

CHAPTER 3

CRIME PREVENTION MODELS FOCUSING ON THE CRIMINAL'S ENVIRONMENT

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The sociological crime prevention model moves away from the criminal as an individual being who was born that way, focussing on his psyche and the type of punishment he must receive for his criminal behaviour and the deterrent value thereof. The sociological approach begins by focussing on the environment in which the criminal grew up. The social crime prevention model also develops further to generate a social ecology in which the relationship of the human being to his environment is studied. This approach concentrates on the crime situation itself, and how opportunities to commit crime can be reduced, containing theories which are more society and situation based.

In this Chapter the sociological crime prevention model will be discussed according to the pioneers, their typology, further developments and criticisms, with the view of determining the crime prevention possibilities of these models and approaches regarding crime prevention in neighbourhoods. The mechanical and physical milieu crime prevention model, which is a natural outflow from social ecology, will be addressed in the next Chapter as it forms part of the new crime prevention theory for neighbourhoods.

3.2 THE SOCIOLOGICAL CRIME PREVENTION MODEL

Theories considered part of the sociological crime prevention model attempt to explain crime primarily as the result of social factors. These theories downplay the influence of the so-called free will. The individual's behaviour is thus ascribed to the outcome of conditions or situations created by society (Mannle & Hirschel 1988:87).

3.2.1 Pioneers

David Emile Durkheim

- **Background**

Emile Durkheim (1858 -1917) was born in the town of Epinal in France (Martin *et al.* 1990:47-48; Vold

& Bernard 1986:145; Lunden 1960:302). His father being the local rabbi, he was brought up according to the traditional rigid and disciplinarian Jewish customs. These shaped and influenced his personal values, although he turned into an agnostic during adulthood (Martin *et al.* 1990:48).

Durkheim's theories, like those of Lombroso's, moved away from the classical assumptions that humans were free and rational in a contractual society. However, his theories have, as opposed to the contemporary Cesare Lombroso, a sociological rather than a biological focus (Vold & Bernard 1986:143; Martin *et al.* 1990:47-48,50).

Vito and Holmes (1994:161) describe Durkheim as the father of French Sociology who received world acclaim for his theories on anomie, suicide and crime and the social structure. He introduced the concept of "anomie" in his work "The Division of Labor in Society" in 1893. Whilst at the University of Bordeaux he also produced two classical books, "The Rules of Sociological Method" 1895, outlining the function of crime in society and "Suicide" 1879 wherein social problems were astutely studied through the use of scientific methodology (Martin *et al.* 1990:49).

- **Socialisation and social ties**

In most of his work he emphasised two related mechanisms, namely socialisation and social ties, by which society was able to limit individual impulses and prevent chaos. Socialisation ensures that we learn social norms and become good members of society instead of selfish individuals. The ties that we have to family, friends and others further socialise and integrate us into society (Barkan 1997:155). Thus he believed that the individual's behaviour is shaped by some larger social phenomena (Brown *et al.* 1998:41).

Martin *et al.* (1990:51) identify three key ideas in the voluminous works done by Durkheim in a time span of 30 years. The first key idea being "The normalcy of crime", excerpted from "The rules of Sociological Method". "Social order and disorder", the second key idea is taken by Martin *et al.* (1990:51) from Durkheim's first major work and doctoral thesis, "The Division of Labor in Society" describing the different nature of social bonds between people in rural, traditional villages and the social bonds between people in more modern, urban areas.

The last key idea, synonymous with Durkheim's name, was the development of the term "anomie" referring to a specific form of societal disharmony and to consequent individual pathology. Note however that although these concepts are separated for discussion purposes they are closely aligned with one another (Martin *et al.* 1990:52).

- **Typology**

Normalcy of crime

Durkheim (1895,1996:46) says that crime is present in all types of society, therefore considering deviant behaviour to be a normal phenomenon to be found in all healthy societies. Crime cannot be abnormal if it exists everywhere (Martin *et al.* 1990:52). Crime brings about change in the social structure and is thus necessary and/or functional (Durkheim 1895,1996:53; Martin *et al.* 1990:53; Lunden 1960:307; Barlow 1996:448; Shoham & Hoffmann 1991:8; Conklin 1995:34).

For Durkheim crime is a necessity, making the following contributions to society (Waters & Crook 1993:148-149; Conklin 1995:34):

- “*It clarifies the norms.* It allows boundaries to be established between normal acceptable behaviour and norm-breaking behaviour. For example, making homosexuality a crime establishes the normality of heterosexuality.”
- “*It maintains the norms.* It allows normals to celebrate their normality in ritual social control exercises - ‘crime brings together upright consciences and concentrates them.’ Putting people on trail for theft, for example, helps maintain norms of private property.”
- “*It modifies the norms* by providing indications of where they may be defective. For example, violation of anti-abortion laws has led to public debate and to abortion law reform.”
- “*It provides a safety valve* for the pressures and tensions which emerge under the constraints of following the rules.”

Social order and disorder

In the work “The Division of Labor in Society” Durkheim distinguishes between mechanical (rural) and organic (urban) society (Durkheim 1893,1960:141-154; Martin *et al.* 1990:54-55; Vold & Bernard 1986:145-146). A mechanical society would consist of a small population living in social and geographical isolation having cultural homogeneity and traditions. These factors cause this society to form a strong *esprit de corps* and harmony in this society would be based upon consensuses. There would only be a slight division in labour and mobility of people in and out of the society (Martin *et al.* 1990:54-55; Vold & Bernard 1986:145). This type of society is near-perfect according to Durkheim. He predicts a low rate of deviation in expected behaviour in such circumstances (Martin *et al.* 1990:54-55).

On the other hand the organic society presents a totally different picture than that of the mechanical

society. This is a diverse society consisting of large heterogeneous communities with extreme mobility, causing people to treat one another in a purely impersonal manner only respecting one another for the functions they provide. An extreme division of labour exists in this society and this society is change oriented (Martin *et al.* 1990:54-55; Barkan 1997:157; Vold & Bernard 1986:145). Thus harmony in the society will be handled by more formal means of social control than informal. An organic society is more prone to deviant behaviour than a mechanical society having great potential for anomie and low social integration (Martin *et al.* 1990:55; Barkan 1997:157).

However, Vold and Bernard (1986:145) raised the point that no society is purely mechanical or organic, it being in a state of transition from one to the other.

Anomie

Lunden (1960:309) as well as Shoham and Hoffmann (1991:55) regard Durkheim's advancement of the "anomie" theory as one of his most noteworthy contributions to the field of Criminology. The term "anomie" refers to a societal condition and was first used by Durkheim in his book "The Division of Labor" 1893 (Martin *et al.* 1990:56; Vold & Bernard 1986:150). According to Durkheim anomie is the breakdown of norms in a society, creating a situation that breaks down social solidarity and cohesion. It mainly occurs as a result of sudden social change caused by a painful crisis or by a benefiting but abrupt transition, momentarily paralysing the norms which influence the individual (Shoham & Hoffmann 1991:55).

There are three interpretations of anomie, arising from Durkheim's concept of organic society (Martin *et al.* 1990:56).

Anomie as norm saturation

In this instance anomie is that which results from an abundance of societal rules. There is a saturation of rules, making it difficult for people to assimilate a multitude of rules or norms. This can lead to social confusion, making recall of particular norms, difficult if not, impossible (Martin *et al.* 1990:57).

Anomie as confusion of particular norms

Anomie can also be the confusion regarding particular or specific norms, resulting from the abundance of rules and legal codes. In highly complex, heterogeneous and mobile societies, the definitions of

particular crimes may become unclear and difficult to define. People are confused regarding the expected way to behave in terms of morality, integrity and duty (Martin *et al.* 1990:57).

Anomie as difficulty in achieving goals

Another noted interpretation of anomie is the frustration resulting from the difficulty of achieving goals or success in a society beset by normative complexity and a breakdown of traditional social institutions (Martin *et al.* 1990:57; Barkan 1997:167). This interpretation of anomie is expanded and elaborated on by Robert K. Merton (Martin *et al.* 1990:57; Barlow 1996:448). Durkheim was concerned that traditional means of achieving goals became increasingly deficient and confusing in a society undergoing rapid transition to organic styles of organisation (Martin *et al.* 1990:57).

The abovementioned interpretations focus on confusion relating to the rules of society. Durkheim regards anomie as an abnormal condition, which is capable of rectification. The resolution of the abnormality could be accomplished by respecifying or redefining norms (Waters & Crook 1993:150). However Martin *et al.* (1990:57) concluded that the problem with anomie is not that it exists, but rather in finding what to do in order to successfully adapt to such confusion.

- **Criticism**

Even though Durkheim's concept of anomie has escaped harsh criticism, not everyone agrees with his assumption that mechanically organised communities will lead to social harmony or personal contentment. Primitive societies are also not deemed as crime free as Durkheim indicated (Martin *et al.* 1990:61-62).

Lodi and Tilly (Martin *et al.* 1990:61) also state that the crime rates stabilised during Durkheim's era, even declining in some instances. Thus refuting Durkheim's assumption that crime will rise as society became more modernised and anomic. Turn of the century philosophers severely criticised Durkheim's methodological approach, which appears to disregard the self or mental aspects of life in favour of the more empirically quantifiable traits of society (Martin *et al.* 1990:61-62).

Martin *et al.* (1990:62) is however of the opinion that Durkheim's contributions to the empirical study of social forces are greater than any shortcomings identified by critics.

3.2.2 Further developments

It is interesting to note how far science had already developed in view of Durkheim's insights, namely from a separate human species (Lombroso) to a normal human phenomenon (Durkheim). These insights opened the way for the development of social structure and social process theories to provide an explanation of criminal behaviour.

(i) Social reaction theories

Theories categorised as social reaction theories focus on formal and informal responses towards the individual. The main concern is not the initial delinquent act, but rather the effect of society's reaction to the individual after he/she had committed a delinquent act. These theorists assume that the way in which society reacts towards deviancy will influence further involvement in deviant acts and expressions of behaviour (Brown *et al.* 1998:59).

Labelling theory

In the labelling theory attention is redirected from criminal behaviour and the criminal towards the behaviour of other people with whom the first mentioned individual interacts (Barlow 1996:475; Brown *et al.* 1998:59; Shoham & Hoffmann 1991:102; Kratcoski *et al.* 1990:63; Clinard & Meier 1989: 93). Various contributions to this theory were made by theorists such as Edwin Lemmert, Frank Tannenbaum, Howard Becker and Edwin Schur (Mannle & Hirschel 1988:93; Conklin 1995:264; Barlow 1996:475; Brown *et al.* 1998:59; Martin *et al.* 1990:360). This perspective operates under the assumption that people will first violate a norm by chance or some unexplained reason. This first wrongful act is called primary deviation and can elicit reaction from others. During this reaction rejection of the person and stereotyping may take place (Conklin 1995:264; Shoham & Hoffmann 1991:112). Labels such as criminal and crime are attached to a certain person and his behaviour. His behaviour is defined as criminal according to social definitions. Thus, there is nothing intrinsically in behaviour that makes it a crime, criminal behaviour is only regarded as criminal after it receives negative reaction from society (Barlow 1996:475; Brown *et al.* 1998:59; Shoham & Hoffmann 1991:103). Therefore the society's reaction towards some forms of deviant behaviour may encourage the development of criminal delinquent careers (Mannle & Hirschel 1988:93; Clinard & Meier 1989: 93).

Labelling of deviant behaviour can lead to secondary deviation because of the effect it has on the self-image of the recipient (Conklin 1995:264; Shoham & Hoffmann 1991:112). People who are arrested and tried in court, might change the way they look at life and start conceiving themselves as criminals (Conklin 1995:264; Brown *et al.* 1998:59). Garfinkel (Conklin 1995:265; Vold & Bernard 1986:243) even goes as far as to describe court appearances as status degrading ceremonies during which people

accused of violating the law are recast as unworthy persons. People treated in such a manner may then start to behave according to the altered conception of themselves. This essentially means that the law-enforcement process might turn into a self-fulfilling prophecy (Conklin 1995:265). The law enforcement response (a social reaction) can in this instance be seen as a cause of further deviance rather than an effect of it (Mannle & Hirschel 1988:94). The labelling process can have one of two effects on the person: it may amplify or inhibit deviant behaviour. Some people would rather try to change their behaviour to conform to social expectations after having been labelled as deviant than engage in further deviant activities. Some youths who are apprehended only once, may be persuaded to avoid deviant behaviour in future because of the degrading experience of appearing in court (Conklin 1995:265; Kratcoski *et al.* 1990:64).

This theory is used to explain “... why individuals continue to engage in activities that other define as criminal, why individuals become career criminals, why the official data on crime and criminals look the way they do, why crime waves occur, why law enforcement is patterned the way it is, why criminal stereotypes emerge and persist, and why some groups in society are more likely to be punished, and punished more severely, than others” (Barlow 1996:476).

Charles Tittle’s (Brown *et al.* 1998:60) criticism describes two main difficulties experienced with the labelling theory. First, there are the ambiguous propositions and premises of the theory, making empirical research difficult. Secondly, insufficient data are available to support the theory because of the difficulties experienced in operationalising the concept in order to conduct research. Mannle and Hirschel (1988:94-95) also summarise some of the objections against the labelling theory as follows: First, it does not make any attempt to explain the first (primary) act of deviance that caused a societal reaction. Secondly, it assumes that the offender has no control over the whole process of labelling. It is assumed that once society labels the deviant, the latter will accept this and then act accordingly. Thirdly, this theory offers almost no practical alternatives to criminal justice agencies in responding to serious offences. If law enforcement agencies cause further deviance by reacting to initial transgressions, little or no response would appear to be the best course of action. It suggests that the delinquent will “grow out” of “undesirable patterns” if left alone and, quite rightly, the question is asked what should happen in the case of serious crimes like assault, robbery, and burglary. The statement is finally made that the labelling theory seems to “take the side of the underdog”.

Social conflict theory

This viewpoint differs from the social structure theories or social process theories. Criminal behaviour is approached from a conflict perspective. In this theory norms are the outcome of competing interest

groups where the ones who hold the most power define the norms (Brown *et al.* 1998:60; Popenoe 1986:88; Clinard & Meier 1989:103). Thus underlining the statement of Popenoe (1986:88) that the dominant presumption of many conflict theories are that society and social order are kept together by force rather than shared values. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels are seen as the pioneers of the conflict theory (Brown *et al.* 1998:60; Barlow 1996:455). The aforementioned researchers, together with others such as George Vold, Austin Turk, Richard Quinney and William Chambliss, form part of the conflict theory movement (Clinard & Meier 1989:103; Brown *et al.* 1998:60). These people were influential in the formation of “conflict”, “Marxist”, “radical” and “critical” criminology (Brown *et al.* 1998:60).

Marx believed that the wealthy advanced their own interests and safeguarded their investments through usage of the law and a powerfully controlled mode of production (Brown *et al.* 1998:60). George Vold, influenced by George Simmel, generated the theory of group conflict, describing society as a structure consisting of a collection of groups, each with its own interests. “When groups with different interests come into conflict, group loyalty is strengthened and group cohesiveness increases. The struggle between groups continues until a compromise is reached or until one wins out.” (Shoham & Hoffmann 1991:123). Austin Turk was responsible for the progression of the conflict approach, being predominately interested in the criminalisation process. He asked why criminal statuses were attached to certain individuals and activities. He investigated the way power was obtained and maintained by groups in society and how this power translated into the production of criminal laws (Shoham & Hoffmann 1991:123; Barlow 1996:456-457). Being of the opinion that people are inherently neutral he claimed that those who had the power over a society had the capability to criminalise the behaviour of those without power (Brown *et al.* 1998:60; Barlow 1996:456; Popenoe 1986:200). In the theory about the social reality of crime, Richard Quinney viewed crime as the product of social definition, he also developed six propositions to support his views (Shoham & Hoffmann 1991:125; Brown *et al.* 1998:60; Barlow 1996:460). He contended that in the stratified social system a group’s behaviour becomes judged and condemned by another dominant and more powerful group. Laws will only be enforced with the backing of the dominant group, the law then becoming a tool to control the ruled (Brown *et al.* 1998:60; Clinard & Meier 1989:104). Chambliss’ research on vagrancy supports the argument that law exist to promote the interests of special groups and not the whole of society (Brown *et al.* 1998:61).

Although these lines of reasoning have been around for the last 25 years, it has not replaced the mainstream liberal criminology. Many criticisms are brought in against the conflict theories, ranging from the fact that criminals are characterised as victims of circumstances up to the ambiguities found in the fundamental concepts, for example the ruling class (Barlow 1996:461).

(ii) Social process theories

Social process theories shift attention from macro theory to micro theory, focussing on explanations for individual violations of the law. Unlike the social structure theory, these theories do not view crime as being predominantly a problem associated with the lower class. Learning, cultural conflict, and social control theories are all grouped under the above heading (Brown *et al.* 1998:49).

Learning criminal behaviour theories

- **Differential association theory**

Sociologist Edwin Sutherland is responsible for the creation and development of the differential association theory, a theory regarded as one of the most prominent and influential learning theories of crime (Barkan 1997:187; Brown *et al.* 1998:49). This theory is very general in nature and tries to explain why crime rates are distributed the way they are and why an individual will or will not become a criminal (Conklin 1995:255).

Sutherland's final version of the differential association theory is built on nine propositions (Martin *et al.* 1990:156-157; Barlow 1996:468-469; Barkan 1997:188-189; Conklin 1995:255-257; Quinney & Wildeman 1977:77; Clinard & Meier 1989:86-87; Vold & Bernard 1986:210). These are formulated as follows:

1. "Criminal behavior is learned."
2. "Criminal behavior is learned in interaction with other persons in a process of communication."
3. "The principal part of the learning of criminal behavior occurs within intimate personal groups."
4. "When criminal behavior is learned, the learning includes (a) techniques of committing the crime, which are sometimes very complicated, sometimes very simple; (b) the specific direction of motives, drives, rationalizations, and attitudes."
5. "The specific direction of motives and drives is learned from definitions of the legal codes as favorable or unfavorable."
6. "A person becomes delinquent because of an excess of definitions favorable to violation of law."
7. "Differential association may vary in frequency, duration, priority and intensity."
8. "The process of learning criminal behavior by association with criminal and antiscriminal patterns involves all of the mechanisms that are involved in any other learning."
9. "While criminal behavior is an expression of general needs and values, it is not explained by those general needs and values since noncriminal behavior is an expression of the same

needs and values.”

Although Sutherland's theory has contributed a great deal to the field of criminology it has received its share of criticism (Barkan 1997:189). Criticism range from the use of language being imprecise to the fact that major variables of the theory are not measurable (Barlow 1996:469; Brown *et al.* 1998:50). Thus the main criticism against the theory stems from its inability to adequately test and verify the theory through empirical research. The generality and broadness of the differential theory has also been seen as a stumbling block in the effective explanation of crime (Brown *et al.* 1998:50).

- **Social learning theory**

Robert Burgess and Ronald Akers have proposed modifications to Sutherland's original theory, restating it in terms of operant conditioning (Brown *et al.* 1998:50; Barlow 1996:470; Vold & Bernard 1986:224). Where Sutherland's theory was primarily concerned with the acquisition of behavioural patterns, Burgess and Akers deal with the acquisition and maintenance of these patterns (Barlow 1996:470). Akers later updated this theory by expanding the operant conditioning principle to include the social learning theory (Vold & Bernard 1986:224). “The basic idea of the social learning theory is that criminal behavior occurs as a result of deviant behavior being differentially reinforced and defined as desirable” (Brown *et al.* 1998:50).

Brown *et al.* (1998:50) highlight two major criticisms against the social learning theory namely that the theory is too tautological in nature and that the temporal sequencing of peer association is poorly specified. However, present research seems to support the social learning hypothesis with regard to the temporal sequencing issue. Consistent empirical support has been given to the social learning theory.

Culture, conflict and crime theories

This approach is based on the belief that the conflicting values of different cultures or subcultures may cause criminal behaviour. Crime is considered as a lower class problem by subculture theories. Deviant behaviour is regarded as normal due to it being part of the normal learning process, which is part of the codes adopted by subcultures (Brown *et al.* 1998:50).

- **Conflict of conduct of norms**

Sellin has drawn up a criminological theory based on the conflicts between different cultural groups in society (Vold & Bernard 1986:270). With his work he began to steer criminology away from a legalistic definition to a more normative definition (Brown *et al.* 1998:51). According to him every culture has a different set of “conduct” norms; rules that tell certain types of people how to behave in certain circumstances. In a homogeneous society these conduct norms can become part of the laws (Vold & Bernard 1986:270). Thus Sellin underlines the importance of criminal law to the study of crime (Quinney & Wildeman 1977:76). Conflict starts when a society grows and becomes more complex, resulting in an overlapping and contradiction among the norms of the primary groups in such a society (Vold & Bernard 1986:270; Quinney & Wildeman 1977:76).

These conflicts could arise at the border of two different cultures or when the laws of one culture extend into the other culture. Lastly, conflict could also arise when migration from the one culture to the other culture takes place. In every one of these cases the law would reflect the conduct norms of the dominant culture and not be representative of a consensus reached between the different members of the society (Vold & Bernard 1986:270; Quinney & Wildeman 1977:76; Popenoe 1986:200). Therefore this theory explains crime in terms of norms learned in a subculture that are not represented in the legal codes (Brown *et al.* 1998:51). “The cultural conflict perspective thus provided a framework for the analysis of both the creation of criminal law and the response of the individual to the application of the law” (Quinney & Wildeman 1977:76).

- **Subculture of violence**

A general theory of criminal violence was presented by Wolfgang and Ferracuti when they hypothesised that expressions of violence are part of the norms of the lower socioeconomic classes and are learned responses to pressures of survival. This theory is known as the subculture of violence (Vold & Bernard 1986:215; Kratcoski *et al.* 1990:203). Young males in socially deprived areas turn to violence as means of achieving status when they are frustrated in their search for self-esteem and material goods (Kratcoski *et al.* 1990:203). Wolfgang and Ferracuti’s research found that this violence is usually of spontaneous nature as opposed to being premeditated or psychotic. This type of violence is also more prevalent among late teenage to middle aged males in the lower-class setting (Brown *et al.* 1998:51).

This subculture is not regarded as being distinctly separate from the main culture but rather as a subculture founded on a notion of “honour”. “...[P]eople in the subculture of violence tend to value honor more highly than people in the dominant culture. On the other hand they tend to value human life less

highly." Thus there is an underlying conflict between the values of the dominant culture and this subculture of violence (Vold & Bernard 1986:215).

The thesis on a subculture of violence has generated a considerable number of additional theories and a huge amount of research, although empirical research in this regard has yielded mixed results (Vold & Bernard 1986:215; Brown *et al.* 1998:51).

- **Lower-class focal concerns**

Miller held the viewpoint that delinquent behaviour in the lower class is not a mere reaction to the inability to achieve middle class standards but the natural result of being socialised within a lower class culture (Kratcoski *et al.* 1990:96). Therefore, just as the middle class has a distinct and separate culture, so does the lower class and where the middle class has values such as achievement the lower class has focal concerns as values (Vold & Bernard 1986:214). Miller identifies six focal concerns namely troubles, toughness, smartness, excitement, fate and autonomy as the most important values in the lower class subculture (Brown *et al.* 1998:51; Vold & Bernard 1986:214; Barkan 1997:177-178; Kratcoski *et al.* 1990:96-97). Miller came to this conclusion after studying lower class male gang members in their natural living environment for three years (Brown *et al.* 1998:51; Vold & Bernard 1986:181).

This theory provides a contrasting view to that of the strain theories, which assumes that strain exists because of the inability of the lower class member to achieve middle and upper class goals. Miller reasons that no strain exists because the people of the lower class subculture have different goals than those in the middle and upper class (Brown *et al.* 1998:51). However, Chernkovich (Barkan 1997:178) shows that Miller's conclusions ignore his own research findings wherein he found that poor parents raise their children with almost the same values as the middle class parents. The middle class boys also appear to value the six focal concerns as much as their poorer counterparts. Like Cohen's work, Miller's work is criticised for ignoring female delinquency (Barkan 1997:178; Brown *et al.* 1998:52). Lastly, it is also noted that some have found this theory to be tautological in nature (Brown *et al.* 1998:52).

Social control theories

- **Containment theory**

Reckless is one of the first theorists to propose a link between self concept and criminal behaviour,

believing that a good self concept will deter criminal behaviour (Barlow 1996:471, Mannle & Hirschel 1988:96; Martin *et al.* 1990:185). Brown *et al.* (1998:52) identify this theory as an earlier version of the control theory that propounds that certain social forces may propel or “pull” people towards criminal behaviour. These social forces can be divided into social pressures such as adverse living conditions, poverty, social inequalities and unemployment, social pulls in the form of bad companions and media images and lastly, inner pushes such as restlessness, hostility and aggressiveness (Shoham & Hoffmann 1991:91-92; Vold & Bernard 1986:237; Barlow 1996:471; Martin *et al.* 1990:188-190). The only way to withstand or oppose this pull towards deviant behaviour is by means of inner or external containment (Shoham & Hoffmann 1991:91-92; Barlow 1996:471; Kratcoski *et al.* 1990:61; Martin *et al.* 1990:189). Inner containment mainly consists of self components such as good self control, the ability to defer gratification and a good self concept while external containment represents the structural buffer in a person’s social world, including items such as effective supervision and family controls (Shoham & Hoffmann 1991:91-92; Mannle & Hirschel 1988:96; Barlow 1996:472; Martin *et al.* 1990:189).

This theory contains a lot of notions that are most difficult to assess. For example, how can self concept be measured and when can a self concept be regarded as weak (Mannle & Hirschel 1988:96; Vold & Bernard 1986:238)? Vold and Bernard (1986:181) say that Reckless’ theory can act as an overall framework for many theories concerned with crime and delinquency although it does not seem to add anything to these theories. Although the work of Reckless has received its share of criticism, interest in the connection between self concept and criminality are still alive today (Barlow 1996:473).

- **Techniques of neutralisation**

This theory, as developed by Sykes and Matza, rejects the argument that criminals and delinquents differ from normal people, a viewpoint held by the Positivist School (Mannle & Hirschel 1988:95; Shoham & Hoffmann 1991:92). Delinquents are not part of a specific delinquent subculture but rather tend to “drift” into delinquent behaviour, thereby, through neutralisation techniques, freeing themselves from the moral bonds of the law (Mannle & Hirschel 1988:95; Barlow 1996:473; Vold & Bernard 1986:240). They argue that if delinquents do form subcultures, the delinquents are surprisingly weak in their commitment to them. They show guilt and shame and will often draw a sharp line between appropriate victims and those who are not fair game (Barlow 1996:473). Matza and Sykes point to the fact that most of the delinquents will anyway drift out of delinquency in due time (Mannle & Hirschel 1988:95). Thus meaning that the offence must be preceded by neutralisation and followed up afterwards by rationalisation of the norm violating behaviour (Brown *et al.* 1998:52). The techniques

of neutralisation as defined by Sykes and Matza (Martin *et al.* 1990:311; Mannle & Hirschel 1988:95; Barlow 1996:473; Shoham & Hoffmann 1991:93; Vold & Bernard 1986:240-241) are as follows:

- denial of responsibility
- denial of injury
- denial of victim
- condemnation of condemners and
- appeal to higher authorities.

Brown *et al.* (1998:52) and Barlow (1996:474) state that the neutralisation theory has had a huge impact on the development of the social control perspective, despite the research and empirical support for this theory being very slight, the problem being the establishing of causal order; neutralisation before transgression. Although the neutralisation theory has received other extensive criticism this theory still deserves continued attention in light of Hollinger's findings that neutralisation might interact with age, younger people being less likely to neutralise than older people (Barlow 1996:474).

- **Social bond theory**

Barlow (1996:474) describes Travis Hirschi's social bond theory as the most prominent version of the control theory. Whereas Sykes and Matza's theory emphasises that delinquents are attached to the conventional moral order and have to free themselves from it in order to commit delinquent acts, Hirschi's theory assumes that they do not subscribe to the conventional order to begin with (Vold & Bernard 1986:242; Brown *et al.* 1998:52-53; Shoham & Hoffmann 1991:94). Hirschi asks the question why people conform to non-deviant behaviour, rather than looking for the motives for deviant behaviour. A control theory's purpose is therefore to explain the sources of conformity (Shoham & Hoffmann 1991:94).

Hirschi found no relationship between reported delinquent acts and social class, except that children from the poorest families tend to be slightly more delinquent (Vold & Bernard 1986:243). After analysing the effects of boys' attachment to parents, schools and peers on reported delinquent behaviour, he found that the stronger the attachment, the less likelihood existed for deviant behaviour (Vold & Bernard 1986:243; Brown *et al.* 1998:53; Barlow 1996:474-475). If the social bonds, namely attachment, commitment, involvement and belief, are weak because of a dysfunctional relationship between the child and key socialising agencies, the pursuit of delinquency is more probable (Mannle & Hirschel 1988:97; Brown *et al.* 1998:53; Clinard & Meier 1989:100; Shoham & Hoffmann 1991:94). However,

this theory ignores the criminal activities of career offenders, as well as the crimes committed by people in positions of economic and political power (Barlow 1996:475). A main point of criticism against this theory is that it wholly excluded the female population. Hirschi conducted his study on young males only. All the tests associated with the social bond theory are also cross-sectional, thus failing to address causal order (Brown *et al.* 1998:53).

- **A general theory of crime**

Gottfredson and Hirschi's general theory of crime focuses on the personality trait of self control (Conklin 1995:146; Brown *et al.* 1998:53). They claim that criminals are low in self control, wanting immediate gratification, therefore crime needs no special motivation, preparation, skill or specialisation (Conklin 1995:146). According to Brown *et al.* (1998:53) self control originates from early childhood socialisation, is fixed by the age of eight and remains constant throughout life. Conklin (1995:146) points to the fact that their portrait of crime is drawn selectively from research evidence, ignoring offences such as insider trading that would contradict their theory. Some critics state that this theory is too tautological (Brown *et al.* 1998:53). A wide range of empirical testing has yet to be done on this theory, although this research shows the importance of incorporating criminal opportunity and situational influences on choice of behaviour in any complete theory of crime (Brown *et al.* 1998:53; Conklin 1995:146).

(iii) Social structure theories

Social structure theories are macro level theories intent on explaining differing crime rates among different groups. These theories also try to identify the structural facts which may increase the likelihood for an individual to engage in deviant behaviour (Brown *et al.* 1998:41). However, it has to be kept in mind that not all the social theories are per definition macro level theories.

Strain theories

- **Social structure and anomie**

Merton (Vito & Holmes 1994:162; Brown *et al.* 1998:41) took Durkheim's anomie theory and developed his own strain theory in "Social Structure and Anomie" 1938. Merton connected anomie to other forms of deviant behaviour besides that of suicide. He also discounted the assumption that criminality is

rooted in biological impulses. He assumed that most crimes are committed by poor people. His assumptions are based on the grounds that every society have cultural goals, as well as the institutional means (norms) on how to reach these goals. He went further to state that if the two dimensions are usually in harmony, this means that members of society have the chance or hope of reaching these goals by following certain defined guidelines or employing certain defined means (Barkan 1997:167; Barlow 1996:448; Merton 1968).

If too much emphasis is given to the goals or the means are inadequate to reach the goals, disharmony or anomie will exist between the norms and the means to reach it. Merton identified the acquisition of wealth as the main prominent goal of the American society (Merton 1968:192-195; Barkan 1997:167; Barlow 1996:448; Clinard & Meier 1989:81; Brown *et al.* 1998:41). Poor people, those who belong to the lower class and persons of certain racial and ethnic groups who are discriminated against, are subjected to the social ideology that economic success must be achieved above all else, but they lack the means to achieve this goal (Merton 1968; Barkan 1997:167; Clinard & Meier 1989:81; Barlow 1996:449).

Merton (1968:193) indicates that culture misleads people into believing that everyone can reach the same goals. Failure to reach the goals only represents a temporary setback and is part of the process. Real failure consists of a lessening in or withdrawal from the ambition to reach the goals. The idea that everyone in society has the ability to achieve material success is refuted by the fact that this does not actually happen (Waters & Crook 1993:150; Barkan 1997:167; Clinard & Meier 1989:81). Individuals revert to crime when it is or seems impossible for them to achieve their goals through legal avenues. Merton identifies five different ways in which an individual can adapt his/her behaviour in order to obtain goals (Merton 1968:194-211; Waters & Crook 1993:150; Barkan 1997:168; Martin *et al.* 1990:220-221; Clinard & Meier 1989:82; Barlow 1996:448-449; Brown *et al.* 1998:41; Popenoe 1986:198). These are discussed separately below.

Conformity

Conformity means that the individual adapts to the goals and means prescribed by society and adheres to these. Most of the people in a society fit into this category and do not commit crime (Merton 1968:195). However, Merton does not dedicate much space to this form of adaptation, as it does not lead to deviant behaviour.

Innovation

In this instance the cultural goals of society are accepted but the prescribed means of attaining the goals are sidestepped. By making use of alternative means such as gambling or fraud this person will achieve socially accepted goals - e.g. to become rich (Merton 1968:195).

Ritualism

In this case the goals of society are rejected, rather than the means of achieving the goals. The ritualist does not commit crime. He/she adheres to the prescribed means - work hard, save money, etc. in a ritualistic fashion but rejects the goals of society -such as the ambition to become rich (Merton 1968:203-204). Merton (1968:205) says that it is usually those from the lower class who resort to this adaptation. Ritualists steer away from possible frustrations, which can be caused by an inability to obtain the cultural goals set by society, by lowering their ambitions.

Retreatism

This is the least common manner of adaptation. People who employ retreatism live in a society but do not form part of it. The goals as well as the methods of achieving these goals are rejected. A retreatist can deviate through the use of drugs or alcoholism, which are forms of withdrawal (Merton 1968:207-209).

Rebellion

This last method of adaptation closely resembles retreatism, but differs in the sense that the individual who resorts to rebellion has set him/herself new goals and devised new means to achieve these. Capitalist society prescribes that one has to become rich (goal) by working hard (means). The rebel rejects both: the goal should be changed - all should be equally rich and all should have the same income - no-one should be richer than others (Merton 1968:209-211).

- **Subcultural explanation of delinquency**

During the 1950's Albert Cohen was one of the first sociologists to propose a subcultural explanation of delinquency (Barlow 1996:451). In his theory he tries to explain lower class, urban, male gang delinquency (Vold & Bernard 1986:194; Brown *et al.* 1998:42; Barkan 1997:175). In his work "Delinquent Boys" 1955, he ascribes the high rates of lower class delinquency to the basic conflict between lower class youth subcultures and the dominant middle class culture (Barlow 1996:451; Shoham & Hoffmann

1991:62). The delinquent subculture arises as a reaction to the dominant culture. These youths turn to delinquency because of status frustration, the result of their inability to meet middle class standards (Barlow 1996:451; Vold & Bernard 1986:195). Cohen overlooked the delinquency of the middle class, which his theory fails to explain (Barkan 1997:175). Another issue that he left unexplained is why some youths internalise the blame for their failure while other externalise it (Shoham & Hoffmann 1991:62).

- **Juvenile delinquents subcultures**

Cloward and Ohlin extended on Merton and Cohen's theories by developing a model for the explanation of juvenile delinquency (Brown *et al.*1998:42; Vold & Bernard 1986:196). Their theory is named the differential opportunity theory (Barkan 1997:179; Brown *et al.*1998:42). They claimed that the different types of illegitimate opportunity structures available to the juveniles influenced the type of delinquent activity in which they became involved (Brown *et al.*1998:42). Cloward and Ohlin account for the high concentration of lawbreakers among lower class youths to the insatiable nature of social goals, together with a lack of fit goals and legitimate means for attaining them (Martin *et al.* 1990:269; Shoham & Hoffmann 1991:63).

They identified three types of gang subcultures, namely criminal, conflict and retreatist subcultures (Barkan 1997:179; Brown *et al.*1998:42; Barlow 1996:452; Shoham & Hoffmann 1991:64). Criminal subcultures are best described by illegal money making activities, often providing the start towards adult criminal careers. Gang fighting and other violence dominates the conflict subcultures whereas the retreatist subcultures are marked by the prevalence of drug use and drug addiction (Barkan 1997:179; Barlow 1996:452-453; Shoham & Hoffmann 1991:64). The type of subculture that a youth will join depends on the opportunities available and the organisation of his neighbourhood. If a neighbourhood has a high presence of organised crime, adolescents will tend to become involved in it and if the neighbourhood has rampant drug use and addiction the adolescent will rather lean towards that sort of deviant behaviour (Barkan 1997:179; Brown *et al.*1998:42; Barlow 1996:452-453).

Robert Agnew, a criminologist, also proposed a general strain theory to address the criticisms aimed at earlier strain theorists. He identifies three types of strain-inducing stimuli, namely the failure to achieve goals, the removal of positively valued stimuli and lastly, the presence of negative valued stimuli. In the end research has shown that the general strain theory has performed well in explaining delinquency and drug use (Brown *et al.*1998:42).

Barlow (1996:453) criticised Cohen, Cloward and Ohlin on the grounds that they mainly focus on

youthful delinquent gangs, ignoring a vast volume of delinquency and crime that is unrelated to gangsterism. Another major item of criticism against the strain theories is that these assume that crime is a lower class problem. The theories are also criticised for their simplistic use of the concept of culture. According to Lemmert (Shoham & Hoffmann 1991:65) the pluralistic society of the United States cannot be reduced to a single culture as these theories attempt to do.

Social ecology theories

Robert E Park and Ernest W Burgess developed an ecological analysis of neighbourhoods in Chicago, basing their concept on an assumption that just as the relationship of animals and plants to their physical environment can be studied, so the relationship between people and their environment can be studied. They divided the city into five zones, starting at the centre of the city and moving to the outer edges of the city area. In their studies they found that every zone differed from the others in their physical and social characteristics. The inner residential zones consisted of more poor and crowded housing than that of the outer zones, which had wealthier homes and more spacious streets (Barkan 1997:158; Vold & Bernard 1986:161-164).

The proposition that various deviant behaviour may be associated with urban growth and ecological patterns was examined by students of Park and Burgess (Quinney & Wildeman 1977:69). Clifford R Shaw and Henry D McKay, also members of the Chicago school, were influenced by Park and Burgess's concentric zone model, and developed the social disorganisation theory (Brown *et al.* 1998:43; Barkan 1997:159; Vold & Bernard 1986:164-165; Mannle & Hirschel 1988:90). They studied the rates of male delinquency in Chicago over a period of 30 years. They made use of the demarcations provided by the concentric zone model to determine if there was a relationship between crime and the social condition of the particular zone. The transitional zone, next to the central business district, was found to have the highest rate of criminality as well as exhibiting most of the factors leading to social disorganisation (Brown *et al.* 1998:43; Vold & Bernard 1986:169-170; Mannle & Hirschel 1988:90).

The three indicators of community disorganisation identified by Shaw and McKay as having an effect on greater rates of deviant behaviour are as follows: first, the economic status such as poor living conditions and low socioeconomic status; secondly, the population turnover rate and lastly, the degree of population heterogeneity. Economic status is not directly linked to delinquency, it is rather stated that an area of low socioeconomic status is more likely to have a bigger population turnover and heterogeneity (Shoham & Hoffmann 1991:41; Vold & Bernard 1986:168-170). The latter factors tended to increase the chances of social disorganisation, and as a result, the likelihood of delinquency

(Shoham & Hoffmann 1991:41).

Brown *et al.* (1998:43) as well as Vold & Bernard (1986:176) say that a major criticism against the social ecological theories is their inability to prevent the occurrence of ecological fallacy. The social disorganisation theory gives no explanation for middle class delinquency, since the middle classes do not usually live in conditions of social disorganisation. Shaw and McKay are also accused of succumbing to stereotyping, underestimating the amount of social organisation in cities' inner zones (Barkan 1997:159). Shaw and McKay are also criticised for the theory and research methods they used (Vold & Bernard 1986:176).

A study conducted by Lander in Baltimore on the relationship between urban zones and delinquency, challenges the ecologists' stance that crime and delinquency are related to the physical characteristics of the environment. In his findings he came to the conclusion that community permanence, such as home ownership and stable population was more related to low delinquency than the physical features or closeness of a zone to the central business district (Mannle & Hirschel 1988:91).

In spite of all the criticisms raised against ecological research and the false starts it has made, the research remains alive and well (Vold & Bernard 1986:177). Contemporary research of the social ecology/social disorganisation perspective has been done since the studies of Park, Burgess, Shaw and McKay, taking two additional issues into account. First, they attempt to link macro level and micro level processes within the social disorganisation framework. Secondly, several empirical and theoretical studies have tried to be more precise in linking crime to social disorganisation (Shoham & Hoffmann 1991:49; Brown *et al.* 1998:43). They are also making use of new techniques such as self report and victimisation studies in their research (Brown *et al.* 1998:43).

Situational crime prevention theories

The many new and different theoretical approaches of environmental criminology are the descendants and siblings of human ecology, behavioural ecology, ecological psychology, environmental psychology, human geography, behavioural geography and the cognitive sciences (Brantingham & Brantingham 1998:32; Rossmo 2000:111). Garland (2000:215) points out that the most fundamental aspect of this new development in Criminology is the discipline's focus away from the theories of social deprivation towards explanations phrased in terms of social control and its deficits. Some of the new theories which have since been developed are:

- Routine activities theory

- Pattern theory
- Rational choice theory
- Strategic analysis.

Ronald V Clarke also put these new theories under the heading of situational crime prevention which are aimed at reducing the opportunities for crime. It is “...(1) directed at a highly specific form of crime (2) that involve the management, design or manipulation of the immediate environment in as systematic and permanent way as possible(3) so as to increase the effort and risks of crime and reduce the rewards as perceived by a wide range of offenders” (Clarke 1992:4).

The concept of situational crime prevention originated in the British government’s Home Office Research Unit, but was soon influenced by two independent, but related types of policy research in the United States - the concept of “defensible space” as developed by Oscar Newman in 1972 and the concept of “crime prevention through environmental design” of Jeffery in 1977. Both of these preceded the development of situational prevention but because of the trans-Atlantic delay in the distribution of ideas, had not been the spur to its development (Clarke 1992:5).

Marcus Felson and Ronald V Clarke discuss the new opportunity theories, namely the routine activity theory, crime pattern theory and the rational choice perspective theory. They are however quick to point out that as these are not yet complete and formal theories, they can be better described as approaches (Felson & Clarke 1998:4). According to them these three theories begin at different focal points but end up at the same conclusion, namely the nexus of setting and opportunity (Felson & Clarke 1998:4; Rossmo 2000:112).

- **Routine activities**

Lawrence Cohen and Marcus Felson formulated the routine activities theory to explain patterns of victimisation. They linked the likelihood of victimisation to three factors, namely motivated offenders, suitable targets and an absence of capable guardians (Brown *et al.* 1998:43; Clarke & Felson 1993:2). In this approach the offender is taken as a given and the term target is preferred to that of victim. This target may not be present at the commission of the crime. A capable guardian is regarded as anybody whose presence or proximity would discourage a crime from happening (Felson & Clarke 1998:4-5). John Eck has since enlarged on this theory by looking at the role of offender handlers (presented by parents, co-workers etc.) who control the criminal, and place managers (for example shopkeepers, building superintendents) who supervise the environment in addition to the victim/target and capable guardian (Rossmo 2000:112; Eck & Weisburd 1995:6).

A possible target can range from a physical object to a person. It's position in time or space influencing its risk of criminal attack; the four main elements of influence being value, inertia, visibility and access. Value describes the monetary value of an object such as a video machine or a television set. Inertia refers to the dead weight of the object. Take for example a cell phone which is remarkably lighter and easier to carry than a 74cm television set, thus making it easier to steal. Visibility entails the offender observing a valuable target such as a thick gold chain in an open display cabinet. Access would be any features such as open windows or street patterns, which provide the offender with an easy opportunity of obtaining the target (Felson & Clarke 1998:5; Lab 1997:78; Gilling 1997:58).

Marcus Felson and Ronald V Clarke (1998:4) say that the routine activity theory originated as an explanation of predatory crimes. Gilling (1997:58) also states that the earlier work of Felson neglected the offender's motivational circumstances although his more recent work bestows greater consideration to the role of the offender.

- **Crime pattern theory**

Brantingham and Brantingham (1998:40; 1993:259-286; Rossmo 2000:116) have developed a model for offence site selection, naming it the crime pattern theory. Forming part of environmental criminology, it studies the movement of people in space and time as well as the matters involved in the commitment of a crime. Local crime patterns present the public's interaction with their physical environment, which can result in more or less crime opportunities. The three main principles of this theory are (Felson & Clarke 1998:6; Brantingham & Brantingham 1998:40-41):

- nodes (the places where people travel to and from)
- paths and
- edges (consisting of the boundaries of areas where people live, work or seek entertainment).

Every offender will search for possible crime targets around personal activity nodes (such as home, school and entertainment areas) and the paths among them (Felson & Clarke 1998:6). There are few offenders who may aggressively seek out uncharted areas, but most will search for crime targets within areas they became familiar with through non-criminal activities (Eck & Weisburd 1995:6). "In addition, the paths that people take in their everyday activities are closely related to where they fall victim to crime. This is why [the] crime pattern theory pays so much attention to the geographical distribution of crime and the daily rhythm of activity. For example, it generates crime maps for different hours of the day and week, linking crime to commuter flows, schoolchildren being let out, bars closing, or any other process that moves people among nodes and along paths" (Felson & Clarke 1998:6).

Eck and Weisburd (1995:7) point out that although the crime pattern theory and the routine activity theory are mutually supportive on many points, they can give rise to varied explanations of crime at specific locations. Given the same high-crime location the crime pattern theorist will focus on how the offender found and achieved access to the place while the routine activity theorist will concentrate on the behaviours of the targets and the absence of guardians and controllers. Thus, places are problematic for the crime pattern theorist because of their location and relationship to the environment whereas the types of people present or absent from the location present a problem to the routine activity theorist. Therefore, Eck and Weisburd (1995:7) are of the opinion that both explanations can be valid, making the one or the other more applicable in certain situations to provide useful explanations or insights. A combination of the two theories can also be used in the explanation of a high-crime location.

- **The rational choice perspective**

Gilling (1997:60) regards Ronald V Clarke as one of the developers of the rational choice theory as he established and developed the situational approach to crime prevention as the former Head of the British Home Office Research and Planning Unit during the 1970s. This theory focuses on the offender's decision making. With the commitment of a crime the offender has a goal in mind, even if it is a short term goal. This offending behaviour also holds some sort of benefit for the offender (Felson & Clarke 1998:7; Rossmo 2000:115; Clarke & Felson 1993:10).

The specific crime choices that an offender makes will differ from the type of crime, as every crime has a different purpose and the influential situational factors will vary as well. Take for example the different crime choices that a professional car thief and a joyrider will make when choosing a car to steal. The professional might search for a specific make and model and steal a car every day, whilst the joyrider might steal a fun car with good acceleration on a once off basis (Felson & Clarke 1998:7; Rossmo 2000:115).

This theory regards the decision making process of the offender in choosing the target, taking into account the benefits and costs in committing the offence (Felson & Clarke 1998:8; Rossmo 2000:115). This perspective has led to research where offenders such as burglars are taken around in cars and asked why they would pick one street and not another, or one house but not the other (Felson & Clarke 1998:8). As with the routine activity theory, the rational choice theory provides powerful tools for understanding predatory criminal behaviour (Rossmo 2000:116).

Even though Clarke has made it clear that the main purpose of this theory is the practical end of crime

control rather than providing sound criminological theorising, the empirical testing thereof presents certain difficulties (Gilling 1997:65). As Jeffery and Zahn (Gilling 1997:65) note, the empirical testing or observation of choice making is not possible and the researcher can only know that a choice has been made when the behaviour occurs. Predictions are not possible and make this theory scientifically weak. Nevertheless Gilling (1997:65) regards this theory as a practical tool in the real world of controlling crime.

Felson and Clarke (1998:8) arrange the three crime opportunity theories according to their main focal points, ranging from the larger society (routine activities) to the local area (crime pattern theory) to the individual (rational choice). Felson and Clarke (1998:9) also generate the following ten principles of opportunity and crime, which are encompassed in these theories:

- “1. Opportunities play a role in causing all crime
2. Crime opportunities are highly specific
3. Crime opportunities are concentrated in time and space
4. Crime opportunities depend on everyday movements
5. One crime produces opportunities for another
6. Some products offer more tempting crime opportunities
7. Social and technological changes produce more crime opportunities
8. Opportunities for crime can be reduced
9. Reducing opportunities does not usually displace crime
10. Focussed opportunity reduction can provide wider declines in crime”.

Although the last three theories can be traced back to social ecology they are now deemed to be part of the new field of environmental criminology, which takes the influences of the physical environment wherein the victim and offender move, dwell and work into account when planning for the prevention or controlling of crime.

- **Strategic analysis of crime**

Cusson is identified by Brantingham and Brantingham (1998:41) as one of the key persons in relation to the strategic analysis approach to crime. Cusson (1993:295) is of the opinion that although the rational choice perspective includes theories, it in itself is not a theory. He regards it as a way of thinking about crime in strategic terms, crime being regarded as calculating behaviour in the context of conflict. According to him a conceptual toolbox is needed to strategically analyse crime, this toolbox already containing useful ideas such as limited rationality, opportunities, routine activities, choice

structuring properties and so forth. He bridges this gap by making finer distinctions and formulating more analytical concepts in explaining the proliferation of mundane predatory crime.

Cusson (1993:295) discerns three elements in a criminal event - the search, the precriminal situation and the criminal tactics. The process wherein an offender is looking for a suitable precriminal situation is called the search. The precriminal situation might be found without much effort, or can be created if no such opportunity exists in the potential target. Take the example of would-be burglars who scour an area for suitable targets around familiar places or just of the usual paths to such places..

Cusson (1993:296) admits that the concept of a precriminal situation is not new, the term being in use by criminologists such as Kinberg, Pinatel and Gassin. However, this term which can be valuable when the analyst wants to discern in a crime pattern what is due to the offender's decision and what is due to the situation itself, has been ignored by rational choice theorists. The precriminal situation is defined as "... the set of outside circumstances immediately preceding and surrounding the criminal event and making the offense more or less difficult, risky and profitable" (Cusson 1993:296).

Criminal tactics employed by the criminal are defined by Cusson (1993:296) as "... the sequence of choices and actions made by the offender during the criminal event, including his use of available means to reach his ends in the precriminal situation". These three concepts are interrelated and in strategic terms form a predatory crime pattern.

According to Cusson (1993:298) the above-mentioned concepts, which are used at microscopic level are also applicable to a certain degree in the study of crime trends.

These new developments in the field of Criminology are not only concerned with the social environment of the criminal but also study the criminal situation by incorporating the victim's living milieu as well.

Reducing crime through situational crime prevention has also had its fair share of critics. These theories have been accused of merely displacing crime and not preventing crime (Clarke 1992:22; Town 2001:1-2). Five types of potential displacement are listed by Hakim and Rengert (Ratcliffe 2002:2) namely:

- spatial displacement, when crime is moved from one location to another
- temporal displacement, when crime is moved from one time slot to another
- target displacement, when crime is steered away from one target to another
- tactical displacement, when the type of *modus operandi* is replaced by another and

- “type of crime” displacement, one type of crime is left in favour of another.

Displacement research has focussed on crimes such as burglary, motor vehicle crimes, vandalism, prostitution and non-criminal behaviour such as suicide. Eck (Smith, Wolanin & Wothington 2003:2) and Ratcliffe (2002:2) point out that extensive research has refuted the claim of crime displacement, and that when it does occur, it happens on such a small scale that other gains accomplished by blocking crime opportunities are not nullified. Town (2001:2) says that the displacement theory is widely accepted because it is regarded as common sense. The acceptance of this idea has however done a lot of damage to crime prevention within the British Police. It is also used as an excuse for inaction as people believe that the criminal will obtain access whatever cause of action is taken and that if they don't they will just go somewhere else.

A related criticism of situational crime prevention is that it does not address the root-causes of crime, as the individual's desire to commit offences are not addressed. Those who criticise these theories, try to explain crime by understanding the motivations, background and social context and regard themselves as having a fundamentally deeper and more rounded understanding of the problem than their situationally inclined colleagues (Town 2001:2). Hesseling (Town 2001:2) has however disregarded their claims on the grounds that the critics base their conclusions on ideological grounds rather than that of sound empirical knowledge.

3.2.3 Crime prevention and punishment

The differential opportunity theory of Cloward and Ohlin had considerable impact on the formulation of crime combatting policies and programmes during the 1960's. The “Delinquency Prevention and Control Act” of 1961 and President Johnson's “War on Poverty” campaign tried to improve the educational and economical opportunities of the lower classes. These programmes were also influenced by other social structure theories like those of Durkheim and Matza (Vito & Holmes 1994:167-168;171).

Community programmes aimed at the improvement of social conditions, are used to decrease negative socialisation. The British Home Office provides the following guidelines for planning such a programme:

- The local community itself has to initiate the programmes and be actively involved in it;
- the programmes should be focussed on local problems identified by the community itself;
- different organisations should partake in these programmes, for example the police, other

- community groups, local welfare organisations and local government;
- these programmes finally have to be launched with great care, making use of a well-organised liaison campaign (Naudé 1988:19-20).

Employing community programmes are worthwhile when they have a specific aim, are carefully planned in conjunction with the community and are evaluated on a regular basis by means of scientific research methods (Naudé 1988:21).

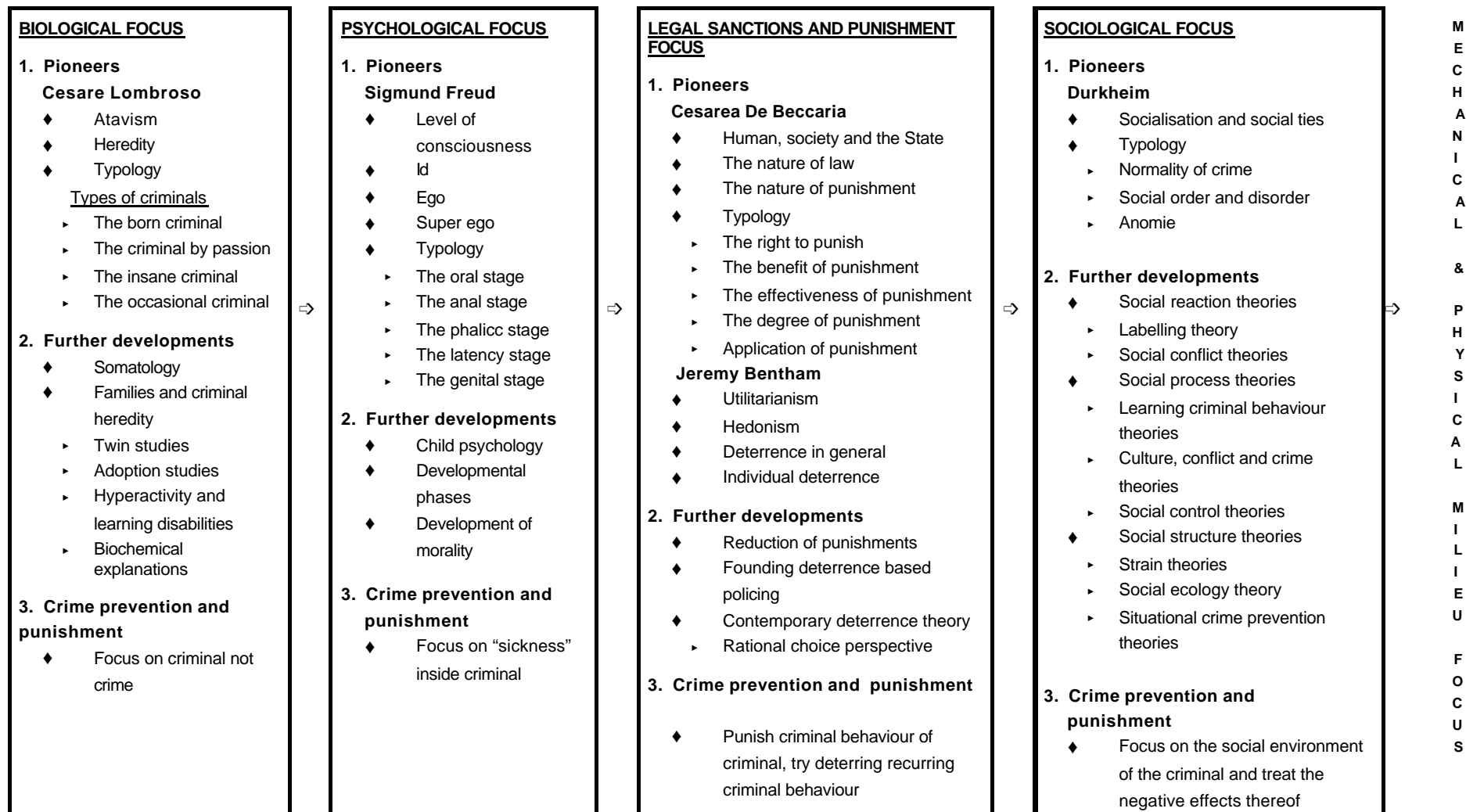
3.3 CONCLUSION

In this Chapter the focus was placed on theories with a sociological nature and origin that investigate the environment of the criminal, thus moving the focus away from the criminal. The sociological crime prevention model was also described in this Chapter to serve as the springboard for the new theory of approaching crime prevention in neighbourhoods. (See Table 3.1)

The sociological crime prevention model is aimed at the socialisation of the criminal and his social environment. Criminal behaviour can be avoided if the negative social condition of the criminal is ruled out (Coetzer 1998:47). It is however difficult to apply this philosophy to a neighbourhood that any member of the public has the right to visit, stay in, or work in. Recent developments in this model start to focus on the crime situation through the development of social ecology. Park and Burgess started this movement by doing an ecological analysis of neighbourhoods in Chicago in order to study the relationship of people towards their environment. These theories focus on the environment in which the criminal behaviour is committed and makes an easy transition to the mechanical and

Table 3.1 **C-E-M * PRESENTATION OF CRIME PREVENTION MODELS**

{	CRIME PREVENTION MODELS FOCUSING ON THE CRIMINAL	}	{	CRIM FOCI OF T
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* C = Models focussing on the Criminal E = Models focussing on the Environment of the criminal M = Models focussing on the Milieu of the victim

physical milieu crime prevention theory.

This model is more suitable for crime prevention in neighbourhoods as its aim is to prevent crime from occurring in the first place, through safeguarding the physical environment. With the implementation of this model the residents of the neighbourhood stand a better chance of avoiding the mental anguish and physical pain that follow the actual occurrence of a crime against the person or his property. There need not be a criminal event before crime

prevention can take place. The focus is also more on the potential victim than the potential criminal.

Attention was also given to some of the new and different theoretical approaches of environmental criminology, such as the routine activities, crime pattern theory and rational choice perspective, which originated from social ecology and various other disciplines such as environmental psychology, human geography, the cognitive science etc. Strictly chronologically speaking these theories must be placed after the discussion of the mechanical and physical milieu model which contains the pioneers of the CPTED (Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design) movement such as Jane Jacobs, Elizabeth Wood and Oscar Newman as they were developed at a later time, being, in some instances, natural outflows, parallel developments or extensions of the mechanical and physical milieu focus. However, for the purpose of this study, greater emphasis is placed on the origin and development of CPTED as it forms part of the new HONC (Healthy lifestyle, Online technology, Nature and CPTED) crime prevention model. Therefore these new theories are discussed under the heading of social ecology and only referred to in Chapter 4.

The crime prevention models as described in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 are summarised in Table 3.1 to demonstrate the theory and practise of these models in a compact format as well as the flow from an individualistic approach to that of the social environment.

In Chapter 4 the mechanical and physical milieu crime prevention model, which focusses on the milieu of the victim, will also be described according to the pioneers, their typology, further developments and criticisms. International trends in this field will be touched upon before zooming in on South Africa in describing how this theory originated and developed.