

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CAPITALISM AND HOMICIDE RATES: A CHINESE CASE STUDY

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ABSTRACT

This article will tackle the question of whether there is certain relevance of homicide and capitalism. It will examine the circumstances in China as it is highly adjustable for the background premise in anomie theory and it is in favor of a structural explanation that capitalism is not the driving force for the whole level of homicide. But it is responsible for economically-motivated homicide. Since the motivations of different homicide crimes are quite different and complicated, it would be better to view them separately to find out the correlation. Because of several related factors, there is no fixed conclusion to judge that the whole level of homicide is influenced by modernization or capitalism.

Keywords: Capitalism; Homicide; Economically-motivated crimes;

INTRODUCTION

A sizable literature has done correlation analysis between capitalism and crime, and the majority of them have been proposed to what Marx said in his critique of the inherent flaws of capitalism. “There must be something rotten in the very core of a social system, that the capitalism increases its wealth without diminishing its misery, and increases in crimes even more rapidly than in numbers.”ⁱ But only a few body of literature have drawn attention to the relationship between capitalism and homicide, the most extreme form of crime. This paper will tackle the question of whether there is certain relevance of homicide and capitalism.

While talking about capitalism and crime, the most profound theory is rooted in Durkheim’s theory of anomie. His argument is based on the rising crime during the Industrial Revolution in France and he argues that the breakdown of traditional cultural values is the source of rising levels of crime during periods of rapid social change.ⁱⁱ With a few exceptions, most studies use cross-national data and designs to examine the impact of capitalism on crime patterns. But besides the well-known data compatibility problems due to cross-national differences in definition, procedure and criminal justice practices, cross-national data do not reflect the intrinsic longitudinal nature of the modernization process under political, economic, and historical contexts. Meanwhile in this aspect of social background, China offers a great context for examining crime patterns during the modernization process. Shelley had pointed out that her modernization theory has less explanatory capabilities for those societies that have already achieved a high degree of development.ⁱⁱⁱ China is a developing

ⁱ Jon Elster, *Making Sense of Marx* (Cambridge University Press, 1985) 48

ⁱⁱ Stephen Jones, *Criminology* (Oxford University Press, 2009) 164

ⁱⁱⁱ Louise Shelley, *Modernization, Age Structure and Regional Context: A Cross-National Study of Crime* (Southern Illinois University Press, 2002) 274

country, and still in its early stages of modernization, thus constituting an ideal site for studying the topic. Because China is just experiencing the rapid social change since the implementation of economic reforms and modernization programs at late 1978. Besides, given the importance of China as the fastest growing product market with the largest population in the world, examining China's homicide crime patters during the period of social change will provide important insights into the development of theoretical explanations. So this paper will examine the circumstances in China as it is highly adjustable for the background premise in anomie theory and it is in favor of a structural explanation that capitalism is not the driving force for the whole level of homicide. But it is responsible for economically-motivated homicide.

CAPITALISM AND THE OVERALL LEVEL OF HOMICIDE

Capitalism and Crime Change in China

Capitalism is a social-economic system that allows private owners to profit for goods and services they provide. One of the cornerstones of this system is the right of the individual to choose what to produce, how to produce it, and what price to sell it for. Capitalism requires unregulated supply and demand and little or no government interference in matters of trade.^{iv} The inherent cultural value of capitalism being attacked by critics is its economic-oriented social value. Capitalism is also an indicator or an important part of modernism.

China, known as a socialist society, is most commonly regarded by the outsiders as an institution suppressing individual's economic motivation. Before 1978, China is a 100% socialist command economy which is based on state and collective ownership of enterprises, centralized state plans and a relatively egalitarian income distribution^v. The system demands that individual place the state and collectives' goals above personal interests. Pursuing personal economic interests is considered a standard 'bourgeoisie' or 'capitalist' orientation. The party-state policy virtually prohibits individual economic ambition. Over the decades, socialist societies have been characterized by a lack of entrepreneurial spirit, enterprise inefficiency, economic stagnation and consumer deprivation^{vi}. At that time, the prevailing value was "to be poor is glorious". However, when Deng Xiaoping came to power he began to reject Mao's model of socialism after his death in 1976 which ushered an unprecedented era of economic liberalization and cosmopolitanism in China. In 1978, Deng Xiaoping launched his own economic revolution, introducing what he called the market socialist economy. The slogan after 1978 became "to get rich is glorious." Since 1980, the Chinese situation has changed^{vii}. The single goal of building up a socialist utopia became the dual goals of the socialist utopia and the material betterment of society. To obtain the second goal of material betterment, the spirits of capitalism and the individual entrepreneur were brought in. The party began to lose control of the job market. And without political persecution for accumulating wealth, more and more people eventually subscribed to the new, officially sanctioned goal of individual economic advancement. They were allowed to express themselves more freely. By the 1996, the entire nation was restored to a normal situation

^{iv} Friedman Milton, *Capitalism and Freedom* (University of Chicago press, 2009) 4

^v Parish William and Martin Whyte, *Urban Life in Contemporary China* (University of Chicago Press, 2005) 104ff

^{vi} Deborah Davis-Friedmann, 'Intergenerational Inequalities and the Chinese Revolution: the Importance of Age-specific Inequalities for the Creation and Maintenance of Social Strata within a State-socialist Society' *Modern China* (Beijing, 19 June 1985) 177-201.

^{vii} RF Ash and YY Kueh, *The Chinese Economy Under Deng Xiaoping* (Oxford University Press 1996) 419-25

which was more understandable according to the western standard with the passion to pursue personal wealth. China has benefited a lot from the policy. from 1978 to 2003, its real GDP's average yearly increase was 9.47 percent.^{viii}

However, a coin has two sides, during that period (1978~2003), the total crime rate increased more than threefold, from 55.91 to 178.82 per 100,000 people,^{ix} which has drawn great attention from the policy-makers.

Theories and Research of Crime during Social Transition Period

Changes in crime patterns during periods of social change or modernization have been a long-standing topic in social science. The majority of them have origins in Durkheim's classical anomie theory. His theory explains that the pattern of rising crime during rapid social change results from the breakdown of traditional values, or anomie. Developing Durkheim's theory, Merton proposed his version of anomie theory^x. Other sociologist continuing from Durkheim, proposed several theoretical theses predicting the patterns of crime and deviance. Elias (1978) proposed the social modernization and capitalist economies have negatively influence on violent crimes in that violence and crime undermine the mutual trust upon which markets are based. Kick and Lafree supported Elias' thought with the "opportunity" theory. They argued interpersonal violence decreases because modernization enhances urbanization while decreasing interpersonal ties and contact among intimates and acquaintances. Among various modern modifications of the Durkheim anomie thesis, the most elaborated version is Shelley's thesis. She points that crime levels change during the process of modernization, depending on the stage of the development process, as causes of crime change over different stages of modernization. Property crimes become the most prominent crimes in early stages due to anomie, social disorganization and weak control. She also highlighted that violent crime also increases in the early stages of modernization, since newly arriving migrants from rural areas bring traditions of violence associated with rural life into the city. As rural migrants become adjusted to urban life in the later stages of modernization, violent crime decreases. In later stages of modernization stages, violent crimes are committed during the commission of property crimes.^{xi}

Although they vary in certain aspects, almost all major existing theories believe in positive correlation between homicide rate and early stage of modernization. But questions are raised from this conclusion: even if there exists positive correlation between homicide rate and modernization according to statistics from empirical studies, but is the correlation by necessity or just by accident? Is there some in-depth reasons to explain the positive influence of modernization on homicide rate and to prove the influence is necessary causality? Another problem exists in that there is no specific data evidence to prove the extent to which the modernization influences the homicide rate.

Capitalism is an indicator of modernization since the essence of the modernization is to bring in capitalism in economic market. So the measurement of the level of modernization based on a common world-wide approach naming per capita income level can also reflect the development level of capitalism^{xii}. According to the latest standards of per capita income

^{viii} Jianhong Liu, Lening Zhang and Steven F. Messner, *Crime and Social Control in a Changing China* (Greenwood Press, 1998) 232ff

^{ix} *Press of Law yearbook of China* (1987)

^x Jones (n2) 132

^{xi} Katherine Williams, *Textbook on Criminology* (7th edn Oxford University Press 2012) 211

^{xii} Milton (n4) 223

released by the World Bank in August 2010, the low-income is below 995 dollars, middle-income is between 996 to 12195 dollars. (996~3945 is regarded as low and middle income and 3945~12195 is regarded as high and middle income), high-income is beyond 12195 dollars. Because the research is focused on the transition period from non-capitalism to early-stage capitalism (the short time period comparison produces the least variable) and the per capita income in China have entered into the high and middle level reaching beyond 3945 in 2008. So the data below is extracted from a short time period before 2008 to focus intensely on the change of homicide level influenced by capitalism.

Correlation between Homicide and Capitalism

It is not surprising that the existing anomie-based perspective predicted a uniform crime increase^{xiii}. And the findings corresponded to the prediction that almost all crimes increased with higher levels of property crimes than violent crimes in Table 1. The table below shows the crime rates per 100,000 population for each of seven crimes, economically motivated crimes include larceny, grand larceny, fraud and robbery. Less or non-economically motivated crimes include homicide, rape and assault. The table examines the change of these rates over the years and shows a trend that all crime rates have increased during the period from 1978 to 1999. To facilitate the comparison among violent crimes, detailed calculation results are that homicide has increased 253 percent during the period; rape has increased 131 percent; assault has increased 491 percent. But is it possible to say that the homicide crime increases because of capitalism even if it increases in a relatively low speed? The answer is no for several reasons.

The present study used annual time series data from the Law Yearbook of China. Due to historical and political reasons, little crime data were published until 1987. Although official statistics have indispensable strengths for serious crimes, the difficulties in obtaining crime data in China are well-known. Official statistics are largely the only available data. The limitations of official statistics in international research have been amply documented^{xiv}. Besides, the black number, referring to the vast number of crimes that go unheeded in the statistics is also very common. As every criminologist will know, crime statistics do not deal with 'objective reality' as the data are often derived from official police and court records, and such records reflect, rather, a bureaucratic record-keeping process used and misused for political means. In other words, the 'crime problem' is partly a socially and politically constructed phenomenon, and official not only create an incomplete picture, they present a systematically biased picture.^{xv} Criminologists generally list an 'inactive police force' as one of the main causes of too low reporting of crime rates. (Findlay, p.144)^{xvi}.

In China, the police are paid by the rate of solved cases, which lead to a rational response to massively under-report crime in order to maximize income. As a consequence, a huge gap developed between the number of known or 'real' crime cases and the the number of cases reported. These problems are mainly structural effects of the police contract and salary incentive system and represent a systematic kind of 'figure corruption'. As for the homicide crimes, since the cases are difficult to solve, thus gives little incentive for the police to report

^{xiii} Jones (n2) 134

^{xiv} Albert Biderman and Lynch James, *Understanding Crime Incidence Statistics* (Springer Science & Business Media 1991) 145

^{xv} Maguire James, 'Speed of Germination—Aid in Selection and Evaluation for Seedling Emergence and Vigor' *Crop Science* (2nd February 1962) 17f

^{xvi} Findlay Ronald, 'Relative Backwardness, Direct Foreign Investment, and the Transfer of Technology: a Simple Dynamic Model' *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* (8 October 1978) 199

them in 1980s. The fraudulent effects of the incentive system became increasingly evident, and the policy was abandoned in a crackdown against police corruption in the late 1990s. The steep rise in Chinese in crime rates in the 1990s might indicate less police corruption rather than more crime.^{xvii}

Table 1. Crime rates per 100, 000 persons from 1978 to 1999

Year	economically motivated crimes				Less or non-economically motivated crimes		
	Adjusted larceny	grand larceny	fraud	robbery	homicide	rape	assault
1978	0.48	0.58	1.07	0.58	0.86	2.38	
1979	0.58	0.87	0.98	1.26	0.95	1.67	
1980	0.65	1.07	1.56	1.46	0.85	2.51	1.54
1981	0.74	1.69	1.87	2.22	0.96	3.08	2.15
1982	0.60	1.52	1.74	1.62	0.92	3.48	2.00
1983	0.56		1.89	2.27	1.01	5.76	1.39
1984	0.38	1.57	1.29	0.70	0.86	4.28	1.47
1985	0.41	3.27	1.24	0.83	0.99	3.56	1.71
1986	0.40	3.92	1.36	1.13	1.07	3.64	1.99
1987	0.59	5.73	1.34	1.72	1.20	3.41	2.40
1988	1.48	10.99	1.70	3.27	1.44	3.07	3.19
1989	1.63	24.59	3.78	6.47	1.74	3.64	3.95
1990	1.66	25.84	4.79	7.20	1.86	4.18	4.96
1991	0.98	28.43	5.20	9.08	2.00	4.35	5.11
1992	1.62	21.43	4.01	10.68	2.06	4.25	5.45
1993	1.62	25.47	4.27	12.83	2.14	3.97	5.66
1994	1.60	29.64	4.81	13.29	2.22	3.68	5.97
1995	1.46	34.05	5.29	13.58	2.26	3.45	5.64
1996	1.46	33.01	5.69	12.35	2.08	3.50	5.59
1997	1.78	36.31	6.33	11.45	2.11	3.29	6.48
1998	1.97	50.02	6.66	14.04	2.22	3.28	7.38
1999	1.97	52.45	7.41	15.79	2.18	3.14	6.54

^{xvii} Spielberg Charles and Peter Robert, *Test Anxiety: A Transactional Process Model*. (Taylor & Francis 1995) 235-47

But things have improved nowadays due to more accurate and transparent reporting, while taking this factor into account, the later the statistics were recorded, the more real they were. Thus the number of earlier statistics recorded was much more lower than they really are. In this way, because of the matter of accurate and transparent reporting in later years than earlier and the minor increase of homicide crimes, we are still operating in what could be called a ‘fog’ of the relation between capitalism and homicide crimes.

As a whole, the homicide crime rate cannot reflect the real circumstance, but has something to do with the incentive systems, which although there is no exact evidence to prove to which extent the homicide rate is affected by the system, but at least it is not objective to judge from the trend of official statistics to say the homicide rate has positive correlation with the process of capitalism.

The other major problem was under-reporting and under-recording. That is, a certain proportion of crimes were regularly not reported or not recorded by the police. It was very important to understand the impact of under-reporting and under-recording on the results of the analyses. The focus of the present analyses was to test whether or not homicide crimes increased with the process of capitalism or modernization. The effect of under-reporting and under-recording was to throw all the data into disorder. For example, the statistics from the table show an increase of homicide crimes from 1978 to 1999. But if the chance of under-reporting and under-recording is decreasing, then the real trend for homicide crimes is decreasing accompanying the process of modernization. Taken into account the increase of homicide crimes is not obvious compared to other crimes, so this assumption relating to under-reporting and under-recording is not impossible.

It is known that criminal behavior is to a large extent youthful behavior, and some early western criminologists went so far as to conclude that the age distribution of crime conforms to a ‘law of nature’^{xviii} Modern criminology still talks of an ‘age invariance effect’. For instance, it has been stated that while numbers of arrests have changed in absolute magnitude over the time, ‘the same pattern has persisted for the relative magnitudes of the different age groups, with 15 to 17 year olds having the highest arrest rates per population of any group (Blumstein & Cohen 1979)^{xix}’. China’s rising juvenile delinquency rates at the start of the 1980s can be largely explained by demographic data. The Chinese ‘baby boom’ would be expected to produce increased crime rates as the population of 14 to 25 year olds exploded from under 120 million to a peak of 272 million from 1965 to 1987. From the perspective of demography, the increase number of young people could also contribute to the rise of homicide crimes since the crime itself is mostly committed by the youthful.

When Deng opened up China for legal reforms in the late 1970s, he seemed to elevate harshness to a basic principle. He repeatedly underlines the importance of using death penalty, seeing execution as the ‘indispensable means’ through which the masses could be educated.^{xx} Although Deng himself introduced legal reforms, he did so harshness from the standpoint of fajia, an ancient school of legal thought noted for its harsh punishment regime. At that time after the open up policy, the regime needed to boost its legitimacy by showing that it was in control of the negative social consequences of market reforms which shows the uncertainties of a society in a rapid transition. During that period, alarmist viewpoints about

^{xviii} HB Hansmann and JM Quigley, *Population Heterogeneity and the Sociogenesis of Homicide* (1982) 62

^{xix} Blumstein Alfred, Jacqueline Cohen and David Farrington, ‘Criminal Career Research: Its Value for Criminology’ *Criminology* (26 January 1988) 18

^{xx} Jianhong Liu, Lening Zhang and Steven F. Messner (n8) 87

crime reached high proportions, it was recorded the so called ‘crime boom’ in the 1980s. But this took place despite there being no real crime upsurge, China still had one of the world’s lowest recorded crime rates. Interpol figures from the early 1980s indicated that the Chinese reported crime rates were about 1: 140 of a selected number of industrialized western nations used for comparison. Some years later official Chinese rates had increased, but were still at the level of 1: 60.^{xxi}. Taking the quality of the data into consideration, the comparison just gives us a rough indication that crime in China was not as serious as often presented.

Deterrence and harsh punishment were held to be the most fundamental special characteristics of Deng’s anti-crime campaigns. There was still a touch of the old belief that socialism can eradicate crime, and Deng Xiaoping is often quoted for having stated that, ‘only by being severe can we cure crime for good’. The classical practice of parading defeated vice has remained in vogue in China and the practice of holding public execution rallies just before holidays or festivals is still common. The authorities aim not only to show who is in control, but also to make the streets safer for the public during the festivities. It is called ‘killing the chicken to scare the monkey’, and assumes a successful deterrent effect.

However, criminological evidence shows that the monkey does not stay scared for long.^{xxii}. This might reflect to the increase of homicide crimes after the period of harshness (*yanda*). Besides, another noticeable phenomenon is that within the police force, numerous police officials have criticized the tendency to turn these ‘special struggles’ into a routine, almost constant, state of affairs. Police personnel are worn out by a constant campaigning. The campaign brutalizes the crime scene, making the job of policemen even more dangerous. This kind of brutalization finds a chilling but effective measure in the number of policemen killed on duty since the founding of the People’s Republic of China. During the years from 1949 to 1980, the official number of murdered policemen was 1026. In the 17 years from 1981 to 1998 the number was 4800, which not only shows the scarification of the policemen but also is an indicator that the crime rate might increase after the period of harshness. Thus it is doubtful to say the increase of homicide crimes is influenced by capitalism not by the early state of Deng’s anti-crime campaigns.

CAPITALISM AND ECONOMICALLY-MOTIVATED HOMICIDE

Theories and research of the relation between capitalism and economically-motivated crimes

Most empirical studies of crimes during transitional period examine levels of violent and property crimes and link variations in the levels of these crimes to indicators social change and modernization. After 2010, a growing body of research found out that economically motivated crimes have increased faster than non-economically motivated crimes which can be shown in table 1^{xxiii}. In contrast to the conventional anomie-based theories, researchers explore a new expanding economic motivation to explain the crime pattern. The economic motivation thesis proposed more emphasis on structural reasons within a society, and is more consistent with the changing patterns of crime rates during the social change from a State socialist economy to a market economy in China.

^{xxi} HB Hansmann and JM Quigley (n18) 390

^{xxii} Bailey William C, ‘Murder, Capital Punishment, and Television: Execution Publicity and Homicide Rates’ *American Sociological Review* (3 March 1990) 28-33

^{xxiii} Jianhong Liu, ‘Developing Comparative Criminology and the Case of China An Introduction’ *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology* (1 January 2007) 3-8

In contrast to the socialist economy, a market economy is based on active entrepreneurial spirit and individual's strong economic motivation, which is often expanded to extremes to survive the fierce competition of the free market. Market institutions embody the value orientation that promotes personal economic ambition, expectation of monetary achievement, entrepreneurial spirit and individualism. The seeking of selfish economic interests through free competition in a free enterprise system is believed to best facilitate the growth of the economy.^{xxiv} Furthermore, along with the change to more open societies, exposure to commercialism, individualism, and consumerism from advanced capitalist societies stimulates the desire for wealth and material life. In the transition to a new growing market economy, get-rich-quick examples inspire admiration and emulation, which further feed growing economic motivation^{xxv}. Together, these processes produce a dynamic process of explosively expanding economic motivation.

The existing anomie-based perspectives were developed with no consideration of these special features of the transition from state socialist societies to market economies and thus do not explicitly consider the role of economic motivation. In the existing theories, rational economic motivation has not been at the center of explanations for rising crime during periods of rapid social change.

These anomie-based perspectives are certainly important in explaining the major aspects of processes of social change; however, they maybe less effective in explaining the special features of the crime patterns under the social context of a dramatic change from state socialism to a market economy. Particularly the fact that economically motivated crimes increase faster than less or non-economically motivated crimes did during the transition period from 1978 to 1999. Although it is true that breakdown of traditional values is a source of rising crime, it is also clear that, in the meantime, a new 'getting rich' values consensus has developed; lack of values consensus as an explanation would ignore the effect of newly formed consensual social values.

Expanding economic motivation as an explanation has considerable implications for the prediction of crime patterns, differing significantly from the patterns predicted by existing perspectives. Anomie-based perspectives only predict rising levels of crime, since no reasons for non-uniformity in rates of change are given in anomie-based theories; crimes are similar in nature in so far as they are all reactions to anomie. Crimes should show no intrinsically different patterns beyond some having higher levels due to greater opportunities for committing them, simply, all crimes should rise during social change. However, if expanding economic motivation is considered as a primary cause of rising crime, crimes that are economically motivated should increase faster compared to other crimes as economic motivation rapidly expands during the period of rapid social change.

As the general level of economic motivation in a society increases during the period of social change from state socialism to a market economy, a larger and larger volume of human activities are devoted to profit seeking actions; more and more members of society become involved in economically motivated actions; proportionately speaking, a larger and larger volume of deviant and criminal behaviors will be economically motivated. Therefore, the rates of economically motivated crimes will increase faster in comparison with other less or non-economically motivated crimes during the process of social change from state socialism to a market economy.

^{xxiv} Hagen Everett Einar, *On the Theory of Social Change: How Economic Growth Begins* (1962) 66

^{xxv} Turner Bryan S and Chris Rojek, *Society and Culture: Scarcity and Solidarity* (2001) 88

After 1978, waves of rapid increase of individual and family-based private businesses spread from the countryside to the cities. Many state workers and cadres left their state jobs to pursue dreams of personal wealth. To profit and to make money became a national movement.^{xxvi} economic motivation was seen as a necessary force for economic development instead of being treated as negative and harmful in Mao's times. The party controlled official media encouraged the entrepreneurial spirit and glorified successful individuals. The party newspaper propagandized examples of 'thousand dollar households', 'ten thousand dollar households'. However, the open door has also brought exposure to western commercialism, individualism and consumerism, strong stimulating economic motivation. Consumerism and monetary success have quickly become prevailing social values. An indulgent and selfish new culture has quickly replaced the previous traditions of frugality, diligence and self-sacrifice.^{xxvii}

China's context offers great insights into the research on patterns of crime during the periods of social change. Judging from the statistics, it is obvious that the economically-motivated crimes increase much more quickly than non-economically crimes. Which gives the inspiration for the paper of whether economically-motivated homicide has the positive correlation with the process of capitalism.

Empirical Research Of Economically-Motivated Research

The in-depth analysis of crime patterns between economically-motivated crimes and non-economically-motivated crimes give the inspiration that although the whole level of homicide crimes does not necessarily have positive correlation with the process of capitalism, but maybe the economically-motivated type of homicide has certain relation with capitalism just as the way in which the market economy had influence on the economically-motivated crimes like robbery, fraud, adjusted larceny and grand larceny.

In order to support this hypothesis, some empirical researches have done to collect data to test this hypothesis. Among them, the most profound and significant research is done by professor Guoling Zhao and Jiaming Wang from Peking University. They chose 1707 homicide crime cases from Shenzhen city and the Inner Mongolia autonomous region as a sample to make a comprehensive and descriptive analysis.^{xxviii} The economic disparities in the two selected areas is huge for Shenzhen, located at the south coastal areas, is among the most developed cities in China while Inner Mongolia is an inland economic undeveloped areas in the west. Before 1978, the whole country is in an undeveloped state, almost all areas, no matter inland or the coastal sea areas are underdeveloped. However, after the open up policy, some areas in China have developed much earlier than others following subsequently with the slogan put forward by Deng Xiao ping "let some people get rich first". Shenzhen and Inner Mongolia are exactly two typical examples affected by this policy. The economic gap and urbanization between the two areas just reflect the imbalance development of China. For example, in 2002, the region's gross domestic product for the Inner Mongolia autonomous is around 27.6 billion dollars, the annual per-capita income is 1155 dollars. While for Shenzhen, the data is 35.7 billion dollars and 7350 dollars respectively. While the Inner Mongolia is still struggling for the industrial construction, the Shenzhen area has almost finished the modernization period. From the perspective of economic development, the rate of economic increase and transition speed in Shenzhen is much higher than in Inner Mongolia. According to the

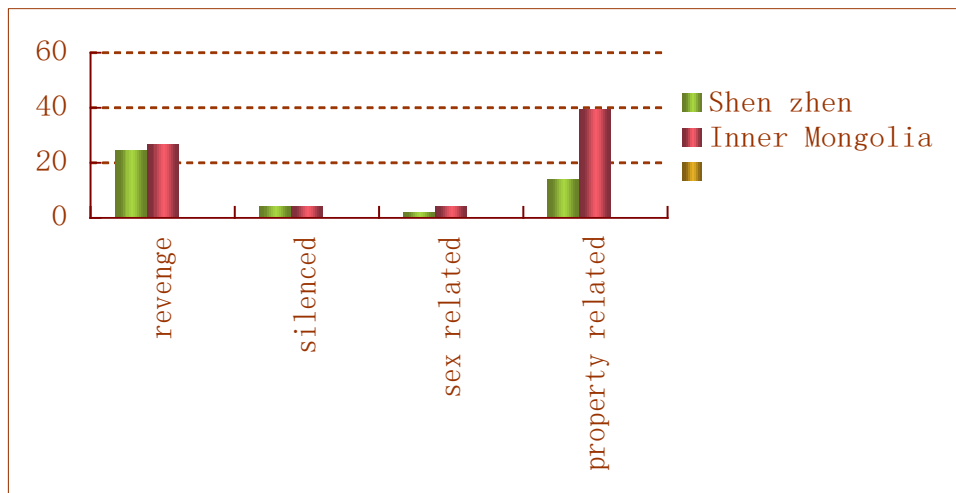
^{xxvi} Rojek (n25) 363

^{xxvii} Rojek (n25) 361

^{xxviii} Linda Zhao, 'Anomie Theory and Crime in a Transitional China' *International Criminal Justice Review* (18 February 2008): 137-157.

economic-motivated theory described above, if the crime pattern in China is largely influenced by the economic motivation generated from the transition from socialist state to market economy. Then the rate of economic motivated homicide crimes must be higher in Shenzhen than in Inner Mongolia due to the fact that Shenzhen experienced much more economic spurs than Inner Mongolia.

The graph listed below shows different motivated homicide rates in the two places. For revenge-motivated and quarrel-motivated homicide, there shows no obvious difference in the two places, but a big difference in property-motivated homicide exists in the two areas that the rate in Shenzhen is almost three times than in Inner Mongolia. This finding is corresponded with the economic motivation theory in that the more people are affected by economic motivation, the more possible they will commit economic-motivated crimes.



CONCLUSIONS

Examining and understanding patterns of homicide crimes during periods of social change and modernization have been an important topic of social science. As reviewed before, while a large number of studies have addressed the attention to the relation between economically-motivated crimes and capitalism, there is a few studies researching the non-economically motivated crimes. Among them, some researchers believe there is positive correlation between the violent crime and the process of capitalism while others hold the view there is negative correlation between them. Actually the argument is all due to a lack of explicit and in-depth analysis of the homicide itself. Since the motivations of different homicide crimes are quite different and complicated, it would be better to view them separately to find out the correlation. As mentioned before, because of several related factors, there is no fixed conclusion to judge that the whole level of homicide is influenced by modernization or capitalism. But instead inspired by the explanation from analysis for the difference of increase rate between economically-motivated and non-economically-crimes, this paper made the hypothesis that property related or economically-motivated crimes have certain positive correlation with the process of capitalism and by looking at the figures done by empirical research, this hypothesis have found the relation between capitalism and economically-motivated crimes.

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