NATIONAL OPEN UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

COURSE CODE: CSS 801

COURSE TITLE: Advanced Theories in Criminology and Security Studies

NATIONAL OPEN UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

COURSE CODE: CSS 801

COURSE TITLE:
Advanced Theories in Criminology and Security Studies

Advanced Theories in Criminology and Security Studies

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INTRODUCTION

Welcome to CSS 801: Advanced Theories in Criminology and Security Studies

CSS 801 is a semester of 3 Credit Unit course that provides you with the needed insights into the various theories of criminology and security studies. It is specifically designed for Postgraduate Programme leading to the award of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.) Degree in Criminology and Security Studies at the National Open University of Nigeria (NOUN).

Theories are nests and/or frameworks for in-depth understanding of crimes and criminality in the real world. They help to illuminate the causes and prevalence of social phenomena or problems. So, this study material is a guide which provides the students with the tool to understand the strengths and weaknesses of relevant theories, as well as their application in addressing antisocial conducts.

To study this course, and the various units, students need to be ready to think critically and deeply. They need to develop constructive minds and use analytical skills and other research-oriented approaches carefully, to adopt appropriate theory or theories in analysing incidents of crimes and security issues for strong arguments and research for policy. In this course, the aims and relevance are explained. The module provides some useful advice on the reading system, the role in using the course guide, the structure of the module, and guidance for the assessment.

AIMS

a) To trace the historical development of crime and security theories.

b) To identify and discuss various theories of criminology and security studies.

c) To review, showing the strengths and weaknesses, of various theories of criminology and security studies.

d) To demonstrate in-depth understanding of the application of theories in analysing and solving crime and security problems.

e) To simplify crime and security theories and aids students' understanding

OBJECTIVES

i. To familiarize you with the meaning and historical development of theories in criminology and security studies.

ii. To expose you to crime and security theory taxonomy (e.g. demonological, classical, neoclassical, positivist, psychological and sociological/criminological theories, rationalism, reflectivism and constructivism).

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iii.   To equip you with the analytical skills required to critique various theories of criminology and security studies.

iv.   To introduce you to the use of theories in understanding and explaining specific crime and security problems.

v.   To acquaint you to the art and science of crime theory-building, reconstruction and deconstruction, with a view to toeing the path of integrated model approach.

WORKING THROUGH THIS COURSE

To complete this Course, you are advised to check the study units, read the recommended books as well as other course materials provided by the NOUN. Each unit contains Self-Assessment Exercise (SAE) and Tutor Marked Assignments (TMAS) for assessment purposes. There will be a written examination at the end of the course. The course should take students about 14 weeks to complete. You will find all the components of the course listed below. Students need to allocate time to each unit to finish the course successfully.

COURSE MATERIALS

For this course, students will require the following materials:

1) The course guide;

2) Study units which are fifteen (15) in all;

3) Textbooks recommended at the end of the units;

4) Assignment file where all the unit assignments are kept;

5) Presentation schedule.

STUDY UNITS

There are fifteen (20) study units in this course broken into 4 modules of 3-5 units each.

They are as follows:

Module 1

Unit 1: Introduction and general background

Unit 2: Criminological Prehistoric (Demonological Theory).

Unit 3: The Classical School of Criminological Theorizing.

Unit 4: The Positive School of Criminology.

Unit 5: General Outline of Sociological/Criminological Theories of Crime.

Module 2:

Unit 1: Strain Theory.

Unit 2: Subcultural Theory.

Unit 3: Differential Opportunity Theory

Unit 4: Ecological Theory.

Unit 5: The Social Process Theory.

Module 3

Unit 1: Culture Conflict Theory.

Unit 2: Social Control Perspective.

Unit 3: Social Reaction Theories.

Unit 4: Social Conflict Theory.

Unit 5: The Integrated Model Approach.

Module 4

Unit 1: Realism

Unit 2: Liberalism

Unit 3: Constructivism

Unit 4: Game Theory

Unit 5: Feminism

Each unit contains some exercises on the topic covered, and you will be required to attempt the exercises. This will enable you evaluate your progress as well as reinforce what you have learnt so far. The exercise, together with the Tutor Marked Assignments, will help you in achieving the stated learning objectives of the individual units and the course.

TEXT BOOKS AND REFERENCES

You may wish to consult the references and other books suggested at the end of each unit to enhance your knowledge of the material. This will enhance you understanding of the material.

ASSESSMENT

Assessment for this course is in two parts: the Tutor-Marked-Assignments and a written examination. You will be required to apply the information and knowledge gained from this course in completing your given assignments. You must submit your assignments to

your tutor in line with submission guidelines stated in the assignment file. The work that you submit to your Tutor-Marked Assignment for assessment will count for 30% of your total score.

TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENTS (TMAS)

In this course, you will be required to study fifteen (20) units, and complete Tutor-Marked Assignment provided at the end of each unit. The assignments carry 10% mark each. The best three of your assignments will constitute 30% of your final mark. At the end of the course, you will be required to write a final examination, which counts for 70% of your final mark.

The assignments for each unit in this course are contained in your assignment file. You may wish to consult other related materials apart from your course material to complete your assignments. In fact, you are advised to do so. When you complete each assignment, send it together with a tutor-marked assignment (TMA) form to your Tutor. Ensure that each assignment reaches your tutor on or before the dead line stipulated in the assignment file. If, for any reason, you are unable to complete your assignment in time, contact your tutor before the due date to discuss the possibility of an extension.

Note that extensions will not be granted after the due date for submission unless under exceptional circumstances.

FINAL EXAMINATION AND GRADING

The final examination for this course will be for two hours, and count for 70% of your total mark. The examination will consist of questions, which reflect the information in your course material, exercise, and tutor marked assignments. All aspects of the course will be examined. Use the time between the completion of the last unit and examination rate to revise the entire course. You may also find it useful to review your tutor marked assignments before the examination.

COURSE MARKING SCHEME

ASSESSMENT	MARKS
Assignments	Four assignments, best three marks of four count at 30% of course marks
Final Examination	70% of total course mark
Total	**100% of course marks**

COURSE OVERVIEW

Module 1	Title of Work	Weeks Activity	Assessment (End of Unit)
Unit 1	Introduction and General Background, Criminological Prehistoric (Demonological Theory)	Week 1	
2	The Classical and Neoclassical School of Criminological Theorizing	Week 2	Assignment 1
3	The Positive (Biological and Psychological School of Criminology	Week 3	
4	General Outline of Sociological/Criminological Theories of Crime	Week 4	
Module 2			
Unit 1	Strain Theory and Subcultural Theory	Week 5	Assignment 2
2	Differential Opportunity and Ecological Theory	Week 6	
3	The Social Process (Learning)	Week 7	

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	Theory		
Module 3			
Unit 1	Culture Conflict Theory	Week 8	Assignment 3
2	Social Control Perspective	Week 9	
3	Social Reaction Theory	Week 10	
4	Social Conflict Theory	Week 11	Assignment 2
5	The Integrated Model Approach	Week 12	
Module 4			
Unit 1	Theory of security Studies (Realism	Week 13	Assignment 3
2	Liberalism	Week 14	
3	Constructivism	Week 15	
4	Game Theory	Week 16	
5	Feminism	Week 17	
	Revision	Week 18	
	Examinations	Week 19	
	Total	19 Weeks	

HOW TO GET THE MOST FROM THIS COURSE

In distance learning, your course material replaces the lecturer, but by no means, all-inclusive. That is, there is still the importance of physical interaction with your lecturers however brief and infrequent it is.

The course material has been designed in such a way that you can study on your own with little or no assistance. This allows you to work, and study at your pace, and at a time and place that best suits you. Think of reading your course material in the same way as listening to the lecturer. And you probably would get almost the same result. However, you are advised to study your course materials in the same way a lecturer might give you

some readings to do. The study units give you information on what to read, and these form your text materials. You are provided with exercise to do at appropriate points, like a lecturer might give you an in-class exercise.

Each of the study units follows a common format. The first item is an introduction to the unit, and how a particular unit is integrated with other units and the course as a whole. Next to this is a set of learning objectives, outcomes. These objectives inform you about what you are required to know by the time you have completed the unit; they are meant to guide your study. The moment a unit is finished, you must go back and check whether you have achieved the objectives. If you make this a habit, it will improve your chances of passing the course significantly.

The main body of the unit guides you through the required reading from other sources. This will usually be either from the reference books or from a reading section. The following is a practical strategy for working through the course. If you run into difficulties, telephone your tutor. Remember that your tutor's job is to help you when you need assistance, so do not hesitate to call and ask your tutor for help or visit the study centre.

Reading this course guide thoroughly is your first assignment

1) Organise a study schedule, design a 'Course Overview' to guide you through the course. Note the time you are expected to spend on each unit and how the assignments relate to this unit. You need to gather all the information into one place, such as your diary or a wall calendar. Whatever method you choose to use, you should decide and write in your own dates and schedule of work for each unit.

2) Once you have created your own study schedule, do everything to be faithful to it. The major reason students fail is that they get behind with their course work. If you get into difficulties with your schedule, please let your tutor know before it is too late for help.

3) Turn to unit 1, and read the introduction and the objectives for the Unit.

4) Assemble the study materials. You will need the reference books in the unit you are studying at any point in time.

5) Work through the unit. As you work through the unit, you will know what sources to consult for further information.

6) Before the relevant due dates (about 4 weeks before due dates), access the assignment file. Keep in mind that you will learn a lot by doing the assignment carefully, they have been designed to help you meet the objectives of the course and pass the examination. Submit all assignments not later than the due date.

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7) Review the objectives for each study unit to confirm that you have achieved them. If you feel unsure about any of the objectives, review the study materials or consult your tutor.

8) When you are confident that you have achieved a unit's objectives, you can start on the next unit. Proceed unit by unit through the course and try to plan your study so that you keep yourself on schedule.

9) When you have submitted an assignment to your tutor for marking, do not wait for marking before starting on the next unit. Keep to your schedule. When the assignment is returned, pay particular attention to your tutor's comments, both on the Tutor Marked Assignment form and also the written comments on the ordinary assignments.

10) After completing the last unit, review the course and prepare yourself for the final examination. Check to see that you have achieved the Unit objectives (listed at the beginning of each unit) and the course objectives (listed in the Course Guide)

TUTORS AND TUTORIALS

There are 15 hours of tutorials provided to support this course. Tutorials are for problem solving and they are optional. You need to get in touch with your tutor to arrange date and time for tutorials if needed. Your tutor will mark and comment on your assignments,

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keep a close watch on your progress and any difficulties you might encounter and provide assistance to you during the course. You must submit your Tutor Marked Assignments to your tutor well before the due date (at least two working days are required). They will be marked by your tutor and returned to you as soon as possible.

Do not hesitate to contact your tutor by telephone, email, or discussion board. The following might be circumstances in which you will find it necessary to contact your tutor:

❖ You do not understand any part of the study units or the designed readings.
❖ You have difficulties with the exercises.
❖ You have a question or problem with an assignment, with your tutor's comments on an assignment or with the grading of an assignment.

To gain maximum benefits from this course tutorials, prepare a question list before attending to them. You will learn quite a lot from participating in the discussions.

SUMMARY

The course guide has introduced you to what to expect in advanced theories in criminology and security studies. It provides an overview of the historical development

of crime theories, basic assumptions of each of the theories reviewed, their strengths and weaknesses, and how to apply them in research.

We wish you success with the course and hope you will find it both engaging and practical.

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COURSE CODE: CSS 901

COURSE TITLE:
Advanced Theories in Criminology and Security Studies

Advanced Theories in Criminology and Security Studies

Course Writers/Developers   Prof. Smart Otu, AE-FUNAI

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Module 1

Unit 1: Introduction and General Background to Cybercrime.

Unit 2: Criminological Prehistoric (Demonological Theory).

Unit 3: The Classical School of Criminological Theorizing.

Unit 4: The Positive School of Criminology

Unit 5: General Outline of Sociology-criminology Theories of Crimes.

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1.0   INTRODUCTION

A way of understanding any subject (theory as it applies her) is to know its meaning/definition, basic assumptions, and applications to understanding and explaining crime and security problems. To understand theory, we must define what it is and the definition should be in such a way as to convey the same meaning to scholars.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

By the end of the unit, you should be able to understand the meaning of various theories of criminology and security studies, their underlying principles, applications, and strengths and weaknesses.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Meaning of Theory and Crime Theory

> Theories are nets cast to catch what we call the world: to rationalize, to explain, and to master it. We endeavour to make the mesh ever finer and finer (Karl, R. Popper: the Logic of Scientific Discovery).

Adler, Mueller and Laufer (1991, p. 24) define theory as a "systematic set of principles that explain how two or more phenomena are related. Theory simply represents a body of ideas, which has been accepted as capable of explaining a causal relation between two or more phenomena".

A theory of crime, therefore, represents a systematic and formalist body of ideas which is widely accepted as capable of explaining the causal relationships between certain variables (abstract and/or empirical) and the phenomenon on crime. Theorizing about a particular phenomenon or relational phenomenon is a mental exercise, and it involves all the processes and methods of physical sciences (observation, classification, measurement). Theory must contain facts which have been tested, stating the relationships existing between and among some identified variables.

3.1.1 Origin and Nature of Theory on Crime

The search for the causes of criminality has preoccupied first, early philosophers, and later, behavioural and social scientists, nay-sociologists and criminologists alike. Indeed, interest in crime has led to a plethora of theories in both the field of sociology, and later in criminology. Theory, in its simplest form, represents reason. Its' main purpose is to account for why a particular event or set of events occur. These theories, in combined or individual forms, simply mirror the various researchers' image of the phenomenon of crime in the real world (see also Riley, 1963; Dubin, 1969).

Pyle, Hanten, Williams, Pearson II, Doyle and Kwofie (1974) explained that there are many different theories regarding criminal behaviour within the broad field of criminology alone so that it has become a widely accepted thing to view criminal behaviour from a multidimensional approach. These authors warn that considerations

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such as time and available resources often preclude an investigation as comprehensive as may be desired. So, they advised that all up-coming researchers must continue to contribute to the ever-growing body of literature by concentrating their efforts on manageable studies that hopefully, provide a part to the whole body of crime causality enterprise (Pyle *et al*., 1974).

It is important to state that no one form of crime is best accounted for by a single theory or a specific model. A combination of theories therefore seems best and this supports a sociology criminological analysis of crime (Linde, 1978; Johnson, 1979; Johnstone, 1983; Brown, Esbensen, & Geis, 1991). Repudiating a mono-causal explanation, Abrahamsen (1944, p. 4) said that "one factor (for example, unfavorable social conditions or a poor environment) cannot offer any conclusive explanation of criminal behaviour". Unfavourable social circumstances can however, as he claimed, have causative significance if they are associated with a particular tendency or disposition. This combines a sociological analysis with a psychological one. Thurston (1942, p. 51) also argues that there is "no unit cause for crime", emphasizing that each case study shows "many causative factors". Svancar (cited and interpreted in Cronje, Van der Walt, Retief and Naude,1982, p. 20), comes to similar conclusions when he argue that "juvenile and criminal offences are not determined by "separate" factors but by the interaction of more than one". Writ and Brigg (1965) conclude that delinquency for instance, can be attributed to anyone of many determinants but more probably results from a combination of influences from several related but distinct factors. Lekschas (cited in Cronje *et al.,*

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1982, p. 21) added that, in speaking of juvenile criminality, "we are referring to a complex of phenomena determining human actions".

There are a multiplicity of factors that play a role in the push and pull of people getting involved in criminal activities such as armed robbery, drug trafficking, compensated daters (commercial sex workers), and serial murder. This approach and intellectual mindset constitutes a paradigm shift to explaining the causes of crime by marrying two or more theoretical factors, and it is widely known in literature as the integrated model approach (Korhauser, 1978; Elliot, 1985; Brown *et al.,* 1991; Agnew, 1992; Hawkins & Catalano, 1992; Otu 2003).

In this course, Advanced Theory in Criminology and Security Studies, we review the pre-contemporary theories of crime, and quite remarkable number of selected contemporary sociological criminology theories, which are considered very relevant for broad level understanding of the aetiology of crime. In each of these theories, the basic assumptions, the proponents, and the praxis (practical applicability) are discussed, however. A cursory evaluation of each of them—identifying the strengths and weakness is also provided.

3.2   Criminological Prehistoric (Demonological Theory)

This is also regarded as the preclassical view on crime. Like August Comte, who espoused on the theological realm while analysing the stages in the development of man's knowledge and explanation of social reality, theory of crime and deviance were originally based on theology; that is divinity. As far as we can recollect, many ancient societies

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equated crime to absolute sin and deviance of the highest degree. So, by this, Adam and Eve become the harbingers of all crimes when they disobeyed God and ate the forbidden fruit in the Garden of Eden. This is the first version of the tripartite variations of theological paradigm.

The second version of theological paradigm in the explanation of crime is that it is an inevitable part of God's plan. The argument is that God has endowed human beings with two competing freewill—the will to do good and/or bad. For this freewill to bear any meaning at all, there must be good and evil in the world. This would make real choice possible. So, crime is basically a preordained script from God which must play out for the fulfillment of God's original script. By this, it means the criminal is simply a prisoner to his/her criminality since he/she cannot do otherwise. We found the relevance of this school of thought in the contentious argument as to whether Judas Ischariot was guilty or not in betraying our Lord Jesus Christ.

The third version of theological knowledge is the one that says criminals are demons, possessed and represent God's or god's rejected ones. Various demons were thus, associated with different kinds of crime so that all criminals are to a certain degree, demon incarnate. These demons varied in criminal behavior such as insatiable lust for adultery, sodomy, child molestation, infanticide; another associated with cannibalism and incest; and another with armed robbery, stealing, cheating and grafting and so and so forth. To commit crime, the individual who was no more or less a devil reincarnate, or an

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agent of the devil, must play out the demon's spirit or advocate as it were. This accounts for the perceptions about some criminals which reflect in the kinds of punishment especially in the past. Some criminals were seen as not being worthy to reside with other members of the community and must be persecuted with increased imprisonment, torture, execution and as measures designed to extract confessions, and to punish the heretical.

The theology approach to understanding of crime and criminal behaviour influenced the persecutions, justified by law, that were the hallmark of punishment during the notorious period of the Holy inquisition which started during the period of 12th Century and through the 18th Century. The prevailing mindset which linked crime with demons and supernatural forces paved the way for horrible forms of punishment that were the characteristics of the preclassical epoch. Such punishment included burning alive for heresy, burying alive, drowning, breaking on the wheel, beheading, stoning to death, mutilation, branding, etc. The then prevailing perception of criminals and the prehistorical gruesome penal practices are what coalesced to animate the social reformers to begin to make a paradigm shift on their understanding of the causes of crime, and to propose weeping changes both in penal law and the administration of the criminal justice system. This enthroned the era of classical school of thought into criminal theorizing.

Self-Assessment Exercise (SAE) 1

In contemporary Nigeria, some people still hold the view that criminals must be paid back in their own coins, attributing their offending behaviours to the 'handiwork of devil or evil ones in society. How would you explain criminal behaviour from the nuances of demonological theory?

3.3   The Classical School of Criminological Theorizing

The capriciousness, inconsistency, and arbitrariness associated with the administration of the criminal justice in the medieval Europe, up to the 18th Century, laid the foundation for the emergence of the classical school of criminology. It remained the dominant perspective for almost a century before its popularity started to plummet as a result of the rise of positivism.

The basic assumption of the classical theorists is that criminals voluntarily decide and choose whether or not to commit a particular crime based on calculative, rational and conscientious weighing of the cost against the benefits of each of the alternative choice of action. The principle underlying classical theorists' assertion is the principle of freewill—most of the times—known as the "hedonistic principle" or simply "utilitarianism". This principle emphasized that both pleasure and pain are sides of every man's characteristic and intrinsically juxtaposed so that all persons have a choice to make.

Generally, classicists are recognised more for their contributions as criminal law reformers than as true theoreticians. The coming of the classical theorists coincided with the period of dialectical rationality, enlightenment and humanitarianism on the one hand, and the unjust, arbitrary application of the criminal justice which was widespread in Europe on the other hand. Classicists and their ideals were all pitted against the prevailing ideas of the unchallenged divine rights of the royalty and the clergy. Many social reformers and philosophers who had come, and had written before classicist criminologists such as Hobbes, Locke, Humes, Montesquieu, Voltaire, Jeanand-Jaques Rouseau, influenced and formed the basis of the classical school of criminology. In particular, was the work of the Rousseau, "The Social Contract".

Elimination of the phenomenon of crime is a mission impossible according to the classicists. Rather, all efforts, they argued, should be geared towards prevention of crime—best achieved through the philosophy of deterrence which employs the threat of punishment to influence behaviour. In fact, Becarria (1764/1963, p. 93) wrote "it is better to prevent crimes than to punish them. Two prominent writers of the classical school of criminology are Cesare Beccari and Jeremy Bentham. Beccaria's writing which became the epitome of classical theorists contains several principles which are the foundations of his theory of crime and has continued to shape past and current writings on criminal law, criminology and criminal justice system. These principles are:

1. Law should simply be used to enforce, maintain and nourish the social contract which men, naturally and originally independent, united themselves. Since men are weary of

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living in perpetual war and acrimony, and they have come to sacrifice part of their liberty to enjoy the rest of it, only law can provide a guardianship to this contract.

2. Only the legislators should have the authority to create laws (penal) since they represent the whole society bonded by the social contract.

3. Since judges are predisposing to individual biases, and point of views at different times, they should not be made to interpret the penal law, but the legislators.

4. Judges should determine cases and impose punishment only in accordance with the law. No magistrate (as a member of .the society) can inflict harm in the name of justice or any other member of the society outside the domain of law.

5. Punishment should simply be based on utilitarianism—the pleasure and pain principle. Pleasure and pain principle are the only platforms of actions in beings endowed with sensibility and sensitivity. If an equal punishment is applied to different crimes that injure the society in different degree, then, there is nothing to deter men from committing the greater as often as it is attended with greater advantage.

6. There should be a proportionality of punishment to the crime committed. That is, there should be a corresponding scale of punishment ascending from the least to the greatest.

7. Punishment should be based on the act and not the actor. That is, crimes are only to be quantified by the harms done to the society. It is wrong, therefore, to imagine that a crime is greater or less according to the intention of the person by whom it is committed. No victim should determine the degree of harm done to him or her by the offender.

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8. Punishment must be certain so that as this certainty increases, the probability of norm violation or crime commission declines. Undoubtedly, ignorance and uncertainty of punishment leads to an incline of passions that necessarily aligns to norms violation.

9. Punishment response should be celeritous. That is, it should be prompt, swift and effective. The more immediate after the commission of a crime punishment is inflicted, the more just and useful it will be. The message therefore is that both the prosecution of suspects as well as the punishment of convicted offenders should be done expeditiously. This is the basis of the law and criminal justice maxim "justice delay is, justice deny".

10. All people should be made to be equal before the law. That is, all people -nobleman, the lowest person in the society - should be subjected to the same dictates of penal laws.

11. The use of torture to access confessions should be discouraged. As he intones, "it is confounding all relations to expect...that pain should be the test of truth, as if truth resided in the muscles, fibres arid wood of the wretch in torture. By this method, the robust will escape and the feeble be condemned". This is the basis of the inadmissible in law courts of any evidence obtained by torture (duress and undue influence doctrine).

12. Capital punishment should be abolished. Punishment by death is not authorized by any right; for no such right exists and the terrors of death make little or no impression. It has not force enough to neutralize the sense of forgetfulness natural to mankind.

13. Finally, it is better to prevent crimes than to punish them. And that perfection and improved system of education is the best means to achieve this.

Jeremy Bentham, an English man, is another classicist whose work on the administration of criminal justice is profound and needs be reviewed here. He developed and expanded on the work of Beccaria— proclaiming his indebtedness and gratitude to him. More than his mentor, Beccaria, Bentham is reputed for his great emphasis on the principle of utilitarianism upon which, he argued, that the philosophy of punishment should be based. Utilitarianism is referred to as the "greatest happiness" principle. Because nature has placed mankind under the governance of two sovereign masters: pain and pleasure, 'it is for them alone to decide which one we ought to do, as well as determine for us what we shall do. These sovereign masters no doubt govern mankind in all he/she does, says, and thinks.

The balancing of pain versus pleasure, which Bentham regarded as felicity or hedonistic calculus, clearly allows the legal system to function principally as deterrence to criminal behaviour. Punishment, therefore, should, of necessity, be manipulated so that the pleasure stemming from criminal behaviour be outweighed. Bentham reasoned that if prevention (or deterrence) is the goal of punishment, and if it becomes too costly by creating more harm than good, then, it was essential to set penalties just a bit in excess of the pleasure that one might drive from committing a crime, and not higher. The law is created to bring happiness to the community and since punishment creates unhappiness, it can be justified only if it prevents greater evil than it produces. Bentham made a metaphorical statement that if hanging the effigy of a man can produce the same preventive effect as hanging the man himself, there would be no reason to hang the man,

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an act that surely increases the amount of cruelty in society. Like Beccaria who outlined the prerequisites of criminal laws and punishment, Bentham also adumbrated the basic assumptions of penal laws and punishment which summarize the Bentham's point of departure with some of them interfacing with the former's principles. They are as follows:

1. **Certainty:** High level of deterrence would be achieved if those who contemplate criminal conduct know or believe that there is a high percentage of certainty of punishment when they commit the crime. Conversely, the deterrence effect of punishment is decreased when there is a high level of uncertainty of punishment.

2. **Proximity:** The proclivity of punishment to crime enhances the deterrent effect. That is, there is a likelihood that deterrent philosophy of punishment will be enhanced if there is a swift reaction to criminal behaviour.

3. **Severity:** There is the need to maintain, through manipulation, the severity of punishment to produce the desired effect of deterrence. At no case should the value of punishment be less than what is sufficient to outweigh the profit or gain accrued to the offence. In the same vein, punishment ought not to be more than what is necessary to bring into conformity with the rules.

4. **Proportionality:** Crime must be punished in proportion *(pro raid)* to the benefit which accrued to the offender. That is, the strength of temptation is as the profit of the offence so that the quantum of punishment ought to be manipulated to rise with the strength of the temptation.

5. **Sensibility:** Persons vary in their tolerance and forbearance of pain in relation to characteristics such as sex, age, strength, health, wealth, etc. And punishment ought to consider all these variables in order to arrive at the proper and deterable one. That is, the quantity inflicted on an individual offender should correspond to the quantity intended for similar offenders in general.

6. **Exemplarity:** That is, punishment of criminals serves as an example for would-be offenders. What this principle is saying is that perception of punishment by those contemplating crimes is more important than the actual penalty imposed.

3.3.1 Assessment of Classicism

There is no doubt that classical criminology had an immediate and profound impact on jurisprudence and legislation. There was a gradual and momentous substitution of the rule of law for the then prevailing inconsistent, arbitrary application of law. More importantly, classical school of thought was, and/or is, no less significantly influencing penal and correctional policy. Adler *et al.* (1991, p. 62) noted that the "classical principle that punishment must be appropriate to the crime spread like a wild fire and was widely acknowledged across Europe and Americas".

The classical school of criminology as expressed in the writings of Cesare Beccaria and Jeremy Bentham has been critiqued for its inadequacies. However, One of the foremost criticisms is their focus on criminal laws while neglecting the criminals. We have to understand that this emphasis was in the context of their times, with the criminal laws

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being no less that than contradictory, chaotic and capricious. The two, classical theorists, especially Bentham, have been critiqued for their "total failure to consider criminals as human beings, with complicated and variegated personalities" (Geis, 1972, p. 53). These, classicists have been accused of being over simplistic in their assumptions of human nature with their notion of a felicity calculus man.

3.3.2 Neo-Classical School of Criminological Theorizing

A thin line runs between classicism and neo-classicism. The original postulates of the classicists were considered to be extreme and inflexible. Notwithstanding the introduction of Beccaria's postulates wholeheartedly in the post-revolutionary French Code of 1791, it became clear that these postulates were impractical. Consequently, there arose the need to shift ground on the extreme principles.

Neoclassical theorists introduced a number of shifts in criminal policy of the time. First, they identified certain degree of criminal liability. By this, the insane and juveniles were deemed incapable of forming intent to violate laws and were consequently, absolved of criminal responsibility. This was a significant departure that differentiated the classical from neoclassical, and has survived in all modifications of the principles in almost of jurisprudence worldwide. In addition, there was a return to a limited degree of discretion granted to sitting judges or presiding officers in the discharge of their duties. In other words, the neo-classicists, noted that freewill which is at the heart of classicists are not absolute, and so called for the recognition of certain extenuating circumstances under

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which judges can exercise some discretional power. However, with the seeds forming the bedrock of neo-classicists already sowed in Beccaria work, the two schools are seemingly blurring, and represent a continuum of free-will based deterrence doctrine.

3.4   The Positive School of Criminology

The positivists came into being as a result of changes in human reasoning and the fall into disrepute of the classical school. With fair and consistent punishment failing to bring down the level of crime to an acceptable level, more intensive enquiry began to be made by the enlightenment scholars and philosophers on the ideas raised by the classical school of criminology. Generally, positivists believe that knowledge about a phenomenon can be discovered through sensory experience. In other words, answers to question about social reality can be found using the methods of the natural sciences which basically consists of classification, observation, and measurement.

Positivism, therefore, as a divergent criminological orientation, differs from the classical theory in two main ways: (1) application of a deterministic and scientific method to the study of crime, (2) a paradigm shift from the crime to criminals. Positivists concentrate their attention on the one fundamental question: why criminality? If crime is a product of desire and opportunity, they are interested in addressing the former and so, wish to explore those factors both within and outside individuals which animate people into criminality. They pride themselves as "value-free" (completely objective) observers. Positive orientation to crime aetiology is best subdivided into biological/physiological,

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psychological and sociological. Within each of these paradigms, a plethora of strands or theories are identifiable.

3.5.1 Physiological/Biological Theory

The Biological theory of crime could best be traced to the school of human physiognomy, which is the study of facial features and their relation to human conduct. Giambattista Delia Porta (1535-1615) maintained that a thief for instance, had large lips and sharp vision. This idea was later reviewed under the science of phrenology which posits that certain bumps in the brain were signs of psychological propensities to criminality. By the 19th Century the sciences of both physiognomy and phrenology had introduced specific biogenetic factors into the causes of crime.

Cesare Lombroso (1835-1909) published his book titled *L'uomo delinquents* (The criminal man) and came up with his theory of the 'born criminal'. This theory became the first and foremost view and text on the biological components and criminality. Lombroso, described in some quarters as the father of criminology, states that criminals are lower form of life, nearer to their ape-like ancestors than the noncriminal. According to him, criminals are atavistic (thrown back to the primitives), and so are commonly distinguishable from the noncriminals by various atavistic stigmata—the physical features of creatures at an earlier stage of development before they become fully human.

The physical characteristics Lombroso identified, especially from one Italian prisoner called Vilella on whom he carried out a post-mortem on is descriptive but intriguing. They include the fact that criminals are unusually tall or short, have small heads but large faces, small, sloping forehead, receding coiffures (hairline), wrinkled foreheads unusually large sinus cavities, bumpy faces, large protruding ears, bumps on their heads, unusually high cheekbones, cranial bumps, bumps or protuberances in the back of their heads, bushy eyebrows that make frequent contact, flat noses, generally abnormal teeth and jaws, (resembling that of carnivorous), thin, even delicate necks, toes or fingers either pointy or snubbed, extraordinary agility, etc. He also added that female criminals are different from their male counterparts with the prostitutes representing the born criminal among them. Criminal women are said to have traits common with children and infants— their moral sense is different, they are highly jealous, revengeful and inclined to vengeance of perfected and refined cruelty.

In addition to the born criminal, Lombroso added other kinds of criminals—the insane or epileptic criminals and occasional criminals (the criminaloids and pseudocriminals). The insane are not criminals by birth but become criminals as a result of some changes in the brain which interfere in their ability to differentiate between right and wrong. The criminaloids are those who are habitual criminals; they are criminals by passion. They are inherently abnormal—and their abnormalities are outwardly decipherable; yet their deviance is not as a result of their biological deficiency, but from societal response to them as outcasts. The pseudocriminals are like the anomie criminals who do not betray

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any of the atavistic antisocial traits of the born or insane criminals. But from time to time they might commit petty crimes as a result of motives beyond their control and without the intent to harm the society.

Another biology criminologist is Enrico Ferri, Lombroso's pupil. While he agreed with Lombroso's biological conditions for criminal behaviour, he however, recognised the importance of social, economic and political determinants. He rejected the freewill doctrine of the classicists—maintaining that criminals were driven to criminality by conditions in their lives. Enrico Ferri recognised that crime was injurious to the society so that society needs to be protected essentially by means of criminal law and punishment. Advocating for death penalty for those whom he assumes will never be rehabilitated, he also recommended controlling crime through preventive measures—state control of weapons manufacturing, better street lighting, cheap house, etc.

Another angle of the link between physical features and crime has been in the perspective of body type (somatotype). This is about body built and their relation to behaviour. Ernest Kretschmer (1888-1964) distinguished three types of physiques (1) the asthenic: lean, slightly built, narrow shoulders; (2) the athletic; medium to tall, strong, muscular, coarse bones; and (3) the pyknics: medium height rounded figure, massive neck and broad face. According to him, these physical types relate to different psychic disorders: pyknics to manic depression, asthenics and athletics to schizophrenia, etc. (Kretschmer, 1928).

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Still on body type, Sheldon and Sheldon (1974) developed the endomorphs—lean, soft and rounded physique; mesomorphs—considerable strength and muscular development; ectomorphys—little body mass and great surface area. Mesomorphs were found to be decidedly high in delinquency and ectomorphys low. This finding was later given a thumb up by Sheldon Glueck (1898-1980) and Eleanor Glueck (1898-1972). Within the biological study of crime is the assertion that abnormal chromosomal structure particularly, the XYY configuration leads to criminal activity. XYY is defective chromosome of a male. Here, two YY is received from the father instead of the normal one. A Person who possesses XYY is said to be tall, physically aggressive and frequently violent. Diet, hormones and premenstural syndrome are all found to be related to criminal behaviour in one way or the other.

3.4.1.1 Assessment of Biological Theory

Biological theory as a strand of positivist theory had a profound impact on the scientific study of crime and criminals. It really proved to an extent that not only was the scientific understanding of the discipline and subject possible but also desirable. By shifting attention away from the crime to the criminals, biological positivism was able to show that an individual has little or no choice concerning criminality.

It may not be completely untrue that criminals possess facsimile physical attributes as postulated by many advocates of criminal biology. Commonsensically, if all patients of a

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particular ailment are diagnosed and adjudged to displaying similar symptoms, then, it holds that the same might apply to criminals—especially categories of criminals. Thus, all armed robbers for instance, may invariably be in possession of similar biogenic factors, white-collar criminals, posing different but the same physical characteristics. One policy implication of the biological theory is that it leads to some drastic measures in the treatment of individual outlaws. For instance, in the old USSR, some outlaws were subjected to lobotomy treatment—surgical operation in the brain to remove certain identifiable organs associated with misbehaviour.

Biological explanation of criminal behaviour has been critiqued by opponents of the theory. One of the greatest criticisms is that it typically confines its research to incarcerated populations. This has been described as a circular argument because as it assumes that biological defects are the cause of criminality, all incarcerated populations are by definition biologically deficient.

. One other criticism of biological theory is that though, it is scientifically based, its' scientific status is not rigorous and adequate enough. It has been asserted that the methods of science today were not available during the time Lombroso and some colleagues of his conducted their researches.

. Biocriminology has also been criticised on the ground that it fails to recognise that individuals have free-will. That people are predisposed or even predetermined to commit a crime evokes a sense of hopelessness; it simply makes man inanimate object and

"zombie"— who is at all-time irrational, incalculative, and insensitive. We know that man is capable of making choices with regard to a particular action within a range of alternatives and possibilities that is though, preset, yet unrigged.

. In addition, critiques of biocriminology see a racist undertone to the theory. The issue is that if there is a genetic predisposition to crime, and if minority accounts for the disproportionate share of criminality, then, it is quite simple to claim that minority are predisposed to commit crime.

3.5.2 The Psychological Theory

The psychological theory constitutes a strand of the positivist model which has remained prominent in the search for an explanation of crimes and delinquent behaviour. The theory sometimes interlocks with the biogenetic and societal variables as some of the underlying assumptions of the two paradigms are invariably found in this theory.

It locates the causes of crime in the individual criminals, albeit, 'innately', unlike the outward manifestations of the biochemical theories. The idea of psychological theory is that deviant's sickness and abnormality lie in the mind, rather than in the outward body (see Haralambos & Holborn, 1991).

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As with other crime aetiologies, different psychological approaches have emerged in respect to the different aspects of abnormalities such as personality characteristics and psychological disturbances. The basic assumptions, however, have remained unique and are:

1. That the causes of criminal behaviour are within the individual;

2. Criminal behaviour was therefore the manifestation of internal disorder;

3. Psychological problems began in childhood years; and

4. Although, environmental factors could possibly have contributed to the problem of crime, the main reasons for the problems were to be found within the individual himself (Shoemaker, 1984, p. 4).

Psychogenic theory, as it is sometime referred to, is the result of the shift from the emphasis on the presumed physical (outward) manifestations, to the hidden, psyche traits of deviants much in the search for the causes of crime by the beginning of 1900s. As Sykes (1978, pp. 241-42) noted, 'there was a shift of interest from defective intelligence, to a more conscious conflict'. Crime was observed as a product of the bursting forth of 'id' impulses, and the criminal simply acting out what most civilized men and women had learned to restrain (see also Tarde, 1890).

Generally, there are certain forms of crime and deviant behaviours which are bizarre in nature so that researchers validate them along the line of psychogenic thought. Examples of such crimes include matricide or infanticide, the act of schizophrenia such as a father impregnating his daughter, mass murder (religious and cultural attached), suicide, serial rape, and other kinds of horrific crimes, which sometimes attempt to transcend conventional

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criminological explanations. Horrible crimes such as these have popularised the psychogenic hypothesis (Iwarimie-Jaja 1999a). Grossbard (1962) thus, proffers that criminality is a reflection of neurotic tendencies, or emotional disturbances. Abrahamson (1945) explains that criminality and delinquent behaviour is the outcome of mental disorder or impairment—symptom of serious psychosis.

The thrust of the psychological theory is to understand the defective behavioural result of a child, who was not properly socialised to moderate his or her egoistic attitude before becoming adult. Such personality traits as impulsitivity, aggressiveness, psychoses, sadism, lack of compassion, emotional immaturity, insensitivity to others and hyperactivity have been most focused on.

Sigmund Freud (1856-1939) is often times identified with the psychogenic theory particularly with his psychoanalytic perspective. Psychoanalytic theory of Freud equates criminality and delinquency to a conscience which is somehow so overbearing that it arouses feeling of guilt or is so weak to control individual's impulses. Freud identified the three components of personality as the "id", which he described as the raw and untamed biological and psychological drives that underlie all human behaviours with example of libido. The other components are the "ego" and "super ego". In his analysis, the "id" represents the unconscious aspect of man which is always in need of self-gratification. The "super-ego" represents the conscience, moral and ethical standards of an individual which is an internalized parental image, and reflects the value of the society. The "ego" is

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the conscience component that mediates between the push-pull of "id" and "super-ego". So, according to Freud, a force of balance is supposedly maintained in all individuals, and at all times of temptations. When the "id" overshadows the "super-ego", or when "ego" is weak or falters to perform its' arbitrate role, crime results.

John Bowlby (1946 cited in Haralambos & Holborn, 199, pp. 583-85) in his acclaimed popular book "Forty-four Juvenile Thieves," explained criminal and deviance behaviour from the perspective of psychology and in particular, as a product of socialisation. His argument is that children need emotional security, particularly during their first seven years of lives. This can only be effectively provided by a close, intimate and loving relationship with the child's natural mother. When a child is deprived of this emotional security particularly during early years, a psychopathic personality could develop. The child tends to act impulsively, with little regard for its consequences. Bowlby, then, claimed that delinquents who were chronic recidivists (constant breakers of law with little regard for the consequence) had suffered maternal deprivation during their early years.

Psychological perspective also holds that criminal and delinquent behaviour is learned through the same psychological processes as all nondeliquent behaviour. This is known as the "social learning" theory, or better still, the "psychological social leaning" theory to differentiate it from the sociological learning theory. The point of emphasis of this learning theory is that every behaviour is learned when it is reinforced or rewarded, or abandoned when the reverse is the case (when it rejected and punished). One of the leading advocates in

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this direction is Albert Bandura who maintains that children learn how to behave by modelling their behaviour after others—usually as their role models. Therefore, behaviour is socially transmitted through examples that come from the intimate personal groups such as family, mass media and subculture.

To buttress psychological perspective to crime and deviant behavior, it has been found that parents that adopt settling their differences by violent means are likely to be imitated by their children so that by such observational learning, a cycle of violence is perpetuated. The same applies to parents that imbibe the idea of resolving their differences by nonviolent means. The study of gangs provides excellent illustration of the effect of this observational learning to social theorists who found that violence is very much a norm shared among members of a community of gang.

The mass media—especially the television—is critical to social learning theorists. Observational learning takes place most rapidly in front of the TV set and at the cinema and movies as well. When children see violent behaviour being rewarded, they, tend to believe that violence and aggression are acceptable behaviour. This is more so in contemporary time when TV and movies have taken sway of broadcasting programmes and less time and space devoted to non-vision family recreations. According to psychologist Leonard Eron (1984), the singularly most predictor of how aggressive a young man would be when he is 19 years old is the violence of the TV programme he preferred when he was 8 years old. It must be emphasised, however, that the question on the relationships between TV and aggressive behaviour remains open and contentious.

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Akers and Burgess' (1966) "differential association-reinforcement" represents another powerful version of the psychologically-based learning theory—although by no means less than sociological. Their theory states that the continuation of criminal behaviour depends on whether it is being punished or rewarded. The best of these rewards and punishments are those foisted by the closest intimate groups to the individual for example, family, peer groups, teachers in school. What this theory is saying is that people tend to respond more readily to the reactions of the people .most significant in their lives. If for instance, committing a crime elicits more positive reinforcement or rewards than punishment, people will, then, be inclined towards crime. This idea cuts well into the notion that informal means of control might be far reaching in checking deviant behaviours than the formal control.

Another paradigmatic shift of the psychological theory explains that people tend to develop a psychological abhorrence of ideas which conflict with ones' own cherished ideas and belief. This idea and beliefs seem common to both adolescents and adults. This argument is further strengthened by "cognitive dissonance theory" which states that individuals like to keep their psychological world balance (Festinger, 1957). Ideas which do not fit in their belief system tend to cause a psychologically unbalanced state which motivates the individual to correlate imbalance by whatever means he/she can. This explanation is in consonance with utilitarianism which places responsibility of actions and decisions on the individual actors.

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There is also the selective perception of the psychological theory, which complements the former. It explains the fact that one chooses how to interpret what one sees, reads, watches, and the influence of opinion leaders in a way which supports one's viewpoint. The selective retention and recall is the tendency to recall things on a selective basis. So, any argument or behaviour which fits with one's own point of view, is remembered. Chiricos, Padgett and Gertz (2000, p. 756) observed that "what is imitated, learned and probably emulated is remembered, and reacted to, only insofar as they have some bearing on the imitators, learners and emulator's lives; in addition, and often times, relate to their own personal experiences".

Glaser (1956) in reaction to association and learning had, while in a critique to what he perceived to be a mechanistic image of Sutherland's theory of differential association, come up with a strand of the psychological explanation of criminal behaviour. His argument is that experience of associating with deviants is harmless unless an individual identifies with them. This he calls differential identification. This strand of theory asserts that a person pursues criminal behaviour to the extent that he identifies with real or imaginary persons from whose perspective his criminal behaviour seems acceptable.

Psychological theories flourished in their explanation of criminal behaviour that so many variants of it, as there are many writers on it, are legion. Such "catch phrases" as "intra psychic", "inter psychic", "interpersonal", "feeble mindedness", "IQ", and "neurotic" have

found themselves within the psychogenic perspective. Prominent among the contributors were the British psychologists Eysenck (1964), McCord and McCord (1964), Void and Bernard (1986).

3.5.2.1Assessment of Psychological Theory

Psychological theory presupposes that the causes of crime are in the mind of the individual. Indeed, it explains that some deficiencies in criminals are genetically inherited. At the heart of the .psychological theory therefore is the assumption that crime is the result of the personality crisis which an individual experiences. This is a reflection of the pattern of socialisation processes the individual passed through. Nevertheless, it could also be genetically related such as the psychopath: an aggressive, asocial, and highly impulsive person who feels little or no guilt, and who cannot form lasting relationships with others.

Quite a good number of studies have tried to identify personality traits common among criminals than non-criminals. A review of research on juvenile delinquency by Binder (1988) summarised the findings to include emotional immaturity, sadism, lack of compassion, insensitivity to others, and hyperactivity. Other psychologists such as (Yochelsen, 1976; Samenow, 1977 cited in Brown *et al*., 1991, p. 282) have identified what they call "thought patterns" common to criminals. These patterns include, among others great energy, chronic lying, intense anger, unrelenting optimism, and an exceedingly positive self-image. No doubt these are to an extent, consistent with the findings from the 68 armed robbers studied by

(Otu, 2003) in Nigeria. The general public less arguably, regards less certain types of crimes and criminals as "devilish" and "devils". That is, person who acts in some abnormal way is generally viewed as being "possessed by the devil, and mentally disturbed.

The empirical concern of the relationship between personality trait and crime is however, critical to sociologists and even to psychologists alike. The measurement of these relationships lays the difficulty. This is about the methodology of the studies, which Haralambos and Holborn (1991) argued, are viewed with suspicion by many authors. Indeed, it is found that there is a little agreement among psychologists about what constitutes mental health, and how to measure personality characteristics. While it is true that some criminals may be psychopathic, so are many non-criminals. According to Brown *et al.* (1991, p. 282), "when some researchers controlled for age, sex, social class, and other life history factors, they found that criminals do not experience higher likelihood of mental illness than other persons".

Another difficulty inherent in the psychological theory is the identification of psychopathic deviant on the Minnesota Multiphastic Personality Inventory (MMPI). In these studies, there are quite a good number of criminals who admit they have never been in trouble with the law. Even the California Personality Inventory (CPI), which scores the delinquents' responsibility socialisation scales, is not without opposite scores. These cast serious doubts on the argument of psychological theorists. Albeit, remarkable numbers of respondents and subjects in Otu's (2003, 2004) had been involved in one form of criminality or delinquent

actions or the other, and at frequency described as "always" and "sometimes", and even get arrested. The number of them who have not been involved in law violation, not arrested, and even "never" at all, are also remarkably high in the statistics.

Haralambos and Holborn (1991, p. 584) have, while assessing psychological theory summarized the criticisms levelled against it, especially by sociologists. Firstly, they argued that the theory has been accused of neglecting the social and cultural factors in their explanation of crime and deviance. Rather than being genetically determined, or innately present in criminals, which is at the centre of the psychogenetic theorists, values are learned. For instance, Andry (1962) as cited in Iwarimie-Jaja (1999a, p. 65) suggests that "boys who had hostile and unsatisfactory relationships with their fathers projected this hostility, and acted it out in their relationship with other boys and authority figures. That is, such behaviour is un-inherited".

Secondly, many sociologists reject the priority given to childhood experiences. They dismiss the view that an individual is the captive of his or her early experience or conditioning that is simply acted out in later life. This approach, they argued, ignores a vast number of social factors, which influence behaviour during the person's life. Using his armed robbery study as a point of departure, Otu (2003) argued that decision to rob, or to refrains from it is ultimately a mental process. It usually, involves cost-benefit analysis and rationalisation. This is especially so, since most of his respondents never suffered any form of mental derailment. However, scores of armed robbers interviewed

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did experience emotional problems during their early adolescence. Emotional dispositions, especially the one acquired in ones' early part of life, are crucial risk-predictive factors of adult's behaviour. In other words, whether one chooses the path to prosocial or anti-social behaviour depends, to a large extent, on the childhood experience; that is, on the predominant behaviours, norms, and values held by those to whom the individual is bonded to (Huang, Kosterman, & Abbott, 2001).

Fighting and aggression are common phenomena in childhood and adolescence. And among those who are psychopathic, and or who suffered socialisation problems, this behaviour tends to become more acute when they mix up with delinquent peers or even adult criminals. Youth in this category are more likely to associate together (differential association), have a culture of neophyte crime (differential opportunity), and are able to acquire criminal experiences necessary for armed robbery (previous criminal association), This process, and its linkage, forms the bedrock of the integrated model approach, and the social developmental model strand (Otu, 3003).

People are not simply slaves to their childhood experience. In fact, experiences have shown that in some cases, children who passed through hardships, and experienced some sort of emotional imbalance, are more successful during adulthood. Mind and mental reasoning change as one grows, develops, and matures from one stage of life to another. People recounting their poor backgrounds are more likely to despise them, and would loathe experiencing them again. The tendency is to work harder through the legitimate means that

could improve their standards. Psychological theory therefore, lacks substantive evidence to explain certain crimes such as armed robbery in the modern day Nigeria. A child that was under a constant threat of being beaten by the father, mother and/ or custodian, may not be disposed to criminality during adult life.

Profiles of most arrested notorious armed robbers including those interviewed in Nigeria, show that they had a good childhood experience and nice parental backgrounds, only to turn into monsters in their adolescence. This perhaps, is the result of their exposure to the "heat and vagaries of the society" (See Lagos News, 13th Jan. 1987 on Anini; Olurode, 1990).
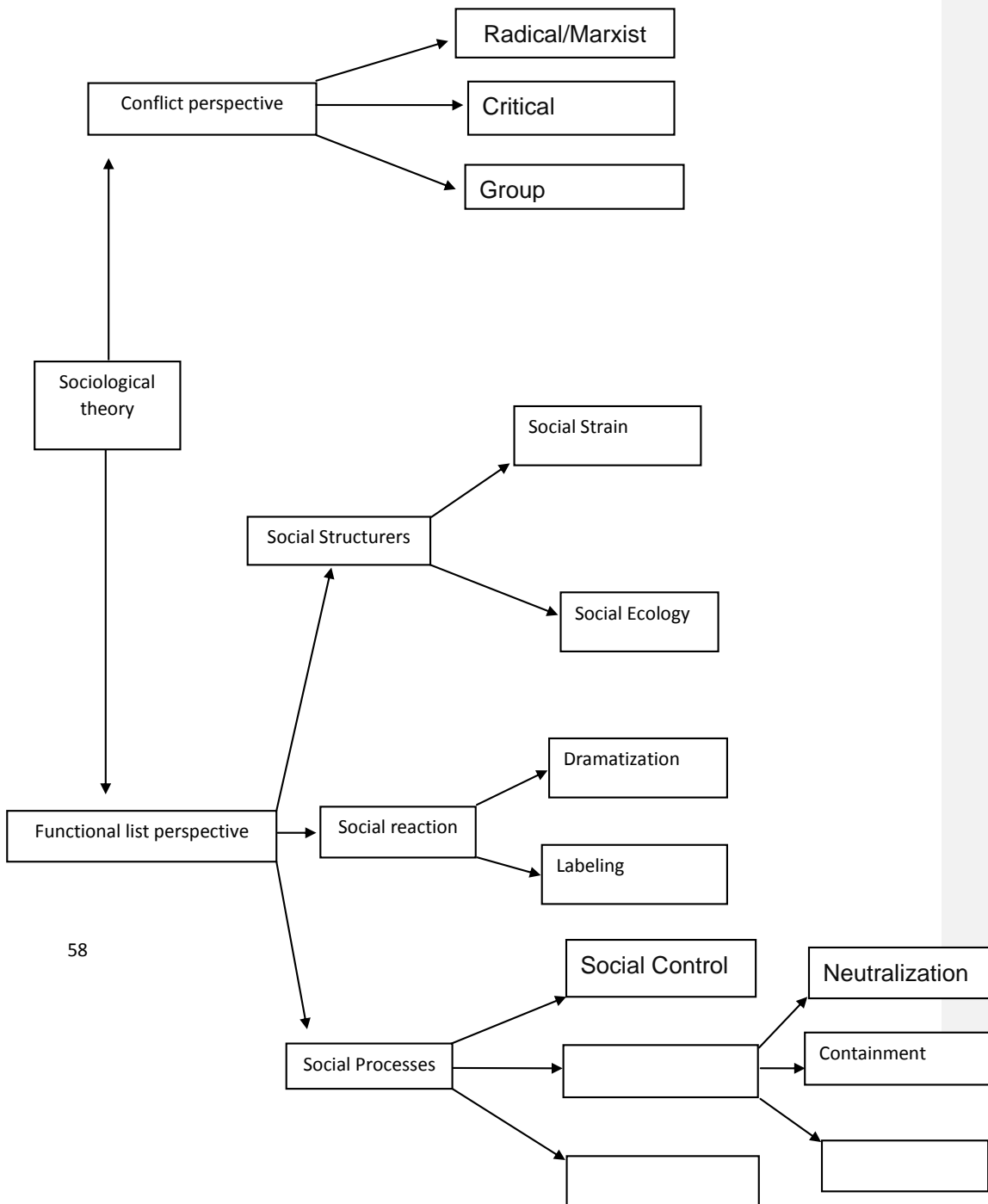
3.6 General Outlines of Sociological Theory

Generally, sociologists envision crime, delinquency and general deviant behaviour as the product of the social forces, rather than the individual differences. Sociology-criminology theorists are positivists because of their contention that these social forces influence people to commit crime. The general assumption of the sociological criminology theory is that the poor socio-economic conditions—poor educational and career training, poor housing, overpopulation, slum condition, poverty, unemployment peer group influence and functionally inadequate families—can lead to deficient socialisation, poor interpersonal relationships and inadequate internalisation of social norms and values. These in turn contribute to criminal behavior (Naude 1988 cited in Naude & Stevens, 1988).

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For all intents and purposes, the classifications of the social (sociological) theory of crime and deviant behavior, at whatever level and manner, are not pure and sacrosanct (Brown *et al.*, 1991). Sociological theory is interdisciplinary and holistic in nature. It embraces some elements of biological and psychological theories to account for crime. So, they sometimes go by such sobriquets as sociobiology and sociopsychology.

The dominance of sociology in the field of theory of crime and delinquency is discernible. This is notwithstanding the fact that a great deal cross-disciplines and hybrid theories abound. Within the field of sociology-criminology, there are several factors and/or theories which aim to explain a particular crime phenomenon or the other (Williams 111 & McShane, 1994). For convenience, the classification of sociological theory is graphically represented in figure (see 3.5.1 for details).

3.6.1 Diagram of Sociological Theory

Radical/Marxist	
Critical	
Group	

Conflict perspective

Sociological theory

Social Structurers

Social Strain

Social Ecology

Functional list perspective

Social reaction

Dramatization

Labeling

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Social Processes

Social Control

Neutralization

Containment

4.0   **CONCLUSION**

In this Unit, both theory and theory of crime have been clearly define and delineated. It has been established that the development of crime theories is traced to, first early philosophers, and later, sociologists—and by extension, criminologists. Crime and delinquency have been explained within the framework of demonological, classical and neo-classical thoughts, positive school of criminology, and general sociological theories. The review presented both the strengths and weaknesses of the said theories or perspectives, with emphasis on their application to solving crime and security problems in human society.

5.0   **SUMMARY**

In this unit, it is quite understood that crime was originally linked to demons or evil spirits and criminals were perceived to be devil incarnate, who should not reside with noncriminals in society. They were meted with extreme torture/punishment that often resulted in the deaths of criminals. There was a significant paradigm shift during the epochal period classicism, with Cesare Beccaria and Jeremy Bentham leading the social and legal reforms that revolutionised

criminological theorizing. However, this transformation assumed scientific outlook during the era of positivism in the school of criminology, when rationality and empiricism—though at their infancy—challenged the hitherto primordial perception of crime and criminals.This led to the emergence of psychological and sociological theories which have appeared in different strands.

6.0   TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. Clearly delineate between the nature of and explanation crime in pre-modern and modern periods.

2. How did society respond or react to crime and criminality in pre-modern periods?

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8.0   SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

1. Crime is basically a preordained script from _____

   a. Devil
   b. Man
   c. God
   d. All of the above

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2. The balance between pain and pleasure is associated with _____

   a. John Locke
   b. Jeanard-Jeaques Rouseau
   c. Jeremy Bentham
   d. Cesare Beccaria

3. The principle underlying classical theorists' assertion is _____

a. Demonology
b. Punishment
c. Freewill
d. Reformation

4. The notorious period of the Holy Inquisition existed between ___and ___ centuries.

   a. 12th and 18th
   b. 1st and 5th
   c. 9th and 13th
   d. None of the above

5. The _____ component of personality represents the conscience, moral and ethical standards of an individual which is an internalized parental image and reflects the value of society.

   a. Id
   b. Super-ego
   c. Ego
   d. Trait

6. The hedonistic principle is also known as _____

   a. Deterrence
   b. Egalitarianism
   c. Totalitarianism
   d. Utilitarianism

7. _____ is a surgical operation on the brain to remove certain identifiable organs associated with misbehavior.

   a. Neurology

b. Lobotomy
c. Eugenics
d. Euthanasia

8. Studies linking physical features to crime revealed that people with
_____physique commit more crime.

a. Mesomorphic
b. Endomorphic
c. Ectomorphic
d. None of the above

9. _____ are lower form of animal.

a. Laws
b. Criminals
c. Punishments
d. Crimes

10. The maxim of 'justice delay is justice deny' is of the principles of _____

a. Jeremy Bentham
b. Montesquieu
c. Cesare Becarria
d. Jeanand-Jaques Rouseau

9.0   Feedback

1. C
2. D
3. C
4. A
5. B
6. D
7. B
8. A
9. B
10. C

Module 2

Unit 1: Strain Theory.

Unit 2: Subcultural Theory.

Unit 3: Differential Opportunity Theory.

Unit 4: Ecological Theory.

Unit 5: The Social Process Theory.

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3.2 Subcultural Theory

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   3.3.1 Assessment of Differential Opportunity Theory

3.4 Ecological Theory

   3.4.1 Social Disorganization Theory

   3.4.2 Evaluation of Social Disorganization Theory

3.5 Social Process Theory

   3.5.1 Imitation Theory

1.0   INTRODUCTION

A way of understanding any theory is to know its meaning, components or elements, basic assumptions and its application in addressing social phenomena.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

By the end of this unit, you should be able to gain in-depth understanding of the

. **S**train theories,

. Subcultural theory,

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- Differential association theory,

- Ecological theory,

- Social process theories, and indeed, their criticisms and applications.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Strain Theory

Strain theory is at the epicentre of the sociological bid to account for crime. The thrust of the theoretical agenda of strain is that stress, frustration, strain (hence the name) are engendered by failed aspirations, and so, increase the prospect of norm violation. Accordingly, the theory maintains, that, crimes are committed as means of easing off the strains or stress caused by frustration and failure. The blockage in the attainment of set goals makes it inevitable that an alternative route has to be sought out.

According to Brown *et al.* (1991), strain is associated with distorted aspirations, unrealistic desires for attachment, and crass materialism. Most strain theorists maintain that the structure of modern society, and in particular, the American's society, creates the greatest pressure within the lower-class echelon. Consequently, the macro theory focuses on explaining lower-class crime.

The various strands of strain theory are the anomie, goals-means end, subculture, differential opportunity and ecological theories. The point of departure of strain theorists (like any other sociological theory) is the economic situation of the people in the social structure.

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Self-Assessment Exercise (SAE) 2

Explain the main thrust of strain theory

3.1.1 Anomie Theory

Emile Durkheim (1858-1917), described as the father of modern sociology, pioneered the strain theory which was evaluated and described based on traditional and industrialised societies. These societies are characterised by different social solidarity (described as co-operation of social groups in working actions towards goal) called mechanical and organic solidarity. There is the re-birth of *Anomie*—state of lawlessness or normlessness as a society moves toward organic state of solidarity with increasing division of Labour and specialization (see Durkheim, The Division of Labour, 1893 and translated by Halls, 1984). This anomie situation leads to a disjunction, or contraction between people's aspirations and the means of achieving them. The weight of this contraction is though, preponderate on the upper and middle echelon of the social ladder whose expectations and aspirations expand to an insatiable level, the irresistible pressure to live and survive is usually much higher on the wealthy. So anomie affects all classes of people.

Overwhelmed by his accidental discovery in suicide, Durkheim theorises that people with higher aspirations are more susceptible to anomie condition (see Durkheim, 1897 Suicide: A Study in Sociology, and translated by Spaulding, 1951). He explains that aspirations are class related, with the upper classes have higher goals than the lower classes. Successful social structure

defines limit on desires. When social organisation falters, for whatever reason, insatiable desires are unleashed. Unlimited aspirations create pressure for crime as the alternative solution. In other words, there is an unequal access to opportunity towards the realisation of the expressed aspiration and value. Durkheim posits that the high rate of deviant and criminal behaviour is the price paid for the emergence of modern society. Durkheim explained that suicide was very much related to the people's socio-economic aspiration. When people feel frustrated and estranged, they can respond to suicide. He identified the following suicides: egoistic, altruistic, anomie and fatalistic with anomie being of greatest interest to him.

. **Egoistic suicide** is the suicide people commit as a result of having their ego bruised. It means people feel a sense of nothingness and nobodiness, being not wanted by close relations, friends and other significant people around them.

. Altruistic suicide is the suicide an individual embarks as a result of ones' inestimable love for others. The death of Christ who knew he was going to be crucified but remain steadfast represents a classic case of altruistic suicide. It is the suicide people engage in because of the excessive commitment to a group's value, ideology or belief system.

. **Anomie suicide** is the suicide people commit because of the break down in rules and regulations guiding human's conduct. Whenever there is a break down in law and order such that people begin to pursue their personal interest without recourse to the laws, anomie is said to prevail. In a situation of extreme and crude capitalism, people, quest to wealth and status knows no bound and people go about to achieve these two values by whatever means they can. Anomie is prevalent during the period of economic recession or downturn when everything seems to be crashing.

> **Comment [P1]:** Give details on: anomie; aspirations, reactions of people, types of suicide.

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. Fatalistic suicide comes about when individual takes their lives as a result of being excessively controlled by the privileged ones. Again, individuals do not see the justification to continue to be held under savoury and servitude so that they prefer to take their lives rather live it. A good example of this type of suicide is the suicides that took place during the era of slavery.

3.1.2   Merton (Means-End) Theory

Merton 1938, an avowed supporter of Durkheim's postulation, modified and expounded the theory of anomie that Clinard (1964, p. 10) was unhesitant to eulogise as the "singular most influential formulation in the sociology of deviance and ...", possibly the most frequently quoted paper in modern criminology and sociology. Merton (1938) however, given his confrontations with his American reality differed intellectually, from his progenitor. He attributed the strain to the inherent difficulties associated with the means of achieving the commonly held success goal, rather than the abrupt social change which kindles the insatiable desires that Durkheim had considered as inherent in human nature.

In his analysis, Merton begins with the understanding that all societies have a cultural system which embodies the socially approved values and goals, and the acceptable norms or institutionalised means for achieving these goals. Unfortunately, the prescribed goals and means do not give members the opportunity to pursue only the success in appropriate ways. Put differently, the institutionalised means are unfortunately, not overtly available to all members of the society. Both the goals and means exert pressure on some segments of the society in a non-conforming behaviour as they struggle to achieve these success goals and values. In Merton's

view, this happens when the goal of success is emphasised more than the acceptable ways of achieving success.

Merton (1938) argues that society creates its own brand of crime and criminals by defining its goals, standards and values without providing corresponding legal opportunities. He notes that in the absence of legitimate or institutionalised means people become innovative—in stealing, robbing, selling illicit goods and other deviant activities. Not all persons will follow such alternative routes to success, Merton rightly notes.

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[1]Durkheim identified two societies: primitive and modern societies with corresponding solidarity. Although, he argued that crime and deviant behaviours are inevitable and integral part of social life, he maintained that it is higher in the modem (more advanced and industrialised) societies. Crime in his words implies not only that there is vacancy for necessary changes, also that in most cases, it directly prepares these changes. Where crime exists, collective sentiments and value system are sufficiently unrigid to take new form, and crimes sometimes, help to determine the form these changes will take. In other words, crimes are indications that all is not well with a particular social system. It is only an "anticipation of the morality of the future-a step towards what will be". The illustration Durkheim gives is Socrate's civil disobedience that paved way for the independence of thought, and academic freedom proper. (See more of the

Virtually in every society, members of the lower class have lesser access to education and important inter-personal contacts which can enhance their opportunities and access to the shared goals. Access to opportunities prepares people for competition in the struggle to achieve success, wealth and status. They thus, experience greater stress or strain in an attempt to achieve this

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success legitimately. On this account, Merton argues that it is this blocked opportunities that explain the disproportionate number of the lower class members in criminal and delinquent acts. Therefore, an inequitable social structure which evaluates success similarly at .all social or societal levels is what produces the lower class strain and ultimately leads to crime and delinquency (see Merton, 1938).

Merton, like his progenitor Durkheim, set forth to explain the origin of deviant behaviour, including crime and delinquency, not in terms of biological traits or personality drives, but social organisation. His interest focused not on the behaviour of a particular individual, but on the "rate" at which certain types of behaviour occurred either for the system as a whole, or in parts of the system such as the different social classes (sees Sykes, 1978). His eulogised theoretical postulation has been described as the means-ends paradigm or the opportunity structure paradigm from which other theories later sprang (see Pyle *et al.,* 1974). In simple terms, it is argued that the discrepancy posited between the "ends" and "means" gives rise to Durkheim's state of "anomie" or "normlessness", hence criminal behaviour.

Merton identified five possible ways people respond to the structural stress or strain since not all the people are deviant or will deviate. I refer this to as Merton's "plus-minus model.

i) CONFORMITY: The individual accepts the culturally defined goals and adheres to the institutionalised means to achieving them, irrespective of his or her success or failure (+,+).

ii) INNOVATION: This is probably the most common form of adaptation to the structural stress. It explains the scenario whereby the illegal means to success is adopted to achieve the conventionally held goals. It is this group of people that form the focus of criminologists (+,-).

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iii) RITUALISTS: This is the opposite of the above, and consists of people who abide by the rules (means) but lack the commitments to the goals. Examples here include the priests, civil servants and teachers. This seems also most common since there are majority of the disadvantaged—at the margin of the society, who nevertheless, do not subscribe to criminality/delinquency but nevertheless abide by the means (-,+).

iv) RETREATISTS: They are the societal dropouts. That is, those that abandon both the cultural goals as well as the institutionalised-means. For examples, drug addicts, homeless and truants. Here the adaptors simply withdraw from the society into their shells (Thio, 1998). These categories of people are increasing dramatically in virtually all contemporary societies including Nigeria (-,-).

v) REBELLION: Those that reject the goals and means of the society and substitute them with new sets of values and norms for the discarded ones. Examples of this category include the political revolutionaries and religion fundamentalists. No doubt that these categories are also on the rise across all spectrum of contemporary societies (-+,-+).

Despite Merton's shortcomings, his theory remains the basis of most sociological etiologies of crime causation. Some writers have refurbished and strengthened the theory (Agnew, 1985, 1992; Mazerolle, 1998; Broidy, 2001) or revised the basic concepts (Cohen, 1955; Cloward & Ohlin, 1960) while maintaining the underlying principle.

Agnew's (1992) alternatively adds a psychological component to Merton's theory of social strain. In *Foundation for a General Strain Theory of Crime and Delinquency,* Agnew identifies factors in an individual's socialization and immediate social environment (such as animal abuse)

that can further explain deviance or criminality. He identifies, namely: (1) strain as the actual or anticipated failure to achieve positively valued goals; (2) strain as the actual or anticipated removal of positively valued stimuli; and (3) strain as the actual or anticipated presentation of negative valued stimuli. Among three kinds of strain, the most significant being the strain occurring through the presentation of negative stimuli. By this, Agnew means the stressful life events such as child abuse or neglect, being the victim of crime, verbal threats and insults, and negative relations with parents, peers and school. Negative stimuli might also include physical pain, heat, noise and pollution, all of which may be experienced as noxious and biologically related (Beirne & Messerschmidt) 2000). Other factors Agnew proposes (and the list is potentially infinite) are an individual's social position, psychological traits such as empathy, level of stress and strain, socialisation, and social control (Beirne & Messerschmidt, 2000). Finally, Agnew was able to identify a "number of cognitive, emotional, and behavioral adaptations that would minimize negative outcomes and thus reduce the probability of criminal behavior resulting from strain" (see Brown, Esbensen, & Geis, 2013).

3.1.3   Assessment of Anomie-Strain Theory

At the heart of the anomie-strain theory lays the assumption that the culture and structure of the society is what generates deviance. At the centre of this assumption is the overemphasis on the cultural goal of most contemporary societies at the expense of the institutionalized means achieving goals. This creates the tendency towards a breakdown of established. The resultant anomie situation brings pressure on the people, which, then, vary according to a person's class position in the social structure.

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Anomie is a true depiction of most contemporary societies, including Nigeria. Success and achievements .are measured primarily on materialistic terms. There are rules guiding the attainment of success, but they seem to be of little relevance, than success itself. In fact, the end is what obviously justifies the means in most of the contemporary societies. In contemporary Nigeria, it is whom one is that matters, and not how one becomes what one is. More emphases on the status and income of achievers—measured in monetary terms—are prevalent in immeasurable terms among contemporary Nigerians.

Otu (2003) observed that end-mean theory is very relevant to understand armed robbery in Nigeria today. Material acquisition is a feature that runs through all segments of the country. Yet, the institionalised means available to the overwhelming members of the lower class who are engaged in the profession of armed robbery are very limited and frustrating. This puts pressure on the members of the lower class in the country to aspire for these goals. The manner of resources distribution in Nigeria certainly handicaps people; it drives them into poverty, slums, and other disadvantaged situations. These generate discontentment and pressures on them to engage in armed robbery.

Despite continuous findings and the empirical observations, which lend support to the notion that most criminals are mainly from the lower class in the social structure, the theory of strain (anomie), has been heavily criticised. It is argued that the advent of self-report measure has brought the whole idea of strain into doubt. The justice system creates a lower class crime

problem through a class-biased enforcement response. In other words, why is that not everyone in the lower class gets involved in criminal activities?

Merton's theory has also been criticised for its many inconsistencies and Broidy (2001, p. 9) states that its "scope is limited because it focused exclusively on lower class boys in an urban environment". Other authors who have critiqued Merton's work include Braithwaite (1981), and Title and Meier (1990).

Merton's social structural theory tends implicitly, and ultimately, to advocate for the acceptance of the status quo uncritically. That is, the theory assumes that everyone in the society is or ought to be gunning for the same general goals of material success, or as the case may be, define .themselves in relation to this goal. But we all know that there is a question mark on the so called value consensus in the society.

Another criticism arising from the immediate one is that social strain theory has simply oversimplified social structures, values, and the relation between individuals and social values (Axelrod & Antinozzi, 2003). The assumption is that the conditions that create criminality are flexible, and, as such, crime can be tinkered and manipulated by appropriate social engineering.

3.2   Subcultural Theory

Albert Cohen's (1955) theory of status frustration is a version of Merton's strain theory in which he substituted "status" for Merton's "success". In fact, he merely extended the latter's theory—

seeing deviance/criminal in terms of the position of the individuals or groups in the social structure. He however, differed somewhat from Merton in two major ways: (1) Rather than being an individual behaviour response, delinquency is a collective one; (2) He argued that Merton's account is mainly on utilitarian crime at the expense of the non-utilitarian ones such as vandalism and joy riding—which does not produce any monetary reward. So Merton's analysis was highly plausible in explaining adult professional crime and not for the property delinquency.

His focus was on delinquent boys and the consequent emergence of delinquent subculture. Like Merton, he explained society encourages people to achieve status while at the same time making it difficult, especially for lower-class people to really achieve it. Many people are compelled to seek ways to achieve status in a manner accessible to them and they thus, engage in acts that are considered deviant. They are frustrated in the system of status achievement, principally because of their low education and dead-end job. So the boys in Cohen's study retreat to their lower-class neighbourhoods and set up a delinquent subcultures with a competitive system of their own. In their subcultures they are able to compete more fairly for higher status in terms of their own set of criteria. This helps them see themselves as a collective solution to the common problems of low working class problem (Haraiambos & Horlborn, 2004).

What happens is that these subcultures borrow goals and values from the mainstream culture and, then, reverses it to suit members. By this, high value-is placed on activities such as stealing vandalism, truancy—all these which are condemned in the wider mainstream society. Because this subculture is imbued with the spirit of competition, those who perform creditably .well are positively rewarded and they gain recognition and prestige in the eyes peers. According to

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Cohen, stealing becomes not so much means of achieving success in terms of the mainstream goal, but a valued endeavour to which are attached glory, honour, prowess and profound satisfaction.

Like his predecessors, Cohen has also been criticized for his focus on lower-class criminality and deviance on a small minority of delinquents. According to Box (1981), rather than feeling guilt and shame as asserted by Cohen, these delinquent boys feel resentment at being regarded as failures against the middle class and teachers. So what they do to mitigate against the failure status is to turn against this mainstream culture which humiliates them.

Two, Cohen has been criticized for suggesting that the delinquent youth are averse to the value of the mainstream Matza (1964) showed in his research in the US that the majority of the delinquent youths accepted the mainstream culture and only drifted occasionally. They are not committed to the delinquent subculture, as asserted by Cohen.

3.3   Differential Opportunity Theory

Cloward and Ohlin's (1960) differential opportunity theory is also a version of Merton and Cohen's theory. The duo agreed with Merton in large measures, but contend that he had failed to acknowledge the role of the illegitimate opportunities structure that gives rise to the deviant adaptations to the anomic conditions. Following the basic premise of strain theory, the authors explain that it is not always automatic for lower-class people confronted with the lack of opportunity to engage in criminality or deviance. People's engagement in deviant acts depends on the degree of their confrontation or access to the illegitimate opportunity structure. Although

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most lower-class people lack access to legitimate and conforming activities, they do not have the same opportunity for participation in illegitimate and deviant activities In other words, there is differential illegitimate opportunity. For instance, in one area there may be a thriving adult criminal subculture that provides the enabling conditions for adolescents; this may be absent in others. In the first area, an adolescent has more opportunity to be a successful criminal than in the second area.

Cloward and Ohlins' theory simply suggests that criminality is not an easy profession as it is beset with all the uncertainties and constraints associated with legitimate activity. Illegitimate opportunity structure like the legitimate one presupposes social organisation or integration in order to offer illegal opportunity. A Person seeking innovative solution to his strained circumstances must equally learn the necessary values and skills to take the full advantage of the opportunity such structure offers within the society. Those that lack these proper skills and potential, they argued, will again confront failure in their efforts to become criminal, say for example, armed robbers. It goes without saying therefore, that Shaw and Mckay's analysis of the organisation and disorganisations, with their link to Sutherland and Cressey's (1974) postulation of "selection and tutelage', are necessary parts of the illegitimate opportunity structures. Arising from this knowledge, Cloward and Ohlin identified three possible responses under such situation.

Cloward and Ohlin propose that three types of delinquent subculture emerge. **The criminal subculture** offers illegitimate opportunities to reach success goal. Here there is an organised adult criminal subculture which provides enabling learning environment for the young ones —

impacting in them the necessary skills and values. Criminal subculture is mainly concerned with utilitarian crime. Criminal adults are presented as role models.

The conflict subculture offers the illegitimate opportunity only to those youngsters who can meet certain stringent requirements such as great fighting skill and fearless risk-taking. There is little organised adult crime to provide apprenticeship for the young, upcoming criminals. Such place is usually characterized by a high turnover of population so that there is lack of opportunity for unity and cohesion. Access to both legitimate and illegitimate opportunity structures is blocked or improperly developed. The response here becomes gang violence to release anger, frustration and hopelessness, and as means of obtaining glory and prestige in terms of the value of the subculture.

The focus of the retreatist **subculture** is the use of drugs as members have failed to achieve status and success in the criminal or conflict subcultures. They are simply double failures—in terms of the legitimate and illegitimate opportunity structures. They are composed mainly of the social dropouts. For example, the drug addicts, drunks, womanisers and religious fanatics that are likely found in these unorganised communities.

The discussions on the theory of differential opportunity also seem more interesting and commonsensical in line of the argument that the crime victim creates, or may create the environment conducive for most of the crimes. It is not farther from the truth that individual or groups who carry large sums of money create the needed opportunity for armed robbers often acting on "tip-off" for instance, to strike courageously and cart away such money.

Cohen and Cantor (1981) expounded the theory further. They provide elaborate details on how opportunities can simply be provided for a particular crime to summarily occur. According to these authors, the changes in the pattern of routine activities—with more people away from home for greater length of time—is what have resulted to an increase in criminal accessibility to these targets. They, in particular, explained that the changing economic status of women—which brings them into the labour market, and the fact that more families leave home for vacations—led to reduction of each family in control over own children. Control over neighbourhood children is also reduced when women are not at home during the day. The net effect of these is an increased opportunity to commit crime, as empty homes are targets for crimes. They also argued that since after the World War II, there has been an increase in the production of lightweight goods. This development has effectively increased the number of suitable targets for crime; making them more susceptible to robbery, burglary, hijacking, and all forms of criminal devices.

Finally, Bales (1962) cited in Chaiken and Chaiken (1983), and Wilson (1983) argued that societies have failed to develop methods of channeling adolescents' behaviour (period between physical maturity of puberty and social maturity), and the age of assuming adult roles and responsibility thereby providing greater chances for criminality. In traditional and industrial societies, the arduous rituals, communal labour and ceremonies that young stars must fulfill have accomplished these functions. The rigour of training on the athletic fields of schools and colleges which functioned to socially occupy potential trouble makers until the demand for marriage and family, are being systematically abandoned with impunity and utter disregards.

Other authors continued to widen the scope of delinquency and criminality as the function of the illegitimate or legitimate opportunities of contemporary society, however in different colourful perspectives. Clinard and Abbott (1973, p. 39) for instance, argue that "rapid industrialisation and urbanisation have necessitated the transportation of large sum of monies with meagre, security thus making the target more vulnerable for attack". Hirsch (1983), in Wilson (1983, pp. 53-68), provided a seminal account of how contemporary "family structures and accompanying roles have provided increasing opportunities that lead to delinquency and/or criminality".

3.3.1 Assessment of Differential Opportunity Theory

Critical to the differential opportunity theory is that criminal behaviour and delinquent activities in which one becomes immersed are a direct functions of the delinquent opportunities available. In other words, what differential opportunity theory is saying is that to become a criminal and delinquent, there must be organised illegitimate opportunity structure that could facilitate the development of criminal and delinquent adaptations to anomic conditions.

What is found in this theory is that differential opportunity has "provided the answer to the problem of the key foundation of contemporary strain theory, which is often criticised for limiting its focus on the property crime" (Brown *et al*., 1991, p. 320). In fact, opportunity theory acts as an intervening variable that explains why people pursue one wayward path or another.

In practical terms, in modern day Nigeria, the theory shows relevance in understanding the trends and patterns of crimes among the different ethnic groups corresponding states in the country.

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Take for example, the crime of armed robbery, indices of the crime in Nigeria provided by the Federal Office of the Statistics and police reports, especially from the periods 1980s to the present, show the high rates of the offence. These figures are recorded among those ethnics and states that have long been identified with the criminal subculture (illegitimate structures). For examples, such states as old Bendel, Anambra and Lagos are discernible in terms of their high robbery rate.

Differential opportunity theory has been criticised, however rightly or wrongly by some scholars in the following manner:

1) It has been criticised as having operational deficiency. Reid (1982), cited in Iwarimie-Jaja, 1999a, p. 74) noted that the theory is weak in defining concepts such as "double failures", "illegal opportunity", "denial of legitimacy", differential opportunity" and "elimination of guilt". Also citing Schrag (1972, p. 176), Iwarimie-Jaja, 1999a, p. 74) stated that it is wrong to say that neighbourhoods with high delinquency rates are characterized by one type of subculture.

2) The theory—especially its idea of criminal subculture—is based on gangs in Chicago which were ubiquitous in 1920s and 1930s and the argument is that the idea would run into problem in attempt to apply it to today's reality.

3) According to Hopkin Burke (2001), the theory is based on an oversimplified belief that the working class is a homogeneous group.

4) He also believes that the theory offers a very simplistic explanation of drug misuse, which is, in reality, also applicable to successful middle and upper class.

5) Walton, Young and Taylor (1973) argued that Cloward and Ohlin have failed to account for all the variegated types of delinquent subculture.

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3.4 Ecological Theory

Social ecology theory is an important variant of the social structural perspective to crime explanation. It is predicated on the assumption that economic conditions significantly influence the distribution of crime and delinquency. Social ecology which derives from the word ecology (the study of the relations of organism to its environment), is a perspective that focuses on an individual's relation to the social environment. As applied to the study of criminology, it denotes studying the spatial distribution of crime and deviance in a social system. The social ecology approach to crime is often associated with the group of social scientists scholars at the University of Chicago during the 1920s, 1930s, 1940s. This Chicago School, as it became known, sounded the importance of praxis—research for practical policy; that is, research effort outside the classroom to the field.

With his colleague, Ernest Burgess, Robert Park drawing from the knowledge of plant ecology set out to investigate how human communities grow and develop. Their study begins with a framework which views the city as a social organism that contains its "natural areas"; that is, areas that are characterised by ethnic grouping, facsimile homogeneous income levels, and by commerce and industry. With these natural areas delineated, they found that a kind of symbiotic relationship exists among the inhabitants of such areas and the areas themselves. For instance, while the commercial areas relied on the residents for effective business, the residents in turn

relied upon the merchants to provide other necessary amenities. Using American cities especially the city of Chicago, the duo provided a graphic description of the growth of American cities. Cities tend to expand radially, that is, in concentric zone model, from its inner nuclei of central, downtown business area or district (CBD)—only constraints by boundaries such as highways, lakes, rivers, and railroad tracks.

Robert Park, Earnest Burgess, and MecKenzie, R. D. identified five concentric zones, each extending outside and having its own structure, organisation, cultural statistics, and unique residents. **Zone 1** is the central business district or downtown and sometimes called the Loop. This zone is characterised by few residents, commercial establishments such as commercial headquarters, law offices, retail establishments and some other commercial recreation. **Zone II** is the next and is called the transitional zone. This zone contains many deteriorated housing, factories, and abandoned buildings, and within time, market values have begun to depreciate. This is the zone of the city's poorest, unskilled and disadvantaged. Here new immigrants into the city are likely to congregate because of its low rental value. **Zone III** is the working class zone, where people escaping from the transitional zone tend to settle. This area has single-family tenements dotted along the street. **Zone IV** is known as the residential zone, and lies in the outskirts of the city. This area is characterised by single-family homes with yards and garages. Inhabitants of this area include mainly the middle-class—professionals, small business owners, and the managerial class. **Zone V** is the last represented the commuter zone of satellite towns and suburbs.

3.4.1 Diagram Showing the Concentric Zone Model

Central
Business
District

Transitional
Zone

Working
Class Zone

Residential
Zone

Commuter
Zone
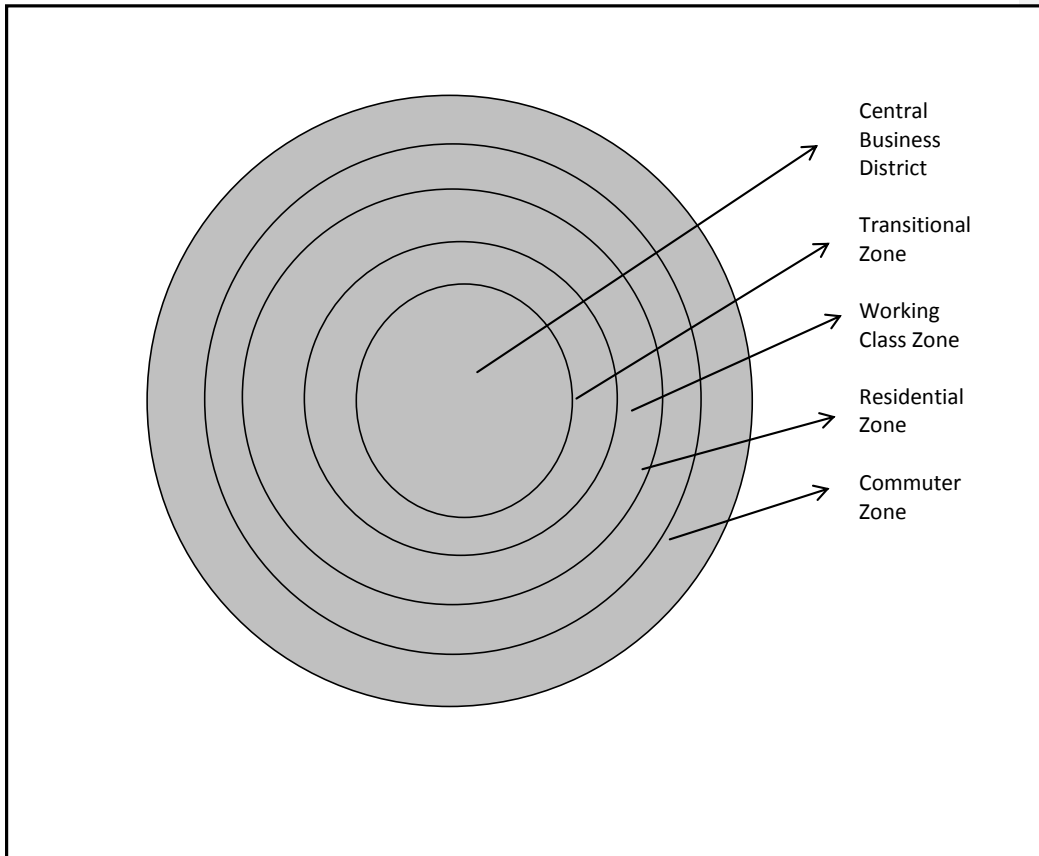
3.4.1 Social Disorganization Theory

The concept of social disorganisation was introduced into the social ecology theory by the duo Clifford Shaw and Henry McKay (1942) who were researchers at the Chicago Institute for

Juvenile Research. Building on the work of their progenitors, Robert and Burgess, Shaw and McKay posit that illegal behaviour was linked-with the social environment, and they were set to prove this claim scientifically. Using three types of maps, they plotted the rates of male delinquency around Chicago-during the years 1900 to 1933. The first map they christened "spot" maps pointed out the residences of all the juveniles so far arrested; the "rate" map indicated to them the percentage of juveniles with one or more arrest records in each of the 431 census tracts of the city; and finally, the "zone" maps showed the delinquency rates of each of the five zones identified by Robert and Burgess.

With additional data from the city municipal agencies, Shaw and McKay were able to investigate the relationships which exist between quite a number of identifiable community variables (residential mobility, heterogeneity, poverty) and delinquency. Their findings were startling and include the following:

1) There was a decreasing population in the areas with high delinquency,

2) A high percentage of "foreign born" and Negro heads of family,

3) A low rate of home ownership, that is, most residents are tenants,

4) A high percentage of families on relief,

5) Low media rental values, that is, declining in the prices of houses,

6) High rate of infant mortality, truancy, tuberculosis, mental disorders, and adult criminality.

The trend of this delinquency rates over time were also examined and was found to have remained constant despite the changes in the ethnic groups that inhabit the different zones. This further convinced Shaw and McKay that delinquency rates were not because of the groups

occupying the inner city areas, but more so the ecological features of these areas. The explanation they provided for is that different normative existed in different communities and in the areas of high delinquency; boys are more likely to be exposed to multitude of different values.

Very critical in Shaw and Mckay analysis is that they described the areas with high delinquency as being socially disorganised. This social disorganisation centres around three key variables: (1) poverty-people are poor, and consequently, lack the resources to address their problems; there are no funds to develop recreation areas, for example, which could insulate the youths against delinquency, (2) There is high level of residential mobility which has the effect of increasing anonymity. With this, social control is weakened since people do not often know one another— who belongs and does not—inhibiting the development of a sense of community, so that common values fail to emerge, (3), racial heterogeneity—highly racial mixed up, and no less helped by the high rate of residential mobility. This in effect further exacerbates the development of the sense of community earlier stated. The absence of community values, then, allows delinquent values to develop and this are passed down from one generation to another in a process known as **cultural transmission.** (4) There is the presence of numerous service agencies which are funded and staffed by groups outside the community. They cited the case of Chicago Area Project (CAP), which is a delinquency prevention programme.

3.4.2 Evaluation of Ecological Theory

Ecological school of crime theorizing has been great—making significant impacts on other theories that followed it and in policy matters of the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s. The theorists, Adler *et al*., (1991) arguable, were the first to let us know that crime and delinquency were committed by normal people who were responding in the appropriate manner to the immediate surroundings, and not because of any biological deficiency. Despite this impressive contribution, social ecological theory has not been immune to criticisms. One of these is that it relies so much on official data which may be tainted by zealot police surveillance and arrest discretion.

Two, the theory fails to explain why delinquents tend to desist as they grow older, why most people in socially disorganised areas do not commit crime, and why some disorganised (detonated) neighbourhoods seem to be insulated against crime and delinquency. Three, the theory it seems, is not bothered at all about the middle and even upper class criminality and delinquency.

Finally, the theory is suspiciously silent on the role being played by the state and its allies in generating conditions which foster the variables of the social disorganised communities.

3.4 The Social Process Theory

Generally, the social process theory rejects the notion of strain theories which states that the social structure generates disproportionate pressure on members of the lower classes which leads them to commit crimes. The implication of this assertion by the strain theorists is that individuals who are subjected to economic disadvantage will resort to crime or delinquent behaviours, while the well-to-do would refrain because presumed structural strains are absent or are absorbed. Indeed, this idea is misleading as researches have shown that most lower class people do not just simply become criminals, whilst the well-offs rarely engage in criminality (Sutherland & Cressey, 1974; Mareni, 1987; Olurode, 1990).

The greatest asset of the social process theory lies in the fact that its "explanatory power cuts across all the social classes and economic strata of every society" (Brown *et al*., 1991, p. 339). The theorists assert that the social structure, rather than generate strains that cause individuals to commit crime, may expose members of the lower classes to adverse social processes, which in turn, could translate into higher rates of deviance and crime. It is therefore, argued that the interactions *experienced* in the *reference groups* (emphasis mine) are the keys to explaining behaviour. Some of the theorists aver that the social processes one experiences may provide or fail to provide restraints against norm violation. Many social process theorists have emerged recently, and for all practical purposes, the social learning—the differential association (Sutherland), imitation (Tarde), previous criminal experiences (Iwarimie-Jaja), and emulation (Smart Otu) are hereby discussed.

3.5.1 Imitation Theory

The imitation theory of Gabriel Tarde (1890a) is a kind of psychosocial theory, but basically, a social learning (process) theory. Imitation is a mental process, and Tarde defines it as "the powerful, generally unconscious, always partly mysterious action by means of which we account for all the phenomenon of society" (Tarde, 1890b, translated by Howell, 1912, p. 232).

Tarde reasoned in his first law that the processes of imitation influenced crime just like all other social phenomena. People imitate others in proportion to how much close contact they have with them. The process of imitation, Tarde explained, operates in a social context, and that socially and historically, it is present in the growth of cities, national institutions, and even international warfare. Being most frequent in the cities or urban areas, imitation changes rapidly as opposed to the gradual changes in the rural areas. So, in the cities it is "fashion", while in the rural areas, it is "custom". Tarde argued that crime begins as a fashion, and later, becomes a custom, much like any other social phenomenon.

Imitation infiltrates all aspects of social life, producing both good and evil. It cuts across all social, racial, and religious boundaries. As a mental process, imitation flows from the superior to the inferior. That is, as (Beirne & Messerschmidt, 2000, p. 90) put it, "the masses are typically tied through imitative bondage to the ideas and fancies of their superiors". Drunkenness, smoking, moral offences, political assassination, arson and even vagabondage are, according to Tarde, some criminal behaviours that originated from the feudal nobility and were transmitted, through imitation, to the masses. Thus, criminal propensities typically travel downward and outward—from the powerful to the powerless, from urban centres to rural areas. As imitation

takes place, the newer fashions displace the older ones (e.g. Tarde argued that murder by knifings had decreased while murder by shooting increased).

Important in Tarde's thesis—while trying to explain why some people despite exposure to the same imitative processes do not commit crimes—is that some people are born with certain psychological qualities that predispose them to crime. Examples of such qualities are violent behaviour, and as he added later, fever—fermentation, an agitation, and disturbance. Tarde's imitation theory influenced other theorists, and so remains central to the author's emulation theoretical expostulation.

3.5.2 Differential Association

Edwin Sutherland's (1883-1950) broad theory of learning and specifically, the theory of differential association, described as "the first truly sociology-criminology efforts to explain crime" (Brown *et al.,* 1991, p. 340). The independence of the merit of his differential association, as an explanation to crime and delinquency behaviour, and his role in bringing the field of criminology under the sociological umbrella, have been formally eulogised (see Brown *et al.*, 1991). This theory, like its parent one imitation, is also crucial towards the understanding most crimes in contemporary Nigeria.

Being greatly influenced by Gabriel Tarde's (1843-1904) "law of imitation" (1890 and interpreted by Parsons, 1903), and other theories such as symbolic interactionism, culture transmission, and culture conflicts, Sutherland argues that persons socialised in socially disorganised neighbourhoods, are likely to have an association that will increase criminal

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adaptations. This, he argues, is in contrast to those individuals from socially organised neighbourhoods who are more likely to experience non-criminal association. Robbing mind with the Chicago School of thought, he notes that crime is socially distributed, and is indeed, a learned behaviour in the social environment. According to Willam 111 & Mcshane (1994), Sutherland notes that all behaviours (criminal and noncriminal) are learned, in much the same way noncriminal behaviours are learned. The major difference between conforming and criminal behaviour is what is learned, rather than how. His major concern, therefore, was to study and understand the learning processes.

Sutherland was greatly influenced by quite a number of both theoretical and empirical factors. However, many of the insights that shaped his theory were social, and they came from the events of the 1920s and 1930s (see Williams 111 & Mcshane, 1994). These events were those of the great depression, which called to attention, serious sociological observations. During the same period, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) had begun to document yearly crime reports known to the police, and the Uniform Crime Reports (UCR) with evidence showing that certain people are more likely to be criminals than others. Since these categories of people seemed to match the Chicago School ecological data, official statistics seemed collaborative with the assertion that crime is more a product sociological variables than biological and psychological.

Having also been privileged to work with a government agency during this period, Sutherland also observed how people who had not been previously criminal, or ever been in contact with criminals, committed criminal acts as a result of their improvised situation during the depression. Others, comparatively well-off, then, took advantage of the economic situation and manipulated

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banks and stocks. This appears to be the genesis of Sutherland's thesis on the "white collar crime". With this knowledge, Sutherland, it appears, concluded that criminality was the product of situation, opportunity and values.

In addition, the prohibition and criminal use of drug at the same time is viewed to have also influenced Sutherland's intellectual theory (see Williams 111 & Mcshane, 1994).The "new" form of crime made Sutherland to note that criminality, is in part governed by the legal environment. While researching on the "Professional Thief" (1973) for example, Sutherland identified the tutelage necessary for both admittance and practice of the trade. In his best known work titled "The White Collar Crime" (1949), he demands that crime should be defined to include offences of person in the upper socio-economic class. This according to him will explain the diverse range of factors such as age, gender, race, socio-economic status, associated with crime, however, not casually.

The term differential association as used by Sutherland will be loose if it is explained outside the contents of the patterns presented in association, and this would differ from individual to individual (William 111 & Mcshane, 1994). By the term, it is of germane to emphasise that Sutherland never meant that mere association would simply lead to adoption of criminal behaviour. Instead, it is the "contents" of communication learned from others that are of primary important.

Of significance to sociologists and criminologists are the nine principles of the differential .association he postulated in 1937, and which subsequently, appeared in all his edited

criminological texts. These principles specify the process by which a particular person comes to engage in criminal behaviour (see Sutherland and Cressey, 1940). The principles expressly rule out hereditary, human nature, meta-physical or myth, and innovation[2] as causes of aberrant behaviour. Persons are not born with criminogenic tendencies, but rather develop *criminaloid,* he had maintained. The principles as contained in most of the texts are summarised below:

1) Criminal Behaviour is learned and not inherited;

2) Criminal behaviour is learned in interaction with other persons in a process of communication;

3) That the principal part of the learning of criminal behaviour occurs within intimate personal groups (negatively meaning that impersonal agencies of communication such as movies, newspaper play a relatively unimportant part in the genesis o criminal behaviour);

4) That learning includes (i) Techniques of committing the crime, which sometimes is very complicated, and at other times very simple, (ii) The specific direction of the motives, drives rationalization and attitudes;

5) The specific direction of motives is learned from the definitions of the legal code as favourable or unfavourable. In some societies, an individual is either surrounded by

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[2]Innovation, which Sutherland discountenanged and-discounted, is of very significant to the conceptual framework of emulation as it relates to all learn contemporary criminal behaviour. Alongside with the role of the media, the two concepts constitute a major point of departure of the argument of emulation as a theoretical exposition to understanding current patterns and incidence of high profile criminal behaviour such as armed robbery in modem Nigeria.

persons who invariably define the legal codes as rules to be observed or by person whose definitions are favourable to the violation of the legal codes. The modern societies are characterised by both mixtures.

6) A person becomes criminal because of an excess of definitions favourable to law violation over definitions unfavourable to law violation. This is certainly the crux of differential association theory. When persons become criminal, they do so because of contacts with criminal patterns and also because of isolation from anti-criminal patterns.

7) Differential association may vary in frequency, duration, priority and intensity. Priority is assumed here to be important in the sense that the lawful behaviour developed in early childhood may persist throughout life while delinquent behaviour developed in the same vein may persist.

8) The process of learning criminal behaviour by association with criminal   and anti-criminal patterns   involves   all the mechanisms that are involved in any other learning. This negatively implies that learning of criminal behaviour is not restricted to the process of imitation.

9) While criminal behaviour is an expression of general needs and values, these general needs and values do not explain it since non-criminal behaviour is an expression of the same needs and values. Thieves generally steal to obtain money and likewise honest labourers who work in order to secure money. (Sutherland & Cressey, 1974, pp. 75-76)

In specific terms, Sutherland is saying that persons will engage in criminal behaviour only when they have acquired sentiments in favour of law violation that outstrip conformity. In other words, there is an equal chance of a person being exposed to both pro and anti-law violating modalities, thus, becoming either a criminal or not. A person comes to adapt criminal as non-criminal behaviour patterns when he or she learns how to violate laws, and when the values to putting that knowledge into practice are stronger than the persons' anti-criminal sentiments (see also Iwarimie-Jaja, 1999a; 1999b).

3.5.2.1 Assessment of Differential Association

At the heart of differential association theory is the idea that criminality or deviance is as a result of association with someone who holds criminal or deviant ideas. Sutherland (1939, 1960) acknowledged that such association must exceed association with non-deviants, and that actors must complete a learning process before deviance can occur. The deviant must learn and internalize all the techniques, specific motives, drives, rationalizations and attitudes. This theory remains important in the sociology of crime because it demonstrates the significance of group interaction and the influence that individuals have on one another.

Differential association theory has been as much criticized as it has been praised. Thio (1998) explains that Sutherland and Cressey (1974) admit that people cannot identify the persons from whom they learned deviant behaviour. Such theory can also not explain the initial source of the deviant act (Kroho, *et al.,* 1985 cited in Thio, 1998).

3.5.3 Previous Criminal Association

Iwarimie-Jaja (1994) in an attempt to explain contemporary armed robbery in Nigeria in general, and Port Harcourt to be specific, supports and borrows extensively from Sutherland's differential association theory. He however, in no less romanticised manner, coined the phrase "previous criminal association" to determine, whether previous criminal association provides strong motivation for the unemployed to commit crimes especially armed robbery. His conceptual framework of "previous criminal association" is predicated on unemployment as he claims that it is an antecedent or intervening variable, which effectively links unemployment and armed robbery.

Drawing substantially from Sutherland's principles, differential association according to Iwarimie-Jaja (1996) is the parent theory of his previous criminal association. Accordingly, he asserts that the previous criminal association is a "spin-off of Sutherland's differential association; it possesses all its properties, but explains such high level crimes such as armed robbery, terrorism and organised crimes like drug trafficking" (Iwarimie-Jaja, 1999b, p. 56).

His work focuses on the links between juvenile delinquency and adult criminality—such as armed robbery in contemporary Nigeria. Iwarimie-Jaja (1993, 1999b) explains that previous criminal association or experience is a powerful factor in criminality and

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delinquency, whether the person who commits the act is unemployed, poor or not. His explanation is that as juvenile offenders continue to associate with criminal peers and commit offences, they will be remanded in a remand home or be arrested, tried and sentenced to prison. While in prison, they associate with more experienced, hardened criminals and learn the techniques of how to avoid detection and apprehension and, then, go on to commit more serious crimes. Such young people acquire a wealth of criminal experience that enables them to commit more criminal acts when they become adults (Iwarimie-Jaja, 1999b).

The basic tenets of the previous criminal association is that a person who commits high level crimes such as armed robbery must have had criminal experiences, learned in an intra-group context. As he put it (Iwarimie-Jaja, 1999a, p. 72, 1999b, p. 56): No individual gets up one day and. decide to rob a bank, or a residence, armed with a gun. This is because armed robbery is a high level criminal act which criminals must graduate in to commit either individually, or in gang context.

Analysing and describing the previous criminal association, Iwarimie-Jaja (1995) opined that factors such as poverty, frustration, unemployment, and disorganised families are not the only reasons for committing crimes (e.g. murder, theft, and armed robbery). While all these factors contribute, the major cause is the association of the adolescent, or adult with persons who have a need that is not different from those of his peers. The desire to gratify this need does not however, account for why he/she should engage in delinquent act, or

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while at an adult age, he may commit crime. An individual commits delinquent and criminal acts because of his 'previous criminal experiences (Iwarimie-Jaja, 1999b).

Iwarimie-Jaja thus, while holding close to his chest, Sutherland's assumptions and principles, goes on to tinker on them, and postulates the following as the principles or assumptions underlying his specific previous criminal association theory.

1) No individual gets up one day and decides to rob a bank, or residence, armed with a gun. This is because armed robbery is a high level criminal act which requires criminals to graduate into either individually or in gang context.

2) Delinquency and criminal behaviour are learned from past and criminal experiences, respectively. These delinquent and criminal experiences are acquired over time, and involves learning the techniques of committing the act, avoiding detection, using intimidation, psychological projections, and the proper instruments to be applied to achieve success.

3) Delinquent and criminal patterns of life styles are not individualistic. They do not pertain to the individual. They are based on collective delinquency and criminal experiences, which form subcultures of the delinquent and criminal gangs. Thus delinquency and crime are functions of the goals associated with a group situation or place in human social life cycle.

4) Therefore, the individual who aspires to become a delinquent or a criminal must learn the subculture of the delinquent or criminal gangs, and must be ready to perpetuate those acts

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when he has sufficiently learn those definitions of the legal codes that must be subverted/circumvented in committing them.

5) Delinquent and criminal associates involve interaction with delinquent and criminal play-mates, contact with recidivists when arrested and processed by law enforcement agents, during which there is the formation of delinquent and criminal values.

6) Delinquent and criminal behaviours are reflection of an individual's or groups need and values. An individual may use delinquent and criminal ways to obtain those things that are of value and which meet his desired needs just as another individual or group may adopt legitimate means to acquire things of value which are so desirable, but these general needs and values do not explain anti-social behaviour.

7) Factors such as poverty, frustration, unemployment, and disorganised families are not the only reasons why people commit crimes, e.g. theft, burglary, fraud, murder, or armed robbery. In fact, even though these factors are important causes of criminal act, it is the association of an adolescent, or adult to a person whose needs are not different from those of his peers that is the major motivating factor. But the desire to satisfy this need does not explain why he should engage in delinquent act, or why, at an adult age, he may commit crime. An individual commits delinquent and criminal acts because of his previous criminal experiences.

8) Thus, as a juvenile continues to associate himself with criminal peers and commits an offence, he may be remanded in remand homes, or get arrested, tried and sentenced to prison where he would associate with hardened criminals and then learn the techniques on how to manipulate defection and apprehension, and to commit more serious crimes.

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9) At the same time, he acquires enormous wealth of criminal experiences, which may propel him into criminal acts, even when he becomes an adult. Therefore, persons with previous criminal experiences are likely to turn to criminality when they are frustrated, unemployed or even when they cannot afford to meet their needs. Especially when they have a low self-esteem or self-image of themselves (see Iwarimie-Jaja, 1999a, pp. 46-48). The theory of previous criminal association must be seen as a scholarly seminal contribution to Sutherland theory and crime aetiologies.

3.5.3.1   Assessment of Differential Association and Previous Criminal Association Theories

Fundamental to differential association and previous criminal association is that criminal behaviour is learned in an interaction with other persons in a process of communication, especially within intimate personal, groups. Both suggest that a person socialised in a socially disorganised or delinquent or criminal social system will more likely develop an association that encourages criminal adaptations. Patterns of relationship dictate the pattern of behaviour as indeed, the common aphorism of "tell me with whom you go out with, and I will tell what you are" re-echoes the idea of differential association.

To Sutherland, all criminal behaviours—minor or major—is learned in the ordinary manner that pro-social behaviour are learned. So, all criminal behaviours are learned as a

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one way-flow-stop-gap. But to Iwarimie-Jaja, certain criminal behaviours entail stages, perhaps stop-gaps, during which enormous wealth of experiences are acquired and acted out in adulthood when confronted with structural strain, frustration, and unemployment.

When applied to some high tech crimes such as armed robbery in contemporary Nigeria, differential association alongside previous criminal association possesses the theoretical armoury relevant to its explication. Its important lie in the fact that it expresses the obvious truth that contemporary armed robbery (in all its complexity, sophistry, and modus operandi) is a "learned" criminal behaviour. And more than that, the theories recognise that the learning includes the dexterity, rationalisation, techniques and motives necessary to commit the crime. Fundamentally, as a learned behaviour, they underlie the obvious fact that it is borrowed and/or imitated, following closely, Tardes' imitation thesis. It is, also however, of significant that these learned behaviours are by no means closed against innovation and perfection within the limits imposed by the societies under which it thrives. This is a point so dear to the idea of emulation developed by Otu (2003).

Modern day armed robbery in Nigeria going by its outlook and paraphernalia clearly point to a behaviour associated with the western world and their early receptors. No doubt that the western world conveys behaviours and value systems which have positive bearing, but paradoxically, these behaviours and values were themselves in favours of various law violations.

Despite the wide spread appeal of Sutherland's formulation, and which Iwarimie-Jaja paid great obeisance to, and Otu (2003) greatly acknowledged, criminologists have nevertheless, found the theory less than illuminating. Sykes (1978) has provided a summary of the critical criticisms levelled against the theory. Firstly, it is argued that the theory has failed to account for why crucial issues as cultural definitions favourable to the violation of law exist in the first place. As Otu (2003) noted, people no doubt, learn criminal behaviour just like they learn other forms of social behaviour; how this pattern of criminal behaviour became available to be learned is the greatest challenge of the theory. The theory thus, does not provide clues as to why some persons are more exposed than others to the patterns of criminal behaviour, or less exposed to it. The theory it seems, is averse to the obvious age-long philosophical assertions that crime and its cause is related to the social and spatial contexts in which it arises, the structure of social relations, the culture of the perpetrators and victims, and that learning is often in the manner and of direction osmotic process.

Secondly, Sutherland's theory of differential association is critiqued as being ambiguously worded. Consequently, it is difficult to develop and assess the theory by means of empirical verification and validation. A number of loaded concepts are described as appearing a little expression of hope for the precision of quantification, rather than refer to a clear-cut variable, rooted in either psychology or sociology. In other words, the necessary scales of measurement do not exist, even if there were agreement on

the meaning of the terms. There is a strong challenge on the social meaning of the terms employed, which unfortunately remained unanalysed (for details, see Sykes, 1978).

Thirdly, and perhaps most important, is that Sutherland's theory comes dangerously close to being a tautology, mechanical argument so to speak. If criminal behaviour is motivated, and not simply a compulsive act, it is then difficult to imagine a crime as not being based on definitions favourable to the violation of law. In other words, to say that such behaviour is driven by motives, drives and attitudes favourable to such behaviour is not helpful. By this, the theory which tries to explain all criminal behaviours succeeded in explaining none. Glaser (1956) criticisms of Sutherland theory (calls differential identification) have been described earlier on while providing elaborate discussions on the psychological theory.

Fourthly, the theory has been accused of being deficient in its causal framework. Some associations were thought to cause criminal behaviour and others not. However, it is argued that the reverse is also plausible. A person may have become a criminal and. then, seeks out particular associations to match his or her criminal values and activities. This is "birds of the same feathers" interpretation. It is also possible that relationships between associations and behaviour may be reciprocal. That is, influencing one another simultaneously.

Fifthly, a further criticism of the theory is its failure woefully, to recognise the roles of the impersonal agencies of communication such as movies, newspaper, and-books (Otu, 2003). The failure to appreciate the "how" issue in this learning means demeaning the importance of western culture on the lives of the non-westerners. Contemporary crimes in Nigeria cannot be better explained outside the impacts of the western culture: it is far more transmitted through means such as movies, newspapers, senior criminals, and the like.

With respect to Iwarimie-Jaja's expostulation, the theory fails to answer the question; "Where does the first knowledge of the crime come from"? To learn itself means previous knowledge, and this also means previous imitation from mentors. In other words. Iwarimie-Jaja, by emphasising that association with criminal adults, seems to be historical and uncritical.

A major source of worrying in Iwarimie-Jaja's thesis is the vagueness that shrouds his concept of subculture. It is not clear what he really meant by importing the whole concept as given and juxtaposing it wholeheartedly into contemporary Nigeria social engineering. Does he mean subculture as a distinct pattern and way of life within the mainstream culture? Or does he simply use it loosely—as a mere pastime of gangs' set of focal concern?[3] If Iwarimie-Jaja meant the former idea, then, it is disturbing because there seems not to have developed, a clear-cut criminal subculture in modern Nigeria as peculiar to many industrialised and racially racked societies, even though some

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ethnic/tribal/states and regions may be more inclined to criminality than others. But if he meant the latter, then, he can be exonerated from immediate academic reprimand.

3.5.4 Emulation Theory

Emulation as a theoretical exposition is by no means a virgin theory. It is not an autarchy theory either as it does not claim independence of the other theories especially the learning theory, and knowledge of notable scholars on crime and delinquency. Of course, it is an interdependent, a hybrid kind of theory. As it is conceived and explained by the author, the idea of emulation—as a theory—may no more or less represents an ordinary slip back to the existing theories such as the imitation of (Tarde, 1903); differential association (Sutherland, 1949); differential illegitimate opportunity (Cloward & Ohlin, 1960); the theoretical exposition of previous criminal association (Iwarimie-Jaja 1993, 1999), as well as other related socio-psychological theories.

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[3]Focal conceits simply distinguish behaviours from the mainstream value of a particular society. In other words, they denote the mere observable behaviour of subjects, which are seen as ego boosting directed towards choosing outlaw behaviours. (See Lower-Class Focal concerns. Miller, 1958 cited in Brown *et al.,* 1991, pp. 356-361).

In fact, the concept of emulation, with its own premises and techniques, has fed on the great ideas which have been prepared by others in the field of sociology, criminology,

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psychology and their associate sub-fields. Therefore, it is a reconstructed idea; picked up in the existing literature, which lends special form and focus to familiar ubiquitous arguments, and somewhat validated by a less rigorously empirical test at the ordinary level of descriptive analyses, and based on the results generated from distributed questionnaires and in-depth interviews.

Apart from these specific theoretical influences mentioned above, there are quite a good number of other intellectuals' writings and experiences which apparently have influenced the author to think along the line of emulation. Firstly, Young (1996) as cited in Gaffrey and Mundy (1996) in his logical analysis asserted, that aetiology of crime should be faithful to the nature of the crime. That is, theory should acknowledge the form of crime, the social context of the crime, the shape of the crime, its trajectory through time, and enactment in space. He also argued that criminological theory has a habit of repeating itself, noting, however, that there is no mono-causal explanation of crime and criminal behaviour (Young, 1996).

This view finds support with the understanding that the best theory to explain crime and delinquent behaviour is anyone of these theories that is more particularistic in manner, and which incorporates the specific realities of the social structure under which a particular crime or deviance occur: in patterns, trends, incidence, *modus operand*, and so on. Dowries and Rock (1988) probably in this sense, had also argued that among other things that... no theory could be assessed intelligently until it can be regarded with

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sympathy. These arguments remain consistence to other findings (Clifford. 1965; Clinard & Abbott, 1973; Bennett, 1980).

Secondly, emulation as a theoretical paradigm is further influenced by the cognitive dissonance theory. This theory suggests that individuals like to keep their psychological world balance so that ideas that do not fit in with their belief system, and cause a psychological imbalance state, corrected by whatever means he/she can(see Festinger, 1957).

Thirdly, the paradigmatic idea of emulation is influenced by the reading and teasing out of both the implicit and explicit messages of cultural[4] transmission theory, culture conflict, especially as illustrated by Landis (1958), symbolic interactionism, *catharsis* theory, policy actions of local communities in modern Nigeria. Statements and commentaries of various religious leaders, scholars, and commentators on ethical and moral issues in today Nigeria also influence the line of thought towards a bias for emulation.

Fourthly, and very essential, the intellectual advice of Clinard and Abbott (1973) and Heidensohn (1989), also stimulates and encourages the path and vision of the theoretical idea of emulation. Heidensohn, in particular, provides and advises that much work has been done in the field of sociology criminology, and that emerging scholars should

simply read and digest each of them, to see whether it aids the explanation and understanding of the issues; and importantly, to go beyond it.

[4]Culture here embraces the peoples' way of life: the value system, norms, means, goals and the less often emphasised "civilization". Symbolic interactionism is significant to explaining armed robbery in Nigeria in that it leads to an understanding of how values favourable or unfavourable to criminal behaviour are imitated, learned and given interpretation in an interaction with others. And also, how officials are able to appropriate this criminal aspect of individuals and properly label it as criminal in the day-to-da interaction with them. Culture transmission is not used in the traditional manner it is employed and interpreted by the ecological "determinists". Rather, the concept is operatioanlised to mean the overwhelming transmission of the western culture, subsumed in the modem way of life, over and above the traditional cultural values of the people of Nigeria. Culture conflict is premised on the argument that there is a contradiction: hence conflict between the western and the indigenous culture as they struggle for supremacy in the ensuing "culture shock" brought about by the contact.

Downes and Rock (1988) note that there is value for criminologists-cum-sociologists whose theories are from informed, pragmatic, and intelligent selection from the range of interpretations. That is, scholars should adapt explanation at wills, blending their own and others' thoughts, to advance the resolution of specific problems.

Fifth, Gidden's (1987) suggestion and advice that future sociologists should favour a more conceptual innovation instead of revolving around the old conceptual frameworks is

also a source of encouragement into advancing the theory of emulation. According to Gidden, it is not only incumbent on the sociologists to ground their sociological concepts on empirically (statistically) validated data. The author rather seems to suggest that efforts should be devoted towards a more theoretically imaginationn and creativity. And Heidensohn (1989) supports the argument when he favours what he termed "sofa or seminar sociology"[5]. This is by no means to suggest that the idea of emulation as a theoretical exposition is a mere armchair theory. Such an idea as common amongst most researchers venturing into an exploratory and explanation studies was, however, conceived before empirical data gathering.

Indeed, there is enough proof from literature and empirical findings which, by continually comparing specific incidents and experiences in the data as recommended by Glaser and Strauss (1967), permitted for the refinity of the emerged concepts, identifying their properties, exploring their relationships to one another, and synthesizing them in a manner that these authors described as a "more esteemed grounded theory" approach to developing sociological, and invariably criminological theories {see also Downes & Rock, 1988, p. 11).

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[5]This is a theory developed while sitting on an "armchairs" in the office and which goes contrary to an empirically validated based theory. This kind of theory was used to refer mainly to colonial anthropologists studies of the Third World countries.

So, the need to add to the jigsaw puzzle of crime causality—in a somewhat unique way in the developing countries that is dissimilar, but sharing, similar things with the more developed countries, (offence and offenders which also displays some remarkable dissimilarities and similarities)—is important. In addition, this contribution, focusing on a well manageable small section studies that is not only limited to empirical validation, but which also by observation, creativity and imagination, constitute part of the motivations that continually animated the author towards the idea of emulation (see also Clinard & Abbott. 1973; Pyle *et al*., 1974).

By and large, the theoretical idea of emulation—both in contents and context—is viewed as a social learning process. It is more closely associated with "differential association" of Sutherland; "law of imitation" of Gabriel Tarde, culture transmission and conflicts, and-attenuated with "previous criminal association" (experience) of Iwarimie-Jaja. Ultimately, it, is presented as the consequence of the prevailing political economy nature of contemporary Nigeria.

3.5.4.1 Differentiating Emulation from other related Theoretical Expositions

To begin with, emulation as a theoretical proposition is differentiated from other three close theories, namely: the "law of imitation", "differential association", "and previous criminal association". Other theories worthy of differentiating emulation from include the

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political economy and conflict theory, the differential opportunity theory and the psychological theory as they all have little or more relevance to its development.

This attempt at differentiating the idea of emulation from other related theoretical strands is necessary because, it provides a sharp focus to the readers about what constitute the point of departure of emulation as a causal explanatory theory of specific kinds of criminal activity in specific social context within the broad context of other conventional, general aetiologies. The differences raised are by no means immune to criticisms.

First, the difference that exists between the "law of imitation" and "emulation" lies in the literal meanings of the concepts themselves. To imitate according to the Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary is to copy a particular behaviour, or to behave like the person so imitated. Implicitly, to imitate is to emulate less "purpose", "commitment" and "attachment" to the act so imitated. Imitation is a loose learned social behaviour, not backed by firm "will" to perform per excellence. A person who imitates may simply do so for the fun of it, and usually may not mature in the process.

Conversely, to emulate according to the same source is to try to do as well or better than the other. Interpretatively, it connotes the idea to imitate, and to be committed and dedicated to the act so imitated. Finally, the theory differs from Gabriel Tarde's (1843-1940) "Laws of Imitation" (1903, 1912) in that it goes beyond an attempt to understand and explain certain criminal behaviour in specific societies as a mere "copy craft"

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behaviour. Instead, emulation presupposes that criminal behaviour (with a focus on contemporary crimes in Nigeria) is besides being imbued with socio-cultural peculiarities of the socio milieu of the imitator, but also characterised by strong hedonistic calculus on the part of the imitators, hence furthering the performance per excellence of the behaviour so imitated.

Two, emulation and differential association, whatever commonalities they share also show some differences. It differs from Sutherland's association in that it gives primacy to the external factors in place of the internal in reinforcing imitated and learned behaviour. Sutherland, in contrast, and as shown in his nine principles, argues that external influence such as informal contacts has little or no relevance to behaviour learned from the differential association. In fact, he never mentioned any importance of the external contact, which is as much powerful in learning behaviour, as the personal day-to-day contact. While differential association theory appears to have completely undermined the important role of the mass media in the learning process, emulation places a greater emphasis on the media—in all its ramifications as an indispensable role player in the learning process. In another sense, some of the issues raised under the nine principles of Sutherland's differential association do not find concordance with some of the principles and tenets of emulation as a theoretical exposition. It goes without saying that while some of the principles were overemphasised, some of them were underemphasised. Where emulation theoretical idea subscribes to any or some of the principles, it tends to tread on them with flair of scepticism and caution.

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Third, emulation differs from the "previous criminal association" in that it does not see the term and its position as mere given, constant and inevitable. Emulation is subtly different from Iwarimie-Jaja's previous criminal association in that it contends that the previous criminal experience congenial for learning high profile crime such as armed robbery in modern Nigeria could no more or less have been learned from the external contacts. The previous criminal association as a spin-off of the differential association presupposes that it is an inevitable pathway of the learning process into becoming a criminal. Emulation takes particular exception to this assertion. In a commonsensical manner, it asks; where does this previous criminal experience come from? How did it come to be transmitted? How can the sophistry, the *modus operandi* and the somewhat unique nature of some of these crimes be accounted for?

There is the general, albeit, scientifically untested belief among Nigerian themselves and their observers that the former, either by virtue or vice, are full and imbued with the spirits to excel in all their endeavours, as certainly, the ultimate of the virtues or vice is human's excellence. The dexterity and par excellence in all their non-criminal and criminal activities may therefore, be an attestation Nigerians are enliven with the spirits to emulate.

Emulation also as a psychosocial behaviour is sophisticated and predicated on an economic factor. It is based on highly rational and calculative drives. Individual

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psychological dispositions play a critical role in the choice of particular .line of behaviour. And with respect to some crimes, the ultimate decision to go by it lies with individuals, but people are not just prisoners to their childhood or even adulthood psychology. So, a dominant psychology is also a function of the opportunity and association with certain category of people.

3.5.4.2 Anecdote to the Theory of Emulation

One of the contributors (authors) of the book "criminology" by Sykes (1978) was at one time a Director at the United Nations Asia and Far East Institute for the Prevention of crime and treatment of Offenders in Tokyo. In that position, he was occasionally questioned by trainees from rather backward Asian countries with low delinquency rates, who seeing signs of increasing delinquency rates in their countries, sought for his advice on how this trend might be inhibited. He (the author) found the answer not difficult. He urged them to ensure their people remain ignorant, bigoted, ill-educated; that on no account should they develop substantial industries; that communication systems should be primitive (emphasis mine); and that their transportation systems should be such as to ensure that most of the citizens lived within their own small isolated villages for their entire lives.

He stressed the importance of making sure that their educational systems did not promise a potential level of achievement for a child beyond that which his father had already

achieved. If it were once suggested that a child should be able to grow to the limit of his capacity rather than to the ceiling of his father's achievement, he pointed out, the seeds of the gravest disorder would have been laid. He stressed the universal human experience that village societies are entirely capable of maintaining any discordance or human nonconformity within their own social frameworks and never need to call on centralised authority to solve their problems. He would take time to sketch, with a wealth of details the horrors of increased delinquency and crime that would flow from any serious attempt to industrialised, urbanised, or educates their communities. He would conclude with a peroration against the establishment of an international airline. Source: Morris and Hawkins (1970, p. 49 cited in Sykes, 1978, p. 260).

In another related remarks which serve as advice, it is further argued that the revolution in transport, especially the air travel has made the diffusion, borrowing, and infusion of culture, on world wide scale, and borrowing between people in opposite sides of the earth enormously possible (Landis, 1958). Thus, philosopher Arnod J. Toynbee writing in 1947, and reproduced by the same Landis (1958, p. 65) tries to look back "on 1947 from 100 years in the future, and then from 2,100 years". He comments as follows:

> Future historians (which we are all part and parcel) will say. I think, that the great event of the twentieth century was the impact of the western civilisation upon all other living societies of the world of that day; They will say of this impact that it was so powerful and so pervasive that it turned the lives of all-its victims upside down and inside out—affecting the behaviour, outlook, feelings, and beliefs of individual men, women, and children in an intimate way, touching chords in human souls that

are not touched by mere external materials forces (however) ponderous and terrifying. This will be said, I feel-sure, by historians looking back on our times even from as short a time, hence A.D. 2047...

... The historians of A. D 4047 will say that the importance of the western civilisation on its contemporaries, in the second half of the second millennium of the Christian era, was the epoch-making event of that age, because it was the first step toward the unification of mankind into one single society. By their time, the unity of mankind will perhaps have come to seem one of the fundamental conditions of human life-just part of the order of the nature-and it may need quite an effort of imagination on their part to recall the parochial outlook of pioneers of civilisation during the first six thousand years or so of its experience...

The above remarks provide a sure guide towards the point of emphasis of emulation as a theoretical exposition. Within it, we found most of the issues and facts which empower it as a new breed idea or theory on crime, and as exogenous—coming mainly from the western world, and fostered by means of their formal and informal system of communication.

3.5.4.3 Emulation as a Theoretical Exposition

The "exchange of culture has been a major process of history" (Landis, 1958, p. 68). Yet, one observes what seems a somewhat paradox—a world of vastly different patterns, and many different worlds in one society, the cultural exchanges and contacts notwithstanding. Landis is of the view that this paradoxical difference is the result of a deliberate relative isolation of peoples from one another (66). But it is added here that the

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difference is because of the disarticulation arising from culture contacts and the peculiar differences in the physical surroundings of the people. These place pressures on the indigenous of the different societies to either resist some of what is imitated and learned, invent new things, or fine tune what is learned in the most subtle ways.

In an apparent support for the warning and satirical remark credited to one of the contributors to Sykes: "criminology", and stated above, Landis (1958) explained that the entire remarks written in 1947 (long time before contemporary Nigeria became independence) is a clear picture of tomorrow. The picture foresaw a cultural uniformity throughout the world as these cultures meet and blend in the age of easy mobility and globe-girdling travel. Landis, then, makes a sociological imagination or conjecture that, "if diffusion has been a major process of human history, how much more is it going to be in this day of Olympic games, international student exchange, international atoms for peace, conferences, world trade fairs, and intercontinental airlines" (Landis, 1958, p. 67).

The Idea of emulation draws its strength from the above hypothetical remarks. Its basic argument is that criminal behaviour—in their variations: patterns and nature—are attitudes just like any other normal behaviour, socially learned in the manner of social network, either within a socio-culturally bounded entity, or that which involves culture contacts. But this is by no means only limited to the formal means of learning and communication.

Emulation as a theoretical postulation is much concerned with the origin, the nature (uniqueness), the motives and drives of a particular learned behaviour. In this regard, its context is both the macro and micro levels of contacts (associations) as the effective apertures by which a particular behaviour is made known, imitated, learned and acted out with purpose and dexterity. In specific terms, emulation derives, and has as its essential property, in the argument that quite a remarkable behaviour is alien to the learners. It however, further recognises that these imitated, learned and borrowed behaviousr or attitudes are not automatic and static. They are in most cases, embellished, fine-tuned, and made malleable in line of the motivation for acquiring them and the constraints imposed by the socio-milieu of the imitators, learners and borrowers; hence the term and stage known as "emulation". Emulation is, thus, the last stage of the effects of contact or association with other superior culture or fashion, which results in the development of a new behaviour and the complexity of its nature (see Tarde, 1903 for similar argument).

The most important source and origin of the current emulating tendency is the culture contact. Culture contact, emulation argues, leads to the inevitable culture diffusion and borrowing, with the eventual consequences of culture miscegenation and culture conflict. Contacts with the western European powers, beginning in the fifteenth century, and the consequences thereof, thus become the centripetal and centrifugal point of analysis of emulation.

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Many of the problems and changes of the contemporary developing societies—social problems, economic woes, political upheavals, and religious bigotries—are to an extent, the consequences of the impacts of the western powers on the rest of the globe (see also O'Donnell, 1987). The profound intensification and consequences during the nineteenth century—a period described as the enlightenment and industrial revolution period—bore a remarkable impact in the life of the people of the less developed continents, or less enlightened and less industrialised people of the world. Indeed, the cultural impact of Europe on the rest of the world defies summary (O'Donnell, 1987). The domination of the entertainment media of the west, and later by the U.S. raises profound issues of value, and of cultural independence, creativity, quality and taste (see also Falola & Ihonbvere, 1986; O'Donnell, 1987; Eteng, 1994 cited in Otite 1994).

The argument is that contact with western world provided the opportunity for borrowing, as indeed borrowing becomes more probable and inevitable, and culture transmission, diffusion, and infusion became overtly permissible. Resisting the new way of life, which showed some degree of superiority, proved difficult for the indigenous moreso when its' promises became glaring. Unfortunately, and at the same time, the new culture failed to fully incorporate these indigenous in an embracing manner. This was worse with the British colonial administration whose conservative policy of association distanced the indigenous from their colonial masters, and deepened the conflicts in the new values and means of attaining them when compared to the French policy of assimilation. Consequently, there arose not only a "culture shock, especially of failure it what it

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promised to offer, but also found themselves in conflict resolution between this new culture and their indigenous ones.

Borrowing under certain circumstances is associated with a major competitive process and attendant consequences. The English anthropologist, Pitt-Rivers (1927), has indicated the outcomes of culture contact depending on the culture of people in contact. This he called the "native problem". He outlined eight possible outcomes, and two of which are particularly relevant to the ideal of emulation:

• Immigrant culture-bearer may succeed in extinguishing an aboriginal culture, but yet fail either to extinguish or assimilate its bearers, who appear to survive the condition of cultural equilibrium. Notable here are some African examples. Landis (1958, p. 79) specifically instanced "the Basuto or Bantu tribes of the Southern African region".

• Indigenous elements may eventually absorb the immigrants and assimilate them with or without taking over much of the culture of the latter. These two experiences are no doubt the cultural scenario and way of life that became the characterization most African modern nation-states in general, and Nigerian in specific.

Emulation as a theoretical idea presupposes that certain learned and imitated behaviours go beyond ordinary imitation and learning. It connotes the instinct of innovativeness and distinctiveness, or the spirits to excel in the behaviour so imitated, and/or so learned. This is the major principle, the turning point, and .of course, the distinguished point of departure of the theoretical proposal from other related theories.

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The somewhat paradox in the idea of emulation is that it though, appears to demean the place of hereditary and human nature, it does not, however, exclude innovativeness or the "drive' and "urge" to perform per excellence, which are strong components of biogenic theories. This urges and drive to perform per excellence are also what contribute to shape the modern day criminalities in Nigeria. As both an explanatory and exploratory theory, emulation therefore, is reflexive in explanation. By this, it sees certain criminal behaviours as profoundly shaped by their contact with the western world, senior criminals, and the prevailing culture and ways of life. Yet, it does not see current offenders as helpers' agents of some inexorable social forces of the past.

Emulation is a product of learning, repetition and perfection, but in some cases, it can simply take the pattern of learning without repetition. That is, "instant learning' as Howitt (1982, p. 87)[7] describes social learning processes. Some emulators are able to learn at a glance, beating off many steps. But irrespective of the manner of learning, the emulator usually adds some further steps because she/he does not only rest on carrying out such behaviour in its traditional form. Such acts or behaviour are complimented with some sort of dexterity, usually in line with certain unique features of the social system under which such behaviour or act is to be committed. For instance, in modern Nigeria, such unique features are conceived to include the socio-economic and political system, the belief system such as in charms, the prevailing cultural and value system; specific social ills, and so on.

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The theoretical process of emulation and its approach and outcome is no doubt realisable by a dialectical dissection of some key conceptual frameworks in literature. Put differently, it approaches the understanding of contemporary crimes in Nigeria by a process of critically analysing certain sociology criminology paradigms and psychological theories. It does this by a kind of logical disputation of some of the paradigms and theories while recognising their imbued potency in an integrated manner.

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[7]The traditional learning, as demonstrated by the study of cats, rats, and; mice, concentrates on the gradual building up of complex behaviour—from the simpler ones through the process of "trials and errors", "rewards and punishment", repealed "raining", trails and so forth. This process explains for example, armed robbery recidivists since every act of robbery commission might lead to arrest or lack thereof: in the case of arrest, what follows are detention, prosecution, conviction, imprisonment and release. And conscious of this, the tendency to perfect and improve on one's strategy so as to escape punishment becomes part of the processes leading to emulation as the final stage.

3.5.4.4 Principles of Emulation Theory

Arising from the preceding discussion, a synopsis of the building blocks of the idea of emulation is outlined. These constitute the principles, the premises, and the presuppositions of emulation as they specifically affect contemporary crimes in Nigeria. Indeed, the principles upon which emulation theory or idea is based are also those upon

which the dialectic dissection (analysis) of contemporary crimes in Nigeria today is premised. It is possible that all other types of crime as specific alien behaviour to country and similar nation-states can be explained by applying these principles and subsequent theory. These principles and/or assumptions are conceived as follows:

1. Current pattern of contemporary criminalities in modem Nigeria is not just an-natural outgrowth or outburst behaviour. It is an attitude, which is imitated and learned through both formal and informal mechanisms, and passes from one individual, persons or groups (peers, friends, relations, acquaintances and criminal well-wishers) through the process of socialisation or learning.

2. As an alien behaviour, it is however, by no means limited to imitation and learning. It is also perfected with the intention to excel and to appear unique (emulate).

3. The pattern and steps of the imitation, learning and perfection is usually in association with first, criminals of the western world, and later, it passes down the line to the adolescent criminals, who are in close contact with this western world. This pattern of learning is in a process of communication.

4. It involves the inferior and younger ones imitating the superior behaviour and the old imitators.

5. There is an insertion or infusion of ideas when different of it (as the coming into contacts of the western and indigenous) comes together. In all common senses, there is a decline in the older method of behaviour, and an increase in the newer idea.

6. The main part of the learning occurs through the impersonal agencies such as television, newspapers, videos, reading of novels, attending clubs and so on (e.g., Hadley Chase and so on). This is bold to highlight its importance within, theoretical household of emulation.

7. The imitation, learning and perfection includes the techniques of committing the crime which criminals attach much, importance to. This is the specific rationalisation, desires, and drives, courage and other attitudinal disposition.

8. The degree to which a person becomes modern criminal in Nigeria is measured by the extent of his/her affiliation or association with the particular group/people with much earlier contact with the western world, and which is deeply enmeshed in its teaching and value system. This is to suggest, however arguably, that crimes depend and vary from one region of modern Nigeria to the order in relation to the extent these regions identify more closely with the western life styles. This is a kind of illegitimate opportunity structure of Cloward and Ohlin.

9. Criminality also depends on the extent to which the group and individual offenders associate with regions, ethnic or community, which continued to embrace this western ideas and idiosyncrasies in wholesome.

10. Emulation is instinctive and purposeful, and is complemented by ingenuity, innovativeness, and do varies from one individual offender to the other. It also depends on maturity, temperament, motive, educational attainment, religiosity, family background, accessibility to objects, and opportunity to commit the crime.

11. The process usually begins with the instinct (decision) to imitate, to learn what is imitated, and to emulate what has been imitated and learned, first with the less dangerous

crime for the purpose of acquiring the needed "previous criminal knowledge", and to having a good criminal networking. It involves steps of ladder, but it does not necessarily follow all the ladders per steps.

12. The necessary apparatuses, and the opportunity congenial for the imitation, learning, emulating, and carrying out the criminal behaviour must be available.

13. Crime as an emulated behavior is not only one-moment "stopgap" behaviour. The emulated behaviour is constantly rehearsed and updated with information on the emerging techniques, technologies, and the changes in the legal matters relating to armed robbery.

14. The first stage towards imitation, learning and emulation does not necessarily entail careful analysis of the cost-benefit of engaging in adolescent or unprofessional armed robbery. However, at a later stage, and on graduating into a full time criminal, a more careful thought of the cost-benefit, and how to produce and reproduce the culture of the crime is viewed as important aspect of the career.

Important points of emphasis about the theoretical idea of emulation postulation are therefore, summarized as follows:

1. That specific criminal behaviour is a learned behaviour, and or imitated.

2. That the informal agencies such as the various conventional media and non-conventional ones play significant roles in fostering and reinforcing these behaviours in a hyper manner just like the formal means could have done.

3. These behaviours are acted with adaptation to other unique features of the society under which they are carried out.

4. The direction of culture flow, which determines the pattern and direction of emulation, has been mainly from the more fluid and dynamic culture to the more static, closed and less dynamic ones.

5. That ultimate acting out of these behaviours is a function of the individual's socio-psychological disposition.

4.0   CONCLUSION

In this Unit, strain, subcultural, differential opportunity, ecological, the social process theories and their spinoffs have been reviewed. The review presented both the strengths and weaknesses of these theories, with emphasis on their application to solving crime and security problems in human society.

5.0   SUMMARY

Anomie theory and its spinoff, end-means theory is critical in predicting and explaining crimes (such as armed robbery and kidnapping) in contemporary Nigeria. The subcultural and differential opportunity theories are suitable for explaining gang life, drug culture, and campus/street secret cult tradition. Both social ecological and social disorganization theories explained that crime, delinquency and deviance thrive in socially and physically disorganized neighbourhoods, while the social process theory adumbrated the predictions

of imitation, differential association, previous criminal association, and emulation theories.

6.0   Tutor-Marked Assignment

Using anomie theory, comparatively explain crime wave in America and Nigeria.

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8.0 Self-Assessment Exercise

- The focus of the retreatist subculture is the use of drugs because members have failed to achieve/acquire ------- and ---------
    a. Education and wealth
    b. Wealth and position
    c. Status and success
    d. Power and authority

- Crime is said to be on the increase in -------
    a. Zone I
    b. Zone II
    c. Zone III
    d. Zone IV and V

- Emulation is a product of learning, repetition and perfection, but in some cases, it can simply take the pattern of learning without -------
    a. Repetition
    b. Perfection
    c. Imitation
    d. Emulation

- The term 'sofa' or seminar-sociology' is associated with who?.
    a. Emile Durkheim
    b. R. K. Merton
    c. G. M. Sykes
    d. F. Heidensohn

- The business district is called ------------

    a. Downtown
    b. Loop
    c. A and B
    d. None of the above

- Who translated the 1894 Emile Durkheim's book titled 'The Rules of Sociological Methods in 1982?
    a. Halls
    b. Spaulding
    c. Merton
    d. Clinard

- To which of these adaptive mechanisms do lecturers belong?
    a. Conformity
    b. Innovation
    c. Ritualists
    d. Rebellion

- Which theory is described as the first truly sociological criminology efforts to explain crime?

a. Albert Cohen's theory of status frustration

b. Edwin Sutherland's theory of differential association

c. Gabriel Tarde's imitation theory

d. Smart Otu's theory of emulation

- Who suggested that sociologists (and by extension criminologists) should favour a more conceptual innovation instead of revolving around the old conceptual framework?

    a. Giddens

    b. Haralambos

    c. Schaefer

    d. Merton

- Which of these individuals is examples of retreatists?

    a. Drug addicts

    b. The homeless

    c. Truants

    d. All of the above

9.0 Feedback

1. C
2. B
3. A
4. D
5. C
6. A
7. C
8. B
9. A
10. D

Module 3

Unit 1: Culture Conflict Theory.

Unit 2: Social Conflict Perspective.

Unit 3: Social Reaction Theories.

Unit 4: Social Conflict Theory.

Unit 5: The Integrated Model Approach

CONTENTS

1.0   Introduction

Several sociology criminology theories are reviewed in this unit. These theories are: culture conflict, social control, social reactions, social conflict and integrated model approach. Culture conflict apart, these theories have many strands that also call for review.

2.0   Objectives

It is believed that, by the end of this unit, you will come to know:

- The relevance and use of the above outlined theories.
- The basic assumptions of those theories.
- The strengths and weaknesses of the said theories.
- The various ways of integrating theories and it applications.

3.0 MAIN CONTENTS

3.1   Culture Conflict Theory

This is also part of the social processes theory because it is allied with the learning process. The emphasis of conflict is on the normative content of cultures and how members of groups are trained through the learning process. Thus, when the behaviours subsumed in anyone particular subculture comes into contact with those of the larger society, conflict arises and this can cause criminality or delinquent behaviour.

Although, culture conflict is hinged on learning process; paradoxically, it largely depicts crime as a lower class problem because it focuses on what is learned in subcultural settings. The theory lends itself to macro—theoretical conceptualization and analysis because it is concerned with the broad, wider societal norms—displaying features that cut across the social structure and process theories. The intellectual origins of culture conflict perspective are linked to the ecological findings of the Chicago School. It is very sensitive to the relativity of crime that is inherent in the normative definition—depicting crime as simply a behaviour that violates the norms of the dominant culture while conforming to the norms of the subcultural group.

Thorsten Sellin (1938) remains a foremost and epitome scholar of culture conflict perspective. This enigmatic criminologist was concerned with the development of the

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scientific stature of the discipline of criminology. Being critical of the legal definition of crime, which he regards as being inadequate to develop laws of human behaviour as required in the purview of social sciences, Sellin, then, argues that criminology should take it upon itself to explain violation of conduct norms. According to Sellin, using the "catch-22", conformity to the norms conduct of many subcultures may contradict the norms conducts of the dominant culture, thus placing members of those subcultures in a position whereby they (appear to violate) or did violate the norms of other social groups irrespective of how the members conduct themselves.

Sellin (1938) often focused on the immigration of persons, given the context of the times—and here he focused on America's immigration pattern. The idea is that conduct of an immigrant which is seen as normal within the context of the immigrant's subcultural group may be found wanting within the culture of the dominant society to which the person migrates. If for instance, Ominyi Egwu migrates to Germany and expectedly indulges in graft and bribery, he might express utmost surprises at his being apprehended because he has merely done what is generally acceptable in his traditional home country, Nigeria.

Sellin distinguishes between two types of conflicts: **primary and secondary conflicts. Primary** conflict occurs when two cultures clash like the hypothetical example given above. A Clash may also occur at the border of two neighbouring cultural areas. A **secondary** conflict occurs as a result of the evolution of subcultures in a heterogeneous

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society, each with its own set of conduct norms. This type of conflict tends to occur when a hitherto homogeneous society of simpler culture becomes complex so that there is a multiplicity of social groupings with different norms of conducts. It is a characteristic of most contemporary societies—including Nigeria—where there is increasing diverse of ethnicity, religions, and socio-economic class. Other scholars who belong to the culture conflict perspectives include Sellings' proteges, Marving Wolfgang and Franco Ferracuti's subculture of violence; Walter Miller (Lower-class Focal Concerns).

3.2   Social Control Perspective

Social control generally revolves around the socialisation process of people. Instead of asking why people commit crime, control theorists are why some people conform while others do not. That is, why some people but not others, are constrained by the environment? Brown *et al*. (1991) described this question as the main Achilles heel of positive criminologists. Crime/deviance as being automatic in every individual is at the heart of control perspective. Social control theorists also hold dear to the fact that individuals are imbued with the notion of "freewill", and will always make choice relevant to them (see Travis Hirschi, 1959; Graham Sykes, 1957).

Emphasizing on value consensus, control theorists are of the view that most people hold dear to the common set of values, even if they go ahead to violate them. It. then, assumes that if left alone, people will always pursue a selfish interest goal rather those of the

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society. So only by active intervention and nurturing of people into a controlled social existence within a prescribed dos and don'ts can they be moulded into the path of conformity. That is, certain measures should, and of necessity, be applied to prevent people from violating the norms to which they initially subscribed and are committed.

Social control theorists see crime as a predictable behaviour that society has failed to bridle. So, society has the onerous task and also seems remarkably successful in moving its members from their deviant state of nature to a law-abiding mode. This theory holds that people are naturally inclined to commit deviant acts except when they are tamed and subjected to direct and strict control. Each variation of control theory describes the controls necessary to obtaining conformity. There are three major contributions to control theory and they are considered important for brief discussion.

3.2.1 Control Theory

This theory is associated with Walter Reckless' (1961) attempt to offer an alternative explanation of criminal behaviour/delinquency. His theory is regarded as a broad one that provides a general framework for the entire control perspective, while incorporating elements of other approaches.

According to Reckless, there are three kinds of *criminogenic* forces or items that propel individual to criminality. They are social pressures (e.g., poverty), social pushes (e.g., feeling of inferiority), and social pulls (e.g. bad company/friend). Reckless was less

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bothered about the exactness of these forces but much interested in understanding the differential responses to them from both the individuals and society at large.

Reckless states that these *crimnogemc* forces may be controlled by two mechanisms which he referred to as outer and inner containments. The former relates to societal response and refers to control outside or external to the individuals. It takes the forms of social sanctions, and may be informal, such as shaming or ostracism, or the formal sanctions as currently obtain in the legal system. The latter is about self-control, and is facsimile to the conscience of an individual—facilitated by a strong self-concept. This latter one according to Reckless is of primary importance in controlling behaviour. He, then, provided four possible combinations of both kinds of containment, from most to the least controlling—that is, in their order of strength:

1. Strong inner containments; strong outer containments
2. Strong inner containments; weak outer containments
3. Weak inner containments; strong outer containments
4. Weak inner containments; weak outer containments

The main criticism levelled against containment theory is that its concepts are vague and not amenable to empirical testing.

3.2.2 Techniques of Neutralization

Gresham Syke's and David Matza (1957) are associated with this theoretical expostulation. Their starting point, and of course point of departure, is on one of the principles of Sutherland's theory of differential association. This principle states that learning criminal and delinquent behaviour quite often includes learning the values, rationalization, and the techniques and skills of committing such offences.

According to Sykes and Matza, people tend to violate laws they believe to be good by learning excuses which may be situationally invoked and put up defensibly. Their argument is that it can be acceptable to violate norms while still holding to their validity if such norms are seen as conditional. Although one is expected to be on time in any social engagement and is committed to that behaviourial norm, there are many unspecified circumstances that may excuse tardiness and lateness.

In support of learning excuses by criminals or delinquent boys, the authors cited anecdotal evidence that offenders often experience feelings of guilt and shame once apprehended. Offenders are also more likely to display some selectivity in their choice of victims, avoiding those that more closely reflect mainstream values of society and seeking out disvalued targets. Priests and Nuns are rarely national heroes and heroines, victims of robbery and rape compared to other rank and file members of the society. Even among inmates in prisons, there is usually deriding and scolding of members based on the

kind of offence committed so that some are merely regarded as the 'scum of the scum' in line of the general public reference of inmates as the scum of the society.'

Very important is that Sykes and Matza quite understood that norms that are codified in criminal codes are quite explicit, specifying grounds for excuses and mitigating circumstances. Matza stated, inter alia, that "The criminal law, more so than any comparable system of norms, acknowledges and states the principle ground under which any actor may claim exemption. The law contains its own seed of neutralization" (Matza, 1964, p. 61). These seeds lie in concepts such as intent, self-defence, insanity, and accidents. What neutralization is saying is that these juridical concepts are usually extended beyond their legal boundary to relieve guilt, and then, freeing a person to violate law. There are five techniques of neutralization which Sykes and Matza identified:

1. **Denial or Responsibility**

This extends the legal concept of intent to dismiss liability for deviant actions. Quite often we hear assertions as "it was an accident", "not my fault", "He is under immunity", "I couldn't help it". These and others are often and easily invoked by defence counsels and criminals alike to mitigate liability or exculpate their clients or themselves for the misconducts. Sometimes this strategy extends far beyond circumstances immediate surroundings of a particular incident—whipping up other sentiments such as unloving parents, bad companies, etc. The deviant begins to see himself as helpless, someone being acted upon than acting.

2. **Denial of Injury**

Here a claim is made that there was no real harm done. Again, we are inundated with such remarks as "They could afford it", "I was just borrowing it", "They've got insurance", "That is the way we are", "That is our system", "It is a national cake". Generally, denial of injury may be viewed as an extension of the juridical concept of *mala prohibita*—the neutraiizer tells himself or herself that the offence was merely a technical violation, and not a moral wrongdoing. This denial of injury is appropriate with the scourge of corruption in contemporary Nigeria. The criminal (corruptor) is merely seen as eating where he or she is working.

3. **Denial of Victim**

Denying of the existence of the victim exculpates the wrongfulness of the offender of his or her conduct under the particular circumstances of its occurrence. Minor (1981) explains that the denial of victim has two meanings with distinctive implications. The first is that there is the denial of the existence of victim of the said crime by the assertion that the target of the offence is truly blameworthy. There is such catchphrase as the victims got what they deserved. Here in Nigeria, 419ers (conmen) often put up the brave face that those they swindle are dishonest people, they must have "larceny in their veins". Again, cult gang defending turf from rival cults, or assaulting witchcrafts, homosexuals (fag bashing) or even stealing from say Nigerian politicians all tend to exemplify the blameworthy victim as an excuse for misconduct. The same applies to rape incident

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where it is often said that victims asked for it by their provocative dressing or wandering alone. Such phrase as "anybody would have done the same thing in my position" is also part of the denial of victim.

The second type of victim denial occurs insofar that the victim is physically absent, unknown or vague abstraction such as offence committed against property. The awareness of the victim's experience is thus weakened and this diminished awareness is important in defining the process of committing such misconduct.

4. **Condemnation of the Condemners**

   This has to do with repudiating the motives and actions of their accusers, and by so doing they assert that their misconduct by comparison, is mild. The strategy is to create a diversionary tendency—shifting attention away from what was done to those of the group responding—especially, agents of social control. Here offenders often deride and castigate police, judges, prosecutors, witnesses, as "corrupt", "ought to get me", "getting away with worse". A good example is the current diversionary attention being created by Tafa Balogun against EFCC officials for subjecting him to torture, thus violating his fundamental human right.

5. **Appeal to Higher Authorities**

   Here violation of rules occurs as a result of the individual violator's preference to the loyalty of the more pressing demands of the immediate group. Quite often, offenders

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claim they committed certain offence to help their family and friends. This dilemma of dual loyalties, like all other techniques, is rooted in culturally condoned excuses. Again, we found this highly plausible and banal in contemporary Nigeria where most men in authority steal or divert funds to their personal and community development and are protected by their family or such community.

3.2.3 Social Bond Theory

This is the most leading social control theory, and was propounded by Travis Hirschi (1969). He maintains that a person is free to commit delinquent acts as much as his ties to the conventional order have somehow been broken. More than any other social control theorist, Hirschi was concerned with finding out why the conformists do not violate laws as opposed to the general concern of social theorists "why do offenders do what they do"? According to Hirschi, it amounts to exercise in futility to continue to identify what animates people to commit crime. For him, humans, like other animals, will violate rules if the rules have not been socially inculcated as part of the moral codes.

Deficient ties to the social order makes the deviant impulse inherent in every person to be acted upon. Deviance is, therefore, proportionate to these ties so that the weaker they are the more likely deviance is bound to transpire and vice versa. Social bonds thus become a counteracting force to our natural tendencies; they do not reduce the motivations to deviate but reduces the chance that a person will succumb to those motivations. Thio

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(1998, p. 27) describes this theory as an "important leap towards psychological or Freudian ideas which see crime or deviance as the consequence of either the criminal impulses of an individual or the socialisation process". Hirschi has identified four interrelated key elements of the social bond, explaining that the more closely one is tied to conventional society in any of these ways, the more such person is likely to be tied in other ways:

Attachment

The crux of attachment is the sensitivity of would-be-offenders to the opinions of others. To the extent that an individual cares about the opinions of conventional others, she or he is controlled because nobody would want to place such relationship in jeopardy. Attachment takes three forms: attachment to parents, to school, and to peers. The strength of the deterrent effect is most profound with bonds binding a child with his or her parents and depends on the depth and quality of parent-child interaction. The amount of time a child spends with his/ her parents—especially when under criminal temptations, the intimacy of communication, and the affectional identification between parent and child— is all important in bolstering the bond.

Commitment

The second interrelated element of social bond identified by Hirschi is commitment According to Hirschi, since people are rational and calculative, there is the likelihood that they will contemplate the consequences of actions before embarking on it. Such

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calculation is what he referred to as commitment. It is all about the investment someone made in the conventional line of action. In other words, commitment denotes the support and participation in the social activities which bind an individual to the society's moral code. Generally, it is assumed that fear of losing what one has or expects is more likely to dissuade one from committing a crime or delinquency. Prospect of educational and employment opportunities, losing one's reputation will discourage criminal intention. Fearing that one may lose his precious, high valued fiancé and the respect of her treasured friends may dissuade a young lass from the temptation to date a sugar daddy as her hobby. For fear of being ostracized or booted out of a union will most invariably compel the intending offender to conform to the rules of the said union.

Involvement

This has to do with the extent of preoccupation or busyness of a person to the activities that promote the interest of his/her group or society at large. Usually, remaining busy in conventional activities tends to insulate persons from any kind of unconventional behaviour. This idea is well buttressed by the common aphorism that an 'idle mind is the devil's workshop'. Expatiating on involvement, Hirschi (1969) remarked that to the extent that a person is engrossed in conventional activities, such a person cannot have the time to think of deviating, let alone of having the time to act his inclinations. Example, a school child who is involved in his or her homework is more bonded to deviate than the one who engages in partying, drinking and smoking.

Belief

This is a very strong bond and it connotes endorsement to the value of the society. While most people have socialised into a common set of value system (beliefs), the commitment of the individuals to these values do vary. Consequently, according to Hirschi, the stronger and lasting respect that people's belief in the conventional order is, the less likely that they will offend and vice versa. As often the case—as currently obtains in some contemporary societies such as Nigeria, Iraq, Afghanistan—the perceptions that the present laws of these nations are unfair has led to the weakening of the bonds of most people in these countries to their societies, hence the increase in law violations among their citizens.

Hirschi's social bond theory has fared reasonably well—proving resilience to most empirical tests that have trailed its pronouncement. It is argued that its policy impact is less direct than for instance, strain theories because, as Brown *et al. (*1991) stated, it is often construed as a common sense perspective. What is more, the theory is at the core of what many people—especially at the family level attempts to do—in rearing their children. According to Empey (1982), while reviewing control theories, he notes that when most parents concentrate on their children rather than the generality of them, they simply sound like social control theorists.

However, social control theory of Hirschi has suffered certain scathing criticisms. One of these criticisms is its failure to come to grips with causal order. What critiques are saying

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is that it is just plausible that it may be delinquency that causes weakening of social bonds. With longitudinal data being collated as opposed to the cross-sectional data against which all tests of control theory has relied, the criticism on the causal framework becomes more relevant.

Two, there is the neglect of the origin of social bonds and their varying strength. The question is: 'where does the social bond comes from'? Indeed, there is an over assumption of the value consensus. Again, the theory claims there is variation in the strength of bonds, it has becomes essential to account for such differences.

Three, Hirschi has been accused of using two few questionnaire variables that measures social bond (attachment, involvement beliefs and commitment).

Four, the inability of the theory to offer explanation to all the range of delinquency and criminalities; it explains barely 50 percent of delinquent behaviour.

Five, the creation of an artificial division of socialized versus unsocialized youths.

Six, the theory failed to describe the sequence of events that led to defective or inadequate social bond.

3.3 Social Reaction Theories

The focus of social reaction theories is on the social and institutional response to the individuals. Theorists of social reaction are least interested in the initial alleged conducts of an individual as they are in the reactions of agents of social control. They do not see the individual as inherently evil but as a passive being who is forced into the path of criminality by societal definitions or just by the reactions of others.

3.3.1 Labelling Theory

A most pronounced social reaction theory has been christened as the "labelling theory". Its popularity as an alternative, credible explanation of deviance and crime surged in the 1960s and 1970s when it was widely endorsed by many scholars in America. This also marks the period when self-report methods of studying delinquency and crime were introduced. According to this theory, it is not what a person does that defines him/her as deviant/criminal. Rather, it is both societal and official realigns to law violations which labels people as criminal and snare them into self-fulfilling deviant identity. Besides, they contend that it is not the behaviour of the labelled person which accounts for him or her being labelled deviant but the physical characteristics and demeanours of the person who plays a role in fashioning such response. Labellists are also thinking in the line of physiological theorists and together with conflict theorist: provide a critical perspective for the examination of major assumption in criminology (see Browner *et al.*, 1991).

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Labelling theory is traditionally rooted in the writings of George Herbert Mead and Charles Cooley whose emphasis is on symbol interaction. The duo's argument is that development and understanding of oneself is primarily a reflection of the perception of how others see and react to us. Upon this understanding, labelling theorists assert that the individual is a constantly changing, animated being that responds to others' reactions in a particular way. A formal reaction by the criminal justice system towards an individual forces such an individual to reassess his or her personal identity. In addition, those members of the society who are aware of the apprehension and official response are bound to reassess their opinions about the individual.

There are six main issues which run through all labelling theories and Brown *et al. (19*91) have listed to include:

1. First, of primary importance to labelling theorists is what transpires after an act, and not what caused the act;

2. Deviant is simply a property conferred on act and not something that is inherent in the act;

3. The labelling of an individual occurs in a process of symbolic interaction between the 'deviant' and significant others. This is what Edwin Lemert (1951) described as secondary deviance;

4. The labelling process is dependent on who does the labelling and how the labelled person reacts to it;

5. The act of labelling may lead to retrospective interpretation of the individual's prior behaviour; and

6. A deviant label such as that of 'criminal', or drug abuser, becomes a master status, one that overrides other personal attributes.

As with other perspectives, there are variants of labelling theories which have emerged and made wave in crime aetiology. Few of these are discussed and include: dramatization, primary secondary deviation, and secret deviance and falsely accused.

3.3.2 Dramatization of Evil

Frank Tannenbaum (1938) is associated with the micro labelling theory of dramatization of evil. He is often described as the first truly theorist of labelling perspective. In an attempt to explain criminal behaviour, he published his book titled "Crime and Community", and focused on what transpires when an individual have been adjudged as violating a law, caught and processed. He referred the process of social reaction to illegal behaviours as the dramatization of the evil. Law violators are not inherently different from the rest of the population. Rather, a specific act in a person's overall repertoire of behaviours are singled out and brought to public attention.

Describing the process by which a person who has committed one act of violation becomes transformed into a deviant, Tannenbaum notes:

> There is a gradual shift from the definition of the specific act as evil to a definition of the individual as evil, so that all his acts comes to be looked upon with suspicion ... From the community's point of view, the individual who used to do bad and mischievous things has now become a bad and irredeemable human being... From the individual's point of view, there has taken place a similar change ... The young delinquent becomes bad because he believed it is good to be bad (Tannanbaum, 1938, pp. 17-18).

Tannenbaum introduced another concept known as legal relativism. By this he is saying that there are varying degrees of good and evil, and that the social audience influences the kind of label that is imprinted on specific behaviour. The same behaviour exhibited by individuals of different social status or in varying context may be responded to quite differently. Being nude at a beach, for example, is not going to be responded to in the same manner being nude is a shopping mall would be. Here in Nigeria, the response to Tafa Balogun and a host of other government officials, who were or are enmeshed in corruption, is quite different from the responses to the ordinary policeman collecting meagre N20 at the road blocks.

3.3.3 Primary and Secondary Deviation

Edwin Lemert, with his 1951 publication, *Social Pathology,* made a major contribution to labelling theory. He is widely known for distinguishing between primary and secondary deviation. Accordingly, he refers to primary deviation as an act which can be tolerated,

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excused or rationalised by the actor himself or herself and the social audience responding. For example, a student who carries missiles or (ornokirikiri) into exam hall can be rationalised by such statements such as "Everyone else is carrying the same". Coming directly from a party organised by the Department of Sociology to a criminology class in a sexy, semi-nude dress may be excused. However, according to Lemert, when such behaviours become recurrence and a significant part of the actor's identity, the situation is no longer referred to as primary deviation.

Secondary deviation on the other hand reflects a scenario whereby a person begins to employ his deviant behaviour or role based upon societal reaction a means of justification, or adjustment to the manifest and latent problems created by the official and societal reactions to him. It is hardly initiated by a single act but by a dynamic process between the individual's deviation and the societal response to the deviation. According to Lemert (1951), the sequence of interaction leading to secondary deviation is roughly as follows:

1. Primary deviation;
2. Social penalties;
3. Further primary deviation;
4. Stronger penalties and rejection;
5. Further deviation, perhaps with hostilities and resentment beginning to focus upon those doing the penalizing;

6. Crisis reached in the tolerance quotient, expressed in formal action by the community stigmatizing of the deviant; and

7. Strengthening of the deviant conduct as a reaction to the stigmatizing and penalties;

8. Ultimate acceptance of the deviant social status and concerted efforts at adjusting on the basis of the associated role.

Lemert's insistence is that once the secondary deviation results in labelling it becomes extremely difficult for the individual to escape the status. This label simply becomes the primary identifier for others, and the individual begins to perceive him or herself in terms of this deviant identity. The criminal justice system according to Lemert usually exacerbates the situation causing dramatic redefinitions of the self.

3.3.4 Secret Deviance and Falsely Accused

Labeling theory cannot be discussed without reference to Howard Becker, whose classical work. *Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance* (1963), distilled the key elements of labelling theory as they are today. Among and foremost of these is the claim that deviants and criminals are not a homogeneous entity. Notwithstanding the varieties of criminals/deviants such as armed robbers, murderers, rapists, Howard maintained that there are those who are accused and labelled as deviants who in effect have not committed an offence. Conversely, there are those who commit crime and deviance but are never apprehended or even detected. Deviants and criminals according to Howard

thus represent a heterogeneous collection of people. Based on this understanding, he wrote (1963, p. 9):

> [S]ocial groups create deviance by making the rules whose infraction constitutes deviance, and by applying those rules to particular people and labeling them as outsiders. From this point of view, deviance is not a quality of the act the person commits but rather a consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an 'offender'. The deviant is one to whom that label has successfully been applied; deviant behaviour is behaviour that people so label.

Howard Becker's theoretical analysis captures a self-fulfilling paradigmatic image shift of a criminal/deviant. When an individual is publicly labelled as deviant or criminal for violating a particular section of the law, s/he begins to experience a gradual change in identity that involves self-labelling and reinforcing of the deviance or criminality (Becker, 1963). The central idea in Becker's work is that members of a s social group create deviance by proclaiming the rules whose violation constitutes deviance and by applying those rules to certain individuals, they label them as outsiders. This expostulation is critical in understanding most youthful criminal/delinquent gangs. Otu (2004) finds an aspect of his work most significant to the understanding of the illegal drug economy in Cape Town, S.A. This is as he described the career trajectories of law violators, and the processes by which they became active participants in criminality or deviance. When labelled as delinquent or deviant by the public these youths' opportunities and choices are restricted by society. The opportunities that remain

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available are mostly the deviant ones. Successful deviants must also acquire the techniques and resources necessary to undertake the act and must develop the mind-set characteristics of others like them (Becker, 1963).

Point of emphasis on Becker's theory, like all other labelists is that the concept of deviance and delinquency is a social construct and he buttresses his argument, by presenting a typology which shows four different kinds of deviants and non-deviants. The **conformist and pure deviants** are self-descriptive—accurately perceived by the society in terms of their actual, quantifiable behaviour. Becker seems to be referring to absolute conformists and deviants. The other two types, however, are often misjudged. He identified one of these two as the falsely accused deviants or criminals, perhaps on account of their age, sex, socio-economic status, peer group affiliation, race, religion, and physical appearance. Though, these are more likely to be found outside the legal settings, research findings show that there are quite a number of them in the legal juridical system for instance, the number of innocent people languishing in jails and even on death row.

The secret deviant represents the fourth category and a large group. They are only detected by means of self-reported study. There are many criminal violations that are never brought to the attention of the police so that these categories of people are able to avoid detection or unable to have witnesses willing to impose a criminal or deviant act on them. Howard and his fellow labelists maintained that the primary concern of analysts is to examine the effect of the label once it has been placed, irrespective of its accuracy.

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Labeling theory brought about changes in the rehabilitation model of the sixties and mid-seventies. There was, in particular, the introduction of diversion programmes aimed at preventing offenders from slipping deeper into and through the formal process of criminal justice system. Diversion programmes, though, essentially targeted juvenile delinquency, extended to the adult groups. It seems the re invigoration on the idea of restorative justice is informed by the perspective of labelling theory.

Despite the potency of labeling to explaining crime and delinquent, and its resounding policy implication, it was chastised by rightists and leftists alike, One, the diversion programmes it brought about was critiqued on the basis of its ineffectiveness. The argument was that the programme had done more harm than good—increasing discretion and external control where none existed before.

Two, critics have asked labelists why is it that individuals knowing well that they might be labeled, get involved in socially disapproved behaviour to begin with? After all some of these deviants have rightly engaged in some act that is considered morally or legally wrong, that is in the language of absolute deviance.

Three, some criminologists question how labelists account for those who have gone through formal processing but refrain from their deviant and criminal lifestyles. According to this category of critiques, punishment really does work as a deterrent

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Four, that possibly and plausibly, labeling has often not identify the real behaviours than creates them. They premised their criticism on the fact that many of the delinquents and criminals have had long history of delinquency/criminality, even though unapprehended and consequently stigmatised.

Fifth, Marxist or radical criminologists have on the other hand accused labelists of not being hard enough in censoring the system. They argued that labelists have merely concentrated much on the exotic varieties of deviants and criminals who often capture public imagination, rather than on the ethical, illegal and destructive actions of powerful individuals, groups and institutions of our society (Liazos, 1972).

3.4   Social Conflict Theory

The basic thrust of conflict theory is that society is made of groups with competing and opposing values and interests, and that the state represents the interest and values of the groups with the group with power. The Group with power, according to conflict theorists, makes things happen and would do everything humanly possible to preserve such power and keep the lower classes at disadvantage. So, the law has its origin in the interests of the few. It is, therefore, logical that the labelling of a person as criminal and the definition of certain act of conducts or misconducts at any given time and place clearly mirror the social system's power relations; it is also subject to change as other interests in the game

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power would want to change the status quo. Evidence of the changing of definition of what crime is and not, can be seen in those acts that were previously criminal but which have been decriminalized or designated as "victimless". For instance, possession of certain quantity of marijuana, prostitution, gambling, and specific kinds of abortion have been decriminalized in some societies—especially in advanced countries.

Generally, conflict theory is often traceable to the writings of Karl Marx and Fredrick Engels. Although it must be emphasized that the duo did not write specifically on crime; they however, through their theoretical statements about capitalist society and the history of human civilization, laid down the foundations that were fundamental to the development of conflict theories in criminology. Marxist theory of crime derives from analysis of the political economy arrangement such as the capitalist mode of production. Karl Marx [1857] (1973) and his disciples argue that the structure of the social system—the mode of production, exchange and distribution—defines and determines social relations and other levels of society's activities such as the political and belief system. The economic mode and the attendant social relations have important implications for all other behaviours in society.

Marxists use capitalist society as their main unit of analysis. They assert that the system deliberately and inevitably throws economically active members of the labour force out of work. In so doing, it creates socio-economic marginality that often leads to loss of self-esteem, powerlessness and alienation and brings about intense pressures on individuals

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(Balkan, Berger, & Schmidt, 1980 cited in Thio, 1998). The "struggle for scarce resources intensifies class tension and makes those caught up in the struggle commit crimes" (Bonger, 1916 cited in Box 1996, p. 269).

Marx's unmitigated commitment to economic determinism, and his unflinching allusion to the bourgeoisie for being the real criminals, led him to assert that the least recognised by the capitalists are, indeed the most serious crimes in the society. Marxists thus argue that there should be a shift in the conventional focus of the criminal justice system, which typically prosecute more working class crime than white collar crime—let alone corporate crime. The resting argument of Marxists with is that the best and most thorough response to crime is not the cosmetic adjustments being currently undertaken on the criminal justice system. Rather, it is to redress the social inequalities that abound by rejecting the system of capitalism. By and large, writers such as Adler *et al*. (1991), and Turk (1976) remind us that conflict theory does not really attempt to explain crime, but simply identifies the social conflict as a basic fact of life and a source of discriminatory treatment by the criminal justice system of groups and classes.

The general perspective of conflict criminology has gone schism—arising from the quite a number of its proponents and critiques. They have also employed various terms to describe their various paradigm shifts. Thus we have the "New criminology" (Taylor *et al.,* 1973). "Marxist" criminology (Greenberg, 1981), "Realist criminology" (Mattew, 1987), "Radical criminology" (Young, 1988), and "critical criminology" (Pelfrey, 1980).

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It has been argued that the different range of terms within the perspective is an indication that there are important philosophical, theoretical and empirical differences between these unique formulations that are often ignored (see Bohm, 1982).

3.4.1   The Political Perspective

The political economy perspective approach to crime is not quite different from its grand conflict theory. Its main emphasis, is that the history of every society, and its understanding, is rooted in its historical materialism. It explains that the economic mode of production is intricately linked with the political system of the society. Thus, decision on what to produce, how to produce, distributes and for who to produce are determined by the political class structure of all historical society. The privileged members of the upper class, have time often, made the laws affecting the issue of economics and politics in the manner that it favours them. Their access to economic power also guarantees access to the political power and vice-versa (see also Bonger, 1916; Dahrendorf, 1959; Chambliss & Seidman, 1971).

The political economy model like its broad Marxian or conflict approach essentially explains the class character of the society, where the structure of the power relations influences the distribution of scarce resources and the socio-economic opportunities in the society. It gives primacy to the material conditions. In its modern usage, the approach emphasises on the economic system that a particular nation or society operates, and the

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emerging social relations (political) thereof. As Eteng (1987, pp. 5-9 cited in Iwarimie-Jaja, 1999a, p. 90) noted, the "approach expounds that economic relations determine the struggle for power and conflict over societal rewards, for examples, privilege, wealth and other scarce opportunities".

Both Odekunle and Gana (1978, 1985 cited in Iwarimie-Jaja, 1999a, p. 90) had noted that capitalist economy, of which contemporary Nigeria is predicated on and operates, is a crime producing one. This is not really because it produces economic man that accumulates property, but because it fosters unemployment, marginal and meaningless employment and obvious relative and unaccented poverty.

3.4.1 Assessment of Conflict and Political Economy Theories

Conflict and political economy theories are structural theories they emphasize on the structural arrangement of a social system. They, however, show a departure by their emphasis on the pattern of social relationship within these structural arrangements, and the resultant effects of this relationship.

Given as it may that a preponderate of reported and recorded crimes and delinquency are committed by people in the lower class strata, it becomes more or less the consequent of structural imbalances which enthroned a system of inequalities in the economy, political and social aspects of the society. But beyond these imbalances the few privileged ones in position of power have often stamped their dominance and subjugation over and above

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those in the lower echelon of class arrangements. They have therefore, consistently applied the law, and its interpretation to their advantage. This is the grand thesis of the conflict and political theories, and they are key to understand contemporary crimes and delinquency in contemporary Nigeria as much as in all other societies.

When applied to an understanding of most crimes in contemporary Nigeria, both approaches afford the opportunity to flash back memory to the pre-colonial Nigeria. It also draws attention to the complex nature and value pluralism of modern Nigeria. It unmasks the prevailing alienation of individuals from one another and their produce (commodity), the cut-throat competitive struggles, the concomitant absence of human interest and feelings, the antagonism, discontentment, inequality, coercion, persuasion, subjugation, irreconcilable interests, hatred, anger, all which, seem to be the order of the day in Nigeria today.

On the micro level of analysis, conflict and political economy, at least, throws weight to the skewed structure of modern Nigeria society that is characterised by class conflicts, ethnic and tribal tensions, religious polarisation, general alienation, marginalisation, exploitation, deprivation, estrangement and frustration. It also points to the truths behind the lies, or the hidden agenda behind the application of criminal laws and legislations, and the administration of criminal justice system within the capitalist structure of modern Nigeria.

The conflict and political economy approaches have been widely criticised. Iwarimie-Jaja (1999a, p. 85) states that both theories "underestimate the importance of delinquent and criminal friends, while overestimating the significance of involvement in the conventional activities. They also ignore the relationship, which exists between delinquent activities and an individual's self-concepts, or self-esteem.

Two, conflict theory and political economy approach have some fundamental assumptions that are suspicious and which cannot just be accepted as the theoretical perspective for explaining all criminal behaviours. The theories assume implicitly, that cultural transmission involving formal communications, do have direct or indirect influence on individual's thinking, reasoning, and the fact actions may have been fostered by this contact.

3.5   The Integrated Model Approach

The history of the integrated model approach dates back to the 1940s (Brown *et al.*, 1991). Beirne and Messerschmidt (2000, p. 223) described it as "the pathway through which criminology is seeking to be both as simple, and as general as possible. The integrated model perceives law violators as products of interlocking variables or factors".

The integrated model approach is not new in sociology criminology theorizing literature. Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin (delinquency and opportunity 1960) represents a good attempt in combining traditional strain theory and social learning theory. They explained

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that the blockage of the legitimate means, and the availability of the illegitimate means to goal attainment—a classical focus of strain theory—is inherent in making people to become delinquent or criminal. So, their allusion that crime and delinquency is a group behaviour, which requires social support and rewards (a kind of social learning), makes them integrationists. Shaw and McKay (1942) explained that organisation and physical structures of the community are important in influencing behaviour and interaction patterns. This is an integration of social disorganisation (structural) and social learning theories.

The foregoing examples and analyses notwithstanding, the fundamental question often asked is: Can theories be combined, and by what approach? According to Thio (1998, p. 14), the answer is yes: "theories or paradigms can be integrated into a larger perspective, or paradigm". This author explains that the integrated theory sees deviant behaviour as an act located at some point of a continuum—from maximal to minimal public consensus regarding the deviant or criminal nature of the act. So while theories, paradigms and perspectives, oppose one another, they also complement one another with their differences being largely only on their individual emphasis. Brown *el al*. (1991, p. 468) thus, asserted that at "the root of the on-going debate on the appropriate and utility of integrated approach is the question of whether the assumptions of these theories are compatible". This is where the crux of the matter lies, and where opinions vary.

A classical identification and description of the underlying assumptions of three major theoretical models by Korhauser (1978) has led some theorists like Hirschi (1979, PP. 34-38) to argued that, "due to the inherent contradictions in the underlying assumptions, it is impossible to integrate theories into one model". Hirschi maintained that separation is better and confirmed Korhauser's position that the assumption of most theories are just fundamentally incompatible. Elliot (1985) on the other hand, represents the integrationists According to him "there is really no inherent form of approach to integration that precludes the reconciliation of the different assumptions and that the effect of variable or theories is primarily independence" (Elliot, 1985, p. 132).

Otu (2003, 2004) shares the same view with Elliot, Thio and other integrationists that the different assumptions could be reconciled and wielded together to provide a holistic knowledge about a particular crime and delinquency as they vary in patterns and from place to place. What is even more, Otu (2003) asserted that the question of the compatibility of assumptions could be taken for granted. He states that one is inclined to argue that the macro assumption, which characterizes all the theories such as that seeking to find solution to a particular social problem, should be the guiding and unifying assumption.

Indeed, praxis should represent their ideal unity. Since no one theory has been successful to encapsulate the: complex characteristics of criminals in general and in specific term, an integration approach becomes inevitable. And Downes and Rock (1988, p. 23) were right

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when they argued that "only rarely will a single study (as much as theory) exhausts all interesting possibilities of a problem". Self-report studies show that criminals of all typologies—especially contemporary and high profile ones—possess *criminogenic* tendencies that cut across a good number of the theories so far postulated by various theorists (see, for instances, the works of Conklin, 1972; Einstadter, 1975; Olurode, 1990; Iwarimie-Jaja 1999a). The reason is that criminal offence is perceived as a social problem and the offenders remain central role players in the complex social structure.

In line with his argument in favour of integrated approach Otu (2004) in his study of the sociology of local drug traffickers in Cape Town, South Africa, found that there are certain "risk-predictive" factors in the individuals in Cape Town and in South Africa that indicate the path to anti-social behaviour such as drug trafficking. Secondly, other "generative" factors in both the city and country further influence individuals in engaging in the illegal drug trade. Individual Cape Townian drug dealers make their choices and perceive the available alternatives on the basis of their individual characteristics and the context (for similar argument, see also Wikstrom & Loeber, 2000). They are well exposed to a number of competing forces (emotional, socio-cultural, political and economic), which play a role in their overall repertoire as a law violators in illegal drug trading. Otu (2004) named the emerged integrated model as a "Redefined General Integrated Social Development Model or Paradigm" (RGISDP) of drug traffickers and trafficking in Cape Town. The author embedded quite a number of theories, factors or strands (including variants of psychological theory) such as strain, differential

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opportunity, deterrence, differential association and previous criminal experiences—but emphasises on the organisation of the social system.

Generally, integration follows the process of pulling together the key elements in the development of an individual subjected to multiple domains: the individual, family, school, peers, community or neighbourhood, religion, and the wider society. Wikstrom and Loeber (2000) explain that the analytical strategy of this framework may best be described as holistic. Both the individual law violator and his or her social context are treated as holistic concepts with analysis of both the individuals and their communities. Indeed, integration model is more holistic and far reaching in explicating the various crime and delinquent acts as they vary from one society to the other and overtimes. By implication, integrated approach as a perspective require multidisciplinary approach to the study of crime and criminal behavior.

It has been argued that irrespective of the theories included in the integration model, the best of such approach, and an important thing to bear in mind, is the sequence. By this, one theoretical perspective ends up being temporarily more proximate to the actual behaviour than do all the other theories or perspectives included in the model, or more emphasis is placed on one, relative to the other (Brown *et al.,* 1991; Thio, 1998). This approach has been widely referred to as "end-to-end model' and it suggests that one of the theories is more proximate to actual precipitating factors in the onset of criminal activity. Elliot, Ageton and Canter (1979) are representative of this approach. Their

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analyses are that while social control helps to explain the individual level of attachment, involvement, commitment to conventional activities and the general belief in the validity of moral order. The strain theory interacts with this early control factors to either strengthen or weaken the initial bond. Finally, association with criminal or conventional peers will, in turn, affect the probability of involvement in the criminal behaviour. It is stated graphically thus:

Social control___strain theories (variable) _____social learning (variable) _____criminal behaviour. Such an approach seems to be in order and the emerging name inconsequential.

Many integrationists abound thus suggesting that there is no one integrated paradigmatic model. Each integrated model, its explanation and analysis tend to reflect the ideological predisposition of the integrator, the crime or delinquency in question, and the law violator (see, for instance, McGarrefl & Castellano. 1991; Void, Bernard & Snipes, 1998; Hagan, 1989; Title. 1995 cited in Beirne & Messerschmidt, 2000). Others include Huizinga *et al.* (1988). Hawkins and Catalano (1992), Elliot *et al.* (1979), Johnson (1979). Catalano and Hawkins (1996), Huang *et al.* (2001), and Colvin and Pauly (1983). All these integrationists attempt to integrate theories, at both the micro and macro levels, combining the social structure of the community or neighbourhood with micro-sociological variables while taking into consideration, the significant impacts of developmental stages in the overall repertoire of the individuals' characteristics. By this approach, integrated theory recognizes that certain life experiences are more important at

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different stages of the life cycle and invariably play a role in shaping behaviour depending upon when the experiences occur.

3.5.1 Justification for the Integrated Paradigm Framework

The role of the integrated approach in filling the gap in crime explanation is further appreciated by the fact that the arrival of sophisticated statistical tool in the field of social sciences has made the approach an indispensable one (Brown *et al.,* 1991). Unlike other theories, the integrated approach is able to determine both the quantitative and qualitative amount of variation in the dependent variables that is explained by the independent variable. This is important when some degree of relationships or associations are what are desired. By this approach, a third or controlling variable is introduced to see if there were different patterns of association in criminal commission. So, the approach goes beyond investigating the correlates into the vital causes or precursors of a particular crime. In a related manner, the power of the integrated model to explain persuasively, the variation in crime rates represents their superiority over and above other theories (see also Howeli, 1997d). Other specific justifications for increasing preference for an integrated model framework in contemporary crime explanation include:

1. The model is encompassing and non-monolithic, and is perceived as having a stronger explanatory power to account for drug trafficking and traffickers.
2. Within the broad sociology of crime perspective, there are many competing strands of theories that contribute to meaningful understanding of offenders and offence.

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3. The integrated model provides flexibility by making it possible to choose from, an array of factors, which build towards a more solid theory.

4. The model permits the actual causes of the particular criminal behaviour to be detected and studied (Brown, *et al.,* 1991, p. 474).

The integrated model approach, by and large is a better path and the end-point of integrating the several theoretical ideas that possibly explain the diverse, complex criminal behaviours occurring in their different social settings. For instance, emulation as a theoretical idea or perspective is a product of integrated approach towards a better, understanding of armed robbery in contemporary Nigeria. Its belief is anchored on the non-monolithic approach towards a better, defensible and convincing understanding of the crime in present day Nigeria. The proximate, strong ideas, and the sequence of its integrated approach are the theory or idea of culture contact, diffusion and infusion, learning process—the particular differential association theory, previous criminal experiences, the differential opportunity, previous criminal experiences, psychological theory and the political economy /conflict perspective.

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[8]A number of these approach have been adopted in the study of criminal behavrour. Iwarimie-Jaja (1999a) employed the intervening variable of "previous criminal association" to determine its significant role in the commission of high profile crime such as armed robbery. Lizotte *el al.* (2000) employed drugs to determine the role they play in gun carrying among the urban males' youth and the subsequent crimes being committed.

Tutor-Marked Assignment

1. How would you use conflict theory to understand the swathe of criminal behaviours in contemporary Nigeria?

4.0   Conclusion

Serious debate on the pros and cons of integrated model approach has been raised and conclusion reached. Theory deconstruction or integration, though has its weaknesses, the strengths weigh heavier. Thus, its usage has been widely encouraged in contemporary criminological and security studies, since it stands strong to offer a plausible analysis of crime and security problems.

5.0   Summary

The relevance and application of the above outlined theories, including their basic assumptions and critique, have been elucidated. Their strengths and weaknesses are found in the areas where assessment was discussed. And patterns of integrating theories were provided, from where you can develop learn and develop the art of theory reconstruction and deconstruction.

6.0   Tutor-Marked Assignment

1. Using integrated theoretical approach, explain the growing trends in kidnapping in Nigeria.

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8.0 Self-Assessment Exercise

1. The phrase "anybody would have done the same thing in my position" is a pattern of _____

a. Denial of responsibility
b. Denial of injury
c. Denial of victim
d. Condemnation of the condemners

2. _____ is often described as the first truly theorist of labelling theory.

a. Herbert Mead
b. Charles Cooley
c. Edwin Lemert
d. Frank Tannenbaum

3. Outer containment as a mechanism of controlling criminogenic forces takes the form of _____

a. Social sanctions
b. Self-control
c. Divine intervention
d. None of the above

4. Integrated model approach is referred to as _____

a. Theoretical framework
b. Theory deconstruction
c. Conceptual framework
d. Review of related theories

5. According to Howard Becker (1963), deviants and criminals represent a _____

a. Group of societal outcast
b. Societal bad-eggs
c. Heterogeneous collection of people
d. Set of people that need help

6. Who among these criminologists is an anti-integrationist?

a. Travis Hirsch
b. D. Elliot
c. A and B
d. None of the above

7. When most parents concentrate on their children rather than the generality of them, they simply sound like _____

a. Social bond theorists
b. Social control theorists
c. Social reaction theorists
d. Social psychology theorists

8. Primary and secondary deviation is associated with the work of _____

a. Gresham Sykes and David Matza
b. Walter Reckless
c. Frank Tannenbaum
d. Edwin Lemert

9. _____ also believe that people are imbued with the notion of 'freewill'.

a. Social psychology theorists
b. Social bond theorists
c. Social control theorists
d. Social reaction theorists

10. The history of integrated model approach dates back to the _____

a. 1930s
b. 1940s
c. 1950s
d. 1960s

9.0 Feedback

1. C
2. D
3. A
4. B
5. C
6. A
7. B
8. D
9. C
10. B

Module 4

Unit 1: Realism.

Unit 2: Liberalism.

Unit 3: Constructivism.

Unit 4: Game Theory

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1.0   Introduction

Several security studies theories are reviewed in this unit. Although there are multiple of theories depending on the text one lays his/her hand, only a few of these theories are

reviewed here. They are realism, liberalism, constructivism, game theory, and feminism. Each of these theories have many strands or dimensions that also call for attention.

3.0   Objectives

It is believed that, by the end of this unit, you will come to know:
- The relevance and use of the above outlined theories.
- The basic assumptions of those theories.
- The strengths and weaknesses of the said theories.
- The various ways of integrating theories.

4.0 MAIN CONTENTS

Realism/Rationalism

Realism as a security theory focuses on power, fear and anarchy as what drives and provides important explanations for the ubiquitous and age-long wars and conflict that characterise human society. It states that State's behaviour is such that is driven by the leaders' flawed human nature, or by the pre-emptive unpleasantness which is brought about by the anarchy and chaos that characterized the international system (Elman, 2008). The realists are saying that human beings by nature are selfish and greedy and these qualities wet man's appetite for power, or the need to amass the wherewithal to be secured in a self-help world. This desire for power and to accumulate wealth is what accounts for the endless succession of wars and conquests. This viewpoint makes realists to often take a pessimistic and prudential view of international relations (Elman, 2001), even for an unusually optimistic realist approach (see Glaser, 1994/95, 1997). Realist theory remains the earliest theory in security and peace studies and extends well beyond the twentieth century, the proponents are of the view that most theories on security studies are no more than the incarnation of an extended intellectual tradition (see Donnely, 2000).

There are different branches of realist theory, namely, classical realism, neoliberalism, defensive structural realism, offensive structural realism, rise and fall realism, and neoclassical realism. The parallel among these strands lies in the fact that they all share a pessimistic outlook about the continuity of inter-group strife, each and every one of them has some unique assumptions and then provides different style of explanations for the causes and consequences of conflict.

Classical realism sticks tenaciously to the idea that the desire for more power is rooted and ingrained in the flaw nature of humanity and that this accounts for the continuum of states in the struggle to increase their capabilities. The pursuance of self-serving expansionist foreign policies by states brought about by aggressive statesmen, or by domestic political system which give greedy parochial groups opportunity are at the heart of classical realism. This is made possible by the absence of international equivalent of a state government.

Liberalism

Liberalism as a theory in security studies emphasizes on republican constitution as the basis for producing peace and security. By republican Kant meant a constitutional rule where even a monarch rules according to law. At the same time, the test of good laws was their 'universalizability', that is the test of universal applicability. Any law so described as such should be the one any one could wish everyone (including oneself) to obey. Such a law becomes categorically imperative and directly binding on all including the monarchs as well as ordinary citizens. So for Kant, republican states were simply 'peace producers; that is they were more inclined to peaceful behavior than other states. He attributed this to their consultative character, explaining that republicans were more than any other states likely to consult the citizens before going to wars and that citizens were unlikely to endorse war easily. In addition, republican states

were built on legal foundations and a state built on law was less likely to endorse lawless behavior in international relations.

Kant was committed to his idea of perceptual peace and he noted that there were conditions which militate against it and called on the republicans to take initiatives to obliterating these conditions. These conditions are the basic characteristics of his perceptual peace thesis and they determine the dynamics of international relations, its lawless conditions, unstable power balances and the ever-present possibility of wars. Kant argued that it was not just enough for the republicans to remain liberal but must move in the direction of a-law-regulated international relations. Kant, critiques the balance of power refusing to accept it as being peacekeeper. His argument is that balancing of power was fallacious since it is the desire of every state or its ruler, to strive at a condition of perpetual peace by conquering the whole world of that were possible (Kant, 1991b). Instead, he subscribed to Rousseau's view that states were naturally pushed into watching one another and adjusting their power according, usually through alliances and cooperation—a practice he noted resulted merely in 'ceaseless agitation' and not peace.

There are other aspects of the liberal thought on peace and security studies apart from the traditional/Kantian liberalism. They are *douce commerce* which bothers on the economic thought regarding war and peace, the democratic peace thesis—the idea that liberal states do not fight war with other liberal states, and finally neoliberal institutionalism which concentrates on the role of international institutions in mitigating conflict.

Constructivism

Constructivism draws strength from a combination of sociological approaches and critical theory. The emphasis of constructivists is that the world is constituted socially through intersubjective interaction; that both the agents and their structures are mutually constituted. It also states that ideational factors such as norms, identity and ideas are critical to the constitution and dynamics of world politics (McDonald, 2008). So to constructivists, security is a social construction. Fierke (2007), to construct something is merely an act which try to bring into being a subject or object that ordinarily wouldn't have been. To constructivists, even when we define security for instance, as the preservation of group's core values, it tells us little until we ask salient questions such as: what is core value are; where do such threat to core values comes from; how can the preservation or advancement of these core values be achieved. For it is only answers to these questions—articulated and then negotiated in a particular social and historical context through social interaction—that bring security into being.

Constructivists do not wish to engage like other theorists in a universal and abstract definitions of security. And they differ in their commitment to the different forms this takes. Hopf (1998) was categorical in his argument when he averred that it is impossible to make a universal and abstract claims about the source of threat in world politics. To him, state political leaders designate other states as 'friend' or 'enemy—and approach them as such—on the basic of conceptions of identity. A good example of the reflection of constructivists' theory is the invasion of Iraq in 2003 by U.S and UK. Here security was constructed and mediated through different understandings of identity. The question is why, in this context, was the argument, and perhaps, possibility that Saddam Hussein might be developing weapons of mass destruction in

2002 to 2003 deemed and perceived far more of a threat for the US and UK than the existing nuclear arsenals of states such as Russia, China, India, Pakistan, France or Israel, indeed enough to warrant military invasion aimed at regime change? Constructivist analysis would emphasized the importance of a range of social, cultural and historical factors that motivated particular forms of meaning to be given to different actors and their institutions. In the case of Iraq, these might include the historical experiences of conflict with Saddam Hussein in the first Gulf War, or Iraq radically different political system than that of the Us and UK. The same applies to US-North Korea. How come US continue to see North Korea as a rogue state while Russia and China does not?

Game Theory

Game theory is the science of interactive decision making. In the game theory the decision makers are players who may be individuals or groups who in some sense operate as a coherent unit (Zagare, 2008). Presidents, Prime Ministers, Kings, queens, foreign ministers, dictators and so can be regarded as players so also are the states in whose name they make foreign policy decision. The decisions that the players make result to outcome. In game theory, an outcome can just be anything. And it is argued that the empirical content associated with an outcome will vary with the game being analysed. These outcomes sometimes are 'compromise', conflict'.

Reflecting the intensity of the World War period, in the US in the early 1950s, (Zagare (2008) explained that almost all of the applications of game theory in the field of security studies analysed interstate conflicts as zero-sum games. A zero-sum game is any game in which the interests of the players are diametrically opposed (The winner takes it all). That is, there is point

of convergence between and among the players. Each party to the conflicts maintain a fortress and unyielding position.

By contrast, a non-zero-sum game is an interactive situation in which the players have missed motives; that is, in addition to conflicting interests, they may also have a common interests. This non-zero- sum game became the standard form of analysis in international politics towards the end of 1950s, due in no small part to the work of Thomas Schelling (1960 and 1966). In this seminal work Schelling had noted that conflict and common interests were not mutually exclusive; meaning that they were interdependent. No states can afford to be autarchy or toe one part of the two sides of peace and conflicts. Game theory is known to have been influential in the study of deterrence.

Feminism

Feminism as a perspective in International Relations and Peace and Security Studies is a relatively late comer in the field. While the broad feminist perspective focuses on gendered-differentiated people, there are variants of feminist perspective, with each drawing attention to the different ways of thinking about gender, different ways of conceptualizing gendered natures of international security and the various dimensions of responding to the problems of global politics (See also Whitworth, 2008).The various kinds o feminist theory are :

 1) Liberal feminists: The privilege ideas of equality and the quest of underscore women's representation within the public sphere is at the heart of liberal feminists (See Whitworth, 2008). The role women play in any position they occupy within the public space is what really matters to liberal feminists. They ask and seek to know whether women are present as decision makers in area of international security. If not, why not? They ask if women are present in militaries, and

if they do, what is the impact of their presence? However, of particular interest to liberal feminists, is to identify the obstacles challenge women's participation in local, national and global institutions. Liberal feminists advocate for increase in the presence and participation of women.

2) Radical feminists: feminists focus less on equality and more on notion of difference. Radical feminists hold the view that women and men are essentially different from one another and (essentially quite similar to one another). Whether view from biological or socialization perspective, radical feminists are of the view that men as a group are less able to express emotion, sentiment, are more aggressive, competitive and assertive. On the other hand, women are more nurturing, more holistic and less abstract. They believe that much of the way society is structured tend to support the power of men over women and their bodies.

On the issue of adequate representation of women in positions of power in public places, the radical agrees with the liberal but insist that such representation is not to achieve equality rights reasons of the liberal, rather because women brings a different perspective to politics , that is more focused on cooperation and peace.

Critical feminists: They call for an examination of the prevailing assumptions about gender-based dichotomy. That is, the assumptions which define and differentia both women and men. They as the question about what is intrinsically to be a man or a woman, what is appropriately feminine and masculine behavior, the appropriate role of a man and a woman, in the workplace family and associations?(Whitworth, 1994). The argument of critical feminists is that the prevailing norms associated with masculinity as much as femininity need to be reexamined, and likewise the fact that these norms can have significant impact on men especially the marginalized (see Connell, 1995). According to critical feminists, the assumptions that surround women and

men/ masculinity and femininity take place beyond the level of discourse. Indeed, gender depends also on the real, material, lived condition of women and men in particular times and places, which include but not limited to the lived conditions of race, class, religion, sexuality and ethnicity.

Postcolonial feminist theorist: Postcolonial theorists draw their insights from the radical perspective and argue further, that of the partial truths concerning gender. To them, imperialism represents one of the crucial moments, or processes through which modern identities in all their dummy forms become established. While some postcolonial feminists agreed on the interrelationships between race, class and gender, they claim that there is nonetheless "a discernible First World feminist voice" in international relations which does not sufficiently foreground the "erasures surrounding race and representation" (Chowdhry and Nair, 2002:10).The theorists debunk the assumed universality of experience between women that earlier (particularly liberal and radical) feminists relied upon.

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