

Crime in Urban Areas: The Case of Informal Settlements

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Abstract:

The issue of informal or chaotic settlements in Algeria has been shaped by harsh social conditions, including poverty, unemployment, and the absence of public services, particularly during the Black Decade of the 1990s. This period witnessed mass displacement of families and individuals from rural areas to cities, leading to the proliferation of informal and shantytown neighborhoods. As a result, serious social problems emerged, such as delinquency, poverty, unemployment, and a housing crisis. These factors contributed to the rise of various types of crime, including theft, assaults on individuals and property, drug and alcohol abuse, and youth violence.

Based on these observations, we pose the following research question: What role do informal settlements play in the rise of crime among urban youth?

Keywords: Urbanization; Informal Settlements; Crime; Delinquency; Urban Environment.

1. INTRODUCTION

Since at least the mid-19th century, the world has experienced a population boom, leading to profound shifts in population distribution. A key aspect of this trend is the concentration of people in urban areas and city suburbs, forming urban belts. This urban growth is not merely a demographic shift but has far-reaching social, economic, and political consequences, affecting individuals and contributing to social problems.

Algerian society has also undergone significant transformations in various sectors, including social, economic, political, and urban development. These changes have driven internal migration, as individuals move from rural areas to cities due to poverty, unemployment, lack of public services, and security instability. As a result, informal settlements and shantytowns have emerged alongside affluent, well-planned urban districts. The continued growth of these unplanned neighbourhoods, particularly in Algerian cities experiencing rapid demographic expansion, has led to a rise in crime, including assaults, property crimes, drug abuse, and illicit trafficking.

This situation raises a crucial question: *How does the expansion of informal settlements in Algerian cities contribute to the rise of crime, and what socio-economic and urban planning factors influence this phenomenon?* Addressing this issue requires a comprehensive analysis of the causes, consequences, and possible solutions to urban crime within these settlements.

2. Study Concepts

2.1 Informal Settlements

Informal settlements fall under the broader category of unplanned urbanization, a phenomenon linked to various factors such as rural migration, industrialization, and urbanization. These settlements have become a defining feature of modern cities, particularly in the political and economic capitals of developing countries. Unplanned urbanization is known by multiple terms, including informal, spontaneous, marginal, cancerous, and chaotic settlements.

2.1.1 Two Distinct Types of Unplanned Urbanization

- **Squatter Housing:** This type consists of makeshift shelters and tin shacks of a temporary nature, usually established on vacant urban land, either within city pockets or on its outskirts. The residents of these areas are often rural migrants engaged in low-

income or informal sector jobs.

- **Semi-Informal Housing:** This refers to housing that results from uncontrolled land division outside city boundaries on agricultural land. It gains legal status in terms of land ownership but is used for construction and residence. This type of housing accommodates various socio-economic groups, including middle-class and low-income individuals employed in government positions or freelance activities. In Algeria, this is known as illegal or chaotic construction, which is predominantly found in suburban and peri-urban areas.

2.1.2. Crime Perspective

❖ Crime from a Sociological Perspective

Some scholars define crime as a social sin and a deviation from social norms, warranting criminal and punitive measures even if not explicitly stated in legal texts.

In sociology, crime is understood as behavior that violates an ethical rule for which society has established formal punitive measures.

❖ Crime from a Criminological Perspective

Criminologists view crime as a tangible reality, describing it as the gratification of a human instinct through an abnormal means that a typical person would not resort to under normal circumstances. They attribute criminal behavior to psychological disturbances that affect an individual at the moment of committing the crime.

3. The Nature of Urban Society

From birth, humans are members of society, living a social life and constantly influenced by their social environment. Society is an organized group of individuals who interact within various groups, working together to achieve common interests. Social groups within a society tend to develop similar ideas, beliefs, and behavioral patterns.

However, modern and urban societies are complex, interconnected, and overlapping, making it difficult to track their influence on human behavior. Unlike simpler rural societies, urban societies consist of diverse organizations that regulate individual behavior, assign social roles, and structure interactions. Among the primary functions of social groups are:

- 1) Contributing to societal development and progress.
- 2) Ensuring the continuity of social life, as humans cannot exist without active participation in social groups.

3) Establishing institutions and facilitating social interaction.

Sociologists have studied urban society differently from other disciplines like geography, archaeology, politics, and economics. They perceive the city as a unique form of local community with its own distinct culture, referred to as *urban culture*.

Many studies on urban life were conducted in the 1920s and 1930s, focusing on its characteristics and challenges. The urban environment is densely populated, with residents organizing their lives in ways distinct from rural inhabitants. Scholars such as Sorokin and Zimmerman emphasized the importance of distinguishing cities from rural areas based on several characteristics: 1) Occupation and environment, 2) Community size and population density, 3) Homogeneity and heterogeneity, 4) Differentiation and specialization, 5) Regulations and laws, 6) Mobility and social change, 7) Modes of interaction among individuals. These factors highlight the defining traits of urban society, including complexity, diversity, division of labor, high levels of technology, globalization, and population density. Additionally, urban society may consist of both large and small local communities within the broader urban framework.

3.1. The Concept of Urban Society

3.1.1. Definition of Urbanization

The term *urbanization* is derived from the Latin word *Urbs*, which the Romans used to refer to a city, particularly Rome. In Arabic, urbanization is understood as permanent residence and settlement in cities and villages, in contrast to nomadism. According to the *Sociological Dictionary*, urbanization is defined as “*the transition from rural life to cities, often due to migration. This transition requires individuals or groups to adapt to the prevailing values of urban life. Failure to adapt may lead to material and moral deterioration, ultimately prompting a return to the countryside.*” Thus, urbanization refers to the process by which city populations increase due to rural-to-urban migration, including the cultural and behavioral transformations rural migrants undergo to adapt to city life. Some scholars view urbanization as the general trend toward residing in urban centers and expanding their development, a global phenomenon that is not confined to specific regions, although its intensity varies across different areas

3.1.2. Dimensions of Urbanization

A. Geographic Perspective:

Geographically, urbanization refers to the physical expansion of urban settlements. Rural areas transform into urban centers due to economic and

administrative developments, along with the availability of housing and essential services.

B. Demographic Perspective:

Demographically, urbanization is marked by the increase in urban population, driven by two primary demographic processes: 1) Natural population growth within urban settlements. 2) Population growth resulting from rural-to-urban migration. According to Davis Kingsley, urbanization is defined as “the percentage of people living in urban settlements relative to the total population.” He emphasizes that urbanization should not be mistaken for mere city growth; rather, it results from both natural population increase and migration.

C. Ecological Perspective:

From an ecological standpoint, urbanization refers to the environmental changes caused by the process, such as: 1) Increased construction and expansion of cities, 2) The emergence of new neighborhoods, 3) A distinct social environment characterized by unique neighborhood relations and intense social interactions. However, urban environments also lead to challenges such as: 1) The spread of diseases and social deviance, 2) Rising crime rates and social instability, 3) Disorder due to the inability to control the rapid dynamics of urban societies, 4) Increased individualism and personal freedom, shaping a unique social atmosphere.

D. Organizational Perspective:

city is a vast social organization where individuals regulate activities and human relations through various institutions that govern collective life. One of the key institutions linked to urbanization is social regulation, which relies on laws, customs, traditions, and societal norms to maintain order in urban environments. (Mohamed, 2001, p. P18)

E. Sociological Perspective:

Sociologically, urbanization refers to the social processes that accompany demographic, environmental, organizational, and geographical transformations. These processes include: 1) Increased interactions and relationships between individuals and groups, 2) The emergence of new patterns of behavior and social relations, 3) The development of urban culture, which encompasses unique values and norms that city dwellers gradually adopt. Urbanization, therefore, is a social transformation process where rural or nomadic people move to cities and integrate into urban societies. It entails the redistribution of populations from rural areas to cities and other urban centers.

3.2. Urbanization as a Continuous Process

Urbanization is often described as a cumulative process, meaning it is not static but continuously evolves due to: 1) Permanent settlement in urban spaces, 2) Ongoing contributions of individuals to urban development. Urbanization is not merely about population relocation or economic shifts (e.g., from agriculture to industry); it also involves fundamental changes in people's thinking, behaviors, and social and cultural values.

3.2.1. The Concept of Urbanism (Boudraà;Ahmed Sayed;, p. P13)

Sociologists and urban anthropologists commonly agree that urbanism refers to a way of life that characterizes city dwellers, shaped by the ecological, social, and cultural nature of the city. This unique environment fosters a distinctive urban culture. Urbanism is considered the final outcome of urbanization, encompassing the social changes that accompany urban growth due to individuals settling in cities.

The scholar Louis Wirth describes urbanization as a process that fundamentally alters human relationships due to: 1) The increasing size and density of cities, 2) The diversity of urban populations, 3) The decline of primary social groups (like families), replaced by secondary and specialized groups. Urbanization leads to the disappearance of close-knit communities, making way for formalized and specialized social structures. This process aligns with industrialization and mass communication, fostering new social interactions and relationships that shape urban culture. (AL-Hassan & Mohammed, 1999, p. p555)

The scholar Schmoller Douleau explored the relationship between urbanism and rationality, concluding that urban dwellers tend to be more rational than rural residents. Similarly, Georg Simmel, Sorokin, Zimmerman, and Wirth identified several defining characteristics of urban life: - A complex division of labor, -Increased social and spatial mobility, - Mutual dependence and functional interdependence among individuals, -A prevalence of superficial and impersonal social relationships, -Reliance on indirect methods of social control. These features contribute to the rational nature of urban life. Scholars such as Frederick Tönnies emphasize that urban behavior is utilitarian rather than emotional. Georg Simmel highlights the dominance of social interactions, while Max Weber views rational behavior as a fundamental characteristic of urban societies.

Émile Durkheim, in his work *The Division of Labor in Society*, contrasts mechanical solidarity in homogeneous rural societies with organic

solidarity in diverse, urban, and industrial societies. The urban setting fosters greater labor specialization and structural complexity.

Marshall Gordon analyzed urban life patterns and identified several key aspects, including: A high degree of specialization and division of labor, A dominance of formal social relationships, An increase in voluntary associations and secularization, A growing role of mass media and communication. Urbanism, therefore, is a global phenomenon that signifies settlement in urban centers, leading to transformations in thought, behavior, and engagement with social activities.

- **Louis Wirth's Urbanism as a Way of Life:** Louis Wirth defines urbanism through three interconnected dimensions: as a physical structure, encompassing ecological, demographic, and technological aspects; as a social system, characterized by distinct institutions and organized relationships; and as a shared mindset, shaping a collective urban culture governed by dominant social norms. Key aspects of urban life include heterogeneity, impersonal social interactions, individualism, tolerance, formal social control, and spatial segregation, all of which contribute to the unique dynamics of urban societies. Urbanism is shaped by demographic shifts, evolving social norms, economic transformations, and cultural changes.

4. Characteristics of Urban Society

4.1. Heterogeneity : (Nuaim & Al-Ali, p. P48)

Cities are highly diverse both materially and culturally, a result of urbanization where increasing population density fosters greater competition, a rise in specialization and labor segmentation, and the integration of diverse populations from different backgrounds. This, in turn, leads to social complexity, class stratification, a growing emphasis on rational thinking and material values, and higher levels of social mobility and instability. As Louis Wirth states, "The greater the number of individuals involved in social interactions, the higher the likelihood of differentiation among them." Consequently, urban societies display a wider range of professions, cultural expressions, and social values compared to rural areas.

4.2. Secondary Social Relationships:

Wirth argues that in urban settings, people are less likely to have personal relationships with one another, leading to a shift in social dynamics. Since city dwellers interact with a large and diverse population,

their social relationships are often: 1) Impersonal, 2) Superficial, 3) Segmented by functional roles

4.3. Individualism :

Urban residents tend to exhibit a strong sense of self-reliance and independence, as they enjoy greater personal freedom compared to their rural counterparts. Unlike rural communities, where family obligations dominate, urban individuals have more autonomy in personal and professional decisions, are less bound by family expectations, and have greater freedom in choosing their social and marital relationships. Although individualism is increasing in both rural and urban settings, it is more pronounced in cities, reflecting a broader societal shift toward personal independence and self-determination.

4.4. Tolerance:

Urban societies generally exhibit greater acceptance of diverse perspectives and lifestyles, with tolerance defined as the willingness to allow freedom of thought and behavior, regardless of differing values or ideologies. Sociologist Stouffer first identified the relationship between urbanization and tolerance, a finding later supported by Wilson, Alston, and Gillen (1985). However, research indicates that tolerance levels vary across different cities and that subcultures are accepted only when they align with broader societal norms.

5. Formal Social Control

In urban environments, informal social control (e.g., family and community influence) is weaker than in rural areas. Instead, behavior is regulated through: 1) Legal frameworks and regulations. 2) Institutionalized social structures. 3) Bureaucratic enforcement mechanisms. Since urban individuals can escape informal social pressures, they often experience less community-based supervision, leading to what is known as social anonymity.

5.1. Urban Residential Patterns:

Urban residential patterns can be distinguished into two types. Based on spatial criteria, the city is divided into the center, suburbs, and periphery, reflecting different levels of urban density and infrastructure. Based on socio-economic criteria, the city is divided into modern upscale neighborhoods with amenities and old unplanned neighborhoods, highlighting disparities in wealth, development, and living conditions.

5.2. Informal Settlements as a Breeding Ground for Youth Crime

Informal settlements in urban cities are hotspots for youth crime. These areas often lack basic services and adequate infrastructure, creating an environment conducive to delinquency and crime. The issue of informal settlements is crucial and sensitive, as their existence stems from social, political, and colonial backgrounds. These neighborhoods typically emerge in vacant urban areas on the outskirts of cities, hindering proper urban growth and distorting the aesthetic appearance of these cities.

5.3. Definition of Informal Settlements (AL-Alawi & Jamila, p. 2006/2007; 200P1)

Informal settlements are unplanned residential areas that develop outside the framework of official urban planning. They lack essential infrastructure such as water networks, sanitation systems, electricity, and other fundamental services required for a decent life. These areas are densely populated and often hold a connection to traditional cultural heritage.

These settlements emerge due to rural migration, poverty, inadequate housing policies, and low purchasing power, pushing people to build illegal housing on the outskirts of cities or on lands not designated for residential purposes. Additionally, informal settlements are densely populated areas inhabited by people from different regions with generally low socio-economic levels. Rural migrants often settle in these areas, relying on makeshift shelters lacking basic living facilities. This results in poor health conditions, poverty, diseases, lack of security, moral decline, social problems, and various forms of crime. The spread of such neighborhoods leads to discomfort, insecurity, and broader negative consequences for both individuals and society. Sociologists attribute the rise of informal settlements to illegal migration and internal migration from rural to urban areas.

Unemployment and Poverty: Unemployment and poverty are key factors contributing to the spread of informal settlements. Individuals migrate to cities seeking escape from poverty and marginalization, believing that urban life offers better job opportunities and improved living standards.

5.4. Causes of Informal Settlements (Ladrum & Ahmed, 2007;2008, p. p41)

- *Rural Migration to Cities:* Many individuals move to urban areas in search of better job opportunities and services that can enhance their quality of life.
- *High Real Estate Prices:* The inability to afford proper housing forces many people to resort to informal housing, as it is a more affordable alternative.
- *Weak Urban Planning and Housing Policies:* Governments' failure to provide adequate housing solutions has led many people to engage in unauthorized construction.
- *Industrial Development:* With technological advancements, large factories emerged in cities, prompting many rural residents to migrate to urban areas. This industrial growth led to the decline of traditional handcraft industries, which were replaced by large factories in underpopulated areas. Despite efforts by industrialized nations to improve slum infrastructure, many countries continue to struggle with the expansion of informal settlements, characterized by narrow streets and high population density. This rapid growth is driven by push factors in rural areas, such as the lack of educational institutions, job opportunities, and healthcare services, as well as pull factors in urban areas, where these services are more accessible. Rapid urban industrialization has made it difficult for rural residents to maintain their traditional lifestyles, while the creation of new job opportunities and improved living standards has led to significant urban transformations, including city expansion, the spread of slums, the growth of commerce and industry, and increased employment opportunities in urban areas.

5.5. Characteristics of Informal Settlements

Informal settlements are underdeveloped areas, often crowded with aging and deteriorating buildings and houses. They suffer from poor housing conditions, lacking urban planning, proper roads, and public squares, while living conditions inside homes remain inadequate. These settlements also face overcrowded housing, where one or multiple families share a single dwelling. Residents experience poverty and unemployment, with low economic status and high joblessness rates. Additionally, these areas have high crime rates, with widespread delinquency, vice, and ignorance. Another major issue is the lack of hygiene and health standards, as poor sanitation and high disease prevalence are common in these communities. The most notable characteristics of these areas include filth,

overcrowding, poverty, and social mobility imbalance. They are often populated by rural migrants, the unemployed, and individuals engaged in criminal activities.

The rapid spread of informal settlements and the worsening social issues within them—particularly as urban expansion becomes more unplanned and land is irrationally exploited by migrants or due to population growth—has exacerbated crime rates in these areas. This has posed significant challenges for Algeria, requiring the government to mobilize all resources to implement and develop various urban policies. Solutions include controlling urban sprawl, preventing rural migration to cities, and promoting rural development policies.

6. Crime in Informal Settlements

6.1. Reasons for Crime Spread Among Youth in Informal Settlements

6.1.1. Social Causes

A. Family Guidance and Upbringing in Informal Settlements

Families in these settlements live together in large households, and parents often resist allowing their grown children to move out unless space constraints force them to. This forced overcrowding means that even when individuals gain independence, they still adhere to the authority and traditions of the extended family. Family loyalty and cultural heritage play a crucial role in shaping behavior, as individuals are expected to uphold their family's social reputation. These families have varying educational levels, despite sharing common experiences within the neighborhood. Some members are illiterate, others have basic education, while a few may have higher education. This educational disparity is accepted across genders, and marriage mismatches are not considered a social flaw. It is common to see educated men marrying illiterate women or educated women marrying uneducated men, as men prioritize earning a living over education.

This educational and social gap becomes more apparent in child-rearing, especially when a woman gives birth and struggles between the authority of the father and her personal aspirations. Families in these settlements tend to have large numbers of children, considering it a source of pride among women. Women with fewer children are criticized as lacking faith or interfering with God's will, believing that each child is born with their own sustenance. This economic perception affects child upbringing and education. Another issue is negligence in child-rearing. Many fathers focus on disciplining others rather than their own children.

Some even publicly admit that the streets raise children, especially during disputes.

Today, studies increasingly focus on the relationship between housing, population, and social structures, analyzing how urbanization shapes family life and children's development. Studying urban planning also means examining children's behavior, family structures, and household environments, as well as understanding how spatial and material conditions influence socialization. A child's identity is shaped within the framework of social interactions, and changes in housing and urban environments reflect broader societal and family transformations.

There is no doubt that housing is a fundamental human need, influencing not only physiological and psychological well-being but also social and cultural stability. Housing is the primary reflection of social culture, and regardless of its form, it cannot be separated from the people and communities that inhabit it. In informal settlements, socialization is one of the most complex functions of the family. Although schools, mosques, and peer groups also play a role, the family remains the most influential social institution, as it is the first environment where a child grows and develops their identity. The early years of childhood are crucial for personality formation, making family upbringing a decisive factor in shaping future generations (Slatnia & Reda, 2012, p. p202)

B. Deviant Peer Groups

Friends form a significant part of an individual's social environment and play a crucial role in shaping their personality. There is a mutual influence among friends that creates a collective tendency within the group. This tendency may either align with respect for laws, principles, and values, or it may lean towards violating societal norms, leading to deviant behavior and crime. In such cases, peer groups act as a driving force behind delinquency and criminal behavior. These groups establish their own rules, which members contribute to forming, making it difficult for individuals to leave. The group ensures its continuity by maintaining loyalty among members, who are expected to show unwavering allegiance. For instance, in a group that engages in drug use, a member must conform to this behavior to remain accepted (Boumakhlouf, 2001, p. p44) Peer groups significantly influence youth behavior in informal settlements, where poverty and unemployment serve as catalysts for delinquency. Due to social and collective pressures, young people in these environments often seek belonging and acceptance as compensation for the lack of family support. Peer groups exert direct pressure on individuals to engage in deviant

behaviors. In many informal settlements, family disintegration and neglect push individuals to seek alternative sources of social and psychological support within these groups, which, in turn, reinforce criminal values. Some delinquent peer groups justify deviant behaviors as a means of survival or self-fulfillment, disregarding legal and moral constraints. Consequently, violence becomes a tool for resolving disputes or asserting dominance, with members rationalizing their actions as defending their rights. (AL-Juraissi & Khalid, 1999, p. 41)

C. Child Labor and School Dropout

Child labor and school dropout in informal settlements are serious social and economic issues that impact the future of individuals. These phenomena are linked to several factors, including poverty, unemployment, low educational levels, family disintegration, and lack of awareness about the importance of education. Informal settlements provide a fertile ground for such problems due to their socio-economic conditions.

D. The City as a Crime-Inducing Environment

Researchers studying the relationship between urbanization and crime are divided into two main perspectives. The first is the Microsociological Approach, which examines crime in relation to broader social structures. One of its proponents, Hermann G. Winter, argues that cities foster crime because their industrial growth disrupts social and psychological structures, creating an environment conducive to criminal activity. Winter's argument is based on crime statistics from industrialized European countries, but this link between industrialization and crime is not universal. Exceptions, such as Scandinavian countries like Sweden and Denmark, suggest that other variables, such as the nature of industrialization and social structures, also play a role.

The second perspective is the Ecological Approach, represented by the Chicago School (Clifford R. Shaw and others). This perspective views cities as morphological, social, economic, and cultural spaces that exert pressure on individuals, potentially leading to criminal behavior. The city emphasizes consumerist values, and economic hardship hinders social integration into mainstream professional culture. Consequently, deviant behavior emerges as an alternative path for social inclusion. For example, in the United States, impoverished neighborhoods with high migrant populations exhibit higher crime rates. The Arab world shares this pattern, as crime is predominantly urban. However, the core issue is that cities do

not develop in a balanced manner. Instead, random urban growth occurs due to the influx of rural and nomadic populations, who struggle to integrate into urban life because of differences in production methods, consumer culture, and media influence. This creates social and cultural mobility, which leads to deviance and crime-inducing tensions. Cities do not necessarily create poverty, but rather intensify the feeling of poverty. Urban environments experience anomie (normlessness), leading to the breakdown of traditional social structures, weakening of kinship ties, and reduced sense of belonging, all of which contribute to crime. The city fosters a sense of alienation, which facilitates criminal behavior due to the absence of strong social controls.

Urban environments operate under market dynamics, where human interactions are shaped by consumerist and commercial values, diminishing humanitarian and ethical considerations. Cities present contradictory messages to individuals, caught between materialistic ambitions and moral constraints, leading to criminal behaviors such as theft (to acquire wealth) and prostitution (driven by market demands). Ultimately, urban crime is driven by economic disparity, social fragmentation, and consumer culture, making cities fertile grounds for delinquency and deviant behavior.

7. Forms of Youth Crime in Informal Settlements

Various types of crimes are prevalent in these settlements, including individual and collective crimes, as well as economic and social offenses. Crimes in these areas also include offenses against citizens, attacks on public and private property, moral crimes, drug-related crimes, and other classifications that vary in scope and severity (AL-Hashemi & Mohammed, 2005, p. p13) Because individuals living in informal settlements often lack trust in their neighbors, a criminal mindset can develop. This environment fosters crimes such as armed robbery, forgery, counterfeiting, the establishment of criminal colonies within the settlement, and drug and alcohol-related offenses, including the production, smuggling, or distribution of narcotics.

7.1 Sexual Crimes

Sexual crimes encompass any sexual behavior criminalized by existing laws and subject to legal penalties, classified into heterosexual crimes and homosexual crimes. Heterosexual crimes include prostitution, defined as a woman engaging in sexual acts for payment, a practice particularly prevalent in informal settlements due to their social dynamics. Rape involves forced sexual intercourse against a woman's will through

coercion or threats, while adultery refers to illegal sexual intercourse between a man and a woman outside of marriage. Additionally, indecent assault is considered a gross violation of morality, involving an attack on a person's body or modesty. Homosexual crimes, on the other hand, involve same-sex sexual behavior criminalized by law.

7.2 Violent Crimes

These crimes involve physical aggression and harm, including murder and armed robbery.

7.3 Economic Crimes

Economic crimes are committed with the goal of financial gain through illegal means and often include suicide, juvenile delinquency, and substance abuse, all of which are linked to poverty, underdevelopment, social issues, and a lack of public services. Poor living conditions contribute to high rates of illness, alcohol, and drug addiction, further exacerbating social instability. The widespread presence of abandoned homes in informal settlements has turned them into hotspots for illegal activities, with many serving as hubs for prostitution and other forms of crime. Additionally, witchcraft and sorcery are common in these areas, as fraudsters and charlatans exploit these abandoned spaces to conduct occult practices, violating religious and moral principles.

8. CONCLUSION

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