

**Editorial: Critical Perspectives on Deviance and Social Control
in Rural Africa**

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Abstract:

There is an urban and western bias in criminology as a sub-field of sociology compared to the preoccupation of colonial anthropology with rural cultures in search of 'intelligence' that would facilitate the colonization of the natives. This papyrus surveys the efforts by scholars to critically account for the phenomena of deviance and social control in Africa from the distant past to the present. There is a consensus that human life originated in Africa and that Africans pioneered the building of cities before this form of human settlement spread to other parts of the world. Hence, the study of deviance and social control in rural Africa promises to critique some taken-for-granted assumptions in conventional western criminology and thereby help to map future directions of the scholarly answers to the crisis of insecurity that plagues the modern world in both urban and rural locations. Reversing the modernist snobbery of conventional criminology, this papyrus assumes that rural areas in Africa have one or two things to teach criminologists in general. The papyrus starts from the contentious assumption that rural dwellers are more victims of the abuse of power than law-breakers who need to be controlled with the repressive fetishes of modern criminology. This assumption could be generalized to the rest of the society by recognizing that the oppressed masses have effective resources that could be tapped to solve major problems instead of seeing them as problems that only those in authority could solve through repressive policies.

Introduction:

Research on critical perspectives in rural criminology is being advanced by Donnermeyer and DeKeseredy (2014) but their pioneering survey did not cover materials about Africa. This is perhaps part of the trend in criminology generally where Africa is neglected due to the fact that the discipline is underdeveloped in Africa and in other post-colonial regions while it is booming in former colonizing countries under the near monopoly of white criminologists (Agozino, 2003). The few western criminologists who have looked at African countries tended to concentrate on the testing of modernization theories but failed to find the postulated positive correlation between crime and modernization except for minor property offences as a result of increasing poverty (Arthur, 1991). This papyrus will demonstrate that the neglect of Africa is a disservice to any field of knowledge given the abundance of evidence of past contributions

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from Africa that could stimulate scholars in any field to make original contributions to knowledge. With particular reference to critical rural criminology, African centered research will expose some of the dominant assumptions of criminology as part of what has been critiqued as a technology for the control of others under imperialist reason (Agozino, 2003). A quotation from an earlier text will suffice to show that the concern with critical issues in rural criminology has been well established in the literature before now as Donnermeyer and DeKeseredy also implied:

"Dedication

"To my mother, Inoakamma (or the enemy does not say your praise), who was once charged to court by the colonial administration in connection with an alleged breach of the peace when she rallied the community with a poetic tonal cry for the arrest of a stranger who was fishing in Omala, our ancestral stream. The fish in Omala symbolized happiness for the villagers because they were never threatened and it was believed that if the fish was killed, the stream would dry up. Proof of this is found down stream towards the distant farms where Omala merged with streams in which we could fish and where the stream dried up during the dry season. Omala was sacred to us as the route through which new born babies return to us from the land of the ancestors. Mothers of newborn babies were expected to visit Omala and have their ritual bathe with a troop of young children singing a dedication of the new born to Omala. The mother usually returned with water from the stream that she would feed to the new born so that s/he would learn the tongue of our ancestors with ease. I once accompanied my mother alone in sorrow when she had a still birth and while watching her bathe with a stream of tears down her face, I pledged silently to live and dry those tears from her face. The man who was caught fishing in Omala was given a good beating by the villagers before the police rescued him. My mother conducted her own defence in court and won the nick-name, *leyo-maji*, or Lawyer Magistrate (stipendiary as opposed to lay Magistrate), from her fellow peasant women. However, my father allegedly rebuked her for using the 'male' art form of tonal poetry, *iti mkpukpo*, to rally the community and so since then, according to her, she lost the talent for this kind of performance poetry. Knowledge of this case that happened long before I was born, must have sensitized me to the fact that what is crime and what is justice are not given but are contentious and are contested" (Agozino, 1997: xii)

Human life evolved in Africa and for millions of years, the Homo Sapiens managed to run their lives in what could be called rural locations today but without the military, courts, police, prisons and professional criminologists. The example of ancient Egypt is well known as a civilization that relied on a sense of justice or Maat to administer things

for thousands of years without any need for a panopticon or a carceral archipelago and such peaceful civilizations were the norm rather than the exception across Africa. None of the imposing monuments left by classical African civilization to posterity was a prison, army barrack, court, or fortification. They felt secure enough in this world to concentrate their technologies on preserving a life for themselves in the afterlife. Social control relied less on repression and more on compassion and forgiveness. Difference was a source of strength and was prized rather than crushed. No slavery mode of production existed and when distant principalities like Damascus demanded their independence, they were let go without a need for war. In one of the classic tales from ancient Egypt, an articulate farmer was dispossessed of his merchandise by an agent of the ruling elite but rather than wage a violent battle to reclaim his possessions, he patiently appealed to higher authorities with logic and non-violently saw that justice was done to him in the end (Karenga, 2006).

The cultures that flourished in classical African civilization led Cheikh Anta Diop (1959) to convincingly documented evidence that pre-colonial black Africa was the origin of civilization with high standards of morality and strong respect for personal or spiritual possessions that were inherited both along matrilineal and patrilineal axes. For instance, when foreign travelers died in Africa, no one stole their possessions but kept them safely until their family came to claim the belongings. The distant villages developed democratic institutions to run their own affairs autonomously even when they had been brought under the hegemony of the few thriving empires and kingdoms. The African Mode of Production made it possible for enough wealth to be created and distributed equitably to prevent the emergence of a single millionaire or billionaire but without abject mass poverty either as Julius Nyerere pointed out in *Ujamaa* (Nyerere, 1968). It is true that the same phenomenon of communalism can be found in the prehistory of almost any region of the world but they have survived in Africa longer than most parts of the world despite the efforts to destroy the African philosophy of non-violence and replace it with militarism since the contact of Africans with Arabs and then with Europeans in the past 1000 years of unprecedented distortion and destruction. Africa and the world need to rediscover the Kwanzaa principles of peace, love, unity and cooperative economics for self-reliance that helped us to originate human civilization lest the dominance of imperialist reason crushes humanity into the dust of intolerance, greed and selfishness. However, Ibhawo and Dibua (2003) have warned that the romanticization of the rural areas as unspoiled enclaves of African civilization and as the model for disastrous villagization policies could lead to the westernization of rural cultures by corrupt bureaucracies at the expense of authentic African cultural values if care is not taken.

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The greed for gold and for labor power first attracted the Arabs to Africa from the 10th century and after five hundred years of conquest and plunder, they were relatively displaced by Europeans who came in search of wealth in Africa and proceeded to build forts that litter the coasts of Africa. Ibn Khaldoun (1958) was the first to record the cyclical history of the conquest of city dwellers by marauding desert warriors who become gentrified or softened in turn only to be conquered by a new band of rugged desert warriors later. This dual typology of social analysis was later borrowed by European sociologists like Durkheim (mechanical and organic types of solidarity) and Toenies (Germeinschaft and Gesselleschaft) but with a reversal of the hierarchy of desirability to make the urban the more desired and the more dominant type of society compared to the rural (Donnermeyer and DeKeseredy, 2014).

The emergence of capitalism as a system of production that is relatively autonomous from land ownership boosted the privileging of the urban over the rural especially by finance capital and the impacts can be seen in Africa in places like Southern Africa where commercial settler colonial farmers seized all the fertile land while the majority of Africans remained landless and attempts to redistribute land attracted sanctions from donor countries (Worby and Blair, 1998). Marx outlined how the primitive accumulation of capital necessitated the turning of Africa into a harem for the hunting of black skin for hundreds of years with the result that Africans were forced to retreat into rural and forest regions to maximize self-defense against the slave raids as part of the resistance that contributed to the abolition of slavery, a resistance that Marx saw as the model for the global working class in their struggle to abolish capitalist exploitation or wage slavery (Agozino, 2014). During the hundred years of colonialism that followed the abolition of slavery, Rodney demonstrates how the rural dwellers were submitted to a double squeeze by European traders who fixed the prices of manufactured goods and also fixed the prices of raw materials to the disadvantage of African farmers and workers (Rodney, 1972). Don Ohadike (1991) documented the Ekumeku uprising against colonialism in Western Igbo region of Nigeria and how it was crushed with 'punitive expeditions' just as the Benin Kingdom was crushed and its valuables looted by the British.

Under colonialism, African farmers revolted against the double squeeze in places like Aba and surrounding rural areas where Igbo and Ibibio women declared war against colonialism in 1929 for drastically reducing the prices of palm oil while hiking the prices of things like imported textile and while trying to tax women (Agozino, 1997). The women paid with their lives when the colonial army opened fire against unarmed demonstrators but they won the right not to be taxed without representation and they ended the system of warrant chiefs in Eastern Nigeria until the military dictatorship re-imposed a system of 'traditional rulers' on them with the Local Government Reform Decree of 1976. That womanist activism was

successfully repeated in Abeokuta 20 years later where the women rose up against the practice of sexual molestation of young women by agents of the colonial administration in the guise of assessing them for tax. They successfully dethroned the Alake of Abeokuta who was an agent of the colonial administration. Kenyan women also protested against the use of forced labor policies to abduct young women from the villages and return them with unwanted pregnancies under British colonialism. The Mau Mau Land and Freedom Army of peasants in Kenya braved atrocities to press their demands against settler colonialism and the UK government was forced in 2013 to apologize for the torture and inhumane treatment of the survivors, offering them millions of dollars in compensation. In South Africa, laws were made to restrict the majority black population to 13% of the land and allocate 87% of the land (the very best for agricultural purposes) to white minority farmers. In Zimbabwe (Southern Rhodesia) such a policy inflamed the war of independence or Chimurenga with land redistribution as a major demand of the people, a demand that was only partially implemented 20 years after their restoration of independence when the impatient people began reclaiming their land.

With the restoration of independence, the western educated native elites chose to concentrate uneven development efforts at the few urban locations and neglected the rural areas where a majority of the population still lived. According to Fanon (1963), the inability of the nationalist parties in Africa to organize the countryside resulted in the sustenance of superstition among the peasants who feared ghosts more than they feared the police and the army and who were forced to confess and pay a fine if they dreamed of making love in their sleep to the wife of a neighbor – an indirect indication of the high moral standards of the peasants compared to the shameless kleptocracy of the phantom bourgeoisie that plagued independent Africa. The neglect of the rural areas, according to Fanon, created a power vacuum into which the militant factions of the nationalist movement would retreat to avoid arrest or defeat, leading to some of the most decisive battles in the struggle for power in independent Africa to be fought in the rural areas by guerrilla armies rather than in the few urban centers. The case of the Agbekoya revolt by farmers in Western Nigeria during the genocidal war against Biafra in Eastern Nigeria is well documented but the demands of the peasants concentrated on the unfair and violent collection methods of the tax systems and the oppressive traditional rulers; without extending any concerns to the plight of their compatriots being slaughtered in Biafra and all over Nigeria (see Adeniran, 1974). As criminologists extend their focus to crimes in rural areas, it is hoped that they will not focus exclusively on crimes by individual rural dwellers but also on crimes against rural dwellers often with the support of the colonial and the post-colonial states in Africa.

What is known about crime in rural Africa:

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This section will attempt to survey some key types of crime that scholars have noted in the rural areas of Africa and how the rural dwellers have tried to cope with some of these crimes. There is no assumption that the survey in this section is comprehensive or exhaustive but there is enough evidence here to highlight what criminology has been missing by neglecting African issues. Although implicit in some of the discussion in this section, the theoretical and policy implications of the typologies of crimes in rural Africa will be reserved for a general discussion of future directions in a subsequent section.

a. Genocide

Genocide is a common feature of crime in rural Africa since the restoration of independence from European colonizers who initiated such mass killing. The earliest of these was the Biafra genocide against mainly Igbo people in Nigeria from 1966 to 1970 when more than three million people were killed mainly through starvation as a 'legitimate weapon of war' with the support of arms from Britain and the Soviet Union. This has been documented internationally and by Nigerian authors like Achebe (2012), Soyinka (1988) and Ekwe-Ekwe (2006). Although the killings started in a few urban centers where Igbo properties were seized as 'abandoned properties' in other parts of Nigeria, the bulk of the killing occurred in the bushes of rural Eastern Nigeria as the Easterners fled for safety back to their rural hometowns where the killers pursued them relentlessly. Along with the genocide was widespread use of rape and the abduction of young girls as war crimes that remain unaccounted for, thereby laying the foundation for a policy of impunity for such widespread acts of state-sponsored violence across Africa.

The genocide in Rwanda obviously took place in both rural and urban areas but probably was concentrated in rural areas where over 90% of the people lived or where more fled in search of safety when the killing started (Newbury, 1998). Like the earlier case of Biafra, the state-sponsored mass killing was also accompanied by mass rape and theft of property. Similarly, the genocidal violence in the Democratic Republic of the Congo was also gendered with mass rape as a major weapon of war especially in remote rural areas. The same pattern was observable in the Liberian and Sierra Leonean civil wars and in the Sudanese and South Sudanese conflicts. The war by Jonas Savimbi against Angola and with the support of apartheid South Africa, just like the post-colonial conflict in Mozambique, took place mainly in rural areas. The mass killing of South African miners in Marikana by the South African police could be classified as urban crimes because mining townships tended to be urbanized but the miners obviously came from rural labor reserves that should force criminologists to question the rural-urban dichotomy in Africa the way that Harold Wolpe (1972) did. Most urban dwellers in Africa maintain family links in rural areas to which they return periodically to sustain social reproduction.

b. Terrorism

Terrorism is another major crime that is perpetrated against rural dwellers in Africa by religious fundamentalists as part of what has been called the globalization of terrorism (Onwudiwe, 2001). The Lord's Resistance Army of Joseph Kony terrorized rural dwellers in Uganda for many years under the pretense that he wanted to enforce strict adherence to old testament biblical laws whereas his army specialized in the abduction of young girls as sex slaves, the use of young boys as child soldiers, the mass rape of women, looting of properties and mass murder in and around the borders of northern Uganda. The Ugandan army has also been accused of committing human rights violations in their war against the LRA (Muwerezwa, 2011). Similarly, the Al-Shabaab Islamic militia has terrorized Somalia and Kenya for decades with the aim of establishing strict adherence to the laws of the Koran but their actions in indiscriminate bombings and killings of innocent people speak to a terrorist agenda that affect rural dwellers disproportionately in the rural areas under their control. As Laura Hammond puts it:

While the federal government is now, with AMISOM support, in charge of all of the major urban centres in Somalia, much of rural Somalia remains in the hands of al-Shabaab. Taking these areas militarily will be slow and costly. It is not even clear whether military action would be most effective in these areas; a more successful strategy might involve negotiations with clan leaders and extension of effective alternative governance into rural areas in the hopes that others will join once their confidence in the legitimacy and effectiveness of the government has been bolstered. That, clearly, is a best-case scenario. Al-Shabaab operatives, many of whom have disappeared into rural communities, are waiting for the new government to make one or more wrong steps. They will jump at any sign of weakness or failure that the government shows, and are in no great hurry to act.... President Hassan's early visits to areas outside Mogadishu may have been framed precisely to reach out to potential constituents in rural areas; now it will be up to his government to further the project of building support (Hammond, 2013).

While Hammond expresses the widely held opinion that military action does not promise much by way of solutions for the crisis of terrorism in Africa, military action remains the major, if not the sole, strategy of African governments and by the US AFRICOM operations especially in rural areas. Equally dramatically, the Boko Haram sect in Nigeria has killed thousands of Nigerians and kidnapped hundreds of school girls to be used as sex slaves in pursuit of their stated aim of creating a strict Islamic state in Nigeria. A similar attempt by Jihadists probably

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from the NATO war against Libya attempted to seize power in Mali before being repelled by an international force led by France. In Algeria and in Egypt, the winning of elections by Islamic fundamentalist parties led to military take-over of government and to a protracted period of terrorist and state-sponsored violence that spilled over from the urban centers of political power to the rural enclaves of the Islamic militia. Oriola (2012) has analyzed how the struggle for control over resources in the extractive industries resulted in campaigns of terror by militants who kidnapped oil workers and bombed public places in Nigeria to force the government to make concessions to their rural communities. Events like the attack against the editorial board of the satirical magazine, *Charlie Hebdo*, in Paris and the subsequent attacks on France and Belgium by radical Islamic terrorists serve as reminders that some immigrants from rural Africa and the Middle East could be radicalized in Europe under repressive policing and forced to join terrorist groups (Agozino, 2015). The terrorization of peaceful demonstrators who were simply asserting their right to commemorate the millions of their fellow citizens who were killed during the Nigeria-Biafra conflict but who were routinely massacred by the Nigerian government led Amnesty International to release a denunciation of such extra judicial killings (Amnesty International, 2016).

c. Kidnapping

Kidnapping is a growing threat across Africa from the Somali pirates to incessant kidnapping for ransom in countries like Nigeria. The situation is so bad that Diaspora Africans returning to their home villages for a visit are advised to hire police officers to guard them 24 hours a day and strongly urged by loved ones not to spend a night in the villages where everyone knew them but instead go to the relative safety of urban anonymity. Yet, many such cases of kidnapping were traced to family members trying to extort money from their loved ones, sometimes by kidnapping themselves or arranging their own kidnapping (Oriola, 2012). Armed robbery is a related crime wave that is not only restricted to urban areas but flourishes in rural places across Africa (Falola and Thomas, 2013).

d. Farm Theft and Rural Violence

One type of crime that may be uniquely rural is the theft of farm produce and the rustling of cattle by raiders that may have been part of the history of agrarian societies for ages. The difference is that modern thieves of farm produce are mechanized as they use lorries to cart away their loot and they are better armed with machine guns with which to overpower any guards. A related crime arises from the conflict between farmers and cattle pastoralists across Africa due to the high probability that someone's cattle ate some else's corn. Increasingly, the cattle drivers are armed with automatic weapons, presumably to ward off cattle raiders, but they tend to deploy such weapons against their agrarian neighbors and cause massive loss of lives. Attempts to forcibly settle the nomadic pastoralists in ranches in Uganda resulted in more conflict between them and the state (Muhereza, 1998). What is not unique about such crimes is the tendency for the attacks on rural farms to result in homicide as has been documented in the case of South Africa where many white farmers have been killed since the end of

apartheid. What is not always admitted is that poor Southern African rural and urban dwellers are disproportionately victims of crime as this report indicates:

Some 18 million people — more than 46% of South Africa's population — live in rural areas, and years of racial discrimination have ensured that this population are predominantly very poor, undereducated and underemployed. While crime in the rural areas is commonly thought to be less extensive than in the more developed urban areas, surveys indicate that people living in rural areas are victimised at rates similar to those of their urban counterparts. While the overall chances of becoming a victim may be similar, the impact of victimisation may be more severe in rural areas. Without access to social services and other support, the rural poor are the least able to deal with the impact of crime. The research conducted for this monograph surveyed 756 inhabitants of 40 predominantly African rural settlements in the Eastern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal, Mpumalanga, the Northern Province, the North-West and the Free State. Of these respondents, 56.9% were victims of at least one crime between July 1993 and July 1998. The most common crime was stocktheft (16.9% of the sample), with burglary and violent crime — murder, sexual assault and assault — respectively affecting 15.6% and 13.1% of the respondents. The majority of the victims of crime believed that, with the exception of stock theft, crime was committed by people living in their areas. Indeed, 72% of the victims of violent crime indicated that they knew their offenders — 58% by name and 14% by sight (ISS, 2000).

e. Witchcraft

Witch hunting is increasingly common across Africa especially in places that are predominantly Christian. Some parents suspect that the reason why they could not get a steady employment was because their child or aged mother was a witch who cast a spell on them. Many children are murdered by their loved ones for this reason and many old women, especially those who do not have children to protect them, are killed in the name of the father and of the son, as Mary Daly (1978) put it in the case of medieval Europe. Relating this worsening trend to increasing poverty across Africa, Kat Nickerson (2013) indicated how common witch hunting was especially in rural parts of Africa where women are the main targets of male killers:

- July 5, 2013 – Kenya, police report that at least 20 elderly people killed monthly in Kilifi County on account of witchcraft allegations.
- May 10, 2013- Zimbabwe, two elderly women accused as witches die after drinking a potion forced upon them by a local healer

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- March 30, 2013 – Zambia, two elderly people identified as witches axed to death. Woman (63) axed to death by her nephew and man (89) by his son
- Feb.12, 2013- Kenya, 11 elderly residents identified as witches burned to death by a Kisii mob
- June 2012- Mozambique, 60 cases of violence against elderly connected to witchcraft reported in first quarter of 2012.
- June 2011, Mozambique, 20 elderly people identified as witches killed between the years 2010- 2011.
- June 2009 – Kenya, 5 elderly suspected of witchcraft (two men and three women) burned to death in Kisii in front of the entire village. (There is a video of this on YouTube.)
- March 2009- Gambia, 1,000 villagers most of whom were elderly rounded up by police, army, and President Yahya Jammeh's personal guard then made to drink potions which made them very ill and several died, all because it was claimed that president's aunt died on account of witchcraft.
- May 2008 – Kenya, killing of 11 elderly suspected of witchcraft (eight women, three men) in Kisii.
- April 2003- Uganda, 1 man beheaded because of suspected witchcraft.
- June 2001- DR Congo, 800 alleged witches reported killed in the dry region of the Congo
- May 2000- Ghana & South Africa, several hundred woman killed by mobs in refugee camps accused of being witches.
- 1998-1994- Tanzania, 5,000 people killed in witch hunts over four years (Amnesty International) 80% were elderly women killed by young men between the ages of 16-35.
- 1988- 1970- Sukumaland, Tanzania, 3,072 accused witches were killed in Sukumaland more than two-thirds of the total witch killings for Tanzania. Approximately 80% were women between 50 and 60 years of age

Some writers use cases like the Wakamba Witch-killing Trials of 1931-1932 and similar cases to suggest that killing witches is part of African tradition. In that case, Mwaiki, a Kamba woman, was killed by village leaders in 1931 after alleging that she was bewitching another woman. Consequently, in the case known as *Rex v. Kumwaka s/o of Mulumbi and 69 Others*, tried in the Supreme Court of Kenya, 60 of the 70 defendants were sentenced to death for murder but the governor commuted them to life imprisonment. The defendants had unsuccessfully argued that according to their tradition, they had a right to remove witches from their community by killing them. It may be true that pre-colonial Africa had ways of removing a witch from a community but it did not necessarily involve mass killing of old women given that removal from the community could be in the form of exile or, more commonly, social shunning of the individual by the rest of

the community who expect that the outcast would be punished by the deities and by the ancestors, if the patriarch and the community elders fail to resolve the issues (Onyeoziri and Ebbe, 2012).

Although Diop (1959:39-41) recognized that different African societies believed in the existence of 'magician-eater-of-men' who is different from a traditional witch doctor, the discovery of such a being did not demand the execution but may require thorough beating to force him to release his magical powers from his body and thereby stop harming people. This idea that Diop attributes to the earliest days of African mentality may be similar to the demonological perspective in criminology except that, unlike Europeans, Africans did not engage in the genocidal murder of millions of women in the exorcism ritual. On the contrary, due to bureaucratic red tape delays and exorbitant costs or the desire for monetary reparations, both educated and illiterate Nigerians are more likely to appeal to the authority of rural shrines to divine truth and justice (when attempts by the family council or the council of elders in the town fail to resolve a dispute satisfactorily) but with the enduring expectation that the shrine may claim the life of the guilty party (Okafo, 2012).

Similar reports indicate that chiefs and sub chiefs have been empowered by an Act of parliament in Kenya to help regulate community resources like access to water in rural areas and to maintain order in places where police patrols are scarce or non-existent (Mbuba and Mugambi, 2011). Oko Elechi (2006) contributes to this discourse with a focus on the Afikpo and how they have managed to do justice without the repressive obsessions of the state but by simply focusing on the needs of the victims for restorative justice and for the benefit of our common humanity or Ubuntu. Omale (2006) concurs with Elechi's conclusion. However, Okereke (2006) warns that both statutory laws and traditional customary or religious laws in Africa tend to be patriarchal and prone to support the abuse of women by tolerating wife beating, abduction of girls, and disinheritance, to which we can add unfair witchcraft accusations by men.

The killing of witches is better established in Abrahamic religious traditions that were imposed on Africans by passages such as Exodus 22: 18, where it is commanded that: "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live". The beheading of a Sudanese immigrant in Saudi Arabia recently for witchcraft and sorcery suggests that Islamic law also prescribes capital punishment for witchcraft. Wrongly assuming that traditional law in Africa provided for capital punishment for witches, Mutungi (1971) calls for the ambiguity of the laws in East Africa where the statute books recognize the existence of witchcraft in Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania but reject the defense of provocation to be amended by recognizing that people who feel threatened by witches have a right to self-defense. Quarmyne (2011) rejected such a witchcraft jurisprudence on the ground that the targeting of mostly women

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for elimination by mostly men for allegations that could not be proven beyond reasonable doubts constituted violations of human rights.

Evidence from Soyinka (2012) that African traditional religions are more tolerant points to the fact that suspected witches were not sentenced to death in the past and such killings by adherents of foreign religions in Africa are traceable to the intolerant traditions of such religions that saw an estimated nine million people killed as witches in medieval Europe. Unfortunately, the disarticulation of the tolerant traditional African traditions has resulted in superstitious beliefs in what is known as 'muti' (possibly mutilation) in Swaziland where people may be killed and mutilated to make 'powerful medicine' (Agozino, 2005). In Nigeria people are frequently killed and their body parts sold by medicine men for the concoction of wealth-making 'money-medicine'. The Nigerian police advertises ritual murder hotspots where it is suspected that people could be kidnapped for ritual but most of such unsafe places were urban locations although the police have also discovered rural forests and shrines with heaps of body parts across the country.

f. Same-Sex Relationships

Related to the witch hunting in many parts of Africa is the witch-hunting of Africans involved in same sex relationships. There is no record that Africans persecuted people based on sexuality before colonization but there is abundant evidence that the laws against homosexuality in Africa were introduced by European colonial administrations and by Islamic clerics. Despite the fact that the European countries that imposed such laws on Africans have since abolished them in their home countries in Europe, African countries like Nigeria and Uganda are reinforcing them and thereby promoting violence against people suspected to be engaged in same-sex relationships.

South Africa under the presidency of Nelson Mandela ended such persecution and legalized marriage equality in South Africa but other African countries with bigger problems to solve still obsess about who consenting adult Africans choose to hold and to love (Judge, et al, 2008). In Nigeria where traditional forms of theatrical performance (Gelede among the Yoruba and Agbomma among the Igbo) privilege cross-dressing, sharia laws in parts of the country state that people could be stoned to death for cross-dressing. Whereas the Nigerian security services proved incapable of rescuing hundreds of school girls kidnapped by Boko Haram terrorists as sex slaves over a month earlier, police officials were proud to announce that they arrested dozens of 'naked lesbians' having an orgy in a pub against the law on same-sex relationships in the country. A report stated that the women were lured from nearby rural areas to perform sex acts for money in the state capital (Oguigo, 2014).

g. Sex Trafficking

As suggested above, sex trafficking and sex work are rampant across Africa perhaps due to the failure to legalize sex work and thereby protect the sex workers from persecution, exploitation and abuse (Sudbury, 2005). Many of the sex workers are lured from rural areas with promises of lucrative work in the cities or in Europe only for them to be pimped and exploited as sex slaves or to be treated as criminals by immigration officials (Angel-Ajani, 2000). Evidence from Nevada, Senegal and the Netherlands where sex work has been legalized and sexually transmitted diseases reduced as a result of the regulation of the health of sex workers should encourage African states to consider democratizing the sex trade while using education to get women and men the choice not to sell their bodies for a living and the customers not to buy sexual services. Reports of the trafficking of children for sex by peacekeeping officers in Africa and other parts of the world abound (Angathangelou and Ling, 2013). Sex trafficking of minors may also be a reflection of the prohibition of sex work by consenting adults given that the regulation of sex work will relatively prevent children from being forced to work in the industry. African countries also continue to enforce colonial era laws prohibiting abortion but this makes it more difficult for rural women to procure safe abortion when needed, exposing most of them to quacks who contribute to the high rates of maternal mortality. The denial of women's right to choose probably also contributes to an atmosphere where men behave as if they have a right to the bodies of women, resulting in widespread domestic violence and child abuse. The marriage of pre-teenage girls to dirty old men continues to be tolerated specially in rural areas where illiterate parents are not aware of the rights of their girl-children but also in urban locations where the legislatures make laws allowing child marriage and allowing men to marry multiple wives based on patriarchal interpretations of tradition (Amadiume, 2000). Although female genital mutilation has been outlawed, the practice remains popular in many parts of Africa (Abdalla, 2007).

h. Cultural Theft and Environmental Crime

The problem of illegal trafficking in cultural artifacts has also been identified as a criminal problem that affects rural dwellers adversely. Following the looting of antiques and sacred objects by colonial invaders across Africa, the market for looted objects from Africa continues to thrive with the support of corrupt African officials who may sanction attacks against rural dwellers when they try to resist such thefts (Ojedokun, 2012). Similarly, the crime of environmental pollution affects rural dwellers in Africa disproportionately given that public figures like the former Chief Economist of the World Bank and later President Barack Obama economic adviser and president of Harvard University, Larry Summers, 'sarcastically' suggested that it was rational for companies to dump toxic waste in Africa because 'under-populated countries in Africa are grossly UNDER-polluted' (Johnson et al, 2007), original emphasis. The trade in

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endangered animal parts across Africa also threatens to completely destroy many rare species. In addition, the open cast mining of minerals in Africa and the spilling of oil by drilling companies have devastated the natural environment of many rural communities in Africa. Yet, environmental criminology remains blind to these issues by focusing exclusively on the cartographic paradigm of using the GPS to map crimes in mostly urban areas (Agozino, 2009). Those who can be identified as Green criminologists are addressing the issues of toxic waste dumping in Ivory Coast (MacManus, 2014). Similarly, Ajibo (2016) explored the implications of cross border hazardous waste dumping for African development given the balkanization of Africa into separate countries by imperialism. The international ban on ivory sales and the continuation of elephant poaching in Africa was critiqued by Lemiux and Clarke (2014).

i. War on Drugs

Finally, the war on drugs is fought out in rural Africa where farmers grow a drug like marijuana for a decent income but at the threat of being arrested by law enforcement agents who demand bribes or threaten to seize the farmlands of peasant farmers. Development experts suggest that drugs consumption and trade are linked to decreased productivity in the labor force, pose a threat to the youth, lead to environmental degradation, contribute to violence, create health problems and lead to social disorganization. Many of these problems are apparent in African rural areas especially in war-thorn countries and regions. However, Carrier and Klantshnig (2012) conclude that many of these problems associated with the drug trade and drug consumption can be explained by the effects of the war on drugs and so if that war is ended and African countries regulate the trade and consumption of drugs legally as they do with the more dangerous trade and consumption of alcohol, many of the problems associated with the war on drugs will disappear in Africa and education would combine with public health to reduce the harm of drug consumption.

Discussion and Future Directions:

Donnermeyer and DeKeseredy (2014) examined a number of myths about rural crime that this papyrus appears to reflect. The rural-urban dichotomy is not very helpful in criminology because virtually every crime that occurs in rural areas also occurs in urban areas, forcing us to be hesitant about declaring that there is anything like rural crime when there is only crime in rural areas. Some also suggest that stronger collective efficacy may result in lower crime rates but, especially in cases of mass violence such as genocide and witch-hunting, the opposite may be the result. The rates of crime in rural areas of Africa are not necessarily lower or less significant compared to rates in urban areas given the lower population density in rural areas where the majority of Africans continue to live. Rural Africa should not be seen as a Jekyll and Hyde character

because, like every location where human beings live in great numbers, there are social problems that the people themselves could solve through progressive activism, creative experimentation and indigenous critical thought that may teach criminologists a thing or two about deviance and social control in general (Tutu and Tutu, 2014).

This papyrus suggests that genocidal crimes against Africans need to be addressed with reparative justice programs that would help to sensitize the people towards greater social justice (Agozino, 2004). The crimes against humanity that took place during the hundreds of years of slavery call for reparative justice from the countries and companies that benefitted from them but African countries also need to institute reparations for the post-colonial crimes of the genocidal state. This departs from the focus of conventional criminology on the punishment of individual offenders and prioritizes the rehabilitation of victims and survivors through forgiveness and reparations (Tutu and Tutu, 2014).

The papyrus also implies that Africans need to embark on a major project of education as part of the efforts to recover our cultural preference for tolerance that has seen thousands of distinct multicultural groups thriving in Africa compared to the preference for monoculturalism in many other parts of the world. The persecution of poor women and children as witches, the witch-hunting of people in same-sex relationships, the witch-hunting of Africans who use recreational drugs, the hounding of sex-workers, and violence against African immigrants in Africa are all indications of the educational deficits that need to be tackled by educators within the context of cultural, political and economic unity of Africa.

The major conclusion from this papyrus is that rural dwellers in Africa do not completely lack agency in the area of social control. The technologies that Africans have traditionally relied upon to maintain order should be studied further and refined to eliminate any oppressive aspects while the positive strengths should be abstracted and applied to the organization of communities across Africa. The role of the state should not be only that of the punitive patriarch but also that of the caring mother who provides for the welfare of her children. African states should unite in providing for the deepening of democracy in the villages by requiring every community to elect its ruling council with term limits rather than rely on colonial chiefs and religious elite. The states should also budget to offer the rural dwellers agricultural subsidies and enterprise start-up grants to reduce the inequalities that sometimes lead to power struggles over crumbs.

The status of women in rural and urban Africa also needs to be critically addressed through policies of parity in public offices. Given the leadership roles that African women played in liberation struggles across Africa, it is a disservice to the people to have men monopolize power in post-colonial

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Africa. The example of the African Union Commission parliament with 50-50 gender parity should be adopted across Africa while the colonial boundaries should be abolished to allow men and women the freedom to move to parts of Africa of their choice and settle down to marry, trade, get education or run for office. With women in office as equals, Africans may be in a better position to end oppressive widowhood practices and abusive practices such as mass abduction of girls, mass rape, and forced child marriages.

A theoretical conclusion from this papyrus is that criminology needs to pay more attention to the crisis in Africa but without assuming that the repressive technologies that have basically failed in Europe and North America would automatically succeed when transplanted to Africa. Criminologists should ask less what their discipline could do for Africans and seek more what Africans could teach criminologists. One major lesson from Africa is the need to address historic wrongs as part of the efforts to prevent future and present dangers in every part of the world. When Africa is united, we can have the African Court of Human Rights with emphasis on reparative justice as opposed to racist, sexist, imperialist selective punitive justice.

The policy conclusion in this papyrus is that Africa and the world should move away from militarism as a solution to world problems because militarism breeds more violence and insecurity at the inter-personal, communal, national and international levels. The African philosophy of non-violence needs to be rehabilitated as the effective criminological tool worldwide. Such a philosophy remains vibrant in rural Africa against the odds and should receive increasing attention from all criminologists (Elechi, 2006). For instance, funding the establishment of cattle ranches across Africa to support the supply of dairy products that would reduce the stunted growth of the children would also reduce violence between cattle herders and peasant farmers while contributing to job creation and poverty reduction whereas a militarized punitive response would escalate the violence.

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