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【文献】

1. 須川, たしのくに. 幼少期の犯罪行動とその背景 - 集団の影響. ヒトsubashi大学法律政治ジャーナル, 8: 31-46, 1979-03.
JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND COMMUNITY

By TOSHIKUNI MURAI*

1. Introduction
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4. Summary

Introduction

1. After C.H. Shaw and H.D. Mckays' Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas (1929) was introduced in Japan, many ecological studies of juvenile delinquency have been reported here, too. Those studies indicated that the result of Shaw and Mckays' research on the delinquency areas was not entirely applicable in Japan. Shaw and Mckay, concentrating most of their study in Chicago, came to a conclusion that the delinquency rates were generally high in the center of the city, declining as the place became more distant from the center. But in Japan, juvenile delinquents were found here and there, almost equally in the city, not concentrated in the center. In short, no places, such as the delinquency areas named by Shaw and Mckay, were found anywhere in Japan. Some studies indicate that delinquency rates are on the rapid increase in the surrounding areas of the city as those

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areas become more urbanized.  

It would be easy to understand that such a difference of the distribution of juvenile delinquents between Japan and America as mentioned above results from the difference of the city structure between both countries. To analyze the phenomena of the almost even distribution of delinquents and of the rapid increase of the delinquency rates in the surrounding areas of the Japanese big cities, we must take notice that the urbanization recently has covered almost all areas of our country, and that the rapid advance of urbanization of the surrounding areas is especially remarkable.

2. I engaged myself in the research on the relationship between juvenile delinquency and community on this summer (1978) with some students of my seminar. This research had following purpose; making clear what influences the urbanization and culture of the community gives to juvenile delinquency, and how the community acts to delinquency. For this purpose, we selected, as the target area of this research, the TAMA-area (the west suburban area of Tokyo in comparison of KU-areas—the central districts of Tokyo) where the urbanization is rapidly advancing in recent years. On the problem of the influences of community culture to delinquency and of the community action, we concentrated our research in Kunitachi-shi where the culture, based on its characteristics of the 'Educational District', seems to have been uniquely formed in the TAMA-area. This paper based its conclusion on the data acquired by this research.

Urbanization and Culture of Community, and Delinquency

1. (1) TAMA-area is in the west of the biggest city of Japan, Tokyo. Its square kilometers are 1,161.3 km², more than half size of whole Tokyo, and its population is about three millions, no more than a fourth of that of whole Tokyo. Thus, this area may be said the sparsely-populated area, at least in Tokyo. But recently, its population has been increasing more and more, in a sharp contrast to the decreasing trend of population of the center of Tokyo, KU-areas, as later mentioned. This area is divided into three sub-areas; that is, northern (KITA-TAMA), southern (MINAMI-TAMA) and western (NISHI-TAMA) sub-area. KITA-TAMA is the northern part of TAMA-area, where the urbanization is the most advancing of three sub-areas. While it partially remains some rural districts, its central area spreading along the railway line of the National Railways electric train (Chuo-sen) has been developing as the residential area in recent years. MINAMI-TAMA is the southern hilly area, including some industrial and agricultural districts. But, most remarkably, this sub-area, as a whole, is recently on a rapid change into the residential area. NISHI-TAMA is located the far western end of Tokyo and is one of the purely agricultural areas. However, also in this subarea, the urbanization becomes rapidly with advancing of

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8 For example, Hōmu Sōgō Kenkyūjo (the Ministry of Justice Comprehensive Research Institute), Hanzai Hakusho (Criminal White Paper), 1975, pp. 34–49.

8 In this research, we adopted the interview research method. Persons whom we interviewed are officials of the Local Board of Education of Kunitachi-shi, teachers in charge of the guidance of pupils of elementary schools, junior high schools and senior high schools in Kunitachi-shi, police officers in charge of juvenile delinquents, research officials of Family Court, supervision officers, rehabilitation workers, Chief Officer of Kunitachi-shi Welfare Office, Chief Officer of Tachikawa Child Welfare Station and a Child Welfare Official.
### Table 1. Population Movement of Tokyo in 1970–1976*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>70</th>
<th>71</th>
<th>72</th>
<th>73</th>
<th>74</th>
<th>75</th>
<th>76</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Whole Tokyo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Ages</td>
<td>Real Numbers (Indices)</td>
<td>11,154,467 (100)</td>
<td>11,247,027 (100.8)</td>
<td>11,327,621 (101.6)</td>
<td>11,375,327 (102.0)</td>
<td>11,404,029 (102.1)</td>
<td>11,419,010 (102.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 5–13</td>
<td>Real Numbers (Indices)</td>
<td>1,296,892 (102.4)</td>
<td>1,327,402 (104.7)</td>
<td>1,357,262 (107.7)</td>
<td>1,397,246 (110.1)</td>
<td>1,427,473 (112.4)</td>
<td>1,457,476 (114.8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 14–19</td>
<td>Real Numbers (Indices)</td>
<td>991,713 (94.6)</td>
<td>937,915 (91.4)</td>
<td>906,117 (89.3)</td>
<td>885,402 (87.6)</td>
<td>869,156 (87.4)</td>
<td>866,470 (88.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Ku-area</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Ages</td>
<td>Real Numbers (Indices)</td>
<td>8,647,028 (100)</td>
<td>8,625,296 (99.7)</td>
<td>8,598,386 (99.4)</td>
<td>8,554,309 (98.9)</td>
<td>8,495,563 (98.2)</td>
<td>8,446,592 (97.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 5–13</td>
<td>Real Numbers (Indices)</td>
<td>960,538 (101.1)</td>
<td>971,493 (102.2)</td>
<td>981,278 (103.9)</td>
<td>998,452 (105.0)</td>
<td>1,008,564 (106.1)</td>
<td>1,019,169 (107.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 14–19</td>
<td>Real Numbers (Indices)</td>
<td>772,041 (93.7)</td>
<td>723,491 (91.4)</td>
<td>689,605 (89.3)</td>
<td>667,252 (86.4)</td>
<td>651,064 (84.3)</td>
<td>642,887 (83.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Tama-area</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Ages</td>
<td>Real Numbers (Indices)</td>
<td>2,476,616 (100)</td>
<td>2,586,931 (104.6)</td>
<td>2,694,144 (109.0)</td>
<td>2,785,613 (112.7)</td>
<td>2,860,247 (115.7)</td>
<td>2,922,097 (118.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 5–13</td>
<td>Real Numbers (Indices)</td>
<td>330,902 (106.0)</td>
<td>350,810 (112.1)</td>
<td>371,077 (119.1)</td>
<td>394,045 (125.2)</td>
<td>414,319 (131.1)</td>
<td>433,881 (137.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 14–19</td>
<td>Real Numbers (Indices)</td>
<td>215,700 (97.6)</td>
<td>210,560 (96.3)</td>
<td>207,736 (97.1)</td>
<td>209,494 (98.4)</td>
<td>214,632 (99.5)</td>
<td>220,277 (102.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-1) Kita-Tama sub-area</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Ages</td>
<td>Real Numbers (Indices)</td>
<td>1,661,997 (100)</td>
<td>1,712,517 (103.0)</td>
<td>1,761,409 (106.0)</td>
<td>1,804,879 (106.6)</td>
<td>1,837,753 (108.6)</td>
<td>1,861,377 (110.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 5–13</td>
<td>Real Numbers (Indices)</td>
<td>221,077 (105.6)</td>
<td>233,392 (110.0)</td>
<td>243,277 (114.3)</td>
<td>252,658 (118.2)</td>
<td>261,233 (121.6)</td>
<td>268,732 (124.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 14–19</td>
<td>Real Numbers (Indices)</td>
<td>146,970 (92.3)</td>
<td>135,620 (91.1)</td>
<td>133,933 (91.9)</td>
<td>134,997 (92.2)</td>
<td>138,445 (94.3)</td>
<td>141,988 (96.6)</td>
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<tr>
<td>-2) Minami-Tama sub-area</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Ages</td>
<td>Real Numbers (Indices)</td>
<td>592,628 (100)</td>
<td>646,035 (109.0)</td>
<td>692,350 (116.8)</td>
<td>729,947 (123.2)</td>
<td>762,509 (128.7)</td>
<td>792,462 (133.8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 5–13</td>
<td>Real Numbers (Indices)</td>
<td>79,524 (110.1)</td>
<td>87,533 (121.1)</td>
<td>96,273 (133.3)</td>
<td>106,027 (145.4)</td>
<td>115,642 (157.9)</td>
<td>125,883 (171.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 14–19</td>
<td>Real Numbers (Indices)</td>
<td>53,329 (98.7)</td>
<td>52,514 (97.8)</td>
<td>52,050 (98.8)</td>
<td>53,138 (99.3)</td>
<td>54,889 (103.1)</td>
<td>57,019 (107.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-3) Nishi-Tama sub-area</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Ages</td>
<td>Real Numbers (Indices)</td>
<td>217,992 (100)</td>
<td>228,379 (104.8)</td>
<td>240,385 (110.3)</td>
<td>250,787 (115.0)</td>
<td>259,886 (119.2)</td>
<td>268,158 (123.0)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Age 5–13</td>
<td>Real Numbers (Indices)</td>
<td>30,301 (103.8)</td>
<td>31,455 (107.2)</td>
<td>33,097 (116.7)</td>
<td>35,361 (123.6)</td>
<td>37,444 (130.5)</td>
<td>39,544 (138.8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 14–19</td>
<td>Real Numbers (Indices)</td>
<td>22,947 (97.7)</td>
<td>22,426 (94.8)</td>
<td>21,753 (93.1)</td>
<td>21,359 (92.8)</td>
<td>21,293 (92.8)</td>
<td>21,525 (93.8)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Data in this Table are derived from Tokyo Metropolitan Government, *Population of Tokyo—Households and Population of Tokyo by the Basic Residential Register, 1970–1977.*
land development for preparing housing facilities, especially the districts along the railway line. We can see the rapid advance of urbanization in the TAMA-area, especially MINAMI-TAMA and NISHI-TAMA through the population movement shown in Table 1.

(2) Kunitachi-shi belongs to the KITA-TAMA sub-area. It is a small town located in the middle of Tokyo, its square kilometers 8.08 km², its estimated (in 1976) population 63,936. Since the Hitotsubashi University moved there in 1927, Kunitachi-shi has changed its character from pure-agricultural to educational—a town of students. It was designated to an 'Educational District' in 1952, thereafter its population has been rapidly increasing year by year. Rates of the increase in population were the highest there in 1965, when many people began to move into public housing-development apartments built in the south of Kunitachi-shi. But after that time, those have been making slow down, and one can find out even the declining trend in recent years as shown in Fig. 1. Nowadays, this town is well-known as one of the high-class residential districts, because of its calm and quiet appearance and its looking, full of educational environments. This, however, does not mean that Kunitachi-shi is out of the influence of social changes going on in the TAMA-area as a whole. To the contrary, the rural area spreading in the south of this town is suffering social disorganization in face of high wave of the urbanization.

2. (1) What means delinquency? It is not easy to answer this question. "Delinquency has something to do with misbehavior," Quay states, "but not all misbehavior is delinquent, even when it might be considered inappropriate behavior for the age of the individual."\(^4\) But, by what can we draw a divining line between delinquency and simple misbehavior? As a first step, let us start from the point of view that delinquency is a legal term. Japanese Juvenile Law has a following provision;

Article 3. The following juveniles shall be committed to the trial of the Family Court:

(1) Any juvenile who is alleged to have committed a crime;
(2) Any juvenile under 14 years of age who is alleged to have performed an act in violation of any criminal law or ordinance;
(3) Any juvenile of whom there are apprehensions that he commit a crime or perform an act in violation of a criminal law or ordinance in view of his character or surroundings, because of the existence of the following reasons;
(a) That he has a propensity to disobey the reasonable control of his guardian;
(b) That he keeps away from home without good reason;
(c) That he associates with a person of criminal tendency or an immoral person, or frequents any place of dubious reputation;
(d) That he has a propensity of performing an act injurious to his own or others' morals.

This article is supposed to give a definition of delinquency. Then, delinquency, in a legal term, would be defined as a general term covering conducts done by three categories of juveniles above mentioned; (1) any juvenile who is alleged to have committed a crime (so-called 'Hanzai-shônen'), (2) any juvenile under 14 years of age who is alleged to have performed an act in violation of any criminal law or ordinance ('Shokuhô-shônen'), and (3) any juvenile of whom there are apprehensions that he commit a crime or perform an act

in violation of a criminal law or ordinance ('Guhan-shōnen'). But whether it is suitable to include the last category of juveniles, 'Guhan-shōnen', in the concept of delinquency is very questionable. Even if the answer to this question might be affirmative, it would be difficult to acquire everyman's consensus about the meaning of 'Guhan' ('apprehensions that he commit a crime').

In any event, the term delinquency, even as a legal term, is vague. Such a vagueness
might be reduced in some degrees by excluding 'Guhan' from delinquency. However, the problem is not completely solved, even if doing so. The extent of delinquency varies with citizens' attitude, police action, social custom and cultural values. For example, if the community members think that boys and girls should be treated so rigorously that their misconducts, if any, should be notified to authorities, or if the police is eager to find out delinquency, the more would boys and girls expose themselves to danger to be stigmatized as delinquents.

Various factors as such affect statistical numbers of delinquency. We must recognize official statistics are under those biases, if we use them to analyze the characteristics of delinquency. Police statistics or Family Courts' statistics merely show the number of juveniles stigmatized as delinquents by the police or the Family Court. Considering those points, we will analyze the trend and characteristics of delinquency in the TAMA-area and Kunitachi-shi, in this paper, based on the date given not only by official statistics but also by interviewing the agencies concerned.

(2) Fig. 2–1 shows the recent trend of the number of delinquents reported to the

** Excluding traffic offences.
Family Court. According to this, the number of delinquents reported to the Family Court rapidly declined in 1971 and thereafter have held the lower level nearly constant in whole Japan. And the data on whole Tokyo as well as on KU-areas have held nearly constant, too, except in 1974. In contrast to this, this figure shows a rapid increase in the TAMA-area. Such a trend seems to correspond with population movement already shown in Table 1. This is more clearly shown by Fig. 2-2; that is, a rapid increase in NISHI-TAMA where the population is also on a rapid increase in recent years, and a comparatively slow increase in KITA-TAMA where the population movement shows the same trend. As these figures include natural increase by population growth, we must correct for juvenile population growth. Fig. 3 shows the rate of delinquency (reported to the Family Court) per a thousand youths of age 14–19 in KU-areas and each subarea of the TAMA-area. The rate of delinquency reported to the Family Court, on the whole, is higher in KU-areas and lower in the TAMA-area, particularly the lowest in MINAMI-TAMA. In KITA-TAMA it is higher than in MINAMI-TAMA, but lower than in KU-areas. This would indicate that the rate of delinquency is proportioned to distance from the center of the city. But this

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* Data in this illustration are derived from Tokyo Family Court, *Juvenile Delinquency in Tokyo, 1971–1977.*

** Excluding traffic offences.

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5 All of the following figures are those of so-called *ippan Hogo Jiken* (cases of general protection) excluding traffic offences. For the figures of traffic offences are very changeable with years, so that we can not see the general trend of this offence.
assessment is not entirely proper. The rate of delinquency of NISHI-TAMA from where the center of city is the most distant, is surely lower in early years, but it shows a rapid increase since 1972 and it is higher than that of KU-area in 1975. This possibly means that the rate of delinquency is higher or lower in accordance with the degree of the influence of the urbanization to the community rather than the distant from the center of city; the influence of urbanization is the greatest in the areas changing from the pure-agricultural to the residential, such as NISHI-TAMA, so that the rate of delinquency shows the most rapid increase in those areas. But in the areas changing from the industrial to the residential where peoples already went through social changes in some degrees, such as MINAMI-TAMA, the influence of urbanization is not so great and the rate of delinquency does not so rapidly increase.

To speak more particularly, we would give one example. That is the case of Fussa-shi, where the rate of delinquency is the highest of the TAMA-area in 1976. Fussa-shi, belonging to the NISHI-TAMA sub-area, has ever been the rural area. The fields have occupied more than half of its plateau. But on the other side, this small town has another face; that of ‘Kichi no Machi’ which means ‘a town depending on the air base of U.S. Army.’ It would be easy to see that this second face would give no good influences to the youths living in such a town. In addition to this, two railway lines run through this town, so that this town is recently on a rapid land-development from the fields to the housing facilities because of its convenience as a place to commute to the center of Tokyo. Population is
there on a rapid increase with the advance of such a land-development. In 1974, when the increasing rate of population of this town was the highest of all the TAMA-area, the rate of delinquency (34.6 per 1,000 youths) was the highest not only of all the TAMA-area but of all Tokyo (34.0 was the highest rate in KU-areas), and probably, I think, the highest even of all of Japan.

(3) Roughly speaking, delinquency has a trend of increase in rate in Kunitachi-shi, too (see Fig. 2–1 and Fig. 3). But that is not in correspondence with that of KITA-TAMA, rather analogous to that of KU-area or that of MINAMI-TAMA in the latest years. We may find in this figure something in common with that of the residential districts.

We often heard in the interview to the agencies that Kunitachi-shi had few delinquents because of its good environment for youths. But the rate of delinquency reported to the Family Court is not so much lower than we expect that of the educational district to be.

One reason why it is not will be that Kunitachi-shi has two faces; the one perfectly urbanized and the other rural but changing as mentioned above. These two faces seem to affect the kinds of offences committed by juveniles. In northern residential area, where there are many shops and super markets, and where peoples tend to leave their bicycles alone, there are many opportunities for juveniles to commit the shoplifting, the theft of others' bicycles and the embezzlement of lost ones. In southern changing area, in contrast, the offences under special laws, especially offences against Poison and Deadly Poison Law, will be found more frequently than in other area of this town.

The recent trend of delinquency, according to the Criminal White Paper in 1977, shows a rise in theft of cars or bicycles and embezzlement of lost bicycles, those offences named 'ASOBIGATA HANZAI' (play-type offence). Moreover, it is pointed as general character-

**FIG. 4. COMPONENT RATIO OF EACH KIND OF OFFENCES COMMITTED BY JUVENILES IN TAMA AREA**

*Data in this illustration are derived from the Family Court of Tokyo, *Juvenile Delinquency in Tokyo*, 1973–77.*

**Excluding traffic offences.***
istics of delinquency that the offences under special criminal laws are on a increase more than criminal offences. Among offences under special criminal laws, the increasing trend of offence against Poison and Deadly Poison Law prohibiting the paint thinner inhaling is recently remarkable. Those points are entirely applicable in TAMA-area as shown in Fig. 4 and 5. The thing is the same in Kunitachi-shi. The paper titled "Kunitachi-shi niokeru Shōnen Hikō no Tōkeigakuteki Bunseki" (Statistical Analysis of Juvenile Delinquency in Kunitachi-shi) by the Hachiōji Branch of Tokyo Family Court indicates as follows; 

"... (In 1975) 41 cases were reported to the Family Court for offences under special criminal law (including the paint thinner inhaling) committed in Kunitachi-shi, which is 43.6% in a component ratio of delinquency committed in Kunitachi-shi, and 39 cases for theft (shoplifting and so on), which is 41.1%. Those two offences account for 85.1% of all delinquency. In comparison of other districts of TAMA-area, ... the ratio of offences under special criminal laws ranks second following that of Nishitama county (46.6%) in the TAMA-area. We could assume, based on this data, that there may be some conditions which would make easy the occurrence of offences under special criminal laws in Kunitachi-shi, so that we must examine this point for the more effective prevention of delinquency ...."

And this paper states further;

"... the cases of the paint thinner inhaling are 83.3% of all offences under special criminal laws in Kunitachi-shi, which are far higher in ratio than in whole TAMA-area (52.9%) and in KU-areas (50.1%) ...."

One Research Official whom we interviewed also said that the offences under special criminal laws were more frequently occured in Kunitachi-shi than in other TAMA-area. But I must mention he continued his words, 

"I think we must avoid to generalize this specific phenomenon easily, for the number of offences under special criminal law would be affected by the police action, in particular."

Another reason why the rate of delinquency of Kunitachi-shi is not so much lower will be found in the fact that Kunitachi-shi has the neighboring towns, such as Tachikawa-shi and Fuchū-shi, where there are so much lively shopping streets, gaming places, movie theatres etc., that persons always crowd together there. You may easily imagine that such lively and crowded places fascinate boys and girls to seduce them for committing delinquency.
According to one rehabilitation worker whom we interviewed, the most troublesome place is the bound area with Tachikawa-shi. We have no facts to support his words. But we can say, at least, it is very difficult even for the educational district to avoid from the influences afforded by such neighboring towns.

We often heard from those persons whom we interviewed, that the delinquency would be the most problematic in the pupils of junior high school in Kunitachi-shi. But the Family Court statistics do not necessarily show the figures corresponding their words. For example, in 1976, the component ratio of employed youths reported to the Family Court for their delinquents, as shown in Fig. 6, is the highest among other groups of delinquent youths living in Kunitachi-shi, while the ratio of pupils of junior high school is higher than

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**FIG. 6.** COMPONENT RATIO OF EVERY STUDENT OR PUPIL AND EMPLOYED OR NOT EMPLOYED AMONG DELINQUENT JUVENILES (YEAR 1976)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>UNIVERSITY and POST GRADUATE COURSE</th>
<th>OTHER STUDENTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL</td>
<td>SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KU area</td>
<td>4414 cases(25.1%)</td>
<td>5373(30.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAMA area</td>
<td>1087(25.5)</td>
<td>1434(33.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MINAMI-TAMA</td>
<td>239(24.6)</td>
<td>300(30.9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NISHI-TAMA</td>
<td>123(27.6)</td>
<td>139(31.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KITA-TAMA</td>
<td>725(25.4)</td>
<td>995(34.8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kunitachi-shi</td>
<td>10(11.0)</td>
<td>28(30.8)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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* Data in this illustration are derived from Tokyo Family Court, *Juvenile Delinquency in Tokyo, 1977.*
that of employed youths in nearly all areas except NISHI-TAMA sub-area and that of students of senior high school is the highest in all the other areas. Kunitachi-shi has 655 employed youths in 1975 (by 1975 Population Census of Japan), that is equivalent to 14.8% of all youths in Kunitachi-shi. This is lower than 18.2% in whole TAMA-area, 22.6% in KU-area and 21.4% in whole Tokyo. Thus, it is easy to see that the rate of delinquency of employed youths is much higher in Kunitachi-shi than in the other areas. To exclude any accident for only one year's example, it will be better to compare the ratio of each group in the mean value for three years from 1974 to 1976. In such a mean value, the ratio of students of senior high school (35.6%) is the highest, and that of employed youths (29.3%) is higher than that of junior high school (21.2%). In any event, the Family Court statistics seems to indicate that junior high schools' pupils are less problematic than employed youths in Kunitachi-shi, at least in the latest years.

But why do some persons think, in spite of those statistical figures, that junior high school pupils are the most problematic? One probable reason is that they might understand delinquency in the wider sense including 'latent' delinquency. As above mentioned, not all misbehavior is delinquent. The first agency to decide whether some misbehavior is delinquent or not is the police. It is likely to be that the police treats junior high school pupils more favorably than employed youths. For example, police officers may deal with junior high school pupils inhaling paint thinner as medicine abuses, one kind of 'FURYÔ-KÔI' (misconducts) and not report it to the Family Court, while they might rigorously report the same conduct done by employed youth. But if it might be so, things should be the same in the other areas, too.

It is more likely to be that the police believes Kunitachi-shi has not so much problems on delinquency to require special attention, that pupils have fewer chances to be treated as delinquent than in other areas, although peoples might be troubled with problematic conducts done by pupils in fact.

The most important is, however, that there occurred one event in 1977. The case is that some pupils of junior high schools in Kunitachi-shi assembled some place with dangerous weapons to fight with pupils of a neighboring town. This event caused a great sensation among peoples in that quiet town. The newspapers reported this event with sensational title “Delinquency spreads itself at last into the ‘Educational District’?” The case was a simple one which was leded by one or two pupils who were in the habit of paint thinner inhaling without back ground of any specific delinquency groups. But you may easily imagine that the idea—"junior high school pupils are the most problematic"—was fixed in citizens' minds with this event as a momentum.

Although such a sensational event occurred, it will be admitted that delinquency does not yet become a serious problem in this town. Kunitachi-shi is one of the lowest places in the TAMA-area in the number of delinquent youths and the rate of delinquency is comparatively lower there as a whole. “Kunitachi-shi,” a police officer says, “has fewer causes of delinquency (for example the existence of amusement places, break-down family, the influences of adult gangster organizations etc.) than the other areas.” We also could not find any delinquent groups in Kunitachi-shi in this research. This does not necessarily mean that there are no members of any delinquent groups in Kunitachi-shi. The police statistics reported there found 31 youths who belonged to some reckless driving groups (so-called ‘BÔSÔ ZOKU’) which man should look upon as one of delinquent groups, in
But this figures are very fewer than in the other areas. In sum, we had a conclusion that to be the 'Educational District' has a certain power to prevent the occurrence of delinquency, but such a power is not so great as we expect to be. More properly speaking, boys and girls have fewer chances to be stigmatized as delinquent in such a district than in other areas, for the police does not account such a district for a place where special attention should be required. To the contrary, it is another thing that boys and girls living in such a district might be arrested or protected in the other districts by police officers for delinquency. In this sense, even such the educational district can not guard them completely from the influences of the urbanization, inducements from neighboring town and other surrounding conditions.

Community Action and Delinquency

1. Community acts formally or informally to prevent delinquency. Formal action of community is dependent of the power of local governmental executive office or of the police. Informal action is independent of governmental relationships and rather dependent of spontaneous action of community members. But the latter pattern, as a matter of fact, is organized under the assistance of some official powers, for it is very difficult to expect completely spontaneous action by community members.

Community actions, on the other hand, can be classified from the viewpoint of the aim which the action holds; that is, whether it aims to remove delinquency inducements—negative factors for youths—or to find out any factors which serve to prevent delinquency—positive factors—and make them extend. To find out delinquent youths or to arrest them may be a factor prevent secondary delinquency. But in this paper, we do not deal with those actions.

2. (1) In 1953, Law of the Establishment of the Council of Youth Problems and Local Committee of Youth Problems was promulgated in our country. In also Kunitachi-shi, Kunitachi-shi Statute relating to the Committee of Youth Problems was promulgated in 1964 by Article 5 of 1953 Law. By that local statute, Kunitachi-shi Committee of Youth Problems was actually established in 1976. First of all, we can account the establishment of that Committee as a formal action in Kunitachi-shi. The function of the Committee is to investigate and deliberate determinations necessary for the formulation of the policy relating to guidance, upbringing, protection and correction of youths and to promote the better arrangement of social environment. To perform its function, the Committee has two standing committees; Standing Committee of Guidance and Upbringing of Youths and Standing Committee of Protection and Correction of Youths. President of this Committee is mayor of Kunitachi-shi and other members are members of Kunitachi-shi Assembly (3), chairmen of District Committee of Upbringing of Youths (4), district welfare officers (2), a member of local board of education, a representative of parent-teacher associations, one schoolmaster or principal, one rehabilitation worker, person concerned with the guidance of physical training, concerned person of boy scout, concerned person of young men's associations, officials of administrative agencies concerned (Child Welfare Official, Chief of Tachikawa Police Station and Chief of Tachikawa Youth Guidance Center), Chief of local education board and director of the welfare office.
This Committee was established, said one of its members, for the purpose of building social environment to protect youths of the community at the hands of community members themselves. The above-mentioned function of this Committee covers two patterns of community action, the removal of negative factors for youths and the extension of positive factors, to be sure. Actually, however, that function has been entirely perform not yet, for Standing committee of guidance and upbringing as well as that of protection and correction had only several meetings since established.

More important for the extension of positive factors is the action of District Committees of the Upbringing of youths. They were established under the guidance of Metropolitan Government. Kunitachi-shi has five District Committees. Each Committee is organized for every attendant unit of elementary schools. 1977 Plan of Undertaking of Eastern District Committee, that is most active in Kunitachi-shi, states that the Eastern District Committee shall undertake the prevention of accidents of pupils, upbringing and guidance of culture movements such as physical training or reading books, promotion of the movements for building bright and beautiful society and other activities relating to the upbringing of youths, with expectation of community training for sound upbringing of youths. Its actual activity is to open a exhibition of movies, fireworks, playing softball and so on. Each District Committee receives financial aids from municipal government and is imposed duty to submit annual report of activities to Local Board of Education of Kunitachi-shi. In this sense, the activity of the committee, would be formal. But one of staff of Local Board of Education said to us, “we will never restrict and even direct any spontaneous activity of every district committee. We merely assist them with the expectation of their original and creative activities. This committee is entirely free from our direction.”

Certainly, members of each District Committee are constituted of volunteers of each district. But rather that may cause some troubles. Firstly, its activity depends upon the men of high reputation in the district, so that the number of leaders of its activity is almost permanently insufficient. Every leader of its activity is almost always annoyed by the difficulty of getting his successor. Secondly, it is very hard to obtain cooperation for its activities from community members. Especially in the new residential area, most peoples newly living in Kunitachi-shi are indifferent to community actions, thus it is most troublesome for committee members to organize them. Thirdly, the system of mutual cooperation lacks between this committee and other groups of districts. Some, in person or in group, have been voluntarily engaged in various movements for sound upbringing of youths. It is apprehended that those private movements may become weak with establishing such a formal organization as District Committee. Then, how to organize those peoples who have been engaged in those movements, without preventing their spontaneous activities, is so important a issue for this Committee.

Finally, it remains to be solved how to obtain cooperation from teachers. Kunitachi-shi has thirteen public schools (eight elementary schools, three junior high schools and two senior high schools) and six private schools (two elementary schools, two junior high schools and two senior high schools). There are 454 teachers even in public schools only. It would be admitted that most of them are eager for education in schools. But we heard some peoples complaint that they are uncooperative for community actions. Each schools has one or more teachers in charge of guidance of pupils besides class teachers. Those teachers keep watch over pupils not to do misconducts. But their eyes are confined upon pupils conducts
inside their schools. They might be too busy to pay their attentions to events occurred outside schools. "We have no other time than to provide good education to pupils in schools. As far as pupils' conducts outside schools are concerned, their family or community should be responsible for them," one of teachers said to us. That is true, to be sure. But that would not justify their indifferent attitudes to community activities without any doubt. One of police officers said, pupils who were taken into protective custody for delinquency, without few exception, begged not to be reported to their schools and teachers with the apprehensions to be dismissed from school. When I heard his words, occurre to me an idea that pupils might not necessarily trust their teachers as their protectors.

(2) Parents' roles are very important for the prevention of delinquency, as a matter of course. That is so not only in their families but also in community actions. It is often indicated that problems in family, such as conflict between parents, lack of training in home and so on, give rise to delinquency. The Crimes Prevention Department of Metropolitan Police Board, in a pamphlet titled "Shōwa 52 nen no Sūji ni miru Shōnen Hikō no Keikō" (Trends of Juvenile Delinquency shown in 1977 Statistics), also indicated the most important cause of delinquency is a problem in children's family, especially go-as-children-please family ('HOUNIN KATEI'). Two sorts of meetings for study of problems relating to family education have been held several times in Kunitachi-shi. One of them was held by the Kunitachi Branch of 'SHAKAI O AKARUKUSURU UNDÔ' (Movement for Bright and Beautiful Society) sponsored by the Ministry of Justice, and the other was held by the Kunitachi-shi Local Board of Education. Each of them is formal. But the promoters of these meetings emphasized, "we have never been forced to hold them by any authorities, rather, they have been held on the base of requests from parents. The fact that many parents voluntarily participated in every meeting is the best evidence of its truth."

Certainly, many parents participate in such a meeting to learn the importance of family education in Kunitachi-shi. This fact evidently proves that many parents are deeply interested family education. But that do not immediately means that these meetings are assessed as voluntary action by parents on their own initiative. More important for voluntary action by parents are various movements for providing the sound environment. We already mentioned that those movements have two faces; that is, movements for the removal of negative factors on the one hand and for the furtherance of positive factors on the other. In Kunitachi-shi, the former example is the movements for the banishment of bad books or magazines and for the removal of automats vending things or magazines harmful for youths, and the other, the movements for the request of opening schoolgrounds for children to play freely and for the request of establishing more public gardens and more schools. Some parents have taken the leading role in these movements. And the participation in these movements is entirely voluntary. Then, these movements are assessed as informal action by parents on their own initiative. These movements, however, have many problems. For instance, the number of persons who take the lead in these movements is very limited. Many common citizens are likely to view their 'zealous' activities merely for their fun. The day is far off when they can solve those problems which any informal actions necessarily involve and they can organize all of citizens in the movements above.
Summary

Community gives rise to delinquency as well as prevents it. The more serious becomes delinquency for the community, the more active becomes the community action. In Kunitachi-shi, delinquency is not so much serious problem in the present that the community action is not far more active than in other areas. Community members have been gradually interested in the problem of delinquency there. Yet, who can predict, with an accuracy, they have success in the community organization for the prevention of delinquency?

But one thing we must remember. That is, the prevention of delinquency is quite different from the easy labelling of delinquents. Persons who are eager to prevent delinquency are easy to label a youth who happens to do some misconduct as delinquent. One of police officers who were engaged in protective custody of juveniles said in some meeting, “I am afraid that we product delinquents rather than prevent them by our enthusiastic activities to take juveniles into protective custody.” That is just the most difficult problem with such a community action.