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BIKO AGOZINO AND THE RISE OF POST-COLONIAL CRIMINOLOGY

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“Indeed, there is something hauntingly unreal about a scholarly discipline dedicated to the study of crime, the criminal and the criminal law that focuses almost exclusively upon the actions of law-breaking individuals, while turning a blind eye to the mass terrorism imposed upon innocent people by slavery, colonialism and their continuing legacies.”

-Stephen Pfohl, Foreword to Counter-Colonial Criminology: A Critique of Imperialist Reason.

The statement above succinctly captures the thrust of the argument of Agozino (2003). From the title of Agozino’s book, *Counter-Colonial Criminology: A Critique of Imperialist Reason*, it is evident that Agozino seeks a reformation and overhaul of what he calls ‘Administrative Criminology’ or what one chooses to call ‘Establishment Criminology,’ culminating in a change in its

assumptions, focus, objectives, theories and methods. This paper is divided into two parts. The first part is an overview of *Counter-Colonial Criminology: A Critique of Imperialist Reason*, while the second part is an examination of the present state of Criminology and the need for Post-Colonial Criminology; theories and methods of this new sub-discipline and the challenges ahead.

Agozino (2003:1) makes it abundantly clear from the onset that his book is a 'transdisciplinary theoretico-methodological intervention aimed at decolonizing theories and methods of imperialist reason in criminology.' Criminologists and other social and natural scientists, he argued, colluded with the forces of colonialism and provided 'scientific' justification for their heinous crimes against the other half - a supposedly unfit part of questionable humanity. Agozino examines various theories in criminology and found an inherent and consistent bias in favour of the dominant groups in the society. Thus, criminology and criminologists focus on the petty crimes of hapless and helpless individuals, while largely ignoring the more atrocious, multi-dimensional and far more debilitating crimes committed under slavery, colonialism and the ceaseless neo-colonialism.

Turning to the reality of maintenance of social order, Agozino argues that democracy, law and order are in actual fact, 'organized violence.' He points out instances of 'executive lawlessness,' perpetrated with impunity, while criminologists focus on lower class crimes. Agozino argues that in 'criminal states,' the right to rebel must be recognized as a fundamental human right. He argues that without the recognition of the right to rebel, society will remain a slave to the state. He calls for the trial of the South African state for the injustices of apartheid.

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On the question of objectivity, Agozino opines that 'objectivity is not positionlessness.' In an attempt to be seen as objective, criminologists have tended to separate fact and value. Agozino argues that it is impossible and undesirable to separate social science from social action. The idea of 'value-free' science is actually pretentious and has been used to subjugate the other half of the world. He calls for 'committed objectivity.' Objectivity to him is not a non-committal value-neutrality in social research, but 'the ability to take a position and argue it logically without concealing or distorting opposing positions.'

The hydra-headed issue of racism receives comprehensive coverage in Agozino. He cites the example of the brutal murder of Stephen Lawrence in England and the outright bungling of the case nay dereliction of duties by the police as an indication that racism is not only institutionalized, but is well and alive in the U.K as well as a number of Western societies. In Agozino's view, Criminologists did not take up such a case because 'criminology was developed primarily as a tool for imperialist domination and it continues to operate largely as a repressive technology' (288). Included in this technology are the police, police, prisons, army and so on, which neo-colonial states have adopted hook, line and sinker.

Agozino examines African literature and brings out themes coterminous with radical criminology, while African criminologists pre-occupied themselves with wholesale consumption of out-dated texts from the western world, uncritically teaching generations of students imperial theories and contributing little or nothing to their discipline. African writers like Chinua Achebe, Ngungi Wa Thiongo, Festus Iyayi, Fatunde, and

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Wole Soyinka are at the fore-front of attempts to develop a relevant criminology for Africa, while ‘the man died’ quite obviously in African criminologists.

Agozino questions the misrepresentation of African countries in western eyes, where for instance, Nigeria is perceived as a highly criminogenic society par excellence even in the crime-ridden United States with over two million prisoners, mainly from those on the lower rungs of the ladder among the minorities. Nigeria, he argues, spends only \$5 billion a year to run the entire country, while the holier-than-thou US spends over \$20 billion a year to manage ‘the profitable prison industrial complex.’ Agozino challenges all criminologists to ‘get real’ and stop assuming that all those who are in prison are criminals.

As examples of Counter-Counter Criminology, Agozino cites the works of Kwame Nkrumah, which he argues should be a compulsory text for any Criminology class dealing with white-collar crimes as it brings out the details of organized violence with the case of imperialist attempt to murder Patrice Lumumba. He mentions the works of Frantz Fanon, whose works like *The Wretched of the Earth* and *A Dying Colonialism* ought to be a must read. Other scholars like Walter Rodney and Frantz Fanon should also be studied alongside apartheid literature. Agozino bemoans the state of underdevelopment of Criminology in underdeveloped countries, where it is aligned with imperialist powers. Agozino makes a passionate plea for the *decolonization* of Criminology.

The Present State of Criminology

‘Establishment’ criminology as well as its mother-discipline has proven to be grossly deficient, conservative by

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nature and imperialistically inclined. Sutherland and Cressey (1960) defined criminology as ‘the body of knowledge regarding crime as a social phenomenon...processes of making laws, of breaking laws and of reacting to the breaking of laws.’ However, from time immemorial, criminologists have concentrated on a tiny fragment of the crimes committed in the society. Coleman (2006:1) argues that muggers, murderers and drug-dealers are perceived by most people as being at ‘the heart of the crime problem.’ He states that the damage done by respectable criminals who wear white collars dwarfs the crimes of common, lower-class criminals. Clearly, a few criminologists since the days of Sutherland (1949) have begun to focus on the crimes of well-placed and respectable people in the society. Interestingly, such criminologists, whose focus is on white-collar crimes remain few, far-between and peripheral in the field of criminology. Besides, criminologists focusing on white collar crimes have merely scratched the surface of a truly gargantuan problem. The reason for this is their continued operation within the precinct of Establishment criminology with the accompanying theories and methods. They have also largely ignored crimes of the most grueling and catastrophic consequences – state crimes, slavery, colonialism, neo-colonialism and the on-going larger than life ‘war on terror.’

The theories of ‘the strange business of criminology’ (Cohen, 1988:277) as currently constituted are either deterministic or overly-simplistic. With the benefit of hindsight, Cesare Lombroso, regarded as the father of positivistic criminology, did not do the society much good by shifting the locus of crime from the society itself to individuals. Lombroso, however, succeeded in creating an army of middle-class ‘crime warriors’, who though

completely removed from the crime scene, are in search of 'hard facts' about crime and the 'ideal criminal.' As a consequence, we have theories of crime such as social disorganization, which performed the miracle of knowing criminals by where they live and which together with lower-class based theories of crime such as those of Cloward and Ohlin (1961), Miller (1962) and so on situated crime among poor, working class people, who are happily and coincidentally overwhelmingly black. Crime solving has never been so easy. You can tell criminals by their geographical location and the colour of their skin. This has grievous implications for the operation of the criminal justice system. It is no accident that racial minorities are over-represented in the prisons in countries like the U.K and U.S, while Aboriginal populations in countries like Australia, Canada and New Zealand bear the brunt of the crime burden. Racial minorities and Aboriginal persons have been the subject of innumerable ostensible empirical studies of crime essentially aimed at passing a guilty verdict or reinforcing pre-conceived stereotypes. Kalunta-Crompton, (2004) argues that people of African descent are particularly subject of enquiry in debates about crime. Green (1998:47) argues that 'the war on drug is in everyway a war on the poor and the non-white; the war on crime is primarily a way of ware-housing black men.' To that, one might add that the 'war on terror' is primarily a war on the oil reserves of helpless countries and the bombs being dropped have the uncanny ability of locating civilians, especially women and children. Green (1998) argues further that 'blackness itself is treated as a pathology, so that perfectly well-dressed black men (and black women) will be followed around department stores by store detectives or harassed or even beaten (or killed) by policemen

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on only the vaguest suspicion.’ Green (1998) asserts further the fear of under-cover black detectives, who are troubled by the thought of being mistaken for criminals by their white, trigger-happy colleagues, whose idea of a criminal is a young black person.

Undoubtedly, the average white person cannot and should not be blamed for this ontological fallacy and non-factual inaccuracy. ‘The experts’ on crime and delinquency – so called criminologists – nay methodological monists are the guilty party. Facts have been presented to buttress the argument that blacks are responsible for the crime problem in multi-racial societies. However, several facts exist in the world and one will surely get whatever facts one searches for. Just as *facts* point to visible minorities as the arch-typical criminals; it is also possible to use *facts* to prove otherwise. According to Heidegger (2001: 54), a fact is something real, but is not reality. As Smandych (2001:x1v) puts it ‘Every book that is written for teaching purposes reflects, to a certain extent, the experiences and biases of the author/instructor.’ Needless to point out that most books and articles espousing one criminological theory or the other have been largely from a section of the world, while the other half consumes that which has been produced, ultra-uncritically. Sadly, the general public in both Western societies and the developing world assess and relate to others based on these theories, supposedly containing *facts*. Consequently, rather than providing a credible and realistic explanation of crime, Establishment criminology and criminologists have overwhelmingly distorted reality, created disaffection between whites and minorities; making the former to believe that the latter is devil-reincarnated and thus, engendering a

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safety valve for the rich and powerful in the society to subjugate the less privileged – white and black alike – since being rich has become inadvertently equated with legal piety.

In the attempt to be ‘objective,’ criminologists as well as other mainstream (essentially male-stream) social scientists, have needlessly tried to ape their counterparts in the ‘hard-core’ sciences. Young (2004:19) argues that “where the weakness of statistics is plain to the researchers, yet they continue to force-feed inadequate data into their personal computers, here the problem of lying, whether by exaggeration or concealment, does not stop the researchers, for more than a moment, in their scientific task.” Young (2004) cites the didactic comments cum piece of advice of Richard Lewontin, a Professor of Biology for Sociologists in general. Lewontin’s comment is worth quoting at length:

“The answer surely is to be less ambitious and stop trying to make Sociology into a natural science although it is, indeed, the study of natural objects. There are some things in the world that we will never know and many that we will never know exactly. Each domain of phenomena has its characteristic grain of knowability. Biology is not Physics, because human societies are made of self-conscious organism. By pretending to a kind of knowledge that it cannot achieve, social science can only engender the scorn of natural scientists and the cynicism of humanists.”

Lewontin, (1995a:29); cited in Young, 2004:19)

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Young (2004:20) further argues that of all branches of Sociology and Psychology, Criminology appears to be the discipline in which ‘the problem of unchecked positivism is greatest.’ This he states is because of the lure of funding, hence, ‘the material basis for the revitalization of positivist criminology is considerable and...approaching hegemonic.’ The main tenet of Young’s argument is that we live in a time of rapid change, where uncertainty is the only thing that is certain. From an ethnomethodological standpoint, nothing is ever completely knowable. What is thought to be known rests on a delicate and highly precarious foundation. Young (2004:23) states that it is almost as if the change occurs and the factors scuttle after them. Consequently, ‘the positivist dream of a scientific Sociology of crime which attempts to objectively relate cause and effect, becomes all the more impossible in late modernity...you need narratives; correlations alone cannot assure causality.’

Obviously, there is no unified social reality; rather multiple-realities pervade our ‘lifeworld.’ Social reality is never the same everywhere contrary to the belief of the nomothetics. Extra-theoretical factors like religion, culture, values are more important than an objective or observable fact in explaining what does appear and how it is perceived, interpreted and acted upon. Correctional services in New Zealand have taken up the gauntlet by examining the *cultural factors* in Maori offenders, which considers the cultural identity of the individual and the cultural explanations of the offense committed among others (McFarlane-Nathan, 1999). Zimring (2001:26) warns that long range predictions (about the volume of youth violence) are error-prone. The idea is that criminal conducts as well as other observable facts

are the finished products of a complex socio-psychological and cultural process initiated by factors that do not easily lend themselves to measurement. **Hence, the inherent blunder in positivist pro-establishment criminology.** Little wonder, **Sennett (1995; cited in Young, 2004:20)** argues that ‘American Sociology has become a refuge for the academically challenged.’

Examining the question of objectivity, Agozino (2003:163) states that ‘objectivity is not positionlessness,’ but a procedure of taking a position without concealing or distorting oppositions to the position taken.’ Young (2004:26) calls for ‘ethnographic method that can deal with reflexivity...’ Ethnographic method will surely be a most welcome refreshing change from the highly omniscient and straight-jacketed approach of chronic positivists, whose results are already well-known before they ventured into the field. ‘Scientists’ do fake research (Munro, 2006). However, one must be quick to add that people must be studied not as some subdued or captive subjects with western eyes, but in the context of their cultural milieu. Ethnographic accounts of African societies provided by early Anthropologists show that even ethnography can be manipulated by ‘scientists.’ For example, early Anthropologists claimed to have found Africans living on trees. How possible within the bounds of reason can people live on trees? How many humans can a tree accommodate? How convenient would this be? No doubt, the idea of people living on trees was the figment of the imagination of those who wrote about it. Admittedly, Africans might not have lived in high-rise buildings, but they certainly built their own houses with materials sourced from the environment in a sustainable manner. The misleading fairy tales of Anthropologists contributed to the gory treatment meted out to Africans under

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slavery. 'Objective' Social scientists, such as Criminologists, Sociologists, Psychologists and otherwise 'learned' fellows at law provided crucial information utilized during slavery and felt morally justified to do so; afterall, the blacks were savage people.

Wender (2004:50) points out what he calls 'an elective affinity between mainstream social scientific knowledge and bureaucratic praxis.' He argues that the coalition of mainstream social science and bureaucracy has led to the 'problemitisation of the human being.' Wender's concept of *problemitisation* of the human being conceals the fact that human beings have never been taken to be equal. Hence, in speaking of *human beings*, there is a need to be specific as to what type of human beings we are referring to. For instance, in the United States, the declaration of independence with its egalitarian rhetoric existed side by side with slavery for decades and the attempt to abolish slavery led to an internal carnage, the American civil war. Some, in all sincerity, could not believe that a 'negro' was equal with the perfect image of the Christian God, which books, magazines and virtually all human publications have shown to be white. From earlier debates about blacks not being fully human, (one of such arguments was the facial profile, which shows that of whites to be perfectly 90 degrees, while those of blacks and the Orangutan were relatedly shown to be sub-90 degrees, Graves, 2002: 67); to their portrayal as child-like and emotional (Hacker:1972) and the present day profiling of blacks as the 'ideal criminals,' it is doubtful if criminologists are aware of the damage being done to an entire race and the concomitant effects on the society at large. With methodologically ambiguous statistical data generated through funding from vested interests, criminologists are shaping the world

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after their own minds. No mention is ever made of the majority of blacks, in the US, for instance, who have never and will never commit crime. Research into why this vast majority never commits crime is never deemed necessary by the experts within and outside the Occident. Certainly, criminologists must begin to work with the assumption that criminality has no race and legal pietism has no ethnicity.

The experience of colonized peoples is a study in plunder, wanton destruction and total disruption of an ordered pattern of existence. This man's inhumanity to man has never been a concern to criminologists. Countries like 'Great' Britain (which now queues readily behind its former colony in international affairs), United States, Spain, Portugal, Germany and so forth that participated in slavery and colonialism ought to be viewed rightly as criminal states and pressurized by criminologists to pay for their sins. After shipping able-bodied men and women out of Africa en masse, subjugation was brought nearer home. Again, this is not the focus of the 'experts.' Very many of such colonized societies were arbitrarily shared at the Berlin conference of 1884-1885 amongst the 'superpowers.' After thorough economic parasitism, colonized societies were unilaterally concocted into nation-states. One of such is Nigeria. Only an all-knowing, omni-potent and *numero uno* principality like Britain could have merged such highly diverse people into a single 'nation.' Nearly 46 years after political 'independence,' Nigerians, if ever there is any, are still trying to forge a rationale for corporate existence amongst the various ethnic groups, numbering over 250; speaking over 400 different languages.

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The impact of the activities of colonialists and the scientific collaborators is still being felt today in Nigeria. For instance, Nigeria's legal tripartitism is at the same time confused and confusing. With the English Common law forcefully entrenched during colonialism and Customary law based on the norms and values of the people existing on supposed equal terms with the Islamic Shari'a law, the potential for anarchy is astronomical. There have been instances of the Shari'a court sentencing women to death by stoning for adultery, while acquitting the men involved because the mandatory requirement of four male witnesses to testify against each of the accused men could not be obtained. Section 55 of the Penal Code of Northern Nigeria permits the rather non-logical 'reasonable chastisement' of a woman by the husband. This legal confusion sprang from the dirty antics of the colonialists, who, while allowing Shari'a law in Northern Nigeria, encouraged Customary law in Southern Nigeria and imposed their own laws at the same time under the guise of 'indirect rule.' Nigerian criminologists are not bothered by this strange and estranging admixture of totally incongruent laws, rather they carry out their research under the circumstance where drinking, for example is banned by Shari'a in 12 of the 19 Northern states, but people can go into Army and Police barracks to drink without the fear of Shari'a. This passive and unquestioned acceptance of social order as *given* is one of the most fundamental issues that Post-Colonial Criminology seeks to address. It is an evidence of colonial mentality that Nigerian criminologists do not challenge Nigeria's bizarre combination of three different and absolutely unrelated laws.

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In a sense, the 'indirect rule' of the British in Nigeria was truly 'indirect.' This rule was indirect because the generation on whom it was imposed could not adequately feel its impact as successive generations on whom the subjugation is glaringly direct. These are issues Post-Colonial Criminology seeks to study rather than the drinking pattern of poverty-stricken factory workers or future deviance of ten-year olds in so-called longitudinal surveys which often end up as case studies of a handful of individuals, since most would have pulled out of the research out of sheer boredom or disinterestedness.

If Nigeria's case appears pathetic, the case of South Africa under apartheid defies any introduction. It is a classic drab prose of tragedy without any comic relief and a good example of what a society should strive not to be like. According to Johnston (1994:184) apartheid means 'separateness;' it is a philosophy that emanated from a combination of traditional South African practice, a belief in the racial superiority of whites and Afrikaner neo-colonial Calvinist theology. Johnston argues that apartheid indicates that every human race has its own unique destiny and cultural contribution to make to the world, hence, races should be kept separate and allowed to develop along their own lines. The Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa, the major church at the time, played a very crucial role in the legitimization and institutionalization of apartheid. Johnston (1994:184) argues that 'as in Europe, Christianity was equated with civilization and cultural refinement.' Blacks were thus perceived as the descendants of Ham, the son of Noah, who had been condemned to be the worst of all slaves.

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The gravest irony in apartheid is not necessarily the involvement of the church, but the very idea of complete strangers colonizing a foreign land and appointing themselves masters, putting in place some truly fascinating laws. Some of the laws as cited in Johnston (1994:183) include the following:

- The population registration Act of 1950: Classified individuals into one of three racial categories; white, coloured, or African. Subsequent laws subdivided coloureds into Indian and ‘other coloured.’
- The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949.
- The Immorality Act of 1950 (revised in 1957).
- The Black Abolition of Passes and Coordination of Documents Act of 1952. This controlled the movement of Africans as they were required to produce a ‘pass.’
- The Group Areas Act of 1950 (revised 1957 and 1966) placed restrictions on movement, place of residence and place of business.
- The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act of 1953 established as lawful ‘separate and unequal’ status for different races in all public spheres.
- The Bantu Education Act of 1953 placed the control of African education in the Native Affairs Department, thereby empowering the government to control the quality of African education.
- Others: The Suppression of Communism Act of 1950, The Internal Security Act of 1976, sabotage Act of 1962 and Terrorism Act of 1967 which gave the government the license to extinguish any opposition to apartheid that might arise.

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Under such laws and chaotic atmosphere, conditions of crime and criminality were rife. The state's policy was to repress the blacks. Some blacks reacted through pockets of violence and other petty 'illegitimate acts.' Scholars who could not bear the bloodshed left the scene for voluntary exile, while others, mainly white South Africans continued with the usual business. Silove (1990) reports the complicity of medical doctors in the torture and consequent death of Steve Biko, an Anti-apartheid activist in South Africa in 1977. It took a medical doctor to research into such a case and not a criminologist! Hobbs (2004:5) states that 'during apartheid, the path of organized crime was not only paved by criminal syndicates, but also by the government.' One of such was the special task force led by Wouter Basson. In a Pretoria High court in 2000, the judge and the lawyers were shocked as a former Information Officer of the apartheid regime, Wouter Basson, confessed to having killed over 200 black people personally by poisoning them and then giving them a leisurely flight in a small, official airplane from where they were promptly thrown overboard into the sea. He claimed to have considered the killing of the anti-apartheid fighters a part of his plum job. This account was provided by an anonymous writer. The style of writing makes it very unlikely that the writer is a criminologist. Gordimer (1975), for instance, wrote novels, essays, polemics and short stories depicting the dehumanizing conditions of apartheid. She won the 1991 Nobel Prize for Literature for her efforts. Kavanagh (1985) uses the history of the theatre from the period before apartheid to the apartheid era when entertainment segregation laws were enacted with a combination of the Zulu and Bantu oral traditions. It is morally instructive that black church leaders like Arch-Bishop

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Desmond Tutu and activists with no criminology background like Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo were hailed as the heroes of apartheid struggle from 1948 (Sheridan and Davis, 1991). When experts on crime were needed by the oppressed people of South Africa to give an intellectual depth and finesse to their struggle, they refused to align with the masses. What is being published by the experts today deserves some attention.

Kynoch (2003) in *Apartheid Nostalgia: Personal Security in South African Townships* suggests that South Africans – black and white alike – were safer under the conditions of apartheid than under black rule! While Cilliers (1994) wrote on ‘Rethinking South African Security Architecture,’ (in the same year that the oppression that began in 1948 was ending); Louw and Shaw (1997) focused on the impact of crime on the poor in South Africa. Others concentrated on migration problems, HIV/AIDS in the Police and so forth. As Agozino (2003) suggests, Criminologists must stop assessing issues like the holocaust, slavery, apartheid and colonialism as fascinating historical events that happened years ago. Such incidents must not be left to Historians to study. We must examine them continuously as part of the constitutive elements of the prevailing social order. Only then can we understand the nature of crime, law and order in the society.

Besides, it is pertinent at this juncture to ask: Do criminologists pay cognizance to events as they unfold? It is doubtful if criminologists feel the pulse of the generality of the people to know what truly bothers them and require scientific study. One has argued elsewhere (See *The Manitoban*, March 29th, 2006; 8) that issues like war, genocide and ethnic skirmishes appeared to be what Western media organizations are interested in

and that such reports are often over sensationalised, thus misrepresenting the third world, particularly Africa, Africans and people of African descent. However, criminologists rarely turn their criminological binoculars on wars, genocide and state crimes despite their constant media coverage and multifaceted consequences for mankind.

Post-Colonial Criminology: Objectives, Theories and Methods

Post-colonial criminology craves for a criminology that will continue to remain relevant to the lives of people all over the world regardless of geography, race or ethnicity and social class. There are specific areas of interest to post-colonial criminologists. These include: transnational crimes, especially advance fee fraud, popularly known as '419,' (Onwudiwe, 2004; Osiolu, 2004); violence against women, including prostitution, sex and women trafficking (Ityani and Volpe, 2004; Elechi, 2004; Goodey, 2005) reparative justice (Agozino, 2004) and the influence of culture on perceptions of crime and criminality (Wender 2004; Cunneen and Stubbs, 2004). Other areas include the influence of colonialism on the indigenous populations of Africa, Australia, Canada, New Zealand; the impact of the media on crime (Greer, 2004; Schofield, 2004); violations of intellectual property rights and computer or cyber crimes (Coleman, 2006:20) and a painstaking and deliberate examination of the criminological implications of specific modern-day legislations (for instance *The USA Patriot Act and the Politics of Fear*, Hamm, 2004) and the study of Vagrancy laws of Medieval England and Colonies of East Africa under British rule (Chambliss, 1976). These areas are begging for attention. Like

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Chambliss and Mankoff (1976) asked, criminologists must keep on demanding: “Whose law? What Order?”

Other areas include racial/ethnic conflicts, ethno-religious skirmishes, genocide, state crimes (Alexander and Pector, 2004; Wardak, 2005) and terrorism. The last two particularly need to be carefully studied urgently in view of the current twist in global order since the September 11, 2001 attack on the United States. Criminology as a discipline should require no George Bush to declare some states as ‘axis of evil.’ Such states, if truly evil, should have long been declared so by criminologists. The searchlight needs to be beamed on the ‘war on terrorism’ in Iraq and Afghanistan. Coverage of the war must not be left to journalists. Apart from studying the ‘coalition forces,’ groups such as the Taliban, al-Qaeda, Mujahideen, Hamas and the Mafia should also be objects of our research. All states, particularly capitalist states need to be objects of research because of the chaos in international circles today. The Islamic theocracy in Iran will also be a fascinating research topic especially with recent comments credited to its President, wherein he argued that the state of Israel ought to be wiped off from the world map. Neo-colonial states that are rapidly under-developing or de-developing rather than developing like Nigeria should be studied by criminologists and not left to journalists like Maier (2000). This will provide global attention before matters get out of hand. The events in all the afore-mentioned areas shape the course of history and maintenance of order than the areas where precious academic time and efforts are currently being squandered.

In terms of theoretical framework, Post-colonial criminology is largely *historical* (See Onyeozili, 2004) and scorns

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the pervasive *ahistoricism* prevalent in establishment criminology culminating in the use of ‘modernization theory’ to study crime in the third world in general and Africa in particular’ (Cohen, 1988:290). It is highly critical and hence must lean on the work of the Frankfurt School. Theories like Legal pluralism, Critical Race theory, Minority Group theory, Radical feminism, Social Action theory, Phenomenology and its variants such as Ethnomethodology and other theories which focus on an adequate meaningful understanding (*verstehen*, a-la- Max Weber) of human action from the perspective of the actor are germane to Post-Colonial Criminology. Besides, these theories do not take social order as given and they seek to transcend the prevailing order through their concise praxiological or practical value. Theories that do not recognize the imperative of multiple realities and thus engage in unilinearism and reification of the social world, such as positivism must be dispensed with.

The methodology, quite logically, must emanate from the theory. Post-Colonial criminology must avoid the pit-fall of regular Sociology and its subdisciplines, wherein the researchers not only imposed their own reality on the ‘subjects,’ but assumed an all-knowing status with the consequence that research findings contradicted reality. In *Cultural Criminology Unleashed*, Young (2004:25) captured the mood of this new approach by stating unequivocally that:

“There are things in the social landscape which are distinct, definite and measurable; there are many others that are blurred because we do not know them – some because we are unlikely ever to know them, others, more importantly, because it is their nature to be blurred.

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Precision must be eyed with suspicion, decimal points with raised eye-brows.”

Nonetheless, where and when appropriate, Post-colonial criminologists can utilize statistical testing, but must be mindful of and careful about making bogus generalization – the pitfall of most social scientific discipline. The aim of the new criminology is not to attain the empiricism or scientism of the Physico-Chemical sciences; the goal is to create a greater understanding of the society. Ethnographic methods, cautiously applied as well as case studies in-depth interviews and participant observation would form the pragmatic and thus acceptable methods in Post-Colonial Criminology.

The challenges ahead are enormous. Post-colonial criminologists must avoid becoming the ritualist in Merton’s anomie theory. A constant revisiting of research areas in line with social relevance is necessary. The desire to be like others, particularly the natural scientists must also not be contemplated; human beings are not atoms or molecules. There is also the need to avert distorting social reality. ‘Committed Objectivity’ (a-la Agozino, 2003) demands that all the sides to an issue are clearly examined. We must not also criticize or write for the sake of doing so. The focus must be for the betterment of the society. We must not provide justification for the continuing failure of neo-colonial states to provide basic amenities of life for their citizens. As Achebe (1983) argued, such states have had enough time to improve the lot of the masses. Their profligacy and innate corruption must be exposed.

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In the final analysis, Jock Young, Tony Jefferson, Mike Presdee, Jonathan Wender, Stanley Cohen, and others have shown that Post-Colonial criminology is not the exclusive preserve of people of African descent; Post-colonial criminology is of, for and about humanity, wherever they are found. In no way must people of African descent personalize this new field, even though 'Africa remains a relatively neglected territory and relatedly, pan-African concerns are marginalised' (Kalunta-Crumpton and Agozino, 2004).

The work of Agozino has been much-awaited. He is a Daniel come to judgment. An insider is spear-heading the path for the intellectual cleansing of 'Administrative Criminology.' His, alongside the voices of the likes of Robert Kwame Ameh, Udo Osiogun, Emmanuel Onyeozili, Ogbonnaya Elechi, Ihekwoaba Onwudiwe and so forth constitute a lone voice in the wilderness calling for the rebirth of their homeland – neo-colonial Africa. As the world gropes in the dark in late-modernity, uncertain of where to go, the onus is on the criminologists of this new era to change the world, but by all means, do not leave the world worse than you met it.

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