

First, the stage of residential home ownership, with a high degree of community spirit; second, the stage of tenancy, with a decline of neighbourhood loyalty; third the invasion of business; fourth, rooming-house stage; fifth, entrance of a racial or nationality group of imputed inferior cultural status; sixth, the intrusion of crime and vice; seventh, the stage of social chaos; and eighth, the final stage, when business or industry takes full possession of the area. This is the general cycle of the life history of the neighbourhood. There are of course, certain variations in this pattern, as when a residential area of single home is transformed into an apartment house or residential hotel area.³⁵

Another exponent Shaw et al Clifford worked on this which have been later confirmed by various investigations. Shaw and his co-workers recognized from the outset that their conclusions were descriptive rather than explanatory; they were prepared to offer only tentative interpretations. They assumed that delinquent behaviour was "closely related to certain situations which arise in the process of city growth."

They suspected that a critical factor in the deteriorated neighbourhood was the weakening of social controls.

Under the pressure of the disintegrative forces which act when business and industry invade a community, the community thus invaded ceases to function effectively as a means of social control. Traditional norms and standards of the conventional community weaken and disappear. Resistance on the part of the community to delinquent and criminal behaviour is low, and such behaviour is tolerated and may even become accepted and approved.

As study after study confirmed the predictions of Burgess and Shaw, enthusiasm for the ecological approach mounted. It seemed that a factor had been found which transcended all biological, psychological, and even sociological considerations. This factor, moreover, was entirely physical. There seemed no further need to grope in the shadowland of "personality," "mental deficiency," and "Mendelian degeneracy." Urban deterioration was a physical fact, just as neighbourhoods, houses and factories were physical facts.

Various schools of thought have been propounded which have led to the later criticism and revelation leading to the delinquency area concept with various objections and refuting with repudiation. Of late, the milieu concept has picked up its momentum with the point of convergence for various disciplines, with special reference to psychology for the study of environment and brought about sociologists closer to the study of the individuals.

35. Ernest-W. Burgess, "The Natural Area as the Unit for Social work in the Large City," Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, 1926. p. 509.

Sociological

Society-Centric causes :

The biological approach (individual centric) focussed attention on the biological factors of the offender for determining the cause of his criminal behaviour. As opposed to this, the sociological approach seeks to explain the phenomenon of criminal behaviour in the context of external factors, resulting from social interaction.

In the primitive and medieval societies right upto the period preceeding industrial revolution, the individuals were surrounded by all of their relatives and this larger family group determined the career and ambition of a person. There was perfect cooperation within the group and within the group each person had perfect security because the group as a whole took care of the needs of its members in the case of sickness, accident, old age, insanity or any other emergencies. The large family was supported by the surrounding community which also was harmonious in its traditional culture.

It is said that China, even though is now an industrialized country, still has much self-contained societies and therefore, there is consistency in the behaviour pattern of the people. There are few opportunities for individualism in behaviour and the behaviour of the individuals is almost predictable. Therefore, a few crimes are reported there. Such a consistency of behaviour is not present in any Western civilization. India is also following the western culture at a very fast pace. The 'joint family system' is fast becoming obsolete for various reasons and factors, some of which are beyond the control of individuals sometime. In the contemporary urban society a child is confronted with various ways of behaviour even within the home because the parents cannot act consistently in modern life, in view of the many alternative roles and behaviour patterns with which they themselves are confronted. Similarly, groups outside home have different standards of conduct which differ from those within home. This conflict of values is ordinarily called the 'Social disorganization'. The industrial revolution in Europe and America brought about the social disorganization.

Social disorganization *conflict of values*

In this disorganization, the individual is confronted with alternative goals or means or exists under conditions unknown to his group. Consequently, he finds that a certain behaviour which was right or correct in his group is wrong or improper in other group in which he now has a membership, or in the condition of anomie, he really does not know how to behave or he does not know what is expected of him. This heterogeneous set of conflicting norms is considered 'social disorganization' which means that an earlier form of social organization has disappeared or is in the process of disappearing.

As far as delinquency and crime are concerned, a person may be a member of a group against crime and at the same time be a member of a group organized for criminal behaviour. The individual participation in delinquent subculture as well as nondelinquent and antidelinquent sub-cultures. This has been called the 'social change'.

Gabriel Tarde was the first criminologist who pioneered the theory of explaining the crime in terms of social psychology. Tarde is also considered as an exponent of social psychology. Tarde contended that criminal behaviour is the result of learning process. A person learns criminal behaviour just like any other trade which he picks up in his childhood.

Social change is inevitable in a dynamic society. The change though not bad in itself, sometimes results in disharmony, conflict and cultural dichotomy. This social disorganization has been defined as a decrease of the influence of existing social rules upon individual members of the group. This phenomenon is different from violation of social rules by individuals. The last-Second World War period brought in its wake large scale modernization and urbanization which resulted in the breakdown of traditional patterns of social organization. In India the social change occurred after Independence and the rate of crime has gone up very high particularly in big cities within a short period of 35 years.

The industrialization and urbanization caused large-scale migration to cities. It resulted in the slackening of social kinship hold; brought cultural conflicts between different sections of society, i.e. between old and new values resulted in the emergence of new values imposed by the Government. Such a conflict of values resulted in the emergence of new values and groups of delinquent. These new sets of values make delinquency and crime accepted in these areas regardless of whether the legislature has made them illegal. These values emerge from a process of immigration from rural to urban areas and from one section to another.

Industrialization at a fast pace all over Europe and America created working class values, The new working class values including delinquent sub-culture. The origin of delinquent sub-culture developed because of the problems of adjustment confronting lower-class values and because of conflict between values that make achievement and the social structure which restricts achievement. To make it more clear, it is said that the lower classes have distinct values, these differ from the values of middle class values (middle class values have emerged in the form of codes and laws) and the conflict results in certain lower class values which are in violation of the laws.

How the migration to distant lands results in change of values has been explained in the studies made relating to 'Polish peasants' settled in U.S.A. and the 'Eskimos'. It was found that there was a vast difference between the old and

new value systems among the most disorganized groups of Polish peasants who had settled in U.S.A. In the new environment the peasant family values changed into highly hedonistic and individualistic attitudes.

A study about the Eskimos revealed that they were free from the problem of delinquency until recently, but the situation has changed as a result of movement to towns, increase of social contacts with non-Eskimos and the resultant breakdown of the traditional social structure. The deviant behaviour is reflected in the fact of their members loitering, drunkenness and impermissible sexual attitudes.

A number of delinquent and criminal sub-cultures exist in the contemporary society with the result that the normative conflict is present on a large scale. Some type of delinquent and criminal sub-culture have arisen in large metropolitan centres particularly in those areas of the cities characterized by poverty in middle-class areas and upper middle-class area.

A study of the delinquent sub-culture made by Cohen indicated that a destructive kind of 'hell-raising' vandalism was more prevalent among working-class boys than among middle-class boys. He followed the leads provided by Durkheim and found that the non-utilitarian delinquent sub-culture has arisen in response to a conflict between the aspirations inspired by middle class boys have for fulfilling these aspirations. Middle class values have been incorporated in law and general codes of legitimate and moral conduct. At the same time, society is organized in such a way that all working class persons cannot achieve the goals, as personal 'success' achievement requires ability. In a race for competition some are bound to fail and this failure brings a conflict.

Personal 'success' achievement requires rational, honest labour and careful long-range planning. In a race for competition some youths are bound to be disappointed because they are not adequately equipped for the competition. And this would bring out conflict of values. Miller's theory in this respect is that working-class values include a delinquent sub-culture. He found working-class values emerging from the shaking-down process of immigration, internal migration and vertical mobility.

The delinquent sub-culture provides illegal avenues to success, e.g. criminal sub-culture contains rules for the pursuit of gains by means of theft, extortion, and fraud. This conflict sub-culture contains rules for achievement of success through manipulation of force or threat of force; such sub-cultures are invented when aspirations are frustrated.

Mobility

The industrial revolution has provided increased mobility in the society. The increased mobility resulted in the disintegration of the large family and homogeneous neighbourhood which were the principal agencies of social control and in

their place created small family which was detached from the relatives. This small family was compelled by circumstances to live in a neighbourhood in which the mores were not homogeneous. The neighbourhood also lost its function as a socializing agency.

The increased mobility opened new vistas for trade and commerce and interaction not only with neighbouring countries but across the continental boundaries through various means of communications. Because of the increased mobility, the earlier societies were gradually weakened and the family and the neighbourhood became relatively important to control their members' activities with outsiders.

Mobility is, therefore, one of the most important factors for social disorganization.

The theories of social disorganization have been criticised on the ground of lack of objectivity of the concept like disorganization or cultural lag.

'Theory of Differential Association'

The theory of 'differential association' was propounded by Edwin H. Sutherland, in 1939. His theory is considered as the first 'pure sociological theory'. The differential association refers to the patterns of behaviour to which the individual is exposed, i.e. good company or bad company. It says that "the crime is learned behaviour that is imparted by other persons with whom one associates".

Sutherland modified this theory in 1947 to include the laws of learning.³⁶

The modified theory is as follows:

1. Criminal behaviour is learned.
2. Criminal behaviour is learned in interaction with other persons in the process of communication.
3. The principal part of learning of criminal behaviour occurs within intimate personal groups.
4. When criminal behaviour is learned, the learning includes techniques of committing crime, which are sometimes very complicated, sometimes very simple, and the specific direction of motives, drivers, rationalizations, and attitudes.
5. The specific direction of motives and drives is learned from definitions of the legal codes as favourable or unfavourable.
6. A person becomes delinquent because of an excess of definitions favourable to violation of law over definitions unfavourable to violation of law.

36. E.H. Sutherland and Cressey. Principles of Criminology pp. 77-79

7. Differential association may vary in frequency, duration, priority and intensity.
8. The process of learning criminal behaviour by association with criminal and anti-criminal patterns involves all mechanisms that are involved in any other learning.
9. While criminal behaviour is an expression of general needs and values, non-criminal behaviour also is an expression of the same needs and values.

The theory of differential association has been criticized by many scholars. The best criticism has come from Reed Adams in the following words:

1. It is difficult to reduce differential association to empirical research for validation purposes.
2. There are some misinterpretations on the part of some writers with respect to differential association. For example, it is important to mention that Sutherland was referring to an over abundance of criminal association rather than simple criminal association. The emphasis should be on patterns of behaviour rather than simple criminal association.
3. The theory does not explain why the association exists.
4. The theory fails to account for all types of crimes.
5. The theory fails to consider personality and difference between people in receptivity.
6. The theory does not specify the ratio of behavioural patterns that determine criminality with sufficient accuracy precision.

In conclusion, differential association is not a precise statement of the process by which one becomes criminal. The idea is that criminality is a consequence of an excess of intimate association with criminals. The theory indicates that some emotionally insecure persons and persons from broken homes commit crimes.

Anomie :

As societies become larger and more complex, the emphasis in law shifts from the collective conscience to the individual wronged and law becomes restitutive. This shift from mechanical to organic - solidarity is characterized by an increased division of labour and by increasing heterogeneity. The result is that the traditional forms of social control are not effective. With the decreasing homogeneity of society, individuals face more loneliness, more social isolation, and loss of identity. A state of anomie, or "normlessness," replace the former state of solidarity and provides a framework in which crime and other antisocial acts may flourish.

solidarity x normlessness

Anomie means normlessness, i.e. disregard for law, particularly the divine law. The concept was formulated by Durkheim in 1897 as the 'loss of individual identification with one's cultural group'. This explains a particular criminal behaviour, and he called it "anomic suicide". Human beings have unlimited desires but all of them cannot be fulfilled. The society has laid down certain acceptable modes for achieving those goals and deviant behaviour comes when the aim is to achieve such goals by illegitimate means. When the social norms act as a barrier to legitimate goals, rebelliousness sets in which consequently produces stress and strain which is left more by the people of lower socio-economic strata because many of the desired goals are not readily available to them within their means. In such a situation frustration and a sense of deprivation set in. A high rate of both suicide and homicide are to be found in the anomie-ridden society. This theory is reflected in the use of unfair means to gain a success in the examination disregarding the value of labour required for the purpose.

As the Durkheim's theory of anomie was considered to be very abstract, his contemporary sociologist Merton developed a paradigm. Merton did not attribute much to the biological theories which suggested that the man's behaviour is the result of inherited traits and psychiatric as propounded in Freudian theories which emphasized that man is characterized by the inevitable struggle between the biological desires and social structures. It suggested that all social structures have two basic common characteristics. First, the goals with aspirations which are worth striving for by all the individuals in a society. Second, approved methods or means for attaining the goals which are recognized by the society. Merton related his theory to the real causes in the American Society. Merton designed a typology to describe his methods or modes of adaptation. He further enunciated the conformity which describes the acceptance of the goals and means of the society. In as much as he has brought out innovation, ritualism, retreatism and rebellion are the means for attaining these goals. He further elaborated that ritualism is the rejection of goals but exploit of means and retreatism. The least common of the five typologies, involve the type of person who is a true alien from society.

He further added Rebellion theory of anomie as developed and described by Emile Durkheim and Merton had paved the way for establishing the infrastructural framework of 'class oriented theory' as called by Mannheim. The theories of Emile Durkheim and Merton have influenced Cohen, who brought about 'middle class measuring rod' for analysis.

Labelling :

According to this concept, nothing is criminal but certain things have been so defined and labelled by society. Persons become criminal primarily on the basis

of visibility of offending behaviour and the labelling process by the system of criminal justice. The labelling process is defined as below by Schrag.

1. No act is intrinsically criminal but is made so by the law.
2. Criminal definitions are enforced in the interest of powerful groups by their representatives, including the police.
3. A person does not become a criminal by violating the law, but by labelling process by authorities who confer this status upon him.
4. Dichotomizing people into criminal and non-criminal categories is contrary to common sense and empirical evidence.
5. Only a few persons are caught in violation of the law, while many may be equally guilty.
6. While the sanctions used in law enforcement are directed against the total person and not only the criminal act, the severity and consequences of the penalties vary according to the characteristics of the offender.
7. Criminal sanctions also vary according to other characteristics of the offender such as minority groups, transients, poor education and other factors.
8. Criminal justice is based on a stereo type concept of the criminal as a wilful wrong-doer who is morally bad and deserves condemnation.
9. Once labelled as a criminal, it is difficult for an offender to 'live down' the label and restore himself to respectable status in the community.

Why society labels some people criminals or deviants? Kai Erikson answers the question: "Some men who drink heavily are called alcoholics and others are not, some men who behave oddly are committed to hospitals and others are not... and the difference between those who earn a deviant title in society and those who go their own way in peace is largely determined by the way in which the community filters out and codes the many details of behaviour which come to its attention". He speaks of 'social audience' and says that the 'social audience' decides whether or not any particular action should be made a visible cause of deviance.

Howard Becker says that the only difference between deviants and non-deviants and the only characteristic that the deviants have in common is that they have been labelled deviant.³⁷ He writes: "Deviance is not a quality of the act a person commits, but rather a consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an 'offender'. The deviant behaviour is behaviour that people so label".

While some people are labelled as deviants, delinquents, criminals, hardcore

37. Howard S. Becker, 'Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance,' The Free Press, New York, 1963.

criminals and super criminals, a few others are left over without being stigmatized as they belong to privileged groups. Even though quite many people commit crimes only a few are caught and labelled. It has been criticized that the labelling theory does not lead to the exact causation of crimes with special reference to first offenders. However, there is no denial of the fact that labelling has both positive and negative effects.

Gang delinquency

Human behaviour is, by and large, group behaviour. The socialization process involves the assimilation of the beliefs, attitudes, prejudices, ideologies, and values of the group, into which individuals are born and grow.

Group behaviour is an important component of human behaviour which includes criminal behaviour. It has been found that delinquencies are generally committed by two or more children acting together. The probability of an individual boy committing a specific kind of delinquent act depends upon the commission of that act by his two best friends. In the high delinquent areas a few youths are organized for crime and such groups are called 'gangs'. The gangs are formally organized, have their leader, passwords and slogans and they teach the techniques of their crimes to their groups, protect members engaged in delinquency and maintain continuity in delinquency. In American cities, the gangs are classified as 'criminal gangs', 'conflict gangs', 'violent gangs' and 'drug gangs'. A study made revealed that most of the gangs are in the poverty belts.

A gang in this sense is a means of disseminating techniques of delinquencies, of training in delinquency, of protecting its members engaged in delinquency, and of maintaining continuity in delinquency.

It can be clearly understood that all the gangs are not criminal gangs. Probably as an exact factor for crime the gang appears to have been overemphasized in view of the large number of gangs that existed with criminal records. Bloch and Niederhoffer attribute gang behaviour to the problems arising in the transition from the status of child to adult; they find gang behaviour in many cultures.³⁸

Miller has said that the dominant motivations underlying gang behaviour is an attempt to achieve standards of values as they are defined in lower-class urban areas. The gang may rival the 'interiorization' achieved by the family.

There are many more theories which have been propounded by Cohen, Kitsuse, Dietrick, David Matza and others to explain the gang delinquency and group behaviour.

38. Herbert A. Bloch and Arthur Niederhoffer, *The Gang: A Study in Adolescent behaviour*. Philosophical Library, New York. 1958.

Family

Family is the basic unit in which personality development begins and is shaped. Family is the cradle in shaping the behaviour. It is a great training school which plays the socializing and culturising roles of the child. In the preliterate life, parents of the child were reared in a rather simple, harmonious culture as were also other relatives and neighbours. This resulted in a consistent and steady behaviour pattern among the children with minimum conflicts. However, this is unthinkable in the present-day due to society conflict with each other, with grand-parents, with school teachers and almost with everyone else. Sometimes the parents are in conflict for the affection of the child. In this situation a harmonious setting of the family is impossible and the children develop a delinquent behaviour. Besides, poverty, physical features, competitive ability, comparative attainments and social status of the parents also influence the character of the child. In the matter of verbal dialogue, the parents' lack of ability in communicating effectively with their children has been found to have some correlation between children's verbal inadequacies and delinquencies. Studies made in this direction have revealed that delinquent children mostly come from the families where:

1. other members are criminals, immoral or alcoholic;
2. one or both parents are absent by reason of death, divorce or desertion;
3. there is lack of parental control because of ignorance, indifference or illness;
4. there is no congeniality in the home because of domination by one member, favouritism, over-severity, neglect, jealousy, crowded housing conditions or interfering relatives;
5. there are religious or other cultural differences;
6. there are economic difficulties, e.g. unemployment, poverty, both parents working, or poor arrangement of financial condition.³⁹

The most important difference between situations of delinquency and non-delinquency among the children is home discipline because parental discipline is a very important factor of emulation for the child.

There are five principal processes by which the child may learn delinquent behaviour.

1. Children may assimilate within home by observation of parents or other relatives, the attitudes, codes and behaviour patterns of delinquency.
2. If the parent's home is in high-delinquency area, the probability of the child encountering many delinquents is greater than the home which is situated in a low-delinquency area.

39. E.H. Sutherland and Cressey, *Principles of Criminology* p.172

3. The home determines the strata of society with whom the intimacy will develop later. Children learn to respect or reject the members of the minority groups, police officers, teachers and others depending upon their family traits.
4. A child may be driven from the home by unpleasant experiences or withdraw from the home because of the absence of pleasant experiences and cease to be member of the family.
5. The home may fail to train the child to deal with community situation in a law-abiding manner. Delinquency may not be present in the home, but the home may be neutral with respect to delinquency of the child. Failure to train him properly may lead to delinquency.

Education

Poor education has also been held to be a cause of crime and delinquency. It is presumed that the higher the educational level, the lower will be the crime rate. But it has been found that formal education has no such relationship with delinquent behaviour patterns. In fact all white-collar crimes are almost committed by affluents and even by educated.

It is also immaterial whether a student has a high IQ or is a 'drop-out' for becoming a delinquent. It is a matter of participation only. In a study, it was found that 80 per cent of the students, who did poor in the school and failed in the examinations never participated in the delinquent sub-culture and therefore, did not become delinquents regardless of their social stratum.

Mass Media

F. Fenton, William Healy, Cyril Burt, P. Hauser and H. Blumer have conducted researches and arrived at the conclusion, the pre-disposing agent - media are viewed as primary causal agents. On the other hand various other researchers like Lewin, Himmelweit, Rawland and Ricutti are of the opinion that the media serve as predisposing agent - the psychological orientation to the much reducing media content to the level secondary cause agents. Whether the mass media has strong influence in the learning process and in shaping the characteristics of the juveniles and hurled them to delinquency or not has been answered by Fenton in affirmative. While Healy speaks about the projection as the mechanism but Cyril describes it as imitation. Nonetheless, Blumer and Hauser had referred it as suggestion. The studies taken up by Blumer and Hauser had proved that the individuals get the idea of accumulating money by smuggling, robbery, dacoity, pocket picking and in all other white-collar crimes. In as much as sex-stimulating pictures have definitely aggravated the sex feelings. There can be no denial of the fact that enough knowledge is acquired from mass media. At times

it sensationalizes the human interest of 'tour and jerking value' in the minds of the general public. It has been argued that in addition to the exploitation of crime teams by mass media it also brings about adverse effect on the investigative techniques and the criminal procedure which may lead to unprejudicial trails in the court because of the pre-trial publishing. Some times prejudicial publication spoils the investigation and the conviction as well. If the mass media teams have positive and constructive approach it will add to the efficiency of the enforcement agencies in the prevention and detection of crime.

The mass media can play a great role if it brings about the information without sensationalization. But at the same time, sensitizing the issue to rouse the public reaction and also to culminate the strong feelings of anti-criminal influence in the community without glorifying the criminal leaders which might increase their prestige leading to the imitation by other members in the society, the purpose of mass media will be greatly adorned. Even though there are disagreements regarding the effect of comics on delinquency, Marjorie Bel, a noted psychiatrist who is an ardent supporter of the fact that comics do have a strong influence on delinquency listed the following objection.: "They often suggest criminal or sexually abnormal ideas; create a mental preparedness or readiness for temptation; suggest the forms-a delinquent impulse may take; may act as the precipitating factor of delinquency or emotional disorder; may supply rationalization for a contemplated act which is often more important than the impulse itself; set off chains of undesirable and harmful thinking in children; and create for young readers a mental atmosphere of deceit, trickery, and cruelty."⁴⁰

Studies made have revealed that the mass media of communication and television were responsible for delinquency and crime to a certain extent. The charges generally levelled against the media are:

- ✓ 1. they promote crime by constantly advertising it and exaggerating its effects by teaching the 'modus operandi' of crime;
- ✓ 2. they interfere with justice by trial by news media by distorting the news, by failing to stress the punishment of crime.
- ✓ 3. they ordinarily promote indifference to crime and create public panic and sensationalism.

In 1928, Enrico Ferri found that daily newspapers, illustrated journals do have an unfavourable effect in the minds of the criminals. An American expert said that "effects upon the audience do not follow directly from and in correspondence with the intent of the communicator and the content of the communication. The

40. Marjorie Bel, "The NPPA at the Congress of Correction," Focus, 27:175-179, November, 1948. summarizing the remarks made by Fredric Wertham..

predisposition of the reader or listeners are deeply involved in the situation and may operate to block or modify the intended effect or even to set up a boomerang effect". Mass media have some effect on the criminal behaviour. However the media do play an important role in sensitising the issues of crime.

Religion :

Since crime more often than not involves violations in the prescribed morality, it may be rightfully concluded that their close relationship exists between the crime and religious institutions. Even it was contended that lack of religious training was one of the causes for the perpetration of crime as Edwin H. Sutherland explains "To the extent that criminality and immorality are synonymous, the problem in criminology is to explain or account for the fact that some persons behave immorally and some do not, and it is not sufficient to state merely that the absence of morality is the cause of immorality. There is no specific evidence regarding the effect of religion, considered as something different from anti-criminal values, on crime. Certain external expressions of religion, however, are found to be slightly and inconsistently related to crime."

Since crime involves violation of a standard of morality, it is clear that there exists a close relationship between crime and religion. There is a belief that cause of crime is man's alienation from God and erosion of religious values are from the lives of the criminals. However, studies made have revealed that there is no definite relationship between crime and religion.

Economic Theories :

In the beginning of 1960s economists developed a number of theoretical conceptions which are christened as model by them to explain the criminal behaviour. Their models have been represented as mathematical equation and explained that most people commit crimes because they expect to be better off by doing so inspite of utilizing their time, energy and other resources in the alternative activities. According to this assumption the criminals are considered to be more rational.

However in the theoretical work of economists the focus is: activities and the cost of criminal justice sanctions either as monetary or as it could be monetized.

Geri Backer in his pioneering work "As part of a larger model designed to explore optimal criminal justice policy, he developed the "supply of offence" function, which indicates the factors affecting the number of crimes and individual commits. His results were extremely important, for they provided a theoretical basis for the widely discussed "deterrence hypothesis" that criminal justice sanctions reduce crime and stimulated much additional research. Theories of

other models have been presented by Ehrlich and Ann Witte, models of violent behaviour interaction of crime and other decisions and so forth.

One of the explanations for the criminal behaviour involving an environment was based on the analysis of the economic conditions of the society. They can be categorised by the degree of influence of economic environment that is on the individuals. The economic determinism which was propounded by Karl Marx advocated that those who are exploited for economic benefit turn to crime as a result of poverty. He strongly believed that the economic system was the sole determinant of the cause of crime as Marx spells out "the mode of production in material life determines the general character of the social, political, and spiritual process of life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but on the contrary, their social existence determines their consciousness." Marx saw social revolution as the only way to bring about the renaissance in the economic system. He advocated that with the change of economic foundation, the entire immense superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed. The deterministic approach of Marx was however, repudiated and contrasted to the facilitating approach of Frank Tennenbaum and William Bonger.

Bonger's theory

William Adrian Bonger contended that the heredity and environmental factors not only influence the criminals but also greatmen. He insisted that the criminal was a product of the capitalist system which created selfish tendencies. The capitalist system is motivated by profit element and each member tries to get the maximum from other in return of the minimum. There are many evils in the capitalist system of the minimum which spread criminal behaviour and is responsible for juvenile delinquency to a large extent.

This theory has been criticized on the grounds that it does not take into account the influence of interpersonal relationship in the social, cultural, economic, political system and religious factors. If his theory was relevant then a 'crimeless society' should have been dawning at least in Socialist Countries.

Bonger set himself three theoretical problems, which he carefully distinguished: (1) the task of accounting for criminal motivations, (2) the task of defining the situations through which criminal motivations are executed, and (3) the task of defining the forces enabling man to prevent both criminal motivations and their execution. It was Bonger who showed how a social institution, for him, the economic institution in a capitalist society could create a general climate of incentive which motivated its members to similar behaviour. He showed, moreover, how social stratification functioned to define this behaviour, in superficially different ways, sometimes as "crime" and sometimes as "business". In this, he

anticipated Sutherland's later parallels between ordinary crime, white-collar crime and economic royalism. He next attempted to show that crime, though operating in disguise and under a cloud of ineffectual social disapproval, is merely one manifestation of this pervasive process. Finally, he tried to show that crime, as a symptomatic manifestation of the general destructive process, cannot be cured merely by symptomatic treatment.⁴¹

Bonger did not argue that capitalism creates an egoistic tendency that forces man to become criminal, but he did say that it makes man more capable of becoming a criminal. The economic system thus provides a "climate of motivation" for criminal behaviour. At times, however, Bonger sounds like a determinist. "Upon the basis of what has gone before, we have a right to say that the part played by economic conditions in criminality is preponderant, even decisive.

There are numerous theories that have been propounded and postulated with regard to the direct relation of poverty to the causative factors of crime. However, the edifice erected by consummate excellence of Karl Marx, Bonger and others is easily shattered as they have underemphasized the crimes of the elite upper class and the affluent society who indulged in the white-collar crimes - crimes committed by man of respectability. They have overemphasized the crime of the lower middle class, poor, downtrodden and the lumpenproletariat community. It is worth bringing home the point of Emile Durkheim that "no criminologist of repute would today subscribe either to the assumption that social and economic improvements will necessarily reduce crime or that they have no impact upon it.

Political theories of Crime Causation

'Political theories of crime causation is interrelated with crime and the exercise of power by the state. In its ordinary usage, crime means a violation of law punishable by officials of the state. Strictly speaking, without a state whose officials of the state, it is an inherently political matter. Unfortunately, even among criminologists, the political nature of crime has often been obscured by equating crime with inherently wrongful behaviour, or, as Leslie Wilkins has expressed it, by confusing crime with "sin".⁴² The political nature of crime includes murder, property offences, etc., Crime implies the failure of state control; failure to implement laws severely and equitably; too much of state activity. These may be classified as 'state vacuum', 'state dysfunction' and 'state excess'.

41. Richard R. Korn and Lloyd W. Mc Corkle, *Criminology and Penology* p. 295-297. ✓

42. *Encyclopaedia of Crime and Justice*, Sanford H. Kadish p. 323.

State vacuum theories

Utilization theorists of the time such as Jeremy Bentham, forecast that National Governments would make crime virtually disappear as a social problem. The crime problem is due to certain mentally defective persons who are unresponsive to the reasonable exercise of State power.

State dysfunction theories

It is possible to assume that people create crime by the way they enforce the law. The existence of crime, therefore, was not a reflection of state powerlessness but rather was requisite to state officials' maintenance of social stability. It was argued by Wilson that crime is caused by failure to punish enough.

State Excess theories

Crime can be seen as caused simply by the creation of the state or law when crime is defined as acts punishable by the state, the level of crime reflects the extent to which disputes are handled publicly rather than privately. Some state excess theories foresee that elimination of the state, and hence of crime, may mean to an end to violence and predation.⁴³

Ratio of Police strength-Crime rate-Demographical Correlations

'It is generally recognized that police staffing levels and expenditure are associated with the crime rate and the crime clearance rate. In a recent study, Fox asserts :

"The size of the police force and the police expenditure also influences the crime rate, but only through a causal chain intervened by the clearance rate' (disposal rate of cases registered). Therefore, appropriations that increase manpower should assist in reducing the crime rate, but only to the extent that the clearance rate is boosted.⁴⁴

In as much as the staffing pattern of police and certain percentage of population also have the bearing on the crime rate. It is not out of place to mention that thickly populated areas, far-flung areas and the amenities provided to police will also have a direct bearing on the commission of crime, efficiency in the detection of crime committed and clearance rate. Law and order and administrative activities also have direct bearing on the crime rate.

43. *Ibid* pp. 324-329.

44. Satyanshu K. Mukherjee. *Crime trends in twentieth-Century Australia* p. 31.