.C. has four brothers, all younger, and a sister elder to him who is now married. P.C's father and ^{mother} ~~mother~~ are the only other members of the family.

The family had migrated to Dehra Dun in 1947, and in the beginning had to face great difficulty in earning a living. P.C's father had been a teacher and though his income was not much, it was secure and enough for his requirements. But P.C's mother came of a rich family and never excused her husband for not having done better. When they came to Dehra Dun, they were hard put to finding a job, and when ultimately his father opened this tea-shop, he found that the incomewas, neither large nor certain, on account of competition from other tea stalls in the vicinity. His wife always complained that there was not enough money for her and her children. In these circumstances, P.C's father had yielded to the persuasion of another person to be a partner in illicit liquor trade. Of course, money came to him, but it was a risky job, if the police ever got scent of his

activities.

When P.C. came to Dehra Dun, he was a little over eight years of age, and had already spent two years in a primary school. For a year after his arrival, he did not join any school. When his father opened the tea stall, P.C. used to assist him in the business. Sometimes when his father was away, P.C. served the customers.

Cannaught Place is a busy business locality mainly populated by the refugees, and has some three cinema houses. Here there are no parks or open spaces for the children. P.C. and his younger brothers, therefore, could not but play all day on the road side. Next door to P.C.'s house was a cinema and he used to watch wistfully at the crowds going into the cinema. He had requested his father to let him go to the pictures, but he had put him off on one excuse or other. For sometime he ~~was~~ contented himself by looking at the big posters in front of the cinema house. But one day a gate keeper dropped in at the stall for a cup of tea, and thus developed a friendship between him and P.C. Entrance to cinema shows then became easy. It was natural that P.C. soon grew other habits, such as smoking and taking-pan. When he was in need of money, he would steal it from the shop's cash box; even better than adopt this course, he would take the money his customers paid for himself and not deposit it with his father. ~~On~~ On these occasions, P.C. became remarkably anxious for his father's comforts; he would urge him to rest for some time or would send him away on some other pretext, while he himself remained at the shop.

In 1949 his father got him admitted into the fourth standard in a nearby school. P.C. was not very much interested in his studies but he continued to pass his examinations. The school allowed him sufficient time to go his own way and further offered him an opportunity to come into contact with other boys. In the school, P.C. was not very popular with his own class-mates, his school friends were generally students of higher classes who also ~~were~~ cared little for the studies. Arithmetic, languages and history were anathemas to him and throughout his student career, he could never do well in these subjects. For history and geography he used to say that they required so many facts to be crammed that even if a lesson was read in the night, facts would tend to slip the memory and confuse the mind even on the very next morning. In the examinations he had a simple way of passing through the examination. He would carry a few pages from the book which contained the information likely to be asked in the examination and would copy them out. He confessed that he had been rather lucky in the examinations for his 'guess' at the questions had not failed him. Numbers had always baffled him, and in arithmetic, he had to be always awarded grace marks before he could be promoted to another class. His teachers complained that P.C. was very irregular in attending classes and did not at all do the home work that he had been given. It appears that the teachers had brought this matter to the notice of his father who ~~was~~ on many occasions beat P.C., but this action had no effect upon the boy.



In fact P.C. had long gone out of the control of his parents. His father, although he had been a teacher, seldom took interest in the boy's studies, and when he did ask P.C. to bring his ~~hxx~~ book and read out to him, he soon became sick of boy's lack of understanding of his subject and resorted to punishing the boy. Naturally the boy dreaded such occasions and tried his best to avoid them.

His mother rarely even admonished him when he misconducted ~~him~~ himself, probably because, when he was five, P.C. had a severe attack of typhoid, on which account he had come to have rather a delicate health. Whenever father was angry and threatened to punish the boy, P.C. ran to his mother who extended her protection to him.

Once P.C. stole a hockey stick of another school boy and brought it home. When his father noticed it he cross-examined P.C. who ultimately confessed that he had stolen it. His father asked P.C. to return the stick and when the boy did not obey for a number of days, he beat P.C. But boy's mother intervened and argued that it was no use returning it after so many days, but of course ^she warned P.C. not to do such things in future.

As P.C. grew, the field and nature of his activities also grew. He was a regular truant from the school and usually wandered ^{far} from his home or school in search of adventure. Sometimes he would go away to distant places without informing his parents who would start a search for him, when he would return late in the night. On one such occasion he told that he had gone to

Mussorie with a party of students under the supervision of school authorities, but enquiries showed that in fact P.C. had gone to Rishi Kesh with his own friends.

After two years at the Junior High School, P.C. duly entered the D.A.V. Higher Secondary school in VI class. Here he had greater opportunity of coming into contact with a large number of boys of all sorts. His companions were usually much older and far more bolder in their activities than he. The school was far away from his home and this fact enabled him to remain away from his home practically for the whole day. His band of friends was more feared than respected by the school students. They could force their will upon others, and if any one complained against them he was beaten outside the school premises or waylaid on his way home. The teachers also came to believe that these naughtier boys among their students should be left alone. Outside the school gates, a number of 'Chat' vendors had a flourishing business in the interval period of the school. P.C's friends ate at their stalls but did not pay at all or paid them less than their due. The 'chat-walas' could not refuse to serve the boys for P.C's group threatened to throw away their eatables if they misbehaved. The vendors could not complain to the school authorities also, because they had been warned to remove themselves from that place, for being outside the school premises the school authorities could not hold themselves responsible if the vendors suffered any loss on account of the boys. But ~~was~~ in fact the



vendors earn^{ed} more than they risked to lose, and so they stayed inspite of warnings by the school authorities and the occasional cheating and intimidation by P.C. and his like.

P.C. had been often warned for smoking within the school compound. On one occasion he had drawn on the black-board a vulgar caricature of his teacher who had threat-ened to detain him if he did not devote ~~greater~~ greater attention to his studies. The school walls, the bath rooms bore many examples of his drawings, ~~obscene~~ ^{obscene} drawings and sexual jokes—his fling at the boys whom he did not like .

P.C. is of average intelligence, his I.Q. being 92. His teachers also thought that he could do better, if he would be regular in his studies. The whole trouble with him, in his own words, ^{was} that he could not concentrate, ~~though~~ though there were moments, when he was fired with the idea of serious devotion to studies.

He has his own views of his behavio-ur. He feels that there is nothing in the home to attract^t him; in fact, he feels that perhaps he is not wanted. According to him, no body believes him and therefore he cannot persuade himself to follow any body else's advice. As P.C. has grown older and his habits have persisted, the family too is inclined to ignore him. Now if he comes late in the evening, no ~~nothing~~ body questions him. He told us that sometimes when ^{he} returned in the small hours of the morning his parents would not even open the door for him and he would be compelled to find a shelter for himself.



P.C. has no thought for the future, money comes to him easily and easily he spends it. He confesses that when he has got money, he feels an itch to spend it away, and hence his recklessness in throwing it away.

When P.C. failed last year, he reluctantly rejoined school. But he had in his heart finally broken away from the school life and this year he was not sent up for the examination as he had failed to put up the minimum attendance in the classes. P.C's school career is now finally finished.

Some-times P.C. would open out to us in an effusion of anger against his parents or an imagined wrong, or of self-pity. In those moments of self revelation he would inform us with an impish delight how he had dodged the law or defeated his opponents or coaxed and cajoled Mr so and so in parting with money or some article. We discounted these stories, but a few were certainly true.

CASE No.6

Name : D.C.

Age : 13 years.

Resident of Bannu.

Some three years ago a handsome young boy was brought before a court of law on charges of having attempted to outrage the modesty of a girl and having attacked another boy with a pen knife. It appeared that the other boy caught the accused flagrante delicto with the girl and when he raised ~~alarm~~ alarm he was attacked by the boy. The defence was simply that the girl was an accomplice/^{to}the crime and that the accused had acted in self-defence when

the other boy, who was the girl's brother, had started beating him. The girl herself was a minor and so the question of her consent to the act did not arise, but these were mitigating circumstances besides his tender age and the accused was released on probation of good conduct.

This was D.C.'s first appearance in a law court and he was then just 13, and a student of V class. His prosecution naturally resulted in his expulsion from the school, and D.C.'s school career thus came to an end.

Before he came to Dehra Dun, D.C.'s father was a Municipal clerk on a salary of Rs 85/- per month plus a good chance of making easy money by allowing motor trucks to ^{pass} the barrier without charging from them any octroi duty. At present he is employed elsewhere on Rs 59/- per month, which keeps him away from his house during the night.

The family occupies a two-roomed quarter in the Prem Nagar Refugee Relief Camp, which are barely furnished. There are, of course, no amenities.

The family consists of six members, besides D.C. and his parents, there are three other children, a girl 15 years, elder to D.C., and two boys, 8 and 3 years, who are younger to him. Only D.C. and his younger brother have been sent to schools. His sister had had no formal education, but she can read and write. His mother is illiterate.

The home atmosphere is far from being congenial to normal development of

young personality, for both mother and daughter indulge in social vice. In fact, the mother solicits for the daughter and also carries on her own business. The eldest brother, D.C., also is in the know of things and at times escorts her sister to the clients and also receives the money. The mother works in collusion with some local pimp, but does not go to any brothel house nor allows her daughter to do so. She ~~also~~ also works as an agent to three or four other cases in the camp. She receives visitors, both for herself and the daughter, in her rooms one of which, she confesses, is kept for this purpose alone. We were told by the camp authorities that the husband knows these affairs, but he connives at his wife's doings by keeping himself away during the nights. Her neighbours are naturally tired of this family's behaviour, and find the nocturnal visits of her clients—cars may be found coming to the quarter even at 2 a.m.—highly inconvenient and disturbing. But the mother has a way of explaining that her husband and his relations often come very late and that one of them is also running a taxi. The mother charges Rs 4/10/- and the daughter Rs 5/15/-, but the mother confided to us that her maximum earning had never exceeded Rs 100/-/-and that of ~~the~~ her daughter Rs 150/-/- per month. D.C.'s sister was married a year ago and her husband is employed in a local office. But her mother brings her to her own house only to ask the daughter to indulge in social vice, and thus incidentally to supplement the meagre income of her family.

In her thirties, the mother is still a beautiful woman and in excellent health. Her children too enjoy very good health. Poverty does not appear to have had any effect upon the family's health.

For as long as D.C. can recall, his mother has played the dominant role in the family affairs. She directs the affairs of the family, controlling the spending and to a large extent the activities of children. Even when money was not scarce in the family, D.C.'s ~~mother~~ mother held the ^{reign} ~~dominance~~; now when every single pice is of ~~max~~ utmost concern to them, she feels that she is the major earning member of the family.

It has not been so always. D.C. remembers that before they came here there was warmth in the relationship between his parents. But the feeling of insecurity during migration and extreme poverty during the early period of their settlement here proved too much for her. She neglected her children whom she considered as so much burden on her to carry through life and cursed her destiny. It was penury which drove her to social vice.

When D.C. came here, he was hardly six. Recalling those days, he told us that with his mother and ~~his~~ his sister he used to go to the ~~river~~ ^{river}-bed to collect lime-stone, which they sold ~~for~~ for small amount of money. That was all the income on which they lived for many months. In turning to social vice as a means of livelihood and thus sacrificing her honour. D.C's mother considered herself as a martyr to the family cause.

In one respect, certainly, his mother had high ambitions. She was determined that her boys at least should have some education so that they might lead a better life than she herself had had. D.C. therefore joined a school at the age of ten and was admitted into III class. But the parents could not provide him with all the school books and stationery, and when D.C. stole books or pencils from other students, his mother's rebuke lacked force and conviction to the boy that it was wrong to do so. His pre-school period had already introduced him to the varied world, of entertainment, of good clothes and easy life. He frequently secretly visited the cinemas and occasionally smoked a cheap cigarette. All this required money, part of which came from the tips he used to receive from the clients who came to his mother and his sister; part from the money he took from his parents for buying a copy book or a pen which he never purchased but stole from other school boys. But somehow he managed to be promoted to the IV class which however proved a greater hurdle and he was detained for a year.

His school record showed that he very often truanted from school and his attainments in all subjects of the curriculum were very poor. His I.Q. was 90. He was also above the average age for the class and counted among his friends mostly students of higher classes. His teachers described him as assertive and rather destructive in his tendencies. He would always try to have his own way. If, for instance D.C. wanted a pencil from another boy and the latter

refused him, D.C. would fly into rage and snatch the pencil from the boy. We were told of an incident in which D.C. asked a boy to lend him his bicycle for a joy ride and upon being refused he cut the tyres with a blade and hammered the frame with a brick. On another occasion D.C. took away an electric torch from a boy on the assurance that he would soon return it, but he never kept his word. When that boy asked D.C. again and again to return the torch, D.C. turned so much against him ^{that} ~~he~~ he ~~would find him alone~~ threatened to beat him if he would find him alone.

Clearly D.C.'s heart was not in the studies. He was inattentive in the class room and careless in his work. More than that, his attitude towards his teachers was impudent and hostile. He believed that the school discipline was meant for the mediocre and the ~~at~~ ordinary students. He claimed that an ~~xxx~~ astrologer had foretold that great destiny was in store for him, and therefore he said he did not bother about the school or the teachers or the learning that they sought to impart.

By the time he reached V class, he had become an expert pick-pocket and he ~~is~~ told us of his many exploits. But he was fortunate to have escaped the arms of law.

His home atmosphere had given him a peculiar ^{slant} ~~slant~~ to his feelings towards the opposite sex. He would tease the girls and when passing them even on the road he would pass obscene remarks on them. Once when he had thus molested a girl^s, he was caught and thoroughly beaten.



Sex was no terra-incognita to him. For sometime he had known a girl, K, and had sexual intimacy with her. But he told us that he was really in love with and she reciprocated his feelings. He used to give her little presents of sweets or toilet goods, and he showed us a number of letters from her. But here he was not so fortunate ^{on} for ^{on} one occasion he was discovered and as we have already seen handed over to the police. In that case, however, she ~~had~~ had disavowed all feelings of love towards him. D.C. was disillusioned. He had suffered the ignominy of ~~xxx~~ trial with silent composure, but his friends' faithlessness completely broke him.

After his release from that case, D.C. turned into ^a professional crook and a habitual drunkard^k. Last year he was found walking away from the station waiting room with a suitcase of a passener; but he was caught and handed over to the police. He is at present serving out a term of eighteen month's rigorous imprisonment.

This narration of his life story must end on a sad note. For D.C.'s attitude in the jail has not improved. He is bitterly resentful towards all the world, and defiant of all ~~xxx~~ authority.

CASE NO.7.

Name : K.S.

Age : 12 years.

Resident of Multan.

A young sikh boy of 12, K.S. comes of an agriculturist family of Multan. His father died when K.S. was three years old and the family affairs passed into the hand of his maternal uncle. K.S. has a younger brother aged 10. During



partition, his mother and two children came to India with her brother and his family. They migrated to Wah camp first and then to Dehra Dun in 1947.

Since K.S.'s uncle did not have experience of any other business except agriculture, he met with great difficulty in finding employment at first and had to depend upon governmental support. Sometime afterwards, however, he got an appointment as a peon in a local office on a pay of Rs 60/- per month. This income was hardly sufficient for his uncle's own family which consisted of his wife and three children. The result was that K.S. ~~was~~ and his mother also were compelled to work for themselves. For sometime, they worked in a ~~land~~ tea-garden and when K.S. was a little ~~older~~ older, seven years, he found a job with a restaurant on Rs 10/- per month.

For two years, K.S. worked in this restaurant where his job was mainly to wash dishes and occasionally also to serve the customers. It was here that K.S. formed a company of much older persons and had his first experience of the outside world. It was hard work from early morning to late evening in which slack hours were usually occupied with idle gossip and smoking. Occasionally when K.S. served the customers, he got 'tips' also and this made him look forward to such occasions with some anxiety. The small amount of money that he thus gained, he spent entirely on himself buying tit-bits or sweets or pan, just as other servants in the restaurant did. In this way K.S. became more mature in the ways of the world than other boys of his age.

It was ~~xxxxxxxx~~ natural in these circumstances for K.S. to have felt that he was not very much cared for in the family. His mother



too came home tired after the day's work and never bothered to enquire from K.S. how he had spent the day. His uncle and aunt of course never bothered themselves about K.S. or his mother and never enquired even about their meals. K.S. had very few clothes and as they had no means to make new ones, K.S. and his mother sent all the year with only tattered old clothes on. Nature had endowed them with good health. But whenever, K.S. or his ~~brother~~ mother, fell ill, it meant absence of work and loss of wages, particularly in the ~~xxx~~ case of the mother who worked on daily wages. On these occasions, not only was there no money for medicines or the doctor's fees, but also very little for their meals. At such times, K.S. felt that he should have saved something out of the money he got from the tips for such rainy days, but no sooner these occasions passed off, than the impression also vanished. But K.S. was led to ~~the~~ conviction that in this selfish world, money mattered the most and earning money became his one aim. He would work harder to earn money, and would sometimes save some but K.S. tells us that it hardly stayed long with him. For when he would pass a cinema-house or some shop, he would feel an irresistible urge to drop in for a movie show or to purchase a comb or a hair oil. In the beginning he would be cut with remorse after having spent the money and he discussed his doubts with his friends in the restaurant. They laughed at him and argued that the money was after all his and his alone and he had every right to spend it on himself alone, and slowly this argument gained ~~ground~~ ground with him. Sometimes when they had sufficient leisure, the servants would sit down



at a game of cards with stakes and K.S. would also join them in the hope of making easy money. Sometimes he won, but more often he lost even the money he had with him.

In July 1951, K.S. left this service and joined the school in III class on his mother's insistence. Before that K.S. had no formal schooling, and had only a nodding acquaintance with three R's. But the school did not attract him. The standard of education was rather high for him and most of the teaching quite went over his head. The subjects of study too did not interest him much either. There was hardly anything which he could learn by doing. Nor were the school-mates to his liking. They were so much his juniors in age, that he did not ^klike to mix with them. He would again and again run away from his school and spend his time in the company of his friends he ~~had~~ had made at the restaurant. They were his only play-mates, and his only hobby was wandering to different places of entertainment.

K.S. had very few copy books, pens or pencils, and fewer school books, but as these things he did not really require he did not care very much. On the other hand, he had no longer any money to buy for himself the little luxuries to which he had become accustomed, such as sweets or pān or a ticket to a cinema show. His mother had meanwhile given up her employment with the tea-garden and had secured a job as a maid servant in a well-to-do family. She sometimes brought the children of her employer with her to the house, and K.S. was at once struck with the sad reality that they were much better cared for than he himself had been.

Slowly K.S. began to steal small amounts of money from home and at first these thefts were not discovered. When, however, these occurrences became too frequent, they aroused suspicion, but K.S. was not caught red-handed and he therefore escaped punishment. K.S. informed us that these small amounts of money gave that sense of freedom and of possession of things he ~~had~~ had wanted so much.

But K.S. managed to pass his examination in III class, and also IV class. In the latter class he was detained for a year, for he failed in all the subjects. Yet his teachers told us that he was not a very dull-headed boy---his I.Q. in fact was 90. But he did not seem to be interested in any thing for long and had a keen desire for change and novelty. He was, however far from being ^{so disappointed} ~~disappointed~~ or ^a docile boy. He was on the contrary adventuresome and could run risks and ^{he was} ~~an~~ in the whole a person of strong likes and dislikes.

By the time K.S. reached V class, he was a little^x over 12 years of age. He had grown more inattentive in the class room, and careless in his studies. His habits too had been firmly set in him. During this period, he stole his aunt's gold ~~XXXX~~ necklace, sold it for a paltry sum and ran away for two days to Hardwar with his friends. His absence aroused suspicion in the family that it was K.S. who had stolen the ornament and on his return his uncle gave him a severe thrashing, but still K.S. did not confess or repent. In his heart^t, on the other hand, K.S. steeled himself against his uncle and grew more hostile and impudent towards him and his wife. He



also became violent in his anger and once he hit another boy's head with hockey stick in a quarrel between his party and another.

Then one day K.S. tried to take away a bicycle from a cinema house and was caught and handed over to the police. He was tried and found guilty by the court but in view of his tender age, he was released on probation. His educational career thus ended abruptly. At the time of writing, his whereabouts are not known to his family. They told us that after his conviction he was very morose, and then one night he went out and did not return.

Case No.8

Name : C.P.

Age : 15 years

Resident of Lahore.

C.P. comes of a well-to-do family. His father, a Barrister-at-law, was a ~~prosperous~~ prosperous lawyer of Lahore, and had migrated to Dehra Dun in May 1947 before the communal disturbances began. Here he built a house of his own and soon came to acquire a fairly good practice at the Bar.

C.P. is the fourth issue of his parents, there being one sister and two brothers elder to him; one younger brother, his grandfather and grandmother besides his mother, being other members of the family.

The family lives in a decent bungalow in Dalowala and maintains two servants besides a gardener. The bungalow is richly furnished. There is plenty of every thing, and C.P.'s father also owns a car. All the members of the family are in excellent health.

It is a modern educated family. The elder brothers and the sister are highly educated; the daughter, an M.A., has just been married and her next brother, a B.A., has joined the army recently. The third son is studying at the Medical College at Lucknow.

For as long as C.P. can remember, it has been a happy and well-knit family in which the relations between various members have always been cordial. His parents have never been separated for long and the relations between them have been good although not exceptionally warm. Yet it has been C.P.'s mother who has always controlled the affairs of the family; the father has a busy professional life and does not interfere in domestic matters. C.P.'s grand parents are just, like most grand parents, a doting couple. Club life, a sunday bridge party, and drinking are parts of the parents' social life to which naturally the children are not admitted.

His mother told us that C.P. weighed only six pounds at birth. As an infant he had measles, whooping cough and chicken pox, and at the age of six had a ^{severe} ~~fever~~ attack of typhoid which lasted for six weeks. He was very much of ^a whiner and "cry baby". At present however C.P. has no physical defect and is in good health. He is predominantly lean, and has considerable muscularity of the face, neck and shoulder regions of his body, despite a slenderness in his lower extremities. He is short, slender, thin, has so far failed to show signs of physical maturity, comparable with his age, and there is a considerable amount of disproportion between different parts of his body.

When C.P. came to Dehra Dun he was barely eight years old. In Lahore, he had been educated at home by private tutors and on coming here, he was admitted into III Class. From the very beginning he showed a disinclination towards studies. His tutors had taught him for an hour or so every week-day and had been more interested in spending their allotted time than in imparting sound education to the boy. C.P. would treat his tutors more as his equals than as his superiors entitled to respect. This attitude he retained throughout his educational career. The result was that he was weak in all the subjects of study, but the languages and arithmetic ^{Were} ~~her~~ particularly his weak points. Neither of his parents cared to know any thing about his education and satisfied their conscience by engaging the tutors. His elder brothers and his sister were all good students and so was his younger brother who was described by his teachers as a very bright boy. C.P. had begun his studies somewhat later than his brothers, probably on account of his illness, and had therefore suffered greatly by comparison with others. Slowly he developed a complex that he was good for nothing, and there was no use in trying to improve.

He had great fascination for cinema from his early childhood and had a special liking for the sort of films which may be described as 'westerns' in the language of the American films — those which depicted the cow-boys and their adventures, with lots of killing and shooting and romance. In these films, C.P. found his own heroes; and the life they lived became his own dream. Above all, the addiction to the movies developed into him a tendency to day-dreaming.

Many a time C.P. would leave his house ~~and~~ ostensibly for the school, but would throw his books in the hedge of his house and would go to a matinee show instead. When C.P. was older, even on holidays, he would tell his parents that he had to an extra-class in the school and would go to the cinema instead. Of course, the parents did not ^{mind} their children occasionally going to cinema shows; in fact, the elder children went to the picture once or ~~twice~~ twice a month with explicit approval of their parents. But the parents themselves never took the children with them, and they were completely ignorant of C.P.'s frequent visits to the pictures.

Naturally C.P. found that he had nothing in common with his own class-mates. His inclination lay in a different direction, his tastes were more mature and advanced and his field of activity wider than those of his class-fellows. He naturally sought his companions among the older boys. Most of his friends flattered his vanity and remained in his company for their ends, and all enjoyed at his expense.

In the family, the children were given pocket money every month and while other children spent it judiciously, C.P. ran out of it very soon and he had ^{to} ask for more from his mother. Sometimes his mother refused and then C.P. stole the money from the house.

C.P. was very obstinate and stubborn. If he had set his heart upon doing something or getting something, no amount of persuasion or punishment would make him see the opposite. Once

his friends suggested a Sunday outing to the Sulphur Springs but his parents, when C.P. told them of the excursion, refused him permission to ^{go} to, because no teacher was to accompany the party. C.P. ran away with his friends. He returned late and was duly beaten, but that had no effect upon him. On another occasion he asked for a camera and when they appeared to postpone its purchase, he stole the money out of his mother's purse and bought the camera. It was not as if he was really interested in photography, for only after a few months, he had lost all interest in it, and completely discarded it.

Even as a small child, C.P. was aggressive in his behaviour, even towards his own brothers. All the children in the family had toys of their own. His own toys, C.P. would throw away after a time and would demand those of others. But his younger ^{brother} and his sister were specially careful in keeping their toys and would not give them to C.P. When they persistently refused to part with their toys, C.P. would fight with them and snatch away their toys and break them to pieces. With his elder brothers he did not succeed in the fight, with them he adopted a different way. He would take their toys when his brothers were away and destroy them. This destructive tendency in C.P. remained even when he was older. On another occasion when C.P. was 12, he and his party of friends severely beat the manager of a ^{travelling} moving circus company for having refused them concessions as they did not have identity cards with them. The police intervened and the rowdy boys were arrested and taken to the police

station, but C.P. got out of the affair and was not prosecuted on account of ~~his~~ the influence of his father.

As C.P. grew, his habits were more deeply ~~engraved~~ ^{engrained} in him and his behaviour became far more aggressive, even violent. He began smoking and drinking too. He often stole the books of his elder brothers or sister, and these books fetched good prices. He sold his own bicycle, but his father refused to buy him another. Thereupon, C.P. sold away his elder brother's cycle, which his father had to purchase back from the purchaser. C.P. was a terror to his own class-mates. His behaviour towards teachers who let him have his way was condescending, but towards those who disapproved of his ways, it was impudent and menacing.

C.P.'s I.Q. is 95. He managed to secure a 'promotion' in III class, but has consistently failed to pass other examinations in the first attempt, with the result that at the age of fifteen (1954) he is still in VIII class. His younger brother, who is two years his junior ^{in age}, is with him in the same class. Needless to say C.P.'s achievements in all subjects are very poor. But he is a good actor, and is much sought for by the school Dramatic Association.

CASE no. 9.

Name : J.P.

Age : 14 years.

Resident of Gujranwala.

Any day if you stop a while near the parking place for cars by the clock tower at

(85)

the entrance to the Pattan Bazar, you may be surprised by a bright young boy offering to polish your shoes for a couple of annas. He is any thing, you feel, but the professional shoe-black; he is certainly more sophisticated than his brothers in the trade and is likely to raise a suspicion in your mind that he does not know his job. But if you happen to oblige him, perhaps more out of pity or curiosity or sheer whim, than of necessity, you would be at once struck by his way of engaging you in conversation and by doing his job as well as ^{any} one else. And when as you leave him, he says to you, "Thank you, Sir; Goodby," you cannot help feeling sorry for him.

He is J.P., a young Agrawal boy of 14, who should not have been there, but for his fate, as J.P. puts it.

For he comes of an average middle class Punjabi family which had not known a case like J.P.'s. Before partition, his father ran a furniture mart in Gujranwala with a fairly good business. Of course he had to leave all this behind in Pakistan when he came to India.

The family consists of four boys and their parent; J.P. is the youngest child. In 1947, the family migrated to ~~Dehra~~ Dehra Dun and after spending sometime in Refugee camps settled in Dobhalwala in a small two-roomed tenement for which they paid Rs 15/- as rent. The house does not have even a bathroom. One room is used as a kitchen-cum-store-room while the other serves as the living room.

Some land was available just in

front of the house and here J.P.'s father slowly started his business. Today he is a modest carpenter and a dealer in fuel wood. In the partition, he lost all he had to start from the lowest rung of the ladder. But by dint of hard work, he has been able to rehabilitate the family. There is no affluence; but there is ^{no} scarcity either of the necessities of ~~living~~ life. But both mother and father have to work hard to make the ends meet. Mother knits and sews for her neighbours and in the beginning had to serve as a cook in a family. Father has always been occupied with his own business.

Health is a valuable asset with the family. Although none of the members has known any serious illness, the effects of poor nutrition are already visible, particularly among the children. J.P. is lean and slender, and under weight but otherwise does not show any signs of physical defect.

J.P. has always been his mother's favourite, not only because he is the youngest of her children, but also because she feels she had not been able to give to J.P. as much of herself as to other children. The eldest son is 21 and is employed as a peon in a local bank. The second son is 18 and is working as a bus conductor in Delhi while the third is 16, and ^{have} an apprentice to his father. The boys/had little education and the circumstances forced them to find employment and earn their livelihood quite early in their lives. When J.P. reached the school going age, the family circumstances had improved and he was admitted in III class in a local school. J.P. was then nine.

Dobhalwals is made up of two distinct parts. In one area of ~~the~~ ^{the} locality live the rich in their expansive bungalows and in the other a motley crowd of the refugees and the 'Paharwis'. J.P.'s house was situated in the latter area. Before he went to school, J.P. would loiter in the streets, or he would go to his father's shop where all sorts of people came on business or just for gossip. He would wander far away with his friends, to Patan Bazar, Railway Station, Karanpur, Chakrata Road, even to Prem Nagar. But he had no liking for any games in particular and never participated in school games.

In fact, in the school, J.P. felt like a ~~fish~~ ^{fish} out of water. There was too much rigorous discipline and too long hours in the class-rooms for him. His own class-mates appeared to him just kids with whom he did not like to mix. The free outdoor life called him back again and again, and he would leave the school on the slightest pretext and join the company of his earlier friends. When his father enquired of him why J.P. had returned from school he would put forward some excuse. There were of course a few occasions when J.P. was found out and he was punished. Slowly, he learnt the expedient of not returning home till it was time to return from the school in his normal course. Gradually this habit developed into lying. J.P. boasted that he could narrate any story with an appearance of genuineness.

J.P.'s main grievance was that the school curriculum was dull and uninteresting. History and Geography, Arithmetic and Hindi

all he found equally uninspiring. They seemed to tell him things which he did not want to know. Arithmetic was particularly hard for him and J.P. frankly ^f confessed that he had no respect for his teacher in that subject; he had frequently received severe punishment for his failure to do home-work and he utilised every opportunity of escaping from the arithmetic class.

But J.P. was far from being a dull boy. He had average intelligence with an I.Q. of 90, and it was subsequently revealed that he had a native talent for carpentry, for which the school itself did not offer any opportunity of development. The real trouble with him was that he could not concentrate his attention on any subject for long.

He passed III and IV classes with little difficulty but it was only in the second attempt that J.P. could pass the IV class. In this period he had developed a passion for marbles and cards, and that was the main reason why he had failed to devote himself to ~~an~~ study. It is not uncommon for boys of this age to play either at marbles or cards, but in J.P.'s company the play was always with stakes. Now J.P. had very little money to spare, all that he had was a few annas he occasionally got for refreshments in school. Naturally, in the first instance J.P. was lured into these games by the prospect of making quick and easy money, but the habit gained ground with him he played more to pay off his debts of honour than to earn something. His company was essentially one of Paharis with little education and boys in their ^{teens} ~~twenties~~ who were employed as domes-

domestic servants or in other establishments, or of his own community who were just as well unsettled. In their company he early began to smoke.

Slowly J.P. began to steal small amounts of money which he could find in his father's cash-box or in the toilet case of his mother. On one occasion J.P. was found to have stolen his mother's wedding ring and pawned it with a money lender for a paltry sum. His father redeemed it, but gave a thoroughly good beating to J.P.

Another abnormality which J.P. developed at this period was on account of the fact that the boys of his company were much older to him and indulged in dirty sexual jokes. J.P. soon became a passive homosexual. Incidentally, he earned a little out of this; although this was far from being the object of his indulgence. Certainly, the inferiority complex which J.P. developed, and his tendency towards self-pity are to be ascribed to this factor. Strangely enough, these circumstances led to the development of exhibitionist tendencies in him. On more than one occasion he was found exposing his body before girls who happened to pass down the lane when he thought he was unobserved. On other occasions he would express his indignation against a particular boy or even a teacher by writing a dirty joke about him on the black board or the school wall or drawing a g figure in the school lavatory.

Yet J.P. was not docile; he had a volatile temper and was known to be particularly refractory when he was roused. When his anger had cooled, he often felt sorry for what he had done; but he said he could not help it, nor could he give any reason why he had stuck to that

behaviour. He said he did it, because he must do it. Thus on one occasion he severely beat a small child who had informed J.P.'s father that he had left the school long before it closed and had seen him smoking on his way back.

It was in the second year of V class that J.P. while playing cards at a friend's house was arrested by the police under the Gambling Act on the main Diwali day. On account of his tender age J.P. was let off by the police who did not even send him to the court. J.P. was truly scared and for sometime he managed to keep himself away from his old friends, and made frantic efforts to devote himself to studies. He was partially successful for he was promoted to VI class. But as the days passed, the impression wore off and J.P. was again drawn to his old friends and habits. When J.P. again failed in the VI class, his father withdrew him from the school and turned him out of home. J.P. then took to shoe-polishing.

J.P. is now homeless and friendless, but earns enough to live on. In the night he would try to find a place to lie down; it may be the outer verandah of a cinema or a shop, occasionally a friend would give him shelter for the night. Sometimes he earns enough to save even after he has paid for his frugal fare, but the money creates in him an itch to spend, and he would spend it on a cigarette or a cinema show and then he would ~~spend~~ turn to his old habits. J.P. is unfortunately caught in a vicious circle, but he is making heroic efforts to break it. It is too early to predict whether he would succeed, for at present the struggle for existence is keenest. But there is one redeeming feature in his behaviour. He feels that he could not blame his parents for expelling him from home, and that his friends no longer cared for him as

as before . In this urgency to live and in the ~~new~~ new freedom to choose, J.P. sees the light of hope and faith to make good after all.

CASE NO. 10

Name : S.K.

Age : 18 years

Resident of Jhang.

S.K. comes of an average middle class family which migrated to India in September 1947, just before the fury of communal disturbances in the Punjab almost completely barred the gates of escape to Hindus. The family had not much to lose in their journey here, for S.K.'s father was only a clerk in an insurance office. But it had a bitter tale of suffering to tell. For a long time the family had been led to believe that although India had been partitioned, they would be allowed to live. Soon, however they were disillusioned, and when on August 25, 1947, the District Magistrate promulgated an order forbidding any person from leaving the district with any thing else than what he could carry on his own person, they realised to their dismay that that was their last chance to escape or to resign themselves to the tender mercies of their Muslim brethren . ^TThough a conflagration of communal disturbances, the family made ~~its~~ its slow and painful way to India only to find that they had before them the terrible struggle for existence. From one camp to another, the family moved on till it came to Dehra Dun in September. For sometime it lived in Prem Nagar camp, then in the refugee colony near the railway station till it finally came to settle in 1949 in Karanpur.

In the begining S.K's father had no job at all, and the family had to depend upon government-aid. Slowly, S.K's father began to work for ~~him~~

himself. At first, he earned a pittance by selling home-made confectionaries, biscuits etc. For some-time, he sold newspapers also. In all this, his children also helped him, and went round the Bazar with him. Then in 1949, S.K.'s father got an appointment as a clerk in the Survey of India office and the family's prospects brightened. A little later, the family moved to Karanpur and began to live in a two-roomed tenement on the upper floor of a house which was occupied by several other families.

They pay Rs 25/- for this house, which has neither any toilet nor any bath room or kitchen. The verandah serves as the family kitchen, while the water tap and lavatories on the ground floor serve all the families which live here. Still the furnishings are just sufficient; there are no luxuries or extras.

S.K. is the eldest child in the family. He was ~~sixteen~~ eleven when he came to Dehra Dun and had two younger brothers and a sister, seven, four and two respectively. Early in 1947 his mother had died of pulmonary tuberculosis. In 1949, his father had again married, but S.K.'s step mother died only after four years leaving behind a daughter barely two years old.

But this is ^{not} to say that the family suffers from poor health. In fact, S.K.'s grandmother is still alive and is an old woman of nearly seventy five. S.K.'s father is a middle aged man but in ¹excellent health. S.K. himself has never known any serious sickness ^{for} a day. He is predominantly lean, has considerable muscularity of the face, neck, and shoulder regions of the body, despite a slenderness in his lower extremities. He is short and thin and there is considerable disproportion between different parts of his body. But S.K. does not show any signs

of physical defect.

Although he is yet a boy, S.K. is easily marked out of the general run of boys ^{by} ~~but~~ his fondness for good ^food, good clothes and of good living; always he is neatly and smartly dressed. We are told that these characteristics of temperament he has inherited from his mother. For sometime before her death, she had suffered from a failing eye sight, but even this handicap or her diseased lungs had not damped her zest for living. Moreover she was a tidy house-keeper. But above all, she was a master of chaste^e spoken Urdu. Even her husband and her mother-in-law who were often the victims of her barbed language would admit that she was a fine conversationalist.

But it appears that she was a supremely unhappy woman. She could not be at peace with her husband or her mother-in-law and even in ~~sickbed~~ sickbed was grudging and grumbling and cursing. Perhaps her illness had made her so; it had certainly aggravated her irritability. Whenever she was roused, she would abuse every one, her children even. Her life, her illness and her death had left a deep impression upon S.K. who harboured a bitter resentment against his father. Later, he was to say it openly that his father was the cause of all her miseries and had killed her. When his step-mother died, S.K. repeated the charge that his father had killed her too and maliciously suggested that his father was more concerned with his own physical need for marriage than the care of the children.

S.K.'s father is the usual non-interfering type of family man, who leaves the

house-keeping to the women. In the quarrels between his mother and wife, he took no sides, and patiently bore the vituperations of both. When S.K. abused him and insulted him before others, he was hit hard, but even then he did not argue or retaliate, he just avoided his son. Slowly he began to dread S.K. who ruled the house as a tyrant.

S.K. treated his grandmother with cold contempt and also quarreled with her. But the old woman always ~~fawned~~ ^{fawned} upon S.K., asking whether he had taken his food or he had gone to school or had some pocket-money. His step mother, S.K. simply ignored. She was much younger to his father, and S.K. considered ~~as~~ ^{her} a poor helpless thing which was not worthy of his attention. ~~And~~ ^{And} of course, she was ever silent and away when S.K. was in the house..

To the other children, S.K. was a fearful and domineering personality who brooked no disobedience. They meekly submitted to him, but he always remained emotionally aloof from them. S.K. was a sad and lonely boy in his own home.

Outside the home, S.K.'s friends were not boys of his own age, but were much older to him. For nearly a year after he came here, S.K. did not go to any school, and had to go round selling biscuits or newspapers with his father. In these ~~such~~ conditions particularly he came in contact with older persons, rather than young boys. It was in this period that S.K. began to smoke, almost all his friends smoked, and many of them drank. Usually when S.K. went alone to sell sweets, or he was asked to receive payments from

customers of newspapers, he kept the money for himself, and of course, on account of his behaviour none could ask him for it.

S.K. was a student of V class when on account of the partition he had to give up and came to Dehra Dun. As a matter of fact, he had entered ~~in~~^{the} school at the normal age and had managed to scrape through the examinations. Nor was he dullard, his I.Q. was 90. But from the very beginning his heart was not in the studies. He would often run truant and would wander far from home in the company of his friends. To cover it up he would invent various excuses. From the very beginning he was obstinate, and even when he was found out and beaten he would not admit his mistake. On the contrary he was defiant of all ~~any~~ authority either of school or at home. Any attempt to check him only resulted in greater persistence on his part to do what he pleased. He would take advantage of the unhappy relationship between his father and mother on the one hand and his grand mother's extreme fondness for him, on the other. When his father refused to give him money, he would beg his mother, and if she failed too, he would coax and cajole his grandmother. His father told us that between them the two women, his mother and wife, had spoiled the child. When the family's circumstances were better before the partition, it was not much difficult to satisfy the child's whims, but when after the partition, there was not enough money for even their primary needs S.K. was ~~therefore~~ more often refused with the result his anger towards his parents assumed the form of open hostility towards them.



In July 1948, S.K. was admitted in VII class on an an affidavit to the effect that he was a student in V class when he had to leave his studies. Although, there was nothing ^{un-}usual in his admission in VII class, S.K. found it very difficult to follow the teaching given here. For one thing, the language presented a great hurdle. Punjabi was the only language which he had been accustomed to hear both in his home and outside, and Hindi which was used in his classes and in his books, he did not find easy to understand. Again, English too was not easy for him, and Mathematics had been a nightmare to him from the very beginning. It was therefore natural that he lost all interest in his studies. Moreover, his one year at home had given him a taste of the freedom of the outside world, and he would leave his school to join his friends. The result was that he failed in the seventh class, and thereby was deprived of the freeship.

S.K. decided that the school was no good for him, and next year joined another school, the Sadhu Ram Higher Secondary School, which is in the heart of the city. One of the reasons why S.K. chose this school was that some of his friends belonged to this school, although they were students of higher classes. In this company he became a confirmed smoker and cinema goer. His habit demanded money, and S.K. used to steal money from home when his parents or grandmother did not give him any. S.K. was at once struck with the great display of fashion in the city, and ~~some~~ ^{soon} began to behave as a little dandy. He hated poor clothers, and always quarrelled

with his parents to get him good clothes.

Dehra Dun was an entirely new environment for S.K., and his friends would describe this place and that, they had been to. S.K. also was smitten by the urge to see, and when he pleaded lack of money, his friends suggested that they never paid for their ticket when they went to Hardwar or Delhi, for after all it was their privilege as ~~a~~ students to travel without ticket. They said it was great fun deluding the ticket checkers, going from one compartment to another, and if they were after all caught by one, he, poor fellow, could hardly say anything in the face of all those boys. Leaving his class, S.K. would thus go on trips to Hardwar or Saharanpur or Delhi. Usually he would go early morning and return by the night when he would be asked no questions, but sometimes he would stay away the night also. He had nothing to fear at home for none could dare ask him questions. It was plain sailing most of the time, but on one occasion S.K. was caught by a ^{Magisterial} ~~Magistrate~~ checking party when all his friends ran away, and it was only after a ~~xxx~~ lot of pleadings that S.K. was released. The dispute between friends was however soon made up.

In 1949 S.K.'s family, as we have already seen, had moved to Karanpur, and his father had obtained a job in the Survey Of India Office. So when S.K. passed his VII class, he was ~~xxx~~ withdrawn and was admitted in VIII in the D.A.V. Higher Secondary School. In this locality is also situated the D.A.V. College and the population is predominantly refugee. A large

number of boys ~~xxx~~ came here and most of them live in hostels and private boarding houses. S.K. formed here a new company, although some of his old friends still remained with him. It was here that ~~the~~ S.K. developed the habit of shop-lifting. From the beginning he had ~~xxx~~ very few books of his own, and his indifference to studies made him treat books with scant ~~respect~~. He would therefore steal books without any compunction. His own words best describe the evolution of this habit.

"When we were shop-lifting we always made a game of it. For example, we might gamble on who could steal the most books in a ~~xx~~ day or who could steal in the presence of a shop officials and get away. We were always daring each other and thinking up new schemes. This was the best part of the game. I would go into a shop to steal a book or ~~some~~ a pen or some other article by asking for ~~building materials~~ a number of similar articles, and when the ~~xxxxx~~ shopkeeper was not watching walk out of the store after slipping the book or the article in the coat. Then the experiment would be repeated in another shop. I might do this all day and have a bundle at night. It was fun I wanted, not any article in particular. I kept this up for months and ~~the~~ then began to sell the things to other college students at a very cheap price. I would pretend to be a poor refugee student who earned an honest penny by selling things and helping his family. It was at this time that I began to steal for gain."

Yet it was not always an easy job. S.K. was caught on one occasion and his coat ~~pockets~~ ~~xxx~~ pockets were found to contain a number of various articles—— books, soaps, fountain pens, combs and other toilet goods etc. He was handed

over to the police and for a day had to remain in the police lock-up. But he was bailed out by his father. During the trial, the police advised him to make a confession of his guilt so that a lenient view might be taken of his offence. S.K. confessed and was released after admonition. This was in 1950 and he was then hardly 14.

This incident cost him a year, for he failed in VIII class. But apart from the fact that he drew further and further from his parents and home, there was hardly any effect upon S.K. His father had so managed the affairs that most people had not heard of S.K.'s trouble with law. For a time S.K. was sobered, but the effect did not last long and he went back to his friends. In his own class, S.K. had few friends, but his company included those more senior students who were the turbulent elements in ~~the school society~~ the school society and "bossed" over younger boys. During the examination, S.K. carried a book in the examination hall and when the invigilator noticed him, S.K. showed him a knife from under his shirt. The invigilator knew that S.K. would do what he threatened, heeded the warning and never returned to the place where S.K. was sitting. S.K. ^{just} ~~first~~ managed to be promoted, for inspite of all this, he could not do well in Mathematics.

It was not as if S.K. was a good-for-nothing fellow. He was particularly good at free hand drawing and easily stood at the top of his class. He could fix a lamp bracket or mend a cycle puncture better than most boys of his age. But the main trouble with him was that he could not concentrate on any thing for long. Many unfinished drawings in pasted bear testimony to this fact. S.K.

himself confessed that he seemed to have insatiable urge for innovation, change, movement, that he seemed to suffer from an incurable restlessness of the spirit. Yet he did not have any particular goal in view. When asked what he would like to become after his education, he said he did not know. He had a vague idea that education upto a certain standard, say High School or Intermediate, would help him get a job, but he admitted that money could be earned in various ways, and he did not know why he should chose the one way and not the other.

But S.K. does not suffer from feelings of insecurity, anxiety, inferiority, and frustration. On the contrary he has grandiose notions about himself, and ideas of adventure and ambition which are entirely unrealistic; he would like to have every thing; he has strong wishes and impulses and is unable to control them ~~from~~ for any length of time; he has a marked hostility towards others, especially to authoritative adults, whom he fears and dis-trusts. His labile emotional tendency soon overcomes whatever caution and hesitancy he may be able to ~~not~~ muster, and he quickly becomes involved in irresponsible behaviour.

S.K. has never participated in School games, and has no hobby. He told us that as a little child, the only game he liked was breaking the street lamps by throwing stones at them. He recalls that when he was six he had broken twenty lamps in a day—a record in his company. Another incident he vividly recounted before us was when at about the same age, he "swiped" four wheels from a baby's perambulator parked near his house.



(101)

When we came across S.K. towards the end of 1954, he was in X class, but he told us that he would not^{be} sent up for the examination for he had not put up the required school attendance. He was right. He was not only^{not} sent up for examination but was also asked to quit at end of the term. At present S.K. is a peon in a local office, having been withdrawn from school by his father who refused to pay further for his education.

CHAPTER IV
GENERAL CONCLUSIONS
X6

In the last chapter we have described in detail case-histories of a few of the delinquents we studied in our investigation. We may now ask ourselves how typical of juvenile offenders are these cases? And how do they compare with the boys growing up in more or less similar circumstances who do not resort to anti-social behaviour despite the deprivations and pressures of a vicious environment? Can we discern any general characteristics which mark out a delinquent from a non-delinquent?

As we pointed out earlier some light may be thrown on this question by turning to a consideration of delinquents with their match-mates, all living in identical environments. It is well to remind ourselves that occasional childhood lapses from conventional behaviour are not significant; it is at least partial habituation in anti-social conduct that really sets off the delinquent boy from others; and it is therefore this type of lad who should be contrasted with the general run of boys.

Occasional
Unsocial Behaviour.

~~Our~~ ^{Our} investigation of 150 non-delinquents revealed that a fourth of them had misbehaved to the extent, for example, of smoking on a few occasions in their earlier years, once or twice 'swiping' much desired articles from the counters of a store. One in ~~ten~~ ^{ten} had tried sneaking into movies, occasionally truanting from school, or were described by their mothers as being stubborn. ~~xx~~ A small proportion kept late hours, a few used vile language, or ran away from home and so on. But such misconduct proved to be very occasional or accidental and was

quickly abandoned. Indeed it would almost seem that while some types of children are criminalized by early experiences with delinquency, others are immunized thereby.

On the other hand, ~~150~~ the 150 delinquents had an official history of persistent and serious delinquency. Nearly three fourth of them (75 %) had been charged with theft and kindred offences; 20 %, with gambling; 5 %, with crimes against public order, such as rioting and affray etc; 13 % with truancy; 10 % , with running away; 5 % with assault and causing hurt, 2 %, with sex offences, e.g. D.C.'s case (no.5); and 2 % with robbery and ~~none~~ ^{have} serious crimes. It may, however, be mentioned that usually a delinquent was charged with more than ~~one~~ of these allegations.

Age of Juveniles.

The average age of the delinquents at the time of their first court appearance proved to be 12.4 years; their average age at ~~first~~ first conviction, 12.5 years. It would therefore appear that in at most all cases the boys were prosecuted when they were arrested by the police (J.P.'s case No.9) was an exception ~~rather~~ rather than the rule) and that in all cases the offenders either confessed their guilt or were unable to give any evidence in their defence with the result that the trial speedily came to end with the conviction of the accused.

A study in retrospect of the first clear signs of the delinquents' social maladaptation—stealing, truancy, destructive ~~mis~~ ^{mis}chief, stubbornness, disobedience, running ~~away~~ away, sex affairs and the like—reveals nearly half of them showed evidences of maladaptation before their

eighth year and another two-fifths before their eleventh year, making a total of 88 % whose anti ~~xxxx~~ social conduct was already unmistakable before puberty. The average age at the onset of their anti-social behaviour was found to be 8.3 years, in ^τcontast with the average ~~xxxx~~ ^Λage of 12.4 years at their first court appearance.

F a m i l y
Wellsprings.

If it be true that " the apple does not fall ^{far} from the tree", then the first question to which we must direct our attention concerns the background of the parents of our boys. From what kind of people did they spring? In what kind of environments were they reared? Since they must have carried into the process of child care and discipline the ideational, emotional, spiritual and behavioural residues of their own upbringing, it is relevant to consider some of the influences to which these parents had been subjected. Their ^eown childhood deprivations, frustrations, and other emotional eruption and disruptions, may well have been reflected in their attitudes and practices when they, in turn, had to deal with their children

In the first chapter we have called attention to some of these factors. We have seen how in some aspects the culture of those who came differed from that of their new ~~xxxxxx~~ homeland. Yet there was no fundamental distinction between the two types. It is a matter of common observation that there has been ^τall but complete assimilation of the refugees in the local people, and the fact surely proves culture——or rather the difference in its pattern——has had little effect upon juvenile delinquency.

In respect of some ^τmaters, the families from which the parents came did not vary much,

There was little difference in their size, and ^{much} ^{in the economic} not [^] difference [^] circumstances of the homes in which the two ^e [^]sts of parents had been reared. Almost without exception they lived in conditions of poverty or near poverty (C.P.'scase, No.8 is certainly an exception). Both sets of parents had been reared by fathers and mothers who had ~~had~~ had little if any formal education.

Yet, two points of difference can be seen in this likeness between the parents of the delinquents and the non-delinquents. In the first place, a declining trend in economic, social, and cultural status could be seen in the previous generations of the delinquents; in the second, the mothers in the family were more irritable and highly-strung than the fathers. It would seem obvious that fathers and mothers who themselves had been brought up in an atmosphere of poor economic standards combined with intellectual and educational inferiority, and mental imbalance, ~~xxxxxxxx~~ would not be likely to bring to the task of child rearing the intelligence, the social moral standards, the ethical and religious ideals, and the peace of mind so indispensable to the wholesome emotional and intellectual rearing of youngsters especially in the highly competitive and unsettled environment which obtained just after the partition. We are inclined to the view that the poor cultural matrix of the delinquent boys developed feeble moral roots, and the sudden impact of partition swept them away.

There is yet another aspect of difference. Generally speaking the parents of delinquents are poor workers, that is to say, they show a lack of interest in their work. Naturally this

trait is visible only when they are employed as part of ^a larger body, e.g. in an office or a factory, and are liable to control and supervision of others. It is overshadowed by the keenness of the struggle for existence when a person works alone to earn his living and is free to choose his work-hours, etc. A considerable number of the fathers of the delinquents could be regarded as only fair workers (with the qualifications that might make them assets to their employers but inclined to permit their work to be interrupted by laziness or periodic drinking or utter disregard of authority and ^{lack of} a sense responsibility). In the very nature of circumstances, the refugee had to work hard to be able to survive the storm; only a stray refugee found his way into some business organization, an office or a factory. Our data is clearly insufficient to hazard a generalisation; all that we can say is that work habits of the fathers of some delinquent boys are better explained in this light.

THE FAMILY.

Orderliness of Household.

First, as regards the orderliness of the households, much is reflected in the management of the family's income and in the routine of household activities. Although both sets of families were poor, there was less planning in the management of the family income in the households of delinquents than in those of other boys. As a group, the families of the delinquents were far more inclined to live from day to day, borrowing without thought of their ability to make reimbursement, and showing little comprehension of the value of limiting their expenditures to conform

to a meagre income. Of course this may be due to the fact that in most cases the father of the delinquent did not have a stable employment; he would work in one place for a few days, then in another and so on.

There was no material difference in two types of families as regards the routine established for the conduct of the household reflected, for example, in their concern for specific mealtimes and bedtimes for children, hours for doing home lessons and the like. Both types were indifferent to these aspects.

Cultural
Refinement
of Home.

In exploring the home background of both delinquents and non delinquents we sought evidence of appreciation of the "finer things of life", as reflected by love of music, art, literature, aesthetic home furnishings, and the like. Since the socioeconomic level of all the homes was low, there existed little opportunity for obtaining the means of aesthetic enjoyment. Nevertheless, even the poorest of families can assemble bits of symbols of ~~some~~ refinement. In most of the homes of the delinquents there was complete lack of any evidence of aesthetic appreciation. The value of art as an ennobling influence in the development of human personality is universally recognized. We are inclined to think that our finding is also applicable to comparisons generally of delinquents and non delinquents, and not among the refugee population alone, and therefore of concern to school teachers, social workers, artists and those interested in community organization.

Family
Pride.

In a further search for possible differences in the quality of the home life in which the delinquents and the non-delinquents were reared, we sought to determine the sense of responsibility and ambitiousness of the families as revealed in the attitude of the elders towards protecting the family name or in their embarrassment over any irregularity in the behaviour and status of any members of the family group, and in their preference for self-help as opposed to outside sources for financial assistance. The refugees were generally lacking in such attributes of self-respect. For one thing, they had little to lose; they were strangers here, they had no family name to cherish and protect. On the contrary, those who were permanent residents of this place had ~~behind~~ behind them a tradition and a reputation to preserve, irrespective of their neighbours and except in rare cases were jealous of its honour.

There is a clear distinction between the desire of a person to improve his status and in his mere desire to earn a livelihood. The former is a psychological urge and the latter a biological necessity. Further the desire on the part of parents for improvement in their status is reflected in wanting higher education for ~~their~~ their children, or in a serious intention to move to better neighbourhoods in order to remove children from economically and morally blighted regions, or in saving to buy a house so that the living conditions of the family might be stabilized, or in plans to establish a small business with a view to improving the family's economic status.

We found that by far the majority of both groups of families, but substantially ^{more} of the families of the delinquents, gave no thought to the future, ^{while} ~~while~~ very few—nearly 10%—showed some desire to improve their status. It is certainly true that on the whole the refugees improved their financial ~~xxxx~~ status to a considerable ^a very short time, but the truth remained that in degree, within their endeavour they did not have ^{all} so much the children in their ~~xxx~~ view as the struggle for existence and upon themselves. Thus there was no comparable rise in education among them, or in their effort to seek for their children desirable environment or employment goals.

Relationship of Parents.

Since it is the parents who set the tenor of the family life, and by their relationship to each other determine the affectional mood of the home, it is crucially important to learn something about the quality of their feeling for each other. The relationship of only a third of the parents of the delinquents compared to two-thirds of the parents of the non-delinquents could be considered to be good, by which we mean that they were living together in harmony. In about the same proportion the parents were in fact not compatible (e.g. in S.K's case, No. 10.), but no open breach had occurred between them. The disastrous effect on children of incompatibility of parents need not be laboured.

Maternal Care.

Certainly maternal neglect and careless oversight of children are generally recognized as major sources of maladaptation and delinquency, and clearly the mothers of the delinquent boys as a group were far more remiss in the care of their children than were the members of the nondelinquents. Although in equal proportions the homes in which



the two sets of boys grew up were/mother-dominated, this does not mean that the mothers fulfilled their obligations to the children in equal measures. Many more of the delinquent boys were objects of utter indifference to their mothers (e.g. R.S.'s mother's remark, "the children make me tired—case No.1) or were otherwise deprived of maternal supervision. This latter fact may be explained by the fact that a greater proportion of such mothers worked outside the home in jobs which undoubtedly ~~absorbed~~ absorbed most of their energies, as domestic servants e.g. in the case of K.S. (case No.7) or working at home as in sewing and knitting for others. The necessity for the mothers to work was of course largely due to the low economic status of the families, particularly so in the case of refugees. By any standard, D.C.'s case (No.6) is an exception.

Recreational Outlets of the family.

In both groups there was hardly any provision for recreational activities in which all the members of the family could participate. Two points of importance we may, however, note. In ~~the~~ most of the families of the delinquents, the children did not find their homes attractive, and tried to remain as long away from their homes as possible. Again, in general the delinquent boys had practically no hobbies. When we recall that in many cases the boys in both groups came from average middle class families, these two points of difference assume considerable significance.

Cohesiveness of the family.

There is some indication also that the forces of disruption in the families of the delinquents were greater than those making for cohesion. A far lower proportion of such families than those of the non-delinquents evinced strong affectional ties among members, shared joint interests, took

(111)

pride in their homes, and felt themselves to be "one for all and all for one." We must distinguish here between a refugee's feelings towards another refugee and his feelings towards other members of his own family. The former is a clanish feeling and bears no relation to the latter, which is affectional, and relevant to our study.

THE BOY AT HOME.

We turn now to the dynamics of the home environment, focussing attention on those elements which directly affected the delinquent and the non-delinquent boys. What of their birth and early development, their growth and the vicissitudes within the family group, the changes in the make-up of the ~~households~~ households of which they were a part, the affectional relations between them and their parents and their brothers and sisters? What of the concern of the parents for the welfare of the boys? What of the extent to which the youngsters felt that their fathers were suitable objects for admiration and emulation? Finally, what of the ways in which the parents sought to discipline the boys for their misdoings?

Size of Family.

At the outset it will be convenient to mention that we failed to find any support for two wide spread Beliefs that the delinquents stem from larger families than do non-delinquents and only children, first born children, and youngest children are especially vulnerable to the development of behaviour difficulties because they are in a pampered position in the family constellation. Although there was little difference in the size of the households of which the delinquents and non-delinquents were a part,



there was in fact more crowding of living quarters in the homes of the delinquents. It is reasonable to suppose that this resulted in increased competition on the part of the children for^{more} parental attention, and in ~~more~~ likelihood of emotional strain, tension, and friction; that it meant loss of privacy, and that therefore it might have induced sexual and other emotional shocks. A high proportion of both groups (over 60% of the delinquents and 50% of the non-delinquents) had to share a bed with a brother or sister, a parent or another relative, or had to sleep in the same room with more than one brother or sister, or with one or both parents, or with other relatives.

Stability of Household

The stability of the home is perhaps the most important single factor to be explored from the point of view of wholesome family life, for here a child's insecurities, his confusions about standards of behaviour, and his problem of accepting the authority of parents and others are all involved.

What are the compelling facts?

Clearly the delinquent boys had been subjected to many more unsettling experiences than those of the law-abiding. Since uprooting is bound to make excessive demands upon powers of adaptation it raises or reflects fears and doubts regarding parental understanding, affection, protection, and relationship to the authoritarian adult world.

A stable household may be described as one in which preferably both parents, but at least one, remain in unbroken~~x~~ physical and affectional relationship to the children. ~~xxxx~~ Looked at from this point of view, the case of A.N.(No.2), R.L.(No.3), K.S.(No.7) and S.K.(No.10) represent



a disruption in the family life. Generally speaking fewer no ~~fewer~~ than six out of every ten of the homes of the delinquents as compared to three in ten of the homes of the non-delinquents had been broken by death or separation or prolonged absence of one of the parents. A little over half of these delinquents and only slightly less than half the non-delinquents were still under five years of age when the initial break occurred.

It is probable that the first definitive break in the organic structure of the family is crucial, because it is likely to deal the greatest emotional blow to a child's conception of the solidarity and reliability of the parental team and to disrupt his general sense of security as well as of family stability. In some cases a break in the family pattern may seriously distort the process of emotional intellectual identification of a boy with his father as hero-ideal.

Affectional ties
between Parents
& Boy.

But there is one aspect of family life that probably transcends in significance even those already noted, namely, the affectional relationship between the boys and their parents. There is no doubt that a warm tie between father and son is of great significance in helping a boy to develop a wholesome set of ideals through the process of emotional "identification" with his father. Should this bond not be close, the growing child may seek a substitute in companionship with delinquent children; or he may pass through a stage of grave insecurity, frustration or resentment, with the resulting psycho-neurotic symptoms. It is highly significant therefore that only four out of every ten of the fathers of the delinquents, evidenced warmth, sympathy, and affection towards their boys.

So, also, a substantially lower proportion of the mothers of the delinquents held their sons in affectional warmth, but one out of every four of the mothers of the delinquents showed clear evidence of being over-protective of the boys, an attitude that frequently leads to a crippling childhood dependence which may be carried into adulthood. A far higher proportion of the mothers of the delinquents than of the non-delinquents were openly indifferent or hostile to them, ~~which~~ often to the point of rejection.

But parent-child relations are a two-way emotional street. What about the affection of the boys for their parents?

There is widespread acceptance nowadays of the Freudian formulation of the role of close affectional ties between parents and children and the favourable or unfavourable "solution" of that well-known family triangle, the "Oedipus situation", as constituting the very core of personality formation. "It is clear..... why Freud says that the ~~XXXXXXXX~~ Oedipus situation is the nuclear complex of all the neuroses. The reaction pattern which the little boy forms to solve these difficulties relations with his parents, particularly with his father, serves as the pattern for all his future relations, whether in the field of love or of business competition. If the solution has been healthy, so ~~will~~ ^{will} his future relationships be healthy and be undertaken in the light of their reality. If the the solution has been unhealthy he will approach his future relationship with an unhealthy pattern and meet them by this rather than by an intelligent

(115) understanding of the real situation* But whether one accepts or rejects the Freudian formula, the emotional attitude of a boy to his parents is a strong indicator of his personality. In the light of this, the findings assume great significance; for a far lower proportion of the delinquents than the non-delinquents (some three in ten, as contrasted with over six in ten) were found to have close affectional ties to their fathers. And fewer delinquents than non-delinquents had an affectional attachment to their mothers (less than 70% as compared with 90%). However, a much higher proportion of both groups of boys were held in affectional warmth by their mothers and in turn expressed attachment to their mothers than is true of situation respecting the fathers.

Experts in dynamic psychiatry are of the opinion that the process of identification of the growing boy with his father, whom he consciously or unconsciously tries to emulate, is highly significant in the development of personality and character. The extent to which the father of a boy was acceptable to him as a figure for identification is revealed in the finding that fewer than two out of ten of the delinquents, as contrasted with one half the non-delinquents considered the father to be the kind of man that he himself would like to be, and had respect for his father's vocational and social standing as well as some sort of common understanding with him.

* English, O.S., and Pearson, G.H.J.,: Common Neuroses of children and Adults, New York, 1937.

Information is not available regarding the feelings of the boys towards their brothers and sisters. But some indication of the relation of the boys to them may be inferred from the fact that the brothers and sisters were not so warmly attached to the delinquent boys as to the non-delinquents.

Parental Concern
for Boys Welfare.

It is commonly recognized that to a large extent a child's attitudes and deportment are influenced by ~~xx~~ his concept, justified or not, of the genuineness of his parents' concern for his well-being. Whatever the outward manifestation of interest may be, it is the feeling of authenticity of the parental attitude, its affectional motivation and its sincerity that leave a wholesome precipitate in the structure of personality and character. The finding that, as a group, ~~for~~ fewer of the delinquents than of the non-delinquents felt that their mothers and fathers were really interested in their welfare.

In this connection we may note that it is surprising to find that the parents were generally ignorant of the way in which their children spent their leisure time. Generally speaking the parents preferred not to admit that a boy's habits are bad or that he is running around with questionable companions.

Disciplinary Attitudes
of their parents.

A reflection ^{of} wholesome ~~or~~ unwholesome parent-child relations is furnished by the disciplinary attitudes and practices of mothers and fathers. Such practices are important in guiding children toward a consistent and clear concept of right and wrong and the varying consequences of socialization through definition of moral—

legal prohibitions, wrong disciplinary practices may have serious consequences in the development of a child's personality, character, and habit systems. Inconsistency between the parents in disciplining a child; excessive anger, unfairness, or other forms of over-emotional response to numerous little peccadilloes normally engaged in by children during the early years when they are testing a developing sense of power may be a baneful source of emotional distortion and ultimately result in ambivalence toward or defiance of the authority of the parents and later of school and society.

The delinquent boys were more certainly victims of a far greater laxity on the part of their mothers than were the non-delinquents. In none of the cases we have cited in the last chapter, did the mothers pay any attention to the boy's misbehaviour. Usually they were inconsistent in their disciplinary practices, swinging erratically from laxity to over strictness without apparent reason.

The fathers were generally more inclined than the mothers to be overstrict with the boys. This was characteristic of three out of ten fathers of the delinquents as compared with less than one in ten of the fathers of the non-delinquents. Like mothers, fathers were also inconsistent in their disciplinary practices.

None of the mothers and fathers of the delinquents were apt to reason with their sons and try to understand the motives of their misconduct. Relatively few of the ~~xxxx~~ parents in both groups made any attempt to appeal to a boy's self-respect, conscience, social ideals, or family name.

THE BOY IN SCHOOL.

Under the impact of modern psychological analysis, it is being realized more and more that "book learning" does not play as important a role in the development of character and conduct as was formerly supposed. Knowledge is one thing; its efficient and socially acceptable use is quite another. The child's instinctual drives, his emotional moods and impulses, and his temperamental equipment are inevitably involved in the proper use of the instruments he obtains through the gateway of learning.

Nevertheless, it is important to find out as much as possible about the school experiences of our two groups of boys; for, though schooling does not completely account ~~for~~ for the structuring of character and motivation of conduct it can provide a sense of emotional satisfaction in the achievement of ~~skills~~ skills; it can arouse socially acceptable ambitions; it can place the pupil in contact with adults with whom he can identify and whom he can strive to emulate. On the other hand, it can leave scars in the psyche of the growing child which may well enhance the development of antisocial attitudes and defiance of all authority.

The school is the child's first testing ground outside the secure atmosphere of his home. It supplies the first proof of his adaptability and his capacity for socialization in a theatre of action in which ~~there~~ there are strict rules punitively enforced by non-parental authority. In school the child gets his first taste of the power of the outside world to impose rigid standards of behaviour and to subject the individual to restraints and



punishment from which even loving and protecting parents are often unable to save them. Outside the familiar home atmosphere the child is forced to face reality and to prove his capacity to sink or swim.

School Status

A striking finding of our investigation was that most of the delinquents had not gone beyond the sixth class when we first encountered them. A glance back at the ten histories that we have described would show that in only three cases (P.C.No.5, C.P.No.8 and S.K.No.10), the boys were in higher classes when we first came across them. At the other end of the scale, we found that very few had reached the high school or junior high school age (only S.K. and C.P. among the cases described). Our analysis showed that these results were typical of our 150 cases. A comparison with the non-delinquents showed that at about the same age and intelligence level twice as many of the delinquents had not gone beyond the sixth grade; and only half as many delinquents as non-delinquents had reached junior high or high school. As a group, the delinquents were a year ~~making~~ behind the non-delinquents in educational achievement, the average grade attained by the former being the seventh, and by the latter the eighth.

Although both delinquents and non-delinquents entered school at the same age (7-9 years) the delinquents were shifted about more from one school to another, ~~not~~ not only because their families moved about more frequently than did the families of the non-delinquents, but also of their own turbulent nature. Thus S.K. studied in three, and both R.C. and P.C. in two, different schools.



(120)
AGE OF STUDENTS.

Classes.		Age of students ranging from:			Average Age.			Total No. of students.		
		1953-54	1954-55	1955-56	1953-54	1954-55	1955-56	1953-54	1954-55	1955-56
III	6 to 16	5-15	5-15	8-9	8-9	8-9	5721	4437	5149	
IV	6 to 16	6-16	8-16	9-10	9-10	9-10	3862	4246	4288	
V	7 to 17	7-18	7-17	10-11	10-11	10-11	3148	3613	3660	
VI	7 to 17	7-20	8-18	10-11	11-12	11-12	3366	2765	2903	
VII	8 to 18	8-20	8-18	12-13	12-13	12-13	2526	2614	2659	
VIII	9 to 19	10-20	9-19	13-14	13-14	13-14	2017	2220	2468	
IX	10 to 20	10-21	10-21	14-15	14-15	14-15	1865	1791	1932	
X	12 to 22	11-21	11-22	15-16	15-16	15-16	1804	1763	1890	
XI) 13 to 23	13-23	13-22) 16-17	17-18	17-18	799	908	1027	
XII		13-25	14-24				496	796	859	

School
Retardation.

The table at page 120 gives the average age of students in any particular class from III to XII classes in three academic years, 1953-54, 1954-55, and 1955-56. It will be seen that although the number of students in ^a class varies from year to year —the number showing a gradually rising trend—the average age of the students in a particular grade has remained constant. Regarding backwardness in school, twice as many delinquents as non-delinquents were two or more years behind the proper grade for their age. The difference was even more marked between the two groups when only those boys who were markedly retarded (3 years or more) were considered. Although some of this retardation may be accounted for by less regular attendance (brought about by delinquency), it certainly cannot all be charged to this.

These differences assume added significance in the light of the fact, which we will emphasize subsequently, also, that the delinquents were not below the general intelligence level.

Some of the reasons for the greater school retardation of the delinquents have been derived from interviews with their teachers. According to them, half the delinquent group manifested a lack of interest in school work, as compared with fewer than 2 in 10 of the non-delinquents; half the former and fifth of the latter were "inattentive"; almost half the delinquents as compared with one in five of the non-delinquents were described as "careless", two in five of the delinquents were reported to be "lazy". Their most recent teachers reported that the delinquents were markedly tardy and restless.

Subject
Preferences.

The delinquents as well as the non-delinquents who expressed strong preferences said they liked courses in the manual arts best. Both groups of boys showed little enthusiasm for ~~arithmetic~~ arithmetic, social studies, art courses, English and science courses. Both groups of boys generally expressed strong dislikes for English, Mathematics and science courses. However, there was a more prevalent distaste among the delinquents not only for subjects requiring strict logical reasoning and persistency of effort but also for those dependent upon good memory.

Scholarship and
Achievement.

Judging the differences in scholarship and achievement of both groups of boys by their actual accomplishment during their last full year of school, it was possible to ascertain from the school records that four in ten of the delinquent boys, compared with but one in ten of the non-delinquent, were poor students, as reflected by marks in most or all of the subjects.

Attitude toward
School.

The delinquents showed greater anti-pathy toward school than the non-delinquents; only 10% of the former readily accepted schooling. The reasons the delinquents gave for ~~their~~ their marked dislike of school, apart from intellectual inferiority, are largely reflective of temperamental and emotional difficulties—inability to learn, lack of interest, resentment of restriction and routine.

The greater dislike for school on the part of the delinquents is further revealed by the nature of their academic and vocational ambitions. Although most of both ^{the} types of boys had not given any thought as to whether they wished to stop school or continue, more of the delinquents



than the other group wanted to stop school immediately and expressed vague, childish, superficial and unrealistic notions about what they wanted to be in life (see S.K.'s case, no.10), or they inclined to adventurous occupations and to work requiring little training, instead of to trades and intellectual ~~purish~~ pursuits.

Relation to Schoolmates.

In their interpersonal relationships with schoolmates, the delinquents were less friendly and more pugnacious.

Earliest School Misbehaviour

Our analysis brought out the striking fact that no less than nine in ten of the delinquents persistently (and often seriously) misconducted themselves in school at one time or another as compared to less than two in ten of the non-delinquents. ~~xx~~ Misbehaviour included truancy, stealing, persistent attempts to attract attention, inattention, mischievousness, disobedience, defiance, stubbornness, carelessness, lying, underhandedness, sexual ~~immorality~~ misconduct, smoking.

That the tendency to maladapted and antisocial behaviour is early and deeply rooted among the delinquents is shown by the fact that nearly a third of the delinquents who ~~xx~~ misbehaved in school were under eight years old when the first signs appeared. The delinquents as a whole were much younger than the relatively few non-delinquents whose misconduct was so serious as to be forced upon the teachers' attention. Reviewing the case-histories described in the previous chapter, it will be observed that the average age of the delinquents at their first school misbehaviour is between eight and nine years; A.N.(case no.2); R.L.(case no.3); R.C. (case no.4); D.C. (case No.6). This age in the case



of non-delinquents is twelve and a half.

It would thus appear that difficulties in social adaptation as manifested by school misconduct were clearly evident among the delinquents prior to the onset of puberty, while in the case of the few non-delinquents who had behavioural difficulties in school, these did not show themselves until puberty or early adolescence.

The vast majority of the delinquents had truanted at one time or another during their school careers, while only ^{one} in ten of the non-delinquents had ever truanted, and then only occasionally. A great majority of the delinquents who were school truants, frequently "skipped school".

It is clear, therefore that social adjustment expressed itself throughout the school careers of the delinquent boys, ~~not~~ not only by disobedience, unruliness, defiance or the like, but by running away from difficult or unpleasant social situations and obligations, and often toward more absorbing activities.

The delinquents came more sharply to the attention of their teachers by their troublesome behaviour. A great majority of them showed lack of interest in their school work; were unreliable, inattentive, careless, lazy, untruthful, were disobedient, tardy, attention seeking, and disorderly in class. A good many of them also stole in school. Many more of the delinquents smoked in school and wrote obscene notes or talked obscenely. More were quarrelsome, domineering, cruel, bullying; more showed themselves to be physical cowards; more were selfish, suspicious; more ~~s~~ resorted to lying and profanity; more destroyed school materials.

THE BOY ON THE STREETS.

We have seen that the homes of the delinquent boys were far less adequate than those of the law-abiders, not only in physical attributes but in the quality of the family life. We can therefore conclude that the delinquents had less reason than the non-delinquents to be attached to their homes.

Thus handicapped, they were also exposed to worse influences in the streets, in jobs, in recreations, and in companionships than were the non-delinquents. True, they all—delinquents as well as non-delinquents—lived in similar neighbourhoods. If we examine their street activities, we may learn how and why a similar cultural matrix has somehow squeezed some boys into different shapes while permitting others to remain non-delinquents.

Neighbourhood
Ties.

The fact of the refugees having to move about more frequently from place to place need not be emphasized. It was very natural in their circumstances. But frequent moving about means relative ~~anonymity~~ ^{anonymity} and the likelihood of failure to develop a feeling of loyalty and responsibility to neighbours; it tends rather to develop a sense of instability. In the past, life was lived in one small community, and everyone was known to his neighbours, a fact which made for relative unity of cultural ~~unity~~ ^{values} and exerted a certain disciplinary influence on conduct. This was only one of the many unsettling experiences to which the delinquent boys were far more subjected than the non-delinquents. Another unusual environmental experience was in excessive running away from home. All these experiences naturally demanded frequent readaptations to

situations, companions, and activities.

Employment
Outside the
School.

Working outside school hours can either have desirable consequences in teaching elementary business practices and contributing to a sense of economic responsibility or harmful ones in developing a premature sophistication and subjecting a boy too early to the hazards of life in the city streets. The economic condition of the refugee family was mainly responsible for the boy's working in addition to going to schools (R.S.'s case No. 1), but the great majority consisted of those who had to work to assist the family income before they could go to school (R.L. case No. 3, K.S. case No. 7 etc.) This fact on the one hand brought them into contact with the outside world and on the other enabled them to spend money from their earnings without check or knowledge of their parents. It is, however interesting to observe that the delinquents gravitated principally to street trades such as peddling, boot-blackening, and selling newspapers, which means that they were more exposed to street influences than the non-delinquents. Very few were engaged in jobs in which some supervision or protection was provided. This finding again points to the conclusion that the delinquents on the whole sought out the more hazardous and adventuresome jobs in which they were less subject to protection from street influences.

Use of Leisure.

It is, however, clear that despite their working beyond school hours, the boys had a considerable amount of leisure time. It appears that delinquent boys preferred adventurous activities to competitive (sports and games in which there is rivalry between individuals or teams, such as hockey, football). Some of them preferred active



sports free of element of competition (such as cycling) but very ^{few} were content with quiet amusements such as indoor hobbies or reading.

This definite preference for adventurous, exciting forms of recreation is striking. It is probably a reflection of the greater restlessness of the delinquents. A great thirst for excitement on the part of the delinquents was also disclosed in far more frequent movie attendance. Almost half of them compared with a tenth of the lawabiding boys, attended movies excessively (3 or 4 times a week). It would seem that the vicarious excitement of motion picture thrillers is a way of satisfying the strong craving for adventure which characterizes the delinquents. Not only in real life, therefore, but also in make-believe, the troublesome boy has a more powerful urge than the non-delinquent for exciting outlets.

Adventurous Activities

But ^{the} ~~the~~ reality of this greater thirst for excitement among the delinquents is brought home still more strikingly in their other activities. A large number of them sought their recreations in regions considerably distant from their own homes or went to places such as Hardwar, Delhi or Mussoorie without the knowledge or consent of their parents, e.g. S.K. (case No. 10) etc. Many of them kept late hours roaming about the streets after dark, began to smoke at an early age and indulged in various acts of destructive mischief.

Companions.

The delinquents almost without exception were friendly with other delinquents, while the non-delinquents, despite the fact that they too lived in similar circumstances, had few intimates among delinquents. This does not mean



that they were not rubbing shoulders with them; it does mean that they did not choose delinquents as bosom friends. Thus the evidence would strongly suggest that the tendency to develop companionships selectively is a much more fundamental fact in any analysis of juvenile crime than the commonly held belief of "differential association" of non-delinquent boys with delinquents.

Almost half the delinquents were attracted to youths older than themselves, compared with only one in ten of the non-delinquents, fewer of the former were inclined to choose companions of their own age or younger than themselves. This great tendency of the delinquents to seek companions among older youths may be associated with the search for a substitute "ego-ideal" to look up to, admire, emulate; for, as we have seen their fathers were less sympathetic and less acceptable as admired models than were the fathers of the non-delinquents.

PHYSIQUE, HEALTH AND DELINQUENCY.

When tracing the evolution of personality and the root tendencies to antisocial or socially acceptable behaviour, we must take into account constitutional endowment along with the early influences surrounding the child in home, school, and neighbourhood. Constitutional equipment tends to determine whether the stream of life will on the whole be powerful, tempestuous, turbulent; or will meander placidly; or will flow rigid in straight and narrow banks. But whether the life current will flood its shores and cause serious social harm depends in large measure upon the environmental - cultural terrain through which it flows.

The refugees, in general, had better health than the local people. So also the delinquents

selected from them, far from being inferior in physique were actually somewhat superior. They had sturdier, well-knit, athletic type bodies than the non-delinquents. In ~~the~~^{our} investigation we could not find any support for the view so commonly held that the delinquents are in poorer health than the ~~delin~~^{non} delinquents. Little, if any, difference exists between the physical condition of the two groups as a whole.

INTELLIGENCE AND DELINQUENCY.

For a long time it was taken for granted that mental defect, especially outright feeble ~~ix~~ mindedness, was a chief cause of juvenile delinquency. More recently, however, it has become apparent that deficiency of intellect is not among the more important characteristics of delinquents. The earlier emphasis on this factor of intellectual defect is a good illustration of what happens when it is concluded that a trait which seems to occur frequently among delinquents necessarily indicates that they deviate in that respect from the non-delinquents.

If we review the ten cases which we have described in the previous chapter from this point of view, we would find that none of them could be described as having subnormal intelligence. In other cases ~~too~~, we could not discover any material difference in their intelligence levels.

Nevertheless it appears that the delinquent is somewhat more apt in those intellectual tasks in which the approach to meaning is by direct physical relationships with a minimum of dependence on intermediate symbols or

abstract thinking. Fewer delinquents than the non-delinquents have adequate powers of observation and fewer show a potential capacity for objective interests; and to a significantly greater extent are unrealistic thinkers, lack common sense, and are unmethodical in their approach to problems.

It is easy to see that these difference in the mental tendencies of the boys are not only involved in solving ordinary problems in the school, but are involved in the general processes of socialization and adjustment to the realistic demands of life.

PERSONALITY & DELINQUENCY.

Emotional Dynamics.

In regard to many mental mechanisms which are obviously involved in determining how a person behaves, there is a substantial difference between the delinquents and the non-delinquents.

Take for example, emotional adequacy. Very few delinquents could conduct or express themselves with a fair degree of efficiency. Common experience shows how often deep-seated emotional distraction gets people into trouble.

By contrast the delinquent group contains the great majority who are dynamic— forceful, energetic. They are markedly aggressive. This trait may well play an important role in the actisocial behaviour of some of the delinquents.

Another tendency which, if not properly harnessed and canalized, not infrequently gets boys into conflict with the law is an excessive thirst for adventure, change, excitement, or risk. Obviously, if ~~turned~~ turned into harmless, ~~like~~ or socially

constructive channels, this very adventuresomeness could be desirable emotional mechanism. We have already had evidence of this trait in the way in which the delinquents used their leisure hours.

Then there is an excessive proportion of delinquents who usually express their emotions by extroversion; i.e., who habitually spring into action upon wellingup of feelings. Such lads typically leap before they look/ and of course they frequently leap into trouble. Further more, the delinquents are emotionally less stable than the non-delinquents. Two other important traits are suggestibility and stubbornness in the delinquents to a greater degree than in the other type. These are obviously serious emotional handicaps of the delinquent boys.

Given the opportunities, enticements, and provocative incidents of street life, even a few of these dynamic emotional tendencies may well lead to maladaptation and law-breaking; the piling up of many of them in the mental life of a boy multiplies the chances of his habitual social ~~maladjustment~~ maladjustment.

Appetitive-
Aesthetic Tendencies.

More of the delinquents than the non-delinquents were found to have marked tendencies to sensuality (inclination to indulge their appetites), more also to acquisitiveness (tendency to get hold of material things or money beyond the desire for their immediate use). Here, too, there is an excessive incidence in the law breaking group of ~~traits~~ traits that may easily lead to persistent conflict with legal prohibitions. In respect to aesthetic sensibility (inclination to the ~~refined~~ ^{refined} and artistic), the delinquents as a group were markedly ~~deficient~~ deficient.

Personality
Orientation

There are striking differences between the two groups of boys, also, with reference to general qualities that tend to make antisocial behaviour habitual.

The delinquents as a group were found to be less conventional, a far lower proportion of them than of the non-delinquents preferring the familiar, tradition^{al} and safer forms of self-expression. Even more striking is the proportionately low incidence among ~~the~~ the delinquents of boys who can be characterized as conscientious in the sense of being scrupulous about achieving their aims.

To these traits, which in themselves or in combination may lead to troublesome conduct, should be added certain other basic personality deficiencies. They were less realistic, in the sense of facing actualities; or practical, in the sense of considering the feasibility of a proposed course of action before starting off on it.

Finally, the delinquents as a group are not only less critical of themselves, being unable and unwilling to size up their own faults and liabilities as well as their virtues and abilities, but obviously more self-centred and unwilling to make allowances for others. Such traits make it difficult to help a person to help himself, and may partially account for the rather indifferent results obtained by those who attempt to reform some types of offenders.

Emotional
Conflicts.

It is quite generally recognized, nowadays, that certain early childhood experiences are likely to leave so burned-in an impress

on the deepest emotional layers as to cause the growing personality to become scarred and twisted by frequent conflicts and frustrations, or to impel readily to socially maladapted conduct tendencies. Such handicapping and conflicting emotional pulls and tugs were clearly present among no fewer than three out of every four of the delinquents and twice as frequent as among the non-delinquents.

Probably most serious from the point of view of maladaptation are the conflicts arising from the emotional relations~~re~~ within the family circle. In every aspect of these intra family relations, substantially more difficulties are found among the group of delinquents than among the law abiding youngsters. The emotional interplay within which most of the problems arose had to do with the relationship of the boy to his father, i.e., in respect to his belief that his father measures up to his conception of what a male should be like, and with his difficulties in making a wholesome sexual identification. "It is..... one of the essentials in the social development of the child that the social personality of each one shall match his sex in the biological sense. For the child..... the road to prestige is paved with the rewards of observing the sex-appropriate code." * There is much more to the complications that arise out of a conflict over this than the patent explanations of the boy's attempt to "prove his manhood" by daring deeds in violation of law. But whether one contents

* James H.S. Bossard, The Socialology of child Development, New York, 1948.



himself with more obvious relationships between this conflict and a tendency to antisocial behaviour or accepts the elaborate psychoanalytic analysis of the mechanism involved it is one of the more significant sources of maladjustment to a social or legal code.

Almost the only other source of emotional conflict was a product of economic circumstances in which the refugees found themselves on coming here. The fact that it was inherent in the circumstances does not minimise its importance in forming the boy's attitude to the material things of life in general.

Method of Resolving Conflicts.

But the emotional conflicts are so frequent as almost to be deemed part of the normal lot of man, especially in our neurosis inducing culture. The chief importance of this problem lies in the way ~~of~~ a boy typically ~~XXXXXXXX~~ resolves his inner emotional struggle.

Generally speaking, we found a marked difference in the mental devices resorted to by the delinquents and the nondelinquents in coping with the tensions and upheavals of emotional conflict. It was established that the delinquents, to a far greater extent than the non-delinquents, tend to resolve their conflicts by "acting them out" (extroversion), that is, by giving overt expression to them in feeling and /or action. As a group they generally refuse to take responsibility for their behaviour, letting the pressure of feelings work itself off in direct action without inhibition; and they are little concerned whether that behaviour is criminalistic or otherwise. Nevertheless there is also greater inconsistency in how—the delinquents express their emotional tensions; for, more of them than of the non-delin

quents alternate between outflowing behaviour and damming up of their feelings.

Among the non-delinquents, on the other hand, the usual mechanism for resolving conflicts is one of turning inward(introvers^hion) of their emotion. In self-protection against the "Slings and arrows of outraged fortune", they develop many inhibitory mechanisms. This bottling up of their emotional stresses and strains results in a tense overalertness to maintain their defences.

CHARACTER STRUCTURE AND DELINQUENCY.

It is usually taken for granted that the way a person gets along in life is almost wholly dependent on his " brains", i.e., his intelligence. But probings of the main-springs of conduct and social relations tend more and more to stress the part played by temperamental and emotional forces in the development of personality and character* and the channeling of conduct. Intelligence is of course a powerful instrument of adaptation; but the way a person employs his intellect depends a great deal on the deeper dynamics of the organism—the ebb and flow of feelings—the

* These two concepts are often related, combined, or used interchangeably in the literature, largely perhaps, from the difficulty of analyzing traits into their personality and characterial constituents. It is clarifying if we conceive personality to be the totality of physical, temperamental, emotional and intellectual make up of an individual. Personality is neutral so far character is concerned. Character is personality plus the ingredients of ethico-religious or other ideals or goals that typically guide or dictate the individual's conduct. A man may have a strong or a weak personality; a judgment of his personality would be similar regardless of his ethical views or religious convictions. A man may have a good or a bad character the judgment as to this depends upon the extent to which his actions typically conform to some accepted ethical or religious frame-work within which the man is judged. However, character type is related more or less to the nature of personality structure.



trends, the ~~forces~~^{thrusto}, and tensions of emotions that pull the levers behind the scenes of character and beneath the trap door of personality.

So it becomes of the utmost importance to obtain some insight into these forces that influence make up and behaviour tendencies.

In the study of delinquency it is particularly important to compare delinquents with law-abiding boys in respect to what their usual attitudes are regarding all forms of ~~with~~ authority—parental, school, and that of society in general as personified by police officers, judges and others. "The process of growing up," says Dr. Bernard Glueck, 'is to a very large extent taken up with the problem of adjusting oneself to the guidance that comes from one or another of the authoritative sources surrounding the child; and those who have the training of the child in hand should, while recognizing the need of guidance, be 'aware at the same time of the dangers of over guidance'. 'A nice balance between the disposition to self-esteem and the tendency to self-abasement' is essential to mental health, and 'contact with an unintelligent exhibition of parental authority may and does hamper the individual in the attainment of this nice balance. The pathological deviations may be either in the nature of an ~~oppressive~~ sense of inferiority and a self-depreciating attitude in the face of one's daily problems, or an ugly, overweening haughtiness of manner which frequently deteriorates into tyrannical bullying of one's associates or dependents. The over ~~reaction~~^{reaction} to an oppressive authoritativeness may also lead to a chronic state

of rebellion and active antagonism to all forms of authority!*

Obviously, then, the basic attitudes towards authority are of prime importance in assessing the causal forces of persistent delinquency. The fundamental traits involved in the person's attitude are self-assertion, social assertion, defiance, submissiveness, and ambivalence to authority.

In our studies, we did not find either self-assertion or social assertion as qualities having more than a superficial influence in the formation of character of our boys. But the delinquents were far more socially defiant, far less submissive, and more ambivalent to authority than the non-delinquents.

It is clear, then, that the delinquents are as a group markedly distinguishable from law-abiding youngsters by their unwillingness or inability to tame their natural ~~instinctive~~ instinctual impulses to self-indulgent behaviour in order to bring such drives into line with the authoritative demands of the home, the school, and the larger society.

Feelings of Insecurity

Anxiety, Inferiority & Frustration

Apart from the problem of the relationship of the individual to the sources of authority, there is another area of character development in which especially significant clues regarding the dynamic causes of maladjustment might ~~be~~ lie. This has to do with deep stirrings of emotion of a nature that might well propel a child in directions in which he would never go were he in full conscious control of his faculties in relation to ideals and standards.

*Quoted from M.B. Sayles, The Problem Child in School
New York, 1929.



Among these emotional stirrings is a general, vague, and frequently unconscious feeling of insecurity or anxiety. The trait in question may be described as feeling of having no hold, on life in general or on any specific sphere of life that may be important to the person. It was however found to be unimportant as a factor in our cases. The feeling of not being wanted or loved is being looked upon as a powerful cause of delinquency. It may be exhibited openly, as in case of A.N.(case No.2), of R.C. (case No.4), of P.C. (case No.5) or, of S.K. (case no.10), or it may exist as a latent feeling, often co-existing with and in fact is often actually produced by an overprotective attitude or other form of possessive parental "love". This trait was also rather characteristic of the delinquents. On the other hand, the feeling of not being recognized was rather excessive in the delinquents, as in the case of C.P.(Case No.8)

But the delinquents as a group did not suffer from handicapping emotional attitudes e.g. feelings of helplessness, and powerlessness, fear of failure or defeat. However the feeling of resentment or frustration, envy, or dissatisfaction is more frequent among the delinquents. Persons in whom this attitude is strong are not so much concerned with the positive attempt or hope of bettering their own situation as with the desire that others should be denied the satisfactions and enjoyments which they feel is being withheld from themselves. Resentment, in other words, is different from mere envy or the wish to have what somebody else has.

Kindliness
&
Hostility.

Another set of character and personality traits revolve round the basic emotional attitudes of kindness and hostility. It would be expected, in the light of the fact that the delinquents are far more resentful toward authority than the boys who keep out of trouble, that they are also, in general, less cooperative, more hostile and suspicious, more on the defensive, and more destructive than the non-delinquents.

First, as to cooperativeness, that is ability to make surface contacts with others in common work without "mutual obstruction", the delinquents show a substantial deficiency in this characteristic as compared with the non-delinquents most of whom are cooperative. The delinquents exhibited this trait not only in our interviews with them but also in other spheres of activity touching others. The importance of this trait for satisfactory social adjustment is obvious.

But from our observations we could not ~~say~~ say that in respect to kindness ~~and~~ and trust, the delinquents were worse than the non-delinquents. It seems that these elements did not enter into their personality make-up in both sets of boys.

However, with respect to the emotional attitudes of hostility, that is, conscious or unconscious animosity toward others without normal ^{reason} ~~attitude~~ for such an attitude, there is a sharp difference between the delinquents and the non-delinquents. It will be appreciated that this trait is just the ^{converse} ~~reverse~~ of cooperativeness, and its presence in the personality of the delinquents in a high degree would be expected.



Allied to hostility and suspicion is the characteristic of destructiveness, an emotional dynamism obviously associated with delinquent behaviour. This tendency to destroy, hurt, or in more diluted form, to "negativistic" or "contrary minded" may be directed not only against others but against oneself. In the deeper emotional currents of the personality, these trends often run parallel, one being more manifest, the other suppressed. As would be expected, the delinquents have an excess of this trait, half of them possessing it in either marked or slight degree. Reference in this connection may be made to the ~~life~~ life histories of A.N. (case No. 2, p. 49), C.P. (case No. 8, p. 83) and S.K. (case No. 10, p. 100 etc.).

Dependence
&
Independence.

The life histories of the delinquents given in the earlier chapter would show that as a rule, they feel far less dependent on others than do the non-delinquents; are less conforming; far less conventional; and slightly more confident of their ability to handle their own problems.

While talking to delinquents one cannot help being conscious of the feeling among them to expect that others will take care of them, and that they are not obliged to make any serious effort to help ~~themselves~~ or to assume responsibilities. It should be pointed out that this tendency, which usually finds expression passively, may also take the active form of an ~~inclination~~ inclination to greed or even to criminalistic attempts to secure desired objects without honest effort.

Delinquents as a group are more emotionally labile than non-delinquency. The factor is obviously of significance in the process of adaptation, and probably arises from the inner emotional-volitional equipment which permit drives and



impulses to spill over quickly into action without reflective thought; or to allow emotional tensions to be discharged explosively, more or less regardless of consequences and beyond what is normally called for by the realistic requirements of the provoking situation. Naturally, therefore, in self-control the delinquents as a group are far more deficient than other boys.

Because the delinquents discharge their emotional tensions so easily, they are less neurotic than the law-abiding boys who are victims of an emotional conflict on account of instinctual drives and their self-control. Delinquents are then as a rule extroverts, acting out their mental difficulties.

If we reflect upon the differences between the two groups of boys in their basic traits, we begin to note that they are not altogether haphazard but tend to fall into a general, meaningful personality pattern. They form themselves into a cluster of associated energy—and emotion expressing characteristics of the uninhibited, untamed, unreflective child. There is little mystery about the causes of persistent maladapted behaviour when one considers the ease with which modern urban conditions supply the theatre of action for boy of this nature.

In the end, it will be well to remind ourselves of the caution that it is no single factor however so recurring it may be among the delinquents which can be said to be the causal explanation of delinquency. It is the dynamic interplay of the differentiative factors from all these various levels and channels of influence, which determine whether a particular personality will emerge as a delinquent one.

EPILOGUE

"A happy child will always learn and hear"

CHAUCER, Prioress's Tale.

To diagnose a disease is to suggest inevitably the ways and means of its prevention and cure. In the foregoing chapters we have observed the phenomenon of juvenile delinquency in schools at a particular period of time. But to be sure this problem is more than ~~of mere~~ ^{mere} topical interest. Indeed our results show that the roots of maladapted and social ~~in~~ misbehaviour go deep into the nature of the social and individual organism. It is therefore proper that this essay should conclude on a note on the role of school and its teachers in this direction.

For, after all, a great deal of time, and at a very impressionable age, is spent by children in school. There is evidence to show that much more goes on in the school situation than the mere commerce in ideas about "reading," "writing," and "rithmetic," and that what ~~does transpire~~ ^{is} of an essentially emotional nature. On the part of the teacher, he cannot altogether get rid of his emotional problems through the channel of drilling students in the curriculum. On the part of the little pupils, they do not, when they enter the class-room, leave behind their emotional burden.

The school therefore cannot permanently evade the major role in controlling delinquency. But it will not fill the role creditably until it ~~competes~~ ^{competes} the transformation from a factory for moulding children to the same pattern into a centre of human relationships and experiences favourable to the fullest development of each individual pupil. The school's contribution to delinquency is a by-product first of its traditional purpose—to stuff all minds with the same mass of facts, most of which bear



CHAPTER V.

"A happy child will always learn and hear";

CHAUCER, The Prioress's Tale.



no relation the child can see to the ~~real~~ realities of its life; and secondly of its traditional methods. To cease encouraging delinquency, the school must change these goals and method.

Whether the end sought is delinquency control or the strengthening and survival of civilization, two sets of factors determine what the school should be and do: (1) the nature and needs of children, and (2) the nature and needs of today's society. The emphasis belongs on "today" because our society differs so sharply from that of all man's yesterdays. Though the fact is almost too vast to be understood and almost too oppressive to be faced, mankind must live for ever on a volcano of its own devising. Our society disposes of such terrifying and concentrated power that a few men can blow civilization into kingdom come. Men are so crowded together and interdependent that every man and every nation must depend for well-being and survival on the good will of other men and nations.

The practical motive of self-preservation now comes to the support of man's spiritual insight to insist that the major goal of education must be the development of human beings who are at once self-reliant and cooperative, of men and women who seek to do to others as they would be done by. Now, as never before in the history of mankind, has it become vastly more important that men should learn how to live with one another on terms of fair play and without violence than they should learn latin or salesmanship or even how to split the atom.

"To learn", said William H. Kilpatrick, "means to change one's way of behaving". Fortunately the school can seriously hope to develop mature men and women because that goal best satisfies the nature and needs of children. What is best for society turns out to be the best for the child. In adopting the new goal, education

must make use of the new understanding of human behaviour to determine the content and methods of education. Instead of regimenting all children in the same school adult ^{the} would the school ^ucontinuously studies each child and seeks to provide experiences suitable to his individual capacities. It recognizes that each child differs from every other in capacities but that each has the same basic needs for achievement and recognition. It sees the total human being—physical, emotional, social, as well as intellectual—and provides constructive experiences to develop all sides of the personality. It understands that children learn best by doing and that memorized glibness about algebraic equations or fair play or brushing teeth does not mean that the child has learned anything unless the words are translated into action.

Finally, the school knows that education, as John Dewey ^{has} long asserted, is life; It is not a limited period and process of ~~being~~ ^{getting} ready for the future but a continuing chain of experiences, each of which should carry its own interest and satisfaction to the participant as well as fit him to reach out for new experiences. The school provides the means by which society can purpose-fully select experiences that are desirable, that enable the child (and the adult) to live through swiftly the past experiences of the race ~~summed~~ ^{summed} up in its culture and so enable him to understand and take part in what is going on in his community today in every sphere of life.

But the delinquency, the maladjustment and probably much of the unteachability that we now have originate in the home life. If the teacher is to exercise an effective counteracting influence and help these children to build better characters, his association with each pupil must be closer and longer than our contemporary form of school organization permits. A school is organized at present according to the exigencies of the instruction. Each teacher is responsible for imparting a quota of know-



knowledge to a particular year-group of boys. This accomplished, the latter pass on to the next teacher, when the process of getting to know begins afresh. A rigid instructional ~~same~~ ^{work} is preventing the teacher from embarking upon a new phase of his social mission. If, having made us a civilized nation, the teacher is henceforth to make us a happy nation, paramount consideration must be a more enduring personal influence by the teacher upon each group of children. Rather than relinquish each class after one year it should not be impossible to arrange for a class to remain under the tutorship of the same teacher for 3-4 years of each schooling phase. The teacher would then be able to get to know the families around their own ~~firesides~~ ^{firesides} of those children who are suspected of being handicapped and unsettled by their own circumstances. With our large classes and shortage of teachers this is perhaps the most that can be hoped for.

It may be asked in what ways such an extension of the teacher's social function would help to alleviate delinquency and its associated problems. The first, that a family near a breaking point or one which is in danger of becoming demoralized is encouraged by the friendly interest of an outside person; their feeling of self-worth is enhanced and they have some incentive to improve their standards. After all it is not only the demoralized house wife who smartens up the house preparatory to a visit. Such a teacher is a friend of the family. This introduces the second advantage: breakdown only occurs when the child sees no way out of its emotional dilemma, and above all has no alternative to the unsatisfactory human relationships of its ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ home. This is ^{not to say that the teacher can accept} the responsibility of becoming a substitute—parent; but he can provide just that amount of continued interest and ~~good~~ ^{good} feeling which may give encouragement to a child in an otherwise desperate situation. The third advantage hangs upon the advisability of spotting the

unhappy child at an early stage. It is best to bring out this point by quoting Sir Martin Roseveare, Chief Inspector of Schools in U.K.:

" For instance, juvenile delinquency..... The particular lad, for instance, who has made a bad start—is he, or was he on our school-roll? If so, looking back (for the benefit of the future) what symptoms were there which might have told us (or did tell us) that ~~things~~ ^{things} ~~king~~ were awry? Looking forward, what can we do ~~for~~ ^{with} him or for him? Do we understand him? Have we secured his confidence? What can we do to help to rehabilitate him? How can we ensure that his life contains enough elements that are healthy stimulating, that demand real effort by him and tha bring him a sense of achievement and success and well-being? If we are lucky enough to have none who have been "up against it; are we nevertheless, on the lookout? Are there any tell-tale signs of aloofness, moroseness, truancy, which will call for all tact and judgment of which we are capable?"*

It may further be asked why these particular functions of the social practioner should devolve upon the teacher. The reply would be that the teacher is already in daily touch with the child, that he has the best of reasons, without arousing suspicions or fear of administrative action, for visits to the parents; that such a relationship between the parent and teacher is natural, human and direct, free of the delay and distance of official procedure. Further more, the school-child in need of some supplement to the interest and affection which it gets at home does turn to its teacher. ~~With~~ ^{his} variety which this work outside the classroom would bring and the widening of his or her social responsibilities, the teacher may gain a higher sense of purpose and fulfilment. The capacity for work of all of us is expanded by the zest of

* From his address to the Easter Conference, 1950, of the National Union of Teachers—London, 1950.

(147)

achievement and diminished by frustration. It is also quite feasible that the improvement of the human relationships within the school will more than compensate, in terms of the amount of learning, for a slightly lessened instructional time; and the emotional stability of a nation is well worth a little extra expense and effort to contrive. The majority of teachers are not, of course, formally qualified in the diagnosis of juvenile unrest. But because of their choice of, and continuance in their profession, they are usually people with human feelings. Without specific training the experienced teacher can spot that there is something wrong with a child; if the symptoms persist the more expert, diagnostician and the therapist would be consulted.

Is it ~~xx~~ too much to hope that at a time when we are planning for the nation's health and material prosperity, this vital problem will receive the attention which is its due?



KB

**Questionnaire to study Juvenile Delinquency**

All these questions are put to the offender himself

I. Questions regarding particulars of the child

1. What is your name ?
2. What is your age ?
3. Where were you born ?
4. To what community do you belong ?
5. Where do you reside ?
6. Since when have you been residing in Dehradun ?
7. Where did you live before coming to Dehradun ?

II. Questions regarding child's studies

1. What are you doing these days ?
If studying—
1. In which school are you studying ?
2. In which class are you studying ?
3. How are you getting on with your school work ?
4. What is your position in the merit list of your class ?
5. Do you like all subjects equally well or have special liking for some and disliking for others ?
6. What is the reason of your like or dislike in these subjects ?
7. If you are given an authority to make the school to your own liking, what changes will you bring out ?
8. Do you like to go to your school, or just go there as a matter of routine or past-time ?
9. Do you like and respect your head-master and teachers ?
10. Do you like all teachers of your school or only those who teach you or only those who do not teach you ?
11. If you do not like to go to school, what would you like to do ?

III. Questions regarding child's occupation

- If working—
1. Where are you working ?
2. What is your income ?
3. When did you give up your studies ?
4. Why did you give up your studies ?
5. If you were forced to do so in circumstances, do you wish to join it once again ?
6. Do you like your work ?
7. How do you like your boss ?
8. If you are not interested in your work, what would you like to do, if given a free choice ?
9. Do you like to stick to one job or wish to have frequent changes ?
10. Why are you dissatisfied with your present occupation ?

IV. Questions regarding child's family

1. Are both your parents alive ?
2. If dead—(i) How old were you when they died ?
(ii) What did you feel when they died ?
(iii) How do you feel for their absence ?
3. If alive—(i) Whom do you like more out of your mother and father ?
(ii) What do you like or dislike in your mother ?
(iii) What do you think of your father ?
(iv) Do you ever compare your parents with the parents of other children ?
(v) In what respect do you find your parents different from others ?
(vi) What do you feel for that difference ?
4. How many brothers and sisters are you ?
5. What is your position among all the children of your family ?
6. Do you feel that your position in the family is advantageous in any respect or is only a source of loss of peace to you ?

V Questions regarding Economic Status

1. What are the sources of income in your family ?
2. What is your father doing ?
3. How much does he earn per month ?
4. Is your mother also working ?
5. If so—(i) How much does she contribute to family income ?
(ii) Do you have to suffer in any way due to your mother remaining absent from home when she goes for work ?
6. What is the total income of your family ?
7. Do you contribute in any way to that income ?
8. If so—how do you feel in doing so ?
9. How big a house have you got to live in ?
10. Have you got sufficient accomodation to live in peacefully ?

VI Questions regarding Family Culture

1. Is your father educated ?
2. What and how much education had he ?
3. Had your mother any schooling ?
4. In which different classes are your brothers and sisters studying ?
5. Do your parents dictate over you all or keep affectionate and co-operative relations ?
6. Do your parents give you as much of attention as you want ?
7. How do they treat you when you do any wrong ?
8. Who is a greater disciplinarian between your father and mother ?
9. What sort of discipline do they expect of you ?
10. How do you feel when your father comes to you with a buffet or a cane for every little mistake you commit ?
11. Do you try to tell a lie to escape this reaction of your father or mother ?
12. When your either parent is harsh to you, does your other parent try to save you ?
13. Do you ever feel that their behaviour is unjust ? If so, why ? If not, how do you justify it ?

VII Questions regarding the relationship of parents with each other

1. Do you feel yourself more attached to your father or to your mother ?
2. How do they behave among themselves ?
3. Do they cooperate with each other ?
4. If ever there is a point of difference, who has to submit in the end mother or father ?
5. Whose behaviour is more justified and why ?
6. Does your mother respect your father blindly or does she expect rational behaviour from him ?
7. Who holds the string of the purse in the family ?
8. Do you ever feel that your father is afraid of your mother ? Or vice versa.

VIII Questions regarding offender's friends, interests and habits

1. How many friends have you ? Name them.
2. Do you lead them or do you depend on them for advice ?
3. Do you have full confidence in them ?
4. Do you give out all your secrets to them ?
5. Do you always like to be with them or sometimes wish to be alone ?
6. Do they help you in your difficulties ?
7. What do you like to do in your leisure ?
8. Why do you play truancy ?
9. Do you have no feeling when you steal anybody else's things ?
10. Why do you like to hurt younger boys or dumb creatures ?
11. Do you find yourself at home on the games field ?
12. What will you do if you are left all to yourself with a lot of money in your pocket ?
13. Do you care for cinema ?
14. What sort of cinemas do you like to see ?



PERSONAL REMARKS	Q. No.	QUESTIONS	A. No.	ANSWERS
		<p style="text-align: center;"><u>IX Question regarding child's personality</u></p> <p>I Different questions to be put to the children of different ages to test his I. Q.</p> <p>II Some tests like—(1) Line trap test (2) Progressive lines test (3) Assuage test for testing suggestibility.</p> <p>III Questions to judge Emotionability</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. When you have a keen desire to do a certain thing and your parents object to it giving you all possible justification, do you listen to your parents or act contrary?2. If you act according to your parents wish, do you reconcile opposing emotions rationally and easily or repress your own desire for fear of parent's anger?3. When you do a wrong and are conscious of it, are you afraid of your father, mother or school authorities?4. Do you feel angry at every little opposition you face?5. Do you feel depressed, when you are not heard in the family?6. Do you feel that your need or desire is always correct and very important and therefore must be atonce satisfied irrespective of family circumstances?7. Do you stick to your family ethical code? Or do you feel bad in doing so?8. Do you easily give up your desires without feeling a tinge of pain and bitterness in your heart?9. How do you react when anybody does a wrong to you?10. How do you react when prents are not just to you? <p>IV Questions to judge temperament</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Do you like change in every little thing of life?2. Do you get unnerved at everything that goes against your wish?3. Do you think before you do anything, right or wrong?4. Do you try to rationalise your feelings, right or wrong?5. Do you give patient ears to your parents when they say against you or your desires?6. How do you bear criticism regarding you or your family by others? <p>V Questions to discover Introversion or Extroversion</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Do you like to voice your views or like to keep them within yourself?2. Do you like extra-curricular activities in school or not?3. Do you like to spend leisure hours alone or with your friends?4. Do you like social life or want to be undisturbed by your friends?5. Do you have any particular feeling which always haunts you?6. Do you get dreams? Say something about them. <p style="text-align: center;"><u>X Questions regarding offender's physique and health</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. What sort of health do you generally keep?2. What are the ailments you frequently suffer from?3. Does any of these diseases stand in the way of your schooling or desired career? <p style="text-align: center;">All Questions are to be put to the parents of the offender.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><u>I. Questions regarding his studies</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. How does he take his school and school subjects?2. Is he interested in his subjects or has aversion to it?3. Does he go to school on being reminded daily or all by himself?4. Does he give excuses for not going to school?5. If any—what sort of excuses does he generally put forward?6. Have you ever tried to do away with those difficulties?7. What difference did you notice in his behaviour then?8. Did he start taking interest in his studies?9. Or did he find out new excuses for not doing so?10. What may be cause of this sort of disinterestedness?		

II. Questions regarding offender's occupation, if he is working

1. Why did he take to service at such a young age ?
2. Why was he not interested in his studies ?
3. How does he like his work ?
4. What does he do with the remuneration he gets ?

III. Questions regarding Economic status

1. What is the total income of your family ?
2. Who and how many are the earning members in the family ?
3. Do you feel in any way that your income is not sufficient to bring up and educate your children or are you satisfied with what you get and what you do with your children ?
4. Do you spend equally on all your children or make some distinction among girls and boys or among boys themselves ?
5. How does this particular child spend money, if he gets hold of some ?
6. Is he always wanting money or feels short of money ?
7. Does he repent after spending it badly ?
8. Does he lie in telling you how he spent all the money he had ?
9. Is he fair in money-dealings or always busy in inventing excuses to get some money from you ?
10. Which are the different ways in which he spends his money ?

IV. Questions regarding offender's habits and interests and friends

1. What are the different interests of your child ?
2. Is there any particular reason for having these interests ?
3. What are his habits ?
4. Have you ever raised any objection to his interests or habits ?
5. How did he react to it ?
6. Is he prepared to listen any criticism regarding these ?
7. How many and what sort of friends has he ?
8. Does he depend to a great extent on his friends ?
9. Are all his movements and actions determined by his friends or does he initiate them on his own ?
10. How does he justify his actions ?

V. Questions regarding child's health and physique

1. Does your child suffer from any chronic disease, or physical handicap ?
2. Does he feel that he is superior or inferior in physique or health than any of other brothers or sisters ?

VI. Questions regarding child's offenses

1. What sort of crime does he commit at home ?
2. Were you conscious of your child's criminal nature and how did you react to it ?

These questions shall be put to School authorities, employer
neighbours or acquaintances

I Qs. regarding child's occupation

1. What do you think of child's standard of work ?
2. Do you feel that he is interested in his work ?
3. If not, how do you argue for his disinterestedness ?
4. Is he regular and punctual and try to do his best ?

II Qs. regarding his school and studies

1. How does the child find his studies ?
2. Does he experience a sense of inadequacy in class ?
3. Are the studies too much or too little for him ?
4. What is the reason of his absent-mindedness or disinterestedness or inattention in class ?
5. Does he get no individual attention in class ?
6. Does he care to go to games field ?
7. How does he react there ?



PERSONAL REMARKS

Q. No.

QUESTIONS

A. No.

ANSWERS

16. Is the offender guided by anybody in his past-time actions ?
17. Do all his actions reflect a habit of carelessness and indiscipline ?
18. Do you ever give him individual attention ?
19. Does the offender seem to have confidence in his teachers ?
20. Does he ever have a feeling of maladjustment ?
21. Are the subjects taught in school adequate for him ?
22. Does he find any other difficulty in school or his home, for which he finds himself socially its adapted ?
23. Does he suffer from a sevre of insecurity in school or his home ?
24. What are the reasons for this feeling ?
25. How long has he been behaving in this objectionable way ?

VI Questions regarding offender's offenses

1. What is the nature of offense which he generally commits ?
2. What action did you take against it ?
3. How did he react to your action against him ?
4. What is the cause for his offenses in your opinion ?

