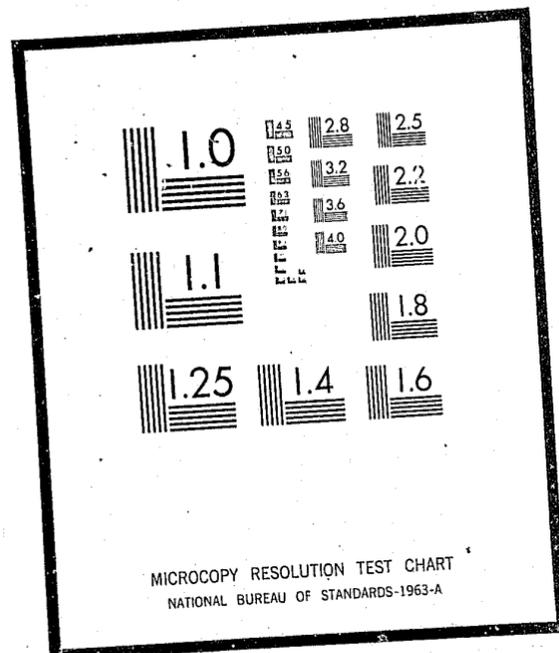


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## EUROPEAN MIGRATION AND CRIME

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### INTRODUCTION

In 1966, the Division of Crime Problems of the Directorate of Legal Affairs of the Secretariat of the Council of Europe prepared a preliminary memorandum on the problem of anti-social behaviour of migrant workers in Europe<sup>1\*</sup>. On the proposition of the Criminological Scientific Council, the European Committee on Crime Problems decided to include the study of European migration and crime in the agenda of the Fifth European Conference of Directors of Criminological Research Institutes, for preliminary discussion, with a view to exploring the possibility of further enlarged study taking into consideration the obvious practical and theoretical interest of the topic to the member states of the Council of Europe. The large number of European migrant workers motivates the preoccupation of European governments with the social implications of the workers' migration taking place from Mediterranean countries to central and northern European countries. This is one of the major problems of the European continent and deserves the closest possible attention from interested governmental officers and scientists. The adjustment of migrants has been for a long time a primary object of interest in criminology, particularly in the United States, but also in the other parts of the world. The psychological problems of the migrants' adjustment, and the resulting socio-pathological phenomena, have been the object of extensive research efforts. Parallel to the problem of foreign migrants, in many countries the development of large scale internal migrations and the urbanisation of large numbers of rural workers have been studied. After the second world war a wave of migratory movements has taken place in the resettlement of large numbers of persons displaced by the resulting political changes.

More recently, European economic development and integration, and other recent political changes, have caused the temporary

\* The notes in this report are to be found in Appendix I, page 35.

or permanent displacement of several millions of persons who face the problem of working and living in a foreign country. The governments of the countries affected by post-war migration have quickly manifested their interest in the problem<sup>2</sup> and a few research papers have appeared on the criminal behaviour of migrants. Several research projects are in progress on this topic in some countries<sup>3</sup>. In other countries the problem of the returning migrant and of his readjustment to his country of origin is now emerging.

The present report will attempt a preliminary discussion of the anti-social behaviour of European migrants. Although the criminological data will be drawn primarily from the member states, occasional references will be made to migration in other countries or areas. The help of the Division of Crime Problems of the Council of Europe, of the Criminological Section of the *Centro Nazionale di Prevenzione e Difesa Sociale* of Milan and of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs is gratefully acknowledged. Several colleagues in Europe and America, too many to be listed individually, have generously contributed important information incorporated in the report. No complete coverage of the literature was possible in view of the limited time and resources available. Yet it is hoped that the report may constitute a starting point for an enlarged discussion of the problem.

The following plan has been adopted in the presentation of the material :

1. An outline of the main general criminological contribution to the problem of criminality of migrants.
2. An analysis of the literature on the psychological adjustment of migrants.
3. Some brief notes on internal migrations.
4. Workers' migration in Europe.
5. The criminality of European migrant workers.
6. The returned migrant.
7. Conclusions and recommendations for future research and action.

The bibliography collected in the course of the preparation of the present report has been classified and prepared as a separate Appendix. An apology is due to colleagues whose work has been involuntarily overlooked. It is hoped that the discussion which will take place during the Conference will help fill the gaps in the report.

### *The general problem of migration and crime*

The problem of the criminality of migrants has been one of the preferred areas of study for criminologists in the first half of this century. Particularly in the USA, the high level of criminality, which quickly developed in the large urban areas, directed the interest towards an analysis of the criminality of the immigrants who tended to concentrate in the same areas.

Popular opinion had often expressed the view that migrants were responsible for a large proportion of the crime rate. However, objective studies of crime rates quickly proved that migrants were not to be held responsible for high levels of crime.

Restrictive legislation had, however, already been enacted, particularly in the United States to keep out undesirable aliens<sup>4</sup>.

The pioneer work of Thorsten Sellin<sup>5</sup>, based on the careful analysis of existing data, demonstrated that the proposition that migrants were responsible for increases in crime was not tenable. Other more sophisticated explanations were needed, re-interpreting the criminality rates of migrants in terms of their adjustment to the new norms and laws to which they were exposed and in terms of the resulting cultural conflicts. Any racial interpretation of crime had to be discarded in favour of more dynamic etiological explanations. Sellin also pointed out that the process of migration involved change from a rural or semi-rural environment to an urban atmosphere. Cultural conflicts could explain the criminality of the second generation migrants and also changes in the criminal phenomenology which occurred in the process of Americanisation of foreign-born descendants. Sellin distinguished between primary cultural conflict, when the conflict of norms consisted of the attrition between different cultural systems or areas, and secondary cultural conflicts when they were due to a process of social differentiation caused by the evolution of one single culture. The role of cultural conflicts in the genesis of crime was easily accepted as an important etiological fact by many authors<sup>6</sup>. However, the objective study of such conflicts was, admittedly, very difficult because of the limitations of the available statistical data and of the several biases which operated in migrant groups. Even in second generation migrants, as Sutherland<sup>7</sup> states, a linear relationship with crime has not been demonstrated. Crime rates vary widely among different immigrant groups and the types of crimes committed also vary according to national origin. According to Sutherland<sup>8</sup> account must be taken also of the point, in the process of acculturation, at which the criminal statistics are gathered, because crime increases when, after the first difficulties of integration into the community

are overcome, the contacts within the same community multiply. A more recent analysis of the variations of criminal phenomenology in the process of the assimilation of immigrant groups has been made by Cloward and Ohlin<sup>8</sup>.

A detailed summary of the literature on mobility, migration and crime has recently been published by Mannheim<sup>10</sup>. After a careful analysis of classical and of more recent studies, Mannheim concludes that, with the exception of certain groups and of certain types of crime, the subject has nowadays lost most of its practical interest. Mannheim states, however, that "it is one of the lasting merits of modern American criminologists to have destroyed the old anti-immigrant myth, although full success was achieved only after the flood of immigrants had already been brought to a halt by legislation". Of course, in some countries such as, for example, Israel, Australia and Canada<sup>11</sup>, the problem is still very important and more recently, in Europe, workers' migration has brought about fresh interest in the topic.

Migration will remain a general phenomenon in the search for better opportunities or for more acceptable conditions of life. Its positive effect in economic and in adjustment terms cannot be denied, although often the results are not easy to evaluate<sup>12</sup>. However, those who migrate will often present, except in the case of political displacement, some selective traits associated with greater aggressiveness, dominance, instability, intolerance. On the other hand, as Clinard states<sup>13</sup>, the mere fact of urbanisation is associated with many negative elements and yet it provides so many positive factors that the "pull" of the city remains an undeniable moving force. Still according to Clinard<sup>14</sup>, mobility weakens attachment to the local community and increases secondary group ties and the number of contacts with a divergent value system; it also reduces social control by decreasing the value placed on "reputation".

In the following section the mental health problem of the migrant will be discussed. However it should be immediately pointed out that the process of migration inevitably exposes the subject to several types of frustration. According to Dalla Volta<sup>15</sup> some anti-social behaviour may result from the enlargement of criminal activities in the areas where migrants congregate while other, more primitive and more culturally bound types of crime, may lead to a "restriction" of the criminal phenomenology. However according to the same author, a part of the criminal behaviour of the migrant results from defence mechanisms against frustrations due to the migration situation itself.

Another theoretical approach to the problem of the migrant adjustment focuses around the concept of anomie.

Following the original formulations of Durkheim and Merton<sup>16</sup>, anomie, either as culture conflict or as conflict of norms, suggests a useful theoretical frame of reference for the analysis of the psycho-sociological events in the life of the immigrant, which may lead to anti-social behaviour. As has been stated elsewhere<sup>17</sup> the very broadness of the concept of anomie is, in a way, self-defeating from the point of view of the differentiation and of the operational value of the relevant variables. The parsimony of nomenclature which is offered by the concept of anomie does not necessarily correspond to fruitful research efforts. In a recent survey of studies on anomie Clinard<sup>18</sup> does not list any specific research on migration. In a study of internal migrants, Alberoni<sup>19</sup> analysed the anomic effects of migration, with specific examples. A more detailed analysis of culture conflict and anomie can be found in the references given above.

Other theoretical approaches to the study of migration and of migration and crime will be discussed in the succeeding sections of this report.

A UNESCO conference on migration was held in Havana in 1956. The proceedings of the conference, edited by W. D. Borrie<sup>20</sup>, analyse several aspects of the migrant adjustment. The criminal behaviour of migrants did not constitute a major topic in the agenda of the conference.

Generalisations about the high level of criminality of foreigners are often a cover for the expression of xenophobic feelings, along the same lines as the more frequent statements about the danger of economic damage to local workers or other biased expressions of hostility<sup>21</sup>. As we shall see later on, the fears of increased criminality which were occasionally expressed have not to any great extent materialised in the present European migration situation. Once more, it is the task of criminology to assess the situation and to provide an objective view of the status of the problem, of its real level of danger and of the possible preventive or remedial measures.

The problem of temporary or permanent migration is not limited to Europe. Other countries are experiencing similar social phenomena with varying levels of resulting maladjustment<sup>22</sup>. The European picture is by far one of the most comforting from the point of view of any resulting social disorganisation.

*The psychological adjustment of migrants*

The problem of the psychological adjustment of migrants is the object of a very extensive body of literature listed in the Appendix. No attempt will be made to summarise it, as most of its content is only indirectly and marginally related to crime.

From the point of view of the mental health of the migrant, voluntary migration must be differentiated from involuntary displacement. The latter's finality, brutality, unplannedness and unselectivity make it a much more damaging phenomenon. Much of the literature on refugees has no relevance for the problems of migrants. Also, modern workers' migration in Europe has distinctive characteristics which nullify the validity of older studies. The present migrant worker in Europe is often a temporary resident or, at least, leaves with the definite goal of returning to his country of origin. In many cases, the immigration is planned and assisted. The occupational placement is in general consistent with his abilities and often his family accompanies him or joins him quickly. The final and tragic cut of ties with the country of origin, which was a feature of previous migrations across the Atlantic, is largely absent.

In the case of illness the immigrant is protected, treated and, if necessary, repatriated with a minimum of psychological damage.

The information available to the migrant on the country which he is about to enter is abundant and objective and the country itself constitutes a physical reality. This fact decreases the psychological imaginative tension which is part of the migration shock. In most cases the expectations of the migrant correspond realistically to the objective possibilities and opportunities of the new working environment. Yet, the process of migration continues to be a major stress which sometimes exceeds the adjustment possibilities of the individual. The classical studies on the mental health of the migrants such as those of Odegaard<sup>23</sup>, of Malzberg<sup>24</sup>, Tyhurst<sup>25</sup>, Listwan<sup>26</sup>, Eisenstadt<sup>27</sup>, Weinberg<sup>28</sup> and Ginzberg<sup>29</sup>, provide interesting data on the incidence and prevalence of serious mental illness among migrants. It is a widely accepted fact that the decision to migrate appeals selectively to persons with unstable, aggressive and dominating traits. It is also known that paranoid reactions and, more generally, schizophrenic syndromes appear to have a high incidence among migrants. However, some of the more pessimistic early studies, such as those of Malzberg and Lee<sup>30</sup> have to be revised if a more careful analysis of the available data is conducted. For example, a study of J. Lazarus, B. Z. Locke and D. Swaine Thomas<sup>31</sup> indicates that the colour variable of the subjects is more important than the migration status.

In internal migration many studies have indicated a high level of incidence of mental illness. Of particular interest are recent Sardinian researches<sup>32</sup>. Some of the paranoid reactions of migrants appear to be purely environmental, due mostly to the social factors of migration stresses and, according to Listwan<sup>33</sup>, they have in general a good prognosis. Other frequent psychopathological manifestations are depressive reactions with occasional suicides. From the point of view of the assessment of the psychopathological syndromes, one important element is the need for psychiatrists and social workers, dealing with maladjusted cases, to be fully aware of and conversant with the cultural and sub-cultural characteristics of the migrant's background. Occasionally the cultural distance between individual cases and mental health workers may result in incorrect diagnoses, often of a serious nature, with highly damaging consequences for the proper handling of the patients. In addition to the older studies which have analysed the incidence of specific psychiatric syndromes among immigrants, several more recent researches will be briefly reviewed here. In 1953 Alliez and Jaur<sup>34</sup>, in a study conducted in Marseilles on the adaptation of immigrants from different nationalities, underlined the importance of the original social set in the process of overcoming the original living habits and social inhibitions. Of paramount importance in the process of adjustment is, of course, the attitude of the receiving country and its integrative and levelling characteristics. The capacity of the receiving country tolerantly to accept the foreigner's values and ways of life, without requesting or expecting a quick total integration and assimilation, and without xenophobic "singling out" of foreigners' traits, is a crucial element in adjustment. Taft<sup>35</sup> has discussed the "monistic" and "pluralistic" handling of immigrants. In the former, elimination of old values and ways of behaviour is the criterion of assimilation; in the latter, no such loss is required, and only acceptance of differences and acquisition of the tools which facilitate interaction is necessary. Clearly favouring the latter approach, Taft introduces in the process of assimilation the socio-psychological concept of the "shared frame of reference" as a useful tool for the analysis of the process. In a detailed survey, based in part on direct experience with the work of the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration, Durante<sup>36</sup> underlines the need for a "total" study of the emigrant, conducted in all his human itinerary, from the decision to migrate, to the adjustment in the new environment and to the terminal integration in the new country. This author discusses several types of adjustment and analyses Menges' "emigrant potential"<sup>37</sup> defined as the potentialities of the immigrant to arrive gradually or quickly at an internal

equilibrium and, at the same time, to integrate into the new environment in such a way as to avoid being a disturbing element. Durante<sup>38</sup> proposes a detailed scheme of analysis and emphasises the need for deep personality studies, not limited to questionnaires as many researches are, and including an assessment of the intelligence level of the subjects. In his work with European migrants to South America, Durante has found that only 38 % of the subjects could be considered fully "normal". The dynamic elements of the motivation to migrate and a full understanding of the existential experience of migration and of the personality pattern of the migrant should be objectively assessed to enable the researcher to "predict" the success or failure of the migrant's adjustment.

In Europe, another paper on migrant adjustment has been written by Villa<sup>39</sup> on the basis of experience in Switzerland, particularly with Italian and Polish subjects. Villa underlines the "feeling of being exploited" as a maladjustive factor, and the difficulty of adapting to alien cooking. He presents a number of practical suggestions, such as the publication of special newspapers for immigrants, to facilitate the adjustment process.

A more general document on the psychological behaviour of migrant workers and on their adaptation to the social environment of the receiving country has been published in 1963 by the Advisory Committee of the Special Representative of the Council of Europe for National Refugees and Over-Population in Europe<sup>40</sup>. This general report analyses several aspects of the adjustment process, both from the point of view of the migrants (or refugees) and from the point of view of the population of the host country. It underlines the differences between the migrants of the 1950s (more qualified and engaged in a type of work more similar to the one held at home), and the migrants after 1957 (less qualified and changing not only country but also type of work). The report maintains that there is no common pattern in the migrant's adaptation but only different degrees which lead him gradually from the total isolation of the first day of work to a degree of identification with the environment. The actual experiences lived by the migrant and his "temperament" are of paramount importance in the process. The value of the feeling of "responsibility" of the migrant is stressed.

In a paper on psychopathological data from 709 psychiatric clinical records of Italian migrant workers in Switzerland, Risso<sup>41</sup> restated again the importance of the personality patterns preceding the actual illness and of the actual social situation, emphasising the

preventive value of the presence of the family and of acquaintances and friends.

A recent book by Ex<sup>42</sup> deals with the adjustment of emigrants to the Netherlands from the Dutch East Indies. The author makes a detailed analysis of the methodology that can be followed for researches of this type. In particular, he differentiates between singular and genetic studies. Among the latter, a further distinction is made between intercomparative and intracomparative studies. The former analyses the process of adjustment by mutual comparing of immigrants of a similar origin but with a dissimilar duration of stay in the new environment. The latter is focused on one group of immigrants examined at successive intervals in the new country. Ex reports an interesting study of the genetic-intracomparative type, conducted on 40 families from Indonesia followed up by four systematic interviews conducted after three months, one, two and three years after arrival in the Netherlands. Through a careful statistical analysis of the variations of opinions expressed by the immigrants on several crucial areas, the author studies the process of change in values and manners of life in the adoption of the autochthonous ways of conduct, through what he calls the "hetero-social identity experience".

Although this work has no relevance to the problem of the criminality of migrants, some of its methodological aspects are of obvious interest and could be utilised in a research on the anti-social behaviour of the migrant workers. Ex<sup>43</sup> distinguishes between three components of the adjustment process: habituation, assimilation and acculturation. Other distinctions on similar lines had been made before. The book by Borrie<sup>44</sup> on the proceedings on the Havana Conference had already conducted a theoretical analysis of the adjustment process in terms of the differences between assimilation into a monocultural system or integration into a system allowing for plurality of cultures. The latter implies flexibility, both in the emigrant group and in the host country. Integration based on cultural pluralism is considered as just a step on the way to eventual assimilation, absorption and total identification with the culture of the receiving society. The reciprocal adjustment between the immigrant and the culture of his adopted country is a continuing process. However, it should be remembered that present migration of workers in Europe frequently does not require any of the processes listed above, because the migrant maintains his contacts with the original country and lives with other co-nationals or with migrants from other countries, a kind of encapsulated life in the new culture. The contacts with the host community are often minimal. Permanent absorption is often neither sought nor desired.

### *The problem of internal migration*

Internal migrations are taking place in several European countries and have been the object of many detailed studies. As has been stated before, the study of internal migration overlaps with the study of the problem of urbanisation and industrialisation.

A research conducted by Introna<sup>45</sup> points out the important changes in criminal phenomenology and rates taking place in Italy as a consequence of the huge migratory movement from the rural south to the industrial north. The exodus from the country to the city is, however, a much more general phenomenon and we limit ourselves to recalling the fact that often the rural-urban changes complicate the adjustment process of the worker who migrates abroad. Migration from some areas of southern Italy to the "industrial triangle" involves processes not dissimilar from those which take place in the course of a transfer to a foreign country. The separation and difference between the original and the host cultures is not dissimilar. In Italy internal migration has changed and increased the criminal phenomenology of the northern part of the country<sup>46</sup>. On superficial inspection, it appears as if the Italian internal migrant is more prone to anti-social behaviour than the Italian migrant worker abroad. The problem certainly warrants further study. Of particular interest would be the analysis of criminal migrants abroad who have first migrated internally and then, after a failure in adjustment, decided to emigrate. This two-step migration compounds frustrating new maladjustive factors.

A large scale study of internal migration has recently been conducted in America by Shannon and collaborators<sup>47</sup> of the University of Iowa, on Mexican Americans, Anglo-Saxons and Negroes who had migrated to Racine, Wisconsin. Although the study is not relevant to our theme, because of the cultural and economic differences of the subjects, methodologically it presents a very adequate model. The essential hypothesis is that certain sociological variables, as mediated by socio-psychological and other sociological variables, are the determinants of the values that will be assimilated by a group of persons, or of the extent to which the group will be integrated into the culture. Integration into the culture will almost always be followed by behavioural changes. The authors use Sutherland's differential association theory<sup>48</sup> as the frame of reference. They suggest for further study the use of the concept of differential identification<sup>49</sup> and they make reference to the possibility of utilising the research approach, for the analysis of differential association theory, proposed by De Fleur and Quinney<sup>50</sup>. Any failure in the process of acculturation may, of course, be conducive to maladjustment and anti-social behaviour.

In September 1967 the United Nations conducted in Budapest and Tihany, Hungary, a meeting of an expert group on "Social and related aspects of rural-urban migration in Europe"<sup>51</sup>. The documents of the meeting provide an interesting picture and a valuable bibliographical source on rural-urban movements in Europe. No reference was made, in the documents available to us, to the criminality resulting from this migration.

### *The migration of European workers*

It will not be possible in the context of the present report to conduct a detailed analysis of the history and extent of the migrant worker phenomenon in Europe. The picture changes considerably in relation to variations of the manpower market and in relation to the economic development of the different countries. The movement is from southern or Mediterranean countries to northern countries. Accurate figures are very difficult to obtain because not all migrants are registered. Even the case of assisted migration covers only a fraction of the migrant population. For Italy, in the period 1946-1964, migration data indicated a movement outside Italy toward other European countries of 3,502,700 persons, a repatriation of 2,075,700 and a migration positive balance of 1,427,000. The migratory flux has been increasing from an average of 72,800 in 1946-1951 to 83,900 in 1958-1964. Still for Italy, in recent years, the migratory movement towards Europe constituted about 70% of total Italian migration<sup>52</sup>. Western Germany, Switzerland, Belgium and France receive the largest number of migrant workers. Immigration into England comes mainly from Ireland and the Commonwealth. Migrant workers are, however, present in all countries, in varying numbers (for example, Finnish migrants go to Sweden etc.). In recent years a large migratory movement has begun from Greece, Turkey, Yugoslavia and Spain towards northern Europe.

A recent meeting of the European Population Conference held by the Council of Europe in 1966 has collected important and recent data on the size, trends and economic effects of European migration<sup>53</sup>. The data are, of course, very provisional and they "age" quickly in view of the rapid economic changes of the European continent. In any case, the migratory phenomenon directly involves several millions of workers, from different nationalities, and several more millions of family members of migrants are affected indirectly through the temporary or prolonged absence of the migrants. European countries have developed a complex system of treaties to protect the legal rights of the workers<sup>54</sup>. The United Nations convened an expert group in 1962<sup>55</sup> and have held a Seminar in Spain in 1964 on Social Welfare Programmes for migrant workers<sup>56</sup>.

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Many private organisations have taken an active part in the assistance of migrants and their families<sup>57</sup>.

Although it is not possible to predict the future evolution of the migrant workers' phenomenon, it is unlikely that it will terminate quickly. Eventual European integration may in the future reduce its size, but this will take a long period of time. In view of the temporary character of migration and of the efforts to facilitate the transfer of manpower from country to country, there is a tendency to discuss the phenomenon in terms of "free circulation of manpower in Europe".

The revisions of the American Immigration Laws should not sensibly affect the migratory trend in Europe<sup>58</sup>. A migration of intellectuals is also in progress, but it is not numerically important and is primarily directed outside Europe<sup>59</sup>.

The welfare activities directed towards remedial or preventive action on migrant workers and on their families are too many to be specified here. In most host and originating countries special groups or committees are at work with varying degrees of success. Special legislation has been proposed or enacted in many cases. The aspects which most frequently attract the attention of welfare efforts are those related to the families of migrants and to their adjustment in the host country. The Ministries of Foreign Affairs and of Labour (or their equivalents) in many countries have set up special committees or offices<sup>60</sup>. A better co-ordination of these spontaneous welfare activities with official, organised efforts, is desirable.

#### *The criminality of European migrant workers*

We now approach the central subject of our report. Unfortunately, as we shall see, the number of available studies is small and no systematic research effort embracing the full picture of the European scene is available. We shall analyse the recent research papers which are available to us, in chronological order. Although we shall focus on workers' migration and on the member countries of the Council of Europe, occasional references will be made to other types of migrants and to non-member countries. One of the first research reports which presents data on the criminality of migrants is the study by McClintock and Gibson on robbery in London<sup>61</sup>. According to this data, robberies committed by Irish immigrants are increasing in London. Irishmen in London are often unmarried and appear to be heavy drinkers. In Ireland itself the crime rate is generally very low. Social factors other than migration, such as unemployment, social rank, and type of residence, should be taken into account before any direct relationship is established, as Bottoms<sup>62</sup>

states in a careful and detailed recent paper. Gibbens and Ahrenfeldt<sup>63</sup> present an interesting hypothesis which Bottoms discusses to explain the high level of criminality of Irish immigrants. They maintain that the strong external controls of Irish society (Church dominance and over-protective mothers) are internalised by the Irishmen as external controls. Migration, giving contact with a more flexible and fluid society, removes these controls and delinquency develops. The maintenance of the internal controls causes conflicts, which are acted out in drinking and in other types of maladaptive behaviour. The hypothesis does not explain why internal controls alone do not possess enough containment value and, in any case, it has not been tested by an objective study.

The migrants' crime picture in England is atypical, because of the large number of permanent and non-European migrants. Other aspects of this specific situation will be discussed later on. Another British study, by Gibbens and Prince<sup>64</sup>, deals with a specific type of crime: shoplifting. These authors, in a sample of 532 female shoplifters collected in 1959 from three adult courts of Great London, found 150 foreigner shoplifters out of a total of 537 (i.e. 29%). In this group 88 cases were under 30 years of age and "au pair" girls prevailed. Of the foreign shoplifters 70% were Europeans, 16.1% Asians and 4.6% each of American white dominions and coloured dominions origin. The "au pair" girls are those whose working situation most closely resembles the psychological and sociological patterns of the migrant workers. The factors which appeared to be involved in the dynamics of shoplifting by foreign girls were the following: relative poverty and lack of experience with the profusion of unguarded goods in shops, resentment about the conditions of employment in England, isolation and lack of identification with cultural standards, social detachment and irresponsibility, identification with "friends" who also were shoplifters.

It is interesting to note that multiple arrests (shoplifters who work in couples) were present in 29.3% of the foreigners and only 19.2% of the British born, suggesting some element of cultural support and reinforcement. Sexual promiscuity seems to be inversely related to shoplifting. The nationalities for which the percentage of shoplifters exceeds the percentage of the subjects present in the country are: Italian, Spanish, Austrian, Yugoslav, Portuguese, Indian, Persian. Coloured immigrants are not heavily represented in the shoplifter group.

The first large scale study of the criminality of migrant workers was published by Neumann in 1963 on the criminality of Italian workers in the Zürich Canton<sup>65</sup>. This very systematic and detailed study deals with Italian non-resident (seasonal or short-term)

workers guilty of one or more offences according to Swiss law, on the basis of judicial statistics (court and police files).

From the aliens police service 200 files were located together with 650 files from the courts. Of these 650 concerned Italian workers as previously defined (seasonal or one-year contract workers). Other information was obtained from the press. The study deals with the years 1949, 1954, 1955, and 1960. The social acceptance of foreign workers in the Zürich Canton is not high and they are largely tolerated because of their contribution to the economy. Detection and prosecution is higher in the case of the foreign workers than in the case of Swiss nationals. Police supervision is closer. In the administration of justice, in the case of foreign workers, there is a tendency not to request a psychiatric examination. Within the migrants' groups high reporting of criminal behaviour is also typical, contrary to expectations.

Sexual misbehaviour is more promptly reported when an Italian migrant worker is involved. The general criminality rates for Italian workers, although increasing, are lower than the rates for Swiss nationals. Also, the seriousness of Italian criminality, in spite of the tendency of the courts to impose prison sentences instead of fines in the cases involving foreign workers, is less serious than that of the indigenous population. Neumann analyses these results which are surprising in view of the general belief about the existence of a high level of criminality among Italian foreign workers. Although in the years prior to 1955 female workers exceeded males, after 1955 this ratio was reversed, and therefore sex differences cannot explain the low criminality rates. The age composition of the migrant group is relatively young, a fact which gives an even more surprising value to the low criminality rates, which should be higher for this age group. Work status, both in terms of the low level of employment and in terms of types of occupations, e.g. hotel or house servants which have a high level of criminality, are also more unfavourable to the immigrants than to Swiss nationals. Homesickness and maladjustment also may be expected to cause much more crime than the available statistics indicate. All these conditions give an added weight to the low crime rates of the Italian migrants. The increase in crime in recent years appears due in part to the increase of potential victims, that is to say the larger number of migrants, as most crimes (particularly of the non-property types) occur within the immigrant group. Violent crimes are not infrequent (although when occurring within the immigrant group they are frequently not reported). Theft is frequent, and often committed just prior to departure. Some cases of adulteration of milk are aimed at correcting a mistake or at impressing with a show of diligence. Threats and offences against morality are often due to

cultural misunderstanding. The age and sex distribution should also be taken into account. Sexual misbehaviour results often from misunderstanding of legal norms (for example, Italian workers are astonished to discover that, if they get sexually involved with a girl under 16, their willingness to marry her or the fact that she was already depraved, do not absolve them from guilt as is the case according to Italian law). Other types of crimes are irrelevant in the migrant group with one exception: male prostitution appears to be relatively high. No case of rape was found in the available files.

In a paper on young adult Italian migrants (16 to 25 years of age) in the area of Liège, Liben analyses many sociological variables of this group. Although no control data are presented, the conclusion is reached that the migrant group does not commit more crimes than the comparable group of the host country. The criminal phenomenology presents more violent behaviour, but this is due to original cultural traits and not to the migration process. The point is made, in this paper, that possibly the large number of Italian migrants minimises, through accepting and receiving the new migrants, their cultural conflicts. The strength of the Italian family ties and the strong paternal authority also seem to have a preventive value<sup>66</sup>.

In a 1965 paper by Wenzky<sup>67</sup> a superficial analysis was conducted of the criminality of foreigners in the most industrialised *land* of Western Germany, North Rhine Westphalia. According to police statistics, 1.4 % of foreigners in 1962 and 1.6 % of foreigners in 1963 committed offences. Of particular interest is the participation of foreigners in crimes of violence, especially murders, 20 % of which were committed by foreigners. Violent crimes were committed mostly by foreigners from Mediterranean countries and Africa. The author gives no indication about the victims (which would be of particular interest, in view of the international character of violent crimes among migrants, indicated by other studies) and presents no control data. Wenzky indicates as causes of the migrants' crimes: alcohol, sex, linguistic misunderstanding, and feelings of isolation. What was of particular interest to the prosecuting authorities was the fact that many foreigners had already been prosecuted in their home country for similar offences. Better exchange of information was needed and regulations should be enacted (and enforced) prohibiting residence of unwanted foreigners.

An interesting paper by Kurz<sup>68</sup> analyses theoretically the group structure and adaptation processes and dispositions in an Italian guest workers' camp. The anomic situation of the workers results from conflicts between the strong loyalty demands of the Italian homeland

environment, focused on expectations of return, and the loyalty demands of the living-working group in relation to the German host community, focused on economic goals. When the group structure is less firm, the latter are smaller, and this prevents cultural and normative conflicts. The individual motivation becomes, in this case, a special form of social regulation. This differs from Durkheim conceptualisation, which defined anomie as the absence of solidarity in the working community. In the case of Italian guests of the work camps, their reference group is the Italian family, on whose expectations they chiefly orient their behaviour. This has a protective and preventive effect, in view of the relatively loose regulations of the camp, which permits a high degree of fulfilment of the individual role expectations and motivations of return. Group coherence is therefore stabilised in relation to the German host community. At the same time, the total integration of the individual into his southern family may facilitate disintegration from larger social relationships for lack of internalised guiding images which might regulate conduct in the non-familial group. Thus, the "enclave" system of the camp may act as a protective element. This hypothesis corresponds to the opinion of some American studies<sup>69</sup> which claim that the possibility of anti-social behaviour increases when the contacts with the host community increase (and resulting value change is initiated).

Other papers published in 1965 include a British study by Bulmer<sup>70</sup> and a study conducted in Limburg by Torfs<sup>71</sup>.

Of marginal interest to the problem of the criminality of migrants is a paper by Willcox<sup>72</sup> published in 1965, which states that about one half of the cases of gonorrhoea and 4 out of 10 new cases of syphilis in males attending clinics in England and Wales are due to immigrants. Particularly West Indian groups appear affected by venereal diseases. The social conditions of the immigrants and the lack of female immigrants are considered responsible for the situation. A more recent paper on the same subject<sup>73</sup> shows a somewhat more optimistic picture with a decline in the proportion of new immigrant cases.

An important study on foreign workers' criminality has been published by Graven in 1965<sup>74</sup>. This paper makes reference to a "Colloque sur les migrations de travailleurs en Europe" which took place in Geneva in October 1965 at the International Institute of Social Studies of the International Labour Office and summarises several other studies and data relevant to the problem. In 1964, foreign workers in Switzerland reached the very high figure of 720,901, of which 68.1 % were Italians. A general concern appeared in the country over the criminality of this large group, and several xenophobic statements appeared in the daily press,

particularly against Mediterranean workers, claiming an imminent danger from the high level of criminality of foreigners. An examination of the available data, however, showed that, proportionally, the level of criminality was higher for Austrians, followed by Germans, Italians, Arabs, Turks and French. (This last group was largely composed of people living near the border, more adjusted to migration.) Most of the criminals, predictably, belonged to the younger age groups.

The overall ratio for crimes was slightly higher among the foreign workers than in the general Swiss population: 441 and 315 per 100,000 in 1963 figures. (These figures should of course be corrected for sex and age.) Graven analyses the social causes of the problem and the possible legal corrective measures and sees no cause for alarm.

In 1966 several papers appeared in Europe, all consistently presenting a rather optimistic picture of the criminal situation of migrants.

An article by Wehner<sup>75</sup> on data collected in Düsseldorf shows that the number of offences committed by non-Germans increased slightly, but this increase is misleading, according to the author, because many are illegal immigrants. The ratio, corrected by the author, is less than half that of the criminality of the local population. In a paper by Händel<sup>76</sup>, an analysis is made of the defence pleadings of the Italian immigrant workers, who often use as an excuse the legal differences between Italy and Germany, particularly concerning sexual offences and offences committed while under the influence of alcoholic beverages. Several practical suggestions are given for the examining magistrates.

An interesting and careful research paper by Pradervand and Cardia<sup>77</sup> examines the criminality of Italians in Geneva, taking into account several sociological variables, including the age differentials. The different experimental and control groups studied rank in criminality, from the highest to the lowest, in the following way: Fribourgeois, Valaisans, Genevois and Italians. The low crime rate of the Italians, compared to the other groups, contradicts sharply the prejudices held against these migrant workers. The study does not include seasonal workers, but their inclusion would lower still more the ratio of criminal behaviour in the migrant workers.

Another methodologically sound paper by Zimmermann<sup>78</sup> corrects the criminal data for age and sex (only males aged 18 to 50, with appropriate controls are included) and studies four migrant national groups, Italians, Greeks, Spaniards and Turks, making adequate corrections for tourists, members of foreign armed forces

and international criminals. By equating the crimes committed by Germans to 100, and calculating the proportional ratio of crimes committed by foreign workers, the author obtains for the most common crimes, the following figures for 1965 :

Crime	Germans	Italians	Greeks	Spaniards	Turks
All crimes	100	50	72	32	88
Murder	100	133	66	66	366
Attempted murder	100	133	183	83	517
Serious personal woundings	100	250	150	50	100
Woundings	100	112	139	75	287
Rape	100	123	150	63	323
Crimes against the morality of children	100	163	115	63	160
Robbery	100	69	77	46	163
Thefts	100	69	86	54	59
Qualified thefts	100	31	28	23	18
Fraud	100	23	38	11	50

The foreign workers' criminality is, in gross figures, largely inferior to that of the population of the host country. The Spaniards and Italians appear to be the least criminal groups and the Turks and Greeks the most criminal. Crimes against the person are higher in the migrant workers. However, it should be remembered that these crimes are mostly committed among the workers themselves and only infrequently do they involve the population of the host country. An intra-group or intra-cultural characteristic of violent crimes is here noted, not dissimilar from that found by Wolfgang in negroes included in his Philadelphia study of homicide<sup>79</sup>, which would tend to indicate the sub-cultural (or cultural) character of these violent anti-social manifestations<sup>80</sup>.

In Finland, a study of the criminality of Finnish migrants in Sweden is in progress and has been reported as a project by the Council of Europe<sup>81</sup>.

In Sweden, several studies have been made and are in progress. In 1966, Schmidt<sup>82</sup> published an analysis of aliens' convictions in Stockholm in 1965. Out of a total of 415 convictions 255 were Finns. The next largest group were Norwegians (27 convictions). No rates were calculated. Another research published by Klemming<sup>83</sup> studied 32 Greeks and 20 Yugoslavs convicted in Stockholm in 1965. The Yugoslav group has 65 % of offences against the person (and only 12 % were intoxicated at the time of the crime) ; the Greeks, instead, had only 24 % convictions for crimes against the person, almost all committed while intoxicated. These data

confirm a hypothesis of Sveri about the cultural criminal differences among the two groups. Sveri<sup>84</sup> has published a more comprehensive study of migrants' crime, following a "culture-conflict" theoretical model. The nature of the conflict and the conflict's possible outcome, either in terms of dissolution and assimilation of the group or formation of new groups, or in terms of adaptation to the new culture, when the conflict is not on vital areas or values, can most easily be studied in the migration situation, according to the author. By using criminal data from 1962 and corrected data from the 1960 census, the following criminal rates are calculated for different nationality groups, per 1,000 persons :

Hungarians and Yugoslavs :	10 - 12
Poles :	7
Finns :	6
Swedes :	6
Norwegians :	6
Danes :	6
Italians :	4
Austrians :	2

Hungarians and Yugoslavs have a high rate of crimes against the person. Their conflicts are culture conflicts of the simplest kind with Swedish laws, and they are accustomed to solve them through the use of force. Different cultural solutions are open to the adaptation problem and a role of paramount importance is played by the behaviour and attitudes of the Swedes themselves towards the foreigners. At present, a large scale three-year study is beginning in Sweden on this topic<sup>85</sup>.

In a study published in 1967 by Nann<sup>86</sup>, an analysis was made of 110 Italian workers' offences, compared with 173 German workers from the court districts of Stuttgart, Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt and Esslingen in the south-west area of Western Germany. The convictions had been imposed in the years 1960-1962. Germans had more offences against property (these offences had been committed by the Italians mostly in dormitories and outside houses). The Italians had 4 to 5 times more offences against the person and they came mostly from southern Italy. Their criminality appeared to be primarily socially motivated.

The British migration picture, as noted in the studies quoted at the beginning of this section, is less optimistic than that of the rest of Europe. It has also already been noted that migration into England has very peculiar characteristics. The problem of coloured minorities complicates the adjustment of migrants, and the migrants are mostly permanent and concentrated in slum areas,

not dissimilar in ecology and in social pathology from those areas in the USA whose riots make summer headlines with consistent and disturbing regularity. A recent paper by Wallis and Maliphant<sup>87</sup> presents an important methodological point, which should be kept in mind in future studies of urban immigrant criminality. In a very detailed study of delinquent areas of the county of London, the authors found that the important element in the relationship between immigrants and crime is not the proportion of immigrants but the speed of the immigrant influx. If the static immigrant population and delinquency rates are compared, no significant correlation is found, but if the comparison is made between influx immigration and delinquency, an association significant at the 5 % level appears.

Bottoms, in a paper already quoted<sup>88</sup>, also analyses Commonwealth immigration into England, and finds the rates to be generally low, except for violent crimes where, however, domestic disputes play an important role. Bottoms remarks that from American studies it appears that crime is higher in those immigrant groups which do not keep together and isolated from the host culture in tightly-knit groups (a fact which might explain the differences between the British and the continental European aspects of this phenomenon) and that rates for the second generation immigrants are higher. Again, in the case of European migration, it is too early to assess the impact of the criminality of the children of immigrants and very often they are left behind in the home country. Bottoms makes a plea for typological and individual approaches to the study of migration and crime, a point with which we fully concur.

Gillioz<sup>89</sup>, in a paper published in 1967, discusses the difficulties of estimating objectively realistic crime rates for foreigners in Switzerland. If the data are corrected for the different types of foreigners and for age and sex, again the alleged high rates of criminality for foreigners appear non-existent. As a matter of fact, their criminality, as in the other studies previously analysed, is lower than that of the host country. Also in accordance with previous studies, violent crimes have a relatively higher rate.

A personal communication from Interpol<sup>90</sup> points out the scarcity of available data and the frequency of intra-group criminality, which escapes the attention of police authorities. It also indicates a certain importance of criminal behaviour connected with traffic of narcotic drugs, particularly by some national groups (Turks, Commonwealth migrants and North Africans).

The Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs<sup>91</sup> has requested data on the criminality of Italian migrant workers from Italian Consulates and Embassies in Europe. Data have been made available to us

from France, Denmark and Germany. Consistently, the data, too incomplete for detailed presentation in this context, indicate a low crime rate.

In France, a large-scale study is in progress since 1966 on the criminality of foreigners, under the direction of Mr. Pinatel and Mr. Epaud<sup>92</sup>. Upon its completion, it will undoubtedly provide interesting data. The French situation is particularly interesting in view of the older migratory movements, particularly from Italy, and of the French Government policy of assimilation of foreign workers.

An important source of data is constituted by the police or prison statistics of the European countries. A few recent ones have been examined. The French report for 1966<sup>93</sup> states that, on 1st January 1967, the number of foreign inmates in the French system was 5,250, or 16.8 % of the total, with an 8 % decrease from 1965 data and a 19 % decrease from 1964. The decrease is attributed to the strict enforcement of the expulsion orders — yet, according to the report, the number of foreign inmates is disproportionately high, so that there is one inmate for every 1,800 Frenchmen, one for every 550 foreigners and one for every 190 Algerians. These figures, of course, are of minor significance as they are not corrected for age and sex of the groups under examination.

The Swiss criminal statistics for 1965<sup>94</sup>, published by the police, have already been analysed by Gillioz, in a paper quoted above.

The Swedish correctional statistics for 1966<sup>95</sup> show an increase from 888 to 1186 from 1965 to 1966; 60 % of the foreign inmates were Finnish, while 11 % were Norwegians. The remainder represented 25 different nationalities. Again, the figures are not corrected for age and sex.

The German police statistics for 1965 also show an increase in the criminality of foreigners. Again, no correction is made for age, sex, or number of foreigners present in Germany. A similar increase is reported for 1966<sup>96</sup>.

Official statistics, uncorrected and limited to gross figures and percentages, are of little use in a scientific study of the phenomenon.

As can be seen from the above review of available studies, the criminality picture of European migrant workers is, with the possible exception of Britain, not such as to cause alarm. The criminal phenomenology differs from that of the host countries, and isolated areas of concern exist, but the "danger" situation claimed by some sections of the public does not materialise. Yet, many areas remain unexplored, and in particular, several hypotheses need to be tested for a full comprehension of the phenomenon. The fact that current

criminality is low does not mean that efforts should be spared to curb it even more. Also, a comprehensive long-term study is missing. On this, and on other points, further comments will be made in our concluding remarks.

### *The returned migrant*

A large part of present European migration is seasonal and involves only temporary displacement for short-term employment. Even in the case of longer work contracts and assignments, in the majority of cases, migration is not seen as a permanent and definitive transfer. The worker keeps his ties with the home country, minimises his integration with the host community and eventually returns to his country of origin (although, often, not to the same residence or occupation). This fact, on one side has compensated for some of the more traumatic and maladjustive aspects of migration, but, on the other has opened a relatively new chapter of social pathology, of which very few examples existed before: the problems of the returned migrant. The attrition with the host culture, the changes in values and aspirations, the problems of re-insertion into a community which no longer constitutes the only life experience of the subject, the frequent conjugal problems, the difficulties of occupational placement, a broader vision and an enlarged level of aspirations, often not corresponding to the static or slowly changing reality in the home country, all these are problems which threaten the social adjustment of the returning migrant. The idealisation of the home country which takes place in the stay abroad changes the terms of reference of the migrant, and occasionally builds unfulfilled expectations. Sometimes, the psychological displacement and social distance of returning amount to a second migration. Also, in the original country, the migrant is sometimes regarded as an alien, with foreign tastes, manners and values. The number of returned migrants is, of course, rapidly increasing in succeeding years and it is impossible at this stage to predict the future evolution of the problem. In other cases, economic recessions and changes in the host country may cause large scale variations in the employment level of migrant workers with resulting damaging effects in occupational or geographical areas of the original countries, where unemployment may suddenly increase.

Although the problem of the returned migrant is new, some attention has already been directed to its aspects and possible remedial action suggested.

In 1963 the Council of Europe<sup>97</sup> initiated an analysis of the policies of different member states vis-à-vis the returned migrants.

Catalano<sup>98</sup> has published a paper on the same topic, discussing the relationship between migratory trends and economic conditions and developmental steps both in the host and in the home countries.

The original countries, in some cases (Greece and Turkey are two examples), do not wish to lose permanently migrant manpower and stress the importance of the vocational training which the migrant receives in the host country. Yet, sometimes this training is illusory, because it takes place in working areas and with industrial tools which do not exist in the home country. Occasionally, the vocational training received in the host country contributes to the displacement of the worker upon his return, uprooting him from a rural or low level employment<sup>99</sup>. Of paramount importance remain the psychological aspects, at the individual level, of the decision to migrate and to return.

An important study of the returned migrants' problems has been published by Sjollem<sup>100</sup>. This author discusses the different types of returnees and the economic problems caused by migration, including the damage to the original countries, where economic and social structures are often seriously affected by the exodus of large groups of their more productive population. Some of the political opinion changes in migrant workers are analysed (on the basis of Spanish and Italian examples). The need for co-operation between the home and host countries is stressed.

The problems of returned migrants were examined by the Advisory Committee of the Special Representative of the Council of Europe in 1966<sup>101</sup>. No mention, however, is made in the available documents of the socio-psychological adjustment problems caused by the return, although some of the economic problems are discussed. Recently, attention was given in Italy to the question of the loss of residence of the migrant workers which could cause problems upon their return<sup>102</sup>. The current recession in England, West Germany and the Netherlands may increase, in the immediate future, the size of return migration<sup>103</sup>.

A Council of Europe paper, prepared in 1967 by Mr. Uner for the Committee on Population and Refugees, deals with Turkish migrant workers and their return. In the period 1961-1966, 195,000 workers were sent abroad by the Turkish Employment Bureau (87% went to Germany). Turkish return migrants are generally people who first migrated from the country to the city, and then abroad. They generally, upon return, settled in the city. They often change work and appear very mobile. Rural returned migrants readjust better to the home country<sup>104</sup>.

A serious problem of adjustment of returned migrants is being experienced by other non-European countries. In Puerto Rico<sup>105</sup>

the large size of the returnees group has caused the introduction of new criminal phenomenologies (such as drug addiction and gang juvenile delinquency), which previously were minimal or non-existing. Of particular difficulty is the adjustment of the children (both abroad, and often unable to speak the mother language). The probability that socio-pathological manifestations due to the phenomenon of the returned migrants will increase in the future is great; appropriate prevention steps should be taken.

#### *Conclusions and recommendations for future research and action*

The preceding summary of the main relevant points of the problem of European migration and crime should enable us to reach tentative conclusions and recommendations although, admittedly, the amount of relevant and valid data currently available is scarce. Conclusions will be presented as preliminary statements, which should be considered as guidelines for discussion:

1. The general literature on the problem of migration and crime is only of marginal relevance to the present migration of European workers. The social and economic differences and the psychological characteristics of the European migrants make it impossible to transfer hypotheses and results from earlier studies. The same applies to data on displaced persons.
2. The crime rate of European migrants in the host countries, in spite of their greater visibility and probably of stricter reporting, appears to be practically equal or inferior to the rate for the population of the host countries. The high criminality of foreign migrant workers is a xenophobic myth. Yet migration in the United Kingdom and some of the African migration in France is linked with a high rate of crime. Also the crime rates of the migrant workers, in gross figures at least, seem to be increasing. The specific phenomenology of some of the migrants' criminality, particularly for violent crimes and sex crimes, indicates the exportation to northern countries of cultural and subcultural elements which should be prevented. A detailed large-scale study of the global picture of the migration of European workers and crime should be undertaken, in order to maximise the preventive and remedial concerted and co-ordinated action of member states.
3. Such a study should include all the hypotheses based on existing criminological literature. None of the theoretical formulations presented so far: (i.e. cultural conflict, anomie, differential association or identification, subcultural identification, differential opportunity structure, frustration and aggression) will explain all the antisocial behaviour of all migrants. In different subjects, different

mechanisms, or patterns of mechanisms, will enter into the criminogenetic and criminodynamic processes leading to the criminal act. These mechanisms, and the differential personality patterns and typological traits of the delinquent or potentially delinquent migrant, must be studied at a clinical, individual level<sup>106</sup> without losing sight of the need for broad, encompassing generalisations which might enable legislators and social operators to take the appropriate corrective steps. In the study, the previous, subsequent or concomitant phenomenology of internal migration must be included. The differential aspects of the migrant's personality must be evaluated. The "natural history" of the individual migration process, including the eventual return migration, should be analysed for representative groups in a variety of cultural host settings. The possible alternation and equivalence of antisocial acts and psychopathological behaviour should be included in the matrix, together with the industrialisation and urbanisation components of the migratory process.

4. Such a study should start, in its theoretical formulations, from an adequate migration theory. Since Ravenstein's first attempts to formulate a law of migration<sup>107</sup>, little has been added to the theoretical aspects of the field. Demographers and economists have not contributed substantially to conceptualisations about the migratory process and the psychological and psychopathological formulations have never claimed nor attained the general level of a "law" or theory. Sellin's culture conflict is the only exception in the fields of social pathology and sociology. Only recently has Lee<sup>108</sup> presented a theory which accounts for the several variables included in the process. The theory should be enlarged to embrace the socio-pathological aspects of migration and subjected to objective study and testing.
5. The low level of criminality of the current migration of workers in Europe is undoubtedly due to several causes. Yet, the efforts of national and international public and private organisations and agencies have certainly contributed to minimise its negative aspects. A better co-ordination of the various efforts should be achieved, possibly through a centralised agency. The Council of Europe could probably, through one of its existing bodies, or through a newly established one, assume leadership in this co-ordinating activity as well as in promoting the large-scale research discussed above.
6. The theory proposed by Lee<sup>109</sup> formulates, as its last hypothesis, the following statement: "The characteristics of migrants tend to be intermediate between the characteristics of the population at origin and the population at destination." This implies that a new type of person is emerging from the migration process. In all probability, the "European man" which we are striving to generate will, in large part, result from migration and reflect its vicissitudes.

His birth should receive our most careful attention. In a book on migration, written in preparation of his proposals for new migration legislation, in the United States, the late American President, John Fitzgerald Kennedy<sup>110</sup>, quotes Walt Whitman's lines :

"These States are the amplest poem,  
Here is not merely a nation but  
A teeming Nation of nations."

The migrant is the spearhead of the process which will permit us to extend Whitman's image of the USA to Europe. He deserves our interest and our informed respect and understanding in his odyssey to build a European "poem".

## Appendix I

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22. A number of case studies are reported in the book by Borrie (see footnote 20). The general bibliography presented in the appendix to this report lists many examples from different countries.
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## Appendix II

### SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON MIGRATION AND CRIME

(prepared by Professor F. Ferracuti)

#### INTRODUCTION

In the preparation of the report on *European Migration and Crime*, for the Fifth European Conference of Directors of Criminological Research Institutes, a large number of bibliographical references were assembled and consulted.

While the number of research papers on European migration and crime is very small, the general topics of migration, both external and internal, of adjustment of migrants, of urbanisation, of the problems of return migrants, have been the object of numerous theoretical writings, research papers and analytical studies. Also, the general area of post-war European migration has been studied from many different viewpoints.

Only a few of the collected papers could, of course, find their place in the report for the Conference, which had to maintain the nature of an introductory and preliminary overview of the problem. However, it was considered useful for colleagues engaged in research work on the area to have access to our bibliographical files. They are listed in the following pages, divided by content into six main areas, as follows:

*General*: General theoretical works and classical research papers on migration and on migration and crime. Recent studies from areas other than the European continent.

*Adjustment of migrants*: Papers on psychological and social adjustment of migrants, psychopathological problems of migration.

*Internal migration*: Problems of internal migration and urbanisation.

*European migration studies*: Papers on post-war migration in Europe.

*European migration and crime*: Papers on the criminality of migrants in Europe.

*Return migrants*: Papers on the problems of the return migrants in their original country.

The bibliographical entries are offered as a working instrument. The lists are obviously incomplete and a few items are secondary references, which should be checked for accuracy. However, they can constitute a starting point for the scholar wishing to engage in work on the topic of migration and crime.

Several persons and agencies, too many to be listed here, have helped in assembling the bibliography and their help is acknowledged with gratitude. My assistant, Dr. Giancarlo Baldassini, has helped in the task of checking the references. The Criminology Programme of the Social Science Research Centre of the University of Puerto Rico has provided the necessary facilities for the compilation and duplication of the bibliography.

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