DEVELOPING CHILD AND YOUTH CARE SERVICES IN NIGERIA:

AN ANALYSIS OF CONTEMPORARY PROBLEMS AND NEEDS

by

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Submitted for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

April 1986

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1/87

ABSTRACT

This exploratory study of child and youth care services in Nigeria first examines theoretical concepts associated with the causation of youth problems in developed countries with particular reference to Britain and North America. From an historical and comparative perspective, the application and limitations of Western theories of delinquency causation in developing countries are analysed. An historical analysis of traditional Nigerian culture serves to highlight the problems associated with socio-economic change and the impact of change on traditional child and youth care practices. The impact of urban development on migrant youths is then analysed to establish the theoretical relationship between urbanisation and delinquency. Traditional roles maintained in extended families and traditional patterns of child and youth care practices are analysed to identify the relationship between family disorganisation and delinquent behaviour among contemporary Nigerian young people. Family structure is identified as a core variable in explaining differences between rural and urban delinquency. Two case studies are presented to illuminate the degree of delinquent behaviour found amongst children and young people from disorganised families and to highlight differences between delinquency found in an urban area and a rural culture. Religious differences are

identified as central to sequences in the development and
definition of delinquency in the two major cultures in
Nigeria. A social policy ideal, based on the notion of an
integrated "continuum of care" for children and families,
is used to analyse and evaluate child welfare services
found in Nigeria at the present time. Prospects for the
future development of services are also considered.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the memory of

my father

Ibeabuchi, E. Okorafor

and

my brother

Raymond N. Ibeabuchi

who loved my education

but did not live to see it bear fruit.

STATEMENT OF DECLARATION

I declare that no portion of this thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification at this or any other university.

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research was inspired by incentives from several institutions, individuals and by personal experiences. My first debt is to my supervisor Dr. Leon C. Fulcher, Director of Social Work Education at the University of Stirling. His helpful supervision, scholarly criticisms, suggestions and encouragement along with his sustained interest both in this study and in my personal welfare provided valuable stimulus, vital to the successful completion of this thesis. Words are indeed inadequate to express my gratitude for all his kind help.

The conception of this research was not only inspired by my contact with young people in trouble, an opportunity provided by the Department of Sociology, University of Jos and Bauchi State Ministry of Social Welfare but also by my many discussions with Mr. B.K. Yeboah, Lecturer in Social Work, at the University of Jos in north central Nigeria.

I indeed owe a great measure of thanks to the Federal Government of Nigeria who, though the Federal Ministry of Education Scholarship Division, provided the financial support which made this study possible.

DEVELOPING CHILD AND YOUTH CARE SERVICES IN NIGERIA:
AN ANALYSIS OF PROBLEMS AND NEEDS

It is generally believed that youth has a vital role to play in changing a society within a perceived model. However, this depends on the extent to which a young person is cared for, treated and organised to perform this role. However, care needs to be examined within the context of the history and culture of any given society. Thus, we cannot disregard the actual state of the society and the state of child and youth care services at any particular point in time.

In 1981 the author was asked by the University of Jos in Central Nigeria to supervise 43 intending social work students who were participating on field projects at Bauchi State Social Welfare Services. In Bauchi, visits were made to State homes for motherless children, the rehabilitation centre for blind people and detention centres for young people in trouble with the law. It was here for the first time that the author came face to face with the realities and problems involving care and treatment of young people in receipt of welfare services in Nigeria.

In spite of financial support from the Federal Government to provide adequate care and treatment services for young people convicted by the law and those awaiting

trial, the ill treatment which these youngsters receive and the poor conditions in which they live tend to contradict the service objectives of these very institutions. The waste of human resources reflects a failure in the administration and management of these services. This is due in part to a lack of administrative skills and a lack of understanding as to the causes of youth problems, their definition in the Nigerian context and the human needs of those who get into trouble.

A question that remains unanswered involves the development of models of care and treatment which may be practically possible within the context of Nigerian culture while at the same time serving the needs of contemporary Nigerian youths. That is, models are required which can provide preventive approaches to the problems of delinquency and at the same time encourage the provision of vocational training in order to give young people adequate preparation for and participation in normal society.

The high number of young people involved in crime and delinquency in Nigeria in recent years poses yet further questions. What possible explanations can be given for the causes of youth crime, a social problem which is a comparatively new phenomenon in Nigeria? Sociological interest in Nigerian life has traditionally been reflected in historical, geographical and anthropological studies. While criminologists have long been interested in youth

crime in developed countries, there has been little comparative research into this problem in developing countries. Until recently, studies of youth crime and juvenile delinquency in developing countries - and in Nigeria in particular - have dealt exclusively with general problems of crime. We know of no studies which have examined in detail the causes of youth crime in these countries. Such an absence of research in this field reinforces the view which holds that effective solutions to any social problem depends on a clear understanding of its causes. Sociological explanations about the causes of youth crime will, therefore, influence the methods adopted for the prevention and treatment of the problem. The analysis of causes of youth problems provided in this study is, therefore, meant in some measure to provide a basis for understanding and responding to youth problems in Nigeria.

Nigeria is a developing country, and development brings with it many changes. Change is a phenomenon which may be accepted, planned for and/or organised to produce a positive effect in the development of any society. Planned change has been defined as "a conscious, deliberate and collaborative system, whether it be a self-system, social system or cultural system through the utilization of scientific knowledge" (Bennis et al, 1876). To be able to plan and organise for positive change, it is helpful to know what happened in the past. This knowledge serves as a guide to avoid repetition of mistakes.

Knowledge of the past can be acquired through a study of history or by experience. This thesis was first conceptualised as an empirical research project, based on personal experience of visits to various care and treatment institutions for children and young people in Nigeria between 1981 and 1983.

As personal experience and contact with delinquents during visits to field work placements continued, so the problems associated with care and treatment of young people in trouble in Nigeria presented itself more and more as a field of study. Seven years' experience in Europe influenced the author's interest in comparative approaches to the study of child and youth care services. Particularly influential countries were Italy where various care and treatment institutions were visited and observed in the course of the author's M.Sc. programme and West Germany, where the use of community efforts to address the problems and provide for the needs of children and young people in trouble were studied. Thus, this research developed from practical experience with care and treatment institutions for children and young people in Nigeria and in Europe. Formulations of a research problem through practical experience has been justified by Glaser and Strauss (1967) in their book "The Discovery of Grounded Theory". The choice of Britain as a suitable country for comparative study was made because: a) it offered certain language advantages; and b) it has had a long historical role through its colonial influence in

Nigeria. This influence has of course shaped the administrative structures of many Nigerian institutions.

Attention has been given to related problems in America, Italy and Israel because of their early and free migration structure and the effects of a process of integrating migrant groups which sometimes "weaken the cohesion of the family unit and, thus, hamper family control over the young" (Shoham et al, 1966: 391). The situation in Nigeria since the end of the Civil War has tended to follow a similar pattern.

In discussing delinquency causation in Nigeria, the study first reviews a number of theoretical and conceptual orientations to this problem in developed countries. These theories are later examined in relation to various factors and practices that appear to contribute to delinquency in developing countries. Such a constant comparative approach finds justification in Glaser and Strauss (1967). Referring to the application of these theories to problems in developing countries, no attempt is made to cover all the developing countries, but to concentrate on three geographical regions, including India, Latin America and Africa.

The study of child and youth care services in Nigeria is essentially an historical account of Nigerian culture in relation to child and youth care practice. It examines the relationship between delinquency and the development of a number of social characteristics in Nigeria within

the last two decades. In particular, it explores the influence of urbanisation on anti-social behaviour among Nigerian youths. The research brings together an extensive collection of data showing the relationships between rapid urban development and delinquent behaviour among urban Nigerian youths. The study also considers the relationship between Nigerian delinquency and international/cross-cultural contacts.

Nigeria is principally made up of two historical cultures: the Muslims in the North and the Christians in the South. Differences exist as to what constitutes youth crime in each of these two cultures. The effects of these cultures on youth behaviour is investigated and the provision for child and youth care services is analysed. The international view which holds that the "economic circumstances of low income groups multiply many times the probabilities that they will contribute disproportionately to delinquency and to crime" (Berg, 1967: 314) is reviewed in relation to the economic situation in Nigerian urban areas. It is argued that not all youths from low income groups are delinquents. However, dramatic changes in the urban population and the subsequent high rate of youth crime in Nigeria justifies the association made between urbanism and delinquent behaviour among young people of low income groups.

The consequences of social, economic and political development in Nigerian urban centres have become

increasingly incompatible with traditional culture and kinship links which hitherto provided adequate care for children and young people. From our experience and from data collected from empirical and theoretical studies, we will argue that the present system of child and youth services in Nigeria does not reflect the changing patterns of the society. The present system of treatment and control of delinquency based on the ideology of inflicting "punishment to fit the crime" is an inhuman and unsatisfactory approach to the prevention of the problems of young people in contemporary Nigeria. It is argued that with the exception of a small number of cases, delinquency in Nigeria is "the fault of social development" and "social circumstances" in urban areas — the changing influence of cultural contact — rather than by the free choice of individual youths.

THE AIM OF THE STUDY

In traditional Nigeria, delinquency and youth problems were comparatively unknown. The growth of economic development, political reorganisation, changes in social and cultural structures and the development of urban centres seem to have encouraged social problems, including crime and delinquency in Nigeria. Thus, the rate of increase of anti-social behaviour in Nigeria in recent times demands urgent attention.

In developed countries, a great deal of technical and observational studies have been carried out with the aim

of ascertaining the causes of delinquency and formulating policy about the care and treatment of young people in trouble with the law. There tends to be a consensus amongst a great number of these studies about the relationship between youth crime and the development of urbanisation (Cohen, 1967; Tobias, 1967; Clinard and Abbott, 1973; Mays, 1973 among others). These authors claim that "migration of large numbers of rural people into the cities, where a subsequent process of urbanisation modifies their behaviour" (Clinard and Abbott, 1973: 112) tends to make some of the migrant youths prone to deliquency.

In spite of increasing rates of migration from rural to urban areas, and pressing concerns about the high incidence of delinquency among Nigerian youths, there is a gross lack of research into the relationship between urbanisation and youth problems. Most sociologists and anthropologists who have examined social problems in Nigeria have generally ignored questions associated with youth problems. Today, next to the economy, youth crime may be considered a "major social problem and greatest source of fear" (Hoghughi, 1983: 9). The news about thefts, breaking and entering, armed robbery, rape, personal assault, being beyond parental control and runaways have all become normal household conversation in Nigeria. Thus, urgent attention to this new development has become necessary not merely for academic interest. It is also to help salvage the large number of young people

who endure the tension, frustration and despair caused by involvement in crime and delinquency. It should, thus, help to create a healthier society, free from fear and insecurity about personal safety, life and property. An Italian adage says "In societa pulito si vivere bene" (in a healthy society live healthy people).

In view of the dearth of information on youth problems in Nigeria, the aim of this study is twofold. First, it will examine the relative effects of urban development upon youth behaviour. Second, it will examine and recommend techniques for prevention, treatment and care which cuts across traditional and modern cultural requirements including the quality of life for offenders after care. It is hoped that this will help policy makers formulate decisions about current problems with greater intelligence and economy of effort. It is our view that basic knowledge about fundamental elements which encourage young people to deviate will enhance effective control policies and aid planning for future care and treatment services.

With increased urban contact, the effective influence of traditional behavioural control mechanisms have weakened a great deal and have thus become a major concern of many Nigerian communities. The basic interest of this study is to unravel the impact of cross-cultural contact on traditional institutions of child and youth care practices and the development of delinquent behaviour among Nigerian

youths. The approach used in this review enables us to
understand some of the causes of youth problems in
Nigeria.

The absence of reliable data on youth crime in Nigeria
has been recognised as problemmatic amongst policy makers
and those concerned with child and youth care services.
Current literature reflects three divergent theoretical
perspectives on delinquent behaviour. Strain theories
assume that delinquent behaviour is motivated by
conformity. These theories assume there is a relationship
between social class and delinquency and, in so doing,
attempt to explain the delinquency generating effects of
blocked opportunity among the lower classes (Cohen 1955;
Cloward and Ohlin, 1960; Wheeler, 1960). Cultural deviance
theories, on the other hand, assume that delinquent
behaviour is an acceptance of a different set of standards
than those held by the larger society (McCord and McCord,
1964; Fleisher, 1960; Sutherland and Cressey, 1960;
Tobias, 1967). From this perspective, delinquency is
thought to be learned through interaction with others who
provide favourable definitions for law-breaking. A third
perspective, social control theories, assume that people
become free to engage in delinquent behaviour only when
their ties to conventional society are broken (Clinard and
Abbott, 1973; Sumner, 1982; Mays, 1972; Shaw and McKay,
1932).

Unlike strain theories, cultural deviance and social

control theories offer an explanation of delinquency that cuts across class and culture. These approaches seem the most desirable when examining delinquency in Nigerian society as they do not negate the function or validity of traditional Nigerian conventions which may differ substantially from those of urban areas. Thus, the purpose of a comparative examination of delinquency in traditional and urban society is to offer a partial explanation of the important problems presented by the differences in definition of delinquency in Nigeria. More narrowly put, the study intends to provide a wide framework from which the study of delinquency in Nigeria can proceed.

RATIONALE AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The social policy analyst could benefit considerably from an historical analysis of traditional cultures and the development of urban centres in Nigeria as analysed in this study. It allows him to see the nature of the influence exerted by internal and external factors in regard to the development of delinquent behaviour and other youth problems.

The analysis of Western theories of delinquency causation and their application to problems in developing countries will be of value to social science students, especially those interested in the problems of crime and delinquency. The analysis of urban influences on the high incidence of delinquency should be of interest to those

interested in other developing countries.

Child and youth care practice as a field of study, drawing from wider perspectives - from Britain, America, Israel and some other developing countries - is obviously rare in Nigeria. As in all fields of the social sciences, the demand for more material of a comparative nature has been growing steadily in recent years. Studies on Nigerian youth problems have focused on psychological problems of family life in particular geographic areas, but few of these have been published. Few have appeared in national and international periodicals. It is, therefore, hoped that this exploratory study will encourage future comparative studies of patterns of child and youth care services in Nigeria.

The study should also be of value to policy makers and others for its theoretical orientation which illuminates the assertion that cultural variables do affect meaningful interaction, especially among youths in urban areas. It forms a basis for planning a national survey along similar lines and for planning the establishment of preventative and treatment institutions. If we know more about the characteristics of both delinquents and the causes of the problem, it seems likely that any programme of prevention and control could be made much more effective.

The absence in Nigeria of reliable information and statistical data presented a major challenge for this study. Official statistics gave only a partial or

indirect account of the phenomenon under study, since it is difficult to analyse the nature of youth problems in Nigeria without data available from institutions concerned with youth work. Thus, the limited number of studies available to support this research gave evidence of an unusually acute absence of literature relating to the relationship between delinquency, patterns of child care and urban development in Nigeria. An attempt has been made to overcome this problem by a careful selection of material used in this study. This selection process was guided by the formulations outlined by Glaser and Strauss (1967).

THE METHOD OF THE STUDY

Much research has been done to explain the causation of delinquency in developed societies. The majority of these revolve around sociological and psychological factors. Some, however, have gone beyond these formulations and make the 'home' and its economic situation a focal point, especially the 'bad' home background.[1]

This work will draw on theoretical and conceptual orientations from some of the writings on the problems of young people in trouble in developed countries, in order to call attention to major models of thinking about social welfare services for children and young people in developing countries. This is necessary because we believe that concern with the problems of children and young people in trouble depends on a clear

conceptualization of the nature of the problem and reference to available theories on the causation of youth problems. This belief has lead to adoption of a comparative approach to the study of delinquency causation in Nigeria. Further, it is our view that inferences drawn from the causation theories used in some developed countries will motivate positive change towards the understanding of and concern about this problem in developing countries.

While we do not wish to debate the scientific nature of sociological theories, it is sufficient to point out that there is considerable scholarly acceptance for the view that

> "theories developed within a particular social context might be expected to hold in all other (simple or complex societies). Since the sociological theories have been produced out of a scientific process ... what needs to be done is to select from the ready-made theories and apply them to any society" (Alo, 1983).

Therefore, Western theories of economic, sociological and psychological causation of delinquency are applied to examine the effect of socio-economic changes on Nigerian young people in relation to child care issues and the development of delinquency in urban areas.

As a means of considering the problems, this study seeks to answer five specific questions. These include:

1) Is delinquency found more frequently among urban young people than among young people in rural areas in

Nigeria?

2) Is family deficiency likely to be more prevalent among delinquents than among non-delinquents in Nigeria?

3) Are ecological factors associated with delinquency in Nigeria, as noted elsewhere?

4) Is Nigerian traditional culture a vehicle for or an impediment to the development of delinquent behaviour?

5) What are the social circumstances behind the development of conventional child and youth care services in Nigeria?

Throughout this study, comparative statistics have been used to illuminate the impact of cross-cultural contact on youth behaviour. To this end, data relating to the economic problems of urban settings, social and cultural environments of urban centres (Shulman, 1957) are used to compare the high incidence of delinquency in urban areas and low incidence in traditional rural culture.

Unique aspects of Nigerian culture as well as Nigeria's adaptation to external culture can best be understood within the context of history. To this end, an historical analysis has been adopted to provide a background for understanding youth and delinquency problems which are current concerns in Nigerian society. Delinquency in traditional Nigeria is examined here in relation to three elements of social control theory: attachment, commitment

and belief. An historical analysis is also followed to illuminate the impact of modern economic changes and rapid urbanisation on Nigerian traditional culture, with its concomitant impact on anti-social or abnormal behaviour amongst young people. Traditional Nigerian control mechanisms are considered so as to provide a backdrop for a comparative study of modern control systems.

The historical approach adopted in this study again finds justification in Glaser and Strauss (1967) and Sumner's (1982) 'Internationalism' theory which claims that an historical perspective for social relations "demands an understanding of the present as a moment in a definite line of movement begun in the past" (1982: 7). The "line of movement" which concerns this study is the development of socio-economic changes which underpin the development of delinquency in traditional society.

Finally, historical and modern ideas are brought together to provide a theoretical and yet practical framework for future study. On the issue of delinquency, our purpose here is to compare information supplied by conventional analyses with information relevant to contemporary policy makers who are responsible for planning delinquency control and treatment in Nigeria. In so doing, a framework is established which, it is hoped, will guide both policy makers and those concerned with child and youth care practice. It is in this sense that implications for programme planning and future research

are explored.

SOURCES OF DATA

Data collection has involved selected sampling from
previous empirical studies and has involved intensive use
of the libraries at Stirling and Edinburgh Universities
and Lambeth Council Social Service Department in London.
Practice issues have been identified through visits to and
observation of selected institutions of child and youth
services in England, Scotland, Canada and Nigeria.
Information was also collected from Court Records
maintained by social welfare centres at Yaga, Lagos,
Nigeria, as well as through attendance at the First
International Conference on Child and Youth Care Services
held at Vancouver, B.C. in Canada at the end of 1985. This
conference drew together experts in the field from
different parts of the world, including the Peoples'
Republic of China, Indonesia, South Africa, Japan, Israel,
Canada, U.S.A. and Scotland. In addition, current
developments reported in professional journals and
newspapers were considered. The use of statistical
reports and research monographs helped to shape the
empirical focus of the study. All this data has been
analysed according to the ground rules suggested by Glaser
and Strauss (1967).

ORGANISATION OF THE STUDY

The study seeks to identify attitudes of Nigerian young

people towards economic development and socio-cultural changes and the impact of these changes on youth behaviour there. Chapter 2 provides a theoretical and conceptual review of the literature based on Western theories of delinquency causation. Theories of delinquency causation in developed countries highlight three causal factors: sociological, economic and psychological. The ecological theory of Apter (1982) is also used to identify other environmental influences on youth behaviour.

Chapter 3 is divided into two sections. First, the concept of social change is summarized and the concept of "material and non-material culture" (Ogbun, 1957) is used to examine the degree of development and influence of colonialism on the social and economic structure of Nigerian society. Second, the application of Western theories of delinquency causation to the problems of developing countries is examined. To this end, the operation of variables unique in developed countries are identified, indicating that under certain conditions, young people in developing countries are exposed to quite similar situations to adolescents in developed countries. Western theories have frequently associated delinquency with poverty and slum environments (Clinard and Abbott, 1973; Shulman, 1952 and Mays 1973). The validity of these views are examined in Chapters 4, 5 and 6 in the context of developing countries.

Chapter 4 provides an historical analysis of traditional

culture and child care practices in Nigeria. The aim is to highlight the interplay which exists between urban and traditional institutions. First, the social values of productive agriculture (Nadel, 1942; Isichei, 1983) and patterns of family life (Young and Willmott, 1967; Marries, 1967; Ottemberg, 1963; Obi, 1970) are analysed in relation to youth control problems. Second, an attempt is made to examine the influence of religious differences on patterns of child and youth care practice in Nigeria and its implications for the definition of youth problems.

Chapter 5 explores the relationships between Nigerian traditional culture and delinquency. The concept of symbolic interaction (Dentscher, 1962; Clinard, 1963; and Becker, 1965) is used to analyse the relationship between the functional structure of the extended family and the development of delinquent behaviour. Analysis of the data reveals that family structures and patterns of child and youth care practice in pre-urbanised and traditional Nigerian society endorsed modern sociological theories which claim that delinquent behaviour as well as normal behaviour is a product of social environment. Turiel (1966, 1973, 1974), Kohlberg (1969), Denney and Duffy (1974), Simon and Ward (1973) are all influential in this view. Broom and Selznick's (1963) concept of socialization is adopted to examine role relationships in Nigerian families with particular reference to polygamous families and the development of delinquent behaviour. Case studies are used to illustrate patterns of collective

and authoritarian child rearing practice. Further, the concept of social status (Uchendu, 1983) is used to illustrate the manner in which punishment is seen as the best approach to inculcate normal behaviour.

Crime and delinquency rates are higher in some parts of the country than in others. The rates for different types of offences also vary considerably between large and small cities. These variations seem to relate to population movement and the cultural, as well as economic conditions of life in Nigeria. A comparison is made between rural areas and cities in Chapter 6 to the extent that available data permits. The purpose is not just to show that the rates of delinquency vary considerably between urban and rural areas, but to assess the conditions of life which are most closely associated with these variations. The comparative analysis of contemporary issues associated with urbanisation and youth problems in Nigeria, thus, provides an evaluation of the potential impact of urbanisation on traditional institutions. Attention is given to influences that are external (imported culture) to youth behavioural control mechanisms in traditional Nigeria. Here again interactional variables are analysed to illustrate Malinawski's (1948) claim that the process of cultural and social changes are based on the interaction of institutions.

An analysis of the concept of cultural transformation illuminates the influence of Western civilization

involving individuals, groups and institutional contact. This approach blends Malinawski's concept of institutional interactions with those of his critics (Brown, 1968) who claimed that cultural change is not due to the interaction of cultures or institutions but to the interaction of individuals and groups within an established social structure. Special attention is given to the process of development in urban areas and its heterogeneous culture have altered value systems and modified the socio-cultural structures of traditional society. The influence of rapid economic growth resulting from the oil boom and the tensions, conflicts, dysfunctions and the feeling of inequality among the poor are analysed to show their association with crime and delinquency rates. In this manner, the case is established for arguing that the influence of rapid economic development, social and cultural changes and the rate of urbanisation have strong associations with the increasing rates of delinquency in Nigeria. Finally, a comparative analysis is made of traditional and urban education, using statistical findings to illuminate the psychological impact of youth unemployment and modern systems of education based on paper qualification on youths from poor families, especially those regarded as less intelligent or less able.

A description of the administration and functions of existing child and youth care institutions in Nigeria are provided in Chapter 7. In this chapter, the focus on youth

organisation has enabled us to address important historical and ideological features which led to the development of the "National Youth Service Corps Scheme". The use of comparative material is particularly helpful in highlighting convergent and divergent themes in the overall patterns of development. The practical question to emerge from this is whether the Nigerian Federal Government could provide support for a parallel scheme which addresses youth problems for the less able and less qualified strata of the youth population. The less able group includes young people who could probably never hope to obtain a place in higher education or indeed in the National Youth Service Scheme. Finally, Fulcher's (1983) "continuum of care ideal" which connotes a modification of the traditional extended family and collective patterns of care is adopted to evaluate five structural types of care services in Nigeria. The aim is to enquire into the working of the traditional and modern systems of child and youth care in Nigeria and so to suggest methods of improving them.

In spite of the rapid economic and social changes which have influenced the type of support offered by families, extended family and community members in traditional Nigeria, government policy on young offenders has continued to provide decreasing psychological, social and economic support for young people in trouble. Improvement of social supports for children and young people requires a continuing reassessment of social welfare services in

Nigeria. Chapter 8 explores a number of recommendations for developing services for children and young people in the next decade and beyond. To achieve this end, particular attention is given to the discovery of more effective ways of, first, preventing the development of juvenile delinquency and second, providing care and treatment for children and young people in need of care and for those in trouble with the law. Fundamental to this concept is the consideration of the socio-cultural traditions of Nigeria, as well as the economy of social care.

Note

1. By 'home background', we mean a cluster of endemic factors which characterise a particular home and by which one home can be characteristically differentiated from another.

CHAPTER TWO

CAUSATION OF DELINQUENCY: A THEORETICAL AND
CONCEPTUAL REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

INTRODUCTION

Some writers have noted that the general population of mankind consists of a large group of law-abiding people and a small body of deviants. At least on the surface, however, it seems, that the rate of increase of anti-social behaviour in recent times demands attention. As Hoghughi has stated, "Crime is, next to the economy, our major social problem and most recurring source of fear" (1983: 19).

This chapter will examine some major theoretical and conceptual views concerned with the causation of delinquency in developed countries. We begin with some definitions of the problem.

DEFINITION

Knoss defines as delinquent those youth "who deviate from the patterns of accepted social behaviour ... and others who merely do not seem to 'fit in' to the community who need help - boys and girls who have been in conflict with the law ... individuals who fall into the category of delinquent - because of the rise in crime, particularly youthful crime" (Knoss in Cohen, 1957: 3).

To Cooper, the delinquent child is "any child between the age of seven and sixteen years who has engaged or is about to engage in behavior that may prove of injury to himself or herself, to others, or to the community" (Cooper in Cohen, 1957: 69).

This definition, however, is to a large extent ambiguous in so much as it could be argued that a child may be mistakenly taken as delinquent and treated as such on the assumption that he is "about to engage in behaviour that may prove of injury to himself or herself, to others and to the community", when in actual fact he is not delinquent. The question that surfaces is how can a child 'about to engage' in negative or antisocial behaviour be determined? In other words, what symptomatic picture in the child suggests involvement in delinquent behaviour? Is there any special pattern of behaviour typical to a child "about to engage" in deviant behaviour?

In a paper presented at the Youth and Crime Conference held at the Law Enforcement Institute, New York University, Cooper (in Cohen, 1957) argued that the major symptoms appearing again and again in the petitions of children and adolescents adjudged to be delinquent and remanded to detention centres for observation and study include:

> (i)   "Incorrigibility and beyond control of parent or parenting persons;
>
> (ii)   Stealing, vandalism, and in general a violation of private property rights;

(iii) Habitual truancy and serious behaviour problems
                  at public schools;

            (iv) Runaway from home and involvement in situations
                  of theft and sex delinquency;

             (v) Physical aggression directed towards parents,
                  teachers, other school authorities, children or
                  adults in the community" (1957: 70).

While these symptoms help to define Cooper's idea and
definition of a delinquent child, careful study of a
child's situation tends to reveal wider symptoms. The
definition given by Short and Strodtback (1965), Hoghughi
(1983) and Smyth (in Cohen, 1957) clearly define the
context in which the word is used in this study.

According to Smyth (in Cohen, 1957), juvenile
delinquency is "the violation of a law, which if committed
by an adult would be crime ..., therefore, these offenses
cover the entire range of crime and most serious behaviour
problems". It is "that behaviour on the part of children
which may under the law, subject those children to the
juvenile court" (Short and Strodtback, 1965: 207-213).
Hoghughi (1983) defined delinquency in terms of
unacceptable labels attached to individual children and
argued that those children who bear the label "sick,
subnormal, violent, inadequate ... demonstrate a condition
which falls outside the latitude of tolerance or
acceptance. Such unacceptable or intolerable conditions
are regarded as problems" (Hoghughi, 1983: 23-25).

Delinquency has many definitions and what constitutes
delinquent activities varies greatly over time and from

one part of the world to another. In our context and for the purpose of this work, delinquency may be regarded as a behaviour which is unacceptable - an antisocial phenomenon which might be caused by some socio-economic and psychological variables within the family and the society.

THEORIES OF DELINQUENCY CAUSATION

Delinquency emerged as a social problem only recently in some areas of the world. In developing countries, there is evidence of increasing concern about the problems created by the delinquent behaviour of today's youth. In industrialised countries, the problem of youth delinquency became a social concern as early as 1909, when the first causation theories, based on defective heredity, broken homes, poor parental control and bad companionship emerged in America (Healy, 1915; Healy and Bronner, 1936). In Britain, Burt's (1925) work on "The Young Delinquent" tested some American theories against the British background and found them to be true in the U.S.A. as in Great Britain.

The publication of Cohen's Delinquent Boys in 1955 stimulated the concern of sociologists for this new social problem (Cohen, 1963). Since then, sociological theories based on empirical studies or conceptual orientations of delinquency have concentrated on the origins, control and treatment of the problem.

In 1961, the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Control Act was passed in the United States of America (Empey and Rabow, 1961: 679-696). This Act gave a great impetus to more public concern and increased research programmes on the issue of juvenile delinquency. Some of this research work on the etiology of delinquency focused on such social factors as socialisation patterns, ecological variations, subcultural groups, experiences within the family (including poverty, deprivation of love and affection, resulting from broken homes or the attitudes of the parent to their children, crowded homes or size of families etc), delinquent value systems, urbanisation, class and personality etc. Others considered the psychological and economic factors.

Ecological Theories

Some studies, as early as 1932, indicated that "social backgrounds and environmental conditions have some effect on physical, mental and emotional constitutions" which in most cases may result in abnormal traits (Helson in Mays, 1959). Helson stressed that delinquency "is a symptom only which may occur in conjunction with a variety of underlying causes. These may be predominantly in the mental field; or they may be found primarily in the environmental field" (1959: 165).

The ecologists' concept of troubled or emotionally disturbed youth is based on system analysis. According to Apter (1982), "emotional disturbance is not seen simply as

the necessary result of intrapsychic conflict nor as the inevitable product of inappropriate social learning. Instead, ... disturbance resides in the interaction between a child and critical aspects of that child's systems" (1982: 58). Based on this concept, the ecologists argue that what we know as behaviour disorder actually results from discrepancies between a given child's skills and abilities and the demands or expectations of the child's environment.

Bricker (1966) previously argued that deviancy "reflects a discrepancy between what the individual is capable of doing (his repertoire) and the demands made upon the repertoire by the various environmental situations in which the individual • is located" (1966: 36-78). Apter (1982) further illuminated the environmental concept of delinquency by arguing that "the ecological perspective ... views emotional disturbance as a failure to match in the interactions between the child and the system that surrounds him or her" (1982: 328-329).

One interesting aspect of ecological theory is that it tries to view the problems of delinquent youth not only from the individual physical and emotional viewpoints, but it also recognises that delinquency may result from a "troubled ecosystem". Thus, "most individuals whom we judge as normal are operating in a behavioural ecology which may be defined as congruent. That is, the individual's behaviour is in harmony with the social norms

of his environmental context" (1982: 329). Apter further explained: "When the various aspects of a child system are working together harmoniously, ecologists say that the ecosystem is congruent or balanced; and the child appears to be normal" (1982: 58). But when and where such congruence does not exist, the child is likely to be considered 'deviant'. That is to say that he is not in harmony with the socially accepted norms.

Mays' work in Liverpool showed that in the "majority of cases, delinquency can be regarded as a phase of ... development within a particular environmental setting (1954: 190). It follows, therefore, that abnormal behaviour may be regarded as a product of interactions between internal forces and the circumstances of the environment.

Based on the concept of interaction between internal forces and the circumstances of the environment, Stott (1960) argued that "the city-ecology proves unfavourable for human development as far as the least privileged sections of urban population are concerned" (1960: 157-170). Bell and Vogel (1960), Mischler and Wasler (1968) and Ackerman (1970) made efforts to explain psychoanalytically the individual personality development via the interaction pattern of eco-environment. Apter presented them as suggesting that the "emotional disturbance of individual children is one aspect of a much larger pattern of family relationships" (1982: 67).

Theories of family relationships and delinquency will be reviewed later. Nevertheless, Apter's representation of Rhodes' (1967, 1970) concept of emotional disturbance in children is worthy of note here.

Apter presented Rhodes (1967, 1970) as conceptualizing "emotional disturbance as the outcome of an aggravated interaction between a behavior or excitor (the child) and the responder (the family, school or community)". He carried this view further and argued that the "behaviour of a disturbed child violates standards of the responders and consequently elicits reciprocating emotional disturbance in the context of the interaction between the child (excitor) and the environment (responder) (1982: 68). Apter borrowed the concept of Hewett and Taylor (1982) who argued that "even the most serious biological problems of youngsters can be aggravated by a child's environmental experiences" (Hewett and Taylor, 1982).

Referring to the work of some medical ecologists, Thomas Chess and Birch (1968) highlighted varying levels of some temperamental dimensions found in infants which may spark off disordered behaviour even in the best ecological environment. These include:

        1) activity level;
        2) approach and withdrawal;
        3) intensity of reaction;
        4) quality of mood;
        5) attention span and persistence;
        6) distractibility.

Apter argued that "any level of these qualities can result in

emotional disturbance under the right environment" (1982: 67).

Urbanisation Theories

A great deal of the literature tends to hypothesise that delinquency may be associated with the general process of growing up in modern societies. Mays (1964) saw the modern pattern of socialisation as the principle causes of delinquent behaviour (1964: 4). To McCord and McCord (1964), urban development should be blamed for the increase in all types of crime committed by youth. They argued that "all types of juvenile delinquency increase as industrialisation and urbanisation proceed". Arrests in America in 1966 showed that major crimes against property were committed by people under 21 years of age. In Nigerian big cities like Lagos, Ibadan, Enugu etc, statistics have shown that over 85% of the major arrests involving armed robbery were of youths of between 18 and 21 years of age. In Britain, as we have seen in Mays (1964), the story seems the same. The new wave of delinquent activities tends to indicate that the recidivism rates for young offenders are higher in urban centres.

The underlying hypothesis of this section is that urbanisation has associations with youth delinquency. It is argued that the recent increase in juvenile delinquency in developing countries appears to be related to changes in the structure of the society. In the rural areas of developing countries, especially among the Nigerian rural

population, for example, everybody serves as his brother's keeper. Youth are trained by the joint efforts of all the members of the family and its extended system. If a child is unlucky enough to have an undisciplined parent, for example, some members of his extended family care for him. If the parent of a child has one problem or the other, a relative in his extended family may and often does help to solve it.[1]

In urban areas, the care of children tends to revolve around the primary family of father and the mother only. The ability of these parents to provide adequate care for their children may be incapacitated by urban economic circumstances. In urban centres, evidence has shown that in order to feed, clothe, pay school fees and meet the other daily needs of the children, some parents leave for work in the early hours of the morning each day and come back late at night. The problems presented by such environmental factors tends to limit parental control of children and this tends to result in the development of deviant behaviour by the children.

Epsten (1957) associated unsatisfactory juvenile behaviour with urbanisation. He argued:

> In the great metropole, a person often becomes involved in evil-doing with assurance that he is faceless and anonymous in a surging throng; if apprehended, the officer who lays a hand on his shoulder may prove a total stranger. In a small town, where people are closely acquainted, wrongdoers are apt to find themselves answering to folks they have known by first names all their lives. (Epsten in Cohen, 1959: 6).

McCord and McCord (1964) emphasised much the same point and argued successfully that:

> In a rural, economically stagnant, village-based society, every person is subject to the scrutiny of the immediate community. In an urban environment, however, human relationships become more depersonalized and anonymous. The person feels and is freer to act as an individual rather than as a member of a closely knit community. One consequence of this greater freedom may well be that the individual feels less inhibition about experimenting with various forms of deviant behaviour, including crime. (1964: 57).

There is considerable evidence in the literature indicating that this very essential difference in ways of life, according to the size of the community or the degree of industrialisation and urbanisation, has a material impact upon patterns of juvenile delinquency (Epsten, in Cohen, 1957; McCord and McCord, 1964; Sutherland in Shulman, 1952; Shoham et al, 1966, among others).

McCord and McCord's comparative study of delinquency rates in rural and urban communities indicated that:

> Rural communities generally have about one-third of the rate of delinquency of urban areas. The greater cohesiveness of rural communities, the closer social control and the greater intimacy between the citizens probably account for this control. (1964: 71)

They further argued that:

> Industrial societies as a group greatly exceed 'primitive' societies in their rate of crime. And within the class of economically affluent countries, the rate of delinquency correlates rather closely with the degree of industrialization. (1964: 73).

This explains why the more industrialised and urbanised

societies lead all other societies in the commission of crime by juveniles. Little wonder then why there tend to be more cases of youth crime in the urban areas of developing countries than in the rural areas.

Another delinquency causation factor in the urban areas is the cross-cultural influence. In Israel, for example, the flood of mass immigration of the Jewish population influenced the social and economic culture of the people. The problems of social and cultural conflicts increased as the population grew and this in turn tended to increase the incidence of delinquency. The cohesion of the family unit was hampered and this affected the family's control over its young people. The study of Shoham *et al* (1966) showed that the increase in rates of immigration urbanised some rural and agricultural areas; and "the street corner juvenile groups - a trademark of urbanism - have also been formed, loafing away their days and evenings near Cinema Squares and other non-lighted locations".[2]

In the rural areas of industrialising societies, the interaction between aspects of culture and the social environment is such that the incidence rate of troublesome youth cannot be compared with those in developed urban areas (Shulman, 1957). This was because of the prevailing histo-cultural attachment to the base of birth and kinship, attachment to the base in the village community and attachment to the soil which acted as controls to social disorganisation, preventing anti-social behaviour

among the young people. The fact that in the rural areas,
social control operated through the external forces of
traditional religion and magic rather than through public
opinion, further substantiates this hypothesis.

Shoham et al's (1966) study of the Turkish Jewish
population showed that the cohesive structure of this
community disallowed any act of deviance. They noted that
the "Turkish Jewish population is highly cohesive and is
bound together by tightly communal institutions and indeed
in this Turkish quarter not a single case of delinquency
has been recorded" (1966: 401).

Shulman (1957) viewed urbanisation as a "transition from
sacred, organic to secular, functional social orders in
which membership in survival groups has shifted from
status to function" and argued that the problem and causes
of delinquency are traced to urban industrialisation. In
a paper he presented to the Law Enforcement Institution
and the Graduate School of Public Administration and
Social Service, New York University, Shulman contended:

> Membership in the organic and corporate
> societies of simple peoples in the preliterate
> and rural areas of the world is based upon birth
> and kinship. One's status as a member of the
> group by birthright binds to his community both
> through a series of rights and obligations. ...
> All of this is destroyed by industrialization.
> The peasant or villager who moves from his
> primitive community to urban society moves out
> of a solidarity organic into an atomistic,
> functional society. He loses his attachment to
> the base of birth and kinship, he is torn from
> his base in the village community and his
> attachment to the soil ... [and in his new
> environment], there is a loss of a sense of
> responsibility for the effect of this new social

order upon those who are least able to cope with its fierce competitiveness. (1957: 124-125)

As urbanisation increases, the 'face to face' social controls of traditional societies begin to lose their importance. The nature of family life apparently changes as industrialisation goes forward. The extended kinship system gives way to a smaller nuclear family for a variety of reasons and the stability of the family also seems to decline (McCord and McCord, 1959). One unsatisfactory consequence of the decline in the stability of the family is the effect on the custody of the young people. William (1949) noted that boys in an industrialized society are traditionally reared by their mothers. Compared with the children in peasant families, they have relatively little opportunity to identify with their fathers or to copy masculine forms of behaviour. At the age of puberty, however, they are expected to become men and shift their identification from the mother to the father. This dislocation can create severe strains for boys. In an attempt to assert their masculinity, boys may well turn to delinquent behaviour (William, 1949).

Youth crime is, therefore, an aspect of the total functional operation of an urban industrial society - "the price that we pay for our society of free enterprise" (Shaw and Sutherland in Shulman, 1952).

In summary, we wish to quote the following hypothetical conclusions from the work of Shoham et al (1966).

(a)   That the rate of juvenile delinquency will
        increase the higher the grade of urbanisation
        and the greater the cultural discrepancy among
        the various ethnic groups within the urban area.

(b)   That the positive correlation between the
        degree of urbanisation and rate of delinquency
        is partly due to influence by association with
        the patterns of higher urbanisation.

(c)   That the low rate [in rural areas] could be
        explained ... by higher community cohesion.

(d)   That the lowest delinquency rate will occur in
        agricultural homogeneous settlements of a strong
        and internalised normative system which serves
        as a barrier against crime and delinquency
        (Shoham et al, 1966).

Subculture Theories

Another causation theory closely linked with those of
ecology and urbanisation is the theory of subculture.
Delinquent culture is delinquent behaviour with norms,
values and structures which are traditional among members
of a gang or several gangs of young people. The
literature has provided evidence that gang culture (as it
is sometimes called) has associations with delinquency
(Cohen, 1955; Wheeler, 1960; Sutherland and Cressey, 1960;
Miller, 1958; Glueck and Glueck, 1930; Fleisher, 1960;
among others).

It is argued that the objectives, norms and values of
gang culture, whatever its pattern or form, are not
acceptable in normal societies. They are considered
anti-social norms and values and those young people who
give their support to these norms and values are likely to
be considered as socially abnormal delinquents.

Critics of the theory of subculture have argued that gang culture cannot by itself be a cause of delinquency. However, some studies have suggested that subculture helps to some extent to increase the incidence of delinquent behaviour where it occurs (Cloward and Ohlin, 1960; Sutherland and Cressey, 1960; Cohen, 1955; Wheeler, 1960, etc). These studies further explained the high concentration of gangs of delinquents in high delinquency areas. Wheeler (1960) argued that the "key concept for understanding why youth become delinquents is an association with other youths already delinquents".

The concept of differential association was introduced by Shaw (in Cohen, 1955) as the distinctive process of transmission of a delinquent tradition. Shaw argued that children became delinquents by association with more mature delinquents. The extent of their delinquency could, therefore, be a function of the amount of their exposure to delinquent culture. Sutherland and Cressey (1960) draw heavily on the differential associations theory and argued that "youth become delinquents to the extent that they participate in settings where delinquent ideas or techniques are viewed favourably and the longer the duration of youth association in such settings, the greater the probability of their becoming delinquents" (1960: 94).

Cohen (1955), Cloward and Ohlin (1960) all favoured the "frustration concept" and viewed delinquent subculture in

association with the ecosystem. They argued that gang delinquency results from frustrations experienced by members of lower-class youth who were denied the proper socio-economic equipment (by their parents, schools or social environment) for participation in economic and political competition. Such youths, they argued, became frustrated as soon as they realised their "underprivileged status and the many obstacles that they faced in an attempt to achieve self-respect in conventional ways"(1955: 27). As a result, "they reject the usual ethics of society and accept in its place a delinquent subculture, a gang society that stresses negative, destructive, aggressive behaviour" (McCord and McCord, 1964: 90).

Some youths join delinquent gangs in order to satisfy their peers or give them the impression that they are tough and stubborn. Miller (1958) saw gang delinquency as a lower-class concern. Toby (1957) contended that contemporary motion pictures, television programmes and magazines portray an image that new clothes, cigarettes, automobiles and liquor are necessary to young people for happiness; and in an attempt to fulfil "the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness ... youngsters join delinquent gangs in order to satisfy these hedonistic desires" (1957: 505-517). He argued that "diminishing adult control over adolescents and increased individualism ... and the principle of relative deprivation is more usual in explaining recruitment into gangs" (1957: 510).

This suggests that youths deprived of love and affection or adult control, as well as those encountering school failure and those withdrawn from school before completing a course of study are more likely to seek relief in gangs than others.

The theory of delinquent subculture revealed that:

(a) Cultural context of youths, their homes and neighbourhood determine their desire to join gangs and participate in delinquent careers. (A slum neighbourhood can mould a child's personality, but only if other factors makes them susceptible. Cohesiveness of the family, consistent discipline and affection from parents can insulate a boy from the gang culture.)

(b) Delinquent subculture arises because of frustrations experienced by members of depressed socioeconomic areas.

(c) The desire to fulfil an assertion of masculine toughness, smartness and the ability to con other people pushes youths from homes that offer them a portrait of human relationships full of conflict and strife; youths from environments that are characterised by a delinquent subculture join the boat of gang culture.

Theories of Family Interaction

The family causation theory of delinquency views youth delinquency as an expression of the cumulative effects of social pathology within the family. Shulman (1949) who is the champion of this theory has argued that:

> Poverty and its concomitants in poor housing and congested living, bad neighborhood ... broken families and concomitants of defective supervision, marital conflicts and discords, laxity and inconsistent discipline; and immoral and criminal examples in other family members are all seen to be the soil in which flourishes the delinquent personality, with its ...

hostilities to authority.   (1949: 21-31)

These remarks by Shulman have allowed us to focus on some
aspects of family factors that have been associated with
delinquency.

The first factor involves *deprivation of love and
affection* which Mays (1972) viewed as the principal
causation factor of delinquency.   Mays argued that social
education within the family setting is firmly rooted in
the   emotional ties which link the various   members
together.   It is primarily from the presence of warm and
supporting parents that the child learns the reciprocity
of love which forms the basis of later ethical behaviour.
The conscience is securely rooted in loving and reliable
personal relationships.

Bender's findings clearly suggested that delinquent acts
are prominent among children who "have been starved of
love and affection, attention and interest, sometimes even
of food and the necessities of life and the early
childhood experiences called forth anxiety and reactive
aggressive patterns in these children in their prepuberty
period" (Bender, in Cohen, 1957: 92). This concept was
taken over and broadened by Burt (1925), McCord and McCord
(1959). In these studies of American delinquents, both
emphasised   much the same view.   McCord and McCord
indicated that "unloving parents, rejecting parents,
absentee parents, inadequate and maladjusted parents, all
in their varying ways and degrees, contribute to a poor

quality of home life which is closely associated with delinquency" (1959: 57).

Of considerable interest is a reference to the work of Andry (1960). According to him "a child who perceives his father in a negative way over a period of years may gradually develop hostility towards his father but may also at a given time start to project same onto the world at large" (Andry in Mays, 1972: 67).

Inconsistency in parent-child relationships has been considered an essential factor in some family settings by Mays (1972). He argued that in a family with consistent parent-child relationships, the children are not easily prone to delinquency, emphasising that:

> One of the important elements in parent-child relationships is consistency. The child who never knows how his parents are going to react to what he does, who finds they are sometimes angry and at other times uninterested is at particular risk. Cohensive, stable families even in poor and substandard urban areas often save their children from falling into delinquency because of close care and consistent discipline and affection which are readily and constantly available. (1972: 157)

Andry's empirical research on delinquency and parental pathology further stressed the significance of the parent-child relationship, especially of the father-boy relationship in the etiology of delinquency amongst his "sample of 'normal' young offenders in a London remand home" (Andry in Mays, 1972: 157). Andry's research was built on the hypothesis that a "much greater proportion of delinquents than non-delinquents have resorted to the act

of truanting and of stealing at some time or the other and started to do so at an early age". For clarity the results of his research are reproduced below in Table 2.1. In another study Andry argued that "the parents of delinquents are less aware of their boys stealing than those of non-delinquents, and that non-delinquents tend to turn to their parents when in trouble while delinquents do not" (Andry in Mays, 1972: 159). See Table 2.2 for the statistical results of this study. Table 2.3 lends support to his hypothesis that "loving parents tend to agree with their boys (80 percent) while incomplete agreement exists (47 percent) between the non-loving delinquent parents".

From the above studies, Andry concluded:

i) Deviant behaviour (such as truanting and stealing) was more widespread and tended to start at an earlier age among delinquents.

ii) Parents of delinquents tended to be less aware of their boys stealing than did parents of non-delinquents.

iii) Parents of delinquents tended to show a general inadequacy in dealing with their boys' delinquent acts.

iv) Delinquents experience less adequate emotional relationships with their parents.

v) Delinquents experience less adequate training from their parents.

Table 2.1:   Indication of extent and onset age of deviant
             behaviour amongst the children on unhappy families*

When boys first:	Numbers		Percentage	
	Del.	Non-Del.	Del.	Non-Del.
Truanted:				
6 - 8 years	21	14	26	17
9 - 11 years	30	7	38	9
12 - 14 years	19	16	24	20
Never	10	44	12	50
Stole:				
6 - 8 years	21	16	26	20
9 - 11 years	37	26	46	33
12 - 14 years	18	12	23	15
Never	4	26	5	32
Total boys	80	80	100	100

*Reproduced from Mays (1972), pp. 158-163.

Table 2.2:   Indication of Parents' Awareness of their boys'
             deviant behaviour*

Parents aware	Numbers		Percentage	
of boys' deviancy	Del.	Non-Del.	Del.	Non-Del.
Both parents	12	25	40	83
One parent or neither	18	5	60	17
Total	30	30	100	100

Table 2.3:   Agreement Code on delinquency*

Parent-Child	Number		Percentage	
Agreement	Del.	Non-Del.	Del.	Non-Del.
Complete	16	24	53	80
Incomplete	14	6	47	20
Total families	30	30	100	100

*Reproduced from Mays (1972), pp. 158-163.

He argued that delinquent boys "tend to perceive greater defects in their fathers' role than in their mothers' role, whereas non-delinquents tend to perceive the roles of both parents as being adequate" (1972: 163).

The negative role of a father or a father whose role portrays a non-loving father-child relationship seems to be a contributing influence on the formation of delinquent behaviour. .

> It is understandable that a growing child who has not been grossly deprived of his mother's affection feels entitled to receive at least an equal amount of affection from his father — in other words from both of them equally. If parental affection towards the child is lacking, ill balance in the family structure must result. (Mays, 1972: 164)

It can therefore, be argued that among most youths delinquency may be an outward manifestation of disapproval, a break down in the father-child relationship or a negative relationship between a child and figures of authority in the family or both.

Wilson has already noted that "parental inadequacy is also responsible in a limited number of chronic cases of children breaking the law" (1958: 94-105). This idea is even more strongly stated by Downs (1966). He ,noted that broken homes, maternal/paternal deprivation, family fragmentation and character structure are factors associated with delinquent behaviour. Studies utilizing various methods and approaches have indicated that parents of delinquents are more likely to have minimal parental

aspirations for their children, to be hostile or
indifferent towards their school; and to have a variety of
personal problems of their own (Mays, 1972; Downs, 1966;
McCord, McCord and Zola, 1959; Bandura and Watters, 1959;
Ney, 1958; Glueck and Glueck, 1950; Gold, 1963; Dentler
and Monroe, 1961; Gibbons, 1976; Slocum and Stone, 1963;
Miller and Simon 1974; Schoenberg, 1975). These studies
supported the hypothesis that affection for and
involvement with parents are associated with less
delinquency. Lack of parental communication and sympathy,
laxity in parental supervision and an absence of adult
models were found to account for delinquent acts (Hirschi
1969; Hindeling, 1963).

It could, however, be argued that not all the children
of unloving parents became involved in delinquent
behaviour, but where the family structure breaks down or
where the parents do not do their job adequately, children
seem to be emotionally anxious and insecure and they may
express their anxious feelings by engaging in reckless and
delinquent activities (Burt, 1925). It has been
established that unhappy family relationships tend to lead
to personal psychological problems of adjustment for the
young people. These problems, as has been noted, to some
extent, are solved by commission of delinquent acts.

Delinquency may, therefore, be assumed to be a form of
reaction to some psychological problems of familial
deprivation of love and affection, as illustrated by the

following case study of one girl's experience in her
3
family.

Dorothy, aged fourteen years, appears before
the court on her mother's petition which alleges
that Dorothy deserted her home, was missing for
a period of several weeks, and during this time
Dorothy was involved in sex relations. Dorothy
seen in detention, was a plump, physically most
attractive girl who looked considerably older
than her fourteen years. She herself described
having lived in a family and neighbourhood
environment in which violence and a philosophy
of take what you can get seemed acceptable. *She
feels unwanted and unloved by her mother and is
convinced that her mother prefers the boys in
the family,* one of whom is older and one of whom
is younger than Dorothy. *The child has only a
meager impression of her own father.* He
deserted the family when Dorothy was five. *She
sees the stepfather as a hostile man who is and
has been anxious for some time to have her
permanently out of the home.* Dorothy when in
detention was seen as an extremely anxious and
impulsive girl, loud and aggressive in her
relationship with both children and adults. She
gave the distinct impression of having *deep
feelings of unworthiness and of not belonging.*
It was felt that Dorothy had been exposed to
*long-standing rejection by parents and
stepparents and to a violent and aggressive
family and neighbourhood,* but that she did have
the capacity to relate warmly and constructively
when *she was assured of the adult's genuine
interest in and concern for her.* (Cohen, 1957:
73-74).

Theories of individual psychological problems and their

relation to delinquency will be analysed later in this

section, but suffice it to say that "Deprivation caused by

parents who are no longer able to love because life has

destroyed that ability in them through their own damaged

childhood or through their desperate attempt to escape via

alcohol, or the gambler's dreams of quick riches" (Mays,

1957), can be most emotionally disturbing and damaging to

children.

A second causation factor closely related to deprivation of love and affection has involved the effect of *broken homes or families that fail*. Though this concept has been extensively debated, especially in the course of this work, the argument against it is that it lacks adequate empirical support to make its association with delinquency causation conclusive. Nevertheless, the literature lends support to the influential effect of the absence of one parent from the family (Weeks and Smith, 1939; Shaw and McKay, 1932; Monahan, 1957; Browning, 1960; Peterson and Becker, 1965; Slocum and Stone, 1963, among others). These authors have argued that social and moral education begins in the family and that broken homes or inadequate families do contribute to delinquent behaviour in children to the extent that the children from such homes are not given the chance to acquire attitudes and learn from the direction of both parents. They are not given the opportunity to learn from both parents their rights and how to adjust their own inevitable egocentric behaviour to other members of the group or society at large.

In societies where the major responsibility for the control of children is assigned to both parents, broken homes may tend to render such responsibility impossible. The empirical findings of Weeks and Smith (1939), Glueck and Glueck (1950), all associated high rates of delinquency with broken families.

Weeks and Smith recorded that 41.4 percent of the

delinquents came from broken homes and 27 percent from (Control groups) normal homes (1939: 45-59). Other research with significant differences of high delinquency rates associated with broken homes emerged in the late fifties and early sixties. These include the works of Monahan (1957) which argued that "delinquents coming from broken homes are more likely to be recidivist than delinquents from unbroken homes" (1957: 250-258). Browning (1960) found that significantly greater numbers of Los Angeles delinquents came from disorganised homes. Slocum and Stone (1963) used the 'Nye-Short' self report delinquency technique and found a significant correlation between broken homes and delinquent behaviour. Peterson and Becker (1965) have referred to the studies that have found a relationship between broken homes and delinquency. Short and Nye (1957; 1958) associated the aggressive pattern of delinquent behaviour with children who "have been socialised in a broken home environment characterised by much conflict and non-conventional behaviour" (1958: 207-213).

Wynn (in Mays, 1972) quoted the work of Barbara Wooton (1959) and stressed that:

> The majority of our twenty-one investigations are thus in agreement in showing high rates of broken homes amongst delinquents ... Various British studies place anything from 22 percent to 57 percent of their delinquents in this category, whereas control figures, when available, range only from 11 percent to 18 percent (Mays, 1972: 180).

The Children's Bureau's study of delinquency in late

1928 indicated that broken homes "figured in 29 percent of the boys cases and 48 percent of the girls cases" (Reckless and Smith, 1932). The work of Shaw (1929) on incidences of delinquency in: (a) broken homes among boys in areas of different delinquency rates, and (b) broken homes among boys in different age groups provided evidence which associated the influence of broken homes with high incidence of delinquency among young offenders (see Table 2.4).

Table 2.4: Ratio of Broken homes of delinquent boys compared with a control group*

Age	Ratio
10	1.87 : 1
11	1.31 : 1
12	1.22 : 1
13	1.20 : 1
14	1.22 : 1
15	1.11 : 1
16	1.16 : 1
17	1.09 : 1
Total	1.18 : 1

*Taken from Shaw and McKay (1931: 276).

Wynn's illustration (in Mays, 1972) of an interview with a mother in a fatherless home further illuminates the effect of home on the behaviour of young people. When she was asked what her problems were, she replied:

> Another difficulty is that I have all the decisions to make concerning their health and welfare, also all their troubles are brought to me - I deal with them in the best way possible but sometimes I wish I had another person to confide in. My son is my biggest worry - he's

terribly self-willed. A short while ago he was
in trouble at school and the headmaster sent for
his parents. He explained the situation and was
very nice about it. I in turn explained to him
the position I was in. I said I thought if my
son had a man's hand at the back of him,
sometimes it would do him a power of good. The
fact that he had been practically brought up by
a woman had made him surly and resentful (i.e.
myself, my mother and all woman teachers) about
women. The headmaster gave a talking to and
promised to keep a strict watch on him. That
combined with the fact that he was put in a
class with a master has made, I am glad to say,
a considerable difference. (Wynn in Mays, 1972:
180-181)

At this point, reference can be made to the study of the
'Dolphin Club' in Liverpool and the consequent conclusions
made by Mays (1959). Mays concluded that a "high
proportion of family units broken or disturbed on the male
or paternal side, and frequent desertions and absences of
father from the household" exposes the child to a greater
risk of becoming delinquent. He argued:

One of the most striking findings from the
Dolphin group is the high proportion of family
units broken or disturbed on the male or
paternal side and the frequent desertion and
absence of father from the household ... Every
boy who lacks a father will not become
delinquent, but the finding reinforces the
common-sense view that the boy who lacks the
guidance of a father runs a far greater risk of
becoming delinquent than in what is generally
regarded as normally consistent family. (1959:
165)

The *economic background* of individual families
represents a third causal factor of delinquency in young
people. Analysis of theories and research work tend to
support the concept of an economic factor. The hypotheses
underlying this approach are: (1) the economic situation
of the home embodies a group of factors that seem to have

a definite relationship to delinquency; (2) poverty stricken families create delinquent children; and (3) a great number of delinquent acts among youths are associated with unemployment, income and areas in the city one is growing up. This supports the fourth hypothesis which argued that delinquents tend to come from backgrounds of social and economic deprivation (Ogbun and Thomas, 1922).

The works of Healy and Bronner (1926), Breckinridge and Abbott (1921), Glueck and Glueck (1930) and Burt (1925) indicated high incidence of delinquency from dependent and marginal economic groups. Healy and Bronner recorded 27 percent of delinquents came from poor homes. Breckinridge and Abbot noted 75 percent came from poor homes and argued that delinquent families tend to have lower than average incomes and social status. The data collected by Burt showed that "56 percent of his cases came from homes that were poor".

Modern researchers have shown considerable support for the above studies. In his analysis of the Effect of Income and Unemployment on Delinquency, Professor Fleisher (1966) argued that delinquency may be seen in economic terms of demand and supply analysis. "The supply of delinquency or delinquents", he argued, "represents the economic and demand characteristics of persons and their tendencies to commit delinquent acts (1966: 34-35). He further argued that the "demand effect of income may be

interpreted to mean that an increase in family income of 1 percent results on the average in 1-2 percent decline in the delinquent rate; and since the statistical supply effect of income is not as great as the demand effect, an increase of 1 percent in dispersion of income would raise delinquency to 0.23 percent" (1966: 35-50). Fleisher's findings supported the works of Short (1954) and Glaser and Rice (1958). Burgess (1981) reached similar conclusions and pointed out that poor economic standing has a far reaching effect on the frequency of crime, especially youth crime. The effect of a poor economic background on the young, he argued, is seen when they are in close contact with their rich contemporaries. In order to be able to rub shoulders with their richer contemporaries, "the youths from poor homes easily resort to crime for the cash that will enable them to participate in peer group activities" (1981: 110).

Winslow (1969) argued that social, economic and political forces are all causes of anti-social behaviour. A similar view was expressed by Wilensky and Lebeaux (1965). Following a review of the data associating social and economic conditions with delinquency, they asserted that "the physical and social aspects of urbanism and the stratification effects of industrialism [are] master keys to delinquency". The political and economic situations in both developed and developing countries today are such that they fail to give equal access to power and privilege to all the citizens. In Cloward and Ohlins' (1960) view,

children of economically deprived groups tend to resort to an ethic that contradicts society's usual values. Thus, social, economic and political inequalities are said to be one of the strongest forces to be reckoned with in an attempt to reduce the number of delinquency. Environmentalists have suggested that the best control or prevention of delinquency is that which plans for and acts on improving the economic, social and political backgrounds of families (Write and Brigg, 1959; Hoghughi, 1983).

The Report of the Atlanta Commission on Crime and Juvenile Delinquency: Opportunity for Urban Excellence, quoted in Winslow (1969), noted:

> It is inescapable that juvenile delinquency is directly related to conditions bred by poverty. If the Fulton County Census tracts were divided into five groups on the basis of the economic and educational status of their residents, we would find that 57% of Fulton County's juvenile delinquents during 1964 were residents of the lowest group which consists of the principal poverty [and socially deprived] areas of the city of Atlanta. (1969:5)

This point tends to clearly illuminate the assumption that Negroes in socially, politically and economically deprived slum areas of America tend to account for disproportionate numbers of arrests for crime and delinquency. Wilson (1958) has argued that "the children in this setting of extreme material shortage and political discrimination, who are not buffered by parents' caring presence grow up in a very chill wind". In such settings, she noted, the "early needs of the infants are rarely if every fully met"

(1958: 94-95).

Though not all the children of poor families become delinquents (this will be analysed later), this finding led to Wilson's (1958) important generalisations about the concept of economic and social deprivation. She argued that children in poor families "experience frequent frustrations ... develop little or no self-discipline" and what emerges at a later age is hostility, not only to the family group, but also directed to the general society. Gosling (in Mays, 1972), Cohen (1967), McCord and McCord (1959), Shaw and More (1931), Cloward and Ohlin (1960) and Miller (1958) all supported the theory that delinquency is predominant among economically, politically and socially deprived lower class people living in deteriorating slum areas.[4] Thus, "in such cities of the United States as Chicago and San Francisco, the incidence of delinquency in the most economically deprived areas is 55 times that in the privileged suburbs" (McCord and McCord, 1950).

Concomitant with economic background are the problems created by *overcrowded homes*. Bagot (1972) has emphasised the "harmful effect on children of early acquaintances with the most intimate aspects of family life that so frequently results from overcrowded conditions" (1972: 26-29). He also argued that overcrowding would rather appear to exert its influence by driving the children on the streets in the evenings where they may meet and be further influenced by delinquent gangs. Those who conform

to status frustrations subcultural models may be lead into
what Bagot has called "mischief and trouble" (1972: 28).

Casson (1979) made an important statement concerning
living in overcrowded conditions at home:

> Staying at home can build up tension in the
> family, ... for this reason many young people
> prefer to spend their time on the streets, while
> some older ones leave home altogether. In
> either case, it has been suggested, there is a
> danger that young people will become involved in
> small time crimes. Criminal pursuits provide
> casual work with tax-free income, and can often
> be rationalised in terms of grievances against a
> society. (1979: 319)

Comparing delinquent boys' families with those of
non-delinquents, Slawson (1932) found a positive
relationship between size of families and delinquency. He
argued that "poverty and large families are more important
factors in delinquency than large families without
poverty". This concept provides further grounds for a
comparative study of Nigerian families (notably large)
with those of Britain (notably small) in relation to
delinquency.

Reckless and Smith (1932) noted that educational
handicap, housing conditions,lack of equal intimacy for
all in large families, flight from the home to a more
satisfactory social situation and many other factors go
hand in hand with large and poor families. Wilson (1958)
emphasised that:

> One specific variety of juvenile delinquency
> is found in conjunction with very poor home
> conditions and the unplanned, haphazard way of
> living that has been observed in problem

families. The pattern of living of problem
families generate delinquency. (1958: 50)

However, not all the children of poor parents become
delinquent. Experience tends to show that all things
being equal, the youths from poverty stricken homes are
more progressive in any form of survival undertaking, and
more serious in their positive attempts to improve their
families' economic standing. The children from rich
homes, on the other hand, are,. to some extent, less
serious and sometimes see no need to improve on the
social, economic and political standings of their already
affluent homes. After all, they have the resources,
support, protection, affluence and power to their
advantage.

Rich parents, rather, give their children substantial
discretionary purchasing power, which tends to enable the
adolescents of rich parents to demand distinctive
clothing, motion pictures, phonograph records,
recreational facilities and eating and drinking places
(Abrams, 1960). When these are hard to come by, they may
tend to act delinquently. In developing countries like
Nigeria, for instance, some youngsters are brought up by
their rich parents in extravagant ways. These rich
parents see nothing wrong in giving their children flashy,
luxurious and expensive cars. They turn their children
into demi-gods and thus give them the licence, as it were,
to disobey orders and authority.

The relationship between delinquency and affluence was

the focus of attention by the United Nations Council meetings in 1960 and 1964. Here it was argued that affluence has a great impact on and is a causative factor in delinquency. "Economic growth, though it raised living standards, did not seem to reduce the crime rate ... affluence [is] itself a causal factor, worsening the crime problems of contemporary society" (United Nations, 1966). Winslow (1969) has suggested that explanations of delinquency causation "requires a broadened conception of such economic factors to make room for experiences among the 'haves' in America (and in Europe) that overlap in significant ways with those that occur among delinquent 'have nots'"(1969: 31-32). McDonald (1968) argued that, "the barriers of committing perverse behaviour are greater for middle class than for working class. When middle class children become involved in delinquency, they do it in a more serious way" (1968: 80-83).

One effect of affluence is that it raises expectations of everybody in society; another effect is to increase the divorce and separation rates (Winslow, 1969). The connection between broken homes and juvenile delinquency has been considered earlier. The question that has not been answered is, If affluence results in rising expectations, why has it been associated with delinquency? Winslow's (1969) critiques of Fleisher's (1966) analysis of economic factors and causation of delinquency revealed that no co-extensive research and analysis of the effects of affluence on delinquency has

been made. Thus, lack of data has precluded a possible detailed analysis of the relationship between affluence and delinquency.

However, it has been hypothetically argued that: (a) industrialization enables women to support themselves and their children, if need be, and hence marital unhappiness is more likely to result in divorce and separation in rich and industrial societies; (b) youths of rich parents are given substantial discretionary purchasing freedom and this freedom is not always used wisely. The freedom to choose is the freedom to make mistakes. Delinquency is one such mistake (Winslow, 1969; McDonald, 1968). The data on drug abuse in developed countries tends to indicate that there are large numbers of affluent families in this pattern of juvenile delinquency. In developing countries, dangerous ostentatious life styles among the children of rich families seem to suggest that sons and daughters of affluent families are present in sufficient numbers among the depressing figures of delinquency.

It may be argued, however, that in poor families, the parental struggle to make ends meet, the degrading conditions frequently met with in the home, the inability to gain the full benefit of education, the desire to possess without the means to purchase may lead more children of the 'have nots' than the children of the 'haves' to behave delinquently. This assumption may not underplay the fact that poverty does not force all

children of such families into delinquency. While the influence of poverty on juvenile delinquency should not be overemphasized, evidence has shown, as Mays (1972) rightly pointed out, that "of the poor, those who are backward will be more likely to become delinquents than the brighter children of the poor and less backward" (1972: 256-264). This seems to give one possible explanation as to why one member of a family may become involved in delinquency while others remain normal citizens.

However, it is difficult to associate delinquency with poverty in developing societies, especially in rural areas, where the cultural norms and kinship links are still cohesive. In the rural areas, in addition to the biological parents, the extended family members, relatives and friends help to supervise the behaviour and to punish the bad conduct of all children. However, in most developing countries today, the influence of urbanism and of the mass media — to which television has been a recent but important addition —stimulate the desire for a luxurious style of life among all segments of the population. These considerations help to explain why socioeconomic deprivation can be greater for the poor in rich societies than for the poor in poor societies. They also throw light on the high crime rates of affluent societies and on the increase of adolescent delinquency rates with the increase in general prosperity" (Winslow, 1969: 43). Thus, although poverty alone may not be a principal cause of delinquency, when it is found in

conjunction with some other familial and social variables, delinquency frequently occurs.

It is suggested that the theoretical emphasis on association of poverty with young people's problems points to the need for some empirical research. This is necessary to adequately substantiate the assumptions highlighted in this study.

Theories_of_Individual_Pathology

Theories of individual pathology represent a fourth causation factor of delinquency. Psychological theories are concerned with the psychological influence of the environment on young people. It is analysed here as a further support to the theory of family relationships and delinquency.

The psychologists' view of delinquency tends to be emotionally orientated. They claim that delinquency comprises anti-social activities carried out by emotionally disturbed young people; and that delinquents are frequently less intelligent than their non-delinquent peers (Burt, 1925). This concept, however, has been disproved by Woodward (1975) and the McCords (1959). Nevertheless, psychological explanations of delinquency have been considered with regard to three important psychological causes: (1) mental abnormality; (2) chromosomal abnormality; (3) mesomorphic, psychodynamic and behavioural models. The central argument raised in

these approaches is that delinquency is a "solution to psychological problems from faulty or pathological family interaction patterns" (Wheeler, 1965: 28-35).

The school of *chromosomal Abnormalities* have concluded that in combination with high incidences of Kleinfelter's Syndrome and chromosome abnormality, abnormalities of personality have been noted (Burnand, Hunter and Hoggart, 1967; Casey et al, 1966). Tutt (1975) argued that chromosome abnormality may lead to abnormal social behaviour in adults.

The school of *mesomorphism* led by Glueck and Glueck claimed that a large proportion of delinquents were of mesomorphic (athletic) body-type (in Tutt 1975: 17). This is to suggest that delinquents may be dictated through their physique. Though this is more of a physiological than psychological explanation of delinquency, Tutt (1975) claimed that it has some connections with Freud's school of *psychodynamic* theorists. According to Tutt, Freud's school argued that "the delinquent suffers the most excruciating neurotic conflicts brought about by the struggle between his Id (instinctual drives) and his highly developed Super-Ego (conscience). The latter", they argued, "is the result of an extremely strict and repressive upbringing" (1975: 17). This concept was borrowed and broadened by the later psychodynamists who emphasised that "delinquents had a poorly developed Super-Ego which left the Id unrestrained and unmodified by

social considerations, making the individual unloving,
guilt-free, impulsive and aggressive. The lack of
super-ego development was brought about by child-rearing
practices characterised by poor emotional relationships
between parents and children" (McCord and McCord, 1959).

Earlier analyses have highlighted the relationship
between delinquency and family (parent-child)
relationships, and argued that poor relationships between
parents and children resulted from deprivation of love and
affection, inconsistent attitudes of the parents, neglect
and rejection. Winslow's (1968) concept of two
differential mechanisms also seemed quite appropriate and
illuminating here. The first mechanism which he called
'psychopathic' or 'neurotic' indicated that:

> Parental rejection and neglect damage the
> personality of the developing child. Lack of
> impulse control results from pathological
> socialization. The psychopathic or neurotic boy
> reacts with violence to trivial provocation,
> sets fires and steals purposelessly. (1968: 38)

The second mechanism, called "Break down in family control
mechanism" hypothesised that:

> Parental inadequacy and neglect, by reducing
> family control, thereby orient the boy toward
> his age-mates in the neighborhood. The family
> and the peer group are in a sense competing for
> the allegiance of boys in high-delinquency
> neighborhoods. If the peer group is delinquent,
> a boy's desire for acceptance by his peers
> tempts him to participate in delinquent
> activities. (1968: 39)

A similar view was conceived by Short (1965) who argued
that a delinquent boy "failed to internalize conventional

standards of conduct and is instead oriented toward deviant groups. Such a boy came from a home characterized by much conflict and non-conventional behaviour". His concept of *relatively weak ego* delinquent is, however, a point of departure, in that the weak ego delinquent is "described as an insecure, internally conflicted and anxious person", but he is "not a gang member".

Apter (1982) summarised the psychodynamic concepts of Freud (1978) and his school as follows:

> 1) All children have some basic needs that must be met in order to develop a healthy personality. They include the need for love, security, belonging, success.
>
> 2) Feelings are of primary importance in the life and behaviour of the child.
>
> 3) Each child goes through several stages of emotional growth. Traumatic experiences and deprivation may interfere with this growth and result in lasting personality disturbance.
>
> 4) The quality of the emotional relationship a child has with his family and other significant people in his life is of crucial significance.
>
> 5) Anxiety over unmet needs and inner conflicts is an important determinant in behaviour disorders. (1982:43)

He concluded by arguing that:

> The disturbed child has not successfully "worked" through the intrapsychic conflicts that he faced in the process of psychological and physical development. Personality is composed of Id, Ego and Super-ego, three hypothetical systems that work together in supportive harmony in mentally healthy children but conflict within the psyche of a maladjusted child. Children must pass through a series of difficult development stages on the way to mature adulthood. (1982: 44)

Thus, consistent guidance, love and affection, appreciation, etc, are important factors in family relations that protect and help the child to grow into a non-delinquent personality and crime-free adulthood.

The concept of a series of difficult developmental stages was adopted by the *Behaviourist School*. This school, led by Eysenck is generally based on the environmental theory. They believe that delinquents are of the extrovert personality type, whose socialisation is "the result of a long-term and sophisticated conditioning process carried out by the parents and society. This being so, the extrovert not being easily conditioned, fails to become adequately socialised and exhibits anti-social or delinquent behaviour" (in Tutt, 1975: 18). This concept was disproved by a number of subsequent studies (West, 1963; Gibson, 1967). With reference to the Gibson (1967) study, Tutt (1975) argues that "delinquency is a common part of the maturing process for a large percentage of normal boys" (1975: 18). Apter's (1982) hypothesis tends to support Tutt with his argument "that behaviour that is learned can be unlearned and the new, more appropriate behaviour can be learned to replace that which was deviant" (1982: 44).

Tutt's (1975) research on delinquency combined psychological and sociological approaches to explain the causes of delinquency. He argued that the personality trait of achievement motivation, lacking in some youths,

is due to child-rearing practices and is the effect of
ecological environment. He noted that:

> An important personality trait, that of
> achievement motivation, is often lacking amongst
> delinquents because of a combination of
> child-rearing practices and social environment.
> (1975: 21)

Tutt's theory drew support from the work of McClelland
which emphasized that:

> Most people in this world, psychologically can
> be divided into two broad groups. There is that
> minority which is challenged by opportunity and
> willing to work hard to achieve something; and
> the majority that really does not care all that
> much. (McClelland, in Tutt, 1975: 21).

The 'don't care' majority resort to delinquent acts
because they are not willing to understand competition
with a standard of excellence (Tutt, 1975). This view
holds certain parallels with Ferguson's (1952) Concept of
Unemployment and Achievement Variables. In this study of
The_Young__Delinquents__in__His__Social__Setting, Ferguson
argued that unemployment or a rapid succession of jobs
were contributory factors to the reconviction of
delinquents. This concept found expression in the works
of Cohen (1956) whom Tutt (1973)[5] represented as saying
that the working class boy, being denied access to
legitimate means of achievement through the educational
system, seeks an alternative status within a gang.

Of considerable interest here is the reference to Wait
and Briggs who postulated that: "Regardless of social
class, delinquent-prone personalities had lower actual

achievement, i.e. years at school, school record, job
level than a control group" (in Tutt, 1975: 21)

Other schools who followed this line of thought with
little modifications include Cloward and Ohlin (1961),
Downs (1966) and Yablonsky (1962). The views expressed by
these schools agreed with the concept that a good number
of delinquents display a lower level of achievement
motivation than their non-delinquent peers; and that
achievement motivation depends so much on personality
traits.

The Italian School (Rosen and D'Andrande, 1959) and Mays
(1973) preferred the strain-anxiety orientated approach.
Mays hypothesised that "some individuals are, as it were,
more stress-prone than others and that in situations of
strain, they are likely to break down more easily and
perhaps work out their anxiety or their frustrations in
illegal and anti-social ways" (1973: 3). This seemed to
provide an explanation for the ideology on which armed
robbery gangs involving Nigerian youths was founded after
the Civil War in 1970.

CONCLUSION

All theories referred to in this study associated
delinquency with socio-economic, environmental and
political factors. The literature seems to have
particular relevance to familial and urban economic
factors, since much previous research on this subject

centred on family relationships and economic opportunities. Inadequate political policies create strain and anxiety among young people and tend to induce strain-prone youth to react to the resulting psychological frustrations in illegal and anti-social ways. Individual psychological problems within the family also finds considerable support in the literature.

Notes

1. Extended family, as a preventive model of delinquency, will be treated in detail in the chapter concerned with prevention of delinquency.

2. For further detail, see Shlomo Shoham, Nahum Shoham and Adnan Abel-El-Razele, Immigration Ethnicity and Ecology as Related to Juvenile Delinquency in Israel, The British Journal of Criminology, Vol. 6, pp. 391-408 (1966).

3. This case study was reported by Cooper, Director of Youth Homes for Girls, in New York City. For further details, see Cohen, 1957: 73-74.

4. Earlier, Shaw and McKay's (1932) research on a number of different national groups which include the Germans, Irish, Poles and Italians indicated that movement from the grim centre to better neighbourhoods decreased the delinquency rates among youths.

5. For further detail, see Tutt (1973), Achievement Motivation, British Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology. It will be noted that the study showed a lower level of achievement motivation amongst delinquents than non-delinquents. "Delinquent acts" ranged from truancy, trouble with the police and receiving corporal punishment at school for delinquent acts.

APPLICATION IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES OF CAUSATION THEORIES GENERATED IN WESTERN COUNTRIES

INTRODUCTION

In Chapter 2, we reviewed theories of delinquency causation developed in the Western countries of Europe and the United States. We noted the three major causal factors, social, economic and psychological factors. The literature has shown that sociologists favour ecological or social and economic factors, associating delinquency with changes in economic and social environments - increasing urbanisation and persistence of slum areas amongst the low economic status population (Clinard and Abbott, 1973); and the effect on the family's socio-economic status in general. Other scholars have associated delinquency with the influence of broken homes (Makeith, 1973; Bronfenbrenner, 1977; Apter, 1982; Alo, 1983; Hoghughi, 1983).

Though most of the causal factors of youth crime in developing countries are not entirely different from those in developed countries, most sociologists and anthropologists, who have examined social problems in developing countries, have generally ignored the question of delinquency in these countries.

What follows, therefore, is a discussion on the

application of Western theories of delinquency causation to developing countries. We have chosen to examine this theme under some of the headings discussed in the previous chapter. This is necessary in order to understand the extent to which the theories formulated in industrially and technologically developed countries may be relevant to the problems found in developing countries. When and where it is necessary, different headings may be used. Nevertheless, an attempt has been made to maintain consistency with the headings used in the previous chapter to ensure at least methodological sequence in comparison.

The hypothesis of this chapter is that there is "a universal process that crosses cultural lines in the migration of large numbers of rural people into the cities, where a subsequent process of urbanisation modifies their behaviour" (Clinard and Abbott, 1973: 1). This tends to explain why some migrant youths are prone to delinquency in most cities in developing countries just as they are in the developed countries. To what extent can it be assumed that migrant youths would have been better off staying in their own rural areas?

As it has become evident in Chapter 2, urbanisation is closely associated with delinquent behaviour amongst youth in developed countries. It was also evident in developed societies that delinquency is learned from delinquent companions (Tobias, 1967). This chapter will also examine whether delinquency in the developing countries is learned

from delinquent companions. The chapter further attempts to examine Western theories of delinquency causation in relation to traditional structures of child care in developing countries.

Before World War II, the incidence rate of delinquency was shown to be very low in developed countries, while in developing countries, it was an unknown phenomenon. The beginning of the industrial revolution in Europe and later in the United States, that came after the American War of Independence, marked the growth of economic development, political reorganisation, changes in social and cultural structures, development of new and urban cities, and above all, high expectations and aspirations in individual families. It was the age of discovery, improvement and advancement. The literature has shown that these social changes seemed either to have also encouraged social problems, including crime and delinquency or formed part of their origins (Cohen, 1967). Social change is also the foundation for changes in patterns of individual life, especially in urban settings, where the impact of social changes is high. Some European writers have already suggested that many of the research findings in developed countries about delinquent behaviour are limited to developed societies, because of their technological and social development - urbanisation and its concomitant social disorganisation (Cohen, 1967). This seems to be a general view, though given the same conditions and factors, some of the developed countries' research

findings could be applied to and are relevant in
developing countries, particularly in the urban areas,
where evidence has shown that, to a large extent, the
influence of colonialism in developing countries was
similar to that of the Industrial Revolution in developed
countries.

For a clearer analysis of the application of Western
theories of delinquency causation in developing countries,
this chapter is divided into two sections. An attempt is
made to summarize the concept of "urbanisation" as it is
defined for the purpose of this study. However, before
this can be done, it is necessary to look back in order to
try to understand the state of colonial development in
developing countries. This will perhaps highlight the
patterns of social change which have taken place in these
societies. The second section takes a look at the
application and relevance of selected theories developed
in Europe and the United States to the problems of
developing countries.

COLONIALISM AND SOCIAL CHANGES IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

The colonial era was an epoch-making period in the
history of all colonised developing countries. It was an
era characterised by changes in the social, traditional,
economic and cultural life of common people in each of
these regions of the world. This marked a period of
expansion of capitalism, and "meant the expropriation of
the land of the poor and powerless, the division of shared

land into private packages or commodities available for exchange to the highest bidder or the state preferred customer, and the destruction of informal or communal modes of regulating property disputes" (Sumner, 1982). It is a period remembered by many as a period of suffering, dehumanisation, deprivation and a destabilisation of the time honoured culture and the people.

For example, in Kenya, Uganda, Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) and South Africa, forced labour replaced the traditional love of the land. The industrial revolution brought people out of the land en masse and caused a fundamental change in the life of the rural Tanganyikan (now Tanzania) who now migrated to the urban areas to provide cheap labour during British colonial rule (1918-1961). In francophone West African countries, the so-called assimilation process not only alienated the people from their traditional culture and from their land, it also alienated them from the real culture of the assimilators. In effect, these countries were assimilated in so much as they no longer have their own culture and traditions to respect. The haphazardly internalised culture of the assimilators brought cultural conflict between the traditional culture and the new. The effect of the changes on rural youth who migrated into the urban areas will be analysed later, but suffice it to say that the "violation of rights of land of the indigenous population" and its concomitant penal sanctions resulted in migration to urban areas and to the formation of criminal and

delinquent gangs, whose intent was the defence of their traditional culture and their rights to land. For example, the Mawumawu gang of Kenya in the early 1940s was formed to defend the indigenous rights to the land and local culture.

It will be recalled that in developing countries, especially in Africa, before the colonial period, "virtually the entire population lived in the rural sector and control and use of land was of central importance" (Sweet, 1982). Colonial rule and its concomitant social revolution weakened claims to traditional kinship and altered the historical and cultural rights of ownership of land. The resulting social and judicial changes forced younger people off the land and put them at the mercy of colonial cheap labour employers (1982: 58). This constituted the first contact with Western civilisation and urbanisation.

Though the post-colonial era (otherwise called the epoch of independence) gave back power and rights to the people to manage their own affairs, the political, social and economic policies were still oriented towards Western patterns. The precedented cultural structure was, therefore, termed development, modernisation, urbanisation, etc.

The Concept of Social Change: Urbanisation Defined

Although many theories of social change have been

propounded by various scholars, it appears that only William Ogbun's (1957) theory of social change seems to have treated the situational concept of urbanisation. The 'cultural lag' concept which Obgun brought into his social change theory is instrumental for a clearer understanding of the social change theory and the concept of urbanisation, as used in this study.

In his theory, Ogbun (1957) talked about economic development and urbanisation which have influenced the "manner in which individuals divide or are divided into families, educational, occupational, religious, political and other associations or groups which constitute a major part of the social structure of any complex society" (1957: 13). In addition to social and cultural changes, this writer claims that technology has led to an accelerated development by new methods and machines. These new methods and machines which he called "material culture" have, as has been noted, affected traditional institutions, which he called "non-material culture". The resultant gap generated a conflict between traditional institutions and new institutions arising from technological developments and subsequent urbanisation.

The conflict was due largely or primarily to the faster rate of technological development, as compared to that of traditional development. The technological development tended to impose greater demands on the traditionally-oriented societies to undergo rapid cultural

and social change in an effort to accommodate the rapid
changes taking place in these societies, such that: "the
rapid technical changes gradually and continually erode
the characteristics of traditional institutions, a process
which can clearly be observed in these societies" (Boadu,
1976: 12).

Ogbun's (1957) theory, thus, depicts social change as a
process by which society consciously moves towards
material culture, as it moves away from non-material
culture.[1] Such a movement away from non-material to
material culture resulted in a gradual but persistent
weakening of the normative institutions which
characterised traditional society, so that the society is
made dynamically oriented to cultural changes and
innovation. In the urban areas, for example, there were
changes in: religious institutions; the traditional
characteristics of family institutions; the social
organisation; educational institutions and in cultural and
social values.

Inayatullah (in Boadu, 1976: 19) conceived of
development or urbanisation as the "common behavioral
system, historically associated with the urban,
industrial, literate and participant societies of Western
Europe and North America". Inayatullah was writing in an
attempt to clear the confusion associated with the terms
modernisation and Westernisation. In his contribution,
Boadu (1976) noted that if Western models are considered

the standard by which to judge the social changes taking place in the emerging nations, then the confusion over the terms - development, modernisation and Westernisation - cannot be avoided. He stated:

> If the Western model is imposed as standard, then the obvious but erroneous conclusion would be to equate such Westernization with modernity. On the other hand, if social changes are considered from the perspective that they involve a redefinition of values so that the new values are consistent with the cultural and traditional systems of a nation, then the terms could easily be differentiated (Boadu, 1976: 9).

Unfortunately, social changes in developing countries are inconsistent with the 'cultural and traditional systems' of these countries. There is the view which has argued that social change, especially in urban areas, presented problems of redefinition of values.   Arguably, this concept is based on the assumption that in urbanising societies, individuals wish to keep an equilibrium with traditional values, and the new values brought about by social changes inhibits conflict which tends to suggest that urbanism presents problems of redefinition of values.

Boadu (1976) shared the view that social changes which spell modernity involve a redefinition of values. From this viewpoint, a distinction is made between development, industrialisation and modernisation. For instance,

> Development is the most general and it results from the proliferation and integration of functional roles in a community. Modernization implies these conditions - a social system that can constantly innovate without falling apart, differentiated, flexible social structures and a

social framework to provide the skills and
knowledge necessary for living in a
technologically advanced world.
Industrialization may be defined as the period
in a society in which the strategic functional
roles are related to manufacture (1976: 12).

In this case, development can be seen as a planned or
directional pace at which social change proceeds, and
modernisation as a development that is both
technologically oriented and striving towards
up-to-dateness. All these terms can be applied to the
developmental process in developing countries.

When a society is undergoing modernisation or
urbanisation, there appears to exist the condition that
the society be in contact with external models.
Modernisation thus stresses intense and continued contact
with external models and this is seemingly a visible trend
in most developing countries. The individuals in these
societies, thus, tend to become so much exposed to these
external models that the adoption of these models become
the rule. The traditional models are, thus, rejected
completely. In such a situation, the modernisation takes
a different definition. It is no more modernisation in
the true sense of the world. Westernisation in this case
is the most appropriate description. True modernisation
does not only imply the exposure of a nation to some kind
of external model, it further requires a temporary
withdrawal or measures of some kind to ensure that the
external models fit into the social and cultural
institutions of the society. If the external models are

redefined and accordingly adopted as innovative ideas into traditional institutions, such institutions could then be classified as modern institutions and not necessarily Westernised institutions. A conclusion drawn from the work of Tessler stressed that, "neither increased effort to manage culture nor the expanded scope of cultural interaction necessarily means that little or nothing of old will survive" (in Boadu, 1976: 17).

Development is not only a goal of emerging developing countries. Equally important is the concern for identity, as exemplified in the case of Tunisia. For instance, despite the marked cultural differences associated with levels of modernisation, highly modernised Tunisians show relatively little inclination to completely disavow traditional standards. This situation is dissimilar to most cases in other developing countries today. While an eagerness to reject outmoded beliefs and to rethink traditional values is a fundamental part of the modern condition, this eagerness in Tunisia is coupled with a desire to preserve many aspects of tradition and an unwillingness to completely assimilate Western standards (Boadu, 1976).

The foregoing discussion provides an insight into the concept and the effect of social change in developing countries. Ogbun's (1957) theory of social change provided the framework within which the urbanisation concept is analysed. The theoretical framework derived

from the theory has four main implications. They are:

(1)   The concept of urbanisation connotes up-to-dateness (e.g.
      new methods and machines).

(2)   Urbanisation is technologically-oriented (e.g. technology
      has led to new methods and machines).

(3)   The process of urbanisation leads to a dichotomous notion
      of society (e.g. relative position of material and
      non-material culture along a continuum of social change.

(4)   Urbanisation involves alteration in the structure and
      functions of a society (e.g. traditional, social and
      family structures in an urban area are frequently
      unstable and are breaking down under the profound
      influence of the new urban values and techniques.

Urbanisation, industrialisation and education, along
with improvements in health and welfare are progressive
elements, but because of the sudden changes they involve,
especially in developing countries, they sometimes tend to
become sources of imbalance and social conflict (Boadu,
1976).   Thus, it can be argued that socio-economic
evolution does not occur without having direct or indirect
effects on the behaviour of the people, especially the
youth, and it is to this that our attention now turns.

APPLICATION_OF_WESTERN_THEORIES

The spreading of juvenile delinquency in developing
countries has coincided in a general way with rapid
economic   development,   and   consequently   with   the

acceleration of urbanisation and industrialisation. The process of urbanisation and industrialisation started in developed countries over two centuries ago. Since then, the massive changes wrought by industrialisation in the Western World are now spreading at an accelerated pace to the most isolated parts of the world. In Africa, in particular, the urban-industrial process has become the central stage for more and more of the "human drama" in relation to delinquency.

In some developing nations, the process of urbanisation became evident since the discovery of oil. Consequently, the oil wealth has put lots of money into circulation. For the first time these countries were stimulated to want to behave in new ways. Emphasis since then has been placed on the potentialities of social changes which, it was hoped, would bring about the desired industrial and technological development. Thus, the period of oil discovery brought to some developing countries revolutions of rising awareness and expectation, which later in the 1970s also brought the revolution of frustration resulting from rapid urbanisation which followed the oil boom, as it was called (Schramm and Donald, 1974). We are assuming here that real urbanisation began in most developing countries, especially in Africa, in the early 1960s. This period was marked by a period of economic change and public awareness - the diffusion of new ideas and information which stimulated people to want to behave in new ways and adopt new models, to build their own society

and socialise the people into a new culture. In the
previous section, it was noted that Western culture was
and is this model. Figure 1.1 helps to explain what
happened during this period.

Figure 1.1:   The_Process_of_Modernity_in_Developing
               Countries_Since_the_1960s
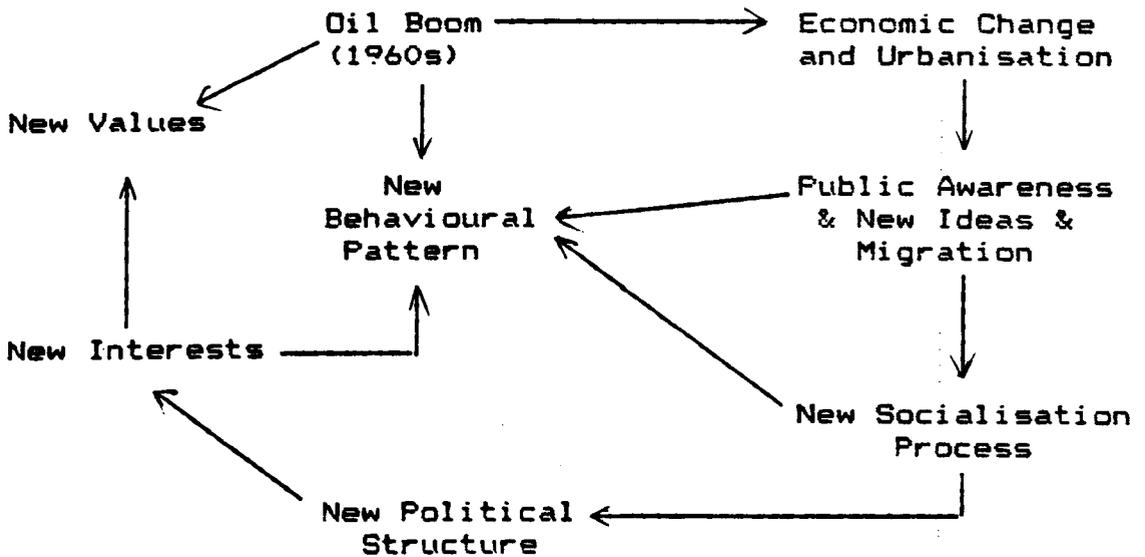
The Figure implies that the oil boom resulted in
economic and social changes. In the resulting urban
areas, new patterns of life and new ideas were developed
and affected the socialisation process and political
cultures. The new political structure resulted in new
social and individual interests and values. The structure
of the change, especially the new value system (which has
replaced the traditional values, increased the rate of
youth migration and the consequent cultural conflicts)
tends to induce criminal behaviour among urban youths to
the extent that it could be argued that the Western
sociological theories of urbanisation have application to

the following hypotheses:

a) The process of economic change and living conditions in the large urban areas of developing countries have associations with juvenile delinquency.

b) The cultural conflicts resulting from the mass migration of youth into urban areas tend to increase the incidence of youth crime in developing countries (see Shoham et al, 1966), confirming the Western theory of cultural conflicts.

c) Young people who migrate to urban areas do so because of a desire for economic advancement and those who fail to achieve the desired new socio-economic status through legitimate means, tend to join delinquent or criminal gangs as a last resort.

d) The new value system, especially in urban areas, tends to lead to disintegration of the family structure and other traditional institutions. This has associations with the high incidence of delinquency in developing countries.

Smith (1939), Cohen (1955), Mays (1972), Shaw and McKay (1932) and Shaw (1931), among other Western authors, have earlier associated delinquency with the disintegration of family structure in the industrialised societies of Europe and the United States. The current high incidence of youth crime in developing countries may be analysed in terms of economic change.

Many developing countries have been experiencing an alarming increase in the rate of delinquency in recent years. The literature seems to support the view that this increase is likely to continue with the increasing economic development of modern nations (Winslow, 1969; Wilensky and Lebeaux, 1965).

In developed countries, for instance, the provision of "extensive education, income security, housing and social services" (Pillai, 1972) - the result of advanced economy - have in their respective structures created favourable conditions for an increase in youth crime. At the other end, the developing countries have witnessed a high incidence rate of delinquency since the 1960s. It has been noted in the previous section that this period is remarkable for rapid economic advancement and urbanisation. This situation seems to lend support to the widespread opinion among Indian theorists that developing countries, like the developed countries recently, "see their gradually advancing industrial, agricultural, health and welfare services accompanied by rising problems of criminality, delinquency and social disruption" (Pillai, 1977: 99).

From the foregoing, it appears, on reflection, that delinquency and economic development are inseparable phenomena. The recent rapid economic development or socio-economic evolution, as we prefer to call it, in developing countries has direct and indirect effects on

the anti-social behaviour of modern youth. Evidence shows that it involves profound and important social and cultural changes; one of which is seen in the breakdown of traditional social and family structures. According to Arcand and Brillion, these changes have "contributed a great deal to the increase in deviant behaviour in the contemporary world" (1973: 199). Thus, juvenile delinquency which in the past was characteristic of advanced societies is beginning to emerge in the urban areas of developing countries. Wilensky and Lebeaux recognised that industrial urban society is the central stage for an increasing amount of the social problems of mankind, and argued that "these massive changes in American society are the major determinants of the social problems which create the demand for social welfare services" (1958: 17).

Variation in the adequacy of the very few general statistics concerning the importation of delinquency notwithstanding, the available data have continued to support the assumption that delinquency is not only becoming a social phenomenon but is also rapidly increasing in the developing countries, and that the increase is the consequence of "economic and cultural change" (Arcand and Brillion, 1973: 202). It has been noted, for example, that in developing countries, the problems created by the urge to keep to or reconcile the old traditional culture with those imposed by the rapid economic and social changes tend to conflict with young

people's desire for personal reputation. They get swept up in a new success achievement culture and the low achievement youth tend to find the violent gang a most adequate device for successful self-gratification (Tutt, 1972; Clinard, 1962). Shicha and Amire (1979) have argued that, as known delinquency has increased in developing countries, as in developed countries,

> the phenomenon seems to be connected to the processes of urbanization, industrialization and migration, and it is accompanied by situations of social and personal conflict; a weakening of the traditional mechanism for social control; and the search for ways, sometimes contradictory, of coping with these problems (1979: 70).

The President of the Ivory Coast Supreme Court made a similar remark in 1968, "The more a country develops, the more crime increases. There is a relationship between the economic development of a country and the struggle against crime" (United Nations, 1970).

Wolf (1971) drew the following conclusion from a comparative study of developed countries, using various social indicators from 1955 to 1962: "Crime (and youth delinquency) rates increase with the developmental status of a country compared with other contemporary nations" (1971: 107-121). This conclusive assumption found support in 1976 when the Fourth United Nations Congress on the prevention of crime and treatment of social offenders reported,

> As any country begins to open up, outgrow its traditionalism and respond to outside influences or new ideas by modernizing, industrializing and

concentrating people in certain areas, its
people and particularly its younger generation
seize the many new opportunities. And in doing
so, a small but progressively increasing number
of them succumb to temptations and illegal
satisfaction through crime (United Nations,
1976).

Earlier findings by the United Nations in 1955

associated the problems of delinquency and its origins in

developing countries with economic changes and rapid

industrialization. Reporting on the origins of the

problems in Africa, Latin America and Asia, the United

Nations noted that:

> From observation of experts and from limited
> statistical data in such areas, it can be said
> that juvenile delinquency becomes a problem of
> concern in those countries when
> industrialization has increased and when urban
> centers have been established (United Nations,
> 1955)

In the previous section, it was noted that economic

evolution in developing countries stimulated and

reactivated changes in social and economic values. These

changes were and are not favourable to the traditional

cultures of developing countries in relation to the

behaviour of their young people. They upset the old

structures and values "which constituted a framework

strong enough to maintain a state of equilibrium and

stability within the tribal groups" (Seidman et al, 1969)

and within the family as well as maintaining normative

conduct among youths. In Nigeria, for example, the growth

in the national economy in the early 1970s placed an

emphasis on development. Like most of the other

developing countries, particular emphasis was placed on

changes in the social infrastructure. The impact of these abrupt social changes led in Nigeria, as it did in some other developing countries, to a disproportionate rise in the rate of delinquency and especially delinquency against property. The greater value attached to material culture created problems of identity associated with affluence. This situation led to an increase in the rate of youth crime. As personal identity tended to be measured in terms of material acquisition, respect for human values seemed to be neglected and the standard social norms were rejected. The attitudes of poor parents in the rural areas lent support to the ideology of "get rich over night", and the result was and is an alarming increase in all kinds of youth crime including armed robbery. The pressure of this situation led in 1970 to Nigeria's decree of the death penalty for cases involving armed robbery. Under this decree, the death penalty is passed for cases of robbery in which an offender is carrying a firearm or any offensive weapon or is in the company of any person so armed at or immediately after the time of the robbery, if the said offender wounds or causes any personal violence to any person (The Daily Times of Nigeria Annual Review, 1971: 62).

In Puerto Rico, Ferracuti's (1966) study of juvenile delinquency showed a high increase in delinquency between 1956 and 1964 - a period of intensive socio-economic development in Puerto Rico. Other writers associated the high incidence of delinquency in Puerto Rico with the

acceleration of socio-economic and political changes. Kupperstein, for example, pointed out that,

> The commonwealth of Puerto Rico has for many years been experiencing an extremely accelerated rate of social, economic and political change. Indices of these changes are many, including the rate of population growth, the rate and degree of internal and external migration, the changes in the economy from agrarian to industrial, the increased urbanisation of the Island, the changing family roles, the rise in income levels, the changes in the occupational structure, the emphasis on material wealth and the like. Another important indicator of changes, however, and one less optimistic, is the increase in various types of individual and social pathology which generally accompany such change and which are often generated by it. (Kupperstein and Toro-Calder, 1969: 105)

In Madagascar, between 1965 and 1970, cases of juvenile delinquency increased by 20% with an increase in urbanisation (Seidman et al, 1969). In Algeria, there had been a steady increase: 19,049 in 1963, 41,898 in 1966, 62,379 in 1967 and 123,638 in 1969 (U.N.O. Report 1967: 15). In Ghana, reported cases showed that per 10,000 population, the rate of youth crime increased from 84 in 1939 to 97 in 1964 (Seidman et al, 1969). Considering when this study was made, one would expect that this has increased considerably. A Zambian study between 1959 and 1962 showed a great increase in juvenile delinquency: 229 offenders in 1939, 441 in 1950, 837 in 1955 and 1,979 in 1962 (U.N.O., 1967: 15). In Uganda, though contact with the colonialists came much later in 1897, a study of crime in 1968-1969 showed that the period of economic changes (1948-1968) saw a remarkable increase in reported cases of delinquency: from 309 to 874 per 100,000 population

(Clinard and Abbott, 1973: 15). The pattern of delinquency rate here suggests that, although the country remains at a relatively low level of urbanisation and industrialisation, "it has moved beyond the early stages of urbanisation and must now respond to one of the cost factors in the decision to enter the modern world" of anti-social problems (U.S.A. Government Report on Enforcement and Administration of Justice 1969: 30).

The United Nations recent studies in Chile, India and Zambia indicated a high incidence of juvenile delinquency in highly urbanised and economically advanced areas. Further studies in Mexico City share the same view and associated delinquency, especially delinquency against property, with changes in economic, cultural and social values. A study of 79,372 cases of delinquency during the period 1927 - 1956 (29 years) showed that 51.5% were crimes against property (Chavez, 1959). Evidence has shown that delinquency against property "appears to be directly related to development". In England and the United States, for instance, there is evidence that crimes against property are the most common crimes among youth.. Studies of delinquency in these countries "tend to indicate that, as in most other countries, reported rates for property offences are rising rapidly in England as they are in the United States" (Tutt, 1975). In most urban areas of the developing countries,

> Young persons are tempted to steal articles or
> obtain money to buy items that lend prestige or
> a sense of modernation. The stealing of

bicycles, for example, is a common feature in developing countries in which the bicycle is necessary both for transportation and prestige. Other prestige items often stolen by the young are transistor radios and wrist watches. These factors are considered extremely significant in the rise of juvenile crime in Madagascar, where the important factor leading to juvenile delinquency is the importance of foreign products and their sale at a high price. The youths see them displayed in great profusion in the store windows and yet they cannot afford them (Ramaholimaso, 1967: 17).

High aspirations of the youths - the desire for material culture with an emphasis on foreign products - tend to compel young people to deviant behaviour. In developed countries, especially in England and the United States, theories indicated that when young people cannot legitimately satisfy their desire to acquire these products, they tend to revert to traditional illegitimate means. Tutt's study in England and the United States revealed "hedonistic stealing" ranging from the theft of clothing, records, sweets, bikes, cars, toys, etc. - the type of property that boys admire but are unable to obtain legitimately" (1975: 29).

As urbanisation continues to draw large numbers of young people to the urban centres, without adequate employment and housing facilities, there seems little doubt that the resulting *overcrowded housing* conditions and the growing numbers of *unemployed youth* will roam the streets. Theories in developed countries have shown a correlation between unemployment, overcrowded housing conditions and delinquency (Mays, 1958; Reckless and Smith, 1932; Winslow, 1969; Cohen, 1967; Casson, 1979; among others).

Hoselitz (1969) argued that "full economic development requires an urbanised environment that will provide, as many cities do, new influences in otherwise tradition-based societies" (1969: 202-226). This implies that in developing countries, as in developed countries, urban environments should provide employment opportunities and good housing conditions. Urban areas in the developing countries have not accomplished this expectation. An explanation may perhaps be sought in the underlying fact that,

> the Third World countries are in a wonderful rush to achieve urbanisation. They want to achieve within a very short period of time what has taken the developed countries centuries to achieve. As a result, little attention has been paid to the essential problems of urbanisation. Thus, some writers have concluded that in all Third World countries, there is no correlation between economic growth and urbanisation as in the developed countries of America and Western Europe (Hardoy, 1971: 5)

Urban areas bring together people of different tribes, languages, cultures, histories and traditional backgrounds and so help to produce negative cosmopolitan ideas among young people which makes them delinquent prone.

> City people are more likely to be more receptive to social changes, exposed as they are to a heterogeneous population and seeing as they do the great contrast between wealth and poverty, between wants that have been stimulated and left unsatisfied and between what is, what can be or should be (Clinard and Abbott, 1975: 81).

Thus, the impact of "unrealistic urban programmes in the Third World on youths with poor backgrounds" (Hardoy, 1971) is one of deviance. Hake's study (1960) in Latin

America benefited enormously from Western theories of urbanisation and delinquency and lent support to the hypothesis that urban areas form a distinct causal factor of delinquency. The study noted a high degree of difference between urban and rural areas in the incidence of delinquency rates (1960: 82). Earlier in Denmark, Christian had argued that "countries in which the process of industrialisation and urbanisation continues, which holds true in most if not all countries of the world, must expect further increase in crime and delinquency" (in Clinard and Abbott, 1978: 82). An official report in India observed that "juvenile crime in an acute form is confined to the cities" (Clifford, 1963: 32).[2]

The conclusive view of Clinard and Abbott (1979) and the view which is shared in this study is that rising rates of delinquency in developing countries commonly result from social change, particularly rapid urbanisation. Clifford found that, "youth crime is related to the complexity of development associated with world wide processes of urbanization in which characteristic village life is being replaced by urban living" (1963: 17-32).

By implication, the above finding suggests that as cities in developing countries have continued to grow, "new ways of life have developed, different from that of the village and similar to those of urban areas" in developed countries which tend to favour delinquent behaviour. The urban life, as sociological studies of

Chicago in 1938 have indicated, is characterised by conflicts of norms and values, rapid social changes, increased mobility of the population and individualism as well as "an increase in the use of formal rather than informal social control" (Epstein, 1968); and cities in developing countries have maintained a stereotype character of developed cities, identifying themselves with the above essential causal factors of delinquency.

A United Nations report on social defence policies in relation to developmental planning, a working paper prepared by the Secretariat, stated that urbanisation anywhere

> connotes all kinds of changes, in patterns of population distribution, in working habits, housing, leisure pursuits, transactions with working class of people and myriad opportunities for crime; it also means a greater complexity of life, impersonality of relationship, subcultures and less immediate controls of behaviour. It implies more opportunities for crime with less risk of detection and disturbing juxtaposition of affluence and poverty (United Nations, 1970).

Weinberg's (1969) study of urbanisation in Ghana further illustrates that urbanisation does not only affect the central city, the villages from which the people migrate and the adjacent poor villages who now live side by side with the affluent urban town, but also "these changes create conditions which contribute to delinquency" (1969: 377) in Ghana as it has done in Europe and America.

Another factor that tends to make urban areas prone to delinquency is the *identity concealing structure of the*

urban environment. The literature has shown that family systems in developing countries tend to undergo some decline under the impact of urbanisation, and when this happens, as it did in the developed countries centuries ago, the migrant youths tend to lose their attachment to an identity with their families (Arcand and Brillion, 1973). Khalaf argued that "with or without a high degree of technological change and impersonal forms of association, urbanisation is almost always accompanied by dissociative processes of secularization, individualism and socio-cultural differentiation (1971: 113).

In developing countries, relations with family and kinship roles have been growing less important in the total social organisation of the urban society; and the family has lost some of its traditional functions. The 'lone creature', derelict-like and with unattached feelings, now a typical characteristic of urban society, was a rare phenomenon in traditional developing countries. The strong refuge and identity within the group and the family along with strong kinship ties made the environment in pre-urbanised societies of developing countries most natural habitat for gregarious learning and identity association (Khalaf, 1971: 237). Alternatively, the sense of community, the sense of commitment to a community and to a family are distorted within the social structures of urban areas and their hostility tends to induce youths to delinquency. The impersonality, the anonymity of the municipal government, the situation of

the work-place (if one is lucky enough to find work) all tend to alienate urban migrants from the norms of their individual families and to a larger extent from themselves. The transition to a "series of discontinuous impersonal relations with the employer, the landlord, policeman, traders and officials make city life particularly favourable to the separation of the normal and normative satisfaction of human needs" (Burges et al, 1928).

Burges et al argued that "in the small village community, all its members are of necessity first considered as persons from the standpoint of their total role in the life of the community. In the city, outside of relations in intimate and personal groups, all this is changed. The great majority of individuals are totally unknown to one another and even where they come in contact, the relations tend to be not at all points, but only at one point in their lives" (1928: 10-12). Enjoying the liberal and material rewards of urbanisation, the urban youths became victims of the unsettling consequences of urban life, particularly those that soon threaten to dilute the sacred bonds of kinship. He tends to live all his life and keep all the relations he can only and for the interest of "achievement in urban hierarchies where his craft and other skills are useless or undervalued" (Tutt, 1975: 28). Consciously, and because of their economic status, which now becomes the major problem, those who had failed to get employment and are ashamed to

return to the rural areas, or have lost their right in time of need to make demands on the family or the extended family, tend to resort to undesirable actions of delinquent behaviour in an identity concealing urban environment.

It has been noted that in the rural areas of developing countries, especially in West Africa, the youth are happy to identify themselves with their families, happy to be addressed as their father's son. By contrast, in urban centres, the process of urban life transformed youths from being defined as their father's son. They became involved in evil-doing with the assurance that they are faceless and anonymous (Schulman, 1952). The British criminal, nicknamed "The Fox", who was described as the most dangerous rapist of the twentieth century, used urban anonymity to carry out his criminal activity undetected for a long time. He was certain that if apprehended, the officer who arrested him and the people around would be total strangers. The anonymity in urban areas, thus, gives the individual youths freedom from much of the scrutiny and control which characterised primary group situations in small towns and rural communities:

> In a rural, economically stagnant village-based society, every person is subject to the scrutiny of the immediate community (and identifies with it). In an urban environment, however, human relationships become more depersonalized and anonymous. The person feels anonymous and freer to act as an individual rather than as a member (identifying himself with the) of a closely knit community. One consequence of his greater freedom may well be that the individual feels less inhibition about

experimenting with various forms of deviant
behaviour, including crime. (McCord and McCord,
1964: 13)

The example of the British rapist "The Fox" referred to
earlier, is just such an example.

The literature has shown that there is a correlation
between migration to the city and youth crime. They
argued that among the insurmountable problems caused by
the influx of children and adolescents from the interior
of the country, and even youths from neighbouring
countries who enter the country in secret, (Arcand and
Brillion, 1973) is the problem of youth delinquency.
Thus, *youth migration* as it has been noted earlier, is an
important factor associated with delinquency in developing
countries.

In developed countries, some theories postulated that
the process of industrialisation and urbanisation
generally is accompanied by a gradual drift of the
population to the towns and cities; the developing
countries can no longer be excluded from the framework of
these theories. In developing countries soon after a city
acquires an urban structure, it is accompanied by a series
of sharp increases in the population, the majority of whom
are youths from small villages. Some theories, however,
seem to explain youth migration in terms of "an economic
push from over-populated agricultural areas" (Davis,
1971); and in developing countries the push has been
strongly motivated by new opportunities offered by the

urban centres. There are new industries developing in these centres which offer more diverse occupational opportunities, higher wages and educational opportunities.

The concentration of essential economic, political and social facilities in the urban areas make them dominate the surrounding country and understandably exert a pull on the youth population, especially school leavers looking for employment. In analysing the essential characteristic of youth migration, Davis (1971) has urged consideration of the dominating influence of the city over the country which also relates to the migrant's behaviour. Davis postulated:

> An inevitable corollary of Abidjan's rapid growth as a city has been its extraordinary dominance over the country. Like Paris, it is a gigantic magnet drawing in an inordinate share of the country's wealth, people and talent to the detriment of the rest of the nation. As of 1967, 69 percent of all business establishments were located in Abidjan, and 85 percent of all salaried workers in the country were concentrated there. Virtually all of the country's principal business enterprises have the major part of their physical installations as well as their headquarters in the Abidjan area. (1971: 5)

An inferred conclusion here is that the concentration of essential facilities, better employment and higher wages which can be found in urban areas tend to urge young people to migrate to where they hope to acquire the money required to care for their aged people back home in the rural areas. Clinard and Abbott questioned 578 migrants in Kampala, of whom 78% admitted that the need for money

to care for the aged rural population necessitated their movement to the city for employment purposes (1973: 109). Elkan noted

> Young men leave their families to tend their land, while they try to secure work in the city, thus creating a large pool of unattached males whose main goal is to accumulate money (Elkan, 1960: 95)

Another question that arises and which seems relevant at this stage is why these youths could not remain in the rural areas and help their families tend the land and produce enough food for all. What compelled even young women to leave the rural areas for "strange and alien towns" so to speak, and "once there what forces propelled them" into crime? Bujaa's research findings (in Sumner, 1982) stressed the influence of colonial intrusion which disturbed the traditional ways of life. The whole population of the developing countries "were affected by the disturbed conditions of life ... in the last few decades of the nineteenth century. Colonial intrusion was only the ... catastrophic episode which upset the condition for normal life in this period" (1982: 126). In the previous section, it was noted that the colonial lords levied head and land taxes on the citizens of colonised developing countries. There were two reasons for this. One was as a revenue measure and the other was to force the young people off the land into the unpleasant factory jobs in the urban areas. Therefore, in addition to the care for the aged population in the villages, money was also needed to pay the head and land taxes levied on the

people by the colonial administrators in most parts of Africa. In Uganda, for example, apart from the early responsibility by the youths for their families, money was often also needed to buy land — then referred to as "Crown land", belonging to the Queen — and to pay a bride-price in marriage (Clinard and Abbott, 1973: 96).

This was interpreted by Clinard and Abbott to account generally for a concentration of youths in the urban areas which offered opportunities for employment and/or alternative illegal means of acquiring wealth. Delinquency and shanty prostitution are such alternative illegal means. Urban areas offered even more than these incentives. Apart from the job market that cities offered, "greater freedom can be had in the choice of and permanent relationships with the opposite sex" (with fewer formalities) as more female migrants without jobs tend to resort to prostitution. More educational opportunities, as has been noted, are possible in the cities. The great numbers of students from developing countries studying in overseas universities further illustrate the attitudes of young people to urban society as a source for better academic facilities. These opportunities and/or facilities have eluded rural areas as well as some of the urban cities of most developing countries.

Other works on this area suggest that people migrate to urban areas because the cities "serve as primary initiator for an entire country's changing goals, values and

normative patterns" (Marshall, 1965: 7). Man-Gap Lee
(1971) noted that education, cultural resources and the
desire for urban life are the three major factors that
pull youths to the city. In Free Town, attraction to town
includes "novel material benefits" (Banton, 1957: 214). In
Niger, youths migrate to urban areas because the

> people of the city see many things to enrich
> their lives even though they cannot read or
> write. In the city where it is civilized, one
> dresses well, speaks well, sees new things, in
> the cities there are cinemas, the dancing hall,
> the weekend activities (Bako, 1971: 3).

Among the Efiks in the Cross River States and the Ishikos
in the Bendel States of Nigeria, the city anonymity offers
opportunities for social, economic and political mobility
for those depressed by their tribesmen. It is logical to
argue that the majority of Eastern Nigerian youths who
migrated to Lagos and other big cities soon after the
Civil War were in the deprived and depressed categories
who later formed the exploited labour force, whilst being
excluded from political participation in society until
early 1979. Status ambiguity and peripherality no doubt
affected them in relation to the overriding governmental
framework. These groups, like the Indian "untouchable"
(Clinard and Abbott, 1973: 110) usually find opportunities
for socio-economic and political mobility in urban areas
3
where they can maintain anonymity. Some of them also tend
to join delinquent or criminal gangs.

Finally, Professor Mabogunje of the University of Ibadan
pointed out that the recent rapid mass movement of young

people into urban areas was motivated by the development
of African cities and the colonial attitudes toward
Africa. Mabogunje remarked:

> The development of African cities was long
> held up because they were regarded largely as
> markets for European consumer goods rather than
> production centres, with subsequent restriction
> on educational development. In most African
> countries after independence, the flood gates of
> migration from rural to urban areas seem to have
> been thrown wide open (Mabogunje, 1971: 111).

Another causation factor closely related to youth
migration is *the urban problems of migrant youths*. Here
the focus of attention is on the problems encountered by
migrant youths and the ways in which these tend to induce
them to deviate. Reference has been made to the rapid
urbanisation of the developing countries with its
concomitant improvements in communication and
transportation systems (Sjoberg, 1960). These improvements
necessitated mass migration of unskilled and poorly
educated youths from rural areas (Ferrier in Marshall,
1965), resulting in a concentration of young people in
metropolitan areas. The resulting extensive urban
unemployment and rising standards of urban life have, as
was the case in developed countries, forced the migrant
youths to a situation many writers have regarded as being
at a "crossroads". The only alternative, it seemed, for
some of the deviated youths was found in anti-social
behaviour. Thus, cities in developing countries today are
harassed by delinquent youths, a problem also found in
developed countries.

Unemployment, the first problem encountered by migrant

youths, became reason enough to be involved in

> the second aspect which perhaps imparts a
> character of lawlessness to life in Colombia,
> ... the very crime in the street which is
> mentioned by the Miami Herald ... Colombia does
> have more crime than other countries, its crime
> rate has, in common with global trends, been
> rising in recent years (Birkbeck in Sumner,
> 1982: 166)

Unemployment, of course, has been a global trend.

Empirical studies in some developed countries have

produced evidence that the problems of migrant youths in

the urban areas includes *Cultural Conflicts*. Cultural

conflicts tend to precipitate anti-social behaviour which

may result in delinquency. A study of "juvenile faults of

immoralities and crime" documented in "reports from Italy,

France, Germany, Austria, Russia, England and India as

well as the United States, indicated that urban migration

has a distorted effect on young migrants with regards to

their relationship with authorities, the parents, the

school and the larger community" (Baker, 1971: ..). Bender

(in Cohen, 1957: 81) stated that the second half of the

nineteenth century was a period of great urbanisation,

"urban population was increasing at the expense of the

rural and this was thought to be favourable to youthful

crime" because of a divergence in conduct of norms.

Shoham et al's (1966) work on immigration, ethnicity and

ecology as related to delinquency in Israel, noted in the

previous section, provides an interesting illustration of

the problems created by cultural conflicts and the process
of integration. As a rule, the 'norms' of the migrants
differ greatly from the prevailing 'norms' of the urban
cities to which they migrate, a remarkable difference from
village life indeed and so:

> the process of integration may also injure and
> sometimes shatter the social and economic status
> of the [migrants] ... This and other effects of
> the process of integration may weaken the
> cohesion of the family unit and hamper the
> family control over the young. All these
> factors presumably increase the susceptibility
> of the children ... to absorb the so-called
> 'street culture' and to become juvenile
> delinquent (1966: 139).

In Zambia, it was reported that most migrant youths had
no "real understanding of the traditions and customs of
the tribes to which they belonged" (Ferrier in Marshall,
1965: 118) and these constituted half of the migrant
delinquents.

Urban migration in most developing countries is
structurally heterogeneous. Persons from various tribes,
linguistic groups and cultural/traditional backgrounds
move to urban areas. Here, the *language problem* tends to
be one of the first problems encountered by the migrants.
It has become obvious that in most urban cities of
developing countries today, the so-called local languages
are often European languages. These tend to present a
great problem of communication to the new migrants who
lack a knowledge of English in English speaking developing
countries. This is also true of Spanish or French
speaking developing countries. A study in Mexico showed

that "lack of communication, due mainly to inadequate or nonexisting knowledge of Spanish, is a contributing factor in producing maladjustment and subsequent crimes in urban areas" (Hauser, 1960).

Another problem associated with migration is the *weakening of ties to the village*. While in urban environments, even though a migrant continued to act under the tribal influences, he lives in different groupings, earns his livelihood in a different way, comes under different and conflicting authority (Marshall, 1965). He has shifted from the balanced ties with his family to a socially disorganised city life. The migrant becomes, as Mayer in Marshall (1965) puts it, "genuinely urban or has been effectively urbanised once this shift has become decisive, so that its extra-town ties have collectively shrunk to negligible proportion as compared with its within-town ties".

A 1967 analysis (Clinard and Abbott, 1973) of young migrants and the increase of juvenile delinquency in India showed that urbanisation and industrialisation seemed to offer employment opportunities for youths who migrated in large numbers to cities from the rural areas. Most of these youths lost ties with their families, and this resulted in a disintegration of the controlling social forces which in turn lead to increased crime and delinquency rates. Also, because old families

       are replaced by a nuclear family consisting of
      parents and children cut off from other

relations and a neighborhood in which the
mores are not homogeneous and the behaviour of
one person is a matter of relative indifference
to others ... The family and the neighborhood
are, therefore, no longer competent to control
their members (1973: 119).

Role Structure posed yet another problem to urban

migrants in developing countries. Clinard and Abbott

(1973) noted how Southall's Study of Kampala indicated

that "in general, town life is characterised by role

relationships that are more narrowly defined, more

specific, more unequally distributed between peers and

extensively developed in latent role structure, more

numerous as a whole in relation to persons who are

themselves living at a high spatial density and more

fleeting" (1973: 111). Urban role structure, and the

conglomeration of city life, thus tend to create a

situation conducive to delinquency amongst migrants who

are removed from traditional family and parental control.

The *Search for Urban Excitement* also tends to create

problems for the new-comers. United Nations Summary

Report for the Third World showed a high incidence of

crime and delinquency among the migrant youths of

developing countries. One such report noted:

    The tendency of rural youths to seek
    excitement in the city frequently ends in
    juvenile delinquency. There is no doubt that
    urban ideas and influences now reaching into the
    countryside are causing wide-spread restlessness
    among the rural youths; some of them are
    reported to migrate hundreds of miles in search
    of the excitements and the prestige of urban
    life and employment (in Clinard and Abbott,
    1973: 117).

While it can be argued that employment, and not excitement, is the main cause of youth migration to and the immediate problem within the city, the lust for city excitement and material values tend to induce the majority to deviate. According to Sjoberg (1960) in Ghana, most offences in urban cities are committed by youths from the countryside. A case from the Central African Republic is reported in Clinard and Abbott (1973) showing that the serious crime problems facing the urban areas of the country are those committed by young migrants from the rural areas. In Peru, there has been found to be a relationship between urban crime and delinquency and youth migration (Ferrier in Clinard and Abbott, 1973).

Finally, any analysis of youth migration and its relationship to delinquency causation must take note that not all migrant youths are offenders. While urbanisation and industrialisation in both developed and developing countries had a delinquency effect on youth generally, its influence on migrant youth seems greater irrespective of country. It is little use to say that youths born in the city have their own share of delinquency, for it is they who incorporate the migrants into a gang culture. The influence of city life and its concomitant cultural and tribal differences have a great effect on producing delinquents. Urbanisation also has delinquency oriented effects on traditional institutions. It is to analyse these that attention now turns.

URBAN EFFECTS ON TRADITIONAL INSTITUTIONS

The view of several studies on developing countries, as was noted in the previous section, is that the rapid process of urbanisation has not been matched by an equal development of social regulation; and that at best, urbanisation upsets the old structures and values which in the past constituted a framework strong enough to maintain a state of equilibrium and stability within the society. The works of McCords (1965), Tobias (1967) and Johnson (1979) have been influential studies in relation to the rapid process of urbanisation and development of social regulation, as have Shaw and McKay (1967), Ferman et al (1965), Winslow (1969) and Sumner (1982). These authors postulated that rapid urbanisation in most developing countries today has had a distorting effect on family institutions and other cultural institutions. Urbanisation offered a broader experience and an increase in education. Essential as these are for the normal development of modern developing countries, they seem to have weakened parental authority and other traditional controls over young people.

A study in Venezuela indicated that the unity of family life in rural areas allowed "only rare cases of delinquency among rural youths, and possibly many fewer examples of misconduct among the children" (Chiossone et al, 1968: 34). Writing about the impact of rapid urbanisation on the family and tribal institutions in

Liberia, Zare (in Milner, 1969) stated:

> The effectiveness of tribe and family as
> agents of social control has always depended
> upon the cohesiveness of the particular unit.
> In the urban areas, cohesiveness increasingly
> gives way to individualism and the vacuum
> created by the decline in family and tribal
> authority has only been filled by the impersonal
> sanction of law (1969: 194).

This impersonal sanction or inadequate development of
social regulation in urban areas seems to be very weak or
at least not strong enough to control misconduct among
children and young people in developing countries. In
Zambia, for example, urbanisation created a situation
where,

> the family's ability to exercise close control
> over the activities of its members diminished
> and the pressures of a homogeneous community of
> common family residence and traditional respect
> for age and authority, dissipated (Clinard and
> Abbott, 1973: 90).

In Iraq, Kadhim (1970) found that with the coming of
urbanisation to Iraq,

> The father's old supreme authority over his
> family has gradually been diminishing. Sons do
> not obey their fathers as they used to do and
> those who may marry often now leave their
> paternal homes. On the other hand, the
> adherence to religion has become weaker,
> especially among the new generation. Thus, the
> ethical effects of religious teachings on the
> prevention of crime and delinquency is
> disappearing. This diminishing social control
> finds its reflection in the crime situation in
> towns, especially with regards to the migrant.
> For example, offenses of dishonesty are
> infrequent among rural communities. The strong
> tradition regarding such offenses as a disgrace
> is a preventive factor. However, the tribesman
> who migrates to town loses his sense of
> responsibility towards his followers and is thus
> more inclined to commit offenses of dishonesty
> as he has no feeling of identification with

those by whom he is surrounded (1970: 4-5).

In Morocco, El Bacha explained the concentration of crime and delinquency in urban areas in terms of a collapse of the "traditional family and the transition from a tribal group to a small unit, with subsequent weakening of the family as an institution of social control in urban areas" (1971: 90). The weakening of the family as an institution of social control, he argued, also tends to result in family instability and divorce, which previously in the rural, paternal societies of developing countries was regarded as a taboo, and a crime against the gods of marriage and love. The structure of families in urban areas, thus, tends to make urban women more self-sufficient, more demanding of equality and less satisfied with their traditional roles in the family. There is evidence to show that this situation has not only changed the structure of family life, it has also had an effect on the high rate of delinquency among young people.

In most West African countries, children's behaviours are controlled by the informal means of instilling respect for their elders. Children learn by informal means that cursing, fighting, stealing, insolence, runing away, telling lies, laziness, causing damage and illicit sexual relations or the like, constitute bad and abnormal behaviour. The influence of urbanisation and its new value systems tended to replace the traditional respect for elders and culture. Urbanisation created norms that

contradicted those enforced by the traditional institutions. By encouraging a reduction in the role of the family and the elders as the main socializing agents, without adequately replacing them with other institutions of social control, urbanisation has resulted in behavioural patterns among youths that differ radically from family and societal expectations. The schools, churches, court and police all seem to have failed in their attempts to replace the family's role in urban areas. Thus, given the inherently contradictory nature of complex urban centres, youths are caught in a network of conflicting values, and are expected to choose between a culture that demands behavioural solutions which carry greater risks of deviation.

Urbanisation also has a great effect on religious beliefs, especially traditional religion. As McCord and McCord (1965: 36) put it, "the urban environment has a secularizing effect on man's beliefs and relationships, as contact with modern science minimizes strict adherence to traditional religious views and practices". In the urban areas of developing countries, as well as in developed countries, churches and religious beliefs now symbolise an institutional community for old men and women only. Evidence has shown that young people in urban settings are incited to adopt somewhat conjugal patterns - "few kinship ties are kept with distant relatives ... the heterogeneity of the city also brings the people into contact with varied patterns of living" (Goode, 1963), including

religious beliefs.

In rural areas, young men undergo a series of traditional rites before being accepted into manhood. In urban areas, these celebrations are never performed and youths cannot help but pass to manhood through uncoordinated individual urban experiences with no preparation for adulthood. The unitiated youth soon finds that urban life is very uncomfortable, often revolting. Because he is not adequately prepared, and has very little access, if any, to the cultural heritages of normal society, he may get involved in small time crime in his early life. In Daker, for example Hugot (1968) has shown that urban youths become delinquents much younger than those in rural areas. Hugot's findings tend to lend support to the hypothesis that passing through traditional initiations into manhood, keeping close personal relationships and a rigidity of customs and conventions tend to prevent any disapproved practice from flourishing in the village and rural areas.

Urbanisation also has an effect on traditional corrective institutions and sanctions. In most traditional developing societies, for example, theft was always condemned. In addition, it was difficult and sometimes impossible for anyone charged with theft to marry in his tribe. When a man steals from his community where he is known, he can even be killed. In Nigeria and Uganda, for instance, thieves are shot or hanged

publicly. A thief is considered as a bad person who wants to spoil the good name of his community. Hypothetically, such practices often frighten others and deter them — especially youths — from deviating. The dependence in urban areas only on the control that is exerted through such formal agencies as the schools, courts and police, tend to give urban youths more freedom and choice of behaviour. They lack the constructive influence of their elders, parents, friends and relations which their peers in the rural areas have. Some of them soon find themselves at the crossroads between ancestral values and the urban values which they are not able to assimilate completely. This anomie unfortunately tends to cause confusion, along with psychological and social maladjustment and ultimately delinquency amongst urban youths in developing countries.

The influence of urbanisation tends to destroy village or traditional sanctions on extreme abnormal behaviour and rewards for excellence. The complex structure of the city and its transformation into the endemic centre for predatory delinquency make youth develop feelings of being unwanted, of not belonging, being uncared for and above all rejected. As a consequence, they tend to become confused, see a distorted picture of themselves and their relationship with the city and its authority. Because they have also lost links with traditions and with their rural extended families, they tend to develop a greater sense of freedom — freedom to do as they please, to steal

and to indulge in deviant behaviour.

In summary, delinquency in developing countries is an urban phenomenon involving mostly migrant youths from rural areas. 80% of delinquent youths in the urban area of Lagos, for example, are migrants from rural areas and immigrants from neighbouring countries (Federal Ministry of Information, 1977). The city offers the camouflage opportunity to commit crime. The youths in urban environments are released from the traditional and cultural bondage, so to speak, free from close personal relationships, kinship and the traditional extended family systems. These tend to give urban youths freedom to indulge in disapproved practices. Clinard and Abbott (1973) provide a helpful conclusion in this respect:

> Development or at best urbanisation brings with it a great increase in certain forms of [anti-social] behaviour. Increased freedom from relative and traditional custom is also a concomitant of modernisation. Eventually, such youthful offenses as vandalism, theft, etc which is characteristic of highly developed countries will also increase (1973: 95).

The urban areas in all developing countries tend to have acquired the same structures and influences which are characteristic of developed countries. The effects of rapid urbanisation on traditional institutions and subsequently on youths tend to suggest that most of what has been written about delinquency causation in the developed countries of America and Europe applies to and is relevant in developing countries.

Poverty is another problem associated with delinquency in developed countries. The application of this factor in the developing countries, however, depends on a number of variables. Among these are:

a) Environmental (urban or rural) influence on the youth.

b) Association with (rich or poor) peers.

c) Nature and influence of distribution of the national wealth, etc.

Poverty is one of the marked differences between the developing and developed countries. The behaviour of youths from poor families in developed countries satisfied the association of poverty with delinquency in these countries. Delinquency, especially property delinquency, as cases in the developed countries have shown, began with the need for economic satisfaction. Empirical studies and theories abound, showing that the basic causes of crime and delinquency are low wage income and social inequality. Galbraith (1958), Lopez-Roy (1970), Sheth (1961), Miller and Rain (1966) and Leacon (1971), in their respective works on developed countries, have produced evidence that poverty and economic factors could be associated with the social problem of youth crime.

In developing countries, evidence has indicated that, depending on the above variables, poverty may not only be associated with delinquency, but is also attributed to the alarming increase in its incidence (Lopez-Roy, 1970: 21). A report on the prevention and treatment of crime in

Algeria in 1970 supported the notion that poverty and inadequate economic development accounted for a greater incidence of crime and delinquency in this country (Ministere de la Justice, Algeria, 1970). Here, like other developing countries, the majority of the population are in dire need of the economic and essential fundamentals for survival. Most of the families are so poor that they live a hand to mouth existence. Some still cannot find employment. Those who are employed earn very low wages. They live side by side with their rich urban neighbours whose consumption attitudes arouse jealousy which may and often does result in personal and/or property delinquency, as we shall see later.

It has been noted earlier that in urban cities of developing countries, the major problems facing most migrant youths are a shortage of money, unemployment or underemployment or both and higher living costs. In the rural areas, they have the same monetary problem, although it is much more acute in the urban areas. In the village, they may grow vegetables or fruit and they may buy them cheaply. They even own their houses or live with their parents. In which case, the temptations to act in a delinquent manner may be less. The wealth of urban areas brings the migrant close to a sense of his own deprivation, and "these feelings of deprivation lead to antagonism towards the society; an antagonism kept alive by a feeling of oppression and absence of social justice which was considered to be one of the major elements of

delinquency amongst both adults and juveniles in these countries" (Clinard and Abbott, 1973: 115). Youth in urban areas tend to become intensely sensitive to the inferior economic status of their families. These economic circumstances set definite limitations upon young people's contacts outside of the home, acting as a determining factor in their choice of companions. Their companions are almost always from their own kind of family where poverty forces people to go for days without food; and young people from these families learn at an early age to support the family partly by theft.

Clinard's (1973) study showed that among youths in Kampala, "stealing is just caused by a feeling that one should be as rich as others without any job to get the money", and "to make the rich poor also" (1973: 115). Others do so to help their families or poor relations. Thus, youths in developing countries do not reject dependence on their families (Burgess, 1981); rather, because of poverty, the youths, especially those who migrated to urban areas, are expected very early to shoulder responsibilities for themselves and their family
4
without adequate traditional or conventional preparation. In Uganda, for example, Clinard and Abbott (1973) noted a relationship between delinquency and economic needs in families where youths are expected to play the adult role of providing for the family. One boy interviewed in Uganda said:

Two friends and I stole a car in Kampala at 3

p.m. near the hotel. My friend had a key and
we drove it to the road where we dismantled it
and sold its parts to customers. I got about
four hundred shillings, some of which I gave to
my sister to pay the house rent and to buy
herself some clothes (1973: 43).

Other delinquent respondents commonly said they steal or
indulged in some other delinquent behaviour, in order to
get money "to maintain their girl friends by buying them
goods, clothes, watches, nice shoes and paying their
rents" (Augi, 1970: 61).

The writer has personally witnessed a situation where an
unemployed 18 year old boy was asked to pay the school
fees of his employed girl friend's brother, if he was to
keep her. This boy became confused, according to him,
that he had to steal in order to meet the girl's serious
demand. From the foregoing we may see the difference
between motivation for delinquency in developing countries
and delinquency in developed countries. Some delinquent
behaviour in developed countries may be considered as the
common and perhaps accepted play activities of a
particular group, expect organised and more serious play.
In Italy, for example, some youths are in the habit of
destroying public property. Some even think it is silly
to pay fares on the buses, if they can avoid it. These
and similar delinquent acts are conceived as accepted play
activities rather than attempts to achieve monetary gain,
for some youngsters even throw away, on their own accord,
the items they have shoplifted soon after leaving the
shop. This action may be conceived differently by

different views, but in this context, it seems that the boys want to win the approval and approbation of their fellows. Thus, their delinquent experiences always occur while they are in groups. It is an enticing experience influenced by affluence rather than a challenge by urban conditions as such, or pressure on the youths to work in order to provide not only for themselves but also for the members of their large families as in developing countries.

In developing countries, on the other hand, the gang is habit forming, motivated mainly by economic gain. What tends to be so demoralising is that youths enter into delinquent or even criminal gangs earlier in developing countries. This becomes clear, however, when we reflect on the poor conditions of families in developing countries. The knowledge of and the urge to free their families from poverty tend to induce the young boys of seven and eight to engage in property delinquency, and there are always dealers available who will buy their goods.

Most developing countries have been referred to as consumers and not producers. The consumption attitudes of these countries accounts to a large extent for their poverty in relation to the aspirations and the expectations of a 'new culture' influenced by the rise of urbanisation. The new values and culture of urbanisation has thus created a situation where the developing

countries have had to abandon their consumption culture
and have replaced it with a Western cultural orientation.
These days, the average African, for example, wants to
live and adopt a living standard similar to that of
developed countries, even though he cannot afford it.
Among youths in particular, the desire for European and
American goods is high. Unfortunately, little, if any
attention has been given to attempts to correlate these
new patterns of value culture with effective economic
output which can provide the means for satisfying these
urges legitimately.

The attitude to affluence amongst those who can afford a
Western standard of living has, thus, influenced the
children of the poor, who live side by side with the rich
in urban neighbourhoods. What happens here tends to
conform to the theory of class culture in developed
countries. It has been pointed out that, as the youths of
both classes live and move in contact with each other,
play together and in most cases attend the same schools
within the urban environments, the poor become more and
more conscious of the affluence of their rich peers and
become aware of their own deprived economic status. The
strong desire to be identified with their rich, idle
friends contributes much to the early delinquent
activities amongst poor youth (Burgess, 1981). Reina
(1978) interviewed a boy in Cali who was reported to have
said: "The poverty was so great that I saw that I must
start in crime, without knowing what is good or bad or the

merits of either" (in Sumner, 1982: 178).

In Italy, from the writer's personal experience, any
delinquent "who pleads poverty before a court knows that
he can expect a little more sympathy". It is as though
saying that to survive, one has to steal to overcome
problems posed by poverty.

The poor in developed countries, as in developing
countries, tend to live in the slum areas of the larger
cities. Theories of delinquency causation in developed
countries referred to these areas as delinquency producing
areas. In Africa, these areas tend to permit a high
incidence of crime. For example, in the deteriorating
slum areas of Idioro[5] in Lagos near the railway line,
stealing from the railroads is a common form of youth
crime. The writer was himself a witness to this when a
gold wrist-watch was bought at a considerably reduced
price. In the normal market the watch was worth N100
(£90.00), but it was sold at N10.50 (£9.30). A boy of
about 16 or 18 years, poorly dressed, wanted money and
would have even sold it for much less, had the buyer had a
choice. The boy had stolen the watch from one of the
passengers while the train was about to move. The real
owner was in the next coach and apparently overheard the
man telling us of his good buy. He came around and begged
the man to refund the money in order to get his watch
back. This clearly indicates that poverty is a
fundamental factor which can lead people into bad ways.

However, critics of theories which associate poverty with delinquency have argued that:

> in the case of less developed countries, an increase in per capita income could mean little as far as reflecting an actual increase in the standard of living, since national income may go primarily to the elite and wealthy groups within the country. Actually poverty is too simple an explanation for a more complex process of socialisation into criminal norms (Clinard and Abbott, 1973: 176).

To illustrate this point further, they quoted the work of Bargalli (1972: 66) suggesting that:

> It is simplistic to apply a pure economic model to the explanation of crime. If poverty was a cause, then all states in Latin America should have a much higher crime rate than the United States, whose income per capita is much greater than any Latin American country (1973: 176).

Therefore, they argued, the theory of poverty as a cause of delinquency in developing countries should be analysed in terms of the "society's failure to provide adequate goods and services, and housing for every one, and economic fluctuations and the maldistribution of wealth" (1973: 176-177), especially within the urban areas of these countries. These factors and not those accruing from individual poverty - according to Clinard and Abbott - permit crime and other forms of deviant behaviour.

Experiences in the developing countries have shown that the wealth of these nations are in the hands of very few individuals. Here youths are also denied financially rewarding employment and the majority of the population live in poverty. This perhaps conforms with Homan's

(1974) hypothesis, "When a person's action does not receive the reward he expected, or receives punishment he did not expect, he will be angry; he becomes more likely to perform aggressive behavior" (1974: 43). Crime and delinquency for most of the angry youths in developing countries have become the only ways of showing their anger at the society that has failed to provide for them, or give them adequate rewards for their normative actions. Youths become involved in delinquency in so far as it offers them the chance to seek revenge for bad housing, economic deprivation, etc.

Some families in developing countries are so deprived that they offer practically no facilities for the satisfaction of their children's fundamental wishes. Education has become so expensive that only a few can afford to send their children to school. Irurzun's (1968) differential structure of education and Friday's (1970) differential opportunity and differential association concepts are quite influential in the assumption that the deprived children's feelings of inferiority, and their sense of economic insecurity tend to induce them to act aggressively towards their rich peers and then to the larger society. In Nigeria, for example, the youths tend to become involved in delinquency and armed robbery in order to compensate for their being excluded from social and economic participation in community life. For these groups, social misconduct is translated to mean a form of relationship with society in which they have to give what

they have (crime, aggressive behaviour) for social and economic participation denied them in the urban areas.

Thus, the awareness and/or the differential effect of poverty on youth delinquency in developing countries is relative to exposure to urban areas. In rural areas, apart from being given the chance to participate in the social and economic life of the community, tradition weighs heavily on these young people and influences the extent of their reactions to opportunities denied. There is little evidence, either empirical or theoretical, to prove cases of child abuse, deprivation of love and affection or inadequate parent-child reltionships in poor, but purely traditional, rural African countries. Several theories indicate that poor families in these settings maintain stronger relationships, with each member trying to encourage the success of the other (Hugot, 1968; Goode, 1963; Kadhim, 1970 among others). As one observer puts it, the poorer the parents, the stronger the love and affection for the children, who they believe are their only possessions and future hope.

The above analysis, thus, indicates that poverty may be associated with delinquency in relation to geographical situations and exposure to a variety of urban settings and improved social services. Improved living conditions, social services or, what Middendorff (1978) has termed "a better standard of living" does not necessarily, by itself, reduce juvenile delinquency and crime.

Moreover, the crime and delinquency rate of many highly developed countries negate the hypothesis that an increasing high standard of living and the provision of a variety of social services diminish crime. In fact, a strong case can be made for the relation of affluence to crime. Criminal behaviour has not markedly decreased. It has even increased over the last century even though there has been a constant rise in the living standards of such Western European countries as Sweden, the United Kingdom and Germany. Today the two countries with the highest per capita income - Sweden, in which there is also a fairly equitable distribution of wealth, and the United States - have particular crime problems (Clinard and Abbott, 1973: 175).

In conclusion, the Western theories of poverty in relation to delinquency apply only in the urban areas of developing countries. In rural areas of these countries, these theories do not effectively apply or their application may not be substantiated easily in a larger context. This might be because of the strong influence of traditions, cohesive kinship and family ties which are prevalent in traditional rural areas of developing countries, features which preclude and help to control social misbehaviour amongst the young people.

While the experience of economically developed countries has been the opposite, the opening avenues for education and its concomitant economic opportunities in developing countries seems to reduce delinquency. Education, since the independence era, has been the primary means of attaining economic success. As a result, most young people in developing countries, especially in West Africa, aspire for education. In order, therefore, not to jeopardize their future by engaging in crime, the educated

youths and students in these countries are more in contact
with non-criminal patterns and less with criminal
patterns, even in urban environments. It can be argued,
therefore, that only the school dropouts who cannot find
jobs in the city, and for various reasons have refused to
return to their village, become delinquents. This
argument has received the support of some authors. Lloyd
(1961) and Elkan (1960) both shared this view. The
Kampala study reported by Clinard and Abbott (1973) also
showed that poorly educated youths are more often involved
in crime. Among their sample, 43.3% of non-offenders had
more than primary education, compared with only 18.9% of
the offenders.

SUMMARY

Some years ago, youth crime was prevalent only in the
developed countries of Europe and the United States. Today
the process of development is bringing pronounced changes
in developing countries and among the more serious changes
is the general increase in delinquency. Developing
countries have shown only recently some similarities to
situations in which delinquency causation theories
developed in Western countries could be applied in
developing nations. Nevertheless, there are some
limitations.

The theories of urbanisation, cultural conflict and
unemployment have been shown to be very relevant to the
problems of developing countries, as youth in the urban

areas are exposed to experiences quite similar to situations encountered by adolescents in the developed world. In highly cohesive rural and traditional areas, other theories such as theories of broken home, subculture and poverty may find less application. Unplanned social and economic changes in urban areas, along with high rates of migration, have accounted for high levels of delinquency in both developed and developing countries. However, other variables seem unique to the youths in these countries, highlighting a failure of personal and social control (Graves, 1967).

The following asymmetries, however, may account for the high incidence of delinquency in most developing countries.

1. *An imbalance between the concentration of modern and economic power in urban areas and the backwardness of the rural areas.* This situation has encouraged the migration to urban areas of increasing numbers of skilled and unskilled youths in search of employment (Clinard and Abbott, 1973: 10-11).

2. *An imbalance between population growth and the ability of the economy to create employment for young people.* Evidently some unemployed youths have found the best alternative in small-scale enterprises, such as street selling, shoe shining etc. The majority, however, are inclined towards delinquency and crime. For these groups, property delinquency and begging seem the best

alternatives.

3. *An imbalance between the demands for talent by the economic system and the development of skills.* In Colombia, for instance, both skilled and unskilled are paid very low wages when able to find employment. Delinquency and crime in such cases may be "selected out of preference, either because it is perceived as representing an easier way of making money without working or because it offers an inherent challenge and escape from lower-class and very boring work" (Birkbeck in Sumner, 1982).

Notes

1. The non-material culture is synonymous with rural or traditional societies (otherwise called pre-colonial culture of the traditional developing societies) which was influenced by the imposition on her, of material culture which is associated with urbanised societies (otherwise called Western civilisation or colonial capitalistic culture). This culture demanded technological development as against the old socialistic type of culture which favoured traditional status qua development.

2. United Nations Report on Juvenile Delinquency in India in 1967, in the United Arab Republic in 1966 and in Zambia in 1967 has shown that in all, there are

similarities between urbanisation and official rates of delinquency in developing countries, as in developed countries.

3. In India some groups of people are traditionally discriminated against in the village. These groups are regarded as the untouchables. They have no political rights within the community (e.g. Husijana) in which they live.

4. Mays notes, "Boys gradually acquire adult status via a series of graded steps. These steps correspond to critical phases of their lives when they feel conscious of themselves moving forwards and upwards in the World" (1954: 87).

5. Idioro is a small town along the railway and provides accommodation for low economic and unemployed groups in Lagos.

CHAPTER FOUR

YOUTH DELINQUENCY IN NIGERIA - AN HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE PRE-URBANISATION PERIOD

INTRODUCTION

In turning from an analysis of the application of Western theories of the causation of delinquency to developing countries to the analysis of pre-urbanised patterns of child care, one quickly finds just how little has been written and how inadequate the statistics are about the nature of delinquency in Nigeria. In practice, Nigeria faces many problems in the provision, management and utilization of youth treatment institutions. This problem becomes more acute as youth delinquency increases. Yet little attention, if any, is given to a clearer understanding of the causes of the problem of delinquency in Nigerian cities.

In analysing the causes of delinquency in urban environments, Mays (1972) has argued that the existence of good roads, transportation, communication systems and the establishment of commercial, government and public utilities in urban areas have led to mass migration of job-seeking young people from rural environments. Those who have failed to get jobs and are ashamed to return to their villages without a 'golden Fleece' may join delinquent gangs as an alternative. Espten (1957) and McCords (1964) have contended that the anonymity of the

urban environment with its complex life style, consumption and high aspirations encourage young people to behave anonymously and practice delinquency.

The hypothetical assumptions of these authors are in no way contradictory. They are two sides of the same coin. Urbanisation, whatever its form, tends to pull job-seeking youngsters to the city, but insufficient employment opportunities coupled with urban anonymity tend to give reasons for delinquency. The unique relationship between traditional and urban cultures in Nigeria can be viewed in terms of continued cultural conflict, leading to anomie and social disorganisation, with delinquency often the result. With the increased contact between urban and traditional cultures, for example, there is evidence of a high incidence of drinking, drug abuse and other criminal and delinquenct behaviour among Nigerian youths (see Table 4.1). Urban life has a character that tends to detach the individual from his primary cultural affiliations. Youths especially suffer the social disorganisation and concomitant clash in value systems arising from competing urban and rural cultural norms. The detachment of the individual from his primary cultural affiliation may be increased as a result of the cultural clash. In this case, the youths that deviate do so because of bicultural loyalties. Thus, it can be argued that delinquency among Nigerian youths is an outcome of bicultural loyalties.

In many respects, Nigerian youths portray a classic example of what Minnils (1963) called "marginal man". Briefly, the marginal man, in this context, is one who is socialised into two cultures without being fully committed to or accepted by either. This concept has been used in the previous chapter to explain the inadequate acculturation and assimilation process of Western culture which was hypothetically assumed to result in alienation, anomie, social disorganisation and varying forms of deviant behaviour, including delinquency. Thus, in Nigeria, the nature of involvement depends on the degree of marginality. For example, Alakija (1984) studied juvenile delinquency in Benin, capital city of Bendel State for a period of 12 years. His findings indicated that more males were convicted than females and more females under the age of 14 years were convicted than those in the 14-18 age range. Those who belong to this category were very young and perhaps unable to withstand the influence of bicultural conflict.

Table 4.1*   *Yearly cases of crime known to the Police in*
               Bendel State, Nigeria

Year	Total Crime (Juvenile & Adult)	No.	Juvenile Crime Percentage
1967	15,717	219	1.39
1968	13,178	244	1.85
1969	15,208 .	217	1.42
1970	19,506	337	1.72
1971	22,995	635	2.76
1972	17,181	268	1.56
1973	17,491	512	2.93
1974	15,778	306	1.94
1975	16,100	361	2.24
1976	16,589	405	2.44
1977	20,238	366	1.81
1978	13,216	461	3.49

The Table shows an increase in the incidence of crime and delinquency from 1970. The first high incidence was in 1971. This may be related to the end of the Civil War in Nigeria which marked the beginning of the oil based economy, constant rapid socio-economic change and urbanisation processes. The dramatic change in incidence in 1972 is not surprising, as this marked the year in which children returned to school en masse after the, disruption of the Civil War. The year 1970-1971 was a period of rehabilitation and by 1972 most parents were able financially to send their children back to school.

Table 4.2 Types of Crime committed by Juveniles as a
Percentage of Total Crime known to the Police
(1967-1971)*

| Type of Crime | Percentage of Total | | Total Crime |
	Under 14 years	14-18 years	Juvenile & Adult
Crime against Property	0.99	4.23	42,851
Crime against Persons	1.11	2.22	31,838
Crime against Lawful Authority	0.40	1.24	8,172
Crime against Public Morality	1.00	1.90	1,875
Crime against Currency	4.24	10.29	85,031

*Tables 4.1 and 4.2 were extracted from Alakija (1984)
Juvenile Delinquency in Bendel State, Nigeria,
Journal of Public Health, London, 98: 33-37.

Analysis of the statistics shows that crime against
property was the commonest amongst 14-18 year olds.
Assault on people was the commonest crime. Crime against
lawful authority includes escape and crimes against public
order and these ranked high amongst youths in the 14-18
age range.

Because statistics obtained from officially recorded
figures, in Nigeria are inadequate, we have chosen to
illustrate the nature of delinquency in Nigeria with the
data collected by Alakija in his study of the problem in
Bendel State. This study revealed that delinquency against
property ranked high amongst those convicted (Tables 4.1
and 4.2). These groups belong to poor economic

backgrounds. Oloruntimehin's (1970) study showed a significant relation between delinquency and family instability. Odias and Ebi (1980) associated socio-economic and ecological background with high incidence of delinquency in Nigeria. Records from remand homes in Lagos (1975-1977) have lack of parental care and protection as the major reason for committing juveniles. The analysis of reported family welfare cases in Imo and Bendel States (1976) also showed that neglect, desertion and provocation were the commonest cases dealt with, while the least frequent were "disputed paternity". Evidence in developed countries showed that children reared under defective discipline are more prone to delinquency, while in Nigeria, the relinquishing of dependent roles on family and schools and too early identification with adult roles by young people was also associated with the upsurge in delinquency.

If the above findings do not contradict the hypothesis that the rural and traditional structure of Nigeria in the pre-urban period made the knowledge and existence of social deviance, such as those presented by youth delinquency very minimal, then this new trend suggests that there is something wrong with the traditional institutions of child care in Nigeria. This has made families relax their responsibilities for child care and control. In order to understand the problem, it will prove illuminating to present a brief overview of the pre-urban structure of Nigerian family life. Our aim is

to illustrate the interplay which exists between urban and traditional institutions and the influence of the resulting conflicts on Nigerian youths. It is hoped that the analysis of these institutions will be understood in their own terms. For this reason, we provide here an historical analysis of these institutions. This approach will enhance understanding of the comparative impact of social changes resulting from urbanisation, as stated above. To begin with, particular attention is given to a brief review of the occupations of pre-urban Nigerian people, and will extend to a consideration of family structure.

THE OCCUPATIONS OF PRE-URBAN NIGERIAN PEOPLE

On the preceding pages, reference has been made to pre-colonial African countries. It was noted that virtually the entire African population lived in the rural sector where the control and use of land was of central importance. Pre-colonial and for that matter pre-urbanised Nigeria laid unequivocal emphasis on the social value of productive agriculture. According to Nadel (1972), among the Nupe people in the North, young men competed in work parties and the champion would become "sole" - the second highest title that can be bestowed on a young man. Among the Hausa of Zamfarr, special esteem was reserved for the man who could produce a thousand bundles of either Guinea corn or millet, and this was a pre-condition for taking the title of "Sarkin Noma" - king

of farming (Isichei, 1983).

The Igbo gave the title of "Eze ji" or "Ogbu-ji" - King of Yam - to a man who could produce equivalent numbers of yam (ji). A woman would become "Eze Nwanyi" - Queen of Women if she could give to her daughter on her wedding a hundred baskets full of coco-yam. (This is a member of the yam family and is the main agricultural product cultivated by women among the Igbos.)

The emphasis on agriculture in pre-urbanised Nigeria is further highlighted in Millson (1891). Writing about Yoruba-land, Millson noted,

> Far and wide, the land has for generations and indeed for centuries been cultivated by this industrious native. The hatchet, the fire and the hoes have removed all traces of the original forest, save indeed where a dark trail of green across the landscape shows the valley of some narrow water course on the large river (1891: 584).

Among the Islanders of Yauni, Harries (1930) noted that as the head farmer, "Balkari was the second most important man in the political organisation" of the island. He "controlled the organisation of communal labour" force; and "the village head is powerless if Balkari is disloyal". Mai of Kamem who died in the thirteenth century is today remembered by his people "for his interest in agriculture". In Ibadan, Oluyole was another eminent farmer remembered "for his passion for farming". He had separate farms for Okoro beans, vegetables, corn and yams, and grew an experimental yam so large "that a

single root should be large enough for a load" (Johnson, 1973: 73, 283).

In Arochukwu in Igboland, Casement (1894) has noted that all the land

> had been cleared entirely of the original
> forest, only a few of the trees being left here
> and there ... The absence of forest was
> compensated for by the numbers of palm trees
> (economic trees) extending in all directions
> round the village (1894: 63).

Leo Africanous, in the early sixteenth century, saw Kano as an "exceedingly fruitful field of zazzau" and remarked that "the field abounds with rice, millet and cotton" (1978: 93-4).

Apart from agriculture, Nigeria engaged in trading as a subsidiary. Before the European contact, however, trading was principally a women's occupation, especially in the south. Trading was carried out in rural village markets in which exchange was without money. The goods exchanged were mainly domestic goods. Long distance trade outside the village, but within the country was mainly for men and here, slaves, salt and other commodities were exchanged.

Colonial contact saw an improvement of roads, the coming of railways and other modes of transport, communication,growth of cities, etc. Farming, local and village trading etc. became inadequate to maintain the new standards of living which resulted from the contact and subsequent changes in culture.

It was noted in Chapter 3 that the colonial administration imposed land and head taxes on the native farmers. These and other reasons forced many off the land to seek wage labour in the emerging urban centres. In order to pay the tax, the remaining village farmers no longer produced for domestic uses alone, but in addition made efforts to produce cash crops to acquire valuable but scarce money which had also become the only means of exchange. Those who could not produce enough food to meet the demand for tax money (and these were in the majority) left the rural agriculture for urban areas to seek wages. These groups, the majority of whom were youths, provided cheap labour for the colonial factories. This marked the beginning of rural migration, a decrease in agricultural occupation and the consequent urban influence on migrant youths and traditional institutions in general.

For example, *Patterns of family life* were greatly influenced by urban immigration. In Western Europe and the United States of America, traditional family patterns have gradually declined since the end of the Second World War. Most of the functions formerly performed by the family have been taken over by the voluntary and state organisations. It would, however, be a sweeping generalisation to suggest that the extended family — a characteristic of family patterns in developing countries — has disappeared completely in the industrialised countries of Europe and the United States of America.

Some studies in developed societies have indicated the presence of extended families in these countries. For instance, Young and Willmott (1967) showed that the extended family is still very much a part of community life in London. Morris (1967) carried out a similar study in London and stated, "After one hundred and fifty years of an industrial society, the people of Bethnal Green still seemed ... to belong to widespread, cohesive kinship groups" (1967:40).

In France, Canada and Japan, Greenfield (1961-1962) argued that the extended family could still be found in spite of urbanisation and industrialisation. From the writer's personal experience, many people in West Germany are prepared to suffer a great deal just to be able to cross over to East Germany and stay for some time with relatives caught behind the Iron Curtain. On the other hand, many people in East Germany look forward to becoming 65 years old, as this is the age at which people are allowed to come to West Germany and spend time with their separated family.

However, the family patterns of industrialised societies differ a great deal from those of industrialising societies. In industrialised societies, the kinship ties outside the primary families are limited in scope and function. Firth and Djamour (1975) concluded, after a long study of Family and Kinship in Western societies, that "the significance of kinship ties outside the

elementary family in contemporary British society lies primarily in the positive social contacts, in visiting, in exchange of news and advice and attendance on ceremonial occasions" (1975: 143).

Moore (1965) argued that in the urban environment of industrialised societies, "the social responsibilities to kinsmen beyond the nuclear family of parents and immature offspring become weak and permissive rather than obligatory" as it was in pre-industrial societies (1965: 102).

Nigeria is a society with a strong patrilineal emphasis. This means that the whole society can be mapped into a number agnatic groups, which is to say groupings of males and females who are related by descent from a common male ancestor. This determines the membership of a family group, as well as the line of inheritance and succession to names and office. Normally, the Nigerian child was brought up in his father's lineage. As he grew older, he was constantly brought into contact with his mother's lineage. As he grew up, he would be made increasingly aware of aspects of the wider social world, the most important of which was his father's mother's lineage and his mother's mother's lineage. When he marries, he acquires close links with his wife's or wives' lineage, playing an important role in the social life of his children. These five lineages constitute for Nigerians their most important extended family network. A person,

especially among the Igbos, takes most of his jural rights in land, in social, economic and political position from the lineage of his father.

Throughout life, a child was attached to his family. To lose this contact was to become a slave. A slave in Nigerian terms, is one who does not know or recognise his roots. As long as these familial roots were known and contact maintained, a Nigerian youth remained a member of his family which was in turn also very conscious of him and his problems. This sense of belonging was kept alive, irrespective of the geographical differences in locality. The achievements of one were equally those of his family and of the society from which he hailed. Equally, his failures were regretted by all concerned.

In traditional Nigerian society, a man was praised or reprimanded through his family. The people knew that this was the most effective and efficient way of bringing a person to order. Thus, in the majority of cases in Nigerian society, family relations - those between parents and children, between siblings, uncles and nephews, grandparents and grandchildren, between one in-law and another and so on - were parts of a large framework of behaviour governing almost all the important relations between persons and groups. This will be discussed in full later under the extended family system. Meanwhile, it is the influence of this family relationship on youths' behaviour that our attention now turns.

FAMILY PATTERN AND CONTROL OF YOUTH DELINQUENCY

Nigerian individualism did not follow the pattern of "rugged" individualism found in Western societies. It was individualism rooted in group solidarity, with the kinship system as the basic factor in the social structure. Kinship solidarity helped to explain why if a person committed a crime or delinquent act, the whole family felt the shame and guilt with him.

It was the duty of each person to take the initiative in correcting any erring person so as to maintain a good family reputation. If a person proved unamenable to correction, then he would be disowned by his parents and kinsmen, losing all rights and privileges that were due him from the family. A man "expelled from his clan feels himself also as condemned to lead a vagabond life in the next world" (Silberman, 1951: 101). It was this widespread superstitious attitude to life and retributive punishment that helped to keep all, especially the young people, within the framework of normative behaviour.

In Nigeria, especially among the Igbo, a man's strength was thought to be embedded in his corporate existence with his kin. Many people articulated this philosophy in their names to highlight its ideology. Such names as 'Igwebuke' means that Unity is Strength. A vivid description of how a recalcitrant person who ignored all counsel was dealt with in the context of Nigerian tradition, will perhaps illuminate the family position over misbehaviour.

Okonkwo, a character in Achebe's (1962) "Things Fall Apart", saw that his first son Nwoye was not ready to take any correction, and he resolved to disown and reject him from his house. He called in his other five sons so that they might learn a lesson from their brother's misdemeanour. He said "You have all seen the great abomination of your brother. Now, he is no longer my son or your brother. I will only have a son who is a man [1] ... If any of you prefers to be a woman, let him follow Nwoye now while I am alive, so that I can curse him" (1962: 156). Of course, none of the children dared opt to follow Nwoye. The fact that Nwoye found himself isolated even before the pronouncement of the curse was made, was enough punishment for him. Others knew exactly what awaited them if they deviated.

How different the world of delinquency and crime, especially terrorism and armed robbery, would be, if all the parents in today's industrialised and urbanised world were still bringing up their children in such a way. The deterrent would not be life imprisonment or the death penalty in the case of terrorism or armed robbery, but the fact that one would be separated from one's roots.

MARITAL RELATIONS

Nigerians have demonstrated a capacity to enter into relationships based upon other than kinship considerations, and are able to adapt to rapidly changing social and political structures, brought about by such new

relationships. One way to enter into a relationship with other persons outside the kinship circle is through marriage.

Patterns of marriage are, therefore, discussed here to illuminate further the urban influences on the life of young people, the patterns of intergroup relationships and changes that have taken place in the traditional institutions of marriage. That this is crucial will become evident when we discuss the relationship between the extended family and the child, especially those between youths and their maternal kin. Andener (1953), Ottemberg (1963), Goode (1964) and Obi (1966) have all noted that the behavioural patterns — rights and obligations resulting from such relationships — are crucial to the development of a normal personality.

Marriage in Nigeria, especially among the Igbos of the Eastern States, is exogamous — that is, marriage outside one's local groups. Marriage between persons within the segment of one's mother's or father's mother's patrilineage is considered as a taboo and prohibited. For this reason, initial inquiries are conducted by the families concerned at the earliest point in the marriage negotiations to ensure that the rule of lineage exogamy is not broken.

Finding a good wife for a young man is a task for the family. The family here refers to the primary as well as the extended family which will be discussed in greater

detail later. The young man's parents, brothers and sisters, parallel and cross cousins and aunts, all the extended family in-laws, all his friends and their families all join in to find him a wife. The search does not indicate that women are scarce but that good women of good quality from criminal-free families are found only by the recommendation of good relatives and/or friends. Thus, before the contact with Western civilization and the consequent urbanisation, "it remains true that marriage was not a private business" (Shapiro, 1970: 270).

Every member of the large or extended family took an interest in finding a wife and even contributed towards this wife for their brother if need be. The word 'brother' connotes any male member of the extended family. The woman, when married, becomes "our wife" even in relation to distant relatives of the husband. She was a wife exclusively for her husband only in so far as marital sex is concerned. Housing her, giving her gifts, feeding her and disciplining her and her children were open to any member of the large family. In doing this, however, care was taken not to interfere with her personal human rights.

Contrary to urban culture, the man's parents played a significant role in the choice of a wife and the marriage ceremonies of their son. This gave traditional parents, among other things, the right to see to the normal behaviour of their daughter-in-law and their

grand-children. It was a duty incumbent on a father to marry a wife for his son and other sibs. The word 'sibs' is used here in a purely anthropological sense, meaning "all persons descended from a single ancestor either male or female line, according to the system of reckoning kinship in a given society" (Horace and Ava, 1970: 501). Thus, histo-culturally, a father marries a wife not only for his son, but also for all other relations who, because of the loss of their own father, have accepted him as their step-father. It was in this sense that he was bound to marry for his siblings and were he to fail in this paternal duty, the adopted children would reciprocally lose all filial respect and obedience which they owed him. He would also lose his status in the community. Thus, the principle of "do let des", that is "I give that you may give" is illuminative in Okere (1973), "If you have the obligation of a father towards me, then I have the obligation of a son towards you" (1973: 8).

Meanwhile, different persons from the young man's kith and kin come to give reports on a number of girls. A careful account is taken of any report, no matter how casual or one-sided it is, in the sense that the young man's family just tries to see whether or not it is worthwhile making approaches. Perhaps three or four of such marriageable girls are found who are looking for husbands. With the consent of the parents and the presumed consent of the dead ancestors, the parents of which ever girl that was chosen are then approached and

the traditional processes started until the girl is finally married.

Marriage is a milestone to which both Nigerian men and women aspire. In some parts of the traditional Nigerian society, the important and most immediate urge in young people approaching puberty was to establish a family. Some youths came to desire marriage more eagerly than secure employment or the acquisition of some economic security. This perhaps helps explain the comparative poverty in these societies. However, early marriage was possible, because there was no fixed age for marriage in traditional laws. One married whenever it was thought necessary and possible, even before the age of puberty and adequate security for the future of the offspring was made. In such a case, these wives would grow to maturity with their young husband under the man's mother's roof.

In some parts of the North, child marriage was the most common practice. It was said that child marriage was in keeping with Muslim rules. In such marriages, the child's parents act for her right. In all cases, the new wife was introduced and integrated into the husband's family and its extended network.

In Nigeria, marriage was and to a large extent still is, an alliance or a contract between two families and not simply a contract between two agreeing individuals - which is characteristic of industrialised cities, as we have noted. This alliance also placed the burden of child

rearing on the two families, but very much more was expected from the patrilineal families. The children of the marriage in traditional Nigerian society were the sole inheritors of their parents' properties. Since tradition had established rules on which the sharing of parents' properties were based, a will was not necessary. Inheritance rights to property of parents was determined by the number of male children.[2] Thus, a woman who had no male child might and usually did decide to take a wife to get a male child. Such action ensured that a distant relative of her husband's would be prevented from inheriting the property.

Before acculturation made church marriage, marriage by photo[3] and marriage by ordinance[4] possible, marriage in Nigeria was regarded as a natural institution. This situation made divorce impossible, especially among the non-Muslims in the East and South of the country. Today, there is a scholastic debate concerning the institution of marriage. While beyond the scope of this study, it is sufficient to point out that arguments in favour of marriage as a social institution is now popular in Nigeria. This is because of the acceptance and adoption of acculturised systems of marriage.

The natural institution of marriage made the husband and wife relationship more or less a master and servant type. It helped men to acquire a wide range of rights over women. For example, a woman had no home other than her

husband's home. She acquired social status only through her husband. Nigerian wives, especially Muslim ones, were expected to give slavish obedience to the men they have married, even when love was not present in the earliest point of the marriage negotiation. Because marriage was a natural institution, love in marriage developed gradually over a long period of time. It was not only a natural union of a man and a woman as husband and wife, but also included the sharing of the natural and social responsibilities of bringing up the children of the marriage.

With the arrival of the Euro-American tradition, the parents' authority over their children's marriage weakened. This new tradition emphasised romantic love and individual choice of a partner. In traditional Nigerian culture, the emphasis was placed on love growing out of the family, cemented by marriage. Thus, divorce was rare as we have noted and women as well as men looked to their children as their only hope for the future. This was the bond that held them together. For this and other histocultural reasons, children were given all the parental love and affection necessary for normal development in traditional environments. Nigerian mothers who would receive all the blame accruing from their children's domestic and social misconduct ensured that their children were law-abiding. A good child, they said, was the mother's hope and pride - "Nwa bu ugo nneya" or "Agwa bu mma".

MARITAL RELATIONS IN POLYGAMOUS FAMILIES

It has been noted earlier that in Nigeria, married life is seen as the normal condition for an adult. What needs to be pointed out here is that polygamy for most men and women was "the ideal, being an important social status indicator" (Murdock, 1966: 2).

A polygamous family consists of two or more nuclear families affiliated by plural marriage, that is, having the husband in common. It was a socially approved institution involving the marriage of one man to two or more women at the same time. Polygamy was a symbol of high social and economic status, and above all a sign of fulfilment of religious obligations among the Muslims in the North and South-west of Nigeria. Reflecting not only the erroneously assumed process of economic circumstances, but the new tendency of the literate professional and white collar class to acquire status symbols,[5] the great majority of the Eastern parts of the country have remained monogamous. Christians in other parts of Nigeria have also remained monogamous. Tables 4.3 and 4.4 show that Abeokuta, with a high population of Christians, is far more monogamous, while Ife and Ijebu — with a predominantly Muslim population — have the highest proportion of polygamous families. As we shall see later, monogamous relationships have guaranteed the status of the children of the marriage more than polygamous relationships.

Table 4.3:   Prevalence of Polygamy in Nigeria*

	NUMBER OF WIVES		
	NO WIFE	MONOGAMOUS	POLYGAMOUS
Abeokuta	0.6	48.7	50.7
Ijebu	-	24.0	76.0
Ibadan	3.5	38.0	58.5
Ife	2.4	24.1	73.5
Ilesha	3.7	35.0	61.3
Ondo	3.3	30.9	65.8
All areas	2.5	34.5	62.6

Table 4.4:   Prevalence of Polygamy in Nigeria*

	NUMBER OF WIVES				
	None	1	2	3	4 or more
Abeokuta	0.6	48.7	30.7	17.5	2.5
Ijebu	-	24.0	38.0	16.0	22.0
Ibadan	3.5	38.0	30.5	12.5	15.5
Ife	2.4	24.1	32.5	24.7	16.7
Ilesha	3.7	35.0	35.0	16.3	10.0
Ondo	3.3	30.9	33.3	15.0	17.5
All areas	2.5	34.9	32.4	17.1	13.1

*Taken from a survey of 776 families by Galletti,
 Baldwin and Dina, 1956: 72-73, Tables 25, 26.

The   relationships   between   husband   and   wife   in   a

polygamous family were complicated by the   husband's

relationships with his other wives.   In a similar way, the

relations between the siblings were somewhat different. Here full brothers were expected to and did love one another. Though all the children and co-wives shared possessions in common and the children played together when they were young, paternal half-brothers tended to insist on their rights but tried to evade their obligations. As they grew older, they often grew apart because of quarrels over possessions, for example, about the inheritance of the father's property. The breaking of lineage and the dispersal of patrinal kins were also the sources of quarrels between half-brothers. This drift apart that frequently occurred weakened the father's control over his children. When the father died, his personal property was divided into approximately equal shares according to the number of his wives who had male children, regardless of the number of children each wife had. The rule was that a wife who had no children, and this included a wife with only female children, received only a nominal share to provide for her until she was able to remarry or her daughter married, if she had any. Essentially, it was only the male children who inherited and not the wives.

As the property was shared according to houses and of course each wife had a house to herself and her children called 'Ulo Nne', the oldest male child of each wife took one share in the name of all his mother's children. He might keep and use his inheritance as he saw fit, but he was held responsible for the economic welfare of the

others, including their education. Thus, the state of affairs between the wives and their siblings in a polygamous family structure was that of constant jealousy and tension which may, and in fact frequently did, adversely affect the normative behaviour of the children.

When, therefore, it is said that the average Nigerian family has changed since the colonial period, it is the baseline of the polygamous and extended family system that has been used with special respect to the predominantly Christian population in the South. Why this was so, and what followed in relation to youth problems, will be the subject of later chapters.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

In traditional Nigeria, a girl's life was essentially a preparation for marriage. Mothers lost no time pointing this out to their daughters and reminding them that certain types of behaviour would not be tolerated. "You are not a boy, but a girl. You must marry one day", was a comment frequently made by irritated mothers attempting to turn would-be deviant girls back to socially acceptable behaviour. Girls were made to understand and to believe at an early age that their great objective in life was marriage and that a woman's glory was her children and to have children she must have a husband. To be a single female parent was an abomination, a taboo (Alo or Nsoala).

It was this concept that made the role of women in

traditional Nigerian society the role of child-bearer and house-keeper. To serve her husband and his numerous extended family relations and to care for their children including those of the co-wives or of their husband's relations if need be. Until recently, sex was very definitely a determinate of socio-political status in Nigeria. The most lowly man was considered more important than the most powerful woman. This histo-cultural tradition further explains the familial role relationship in traditional Nigerian society and perhaps too the reason for the very low rate of divorce. The powerful influence of men over women was also extended to youths who had an ideal belief in the system of respect for their elders.

Cohen (1967) studied the Kanuri of Bornu in the Northern States. Talking about the role of traditional women of Kanuri he wrote,

> Cultural tradition has ordained that men are
> the dominant members of society, and women, more
> especially wives, are to be submissive ... It is
> good and seemly for a woman to obey her husband
> and to appear humble in his presence. Men
> decide where the family is to live, who a
> daughter is to marry, and a multitude of
> day-to-day questions on every aspect of family
> life. For a wife or indeed any family member to
> make decisions without consulting the husband is
> asking for trouble (1967: 43).

This point was further illustrated by referring to a case of dispute between a husband and a wife where the husband beat the wife for alleged breach of his authority:

> Disputes between a husband and a wife in which
> a man can refer to a breach of his authority as
> the cause of the disagreement are invariably
> settled in his favour and might include physical

punishment by the husband ... Thus a district head ruled against the plaintiffs in a case in which the husband had been accused by the wife's relatives of a beating which he had administered to her. The district head ruled that the girl had been grossly disobedient and that it was the husband's right to punish such an act, especially in one so very young who was still learning how to be a proper wife (1967: 43).

The role of women in Nigeria was clearly illuminated by an answer Cohen got when he asked men why they wanted to get married:

> In answering this question, men constantly reiterated cooking, food producing and child bearing ... Women are also prized for their work in the field. Indeed men estimate an annual increase or decrease in crop yield by referring among other things, to the loss or gain of a wife (1967: 41)

"Muslims think of marriage as a relationship involving more or less 'purdah' or wifely confinement within the household" (Cohen, 1967: 45). In the Hausa society as well, there was a division into male and female, exclusive but interdependent worlds. The female is excluded from political, economic and social activities which take place outside the home and even from some Muslim rituals. Here familial relationships were operative only at the domestic level and in "aristocratic and occupational lineages" (Bascom, 1969). The imposition of radical Islamic obligations on women, which among other things had excluded them from socio-economic and political activities, made it difficult for women to lead independent lives in traditional Nigeria. The impact of the exclusion in relation to youth delinquency will become evidence in the course of this study. Suffice it to say,

however, that Islamic religion also gave men the right to polygamous marriage which further relegated womens' social role to the background.

Among the Yoruba, women were regarded or compared in terms of those who can be seen but not heard. They had no role of authority or respect even in their matrimonial homes. A Yoruba proverb said it all: "Wives come and go and after divorce one has nothing to do with them, but one can never change one's consanguinal relatives" (Bascom, 1969). Thus, women were also regarded as commodities. A man was given traditional backing to marry as many wives as he could support, and he could throw them out at will or change them as though they were clothing.

In polygamous families, the senior wife had, by virtue of her status as the first wife, authority over the co-wives and could ask the husband to send away any of the wives who, in her opinion, was bad or not helpful. The final decision, however, rested with the husband, but this was the one and perhaps only authority a woman had in traditional Nigerian society. Cohen's (1967) study in Bornu noted one such case in which a senior wife asked her husband to "get rid" of a newly married co-wife because "she was not helpful".

EXTENDED FAMILY

It is not within the scope of this study to trace the origins of communal relations or extended family systems

in pre-colonial Nigeria. However, some literature shows
evidence of collective behaviour in the economic realm,
existing in West Africa for many centuries. For example,
Ames (1963) described the co-operative work group among
the Wolof of Gambia and Senegal, and Goody (1958)
documented a comparable phenomenon in Ghana. Similar
evidence was recorded in Nigeria (Bascom, 1952).

For instance, communal work projects were prevalent
among the Igbos of Eastern States as well as contributions
to clubs and organisations. These clubs allowed a person
to participate in an investment with potential returns far
beyond what an individual could normally realize working
all by himself (Andener, 1953 and Ottemberg, 1963). The
Yorubas practised collective economic activity long before
the colonial period. The 'esusu' is a contribution
organisation similar to those found among the Igbos.
Little's (1957) and Bascom's (1952) analyses refer to the
'esusu' as "a voluntary, but communal organisation which
has existed before the colonial period" (Little, 1957) The
collective behaviour prevalent in traditional Yoruba
society was again studied by Schwab (1955). He noted that
a lineage has a collective responsibility for economic and
social support of its members: '

> Although work is not organised on a communal
> basis within a lineage, economic relationship
> and obligation in terms of exchange of services
> and goods extended beyond the basic unit of
> production and consumption — father and sons —
> to the whole patrikin group. A lineage has a
> collective responsibility for the contribution
> of goods and services for the marriage and
> funeral ceremonies of its members. It shares in

the execution of religious and ancestral
ceremonies. It provides for the care of the
elders and the indigent and performs mutual
labour services during critical periods of the
farming cycle, for the construction of a house
or any other important task undertaken by any of
its members (1955: 357).

The importance of communal solidarity among individuals
in terms of relations between what Bascom (1969) called
"immediate primary family and clan and sub-clan", further
illuminates the significance of the communal or extended
family system in traditional Nigerian society. According
to Bascom, in Yorubaland,

> The clan and sub-clan (consanguineous
> community) overshadow the immediate family in
> importance. The immediate family consisting of
> a man, his wife(s) and their children is less
> significant and is known only by a descriptive
> name referring to the dwelling which it occupies
> - 'my house' (ile me) (1969: 46).

Finally, some evidence of communal action can also be
found among the Hausa. For instance, houses or compounds
cooperated with each other to clear shallow rivers, canals
and farm lands. Each house was usually assigned a section
of the land to clear.

Though communalism is not entirely unique to Nigeria, it
provided conditions which emphasised the equality of all
and adherence to normal ways of life. It precluded an act
of social abnormality and delinquency among the young
members in particular.

Some writers have attributed the existence of communal
cohesiveness and kinship ties which prevailed in
traditional African societies, especially among the West

and East Africa, to the so-called primitive and economically backward nature of these countries. Whatever theories, however, were expounded to explain this, it seems obvious that as far back as we have historical evidence, human beings have established institutions for themselves and discovered better ways of solving their problems and meeting their needs at different points in time, whether in simple or complex societies. One such institution in Nigeria, especially among the Igbos in the Southern and Eastern States, was the extended family.

In Nigeria, the family was defined in terms of its role and the constitution of its extended system. The family was and still is also a basic human and social institution. Nigeria upheld strongly the biblical philosophy that the multitude is strength and that it is important to learning how to live together in a community of extended membership. There is a common saying among the Igbos that "man is not an island, living only by and to himself". He must relate to others and help one another in extended, reciprocal relations. This was the philosophy of communal existence in the extended family system.

In rural areas, Nigerians trace and maintain relations with all the descendants of their great grandfathers and their relations because they say "man is an animal impelled by his nature". Not only do they live and relate with one another, but "they are also expected to live in

polis (community of others)" (Micheal, 1967: 73). It was pointed out earlier that in most traditional countries, families did not consist of only a husband and wife or wives, and children (the primary family). It was also seen as a "mutual environment in which man is born and acts, in which he finds the necessary support, protection and security, and eventually through union with the ancestors has continuity beyond earthly life" (Pope Paul VII, 1969).

The above definition of the family tends to explain how emphasis was placed on attachment to one's community and why Nigerians regarded as brothers those who were not necessarily born of the same parent but anyone with whom there was a trace of a blood relation, regardless of any differences in geographical location. "Everyone lives his life enmeshed in a network of family rights and obligations called role relations" (Goode, 1964). To lose contact with the rights and obligations of the family was tantamount to slavery in the Nigerian context.

The extended family consists of several primary families. "It is a kinship relationship traced patrilineally or matrilineally or both, according to people's family structure. It is a blood relationship traced from a common ancestor of all the living members of a family to their posterity" (Uchendu, 1965) Thus, the concept of the extended family was consciously felt by all its members in traditional Nigeria, irrespective of their

geographical separation, as noted earlier. It is this concept that lead Obi (1966) to define the extended family as:

> A social institution consisting of all the persons who are descended through the same line, from a common ancestor and who still owe all authority to one of their members (usually the Okpara - the first male son of any individual family) as head and legal successor to the said ancestor who though not blood descendants of the founder, are for some reasons attached to the household of persons so descended or have otherwise been absorbed into the lineage as a whole (1966: 9).

According to Murdock (1966), the extended family consists of "two or more nuclear families affiliated through an extension of the parent-child relationship rather than the husband-wife relationship - i.e. by joining the nuclear family of married adults to his parents" (1966: 2). In this case, the extended family is the opposite of a nuclear family which consists typically of a married man and woman with offspring, mainly found in developed Euro-American societies. The former is the concept of the extended family used in this study.

The extended family system in traditional Nigeria, like the society in which it operated, was based on the cultural lineage of a structured patriarchal line. The council of elders - a body of all the heads of individual families or their representatives and selected leaders of age-grade, secret and title holders - constituted the governing body at the village level. The head of each individual family was/is the Okpara - the first male son

of the family. The council of elders was the highest ruling body in any traditional Nigerian village.

Historically, Nigerians lived in small communities, often called village democracies. This arrangement made every village independent of adjoining ones (Njoku, 1973: 13). A village contained as many extended families as there were families. The court room of the extended families was the Obi of the legally constituted senior man among the elders. The legally constituted 'senior man' was not necessarily the most senior of all others in the usual sense of the word. He was rather the representative of the ancestor who was recognised as the head by other ancestors in the village at the time it became one entity. That the meeting was held in his Obi, gave him no more extra authority or rights other than recognition as the 'Okpara'. Njoku (1973) puts this rightly:

> Although the Okpara (the elder owning the Obi) held ritual authority, he had no power of political or legislative initiative, ... The lineage council composed of the heads of the individual households who sit in the council and play vital roles in policy decisions (1973: 13).

The council of elders dealt with all internal and external affairs of the village. It heard, considered and decided all disputes between one family and another, one man and another. It took decisions on how to provide for the youths of less privileged families. For instance, the extended family provided the youths of poor parents with land to farm and at the age of 24 - 30 years, a wife and a house, and helped him get started in normal adult life.

The cost of his initiation ceremony was paid by family members. Other functions of the extended family in relation to child and youth care will be reviewed in the course of the study, but it is important to note here that among the members of extended families, there was a belief that children bring fame and recognition to their individual family's name, and therefore should be valued over and above material wealth. This belief still holds in rural areas in Nigeria. Thus, the young members of extended families were given reason to suppose that there was something more to growing up than just growing. A reasonable degree of love and attachment was seen to exist between parents and their children, and between children and other members of the extended family system. The extended family ensured that young people were not deprived of necessary material goods, if the immediate family was poor. The lack of such material goods has been associated with delinquency in Western countries, as noted by Winslow (1969), Platt (1969), Shaw (1931), Mays (1973) and Hoghughi (1983) among others.

PATTERNS OF CHILD CARE

Culturally Nigerians like and value large families. Though the majority tend to have intense emotional relationships with their children, this is particularly so among those in polygamous families who found a polygamous household less than wholly satisfactory. It is unnecessary here to give additional reasons for the desire

on the part of traditional Nigerian parents to have large
families.[6] Suffice it to say that father and sons make an
effective farming unit, formalised in the 'gandu'
relationship in Hausaland, and of course children form the
only source of support for parents in old age.

In view of the above, it seems easy to conceive that the
process of child training in different societies provides
sets of values which are dependent as well as related to
the cultural values of individual societies. Thus, while
the Igbo father, for example, would place stress on
Western education for his children, the Fulani father
would emphasize bravery for his children. Whatever the
emphasis, the institution of the family unit remains the
basic institution for the education and caring of children
in all societies. This is especially true in Nigeria
where social security services are still at a very
rudimentary level, if present at all.

In Nigeria, as in every other society, children receive
their initial training for life from their mothers.
Mothers who fail in their duty to their children at that
early stage of life, do irreparable damage to their
children. It has been noted, however, that in traditional
Nigerian society, the socialisation of children was not
the exclusive work of families. However, it was and is
the family that stimulates the process of initiating
children into accepting the norms of their society. Today
other institutions such as the school, the church, peer

groups or working and political associations (society) all co-operate to play definite roles in the primary and secondary socialisation of society's members.

From a traditional Nigerian point of view, socialisation is one of the surest methods of transmitting the people's culture from generation to generation. It is what Homans (1973) describes as

> the process of growing into a human being; a process which necessitates contact with other people. It is through this process that the growing child acquires the language and the standards of the social group into which it has been born (1973: 95).

but it requires collective and constant direction. Thus, the advocates of children's freedom who argue that children should be left to discover what is good or bad for themselves will not receive much support from the Nigerian people. Traditional Nigerians believed in helping children, sometimes forcefully, to discover their surroundings and their potential. They were in agreement with Mussen (1969) who said that:

> the parents' duty towards the child is to guide the child's acquisition of personality characteristics, behaviour, values and motives that the culture considers appropriate. Essentially as the agents of socialisation, the parents direct the child's learning of what the culture defines as desirable characteristics and behaviour at the same time encouraging him to inhibit undesirable motives and behaviours (1969: 259).

Nigerian mothers enjoyed spending time in raising their children. No amount of time spent on this task was too long. It was accepted practice that mothers should rear

their children for about three or more years before they have another child to whom equal attention would be given. "Sexual relations between husband and wife are forbidden during the nursing period of 2-3 years" (Green, 1964: 18). This was particularly true among the Hausa, the Igbos and the Eficks of the Eastern States. This trend contradicted the culture of Western and other urbanised societies where mothers perform such tasks for shorter periods. A short period for each child was a regrettable importation into Nigerian traditional society which has altered the mother-child relation to the disadvantage of children and society.

Nigerian mothers were ready to forego all selfish interest and pleasures and focused attention on this one important job of socialisation of their children. Pre-urbanised Nigerians knew that a woman must be very sick if she failed to show the usual motherly affection to her child. A personal experience at Salvatori Mundi Hospital in Rome in 1973 provides an illuminative account of this situation, one which clearly highlights the differences between the child care role of pre-urbanised and urbanised mothers. Two urbanised Italian mothers refused to breast feed their babies right from the start. On the other hand, a Nigerian mother, on whose account the visit was made, was crying because her child refused to suck the milk from her breasts. Though this woman found herself in a civilised and highly developed society, she preferred to stick to the traditional way.

Theories in developed countries have shown that mothers who isolate themselves from the warmth of their children, denying them attachment, love and affection, endangered the life and personality development of their children. Defective parent/child relations is associated with delinquency in several studies in Europe and America. Weigher (1979), discussing the problems of family disorganization and personal identity loss, noted:

> The painful loss of an irreplaceable and personal identity is a common theme of human existence. Reflection on such sources of such loss leads to recognition of the unique, particularistic relationships constitutive of the family as a source both of identity bestowal and identity loss (1979: 112).

The love and affection of a mother can remedy this.

In pre-urbanised Nigeria, as in parts of some other developing countries, the father was the centre of authority and the economic provider. In others, he was also a major source of affection. In both situations sometimes there tended to be a clash in role relations between fathers and their children, especially the male children. The psychological tensions and conflicts that may result from such clashes in role relations were inherent in the histo-cultural system of the child's succession to his father's position. For instance, among the Efiks of the Cross River States, the father avoided his eldest son. They did not even have to eat together. Traditionally, he showed affection instead to his daughters and his younger sons. The prevailing conflict

expressed in the attitudes of a father to the eldest son was related to the child's succession to his position as we mentioned above. Among the Hausas, the father and the eldest son did not need to live together, and none of the sons was allowed into their mother's room without pre-expressed permission.

In some matrilineally organised societies of West Africa, where the father has little or no authority over his children, such clashes of interest are traditionally avoided. In Ghana, for example, the centre of authority is the mother's brother who is not permitted to live together with the children. The duty of educating and socialising the children is the responsibility of the mother and other members of the family. In Nigeria (a patrilineal society), among the Igbos, the education of the girls was usually left to the mother who taught them how to cook and perform other domestic work. Among the Fulani in the North, where the chief occupation was cattle rearing, the elder brother or the patrilineal uncle taught the young ones how to herd cattle. The junior ones in both cases have a duty to obey their seniors. Special respect was accorded to the father.

The term father could literally be applied to all males of one's father's generation - age grade in the lineage, and these had the cultural obligation to care and to discipline all persons called children. Ironically, not all the males of one's father's generation had children of

their own, or were even married. Yet by virtue of their birthright which culture has bestowed upon them, they had authority to discipline all persons called children, even though they knew little about raising children. In much the same way, all females of one's mother's generation were culturally authorised to care for and to discipline all persons called daughters. Thus, all the members of the extended family took part in the child rearing as they do in most traditional rural areas today. The significance of this communal caring and disciplining of children is expressed in the Igbo saying "Igwe bu Ike or Umunna bu Ike" - there is strength in communalism. The delinquent implications of this structure will be discussed further in Chapter 5.

As mentioned above, among the Igbos and the Yorubas, kinship was another important institution for the education and socialisation of the children. The extended family, like the primary family, played and in most rural areas has continued to play a profound role in the patterns of child care in Nigeria. The activities of extended families in pre-urbanised Nigeria included child socialisation, education, acculturation, marriage arrangements and other economic aids to the less privileged members. The philosophy of mutual help as we have noted earlier, was based on several factors. First, there was a need to protect members from exhibiting criminal behaviours which might bring shame to the entire family. The sense of family honour and shame was,

therefore, a constantly compelling force on all the members of the extended family. Keeping the family honour implied that the family had historical and cultural obligations for the success of its members, especially the young members. Secondly, it was necessary to enable the members to set up their own primary families and bring up children. These children were expected not only to contribute to the overall well-being of the family but also to care for the old and aged members of the family in the future.

The extended family served as a means of communication, political and social mobility as well as being an agent for maintaining and promoting social, kinship and community cohesion, all of which, we contend, are necessary conditions for normal personality development. Experience has shown that members who maintain the social norms and sustain mutual relationships with all other members of the family group, have an advantage over persons born and socialised outside the extended family system. The former learn the deficiencies in the family norms (if any) which may have contributed to their social immaturity. They can then become aware of these patterns and controls while growing up.

Thus, it has been argued that the extended family holds a central place in the life of its individual members which is exhibited very clearly in the kind of structure presented by some cultural analysts: "... the first will

be concentration on the importance of the family, in handing on the folk ways and knowledge of the culture as well as its property and accepted obligations" (Silberman, 1951: 101).

It was the primary duty of the members of the extended family to ensure the transmission of social customs and religious ideas and practice to every new member of the family. Hypothetically, it could be argued that this act eliminated the chances of delinquency amongst pre-urbanised Nigerian young people and conformed with the social theory which argued that:

> It is largely in the family that cultural
> continuity and the handing on of the social
> heritage is accomplished, since parents
> (including the members of extended family) train
> their children in the culture of their society
> (Gluckman in Bell and Vogel, 1960: 46).

In pre-urbanised Nigeria everyone took part in the socialisation of children. Parents, brothers, sisters and relatives all played an important part in the care and training of children. In other words, the 'Omunna' (agnates) were the source of strength. The Omunna provided social security and comfort needed for the normal development and social mobility of the children. In rural areas this continued in times of need throughout their whole lives. Youths were reared and given a stake in life among lineage members because, according to Nigerian philosophy, "character formation is not a one man affair" (Igbo Philosophy 1971: 27). Everybody took up the responsibility of raising the young people, directly or

indirectly. Among the Yoruba, for instance, children were not always raised by their own parents. At the age of five or six, all children were supposed to be apprenticed, as they called the programme, or moved to the house of other relatives who became their masters and taught them a trade. Supporting this ideology, some members of Yoruba communities have argued that it was easier to discipline another's child than it was one's own child. It was argued that parents tended to spoil their children by pampering them. This ideology was then perceived as the best for objective training of their children.

Among the Hausa, male children often left home for religious instruction at the age of six or seven. "In some cases the teacher lives nearby and both boys and girls go there to learn their prayers and the beginning of Islamic theology. However, during adolescence, this training becomes more serious and boys who are not sent to live with their religious teachers before, may go off to learn Islamic practice in greater detail" (Cohen, 1967: 62). The relationship between the boys and their teachers (masters in the Yoruba concept) is summarised in Cohen as

> Your mallam (religious teacher) exceeds your father. In other words, a boy's religious instructor exceeds his father in fatherly qualities and he must be respected and obeyed as a superior whose authority is unquestioned (1967: 62).

To highlight further the Nigerian philosophy of collective
character formation, Cohen noted:[7]

> ... it means again that the actual people in
> the young person's relational network are many,
> many times more fluid and changing than is the
> case in Western society ... We may say that it
> is a rare Kanwu who has passed through childhood
> with a stable set of interpersonal relations to
> sibling or adult members of his household. This
> means that in child-training, the relationships
> with specific persons are not stressed as much
> as the norms of behaviour (1967: 62).

This normative character formation process could be
diagrammatically represented as in Figure 4.1. It brings
into focus the patterns of child care in traditional
Nigerian society. These patterns have, however, been
altered considerably by urbanisation, economic and social
changes.

It was pointed out earlier that a man was praised or
reprimanded through his family, and that a man was also
generally known by his family of origin. A young man will
therefore know what to expect from his family and his
village if he behaves in a socially inappropriate way and
this fact will pattern and determine his choice between
normal and abnormal behaviour. If he chooses the latter,
he loses all contact with his family and automatically
becomes a slave or social outcast. The personal identity
through one's family thus bound young people to their
family and made parent-child relations quite normal. No
break in the family tie means that the dust heap of
individualism without link to one another which is
characteristic in the culture of Western societies and

Figure 4.1 Diagrammatic Illustration of the Process of Character (Child Care) formation in Traditional Nigerian Society

The diagram contains the following labeled boxes and connections:

- **FROM PARENTS** (top center)
- **PARENTS RELATIVES** (top right)
- **INDIVIDUAL ADULT LIFE (FREE SOCIETY)** (bottom left)
- **HIGH PERSONALITY** (bottom center)
- **RELIGIOUS TEACHER OR SCHOOL** (bottom right)

Connecting labels:
- BACK TO TEACHER
- BACK TO PARENTS
- OR BACK TO PARENTS
- TO
- OR STRAIGHT TO
- OR STRAIGHT TO
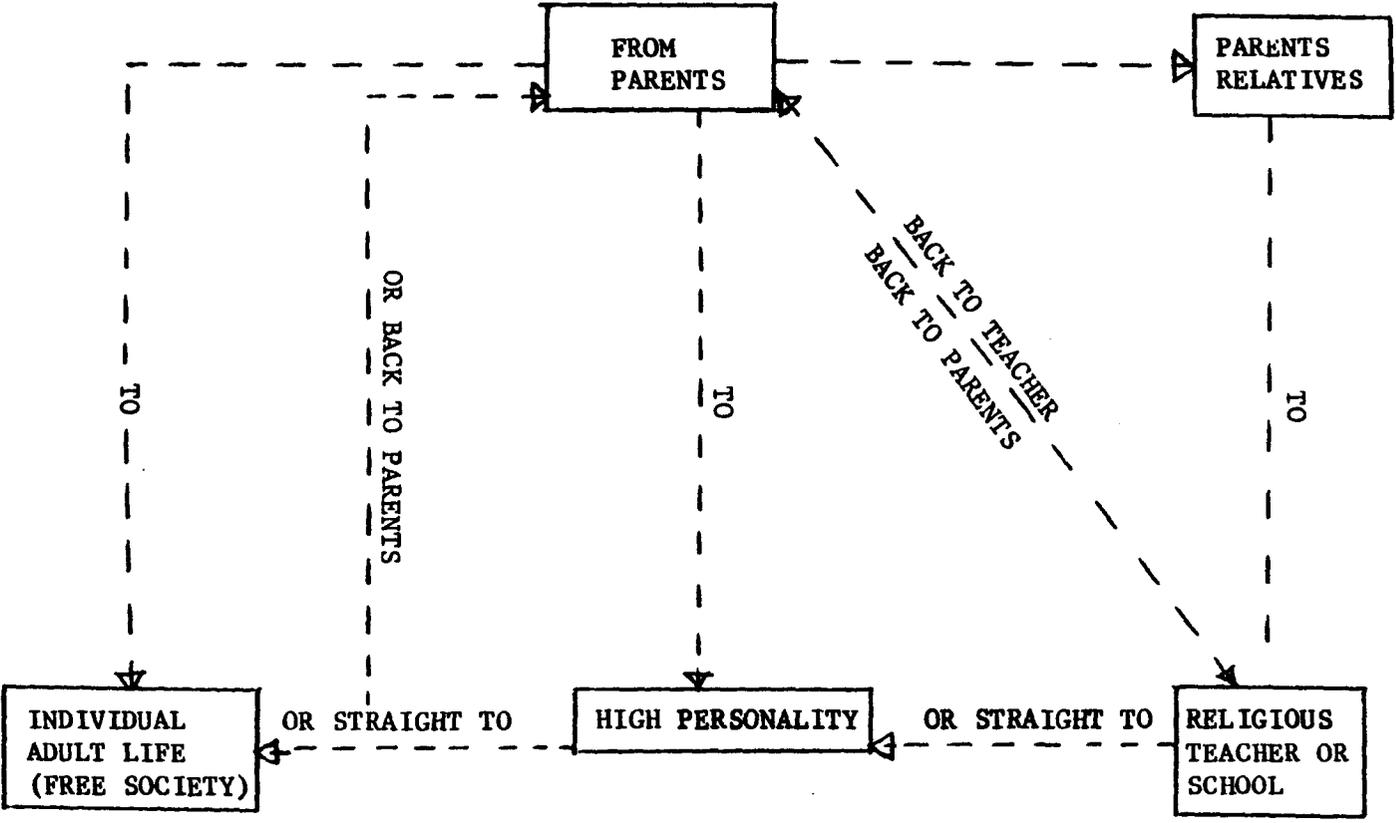
frequently associated with delinquency is not emphasised.

Another aspect of child rearing institutions in pre-urbanised Nigeria was the 'Age Grade' institution. The association of age grade was common in traditional Nigerian society. This institution played an important role in socialising and educating the younger generation. Among the Abiribas of Imo State, the age grade was a powerful institution providing, among other things, education and economic support to youths who must themselves belong to their own age group according to their date of birth.

All children born within the same month were graded into the same age group. The seclusive initiation ceremonies were celebrated when the children attained the age of 15 years. Males were separated from the females during special lectures and lessons. This was the time when the young men were taught tribal folklore and war songs. Rules of conduct were also given. The females were taught separately the cultural values of womanhood and other aspects of their role – motherhood, cooking and other domestic work. In addition, rules of conduct, including sexual codes of conduct, were taught.

Thus, during initiation, children were taught the communal activities and responsibilities of adult life within the societal standard. During the hardship training which followed, male children demonstrated the type of life they will lead in future. They were taught

stories, poems, riddles etc. which conveyed the morals and values of their society. In Benin, the capital of Bendel State, all children were recruited into various associations where they were required to be present during ceremonials and rituals. Here they gradually came to understand and learn formally the communal as well as individual activities of their seniors and so those of society at large.

Hausa children were expected to follow the trade of their father or nearest relation. In this case, the father or a relations's duty was to begin from an early period to educate the child in the trade. In most cases, children were assigned to a Muslim teacher. There was one in every community and they were taught the Islamic religion and to read and write the Arabic language. Others, especially the Fulani, were initiated into the mysteries of totem and totemism at a very early stage to mark the beginning of a life time's ritual education. This process ensured an acceptance of general behaviour, "secretiveness and a sense of responsibility" (Cohen, 1967: 68) by individual children within Fulani society.

It is important to note here that in pre-urbanised Nigeria, the culture demanded that when divorce occurred (very common among the Muslims and very rare among non-Muslims), the children remained with their father unless they were still nursing. After nursing, they were generally sent back to their father's household. Girls

were permitted to stay longer with their mothers to receive their training. Children of such broken marriages were cared for by their father's co-wife or by some other relative of their father's. A rare alternative was the mother's mother or some relative of the mother, preferably the sister or the mother herself.

THE CHILD'S ROLE

Green (1964) studied early patterns of community development in Agbaja in Southern Okigwe District of Imo State. What appealed to her most was the willingness of every individual to contribute to help "the town to get up".

In the early days, before contact with Western civilization and the subsequent urbanisation, the prestige and influence of a town was measured by the strength of its able-bodied youths. These young men would be trained as future warriors and diplomats who would deal with their neighbours and make possible access to long distance trade routes, spreading the importance of their market place and the degree of their craft specialization. Finally, the power of its oracles was of great importance. As we have noted, almost from the start, the individual youth was aware of his dependence on his group and his community. He also realised the necessity of making his own contribution to the group to which he owed so much. He seldom, if ever, became really detached from the group, wherever he lived. His concern for the progress of his

town and his people made him loyal to it. The village was the appropriate place to enjoy one's wealth and to provide a place for retirement. The city, where it existed, was merely a place to earn money. It was, therefore, only by contributing to the progress of his town and increasing its prestige that his own feeling of security was enhanced.

Though this represented community development action for which some Nigerian societies are noted, its achievement was not an easy task, for community development depended on self-help. Taxes were levied on villages, sometimes on families or on individual heads. To pay for these taxes, some families had to sell their piece of land or some economic trees. To reclaim the sold property or purchase another to replace the first, the members of the family concerned had to work harder. Under the circumstances, children were taught to assume an adult role from a very young age. What today is called child labour was very common in pre-urbanised Nigeria. Thus, unlike their counterparts in developed countries, "who are often confined to their own world, pre-urbanised Nigerian children grew up and participated in two worlds — the world of children and the world of adults. They took an active part in their parents' social and economic activities" (Uchendu, 1965: 61).

Children in traditional Nigeria were taken to and worked in the market and on the farm, and attended the family or

village tribunal and funerals etc. At home they helped entertain their parents' guests, attended to domestic animals and helped care for the younger children. To play these roles effectively and objectively, children were trained to adopt the 'berzum' or discipline - to respect relationships not only with their parents or members of their immediate families but also with all senior members of the community, as we have noted.

CHILD DISCIPLINE

Seniority is an important status principle, enforcing discipline in traditional Nigerian society. This is reflected in the council of elders in the extended family system of Igboland and in the Supreme Council of elders in Yorubaland. The head of each family group exercised authority roles over its members, who in turn could appeal to him if they felt they had been unjustly treated.

Behaviour between kinsmen and non-kinsmen was also regulated by the seniority-juniority principle. The seniors in all cases were the moral agents of the young. It was the duty of children to greet their seniors first whenever and wherever they met. In children's playgrounds, leadership and authority were informally vested in the older boys or girls. Among the children of the same mother, and among the children of the same father but different mothers and different age grades, the principle of sharing by birth order was followed.

It has been noted (Homans, 1973; Silberman, 1951; Cohen 1967 and Igbo Philosophy, 1971) that everyone in the community, especially within the Umunna agnates, took part in the socialisation of children. Consequently, everyone in the community also played a role in the disciplining of children for any bad behaviour. The term usually employed when referring to the children was "our children" or "our child" respectively 'Umu ayi' or 'Nwa ayi' - and "my children" ('Umum') or "my child" ('Nwam'). This collective ownership of children defined a collective right to participate in the socialisation of children and the consequent right to punish children when they were misbehaving. Thus, discipline and respect were modelled on what could be called father/son relationships in developed countries. In Nigeria, however, such relationships were based on community or extended family relationships.

In addition to what has been said above, this ideology is based on the philosophy that the community or extended family, indirectly i.e. through the head of the house - the father or the elder uncle - gave a child protection, security, food and shelter, a place or status in the family and therefore in the community as well, helping him to arrange his marriage etc. In return, the child was expected to give complete loyalty and obedience to the community or extended family through the father and all the elders of the father's age as well as to all the child's immediate seniors. All seniors must be respected,

> because they are elder men with authority in
> the household. Thus, all senior relatives,
> older siblings and paternal uncles receive
> respect and although it may not have the intense
> quality of the father-son relationship to begin
> with, everybody knows they may have to treat
> such a person as if he were a father in certain
> circumstances ... Other persons in society are
> indicated as being like your father or greater
> than your father in amount of discipline and
> respect that they require (Cohen, 1967: 46).

On the whole, the discipline-authority role pre-supposed an authoritarian discipline of children in pre-urbanised Nigerian society. Children were beaten for minor offences and omissions. In most cases, reasons for beatings involved dereliction of some duty. It is important to note here that children are always, especially in poor families, delegated duties above their age. For example, in Cohen's study (1967: 61) "a young boy was beaten for continually omitting to gather grass for his father's horse. This is a skill that a boy should acquire by the age of six or eight, possibly nine at the very latest". Cohen noted also that punishment in traditional Nigerian society was very severe, and all other "children within earshot or word" (Cohen, 1967: 46) learn from the beating of that child.

INFLUENCE OF RELIGIOUS DIFFERENCES ON PATTERNS OF CHILD AND YOUTH CARE IN NIGERIA

There were two principal religions in pre-colonial Nigeria. These were the Islamic and Traditional religions. When contact with Western civilization occurred, the Traditional religion was replaced by

Christianity.

The influence of Islamic religion in Nigeria came with the Fulani from the Arab World in the middle of the eleventh century. Kanem was the first Islamic town in the North and in the late fourteenth century, Bornu followed and later became an important centre for Islamic learning. In about 1830, Islam became strongly established in the North and children were sent there to receive Islamic education. As the Lander (1872) put it, the children were "very diligent in their exercises and arise every morning between midnight and sunrise and are studiously employed by lamp-light in copying their prayers (1872: 143). Since then, "Islam has inevitably borne the marks of its Arabian origins" in Nigeria (Levy, 1969).

In the south, though, the influence of the Christian religion began about 1515 when the first missionaries came to Nigeria along the River Niger. The new religion modified and in effect replaced the Traditional religion and made human and animal sacrifices abominable acts, but it was not strong enough then as Muslim in the North to have any further effect on the people's culture until the 1880s. The reason for this time lag could be found in all missionary activities within this period. Unlike the Muslim Fulani, Christian missionary activities in the early nineteenth century, like the C.M.S. missions on the Niger and in the Delta and elsewhere in the south were entirely an African affair under a black Bishop, Samuel

Ajayi Crowther until the white man took over in the 1880s (Isichei, 1983: 322).

Religion in Nigeria thus seemed to have followed geographical patterns and divided the country into two principal religious entities as noted above - the Muslim dominated North and the Christian dominated South. The south is further divided into the quasi Muslim dominant West and wholly Christian dominant East. Resulting from the religious differences are also cultural and traditional differences which have affected the conventional and traditional patterns of child and youth care services in Nigeria. In some cases, this has posed problems in defining youth delinquency. It is the variation in definition of youth delinquency that has actually affected the treatment of youthful offenders.

For example, while street begging may be regarded and treated as social misbehaviour and considered delinquent among the Western world, in the Muslim world begging and alms giving may be regarded as a part of religious doctrine and therefore a socially acceptable phenomenon.

Studying religious cultural differences in Nigeria, the concept of culture invented by an American anthropologist has been adopted. Wissler (1938) conceived of a culture area as a geographical area occupied by people whose culture exhibits a significant degree of similarity with each other as well as a significant degree of dissimilarity with the culture of the others. In this

case, a culture area is conceived of as geographical regions, because it seems that culture reflects geographical conditions. Hence, culture may be used to describe the ways of life of people in a geographical area. Although this concept is based on geographical areas, it could be extrapolated to apply to religious groupings in Nigeria (see the map of Nigeria).

Consideration of dissimilarities in Nigeria is based on religious and language differences grouped into East, West and Northern languages. To avoid what might seem ambiguous reiteration, the term "Christian States" will be used to refer to the Eastern and Christian Western States, and the term "Muslim States" will be used to refer to the Northern and Western states (Muslim population only).

The Islamic religion, unlike Christianity, emphasises the dignity and spiritual values of poverty, and makes alms-giving and subsequently begging an absolute necessity. "He is not a true Muslim who eats his fill when his next-door neighbour is hungry" (Ahmad et al, 1980: 208). Ahmad argued that

> God given resources are for "you", which is addressed to all people and not to any privileged groups or class ... and, therefore, the have-nots have the right to take from the haves (1980: 199).

In another place, Ahmad quoted the Holy Prophet Bukhari as saying:

> Your employees are your brothers whom God has made your subordinates, so he who has his brother, let him feed him what he feeds himself
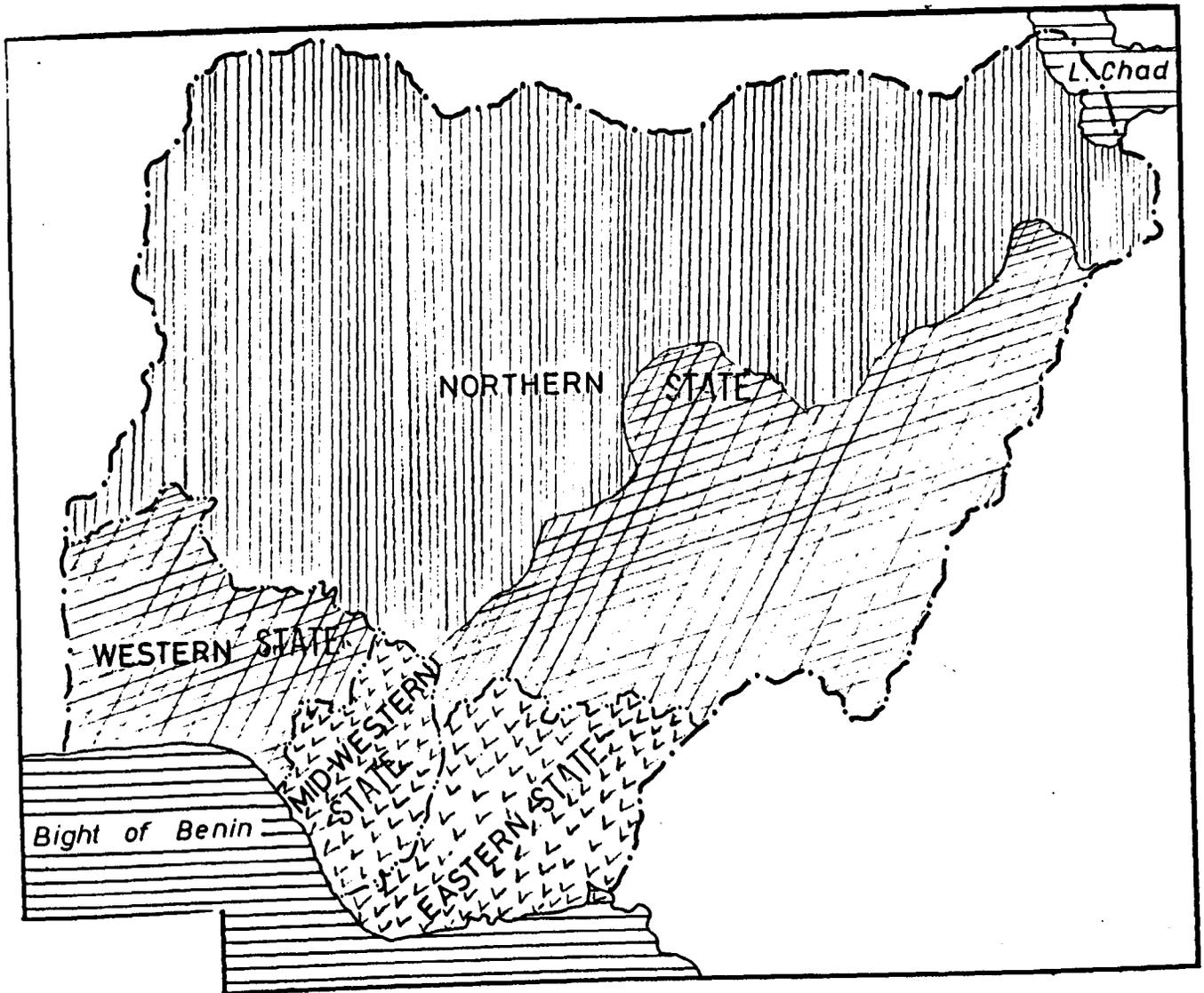
Predominantly Christian States

Predominantly Muslim States

Christian and Muslim States

and clothe him what he clothes himself and not
burden him with what over-powers him. If you do
so then help him (1980: 207).

The Muslims also believe that there is a heavenly reward
for the idle poor. This belief seems to explain why most
choose to be without work in order to remain beggars.
Thus, they live with greater hope for paradise in life
after death. A beautiful Hausa story tells of Mallam who
never left his house in Kano, relying entirely on the
providence of Allah. "God feeds his slave", he said.
Another described a man who was eating a meal, which he
refused to share with a beggar. The man later became
poor, his wife left him and he himself became a beggar.
One day he knocked at his former wife's door. She gave
him food, crying as she did so (Skinner, 1969).

Begging is thus justified in religious teachings,
suggesting that the rich should provide for or share with
the poor; and the poor should be prepared to accept help
because "the have nots should not be ashamed to ask from
those who have, for Allah intends that the rich are the
care takers and should give alms to the have nots" - the
beggars (Skinner, 1969: 32).

Theft in some Muslim tribes is not regarded as an
offence. Amongst numerous Arab tribes, it was "even
regarded as a mark of prowess to steal horses or other
property from those with whom the thief has not broken
bread" (Levy, 1969). In some other pre-colonial Christian
states, it was traditionally acceptable to steal from a

stranger or from an enemy. In Tiv (predominantly Christian) in Banue State Nigeria, for instance, before contact with the Christian religion, it was an offence to steal from one's segment, but an act of bravery to steal from those outside the segment.

> A man must not steal within his minimal segment; to do so is magically dangerous (bo) and morally bad (dang). The elders might in the past respond to reported offences by selling the offender as a slave or killing by witchcraft. On the other hand, theft from those whom one may fight with bow and arrow (those outside the minimal segment) is by Tiv linked to welfare and might be called individual raiding. It was a laudable activity, regarded as a normal relationship between members of certain groups (Laura 1969: 27).

Thus, while theft of all kinds, no matter from whom, or raiding were regarded as social offences or acts of vandalism in developed societies and in some Nigerian states, it was seen as a praiseworthy activity in other parts.

It was noted earlier that Islamic law allows a man to marry more than one wife, up to a maximum of four. Women married to Obas and Alhajis or Mallams were, by religious culture, expected to remain in seclusion in heavy walled compounds belonging to their husbands. Muslim women were thus excluded from all social and political activities. Married Muslim women were not permitted to work on the street during the day, and were not supposed to be seen by any man other than her husband. Should they be seen by necessity on the street, they must have their faces covered. Among the more radical Muslims, the social

status of women and their economic rights depended on the form of their marriage. Those married according to the 'Kulle' or 'Purdah' for example were held in greater respect than those who were married according to one of the other forms.

Apart from early and forced marriages for girls, male children aged 16 years were also forbidden by Islamic law from interacting freely with their mothers, just as the girls of the same age were restricted from interacting with their fathers. This meant that mature young people were not allowed to maintain social and close parental relationships with their parents - boys with their mothers and girls with their fathers. Writing about child-parent relations in the Muslim state of Bornu, Cohen (1967) remarked:

> Although men respond to questions by saying they have similar discipline and respect for both their father and mother, there is in addition an emotional quality to the mother-son relationship almost lacking in that between the father and his children (1967: 47).

This tends to suggest that emotional relationships existed between the mother and the son psychologically, but ironically, the Islamic law forbids their physical and social contact.

A Muslim student we talked to explained the situation in terms of sexual attraction and respect for privacy. Whatever the motive or justification was, it can be argued that a situation that excludes parental attachment and

free parental relationships has an effect on young people. While this will be discussed further in Chapter 5, it seems that there is a strong need for some empirical research to substantiate the relationship between the Muslim parents/child relationship and youth delinquency.

Cohen's (1967) study also revealed that children were also subdued, self-controlled and constantly restricted in their behaviour to very limited traditional patterns. "In the extreme, young people ... would not eat together from the same bowl with older people" (1967: 47). An illustration of this issue is found in the following case study. Hopefully, it will highlight the consequences for a young girl who did not exhibit this subdued and restricted behaviour. Perhaps this will help also to illuminate among other things, why children and especially girls, are subdued and restricted in their behaviour in Muslim states. According to Cohen's record:

> In Maqumeri one young girl about fifteen or sixteen who was well developed physically had not yet married. There were many rumors and much gossip to the effect that she was no longer a virgin and that men of the town slept with her. Her father, it was said, would have a hard time arranging her first marriage. This girl herself seemed to be suffering increasingly from her inability to see herself in the role of a child awaiting marriage instead of that of a developing young matron - the new role now common among her young age (1967: 64).

The above illustration clearly manifests the patterns of child care in Muslim states. It suggests that "in order to take up a normal position in society, girls are supposed to have their first marriage in and around the

time of puberty. Failure to do so indicates a deviant and degrading development" (Cohen, 1967: 64). It also tends to explain why girls were denied education. Those who went to school were termed "spoiled" and if it cannot be avoided, they should "never be allowed to stay in school beyond the traditional age of marriage".

Before analysing what "the first marriage" pre-supposes, it is important here to point out that young girls have no choice in the first marriage. Since, as we have noted, children were culturally supposed to respect and show obedience to the wishes of their parents, they must comply with the marriage arrangements made by their parents. Cohen noted that indeed many Kanuri, both men and women, knew very little about their first marriage arrangements at all, since these were made entirely by their fathers or the head of the compound in which they were living at the time, and "since many Kanuri girls marry for the first time with men sometimes their own age, which enhances the traditional seniority of the husband as well as taking any romance out of it for the girls" (Cohen, 1967: 65).

The Muslim religion also allows its adherents to have and to keep slaves and concubines, such that "men and women move in and out of marriage" (Cohen, 1967: 65-66). The "first marriage", therefore, marks the beginning of this movement "in" and "out" of marriage and pre-supposes that it is a perfectly normal pattern of life in Muslim states - "a land where divorces are very common and

marriage break up is never the social and psychological catastrophe it can easily be in the West" and other Christian states (Cohen, 1967: 66). However, it seems that divorce in the West today has increased just as the effect of divorce has also increased the number of delinquent cases within recent years.

It has been noted that children in Muslim states are sent to Islamic teachers very early in life (at about the age of 4) to receive religious education, because "all Muslim children should receive free education from a Muslim teacher – the Malam" (Ahmad et al, 1980: 198) The Malam is expected to be responsible during the teaching period to provide adequate food and clothing as well as comfortable housing. In return, the children must work for him, as a means of developing those innate abilities which will enable each individual to take care of himself without becoming a burden on others (Ahmad et al, 1980: 200), thus, making child labour a common characteristic in Muslim states. This situation is also noticed in Christian states.

Perhaps the most striking religious differences between the Muslim and Christian states concern the philosophy of the "real world" among the pre-colonial Christian states. Before contact with Christianity, the world was conceived of as being a real one in every respect by the Christian states. The world of man was to be peopled by all created beings and things, both animate and inanimate. The spirit

world was the abode of the Creator, the "deities", the disembodied and malignant spirits and the ancestral spirits. This was the future place of the living after death. It was the philosophy that correctly defined the Traditional religion and explained why Christianity was accepted without much ado.

The constant interaction between the world of man and the world of the dead, a dual but interrelated phenomenon involving the interaction between the material and spiritual, the living and the dead, formed the concept of social life in the pre-colonial Christian states. The world of the dead was a world full of activities. The dead continued their lineage system, and the principle of seniority made the ancestors the head of the lineage as noted in the extended family of man's world. Death for this group was a necessary pre-condition for joining the ancestors and later reincarnation. There was also a strong conviction that there was a carry over of social status and other personal qualities from the world of man to the world of the dead. This conviction also governed the patterns of life on earth - the world of man. Apparently, normal behaviour in the world of man was considered to be an essential passport to having high status among the ancestors and to maintain 'Omonna' lineage in the life (Uchendu, 1965).

Thus, the Christian states' conception of the world differs from the Muslim states' conception in which the

world is seen as a "natural order which inexorably goes on its ordained way according to a master plan" (Harris, 1930). The natural order of poverty and the provision by the rich for the poor finds accommodation among the Muslims and enhances the institutionalisation of begging and increases the incidence of crime and delinquency. Table 4.5 illuminates a remarkable variation in prison admissions resulting from crime and delinquency between the Muslim and Christian population.

The Christian states see the world as a dynamic one. It is a moving phenomenon constantly threatened by natural and material-social forces, such as famine, poverty, life and death, epidemic diseases and so forth, resulting from the violation of social taboos and norms defined as 'Nso Ala' such as stealing, cheating etc. These groups believed that social and/or 'natural' calamities, including poverty, can be controlled by living within the limits of the countervailing powers of the ancestors and cosmological balances in the world of man, i.e. by keeping the laws of society and of course every society whether primitive or civilised, Muslim or Christian, has its own do's and do nots which are called social norms.

Table 4.5(a): Prisons Admissions Classified by Religion
1972-1979

Religious Group	1972	1973	1974	1975
Christian Roman Catholics	15,261	15,540	16,830	16,721
Christian Protestants	22,901	29,443	29,452	32,077
Moslems	23,595	28,625	29,453	32,659
Traditional Religion	-	-	-	-
Atheists	-	-	-	-
Others	7,634	8,179	8,415	6,490
Total	69,391	81,787	84,150	87,947

Religious Group	1976	1977	1978	1979
Christian Roman Catholics	22,637	24,637	30,734	29,359
Christian Protestants	20,818	18,738	23,840	27,186
Moslems	42,824	44,183	44,523	47,789
Traditional Religion	9,414	9,254	11,211	10,078
Atheists	51	699	974	673
Others	11,989	15,202	16,767	14,533
Total	107,733	112,713	128,049	129,618

*Table 4.5(b): Percentage Prisons Admissions Classified
by Religion 1972-1979*

Religious Group	1972	1973	1974	1975
Christian Roman Catholics	22.0	19.0	20.0	19.0
Christian Protestants	33.0	36.0	35.0	36.5
Moslems	34.0	35.0	36.0	37.1
Traditional Religion	-	-	-	-
Atheists	-	-	-	-
Others	11.0	10.0	10.0	7.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Religious Group	1976	1977	1978	1979
Christian Roman Catholics	21.0	21.9	24.0	22.7
Christian Protestants	19.3	16.6	18.6	21.0
Moslems	39.8	39.2	34.8	36.8
Traditional Religion	8.7	8.2	8.8	7.8
Atheists	0.0	0.6	0.8	0.5
Others	11.1	13.5	13.0	11.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Prisons Department, Statistics Unit, Lagos
Services by the Federal Office of Statistics,
Lagos.

Pre-colonial Christian states blamed death, especially children's death, poverty and the like on the sins committed during their previous life on earth. Such sins included among other things behaviours such as giving false oaths, theft, adultery, marriage to a run-away wife, etc. If serious breaches of taboos were involved, such as stealing, bodily harm resulting in death of a kinsman, rape and/or divorce etc. the offender would be denied ground for burial. The corpse would be cast into a "bad bush" - 'Ohia Ojo' and a costly purification ritual was required to establish the ritual balance, allowing breach of taboo to be destroyed (Achebe, 1962).

In this society, whatever threatens the life or security of the individual threatens the life of all and is interpreted by this group as a warning sign that things must be set right. "Getting on well with neighbours among this group does not mean letting them alone. What one person does is of great concern to others" (Uchendu, 1965: 14).

Women in this group also enjoyed a considerable freedom of movement and were more involved in socio-economic activities. However, they were excluded from political activities until contact with Western civilization. Nevertheless, most of the cultures have been modified or replaced by the spread of Western civilization and Western education, especially since the age of rapid urbanisation in both Muslim and Christian states.

CONCLUSION

Thus far, we have attempted to give a brief review of pre-urbanised Nigerian society, its patterns of marital relations and its institutions of child care. Until contact with Western civilizations, patterns of marital relations and institutions of child care in Nigeria remained purely traditional. We noted that religious differences suggested that there were also cultural differences and together these created additional problems in respect to the definition of juvenile delinquency and treatment of the problems. We noted too that the traditional flexibility and the philosophy of the 'real' but dynamic 'world' among the Christian states anticipated and perhaps facilitated Nigerian receptivity to European culture. This culture later affected her traditional culture as we shall see in later chapters.

During the pre-colonial period Nigeria adopted communal patterns of political, social and economic structures which enhanced control over the behaviour of children and young people. For example, each level of Nigerian society was comprised of an implicitly stable structure. Towns were divided into villages, villages into small units of primary families, thus creating stable structures where everyone knew everyone else. This structure, as we noted, eliminated anomalous behaviour among the youth as well as among the adults.

Contact with Western culture brought changes of a very

profound nature to Nigeria. It saw the introduction of new legal and political institutions, socio-economic reactivation – stores selling imported goods; the use of money for exchange of goods; and the building of some factories in the cities that emerged. Exportation of local goods was introduced, the chief exports being cocoa, palm oil, rubber and for the first time farming became an economic oriented activity. Good roads and railways were built, ports were developed on the coasts and airports were constructed. Christian churches and schools were established and many Nigerians were converted to the new faith. For the first time, land and head taxes were introduced. All these encouraged the migration of young people to city centres where facilities and cheap wage labour abound.

Nigeria's ability to adapt to rapid social and economic changes and the consequences of such changes on traditional institutions associated with youth care and juvenile delinquency will be our next focus. First, however, it is necessary to analyse some aspects of the traditional structure that may have encouraged deviance among youth in pre-urbanised Nigeria.

Notes

1. A normative person: a person who keeps the law of the land, obeys traditions, rules and obligations is

described by Nigerians as a "man". The person who deviates is considered to be a "woman". For further details, see Achebe, 1962.

2. In Nigeria, female children were excluded from inheriting from their parents and their agnatic lineage. They were expected to inherit through their male children in their husband and his lineage. For details, see Nigerian marriage law.

3. Marriage by photo is a type of marriage which developed during World War II, known as the "send me a wife" programme. This type of marriage was initiated by Igbo soldiers serving in other parts of Nigeria or overseas. Under the programme, prospective grooms and brides, who could not possibly meet for sometime before their marriage, exchanged pictures and made up their minds to marry. Their respective families proceeded with the marriage negotiations after the decision making period. It later became a system followed by some Nigerians who worked in the then Fernando Po, Ghana and other parts of West Africa.

4. A civil marriage or marriage by ordinance is one contracted before a court registrar who issues the couple with a marriage certificate.

5. This new status conforms to the ethics of early contact with white culture and the norms of their religion (Christian faith). Adherence to the norms

and ethics of Christian faith was emphasised by the early missionaries to the Eastern states of Nigeria and this has remained the backdrop to the patterns of marriage among the Christians in the country today.

6. Silberman (1957), Sembagwe (1979), Kirk (1967) and Mabogunji (1972) are all influential in this respect. Nevertheless, this will be discussed further in Chapter 5.

7. A report from Cohen's (1967) informant is a case in point and helps to explain the socialisaton process of pre-urbanised Nigerian children. According to him, the informant was sent to his father's brother at weaning, to a religious teacher at six, returned to his father at the age of eight, and then sent to the household of the district head at thirteen.

CHAPTER FIVE

AN ANALYSIS OF TRADITIONAL STRUCTURES AND DELINQUENCY IN NIGERIA

INTRODUCTION

This chapter is an attempt to analyse the extent to which family structure and patterns of child care in pre-urbanised and traditional Nigerian society endorse modern sociological theories which claim that delinquent behaviour as well as normal behaviour is a product of the social environment. We wish to examine some variables in the structure of the social environment, with a view to discovering which of these seem to encourage or increase the likelihood of delinquency. It is hoped that the identification of such variables will help inform recommendations for delinquency prevention. For example, the extended family as an interactional system, is aimed at precluding opportunities for crime and delinquency, but its functional structure can lead to dissention, rivalry, envy, jealousy and consequently conflict and delinquency.

Dentscher's (1962) concept of symbolic interaction is used by Clinard (1963) who argued that "any form of deviant behaviour, for instance delinquency, arises in interaction with others just as conforming behaviour". The important factor to determine the possible causes of a given behaviour, therefore, is the reaction of the interactional variables (Becker, 1965). Other recent

studies (Turiel, 1966, 1973, 1974; Kohlberg, 1969; Denney
and Duffy, 1974; Simon and Ward, 1973) have established
that the condition of the social environment is an
important factor in the development of normal and abnormal
personality.

Our concept of the social environment, as used in this
chapter, is the family and its concomitant role
performance and its socialisation structures. There is no
doubt that in traditional societies, the family is the
most significant group to which young people belong.[1]
Therefore, the powerful formative influences which the
family exert on a child, his character and his
relationships within the family circle are vital
determinants of his future development.

Theories in developed countries have shown that
inadequate interactional networks of human relationships
within the family tend to have a rejecting effect on the
child which may lead to engagement in delinquent
activities. In traditional Nigerian society, we have
noted the presence of collective human relationships - the
interactional network of human relationships within the
extended family. Broom and Selznick (1963) have
conceptualised that the socialisation of the child is
accomplished through person to person interaction and the
family is the major agency through which this
socialisation takes place. Our proposition, therefore, is
that, although the persistent historical and cultural

socialisation role of the family in traditional Nigerian society aided the control of crime and delinquency, there seemed to have been some inherent structures in the family role relations and patterns of child care that tended to lead to the development of delinquent behaviours. These delinquency motivating role relations seem to be common in polygamous families. This proposition may be broken down into the following hypothesis:

1. Inequality of marital role relationships which characterise traditional family life in Nigeria may lead children to engage in delinquent activities. For example, there is evidence of a remarkable inequality in marital structures within polygamous family which tends to create a gap in communication between children and their parents.

2. Traditional polygamous families are expected to show a higher incidence of children who develop delinquent tendencies, since the families tend to be characterised by inadequate relationships between brothers and other siblings and between co-wives and the children of other co-wives.

3. Collective and authoritarian child-rearing practices, characteristic of traditional Nigerian families, may induce children to practice delinquent behaviour, such as begging, running away from home, stealing, etc.

4. The culture in which children are expected to adopt

adult roles from a very early stage in their lives, such
as child brides, may promote delinquency in selected
instances.

5. Early and forced marriages, inherent in traditional
Nigerian culture, tend to result in a high incidence of
divorce. Children socialised in such unstable families
tend to lack personality identification and may develop
emotional responses which lead to delinquent acts.

Throughout this chapter, case studies from child welfare
situations in Nigeria will be used to illuminate the basis
of our propositions.

Hypotheses 1 & 2: Relationships in polygamous Families

The major aim of this hypothesis is to examine the
relationship between delinquency and children who come
from families characterised by polygamous relationships.
The assumptions underlying the hypothesis are:

(a) Since the father in a polygamous family removes
himself socially from the mother/child unit, in order to
maintain impartial relations and to discourage
disagreement between his co-wives, his affection for his
many children may become dissipated.

(b) Relationships between siblings as well as co-wives
in polygamous families are characterised by almost
constant jealousy, envy and quarrelling around matters of
status rights and obligations. Children raised in this

type of family structure may develop aggressive attitudes towards their half-brothers and sisters as well as to their mother's co-wives. These attitudes may be later directed towards the larger society.

Denga (1981), in his study of the relationship between polygamy and delinquency, found that a greater number of delinquent children came from polygamous homes (see Table 5.1). Oloruntimehin's (1970) study had earlier shown a strong association between polygamous families and delinquency. Oloruntimehin made a study of 220 delinquent children aged between 10-14 years from 103 schools in Lagos. His sample was obtained from the delinquent register containing the names of delinquent children in various schools kept at the juvenile welfare office in Yaba Lagos. These were compared with non-delinquent children as a control group, aged between 10-14 years. The results of this showed that a high proportion of the delinquents came from polygamous families (see Table 5.2).

Polygamy by itself does not cause delinquency. Therefore, one might assume that certain aspects of the polygamous structure tend to generate the delinquency causation factors that we are attempting to analyse.

Table 5.1: *Percentage Frequency of Delinquent Behaviour and Family Type**

OFFENCE	FAMILY TYPE		TOTAL
	MONOGAMOUS	POLYGAMOUS	
Vandalism			
3 times or more	29.6	43.1	36.7
1-2 times	11.4	11.4	11.6
Never occurred	59.0	45.7	51.7
Truancy			
3 times or more	19.9	28.0	24.1
1-2 times	10.4	11.2	10.8
Never occurred	69.7	60.8	65.0
Stealing/Shoplifting			
3 times or more	52.4	76.0	60.6
1-2 times	23.0	8.3	17.9
Never occurred	24.6	15.7	21.5
Smoking Narcotics			
3 times or more	45.4	74.4	60.5
1-2 times	25.9	10.7	18.0
Never occurred	28.7	14.6	21.5
Lying			
3 times or more	4.5	6.8	5.7
1-2 times	17.1	29.9	23.7
Never occurred	78.8	63.3	70.5

*Extract from Denga (1981)

Table 5.2: *Correlation between polygamous role-relationships and delinquency***

FAMILY TYPE	DELINQUENT GROUP	NON-DELINQUENT GROUP	TOTAL
Polygamous	58	39	97
Monogamous	33	52	85
Total	91	91	182

**Extract from Oloruntimehin (1981).

Polygamy was defined in the previous chapter as "consisting of two or more nuclear families affiliated by plural marriage, having one husband in common". This definition presupposes that there are multiple relationships in a polygamous family and that any or all of these may be characterised by strains, such as jealousy and rivalry among co-wives on the one hand and the siblings on the other. A further characteristic may be neglect of the children by the father or preferential treatment for the children of his favourite wife or wives. One might argue that members of polygamous families, especially those that are not the husband's favourites, are always aware of the adverse effect of polygamous structure. Wives are, therefore, prepared to do all they can to protect themselves and their children from these effects. It is also possible that mothers in polygamous families tend to bear more responsibility for their children than mothers in monogamous families. In arguing thus, however, attention needs to be focused on the role of women in pre-urbanised Nigerian society, a theme analysed later under the heading of marital relationships.

Some writers have noted the existence of inadequate parent/child relationships in polygamous families and the extent to which this is associated with delinquency. A display of favouritism by the father in traditional polygamous families may cause some children to develop

feelings of deprivation, of being unwanted and rejected. This may later develop into a rejection of the parents' values, and disobedient and aggressive attitudes towards the children of a favourite wife or wives who receive greater affection from the father. The Old Testament story of Joseph, with his coat of many colours and ill-treatment by his brothers offers a simple illustration of this point. The tension resulting from differing treatment may induce children to become involved in delinquent behaviour, such as stealing, hostility or fighting, often resulting in physical injury.

For example, we noted in the previous chapter that half brothers in polygamous families usually drift apart due to constant quarrels over possessions. This drift apart in turn weakens the father's control. The death of the father in a polygamous family is frequently marked by a new dimension of tension, quarrels and hatred between his surviving children, caused by the sharing out of personal property.

The cultural right of the eldest son in each nuclear house in a polygamous family, to keep and use the inheritance as he sees fit, is another source of tension and frustration which may lead to delinquency. It could be argued that while Nigerian family structure seemed to have precluded the likelihood of delinquency, in polygamous families in particular, evidence tends to show that there are likely correlations between delinquency and

families where the father shows greater affection for and meets the needs of a particular wife and her children at the expense of another wife or wives and their children. The strength of this assumption, however, needs to be substantiated empirically. It is important to note that, in an ideal family where relationships between parents, between parents and children and between children and other siblings are cordial, and where parental roles — especially those of the father — are fully activated, the attitudes that would emerge would be conformity.

On the other hand, children who come from families where there is no cordial relationship between parents will tend to become delinquent. The results of Oloruntimehin's study — as shown in Table 5.3 — clearly support this assertion.[2] See Hirschi (1969) for the effects of inadequate parent/child relationships.

Table 5.3: *Correlation of Uncordial Child-Parent Relationships and Delinquency**

RELATIONSHIP TYPE	DELINQUENT GROUP	NON-DELINQUENT GROUP	TOTAL
Uncordial Child/ Parent relationship	58	4	62
Cordial Child/ Parent relationship	33	87	120
Total	91	91	182

*Extracted from Oloruntimehin (1981)

A common characteristic of polygamous families and one which is associated with inadequate parental care and disrupted parent/child relationships is *Large Family Size.* Sembajwe's (1979) study of Muslims in Yoruba showed polygamous families were larger in size. One possible explanation of large family size in polygamous families was given by Sembajwe "Perhaps women in polygamous families compete to outdo their co-wives in child bearing" (1979: 341)

It was pointed out that the Muslims have higher rates of polygamous marriages in Nigeria than the Christian sector of the population. This situation may be explained as an inclination towards traditional Islamic norms which favour polygamy and large numbers of children (Kirk, 1967). Within the past decade, there would seem to be a discernible change of attitude among Muslims in relation to large families. For example, Gaisie (1969; 1972), Mabogunje (1972), Page (1975), Podlewski (1975) and Lucas (1976) have reported lower rates of fertility among Muslims than among the Christians in tropical Africa. The explanation given was that Muslims are less educated, and are consequently, more likely to observe longer periods of post-natal abstinence than Christians.

This assumption, however. does not apply in the Nigerian situation. The foster system provided by the extended family allows for collective child care practices. This means that in Nigeria, Muslim mothers - like the

Christians - foster their children to members of the extended family very early (evidence shows that the children stop breast-feeding at the age of 1 or 2) so that they can then be free to become pregnant again. Furthermore, the competition among co-wives to out-do one another in child bearing, as already noted in Sembajwe's (1979) study, challenges the above assertion as found in the Nigerian context. What these researchers seem to have overlooked is that, unlike the Christians, Muslim women scorn the use of contraceptives. However, since this is not the focus of our study, suffice it to say that in a polygamous family with several wives, there would logically be more children, and more children mean larger families. Therefore, any study of the traditional structure of polygamous families in relation to youth problems in Nigeria is inadequate without examining the related effect of family size upon familial relationships.

In developed countries, the effect of this vital dimension may not be so serious because of Government policies, marriage structure, individual and public awareness, social security services etc. Industrial and technological developments have over the years been accompanied by a considerable reduction in the size of families. Thus, the problems created by overly large families have become things of the past in developed countries.

In Nigeria, families of five would be considered as small. The average number in a Nigerian family is somewhere between 8-10 in monogamous families and 10-20 in polygamous families. We noted earlier that the majority of Hausa families in the North and Yoruba Muslims in the West are predominantly polygamous. These groups, in pre-urbanised Nigeria, belonged to the poorly educated and low occupational status category (see Tables 5.4 and 5.5). That the parents in these groups were neither physically ready nor financially capable of caring adequately for their numerous children becomes obvious when we consider the average income per household per month in Nigeria. Lack of statistical data on traditional Nigerian incomes per household has necessitated the use of data collected in 1974. It is only hoped that this will help illuminate the relationships between *Household Income and Delinquency.*

The data on Household Expenditure obtained from the nationwide consumer survey of 1975 conducted by the Household Survey Unit of the Federal Office of Statistics, showed that the average monthly income of urban households (with considerably smaller family size) exceeded by more than 80% that of rural or traditional households (with much larger families). This suggests that the income per month for rural households was far from adequate.

Table 5.4: *Number of Wives in the Families of different*
social segments*

NO. OF WIVES	SOCIAL SEGMENTS UPPER	MIDDLE	LOWER	RURAL	TOTAL NO. OF FAMILIES
1	49	44	37	30	160
2	1	6	4	14	25
3	–	–	4	4	8
4	–	–	4	1	5
5	–	–	1	–	1
6	–	–	–	1	1
Total No. of Wives	51	56	78	80	200

Table 5.5: *Number of Children by Socio-economic Segments**

NO. OF CHILDREN	NO. OF FAMILIES IN UPPER	MIDDLE	LOWER	RURAL	TOTAL
1-3	15	18	22	22	77
4	4	12	7	6	33
5	12	6	5	7	30
6	11	4	4	4	23
7-18	4	10	12	12	11
Total Families	50	50	50	50	200

Note: The data was collected from Anambra State in Eastern
Nigeria.   This is predominantly a monogamous State.
The data could be expected to differ substantially
, in a predominantly polygamous Northern state.

*Extracted from Mudambi (1980)

Table 5.6   Average Household Income per Month
in Naira by Source, 1975

SOURCE	URBAN					
	Wage Earner			Self Employed		
	L	M	U	L	M	U
Basic Cash						
Income	82.12	205.79	489.94	49.92	192.37	610.36
Other Cash	31.89	40.25	20.44	16.85	60.07	53.87
Total Cash	114.01	246.04	510.38	66.77	252.44	664.23
C.O.P.	1.17	0.50	0.11	1.91	1.06	0.05
Income						
in Kind	1.13	0.88	0.65	1.14	0.45	2.51
Imputed Rent	2.74	3.86	7.55	4.89	8.75	15.86
TOTAL	119.05	251.28	518.69	74.71	262.70	682.65

	All Urban	Rural	All Nigeria
Basic Cash Income	81.09	36.63	42.01
Other Cash	24.88	12.43	13.93
Total Cash	105.97	49.06	55.94
C.O.P.	1.49	7.21	6.52
Income in Kind	1.07	2.72	2.52
Imputed Rent	4.38	2.67	2.88
TOTAL	112.91	61.66	67.86

Note: C.O.P. = Consumption from Own Production

Source: Federal Office of Statistics, Lagos.

*Table 5.7   Average Income in Naira per Household
          per Month, 1975*

| STATE | URBAN WAGE EARNERS | | |
	L	M	U
Lagos	137.37	270.70	625.24
West	130.21	270.15	575.73
Mid West	121.26	263.35	493.99
Rivers	63.06	202.10	527.83
East Central	143.70	253.11	406.22
South East	132.19	233.84	636.01
Benue Plateau	88.46	208.00	—
Kwara	116.98	262.27	619.43
North West	119.85	275.55	723.00
North Central	88.25	261.94	534.23
Kano	103.43	242.68	669.61
North East	106.87	155.67	—
All Nigeria	119.65	251.28	578.69

| STATE | URBAN SELF EMPLOYED | | | RURAL |
	L	M	U	
Lagos	106.58	274.74	556.15	142.66
West	64.74	345.37	832.70	51.43
Mid West	74.22	241.26	758.34	92.23
Rivers	69.28	182.61	—	103.10
East Central	79.38	230.12	755.00	61.28
South East	81.83	374.79	609.94	46.90
Benue Plateau	78.81	—	—	91.80
Kwara	269.85	208.07	632.99	35.34
North West	70.83	227.81	576.41	65.63
North Central	65.45	212.82	582.49	37.44
Kano	59.95	217.64	421.85	44.24
North East	78.06	198.13	—	69.75
All Nigeria	262.70	262.70	682.66	61.65

Source: Federal Office of Statistics, Lagos.

Table 5.8   Average Household Income per Month by Source
as Percentage of Total Household Income, 1975

SOURCE	URBAN					
	Wage Earner			Self Employed		
	L	M	U	L	M	U
Basic Cash						
Income	69.0	81.9	94.5	66.8	73.2	89.4
Other Cash	26.8	16.0	3.9	22.6	22.9	7.9
Total Cash	95.8	97.9	98.4	89.4	96.1	97.3
C.O.P.	1.0	0.2	0	2.6	0.4	0
Income in Kind	0.9	0.4	0.1	1.5	0.2	0.4
Imputed Rent	2.3	1.5	1.5	6.5	2.3	2.3
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

	All Urban	Rural	All Nigeria
Basic Cash Income	71.8	59.4	61.9
Other Cash	22.1	20.2	20.5
Total Cash	93.9	79.6	82.4
C.O.P.	1.3	11.7	9.6
Income in Kind	0.9	4.4	3.7
Imputed Rent	3.9	4.3	4.3
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Federal Office of Statistics, Lagos.

Table 5.9   Per Capita Monthly Income in Naira by
Income Group and Employment Status, 1975

| | URBAN WAGE EARNERS | | |
	L	M	U
HH Income	119.05	251.28	518.69
HH Size	5.02	6.14	6.16
PER CAPITA INCOME	23.72	40.93	84.20

| | URBAN SELF EMPLOYED | | |
	L	M	U
HH Income	74.71	262.70	682.65
HH Size	5.50	8.65	8.96
PER CAPITA INCOME	13.58	30.37	76.19

	All Urban	Rural	All Nigeria
HH Income	112.91	61.66	67.86
HH Size	5.67	4.89	4.98
PER CAPITA INCOME	19.91	12.61	13.63

Source: Federal Office of Statistics, Lagos.

Table 5.10   Average Monthly Household Expenditure
in Naira by Type, 1975

SOURCE	URBAN WAGE EARNER		
	L	M	U
Food	44.99	73.50	140.05
Non Food	44.21	107.10	250.83
M.T.	27.58	45.11	108.57
Total Cash	116.78	225.71	499.45
*Non Cash	5.04	5.24	8.31
Grand Total	121.82	230.95	507.76

SOURCE	URBAN SELF EMPLOYED		
	L	M	U
Food	33.82	89.43	118.37
Non Food	24.52	113.36	305.86
M.T.	9.51	31.83	138.02
Total Cash	67.85	234.62	562.25
*Non Cash	7.94	10.26	18.40
Grand Total	75.79	244.88	580.65

SOURCE	All Urban	Rural	All Nigeria
Food	42.73	18.52	21.45
Non Food	42.87	18.47	21.42
M.T.	19.51	0	2.36
Total Cash	105.11	36.99	45.23
*Non Cash	7.03	12.60	11.93
Grand Total	112.14	49.59	57.16

Note: *Non Cash refers to the value of
home production, income in kind
and imputed rent.

Source: Federal Office of Statistics,
Lagos.

Table 5.11 Average Expenditure in Naira per
Household per Month, 1975

STATE	URBAN WAGE EARNERS		
	L	M	U
Lagos	140.70	270.44	644.97
West	152.37	249.17	544.94
Mid West	146.29	275.74	394.62
Rivers	80.91	205.42	328.18
East Central	128.06	303.86	260.66
South East	123.30	228.89	434.12
Benue Plateau	113.65	340.00	—
Kwara	96.28	137.35	549.32
North West	118.58	176.77	198.00
North Central	85.87	234.41	385.14
Kano	90.58	166.91	622.92
North East	55.04	153.41	—
All Nigeria	121.82	230.95	507.76

STATE	URBAN SELF EMPLOYED			RURAL
	L	M	U	
Lagos	131.60	237.88	623.68	116.36
West	61.77	307.18	789.48	40.34
Mid West	88.68	256.42	757.21	68.22
Rivers	83.66	193.84	—	120.85
East Central	65.95	217.15	435.00	48.71
South East	81.05	224.85	394.96	52.30
Benue Plateau	100.88	—	—	57.70
Kwara	48.07	231.60	333.00	25.32
North West	67.34	246.89	583.24	42.80
North Central	66.95	154.94	403.22	24.00
Kano	50.81	183.04	336.75	27.20
North East	72.71	219.16	—	40.54
All Nigeria	75.79	244.88	580.65	49.59

Source: Federal Office of Statistics, Lagos.

*Table 5.12 Household Monthly Expenditure by Type
as Percentage of Total Expenditure, 1975*

	LWE	MWE	URBAN UWE	LSE	MSE	USE
Food	36.9	31.8	27.6	44.6	36.5	20.4
Non Food	36.3	46.4	49.4	32.4	46.3	52.6
Monetary Transactions	22.7	19.5	21.4	12.5	13.0	23.8
Total Cash	95.9	97.7	98.4	89.4	95.8	96.8
Non Cash	4.1	2.3	1.6	10.5	4.2	3.2
Grand Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

	All Urban	Rural	All Nigeria
Food	38.1	37.4	37.5
Non Food	38.2	37.2	37.5
Monetary Transactions	17.4	0	4.1
Total Cash	93.7	74.6	79.1
Non Cash	6.3	25.4	20.9
Grand Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Federal Office of Statistics, Lagos.

Table 5.13   Per Capita Household Expenditure per
Month by Source, 1975

	LWE	MWE	URBAN UWE	LSE	MSE	USE
Food	8.96	11.97	22.74	6.15	10.34	13.21
Non Food	8.81	17.44	40.72	4.46	13.10	34.14
Monetary Transactions	5.49	7.35	17.62	1.73	3.68	15.40
Total Cash	23.26	36.76	81.08	12.34	27.12	62.75
Non Cash	1.00	0.85	1.35	1.44	1.19	2.05
Grand Total	24.26	37.61	82.43	13.78	28.31	64.80

	All Urban	Rural	All Nigeria
Food	7.79	3.79	4.3
Non Food	7.6	3.77	4.3
Monetary Transactions	3.4	0	0.5
Total Cash	18.5	7.56	9.1
Non Cash	1.3	2.58	2.4
Grand Total	19.8	10.14	11.5

Source: Federal Office of Statistics, Lagos.

For the purposes of the survey, urban areas were divided into localities. Localities containing twenty or more enumeration areas constituted the urban frame. An urban locality contained 20 or more enumeration area (EA's). Each of the enumeration areas contained a population of about 1,000 people at the time of demarcation in 1973. Thus, each urban locality had an estimated population of 2,000 persons or more. Other localities were classified as rural. At the time of the survey, the country had twelve states (there are 19 states today). Stratifications of urban localities were done within states. These localities were grouped into four strata according to the number of enumeration areas they contained. The first stratum consisted of state capitals. The second was made up of non-state capitals, containing over 100 EAs, while the third stratum was made up of localities containing between 20 and 50 EAs.

In the rural areas, the districts were ordered in a continuous manner and 150 zones per state were created from each of which two enumeration areas were selected. From these 150 pairs of sample enumeration areas were selected. Sample households were systemmatically drawn from the selected pairs of enumeration areas. The survey covered the twelve months of 1975.

Table 5.6 shows average incomes of N112.91 and N61.66 (£110.70 and £59.45) for urban and rural households per

months respectively. This indicates that the average monthly income of urban households is 80% more than that of rural households. In the lower income group among the urban dwellers, the wage earners earned more per month than the self-employed in the traditionally large families in the agricultural sectors, as illustrated by N119.05 and N74.71 per month for the wage earner and self-employed in this group respectively. This trend supports the hypothesis that parents in polygamous families whose family size was large were neither physically ready nor financially capable of caring adequately for their numerous children. In large families, N74.71 per month is clearly inadequate. Hence, it could be concluded that in traditional large families with inadequate monthly income, the children's daily needs were not always met. As a result, hunger and deprivation may force such children into anti-social behaviour, such as inter-house stealing, and aggressive attitudes towards half-brothers and half-sisters.

Table 5.7 which shows the average income per household per month by state, more or less tallies with the patterns of Table 5.6. The data further illuminates the fact that the monogamous southern states with fairly small family size earn more per month than the whole of the Northern States with their predominantly polygamous and large families. The differences in income per household tend to illuminate the differences in the patterns of crime and delinquency in the country (see Table 5.14).

Table 5.8 shows the percentage transformation of Table 5.6. The basic income of all urban households is N71.78, compared with the basic income of only N59.4 for all rural households. Again this determines the patterns of consumption per household and its ability to satisfy children's basic needs. Table 5.9 shows the per capita income per month of both urban and rural households. As can be seen from this Table, the highest per capita income of N84.20 was recorded in the upper income bracket of urban wage earners. This may well have something to do with the household size of 6.16 as against N13.58 for the self-employed income bracket with a larger household size of 8.65.

Data collected on patterns of Household__Expenditure illustrate the different monthly expenditure per household in urban and rural areas respectively. The data was obtained from the nationwide consumer survey of 1975, conducted by the Household Survey Unit of the Federal Office of Statistics, Lagos. This data shows that lower income households in urban areas spend an average N121.82 as against their monthly income of N119.05 respectively. Their self-employed counterparts spend on average N75.79 as against their income of N74.71. The rural households spend on average N49.59 as against their income of N61.66 (see Table 5.9). Whereas rural households get some consumer goods from their own production (farms), the urban self-employed households buy all their goods.

Table 5.10 depicts the average expenditure per household per month which highlights the same trends as Table 5.11, with the addition that it has been broken down to show state figures. This again highlights differences in expenditure between the two states (Muslim states and Christian states). Table 5.12 is a percentage transformation of Table 5.10, while Table 5.13 shows the per capita households expenditure per month which rises with the level of income in urban areas. It is observed from the Table that the average monthly expenditure per head among wage earner households was higher than the corresponding expenditure in self-employed households with the same level of income. Also average per capita expenditure per month is higher in urban households than in rural areas just like the income.

A break-down of total expenditure on family welfare such as food, clothing and other housing facilities may illuminate further relationships between inadequate care in large families, housing conditions and youth problems (Douglas and Bloomfield, 1958).

Food

Table 5.14 shows that average expenditure on such essential requirements as food is N21.00 for the upper income groups, N9.00 for the middle income groups and N6.00 for the lower income groups. This means a decrease in food allowance in the ratio of 7:3:2. The highest actual expenditure is as high as N30.00 for the upper

income segment and N20.00 per person per month for the lower income households. It has already been noted how lower income households are characterised by large family size.

*Table 5.14: Average monthly expenditure for food by socio-economic levels**

| FOOD EXPENDITURE | NO. OF FAMILIES | | | TOTAL |
PER PERSON IN NIARA**	UPPER	MIDDLE	LOWER	
2-6	—	17	33	50
7-10	—	18	17	35
11-15	13	10	—	23
16-20	14	4	—	18
20-25	15	1	—	16
26-30	8	—	—	8
Average Expenditure to the Nearest Whole Number	21	9	6	150

*Data extracted from the Journal of Family Welfare, 1980. For further details, see Mudambi (1980).

**One Naira = British £.98

Clothing

Table 5.15 shows that rural children have very few clothes as compared with their urban counterparts. One might argue that since the lower and rural segments of the population spend about a third of what is spent by upper segments on food, they will provide more clothing for their children than do the upper segments. An alternative explanation may be found in the way that large polygamous families are over-represented in the lower class and rural groups. When these are compared with the smaller, monogamous urban families, one quickly sees that money

left over after food expenditure will not always be sufficient to clothe children in the larger rural families.

Table 5.15: Average number of clothes per child by different social segments*

| CLOTHES | AVERAGE NO. OF CLOTHES PER CHILD | | | |
	UPPER	MIDDLE	LOWER	RURAL
Home clothes	8	5	4	—
Going out clothes	8	5	6	—
Clothes for sleeping	3	2	1	—
Under garments	5	3	2	—
Unspecified clothes	—	10	6	3
Uniforms for school children	3	2	2	1
Total	27	27	21	4

*Data extracted from the Journal of Family Welfare, 1980. For further details, see Mudambi (1980).

Housing

The kind of housing and the accommodation available in most pre-urbanised Nigeria could well be described as ghetto-like. Table 5.16 reveals that 84% of families in Nigeria have an average of 4 persons sharing a room. 71% of these are from rural areas with large families. We have already noted the relationship between over-crowded conditions and delinquency. Douglas and Bloomfield's (1958) study showed an inverse relationship between the number of children in a family and adequacy of housing. Other studies, however, have continued to show interrelationships between family size and the quality of life (Mudambi, 1980). It is obvious that in Nigeria the

average expenditure per person for food, clothing and
housing tends to decrease as family size increases.[3]

Table 5.16: Housing Facilities by Social Segments

| AVERAGE NO. OF PERSONS PER ROOM | NUMBER OF FAMILIES IN | | | | TOTAL NO. OF FAMILIES |
	UPPER	MIDDLE	LOWER	RURAL	
1	–	1	1	–	2
2	15	8	7	13	43
3	23	12	14	17	66
4	9	22	17	9	57
5-6	3	7	10	11	31
7	–	–	1	–	1

Data for this Table was drawn from a study in the Eastern
states of Nigeria. In the Northern states with larger
numbers of small (usually one room) houses, the data would
show a remarkable inverse proportion for the lower and
rural families.

Idusogie's (1972) study in Ghana showed that there is a
scaling down of this ratio in terms of quality of housing
to cope with the increase in household size; and the
effect on living conditions in many families may have
delinquent consequences.

Family size affects the education of children as well.
The writer knows of someone who had to wait until his
other five brothers had finished their primary education
before he could start. (This may, in part, offer an
explanation for why Nigerians generally start schooling at
an older age.) Some children do not even have the
opportunity. Thus, many of the children who drop out of
school seem to come from large lower class and rural
families. Morries and Heady (1955), Dingle et al (1964)

and Wray and Agirre (1961) also showed associations between family size and infant mortality, illness, malnutrition and inadequacy of housing conditions.

It was pointed out earlier that Nigerian parents valued large families very highly. One possible explanation given to this trend was that in traditional Nigerian culture, children were regarded as economic investments, and large families are therefore the most visible yardstick by which to measure people's wealth and consequently their social status. Thus, Nigerian parents have shown a preference for large families, even when they have not had the economic means to sustain them.

A United Nations (1964) report projected that the population of developing countries, of which Nigeria is one, will increase to 74.4% of the world population by 1985. If this happens, the profound effects on families can only be imagined. Already some African countries are finding it very difficult to cope with the rising cost of living.

Inadequate economic support in large families has had adverse consequences on young people. Some of these are:

(a) Abandonment ---   rejection and deprivation

(b) Malnutrition ---   impaired physical and intellectual
                        development

(c) Inadequate family
    socialisation ---   haphazard parent/child relationships,
                        communication, love and affection.

Empirical studies carried out in developed countries have shown strong association between these factors and delinquency, crime and youth problems.

The United Nations' Report on World Population (1964) suggested that the size of large families denies children the right to "affection, love, adequate nutrition, education to learn to be useful members of society and to develop individual ability". Such a situation, they said, is a recipe for delinquency. Accordingly, Okobiah (1977) argued that the problem areas for children are directly related to the interplay of the environment, the society and the family structure into which the child is born and nurtured.

Given the degree to which Nigerian youth depend on their parents (see Table 5.17), large families are not competent to provide equally for all their children. Table 5.17 shows that at all points in time, a higher proportion of children under the age of 20 years are dependent upon individual homes in Nigeria as compared with developed countries. It could be argued that those less provided for may feel rejected, deprived of love and affection. In their search for alternatives, they may develop aggressive attitudes towards their family in the first instance and then to the society at large. Because of the burdens presented by over population, most Nigerian families even today have little time to care adequately for the 'whats', 'whys' and the 'hows' of better child-rearing practices.

Thus, the socio-economic structure of large families —
with the attendant social problems at home and in society
generally — can greatly affect the behavioural patterns of
young people, especially in polygamous families of
traditional Nigerian society.

Table 5.17: Percentage Population Under 15 years of age
in 1975 (U.N. Estimate)*

COUNTRIES	UNDER 5 YEARS	5-14 YEARS	TOTAL UNDER 15 YEARS
World	13.4	22.6	36.0
Developed countries	8.2	16.8	25.0
Less developed countries	15.4	25.0	40.4
Africa	17.9	26.3	44.2
Nigeria**	17.2	27.5	44.7

*Source: Population Council (1974: 5-6)   .

**Calculated from the Nigerian National Census,
Federal Office of Statistics, Lagos, 1963

Hypothesis 3:   Collective and Authoritarian Child Rearing practices

Although Nigerian families in general are very
authoritarian in their approach, there is some vague
realisation that punitive measures are not always
successful and that the bad behaviour of children may be a
result of the punishment inflicted upon them.   Parents and
guardians frequently find out for themselves that harsh
measures do not always reform the delinquent.
Unfortunately, Nigerian parents resent what they consider
to be lenient child rearing practices.

The word 'ke' which is normally translated by the
Yorubas as 'pet' denotes no physical form of endearment.
Rather, it is an attitude of being subservient to the
child, giving in to him, letting him have the odd pennies
or even clothes, coaxing him to do his household tasks and
making lavish promises which are not fulfilled. Lenient
methods of training a child could be classified as
petting, and what some people would regard as normal
consideration shown to a child, would be regarded by
traditional Nigerian parents as petting. A cessation of
punishments in child training are frequently regarded as
spoiling the child. Thus, a happy medium between too
severe and too lax discipline is not known to Nigerian
parents. This may be attributed partly to their attitudes
towards seniority in their relationships as we have noted
earlier. You are either 'on top' - senior - or
'underneath' - junior - but never 'side by side' -
equals.

Nigerian parents believe that their children need
nothing but very strict disciplinary rearing to prevent
them from getting involved in what, in the eyes of those
parents, are delinquent behaviours. Children who may find
it difficult to adjust to what they consider antagonistic
treatment from their parents, often run away from home,
and are, thus, rejected by their parents. Many of these
become delinquents.

In pre-urbanised Nigeria, delinquency was primarily

regarded from the point of view of parental or familial tolerance or rejection. A delinquent child was a child labelled as such by either the members of his own family or by the adult who had custody of him. Thus, in colonial days, the only delinquent behaviours known to the general public were those brought before the juvenile courts[4] where youths were charged with hawking or found wandering. These were classified as youngsters in need of care and protection. Another group were those who, in the eyes of of their family or social welfare workers, were exposed to moral danger; or those brought by their parents or guardian as being beyond their control. Delinquency was, thus, defined simply in terms of any behaviour which was condemned by the parents or guardians with whom the child lived. Note that the term 'Parents', as we have earlier noted, includes all the males of the father's generation as well as all the females of the mother's generation within the environment in which the child has been socialised.

A child is considered delinquent when he has disobeyed his parents' authority, no matter how such an authority is constituted. Running away is considered to be an act of delinquency, no matter the reason(s) for running away. A child is considered delinquent, if he refuses to play the adult role, such as hawking, fetching the water or food for the animals. He is labelled lazy if he is not out of bed by 6 a.m. or goes to bed by 12 a.m.

In the previous chapter, it was pointed out that Nigerian children, especially among the Yorubas and the Hausas, were not always reared in their own homes. This trend was attributed to the ideology of punishment and authoritarian child rearing practices as the best way of rearing children. This variable seemed to have a significant association with deviance in pre-urbanised Nigeria. Oloruntimehim's (1970) research highlighted an association between authoritarian child rearing practices and delinquency. Table 5.18 shows the degree of relationship between punishment and delinquency. This variable tends to support the hypothesis which states that children who come from homes where heavy corporal punishment, starvation and withdrawal of comfort are common features, will tend to deviate. The case study of Raufu further illustrates the relationship between the variables.

Raufu, aged 13 years, was brought before the juvenile court for stealing a handbag.

"The father related that Raufu was 5 years old when he was placed in a Koranic class from which he used to abscond. When sent to English classes, he also absconded and roamed about in the neighburhood. About 3 years ago, he started absconding from home whenever he was threatened with a flogging for making a mistake or refusing to run an errand. On the first occasion, he stayed out for one night, later 3 or 4 days, and more recently, one or two weeks. Before he ran away, he usually stole a shilling or so from his brothers or from me or his mother; and his elder brother would threaten to flog him. Then he absconded. Reports were brought to the house that he had stolen such things as money, cloth, handbags, earrings, etc. A month ago he was sent to live with a maternal relative, but

absconded. Previous to that he had always lived
with us. but was always beaten when he
misbehaved." Raufu described his family life as
"My parents live together, but frequently
quarrel. They abuse each other and father tells
mother to go away. I was sent to live with a
Muslim priest who flogged us always without
reason. At home I was also flogged either by my
parents, brother or any senior member of the
family for the slightest mistake. I ran because
I was afraid of being flogged" (Social Welfare
Report Book, 1961).

*Table 5.18:   Correlation of Faulty Discipline with Delinquency**

TYPE OF DISCIPLINE	DELINQUENT GROUP	NON-DELINQUENT GROUP	TOTAL
Faulty Discipline	81	3	84
Non-faulty Discipline	10	88	98
Total	91	91	182

*Extracted from Oloruntimehin (1970)

Delinquency was also seen as a failure in what was
considered as a youth's duties and obligations,
non-compliance with orders or slowness in obeying them, as
well as a failure in one's duty to show obedient, useful
and submissive respect to all one's seniors. Thus, the
Yoruba adult would endorse the definition of a delinquent
child as one who fails in his duty and obligations to the
adults. While the adult has a complete right to default
on his obligations to the child, the child has no such
rights. The onus was on the young people to earn the
adult's obligation; and this has considerable bearing upon
the development of delinquency. Since young people are
expected to obey everyone who was senior to them, and to

whom they would normally show respect, those who are even as little as three months their senior may order or boss about those who are regarded as junior. They may also feel quite free to reprimand and abuse the junior ones. Trouble can arise when a young one is left in the care of a so-called senior adolescent sibling who may well bully and ill-treat his juniors. The younger child's somewhat aggressive reaction in self-defence is normally treated with misgiving by the parents who usually uphold that at all cost the junior must be obedient and submissive to their senior.

The cultural authority placed on all males of one's father's generation in lineage to discipline all persons called children may seem both misplaced and conflicting. Since some of those males of the father's generation may have no children of their own biologically, and may not even be married, it could be argued that they have little or no knowledge at all of child psychology or developmental processes or of a child's needs and desires. The conflict that may result from such discipline could lead children to misbehave, especially in a society where refusal to obey the orders of one's seniors, irrespective of the rationality of such orders, is considered as deviance.

It was noted that everyone in pre-urbanised Nigerian society is everyone else's brother and keeper. Brother here is defined by mutual trust, help, loyalty and

affection. A person recognizes and appreciates the high social status achieved by agnates — his brothers — he boasts of them, and may even place himself under them so as to advance socio-economically. Thus, successful agnates are consulted for advice, and in many cases used as examples to follow. Parents can be heard saying to their less successful children, "Do you not see the progress others are making?" or "Are you not of our blood?" Of course, this is the last question a Nigerian youth wants to hear, not if he loves his mother; and it is sufficient to set him thinking. Otherwise, the mother takes the blame. She is accused of adultery, and the particular child is regarded as "not of our blood" — a half-caste. Thus, it could be argued that the attitudes of Nigerian parents towards achieving high social status tend to create tensions. Unhealthy competition among youths, envy, jealousy and hostility may become strong enough to induce delinquent behaviour.

Uchendu (1983) puts the concept of high social status in pre-urbanised Nigerian society in its proper perspective, when she compared traditional education with Western education. She noted

> Today Western education is regarded as the most important source of security. To deny a brilliant child good education is to deny the coming generation a better place in life (1983: 65).

Traditional education, today supplemented by modern education, included initiation into various social

institutions, status or title-taking, farming and/or agricultural knowledge, as well as an understanding of societal and cultural norms. Like Western education, every parent ensured that his children were not denied these. The children on their own initiative aspired to acquire such knowledge. They resented any self-pity. They expressed great anxiety for the future and many felt much frustration in connection with personal failures but they considered self-pity as unmanly. Rather, they resorted to self-criticism in an attempt to assert the man they are. "Is it because I have not taken the Yam title that you ride on me?" and so on. This type of self-criticism tends to result in psychological conflicts and frustrations. An extrovert youth may well turn this feeling onto the members of his family or to society.

The Structure of Relationships with the Umunne

This was another cause of delinquent behaviour in traditional Nigerian society. With one's Umunne (mother's lineage), a person has no socio-cultural rights of inheritance to either property or office. Rather he receives unequivocal welcome and depends on them to protect his jural rights in his patrilineage, should conflicts arise. The degree of dependence is, however, relative to specific social activities. For example,

> He seeks their support in any serious cases, in which he may be involved. If convicted of bigamy or similar offence, his Umunne is the only place for his exile.

> When conditions become unbearable in his own

lineage, he seeks voluntary exile with his
umunne.

The title taken, the student who plans to go
abroad for higher education and the 'Mgbede'
girls (debutantes) who are coming out of the
fatting house in preparation for marriage,
depends on the Umunne for substantial
contributions and gifts, etc.

It is important to point out here that the umunne kinship
bond like its umunna counterpart is a permanent one, and
is even strengthened by the death of one's mother.

In pre-urban Nigeria, all youths received love and
affection from their mother's lineage. They were also
allowed considerable latitude in their behaviour. Like
the umunna, all the help from the Umunne kins was given
only to the socially well-behaved 'Umu-Nwanwa'
(grandchildren). As an outlaw, a delinquent child brought
shame to their kin. Such children were not given the
warmest welcome, let alone any help or assistance in times
of trouble.

Paradoxically, this social structure seemed to have
failed to induce conformity. For example, the humiliating
remarks, the concept of self-criticism as well as the wide
latitude of behaviour in relationships with the Umunne
kin, do not only tend to generate conflict, it also
creates unhealthy competition, jealousy, envy and
hostility. The trend tends to endanger the social role
relationships of the youths relative to their peers in
particular and to society in general. The degree of
freedom of behaviour allowed to a sister's children,

especially the sons, also appears to allow them freedom to indulge in delinquent practices. For example, while a child stayed with his matrilineage, he was treated with much affection and his playmates were warned about the danger of annoying him or making him spill his blood. He is also given the privilege of being allowed to take anything from his mother's brother's house without asking permission. He was, thus, able to make fun of everybody in the mother's lineage. He could become what the Yorubas call a "spoilt child", and if his attitude was not checked, he could carry this attitude far into his adolescence and exhibit the same type of behaviour outside the home. If these privileges, which he now considers as rights, are later denied him, he may then develop more antagonistic attitudes towards those concerned.

Relative to agnates or age-grades and individual success, if the agnates or age graders are the greatest supporters of individual success, as we noted among the Igbos of Eastern States, it may be argued that they may also be the greatest source of hostility. The writer has heard some Igbo elders say "the same agnates that are the source of strength can also be the source of death and other social hostility". Aggression can be evident in children of the same agnates, as can also be seen among co-wives when they quarrel and boast about the success of their individual children, their husband's greater love and affection, their individual families' social status, sister's in-laws, mother's and daughter's in-laws turning

apart. All these tensions are found among agnates. The
result is that those who are considered socially inferior
may express their hostility indirectly through destruction
of property, deprecation, envy and other emotions strong
enough to induce delinquent or criminal actions.

Poverty

This is one possible explanation for collective child
caring in Nigerian families. Because of the patterns of
poverty in Nigeria, especially during the pre-urban
period, one can trace a pattern of delinquency from early
childhood to late adolescence, which is common to nearly
all who were fostered by relatives or were cared for
collectively.

The writer grew up in a poor neighbourhood in Cross
River State. His experiences showed that nearly all the
children who were regarded as delinquents in the
neighbourhood were those who ran away from home or who
went from home to home in search of food. The precarious
economic conditions of these families deprived them of any
opportunities for satisfying the fundamental wishes for
physiological, psychological and cultural development of
their children. This situation bred in some youths a
feeling of insecurity in their own homes, of inferiority
compared with others; and many ran away from home. Other
children belonged to families characterised by a
collective care system where no one knew who had fed whom
and in some cases families that could not provide at least

one meal a day. The children of these families became street boys, beggars and pick pockets in the cinema. Some, however, apprenticed themselves to trades while others took to hawking, and still learned bad things from the street. Some also joined delinquent gangs.

Frequently, their early experience in delinquency became more stimulating and lured them away from any form of conventional behaviour. Most of them did not realise that there was any particular hazard in their behaviour. The satisfactions derived from begging and from running away from home, plus the availability of food and sympathy in the homes of other people as well as on the street encouraged them to stay on the street. Stealing, shop-lifting and picking pockets also brought rewards. A case study of Dende once again illustrates this point and quickly illuminates the relationships between collective child care and delinquency in traditional Nigerian families.

> *Dende*, aged 13 years, was brought before the Court for stealing. His parents separated when Dende was only 4 years old. His father, a government officer, was frequently transferred from one town to another. Dende said "I stayed with my father and was schooled when my mother took me away and handed me to her friend. I absconded from the man and rejoined my father who placed me with a teacher who lived in another town. I was ill-treated, forced to eat pork and was beaten seriously if I refused to eat. I ran back to my father many times but he always took me back to the teacher. Then I ran to my mother. Shortly afterwards, my mother placed me with a tailor. I ran from him because of ill treatment and went to my father. I ran again because my father's new wife ill treated me. I was then removed to live with an Alhaji, a relative of my mother, who beat me frequently

and pinched me until he left scars on the side of my ears. Then I ran. On the street, I was carrying loads for other people when an adult thief approached me and offered to care for me well, if I went with him. So I did, and the thief taught me how to steal. And that was it" (Nigerian Juvenile Court Record Book, 1961).

"And that was it" — a delinquent and criminal life for Dende became the only way out of his collective rearing problems. Our observation here is that for most young people in Nigeria, delinquency is a result of circumstances, a chance and therefore, delinquency may be regarded as a circumstantial social phenomenon associated with survival. Youths who become delinquents do so because of conflict or disagreement with the circumstances in which they find themselves. Under certain conditions, delinquency becomes the only option, the best alternative.

While the parents seemed to disapprove of their children's delinquency, their control over these children was weakened by their poor status, inadequate support and inconsistent supervision. Thus, one can see the lack of a strong identity to counterbalance the powerful influence of the gang over their youths' behaviour on the one hand and the youths' reasons and interest in delinquency on the other. Other explanations for poor parents' free attitude towards their children could be that:

1) Poor parents seem satisfied with and welcome the ill gotten money from their children.

2) The degree of poverty of some of the parents is so

severe that they tend to lose any kind of moral judgment.

3) The desire of poor parents to avoid poverty tends to lead them to a wanton scramble for money. In Nigeria, this has been traditionally institutionalised. Here what counts is how much money or wealth one has acquired and not at what age or by what means it was acquired.

4) Some families, however, may be so busy making ends meet that they tend to take very little interest in their children. As a result, they became unaware of what their children were doing, how they spend their time, and so on.

Children of poor parents seem to be given an excess of freedom. As has often been pointed out in this study, too much freedom (or too little) frequently exposes children to "bad" company and the development of personality traits which may later develop into social maladjustment sufficient to be regarded as delinquency.

Nigerian culture has emphasized individualised achievement models. This is expressed especially through independent, economic activities as the path to social status and political influence. Status and influence are not part of one's inheritance in some parts of Nigeria. These were determined in modern Nigeria by individual initiative and economic performances. Perhaps this could be one other explanation why the youths of poor parents were so vulnerable to anti-social behaviour and more

likely to join gangs which offered greater economic, social and political status mobility.

Wealth was and is an important social and political resource from three standpoints in the Nigerian perspective. First, the acquisition of wealth was taken as the most tangible evidence of personal achievement as we have noted. Second, wealth was a requirement for admission into the secret and titled societies which have continued to play a crucial role in community life. Exclusion from these bodies would sometimes mean the frustration of one's social and political ambitions. Thirdly, and most important, wealth could be used directly to extend a personal network of social and political contacts.[5]

For instance, great emphasis placed on the individual's obligation to his family and lineage, meant that a man's influence was largely a function of his generosity. As Uchendu (1983) puts it, indebtedness to the donor accompanied the generous donation and indebtedness was the first stuff out of which political influence was made. This could be another possible explanation for much of the corruption found in Nigeria today.

A situation where effective power and status rested with men who attained their influence not through their personal qualities of leadership but through their financial prominence, title taking etc may no doubt induce some of those who cannot achieve through honest hard work

to revert to criminal ventures as the best possible alternative. After all, virtually everyone wants both social and economic advancement. Little wonder then that material delinquency and stealing have continued to be the common patterns of deviance in Nigeria.

To the poor delinquent, stealing became almost a daily experience. Accordingly, through these numerous experiences under the organising influence of the tradition of the gang, [6] the wish to acquire wealth became integrated into a definite pattern of delinquent behaviour.

The Conspicuous Consumption Culture

The overt wealth of some rich Nigerians further induced the poor youths to crime and delinquency. Historical evidence shows that the ruling class in pre-urbanised Nigeria

> "suffered from a lack of productive investment outlets. Upon this, the wealth of the coastal merchants (who constituted the ruling class) obtained by their entrepreneurial skills were too often wasted on prefabricated foreign houses or burried iron and copper bars" (Charskda, 1972: 47; see also Abimbola, 1976: 37-39).

The old city of Ibadan, for example, was once described as the china plated city. This followed the traditional conspicious consumption culture of the Nigerian elite which has lasted until today. The impact of this culture on Nigerians, especially among the young people, was such that one can reasonably associate Nigerian false living

culture — cheating, bribery and corruption — with all sorts of crime in that society today. For example, in the past, human trade was acceptable within the whole fabric of the social structure in pre-colonial Nigerian culture because of its financial rewards. Recently, false living, cheating, bribery and corruption have motivated Nigeria's most well-known social problem — armed robbery.

Leo Africanous in Hodgkin (1960) described the ostentatious living of Nigeria's ruling class during the early colonial period as:

> The King seemeth to be marvellously richer (the commoners marvellously poorer); for his spurs, his bridle, plates, dishes, pots and other vessels wherein his meats and drinks are brought to the table are all of pure gold. Yea, and the chains of his dogs and hounds are gold also (Hodgkin, 1960: 132).

while

> Most people possess only the clothes they have on, some cooking pots and pots for brewing native beer, a long pipe with a brass bowl and some native tobacco. To these may be added a mat or two, a bow and arrows and a knife and perhaps a spear. In most Bass-keano homes this is all there is to be seen. The women sometimes have copper bracelets (Byng-Hall, 1908: 14).

Poverty and a conspicuous consumption life style were further striking differences between the Eastern States and the Northern States in pre-colonial Nigeria. The Northern States acquired wealth through trans-Sahara trade and lived a remarkably conspicious life. While in the East, there existed a more flexible and less polarised social structure, the Hausas in the North operated

established caravan routes across the Niger and enriched themselves from the slave trade. They maintained a highly polarised social structure and were comparatively richer. The Eastern people were, therefore, comparatively poor in the early nineteenth century. "Only the few wealthy men (Ogunanya) who have acquired their wealth by local trade or by success in war or by successful farming could, therefore, afford to marry numerous wives, keep slaves, retain armies, purchase titles, etc., but there were no gold chains in Igboland" (Isichei, 1982). This seemed to account for differences in the rate of social inequality relative to education and business in Nigeria today. The government's policy which sought to bridge the educational gap between the South and the North would have materialised if it had been followed by a similar policy aimed at bridging the business gap between the two regional states.

The Concept of Expensive Burial Arrangements

These constitute another aspect of the conspicuous consumption life style that seemed to evoke crime and delinquency during the pre-colonial period, especially amongst the poor youths playing adult roles.

If during their life time the lot of the poor classes, as observed in Brass, is considered to be hard in some respects, and evoked the sympathy of the thoughtful and considerate, it is still more heartening to know that in death the body of one of this class is treated "with the

utmost indifference" (Tepowa, 1967: 57). That is the same as saying that in pre-colonial Nigeria, a worthy burial was for wealthy people and "to be thrown into the bush was good enough for the poor and bad people" (Waddell, 1971).

This is an over-generalised statement and unfavourable to the culture of pre-colonial Nigeria, especially among the Eastern and South-Western people. The concept of expensive burial arrangements for all .was well established and highly observed by all in Nigeria. In fact, the socio-economic worth of a family was mostly dependent on the type of burial a family could give to its dead members.

Among the less privileged, therefore, the concern to give one's parents an expensive burial which, as we have noted above, was regarded as one of the greatest tests of manhood, constituted conflicting problems and worries to the youth who is not yet financially secure. The "child who has not buried his parents properly cannot boast of having conquered life's problems" (Uchendu, 1965). "Go and bury your mother or father (whichever case applies) before you can participate in men's talk" is a common insult given to one who has not given the expensive burial ceremony to a dead parent, especially among the Igbo in the East and the Yorubas in the West. He may not be given the 'most welcome' reception by his mother's lineage in the case of the mother's death, for they too want to "satisfy themselves that their daughter was not neglected;

and that she was well attended by her children" (Uchendu, 1965).

History has shown that the institution of expensive burial expectations and obligations in pre-colonial Nigeria tended to force those who could not afford to finance such an expensive burial by legitimate means to seek alternatives. In most cases, unfair and criminal means seemed the best possible alternative. For example, stealing, taking a never-paid loan or mortgaging another person's land, served as an easy alternative. Some even went into self-imposed exile after mortgaging another person's land or property for the so-called 'proper burial'; and thus created yet another conflict between the rightful owner of the land or property and the mortgage.

There was a case of an armed robber arrested in Lagos who confessed that he had joined his gang in order to raise the money needed to give his dead mother the traditional but expensive burial. He was 19 years old then and was the oldest son of his mother. His father had two other wives with some children older than he was. "I wanted to put to an end these insulting and degrading comments from my age-grade and my community" he said. Finding honest methods of acquiring money to bury his mother too irksome, he fell victim to adult thieves who trained him to steal. He then identified himself with a gang of thieves and slipped into a full time criminal career.

It could be argued that because of the presence of intervening variables in pre-colonial Nigeria, the poor all over the country seemed to be very much aware of their social status as a group; and this group to which they belonged had something to do with their behavioural habits. The membership of the group might have led them to choose and react to social norms in such a way as to defend their common norms, perhaps in an attempt to seek revenge on the society for that which they have been denied or so indeed it seemed.

Hypothesis 4:   Child Labour (children playing the adult role)

The problems of child abuse in pre-colonial Nigeria and its relation to juvenile delinquency will become clear when we consider the illustrated case studies below. It was only when child labour and its resulting delinquent practices became obvious in Nigeria that hawking[7] was made illegal in 1946 for boys under 14 years of age and girls under 17 years; but those over 14 years were allowed to hawk during working hours (6a.m. - 6 p.m.) provided they were living with a parent or parents. Very few hawkers, however, now live with one of their parents.

In Lagos, public protests against the ban on child hawking alleged that the money made by these children maintained their aged grand-parents at home who would otherwise starve. Traditional Nigerian culture invalidates this allegation, since an analysis of cases

before the juvenile court showed that only ten out of 600 hawkers lived with their grandparents, and only 25% lived with any relative at all. Others had argued that the boys hawked to pay their school fees. Considering the degree of poverty in pre-urbanised traditional Nigerian society, this might sound convincing but investigations revealed that these boys were sent out by their guardian's wife for the personal gain of the guardian, not the boys. The investigation further revealed that the guardians of these hawkers were able financially to do without these profits. However, mainly Yoruba women were so commercially minded that they would send out these children to hawk to bring home a profit of as little as 3 or 5 pence a day.

Because Nigerian culture, as has been pointed out earlier, demanded that children be brought up outside their own homes, child abuse was a common phenomenon, especially among the Yorubas and the Hausas. This has continued to this day. We also noted that among the Yorubas, the child brought up by his own parents was usually regarded as a "spoiled child". For this reason, children were sent to live with relatives or apprenticed to learn a trade, in order to receive the hard training required for adult life. These children were sent out to hawk by their relatives or their masters. These groups (children of a tender age) were seen hawking in the streets and compounds — selling their goods or their labours to whosoever would buy them, usually at an

exploited rate as well.

These children frequently came from unhappy families or families where discipline was very strict. Some of them hawked for personal gain in order to lead independent lives. Others had someone who accepted responsibility for them in times of trouble, but actually they managed their own economic affairs. They preferred the independence that hawking gave to the servile relationship of domestic work. They were prepared to hawk and to feed themselves and to contribute £2 or £3 monthly towards the rent of their rooms, instead of hawking for guardians under strict and authoritarian treatment.

Initially, these children may sound quite intelligent, alert and psychologically stable, but unable to bear the harsh conditions which early independent life brings. Some of them do progress to more serious delinquent activities, such as stealing. For example, a girl hawker [8] aged 10 years narrated her story:

> "I first ran away from home because I was hawking sugar cane and lost one penny. My mother told me not to return until I had found it. So I ran away. The second time I was hawking fried beans. My mother told me to sell the food quickly and not to stay out long. I had difficulty in selling the food quickly and I was afraid to return home because I would be caned, so I ran away."

The majority of hawkers in Nigerian streets even today are little girls and they go from one compound to another, selling their wares. Usually, the young male servants are their regular customers. They entice the little girls

into making love with them, promising to buy some or all of their wares. Thus, these girls tend to prostitute themselves even to older men, in order to make quick sales and avoid being caned by their parents or guardians, if they stayed out longer or failed to sell all their wares. Others, eager to replace any money they have lost, may be persuaded into being intimate with strangers for a few pence. Another case study of a girl hawking food in Lagos illustrates this point:

> "When the cock crowed, I began hawking food and was not allowed to return until I had sold everything. This was usually about 10 a.m. to 11 a.m. I was then given food. I had none when I got up. Between 3 p.m. and 4 p.m., I was sent out with another tray of food and was not allowed to return until I sold that. This might be long after it had become dark. And when the market is bad, I will do anything to sell all my food, just as I will do if I have lost my money. If I return without selling my food, I would be whipped with a knotted horse whip, being forced to lie with my face on the ground to receive the whipping. Here are the scars made by the whip. I told my sister that I was being ill-treated, but my sister did nothing. I do not know if my guardian is a relative. I only know he came and told my father that he would like to take me to Lagos and my father agreed. I do not know the whereabouts of my mother." (Nigerian Juvenile Court Record Book, 1956)

Children of poor parents are sent to convey food from one person to another, to their father at his workplace, their mother or aunt at the market, their brother at the office or a relative in the hospital. As the food they conveyed may be - and in fact usually is - much better than any they might be given at home, it is little wonder that the food dwindles along the way. Sometimes the temptation to

the child may be so great that he eats it all on the way. Terrified to return home, he stays on the street or is ejected from home if he has the courage to return there.

Some studies in America (Thrasher, 1936) have indicated that many run away delinquents leave home because of hurt feelings. In the Nigerian situation, it might be right to argue that hurt feelings and a terrific fear of punishment are the root causes of all absconding. An 11 year old delinquent reported at the Lagos juvenile court that he did not plan in advance to abscond:

> "The idea to abscond usually comes when I think I am about to be punished or I remember the ill treatment given to me, such as when my father's second wife threatened to starve me, because I had in her eyes offended her. She regards me as her enemy and does not like me at all. She is at home all day, whilst my mother goes away to trade early in the morning. She rarely comes home at mid-day and does not return finally till 7 p.m. If I asked to go with my mother to her stall, my father would blame my mother and beat her." (Nigerian Juvenile Court Record Book, 1958: 107)

These are the category of boys who would run away from home because of hurt feelings and ill treatment. When they do, most of them eventually fall into the hands of adult thieves. Even those who attached themselves to lorry drivers soon found out that most drivers are themselves expert thieves and thus, the youngsters are introduced to the world of crime and delinquency. A ten year old delinquent reported:

> "I first met the thief for whom I now steal when I was on the street. We became friends and he told me that if I stayed with him, we could go to the cinema and eat at large eating houses

regularly. I was always hungry and my only problem was food, because I was not well fed by my mother, who was very busy trading. I followed him and he showed me where he lived. Since then, I have been leaving home every morning after my mother has gone to market, to join my master/friend; and return home at night. My first job was to steal a table-cloth and then that was it."

Another aged 14 said:

"I was so ill-treated at home by my father and his second wife that I received an offer by my friend to join him at Lagos. When I discovered he was a thief, I left him. While wandering on the street one evening, I met a man (a master thief) whom I used to know. I told him I had come to Lagos to learn a trade. He told me that I would do much better staying with him, so I stayed with him and learned to steal." (Social Welfare Report Book, 1960)

The gangs in Nigeria are thus different to some extent from the juvenile gangs in Britain and North America. Thrasher (1936) who studied 1313 gangs in Chicago wrote:

The majority of gangs developed from the spontaneous play group. Such a play group ... does not become a gang, however, until it begins to excite disapproval and opposition and thus acquire a more definite group consciousness (1936: 29, 39).

In Nigeria, juvenile gangs are composed mainly of pre-adolescents who have nothing in common except their rejection by their families. The Lagos gang thus differs in the most remarkable degree in their lack of solidarity, lack of group feelings, lack of liability, lack of looking up to the elder or leader. Some, however, still felt that their fellow club members were the only persons in the world for whom they cared or on whom they could count (Crawford and Dumpson, 1957: 19) but they lacked

solidarity.

In Chicago, gang members told Thrasher that a "desire to escape family supervision marked the beginning of our feeling of solidarity. Our first loyalties were to protect each other against our parents. Some times the latter were regarded with great dislike by the gang. First it was the gang against the member of our households; and then it was the gang against the neighbours" (1936: 45). In Nigeria, however, the desire is not to escape the family's supervision but the family's punishment, rejection and starvation. While the American youths escape from home because of their need for self-assertion, Nigerian youths do so for fear of ill-treatment or want of protection.

In Lagos, for example, frightened youngsters join together in the street or attach themselves to an adult criminal for protection from their parents. Once on the street or with an adult criminal, they submit to the patterns of the gang and feel that they have separated themselves from their homes and from society. Taking part in delinquent and criminal activities thus become a matter of fact.

In conclusion, most Nigerian peasant parents lived labourers' lives with few possessions. They depended on their children to cushion them against the misfortunes of life (Isichei, 1983). The dependence of children on their parents tended to force them to hawk and to play other

adult roles. They were not well equipped for these roles and when they failed to meet the overly high standards set for them, as was often the case, they became very prone to crime and delinquency.

Children revert to the gangs because of the pull of the group and because crime was and frequently is an easier way of life for those who have been deprived from an early age. To get what they want, they stole from home; and to avoid the subsequent punishment, they ran away from home and some joined gangs. Unlike the family, the gang leader offers inducements to keep them or make them return when they consider leaving the gang to go home.

Educational Environment

The educational environment for most children — especially children from strict traditional states — provided reasons for association with delinquency and crime.

Some investigators (Turiel, 1966, 1973, 1974; Denney and Duffy, 1974; Simon and Ward, 1973) have highlighted the importance of environmental conditions for the development of the personality. It has also been recognised that the generation and consequent resolution of moral conflicts is a condition for moral progression (Piaget, 1932, 1971; Langer, 1969; Turiel, 1974). However, it may be difficult to define which environmental conditions are conducive to the generation or resolution of moral conflicts among

young people.

Maqsud's (1976) recent study showed that youths who were exposed to increased heterogeneous peer group interaction, as well as participation in family activities, tended to exhibit more moral excellence than those in a homogeneous environment. Maqsud observed,

> Nigerian secondary school boys who enjoyed increased peer interaction and also participated in family activities showed more mature moral judgment than those who were subjected only to either of the above two social conditions (1976: 113).

Following this observation, it seemed that heterogeneity in terms of cognition and sociocultural values may be one of the conditions that cause generation and resolution of moral conflicts.

Nigerian people identify themselves with their different traditional subcultures. It is generally believed that social values differ from one Nigerian subculture to another. In some secondary schools, for example, children of various subcultural backgrounds study together, while there are other schools where more than 90% of the school population belongs to a single subcultural group. These types of school are found in the North where the Muslim culture prohibits the mixing of the so-called believers and non-believers.

Thus, the religious cultural environment of Northern Nigeria which hindered heterogeneous education and even discouraged education of most school aged children,

decreases peer group interaction offered by the school environment. Maqsud's hypothesis was very positive on the issue that "Muslim Hausa boys who live in a heterogeneous educational environment were more advanced in moral judgment than those who lived in a homogeneous educational environment" (1976: 115) Pupils in heterogeneous schools are subjected to social heterogeneity, whereas those in homogeneous educational environments (like Muslim schools) are exposed to social homogeneity. Thus, children who live in heterogeneous educational environments are comparatively more mature in moral judgment than those who are in homogeneous educational environments. For these, the opportunities to develop moral conflicts or delinquent behaviour caused by the cognitive imbalance in social interaction are great.

Some Muslim parents who have had associations with Western education — which they consider to be characterised by heterogeneous cultures and low morals — prefer to send their children to Islamic (homogeneous) schools. There they hope that their children will not interact with children from other subcultural groups (Gaya, 1979). Muslim parents believed that Western education would open their children's minds to the evils and vices of modern civilisation (Atolagbe, 1971) and this belief has greatly affected the education of Muslim children in the past.

The basic aim of the Universal Primary Education

(U.P.E.) policy, embarked upon by the Federal Republic of Nigeria in 1977, was to overcome the political and social problems created by the imbalance of educational development between the South and the North (Bary and Cooper, 1979). There was general agreement in the Christian south that education was the key to progress. The educational progress of southern Nigeria owed much to the missionaries, for there are few leaders from the South today who did not attend mission schools; and that helped to make Western education very popular in the south. Prior to the introduction of the U.P.E. scheme, enrolment of primary school aged children in some states approximated to 100% while in the six Northern states it was as little as 5%. By 1967, the average rose to 11.46% in the six northern states (Bary and Cooper, 1979). The Ashby Commission's Report (1960) found that in the North, only about one in eleven or in some areas one in fifty children of primary school age went to school.

What Factors made Education Unpopular in the Northern States?

The coming of Islam predated Christianity in Nigeria by over 300 years (Fafunwa, 1974). Early in the fifteenth century, the Emir of Kano accepted Islam. The trade links with North Africa and Western Sudan helped to spread the Islamic religion to all, across Hausaland. The European missionaries came to Nigeria only in the 1840s, with the aim of converting the traditional religionists and Muslims

to Christianity. As a result, mission schools were built and Western education in general became synonymous with the spread of Christianity (Dubey et al, 1979). The northern Muslims were aware that if they sent their children to Christian schools, they would return as Christians (Fafunwa, 1974). Since in the North, Qu'ranic schools prospered, Christian schools and Western education had difficulty taking off. Because girls were not sent to school before the coming of Christianity, Qu'ranic schools for girls were established about 25 years later (between 1930 and 1936) in Kano, Katsina, Sokoto, Birnin Kebbi and Argunga for 600 girls. The aim was to compete with the Christian schools which had been admitting girls from the start.

This suggests that very few children in the North, when compared with school aged children in the South, took advantage of the opportunities offered by Western education (Ahmed, 1977). Haroun (1973) outlined five religious, sociocultural and economic reasons which impeded the full participation of Northern youth in education as:

1. Traditional antagonism of Muslims towards Western education.

2. Marriage customs and the seclusion of women or purdah (kulle) in the Hausa Muslim society. This point was discussed earlier.

3. Fear of moral laxity in the schools (erroneous judgment of early mission schools).

4. Paucity of post-primary institutions.

5. Lukewarm support by the political leadership.

Hake (1970) added that parental misconceptions about the Islamic view on the education of women in particular denied Muslim girls their right to go to school. Ahura (1971) went further to say that Muslim parents did not wish their children to mix with the children of non-Muslims in school. They questioned the value of Western education and many viewed it as a destructive force to the traditional Hausa way of life (Fafunwa, 1974). It was felt the Western education, introduced by Europeans with a different culture, historical traditions and language could only undermine Islamic tradition. This very attitude towards education seems an interesting parallel with Catholic and Protestant educational barriers in Northern Ireland and Scotland.

Abubaker's (1970) survey in Gombe in Banchi states showed support for parents' negative attitudes towards education in general and Western education in particular. The majority, however, preferred to send their children to Qu'ranic schools. These parents considered missionary schools to be occupation oriented, and since the occupation of girls, for example, was to get married, no need was perceived for their schooling. Western education

for girls in particular was, therefore, looked upon as subversive against paternal authority and Hausa Muslim tradition.

Hake's (1970) survey in the Kano area found that over 50% of the parents were not in favour of education for girls. The reasons given were summarised as:

(a) Schooling interferes with marriage at the proper age.

(b) Schooling keeps them away from home where they are meant to stay and tend children.

(c) Islam commands that women should be secluded and not exposed to the opposite sex.

Muslim parents expressed their anxiety about marrying their daughters at the right age according to Muslim law and deliberately refused to embrace Universal Primary Education for fear that it might prevent early marriage (Nyam, 1976). Safujanu (1977) found that 50% of the parents in his sample were in favour of girls' education and 61.7% in favour of marriage over 12 years of age. Those who approved of primary education for girls, did so because of the economic reward they hoped this would bring. They felt that such girls could be married to well-to-do husbands on account of their schooling. The parents who rejected education for girls stressed that they must marry at the onset of puberty (Mshelia, 1974). All expressed strong fears that a girl might refuse to get

married because of her education. In their view, education could result in disobedience to parents and husbands (Sabe, 1975).

It has been said by many parents that "If girls learn to rebel against the parents and society, there is no reason for sending them to school" (Sabe, 1975). Muslim parents, thus, strongly disapprove of the idea of girls deciding what they wish to do or whom they wish to marry. This to a large extent confirms Ndugbueze's (1973) view about the place of women in Muslim society. This will be discussed in detail under marital relationships, including forced and early marriage, to which we now turn.

Hypothesis 5: Marital Relationships: Early and Forced Marriage

The Okediji and Okediji (1966) study of marital stability and social structure in Ibadan showed that Muslims experienced higher rates of divorce than members of other religious groups. In another study, Lloyd (1968) established lower divorce rates in two predominantly Christian towns as compared with two other predominantly Muslim towns. Sofoluwe (1965) found a similar result in an earlier study among Yoruba Muslims in Igbo-Ora.

One possible explanation for this trend may be found in the structure of marital relationships and the cultural expectations of early and forced marriage, which also determines the place of women in traditional Nigerian society, especially among polygamous Muslim families.

It was pointed out earlier that there are no fixed age limits in Nigeria for marriage. Quite young children may marry legally; and among the Muslims, child marriage is the rule (Levy 1969). Some girls are married at the age of 12 and often at even younger ages in the villages. In some others, they are married at the age of five or six and brought up by the husband (Madduci, Isa and Daura, 1978). According to Malike law, the father has the right to contract his virgin daughter in marriage regardless of her wishes and without consultation with the mother (Bwala, 1979). Some fathers also marry off their daughters to old men for mercenary motives or in exchange for other women (Madduci et al, 1978).

Historical and anthropological evidence shows that in societies where exchange of women and early marriages were practised, women had little choice of action. In Nigeria, however, they could choose elopement. In Tiv land, for example, "this kind of constraint was sometimes avoided by elopement. Some young girls, forced into unwelcomed marriage, committed suicide (East, 1939: 166). In the Yoruba kingdom of Owo, girls had their ears cropped or been disowned by their parents, if they refused to marry the man chosen by their father. In spite of this, some young women, including some who have suffered physical deformation and endured public ridicule for it, have been known to persistently and resolutely refuse to marry a chosen man whom they disliked (Johnson, 1904). When it

comes to divorce, in cases where the father does not allow his daughter to divorce her chosen husband for various reasons, the girl often runs away and supports herself by prostituting in a bigger village. For others, forced marriage is unbearable and could not be tolerated.

Bintu, a 14 year old girl, for example, was sent to juvenile court for being beyond the control of her father. The father reported that he had:

> accepted bride wealth for her from a man and the thanking ceremony had been performed, but Bintu refused to complete the marriage, saying she was too young. He kept reiterating that she would soon be pregnant by another man unless the marriage was comsummated. In spite of hearing all this, the fiance expressed his willingness to marry her. Finally Bintu was found living in a shack with a group of young men of the hooligan type. She was frequenting hotels, bars, drinking and smoking, and no longer visited her family (Nigerian Juvenile Court Record Book, 1962).

It appeared that Bintu's family background contributed to her early delinquency, as the father's report showed that the mother was aggressive and had four children by different men before she came to him. It could, however, be argued that the early and forced marriage arranged by her father was the last straw that pushed her into real delinquency (see Table 5.19).

Another structure of traditional Nigerian society that tended to push children into delinquency is the Position of Women. Forced and early marriage helps to determine the role structure of women in traditional Nigerian society. It was pointed out that among Hausa families, it was the

father's decision whether or not a girl goes to school. In the Muslim view, "men stand superior to women in that God hath preferred the one over the other ..." (Ahmad and Ansari, 1980). For this and other reasons, men in Muslim states do not go to courts of law to divorce their wives. They simply send her home with a written declaration of his intent.

Table 5.19:   Relationship between Unhappy Union and Delinquency

TYPES OF UNION	DELINQUENT GROUP	NON-DELINQUENT GROUP	TOTAL
Unhappy Union	10	0	10
Happy Union	7	76	83
Total	17	76	93

Thus, in traditional Nigerian society, both religious and social traditions bestowed secondary citizenship on women. Marriage customs, seclusion, perception of Western education by parents and the overall concept of women's role in Nigeria resulted in placing less value on the education of girls. Girls should "stay in their houses" to help the mother in various domestic activities. Mothers who are locked in their houses (in purdah) do not go to the market to sell or buy goods. These rely on their unmarried daughters as their main contact with the outside world. As a result, the girls' hawking careers begin at the age of five and last until marriage. Though the boys are not involved in household chores and spend

their time as they please in recreation and amusements, in company of their choice, they, like the girls, are expected to hawk on the street, where some of them meet their first gang and learn their first lessons in delinquency.

In some other parts of the country, women in general provide for the family. They are active traders and good farmers. They labour from morning till night without help from their husbands who regard them as the "woman I married with my money". The children, especially the daughters who are the only helpers, may soon become tired of the laborious nature of their work and may run away to bigger towns.

Writing about women's labour in Nigeria, Crowther and Taylor (1859) noted.

> The female population may be said to be the life of trade in this country. ... A great deal of labour is entailed on the women. On them solely devolves the care of their children, to feed and clothe them from childhood ... With such a charge upon them, without help, having to labour hard in bearing burdens, for they are the chief carriers of loads, grinding corn upon the millstones, many times till late hours of the night (1859: 204).

East (1939) described the average day of a Tiv housewife as the following:

> She would go early to draw water, sweep the house clean, make the fire, cook and peel a yam for her husband to eat, then go out to work on the farm. On the way home she would collect some firewood. Having brought this in, she would pound up the corn, fetch a grindstone and grind it to flour, singing as she worked. When they had finished their meal, she collected and

washed up all the utensils. Then she went down
to the stream to bathe, draw water and brought
it back with her to the village. After this she
rubbed some camwood on her body and lay down on
the ground to rest. But another, when she came
back from the stream, would set to work to pick
out the seeds from the cotton. When evening
came, she put this away and made some more ruam
for her husband. By the time she had washed up
everything, it was dark and time to sit round
together. She took to cotton and began to spin,
till drowsiness overcame her and she fell asleep
(1939: 309-310).

Thus, occupation outside and inside the home, such as
farming, trading and cooking absorbed much of a Nigerian
mother's energy, and made their life and the mother/child
role relationship "the opposite pole of human experience"
(Cohen, 1957).

The nature of women's occupation seems to suggest, in
addition, that mothers in traditional Nigerian society,
like their counterparts in developed societies, have
little or no time to attend to the maternal needs of their
children. We have already noted the relative effect of
lack of maternal love and affection on children and the
development of delinquent behaviour. However, an
illuminative case study of Amachi's experience further
illustrates the effect of inadequate love and affection or
lack of both on youth's behaviour.

Amachi, aged 14 years, was found sleeping in the street
during a midnight search by welfare officers for children
who might have run away from home. Inquiries showed that:

> Amachi's father was always drunk and, apart
> from being a ne'er do well, he had served a
> prison sentence. Though both parents were
> educated, they quarrelled so often that

separation was unavoidable. Amachi was, as a result, sent to live with his paternal grandmother at the age of 3 years. He was taken away by his father's uncle when he was 6 years old. This was a polygamous family and so no personal attention was given to Amachi. He began running away from home and school, keeping bad company, etc. The situation became such that he was rejected by his father's uncle. He lived with both paternal and maternal grandmothers alternately, neither of whom was financially able to care adequately for Amachi or provide the love and affection he needed to develop a healthy personality. He became delinquent in the broad sense of the word (Nigerian Juvenile Delinquent Report Book, 1956).

Amachi's case seems to confirm the Western theories of emotional deprivation. In Nigeria this variable is mainly found among children of divorced parents.

Divorce is another factor that tended to generate delinquency in traditional Nigerian society. It has been pointed out that early and forced marriages result in a traditionally accepted "in and out" pattern of marriage, especially among the Muslims and polygamous families. This pattern of marriage endangers the normal structure of family life as well as adversely affecting the normal development of children.

Research into the causes of persistent delinquency has stressed the adverse effect of maternal deprivation during the early years upon the social and moral development of children. Stott (1947), in his study of approved schools for boys, described "a standard danger of the broken homes, where in effect one parent has the legal custody of the child, while the child itself is devoted to the other" (1947: 174). Powell (1972) expanded this concept in his

"Why Am I Afraid to Love?" when he said:

> We know that if the bud of a flower is
> impaired by hostile forces, like an unseasonal
> frost, it will not open. So too, a human person
> who is without the warm encouragement of love,
> and who must endure the chilling absence of
> praise or affection (provided by a stable and
> happy family), will remain closed in on
> himself. The dynamics of his personality will
> be jammed. And if the dynamics of his
> personality are seriously impeded, the result
> will be what psychologists call neurosis (1972:
> 25).

Oloruntimehin (1970) studied the relationship between divorce and delinquency in Nigeria. The results of this study are represented in Tables 5.20 and 5.21. Examination of the degree of association between broken homes and delinquency though will show that divorce or broken homes in themselves may not make for the development of delinquent behaviour. The aspects of divorce which are significant for the development of delinquent behaviour are the break in both parents' love and affection, that is, the effect on the child's relationships with the parents and the members of the extended family as well as the custody arrangements.

*Table 5.20: Correlation between Broken Home and Delinquency**

TYPE OF HOMES	DELINQUENT GROUP	NON-DELINQUENT GROUP	TOTAL
Broken Home	71	15	89
Non-Broken Home	17	76	93
Total	91	91	182

Table 5.21: Correlation between Parental Indifference to Child's Progress and Delinquency

TYPE OF PARENTS	DELINQUENT GROUP	NON-DELINQUENT GROUP	TOTAL
Indifferent to Children's Progress	63	1	64
Mindful of Children's Progress	28	90	118
Total	91	91	182

* Broken home is here defined as separation of parents as the result of death, divorce or desertion.
  The above data is extracted from Oloruntimehin (1970).

Analysis of data in Table 5.21 tends to suggest that usually there is bitterness between the divorced couples which tends to affect their relationships with their children. This may and often does result in inadequate fulfilment of parental roles towards the children. The children may react to this situation by finding alternative means of satisfaction outside the home. Such children run away from home frequently and some associate with peer groups and engage in delinquent activities. Most of the children who were described as children in need of care or protection by the juvenile courts in Nigeria came from this type of home.

Some divorced parents may become so uninterested in their children that they may not bother to enquire about their performance at the farm, in their trade or at school. The children, for their part, tend to develop a similar attitude towards themselves and invariably to not make any effort to perform well in their trade. They tend to feel that since their parents do not care to know whether they are getting on well or not, it is not necessary for them to make any effort to do so. Such children frequently fail to go to the farm work or to school. They spend their time instead playing about in the street. Some of them eventually get involved in delinquent activities such as wilful destruction or stealing.

The readjustment of separated parents is made more

problematic by the non-existence of unemployment allowance or child benefit allowance as well as the high rates of unemployment. Worse still, in some parts of the country, Nigerian culture did not favour the idea of mothers working until recently. In the past, therefore, to some extent, among the culturally restricted towns, married women were not allowed to work. In such towns, the economic support of the family rested solely on the man. When divorce or separation occurred, the offspring were usually taken to the father's relations or stayed with the father's second wife.

In either case, they are socialised under faulty discipline. For instance, heavy corporal punishment, starvation, withdrawal of comfort, distorted or differential parental relationships etc. await the child who is socialised outside his own home. We have analysed at some length the association between delinquency and deprivation of love resulting from divorce. Our attention now turns to an analysis of the effects of the custodial arrangements which usually followed divorce in traditional Nigerian society.

Custody Arrangements after Divorce and Delinquency

Nigerian culture demands that the father has absolute rights over the child. If the father is dead or incapacitated, any of his relations has the overall right to the custody of the children in the case of divorce or separation.

However, this action may not be in the best interest of the child or children, who would frequently prefer to stay with the mother or mother's relations where they feel more secure. Should a dispute arise as to the father's right to custody, the deciding factor is the bride wealth. Once it is established that this bridewealth has been paid at the beginning of the marriage or before the birth of the child or children under dispute, the father's right must not be questioned. No consideration is given to his economic status or the nature of his work in relation to the welfare of the children. The comfort of the children, thus, comes second to the father's so-called histo-cultural rights. For instance, when Bintu refused to follow her father home, the police forced her to go home with him, because "children should stay with their father and not their mother" in cases of divorce or separation. Salami's case is quite illuminative in this respect.

> *Salami*, aged 14 years, was brought before the court for stealing £4.10s from a neighbour's home. Salami stated:
>
>> My mother and father lived together until I was about 6 years old when my mother left my father because she objected to another woman visiting him, whom she apparently suspected he wanted to bring into the house. There were frequent quarrels before she finally left, mainly about food and money. My father complained that the food was not ready on time and my mother complained that my father did not give her sufficient money. When I was young, they both loved me. When my mother left, my father's attitude towards me changed; he began to find fault with me and say I was just like my mother. My mother arrived one day and took me

away with her and placed me with her aunt who
petted me, while my mother visited me
regularly. Then my father came one day and took
me, saying my mother had no right to keep me.
Then I ran ... (Social Welfare Report Book,
1961).

On divorce or separation, therefore, the father takes
custody of his children, though the native custom allows
the mother temporary custody of a child under 2 years of
age. That is to say, the mother may be allowed the
custody of a child until the age of 2 years, when it will
no longer be breast fed. However, some fathers will not
wait. The child is often taken and boarded with family
friends or the father's relatives. Such relatives may be
grandparents, uncles, aunts, cousins. If the father has
other wives, the child lives within the family and is
boarded with the father's senior wife whom the child now
calls mother (step-mother in fact).

The relationship that exists between children and their
stepmother is often not cordial. The stepmother tends to
see the children of her husband's former marriage as
rivals for her husband's affection and attention to her
own children. She tends to see her relationship to her
stepchildren as "serving the other woman". She then
maltreats the children, and can become very bossy and
overbearing. If she has children of her own, she may
indulge in giving them preferential treatment over the
other children. Her jealousy and bitterness become more
formidable if she does not have children of her own.

The problems of the stepchildren are greater, if the

father nurses some bitterness against the mother, which may result in an undesirable relationship between the father and those children. Thus, the children have nobody to protect them from the bitterness of their stepmother. Oloruntimehin's (1970) study provided evidence that many of the fathers of delinquent children supported the stepmother against the children; they also gave preferential treatment to the children of the stepmother as compared with the other children.

These children, therefore, tend to have feelings of being unwanted and, in an attempt to be free of the undesirable conditions of their custodial homes, they run and remain on the streets for days on end. They tend to find more meaningful relationships when they come across other children with similar experiences. Since the marriage structure in traditional Nigerian society was characterised by frequent marriages, children with similar experiences were not hard to find. By sharing one another's company, they are able to solve their identity crisis through gangs. Others roaming about the streets may (as is very often the case) engage in single delinquent activities.

If the children were boarded with a relative of their father, for example an uncle or or aunt, they are often maltreated to the extent of being overworked. The foster
11
parents often apply strict forms of disciplinary treatment for minor offences. They also tend to indulge

in favouring their own children at the expense of the foster children. The latter then tend to think that their real parents have rejected them and/or have shifted their parental responsibilities completely on to the foster parents. Since their parents did not show any concern about their welfare, the children may regard themselves as strangers in their foster homes and as outcasts from their own homes. The psychological crisis that results may induce some of these children to behave abnormally. Some steal, in addition to wandering about the streets.

However, there is a need for empirical studies to examine further the probable influence of the above and other hypotheses raised in this study on the causation of delinquency in Nigeria. Nevertheless, a case study about Ngosi tends to give support to the association of the variables with delinquency in traditional Nigerian society.

Ngosi was 7 years old when he was sent to live with his father's mother as a result of his parents' separation. School reports showed that Ngosi was above average but he often stayed away from school. He always passed his examinations. When asked, Ngosi said,

> I stayed away from Arithmetic and Hygiene classes, because I knew I would make mistakes and the teacher would cane me. At home, I was also beaten by my grandmother when I lost money with which I was sent to market. I started absconding about 4 years ago for fear of being beaten at school for not knowing my lessons. I found it difficult to concentrate and learn because I was unhappy at home. My grandmother beat me frequently, but I never retaliated;

instead I would go into a corner and not answer when she called me. When on the street, I carried loads and earned 16 pence a day. I spent the money on food. In the evening, I played on the racecourse. At night, I slept by the mosque with other homeless boys. I often felt like returning home, but did not do so for fear of being beaten (Juvenile Court Record Book, 1955).

Welfare reports showed that Ngosi's behaviour improved when he eventually entered "secondary boarding school and his mother was reconciled to him and helped financially" (Social Welfare Report Book, 1955).

When separation occurs, the child either lives with his paternal grandmother (as in Ngosi's case), with another of his relations, or with the father's other wife(s). In either case, there is almost always an inadequate degree of love and affection. The child's feelings of rejection and being unwanted usually result in running away from home.

CONCLUSION

The structure of the family and patterns of child care in traditional Nigerian society pre-supposed the presence of the following hypotheses in relation to juvenile delinquency.

(1) The structure of polygamous families was such that the mother occupied a unique place in the lives of their children. Children consulting with mothers, therefore, would have been an effective way of reducing delinquency.

(2) But mothers, because of rivalry between wives,

worked exceedingly hard to advance their own children at the expense of others in the family. (There is evidence of cases in polygamous families where some wives actually inflicted physical injury on their co-wives, thus igniting aggressive and delinquent behaviours amongst children. This attitude might then become directed towards half-brothers, mother's co-wives, their father and to society at large.)

(3) Fathers in polygamous families play a very passive role in providing for the psychological and material needs of their children. Children are, therefore, emotionally and economically dependent on their own mothers whose uniqueness is emphasised by the existence of other mothers and children in the family. . In a society where the mothers' economic and social participation are limited and in extreme cases excluded, children's dependence could be unsatisfying and, therefore result in delinquency producing situations. (There is enough evidence to show that in an attempt to maintain a fair policy and avoid co-wife dissension, fathers in polygamous families show little or no interest in the psychological and emotional development of their children or in providing for their material needs. Lack of identity and fatherly support tend to contribute to delinquency.)

(4) Psychological factors, such as frustration, lack of love and affection and despair, which are prevalent in Nigerian polygamous families, tend to contribute to

delinquency.

(5) Economic and social stresses, such as poverty,
divorce and inconsistent parental supervision are likely
to produce a high rate of delinquency in traditional
Nigerian society and more so in polygamous families.

(6) Given the Nigerian interest in having large
families, the increase in the number of wives leads almost
automatically to an increase in the number of children.
This in turn puts a tremendous strain on parent/child
interactions. This situation may have a correlation with
delinquency. (Theories in developed countries have shown
that where parent/child interaction is inadequate, the
child's feelings of being unwanted, rejected and hated may
develop into antagonism towards the parents and later
towards society. Adequate parent/child communication is
thus a catalyst that can reactivate a child's conception
of his self-image.

Cooley's (1962) concept of 'the looking glass-self'
confirmed this. According to Cooley, "Self can only
develop out of communication with others. Conception of
self, in other words, is the most important meaning for
man's behaviour, and the way in which others respond to a
person is what generates a person's self-concept. That
is, man's perception of other people's responses to him
relates to his conception". Thus, a child develops a
self-image from observing the way others respond to him,
the way his parents, brothers, mother's co-wives and

others relate to him. The behaviour of others towards him is thus the looking glass in which the individual child sees himself.

"The attitudes which enter into the individual's self-image and so influence his behaviour are for the most part, emotive, e.g. attitudes of approval or disapproval, acceptance or rejection, interest or indifference etc" (Cooley, 1962).

(7) The collective and authoritative child rearing practices in Nigeria lacked the normative factors necessary for a child's identification and interest in others.

(8) Finally, early, and forced marriages frequently led to dissension and divorce. (Experience has shown that divorce often brings emotional instability and maladjustment to the children and this could lead to delinquency.)

Studies in Nigeria compared with those in North America and Great Britain would tend to show that the psychological, economic and social factors which produce delinquency are similar in these countries. The only exception could be said to be the structure of some Nigerian families.

The family structure of Nigerian society which tends to be the most important hypothetical causes of deliquency in Nigeria differs from those of the monogamous American and

British family structures. Findings on the relationship between broken homes (due to divorce) and delinquency in Nigeria seem to be consistent with those of Monaham's (1962) in Philadelphia. The relationship between faulty discipline and lack of proper parental supervision and delinquency in Nigeria (Oloruntimehin, 1970) corresponds with Glueck and Glueck's (1964) findings in Boston. Thus our five hypotheses are comparatively endorsed.

Notes

1. In most developed societies, the government (and private) institutions such as child care centres and welfare services, have taken over much of the socialising and caring role of the family. Children in such institutions develop formal interpersonal relationships as an alternative to the informal interaction found within natural families' patterns of care.

2. Oloruntimehin's (1981) study was based on the family in general. However, since polygamous families, as we have seen, are characterised by tension, jealousy, rivalry, differential treatment, etc. the parent/child relationships are more uncordial. Therefore the data could well be applied to polygamous family relationships.

3. U.S. Department of Labor, "Statistics of Consumer Expenditure" Report 2237-293, Supplement 3, Part A,

Tables E, F, G and H showed that food expenditure per person decreased as the family size increased. For further details, see American Department of Labor Report, the Bureau for Labor, Washington, D.C.

4. Only a few juvenile courts existed in colonial Nigeria. One in each of the three Regional headquarters, one at the Federal Capital (Lagos) and one at Calabar, the Cross River State. Today there is at least one in each of the 19 state capitals and more than two at Lagos.

5. The great increase in both domestic and external trade in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries made wealth a very important route to political and social power. As a result of contact with Europeans and the consequent expansion in trade, as we shall see later, many communities become more dependent on money and less on a subsistence economy. The impact of this change today further manifests itself in the increased rate of social and economic crime, including corruption and juvenile delinquency.

6. The gangs that existed in pre-urbanised Nigerian society included those involved in breaking and entering, and robbery. Gambling gangs also existed in big cities.

7. Hawking in this context is a commercial or economic activity which involves carrying goods about for

sale. In Nigeria, adult traders usually employ children between the ages of 7 and 15 to carry out this function by going from place to place selling goods (normally domestic items).

8. All the case studies in this chapter are taken from the Juvenile Delinquency Cases Book kept at the Juvenile Court Yaba, Lagos. The cases were recorded between 1956 and 1975.

9. Lewis (1970) reported at least 19,073 Qu'ranic schools with 143,312 boys in attendance.

10. Early and forced marriages often result in both partners being dissatisfied with their marriage. Though the couple may still live together, the necessary relationships which should keep their union going become considerably weakened. Constant quarrelling which may develop, frequently leads to injuries being inflicted, the destruction of property and eventual divorce. This situation tends to affect the relationships between children and their parents and, therefore, has an adverse effect on the children's behaviour, as illustrated in the case study of Salami.

11. The concept of foster parents in Nigerian society seems different from that of contemporary Western societies. In Nigeria, one of the important obligations which people fulfil for one another is to

help bring up children of relations or friends. This
type of practice may not be regarded as fostering in
the Western context, though in both societies, the
fostered child remains a member of his natural
family. Perhaps the obligation tagged to Nigerian
fostering illuminates the differences.

CHAPTER SIX

URBANISATION IN NIGERIA: THE CITY AND DELINQUENCY

INTRODUCTION

The development of present urban areas from simple societies in Nigeria tends to validate the evolutional theories of culture and society.   These theories assume that complex societies develop out of simple ones.   In Kano, for example, a complex city has developed out of the simple walled city.   Ibadan has urban centres scattered around the Ojaban hill area — simple societies occupied by the indigenous population.   Thus, the majority of the urban societies in Nigeria today are remnants from the past or what was known as simple cities occupied previously by indigenous people.

The indigenous population had maintained their culture and civilization until the spread of Western civilization and the consequent urbanisation of these simple societies. As a result, some of the Nigerian cultures have vanished, not only because there was no written records to tell us about them, but mainly because Nigeria as it seemed, placed a higher value on the emerging European and American cultures and civilization at the expense of local cultures and civilization.

In the 1960s, for example, when many African countries

began to achieve political independence and colonial rulers began to give way to African rulers, the colonial cultures were copied and transmitted to African countries. Gradually, non developed techniques of writing became replaced with developed techniques of writing. In the same way, developed technology is still gradually replacing rudimentary technology. Though the output is on average quite low, there is a climate of comparatively high output. For example, homogeneous production and little specialization have given way to diversified production and, to a large extent, high scope for specialization.

The radical changes that have come about from a mainly multi-interest social organisation in which wealth and status are held separately and status and roles are mainly achieved is important to social disorganisation in Nigeria. The inevitable changes created by these forces resulted in immediate disintegration of the existing societal culture and finally led to the creation of new forms which blended the old and the new (Malinawski, 1944). The changes that took place in Nigeria during the colonial period were a kind of inevitable revolution which in some parts of Nigeria wiped out traditional cultures.

For instance, traditional religion in the south was replaced by the Christian religion. In others, the old systems of culture were blended with the new cultural systems. Lord Largard's indirect rule, for example,

blended new Western institutions with the Nigerian traditional systems. Again, the result was, to a large extent, disintegration of the old society as we shall see later in this chapter.

Malinawski (1948) has already stressed that the process of cultural and social change is based on the interaction of institutions. In Nigeria, it could be argued that the colonial (British) institutions and systems interacted with those of Nigeria, and these institutions tended to "impinge on each other, and the impact produced conflict, co-operation and compromise" (Onwuejeogwu, 1975). The result is the emergence of a new Nigerian culture. The critics of Malinawski (Brown, 1968) claimed that cultural change is not due to the interaction of cultures, but to the interaction of individuals and groups within an established social structure which in itself is the process of change. Our concern here, however, is not necessarily their point of departure. Instead, one could argue that in Nigeria, the social structure of the urban centres illustrates the concept of cultural transformation resulting from the influence of Western civilization, involving individuals, groups and institutional contacts and the consequence is socio-economic changes etc.

The development of urban cities and the consequent association with heterogeneous cultures seem to have resulted in the diffusion of those phenomena that altered value systems and social structures of traditional

Nigerian society. The invented institutions, though they do offer solutions to some problems of Nigerian people, seem to pre-suppose problems for Nigerians as well. These problems arise out of changed conditions in which the Nigerian has to live. As was pointed out, the conditions changed as a result of intervention and/or contact with external institutions.

For example, the application and rise of modern systems of agriculture and economic institutions in Nigeria came as a result of the intervention of creative invaders from Western and American countries. Thus today Nigerians talk of mechanised and decisive agricultural technologies from the developed societies. This suggests that the present Nigerian institutions are the result of an evolutionary process determined by ecology, cultural contacts and cultural diffusion. If this suggestion is taken at its face value, then it supports the argument that a delinquent culture amongst youths in Nigerian society today has also resulted from evolutionary contact with and diffusion of European youth cultures. Further, if these variables could be tested empirically, we may come to understand why the rate of delinquency is high within the urban centres in the 19 states of the Federation. These centres are where the processes of cultural diffusion are very progressive, and changes occur very fast.

The diffusion theory explained these changes in terms of growth of social and economic institutions (Person, 1967:

543). This school claims that the growth of social, political and economic institutions seems to have conditioned human nature and make him a progressive animal by interacting with and imitating others. Influenced by interactions and contacts with external institutions, man changes or modifies his own institutions. This seems to happen in every dynamic society. In Nigeria, this has been the case over the years. Since its contact with the colonial institutions, Nigerian society and its social and economic institutions seem to have been in constant transition. Among these changes are the patterns of Nigerian family institutions.

In Chapter 4, it was pointed out that the fast rate of change, brought about by urban development, forced traditional Nigerian institutions to lag behind. This suggests that a gap is created between new culture and traditional culture. This gap, it was argued, tends to generate conflict between traditional institutions and technological development. Quite often, the delinquent behaviour of Nigerian youths has been interpreted as reflecting a 'failure' of personal and social controls resulting from the influence of urban development. This chapter seeks to analyse how and why the behaviour of young people who migrate from the rural areas to urban environments become subject to the influence of ecological problems arising from the socio-political and socio-economic structures of urban centres. In this analysis, attention is focused on the influence of

urbanisation on traditional institutions with particular reference to delinquency causation in Nigeria.

DEVELOPMENT OF URBAN CENTRES AND DELINQUENCY IN NIGERIA

Nigeria is one of the most populated and highly urbanised countries in West Africa. It is characterised by the importance and age of its urbanisation, especially in its south-west region. Presently, Nigeria has at least 19 big cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants, seven of which are in the West. Lagos and Ibadan particularly have more than one million inhabitants each. On the whole, the Yoruba towns are quite homogeneous, from an ethnic point of view, and are made up of a population that is still engaged in traditional activities. It is still very rural in character. The towns particularly developed in the nineteenth century were used as a place of refuge from the violent tribal wars that decimated the countryside.

The rest of the country is much more unequally urbanised. The urban centres are concentrated mainly in two zones in the centre of the Northern region of the old Hausa towns of Kano, Zaria and Kaduna — where commercial administration and industrial activities are heavily concentrated. In the South-east in Igbo country, an urban centre is to be found in each of the capital states, mainly in Port-Harcourt, the country's second largest seaport; Onitsha, Enugu, Calabar, Aba and Owerri with some type of commercial and administrative activities.

The impulse given to urban growth by the imperatives of colonial economy in Nigeria continued well after Independence. Over recent years two new factors have created a supplementary influx of migration into the urban towns: the expansion of the industrial sectors, resulting from the increased exploitation of oil and mineral resources; and the government policies elaborated since 1960 to promote an overall schooling programme in the fight against illiteracy. Within this context, the town of Lagos — serving as both federal capital and the capital of the state of Lagos — "appears to be a real urban monster, the symbol par excellence, of uncontrollable growth in African towns. First enriched by the slave trade, and later by the trade of palm tree oil and ivory, Lagos was chosen by the English as the first town of the country because of its exceptional portuary possibilities" (Marguerat, 1978: 3). Today it has expanded in an incredible fashion — jumping from 40,000 inhabitants in 1900 to about 4,500,000 in 1980 (F.A.O. Statistical Estimate, 1980). Lagos city, thus, provides an astonishing sight in the contrast between its modern building and motorways and its ancient quarters, with their overcrowding, narrow and badly kept streets teeming with huge crowds and the poverty of which jars with the luxury displayed by those benefiting from the oil.

Because of this unprecedented growth in Nigeria, the pace of which has become faster since 1973 with the revaluation of oil income, Lagos is now affected in a

particularly acute manner by difficulties of transport, communication, etc. - a phenomenon which has become common to most big cities in Nigeria. In order to ease this situation, in 1975 the Federal Nigerian government embarked on a project to transfer the Federal Capital to a more central location near the present town of Abuja where it would be possible to develop a more modern urban centre.

An analysis of data between the years 1965-1969 and the period May 1969 - April 1970 reveals that delinquency has increased with the rate of urban growth and social change. Between 1965 and 1969, for example, there were 415 juvenile residents in Ibadan referred to the court for delinquency. This figure represents 68.5% of all the cases actually recorded in the juvenile case book (604). This is compared with 515 cases between May 1969 - April 1970, representing 70.2% of the cases entered. Evidence shows that many delinquent cases were never reported to the police or apprehended within this period. This is due partly because there is no patrolling of 'beats' as in Britain and the United States and partly because the police force in Nigeria has remained the only means of law enforcement. Thus, the inadequate police mechanisms in Nigeria tends to suggest that the police figures underestimate the amount of delinquency which actually occurs in Nigerian urban centres. The variable mesh of interest, influence of personalities and bribery involved before a decision is taken as to whether a prosecutable

offence has been committed or not also tends to account for inadequate records of offences.

If these variables were laid aside, obviously the incidence of delinquency would clearly indicate growth as the city becomes more and more urbanised. As already pointed out, the structure of rapid growth or urbanism in Nigeria without a complementary growth of employment facilities tends to create a high incidence of youth problems in the city. The sociological definition of delinquency and deviant behaviour as a "normal social phenomenon arising from the tension, conflicts, dysfunction and inequality inherent in any organised society" (Apter, 1982), suggests that delinquency seems to be a price to be paid by Nigerian modern systems of unplanned urbanisation and patterns of economic development.

This definition further presents delinquent behaviour as a symptom of adaptive disequilibrium that expresses itself through an individual's difficulties in relating to others and in self-realization in complex urban systems characterised by tensions, conflicts, dysfunctions and inequality. In other words, urbanism provides structures that, to a large extent, are hindrances to both self-realization and the development of normal personality. Thus, while delinquency in traditional society tends to remain stable, the changing patterns of an urban environment tend to produce an increase of urban

crime, the majority of which is committed by young people. For example, the expression of protest and rebellion, a rejection of ideological and political reality and the desire to modify the balance in the social system are today in Nigeria regarded as some of the new dimensions of social deviance and delinquency.

It can, therefore, be argued that the development of urban areas and their constant structural modifications tend to motivate new forms of delinquency, some of which may harm society as a whole or harm the perpetrator himself or other individuals. In the urban area of Lagos, for example, not only do delinquent activities of various kinds exist but some activities are found which were unknown in pre-urbanised Nigeria. Delinquency against the person, such as bodily harm to others, sexual perversion, armed robbery and alcoholism are today common phenomena in all of Nigeria's cities. Other activities include dishonesty, insult, assault and drug offences. Perhaps it seems that it is only in urban environments that young people in particular use unlawful means to obtain social assets when their social position is uncertain. This has to be proved in the context of Nigerian urban development however.

The question here is not whether or not urbanism is associated with delinquency or the development of the problem, for there are several empirical studies which have shown this relationship (Clinard, 1960; Weinberg,

1964; Mabogunje, 1967; Shaw and McKay 1942). The essential question here is what seems to be the factors inherent in the Nigerian urban structure that are vehicles of delinquency and youth problems. In other words, how is the conceptual framework, useful in the analysis of the problems in industrialised Western cities, applicable to the study of similar problems in developing Nigerian cities? To what extent can it be said that the impact of urbanism on traditional Nigerian institutions is related to changes in economic and social functions, role status, changes in residential localities and changes in cultural and familial structure? These variables are analysed in relation to the new wave of crime and delinquency in Nigerian cities today.

URBAN CONTACT AND TRADITIONAL CULTURE

As was noted earlier, pre-colonial Nigeria was entirely an agrarian and warlike society. The districts were divided into what might be called cities in the Nigerian context. These cities were normally walled enclaves, enclosing their inhabitants and excluding them from outside influences, in addition to serving as protection during wars.

The earthworks of the Edo and Ishan areas, in what is now Bendel State, for example, have been studied extensively. They have been called "the World's largest ancient monument, since they are several times as long as the great wall of China and contain a hundred times as

much materials as the largest of the pyramids" (Isichei, 1983). The colonial government quarried these old cities and introduced for the first time building structures based on the structures of modern Western cities. These new structures created easy contact and interaction with the outside world. The indigenous populations were thus exposed to a life style which was alien and conflicting with their own.

A change in culture tends to encourage a change in value systems. Some indigenous youths were trained to read and write and soon these became interpreters to colonial officers. Their social and economic status were also regarded highly, next to those of the white colonisers. The new material values which followed took a strong hold of the elite. Very soon, great value became placed on material wealth while very little attention was given to the means of acquiring it. It was little wonder then that the Nigerian coast became a major centre for the slave trade. Human beings were sold in exchange for Western goods.

Cities were later built around these coastal market towns which have in time acquired Western culture. The abolition of the slave trade and slavery, and the building of factories in these areas (Lagos and Calabar, for example), the introduction of the use of money for exchange of goods and services, the imposition of land tax and the concentration of essential facilities on the

coastal towns, all contributed to bringing people from the hinterland to the coast, looking for employment which only the coastal towns were able to offer. Thus gradually, wage labour to some extent took over agribusiness in Nigeria as it did in some other developing countries.

In addition, the discovery of mineral wealth increased the development of urban areas in places like Enugu in the East (the coal city) and Jos (Tin City) in the north. Port-Harcourt became the chief sea port for the export of palm oil and timber. The development of urban areas in each of the state capitals today has followed the trend in economic growth resulting from the oil boom dating from the 1970s as we have earlier noted (see diagramme). It is important to note that all these cities in their totality, have conformed to the theory of a free society in relation to youth crime and juvenile delinquency.

Urbanisation influenced the cultural and social structures of traditional Nigeria and imposed great demands on the society to undergo rapid changes in an effort to accommodate the social and technical changes taking place. The conflicts generated by the resulting disorganisation of traditional structures appears to have encouraged cultural conflicts and thus impose problems in relation to youth care and youth behaviour. In the confused situation that frequently followed, some youths,

Relationship between Urbanisation and Youth delinquency in
Nigerian cities may be represented in a hypothetical diagramme
thus:

Disorganisation of social institutions,
Breakdown of cultural rights of parents,
Breakdown of extended relationships and
increased number of nuclear families.

Increased population   Weakens parent/
of the cities   child relations

                 Change of Value System

Migration in search   Behavioural
of better economic   laxity and
opportunities   urban anonymity

Urban development/
good roads   Delinquency and Crime
                                        in urban environments

Economic growth

                 Exploration for oil

                        1970

especially the immigrants who faced problems on entering the Nigerian industrial cities, tended to become prone to deviant behaviour. Thus, it can be argued that crime and delinquency are by-products of urbanisation and industrialisation.

For example, before the contact with Western cultures and the consequent rapid urbanisation, the only cases of crime reported in some parts of Nigeria were those of illegitimate juju,[1] adultery, illegal marriage, bigamy and kidnapping for the purpose of slavery (Bohannan, 1968). Illegal marriage occurred mainly in war times. From the above nature of crime in old Nigeria, it seems obvious why reported cases of crime in pre-colonial Nigeria showed no evidence of youth crime.[2] Though stealing, assault and adultery were among the highest recorded crimes in 1946 through 1950, evidence tends to show that such crimes were also committed by adults. This suggests that in the early period young people were still trained to conform to the traditional social norms. Table 6.1, the result of an empirical study of the Tiv people in North Nigeria (Bohannan, 1968), lends support to some of these arguments. One can see that, apart from street fighting and perhaps stealing, the offences highlighted in the Table were by their very nature, adult offences, at least from the traditional youth status point of view.

Table 6.1:   Offences in Pre-colonial Tiv of Nigeria (1946-1950)

TYPES OF CRIME	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950
Illegitimate juju	1	2	1	4	—
Adultery	9	11	4	6	19
Bigamy	5	8	11	6	16
Kidnapping	—	1	—	—	—
Illegal marriage	5	11	8	10	14
Contempt of Court	9	13	10	13	25
Native Authority Regulations (NAR)	8	13	20	13	16
Arson	—	—	1	—	—
Gambling	—	—	—	—	3
Fraud	2	1	1	2	—
Robbery	1	2	—	—	—
Slander	—	2	2	—	3
Stealing	6	7	8	8	44
Assault	9	17	19	5	41
Fighting	—	—	—	—	2
Total	55	89	85	70	183

Further analysis of the data shows that crime increases with the length of contact. An explanation of this trend might be that the more the contact with delinquent influences, the more people tend to lose a basic hold of and show disregard for their own traditional and cultural values. For example, it is only in urbanism that the elite, especially the indigenous population of the so-called new cities, tended to be abruptly torn from their traditional environment and their basic respect for traditional values. The urban population seemed to be plunged into a totally different environment, a type of free society, immersed in missionary influence and placed in a situation where mere survival tended to demand rapid acquisition of a new language and new occupational skills. The elite in particular tended to be confronted with a model of success and imitated the prosperous Englishmen and their culture. One impact of this situation was the generation of bilingual and cultural conflicts.

For example, the Nigerian elite in one breath talk of the Nigerian personality and in another discards those things that make him Nigerian. Nigerians want their children to be proud of being Nigerian but, on the other hand, they are very reluctant to teach the children their first language. They speak foreign languages to their children in their homes. They rationalise this contradiction by saying that they want to give their

children a sound education. To these groups, the ability to speak fluent English or French at an early age constitutes sound education.

Another impact is the life style. In Lagos, for example, people tend to celebrate their wedding with "armies of bridesmaids, satin and frills, and page boys in purple velvet knickerbocker suits" (Isichei, 1983: 341) representing Western culture. Clearly, such a conspicuous life style demands great wealth well out of reach of simple society. Thus, the so-called elite who saw themselves as 'traumatically' removed from their traditional cultures, lived what might be called a false life, in order to keep their identity. It is not difficult to show the association between false life-styles and ill-gotten wealth, debt, bribery and corruption.

False living at its extreme, creates personal conflicts which in turn may lead to deviance and crime. It tends to alienate people and makes those who suffer from it into marginal personalities. As Isichei puts it,

> Yet for all their justifiable pride in their achievements and the rich and (false) satisfying life style they had created, Victorian Lagans faced an inner crisis of identity. This was partly engendered by the hostility and rejection of the Victorians whom they took as models. The rejection was profoundly damaging to the self-esteem and sense of identity of those who suffered from it (Isichei, 1983: 341).

With this idea of rejection at the back of their mind, many tended to behave anti-socially. The pre-occupation

of this elite group today is how to make enough money to buy cars, radios, TV sets, etc. - those items that seem to make them resemble the "Victorian" Nigerian elite. They do not worry enough about how these things are made nor do they seem to bother how the money to buy them is acquired. Nigeria is, thus, abruptly transformed from small-scale producing units into industrial consuming units with false living, bribery and corruption, crime and delinquency becoming increasingly the order of Nigerian urban society. Perhaps it was against this background that Kvaraceus (1964) had argued that "delinquency appears to be essentially an urban phenomenon, gradually considered to be the price paid for economic and social changes in traditional societies" (1964: 76). The Nigerian elite and consequently the youths who migrated to the urban areas tend to be full of contradictions and challenges generated by the sudden contact of two cultural systems.

Cultural conflict or cultural interbreeding resulting from acculturation or the imposition of a foreign culture, could prevent youths from developing a coherent system of normative behaviour (Sellin, 1938 and Shoham, 1964). This could favour a substantial increase in anomic conduct and thus make youths delinquents. Thus, it could be argued that contact with colonial culture and the changing structure of urban centres following such contact have a disorganising impact on the traditional culture and social values of Nigeria. The culture of urban centres, on the

one hand, tend to disrupt the traditional norms and social values. On the other hand, the changes tend to give conflicting interpretations of delinquency.

For example, Bohannan (1968) noted that gambling was a crime. In the eyes of traditional Nigeria, gambling was a game which did not involve the use of money. The contact with some early colonial gamblers who gambled in the bars with some black natives and attendants serving drinks gave a new definition to gambling. Thus, for the first time in the history of Nigeria, three arrests were made in 1950 for gambling involving the use of money by the natives.

The urbanised Nigerians tend to have allowed, to a reasonable extent, what might be called prejudicial foreign influence and modes of behaviour to penetrate into the society. As it seems, the Nigerian youths, owing to their immaturity, tend to be much more submerged in the urban current of cultural pollution. One quickly notices among urban Nigerian youths unkept physical appearance, and hair styles copied from Western hippies who were noted for rejection of conventional values. Disrespectful manners of speaking, rude, defiant comportment and constant, aggressive approaches to matters — which constitute delinquency in the context of Nigerian traditional culture — are all by-products of urbanisation. Evidence may show that it is only in urbanised cities that Nigerian students in secondary schools, for example, can sneak out of their hostels or

their homes to revel away their time in an orgy of
discotheque sessions every weekend. This might seem
overstating the point from the point of view of a Western
reader, but this act runs contrary to the life style of
Nigerian traditions.

Urban centres seem to provide the most conducive
environment for social changes to occur which lead to the
disintegration of traditional norms, the spreading of
Western ideas, conflicting structures, frustrations etc.
It could be argued that a psycho-sociological explanation,
linked with urban elements likely to contribute to the
appearance of delinquent or criminal conduct, include all
these elements that are the result of what we might call
"imitative" or constitute a process of "tantalisation".

BREAK DOWN OF TRADITIONAL FAMILY INSTITUTIONS

Nigerian post-War experience and the sudden changes in
family roles lends support to a hypothetical view that
delinquency in Nigeria seems motivated by the desire for
money which will enable young people to adapt to the
conspicuous life styles of their richer peers on the one
hand. On the other hand, the problem seems to be closely
related to the impact of urbanisation on the status and
control mechanisms of the family. Ferris (1905)
underlined the fact that a crime or delinquent behaviour
is not the product of any one exclusive factor; and that
social and economic background plays the part of a
revealing factor, actualising a disposition towards crime

and delinquency.

Data from observation, casework, studies and interviews with a random sample of 60 boys and their parents, in terms of socio-economic background, lifestyles and present occupation, indicates that the pressures created by poverty appear to contribute to the problem of crime and delinquency in Nigeria. These pressures arise from an awareness of the difference between the poverty which these families experience and the luxurious lifestyle displayed by those benefiting from association with the oil business. The new wealth created by the exploitation of oil is evidently affecting the standard of living of the poorest social and economic groups. The "parking boys", a social phenomenon that has emerged in Nigeria since the late 1970s, involve groups of extremely poor children aged between 5-17 who are normally found in large shopping centres in big urban areas. They support themselves by finding empty parking spaces and then waving to drivers looking for parking spaces. They demand and expect a fee for this. In developed countries, these groups might be referred to as "hooligans", for in addition to pick pocketing and cheating, they engage in other delinquent and corrupt activities in order to enrich themselves.

In the Umunna Diary of New African Development, a correspondent describes his experience.

Every time I visit Africa, especially West
Africa and particularly my native Nigeria, I

come back to Britain with this uneasy feeling of
frustration and despair. It is not just that
nothing seems to work from telephone to the
airlines; not that public officers see
themselves as masters; but ... that everybody is
trying to cheat everybody else, that corruption
has become an accepted way of life (1977: 1041).

The outcry against cheating and corruption seems to have
become even louder and less restrained as the country
becomes more and more urbanised. All over the cities,
there are allegations of graft and misuse of public
funds. There are complaints about ostentatious lifestyle
among a few; the flagrant abuse of office; the deprivation
of people's rights and property; the perversion of time
honoured procedures and norms; and nepotism and
favouritism - all of which seem to give the impression
that there is no hope for honest people in Nigeria. This
situation contradicts the pre-urbanised "informal system
of checks and balances against the exploitation of power"
(Ottemberg, 1959: 27).

For example, Lloyd (1968) noted in his study of the
Nigerian kingship institution that the Obas and Emirs
actually increased their powers during the indirect rule
of colonial administration. This suggests that it was
only during the consequent economic and social changes
that the Obas and Emirs and those in political and social
power were able to ignore the traditional and
institutional checks on their functional roles; and acting
in the interests of their colonial masters, they violated
some of the native social and cultural norms. Before the
contact, though, there was a highly centralised authority

structure, with the Obas, Emirs and Ezes occupying the most important positions. Their powers, however, were defined within the limits of traditional cultures and social norms. These, combined with the traditional council of elders and the king makers, acted as a check on their power structures. The powers of these traditional rulers were enhanced and symbolized only by the fact that they were called Obas, Emirs or Ezes. Such social structures of status-role fostered by religious belief (belief in life after death, relationships between the death and the living) which imposed on all the people the servile attitude towards the socio-cultural norms and precluded social disorganisation as well as social deviance have been destroyed by cultural contact and urbanisation.

It is difficult to estimate just how widespread bribery and corruption really is, but among Nigerian youths, it seems there is the belief that success comes either as a result of luck or as a result of dishonest means. There are cases in which offenders have bribed the police and even the magistrate in order to evade justice. This is not to suggest that all Nigerians are criminals or social deviants. What it does suggest, however, is that in a society in which material values are placed over and above all other normative societal values, or in which emphasis seems to be laid on the acquisition of material wealth at the expense of cultural norms, abnormal behaviour amongst all is favoured. In a situation where a society is

corrupt to a marked extent, the delinquent does not hold moral standards different from those practised by society as a whole. This probably accounts for why Nigerian delinquents find it hard to see themselves as outlaws, in trouble with the law or in need of help. It is, thus, argued that permissiveness in Nigerian urban society is reflected not only in the socio-economic interaction of the youths but also in the activities and attitudes of the adults in particular and the society itself.

The attitudes of some poor parents, for example, seem to encourage unhealthy competition among youths. These parents seem to favour the bad ways in which their children accumulate riches. The nagging attitudes and rejection of youths by parents who compare their innocent children with their peers who perhaps have acquired wealth by dishonest, fraudulent means tend to force these youths, especially those who feel rejected, to join delinquent gangs and so grow stronger in their new business. Others tend to engage in armed robbery, indulge in self-abuse, gambling, smoking, alcoholism, drug addiction etc. These activities seem to represent the best way of ridding themselves of frustration.

The attitudes of some affluent parents are equally delinquency inducing. These parents tend to permit their children to become overly conscious of their status and to reflect this status in their appearance in the street and at school. The poor ones thus become more conscious of

their lower status, especially when arrested along with their rich peers for delinquent offences. The differential treatment they may receive tends to result in further frustration and is likely to be associated with abnormal attitudes towards their affluent peer group or society at large (United Nations, 1953). It may also result in the formation of political, social or economic subcultures or what are commonly called 'pressure groups' with antisocial intents.

In developed countries, theories have shown a correlation between economic growth and delinquency. While some of these theories (Shaw and McKay, 1942) claimed that poverty and slum living conditions were causal factors of delinquency, others favoured the association of affluence and its concomitant conspicuous life style (Shulman in Cohen, 1957). Shulman argued that conspicuous life style by the few affluent people living side by side with the poor majority may and often does generate ill feelings towards them as individuals and to society at large. In Nigeria, the latter more than the former tends to apply.

Slums have little relation with youth problems in Nigeria. Bamisaiye's (1974) study of Ibadan indicates that "those areas of Ibadan which are deteriorated, unsanitary and overcrowded to a quite dramatic extent, where poverty, disease and malnutrition are rife, are some of the most stable socially as indicated by the relative absence of

delinquency and crime. In contrast, many of the newer suburbs of the city which contain very much better housing stock and whose residents tend to be higher up the socio-economic scale in terms of occupation and income are characterised by a relatively high rate of juvenile delinquency and adult crime" (1974: 77).

It has been argued that slum areas in Nigeria could be regarded as rural or traditional in structure. The people here tend to settle their disputes wherever possible, using traditional means and there is a widespread reluctance to take children to the police, even if they have broken the law (Lambo, 1965). In Nigeria as well as in some other African countries, the term 'slum' may not necessarily be used to apply to the social as well as physical conditions of an area as used in Britain and the United States of America. The term has sociological relevance when used to imply rural areas or villages in Africa. Thus, the term 'slum' should be applied with caution in African societies in relation to delinquency (Solzbacher, 1970). Bamisaiye (1974) noted that:

> An explanation of causes of delinquency in terms of the physical characteristics of one area relative to another will affect the degree of social disorganisation and thus the delinquency rate is plainly not sufficient in cities like Ibadan. Rather it is necessary to take account of the configuration of areas of social change, growth and rapid economic development (1974: 81).

There is no doubt, however, that the intricate causes of juvenile delinquency in Nigerian urban areas are not

completely different from other countries. But while those that apply to other countries also tend to operate here, there are others which seem to be added to them by reason of the rapid changes occurring in this vast developing country. These changes have greatly affected all the institutions in Nigeria.

While the analysis of the impact of these changes does not intend to ignore the resilience and adaptability of individuals, it recognises the varying qualities of and limits to each individual's resilience and adaptability. It is our opinion that, given the same situational conditions, these variations tend to contribute to some youths' breaking down while others are able to hold their ground. It is also our opinion that it is the lack of any immediate satisfactory substitute to the breakdown of the institution rather than the individual variation that tends to support the growth of youth delinquency in Nigerian urban areas. We have pointed out earlier that the old system was not divorced from deviant behaviour; however, some of these patterns of behaviour could be tolerated within the system. Only gross deviation stood out. With the breakdown of those supporting systems and institutions in the cities, those deviant behaviours which in the past would have been prevented have now become problematic. It is suggested that there is an urgent need to carry out some detailed empirical research to further substantiate this speculation, but it seems that the negative consequences of urbanisation are effective on the

extended families and cultural institutions and so on
youths' control mechanisms.

Examining the relationship between delinquency and urban
areas, which he called "anomic society", Benjamin (1971)
uses 'anomie' to designate the absence or the
"disintegration of a system of norms". Anomie[3] he argued,
is characterised by the state of disturbance which affects
a social group submitting to sudden transformation.
American sociologists - Merton (1971), Cloward and Ohlin
(1960) - used the concept of anomie to apply to the
psychological breakdown of family life and other
socio-cultural institutions. Applying the concept of
"anomic" and "sudden transformation" to the urbanising
situations in Nigeria, it becomes clear that the social
disequilibrium in this country seems to have been a
by-product of rapid socio-economic growth and cultural
transformation. The psychological and social breakdown of
some family institutions in urban centres tend to result
from maladaption to the new situations they have to face.
Thus, one could argue that in Nigeria, a great deal of
deviant behaviour has resulted from the anomic attitudes
of some families. The absence of norms in such families
result from the new value system of the urban areas. The
variation in value systems tend to account for the
destruction of the family group or the break-up of
conjugal cells between the rural and urban families which
otherwise would have controlled deviant behaviour in urban
centres, as it did in pre-urbanised Nigeria.

In Nigeria, families in urban society are internally becoming amorphous and impersonal. People are also becoming distinct individuals, trying to stifle their communal orientation, to attenuate their sense of family and communal belonging and to deaden their sense of mutual responsibility. Clifford (1965) was right when he pointed out that:

> For the time being, we can find people in Africa comparatively unaffected by industrialization and economic development and we have an opportunity to compare their standards and their methods of dealing with crime with those large city groups who are moving ever rapidly to the urban patterns common to developed countries. Everything indicates that this is a situation which will not last very long. As the years pass, more and more people in Africa are affected by the spread of education and industrial changes and urbanisation (1965: 23).

Consequently, youths in urban areas of Nigeria tend to commit more offences than their counterparts did several years before. It also seems that the community today is clearly less disciplined than in the past. A dramatic change of this sort highlights the effect of rapid economic changes on traditional Nigerian cultures and validates Clifford's concept of a spread of urbanisation in relation to a growth of crime.

The economic and social structures of urban families in Nigeria appear to create conditions that are conducive to the disruption of moral development as well as the family control of youths. As Brillon (1973) puts it, "the economic necessities and the urban contingencies tend to

encourage the break from the widespread extended family to nuclear family and such a sudden change ends up in many cases with instability in the family" (1973: 23). Goode (1964) argued that the conjugal family is emerging in most societies undergoing industrialisation. Industrialisation, he said, influences the traditional parental and kin relationships within the family. The weak and permissive parental and community roles and the non-obligatory urban roles concept of Moore (1963) all tend to give urban youths much freedom of behaviour. Moore (1963) has shown that mobility - both geographical and social - is a requisite for economic growth, but he argued that this "has negative consequences for extended family systems and tends to reduce the close ties between the adult generation and adult siblings" (1963: 86). As people migrate to urban centres, they tend to lose contact with traditional behaviour controlling norms. The movement away from familial and traditional controlling influences to an industrial free society seems to further weaken ties outside the immediate family.

It is important to point out that· it seems only in rare cases that some urban youths seem to try to get their parents to conform to their wishes for marriage. As Bacon (1965) has argued:

> The young people of both sexes exhibit an
> increasing tendency to initiate courtship and
> marriage without consulting their parents. In
> traditional society ... family approval is
> nevertheless desirable, and it is unlikely that
> a proposed marriage would be pursued if bitterly
> opposed by the family (1965: 191).

In urban centres,

> Illiterate boys and girls usually make their
> own marriage arrangements after both have
> reached the age of puberty, which normally
> occurs when the girl is at least 14 years old
> and the boy is 16 or 17 years (Elias, 1963:
> 291).

It may not be an extravagant assumption to hypothesize
that what happens to the youth who becomes a victim of a
social system with conflicting cultures, family
alienation, economic inequality, unemployment, social
discrimination, etc. may be difficult to be dislodged
from the genesis of delinquency and other social
misconduct. Evidence has shown that the incidence of
delinquency and other social misconduct may be high in a
society where the parental obligations are replaced by a
process of social change or by the state. For example,
the high rate of crime and delinquency in developed
countries which maintain welfare state programmes tends to
indicate that minimal reciprocal parent/child obligation
is a delinquent factor.

Shaw and McKay (1942: 120) have argued that delinquency
rates would seem to be a function of the ecological and
administrative situation of an area rather than the people
who live there. In this sense, the ecological and
administrative situations of social welfare policy areas
could be favourable to delinquency. Under the
administration of a social welfare policy, youths at the
age of 18 years or earlier, tend to be relieved of their

parents' obligation and have to depend on the state for most of their survival and moral development. This early dependence on the state seems to have a great negative impact on the parent-child relationship, for many youths tend to feel they can do without their parents' support. It is then understandable that these youths reject the control influenced by their parents.

In Nigerian urban areas, youths seem so beyond the control of their parents that the situation could be compared to those of developed countries with welfare state policies. The forces of social change tend to make urban youths rely on themselves in the absence of social welfare in Nigeria. On the other hand, the non-availability of unemployment and child benefit allowances tends to induce unemployed urban youth who receive no support from their parents to deviate. In this case, social welfare policy also acts as a check on deviance and crime.

The collapse of the extended family which used to guarantee normal personality development, and the collapse of the taboos and parental/child obligation which constituted the basis of tribal education, all seem to support the hypotheses that in cities, some children tend to lack familial affection and educational guidance. Thus, young people who are the first victims of social change and urbanisation in Nigeria, tend to find the city favourable ground for delinquency.

City life also tends to destroy the relationship and influence of authority over daughters' or sisters' sons. The relationship with one's materilineage tends to be weakened by the new social structure and city socialisation. In pre-urbanisation, "the mother's brother, one of the most important persons in the life of the sister's son exerts a great influence over him. When advice from friends and relatives fails to persuade the sister's son to a desired point of view, similar effect of the mother's brother normally succeeds" (Uchendu, 1965: 66). The success, as Uchendu rightly puts it, "stems from friendship and love rather than from fear and superiority" especially among the Igbo. The nuclear structure of urban families in most Nigerian cities does not seem to recognise mother's brother as a special friend, let alone favour a special relation between the mother's brother and the sister's son. Such a great maternal 'bond' was a check on delinquency and other social deviance.

The structure of city life in Nigeria tends to affect the mother's devotion to her children. In rural areas, the mother's love and devotion to her children supersedes every other concern in her life. A missionary who visited Nigeria in the 1890s had this to say about Nigerian mothers:

> I can affirm that the black woman is not at all behind the white woman in this (maternal affection). I would even say that she is still more a slave to her baby ... In the case of sickness or infirmity, she lavishes attention on it and cares for it as if it were a part of herself (Pied, 1892: 314).

Today, the changes in the socio-economic structure of urban areas tend to affect this love, attention and affection for children. Most mothers, especially the working and business ones, seem to devote more of their time to their economic ventures rather than to their children. Theories in the developed world have associated deprivation of mother's love and affection with delinquency (Shulman, 1949). The shift of values from a children orientated to material wealth orientated society seems to confirm the application of this theory in Nigeria. Nigerian parents seem no longer to have enough time to direct and control their children's behaviour or attitudes toward conformity with the socio-histo-cultural institutions. The socialisation of Nigerian children in urban areas are solely left to the house-keepers or schools which themselves are not well equipped to carry out this character formation function.

Writing on "Indiscipline in our Society with Reference to Youth", Ofesina (1982) remarked:

> In most of the so-called modern homes, especially of the Nigerian elites, family disciplinary policies are either too loose or too inconsistent. This may result from the general permissiveness which is now in vogue in the society or an idiotic conception of parental love with family discipline. It could as well result from the constant long absences of the working class parents from home for most of the day. Whichever happens, it is very incontrovertible that an ineffective household management is very much unlikely to be conducive to the development of self-discipline in children (1982: 27).

The present developments in Nigerian urban centres thus tend to show that the principle factors of delinquency seem first to be found in the problems of the family, frustration, the economic situation and the urban school system. All the consulted references in this area recognised particularly the harmful influence of urban or Western types of schooling where they are badly adapted to the African situation. This seems to produce above all "cultural half-breeds", youths who are incapable of becoming integrated into the modern urban economic environment for lack of professional qualifications and inadequate future prospects. This problem which affects the whole of Africa is now affecting Nigeria in a very acute fashion.

Spatial distribution of crime and delinquency in Nigeria further illuminates the influence of urbanism on youth behaviours. It also highlights different variables in delinquency controlling mechanisms which exist between urban and traditional rural areas. Applying American ecological theory, a study by Bamisaiye (1974) on the area distribution of delinquency and criminality, indicates that youth delinquency in Ibadan is concentrated above all, in the more modern (city) and best equipped quarters of the town, whereas the traditional districts which are poorer and less well equipped appear to be officially less concerned by the phenomenon. According to the first information gathered on juvenile delinquency in Nigeria, the problem is not exactly the same in Lagos and Ibadan as

it is in rural areas (Izzett, 1955). The strongest possible explanation of this trend could be that social links and a persisting traditional way of life within the extended family system, as already pointed out, insures a more efficient social control in the old district of Ibadan and Lagos, than in the urban districts where individuals are more cut off from their groups of origin and more entrapped in material culture.

One can argue that the mechanism of traditional control often intervenes in the old districts in order to prevent the police from hearing about the conflicts generated by crime and delinquency. On the other hand, the delinquent practices of under-aged delinquents of parents with well off social backgrounds escape more easily from the action of the law than those coming from less privileged families. Cloward and Abbott (1973) made a similar observation about differential arrest patterns of young offenders in the U.S.A. where

> the blacks and the poor are more likely to be imprisoned for an offence than the white middle-class person because of the differential power distribution among the class (1973: 120).

They, however, agreed that this problem is reduced in Africa, for most "Africans still belong to the lower class" (1973: 176). There is evidence, in addition, to show that in Nigeria the strictness of traditional upbringing seems indeed to restrict the formation of delinquent behaviour, at least to some extent.

A comparative case study of two contrasting situations in Nigeria will perhaps be quite illuminating. It is hoped that they will help to clarify differences between delinquency in a rapidly developing urban area and a rural area which retains a degree of cohesive system structure. In other words, the case study illustrates the general mechanism of economic development which bring about psycho-social as well as cultural processes favouring the increase of delinquency in urban areas.

Comparative Case Studies from an Urban and Rural Area in Nigeria

Aba has been described as the largest commercial city in the Eastern States of Nigeria, and the second in the country, with a population of over 2 million. This has no doubt increased in the last few years because of the rise of immigration and the expected natural population growth.

Aba has neither a sea-port nor an airport, but its nearness to Port-Harcourt sea and airports and the Calabar sea and airports has led to Aba becoming a vast urban centre. Besides, Aba is in the centre of three Eastern States namely Imo, Rivers and Cross-Rivers States and this central location make Aba a suitable commercial town for the three states.

There are few industries located in the town, but there is an important commercial road network from Lagos via Owerri, the capital of Imo State to Port-Harcourt, River

States' capital and to Calabar, the Cross-Rivers' state capital. These pass through the commercial town of Aba. There is, in addition, a railroad passing through Aba from the ports of Port-Harcourt to the North. In short, Aba stands at the gateway to the two River States and is the biggest commercial centre in Imo State. In all respects it has an urban structure. It has cinemas, pleasant modern restaurants, nightclubs, good internal motorways, schools, universities and hospitals though some of the universities have been closed down by the present Government.

Amanzari, on the other hand, is a traditional village town, being more cohesive and less privileged in that it does not have a seat of government, a university, night clubs or industries. The Abiriba and the Onitsha traders who play a noticeable part in the trade of Aba are absent in Amanzari. Amanzari has no railway or motor road passing through directly from any other major town for reasons of economy.

Geographically, the town has not relatively, if at all, spread as wide as Aba. There are no strangers in Amanzari. Apart from the teachers in primary and secondary schools, there are no migrant or foreign workers living in Amanzari, as is the case in Aba. That is also to say that no one lives outside his extended family grouping in Amanzari as compared with Aba. Because of the various educational, commercial, governmental and political activities in Aba, the employees come from all over the

country. From this, one can infer that the level of acculturation and breaking up of family ties and traditions is more prevalent in Aba. The gap between the rich and the poor is also relatively wider in Aba.

Following tradition, the venerable old and powerful paramount chief rules over all Amanzari along with the council of elders whose influence welds together the people in Amanzari town. The local government council's influence is not so strong in Aba, possibly because of the vast immigrant community who do not belong and whose allegiance to respect, even for the traditional system in Aba cannot be as strong as those of the indigenous people.

With this information in mind, we may now proceed to examine the factors which have been extracted from the case records of children who have been before juvenile court in Aba and children who have been brought before the council of elders in Amanzari. Because of many variable factors and the margin of error that this might involve, we do not intend to analyse the question of incidence or prevalence of delinquency in the town.

In Amanzari there is only one native court which does not sit daily and there is no probation officer. The cases of aggressive behaviour - like fighting, breach of the peace and disrespect for one's seniors which seem the only cases of delinquency in Amanzari - are brought before the council of elders. The cases of stealing are also

brought before them. In Aba, on the other hand, there are more people and the activities of the probation officers and welfare officers are more extensive. There are also juvenile courts. It is because of these variables that we only intend to analyse the types of offence committed in the two locations. The disposal of delinquent youth and the referring agents will also be considered.

Type of Offences

66% of the 100 cases in Aba were caught for stealing and in Amanzari there were only 5 cases of stealing brought before the council of elders. There were 40 more cases of aggressive behaviour in Amanzari than in Aba. The one possible explanation for this trend may be that the breaking up of the interpersonal relationships in small places with more cohesion gives rise to more frequent aggressive behaviour in small towns, such as Amanzari.

Cases of disrespect to one's elders are also more common in Amanzari than in Aba. This is because in cosmopolitan towns like Aba, disrespect to one's so-called seniors is not considered to be a delinquent act. Only in the cities can one challenge one's senior to a debate. In cohesive traditional towns like Amanzari this is considered to be a serious offence and deserves a serious punishment.

Disposal of Delinquent Youth

In Aba the record shows that 25% of the youths were repatriated as against none in Amanzari. This suggests

that most of the youths in Aba who have got into trouble were not originally from Aba, but that they have migrated from other places, hence the necessity to repatriate them. Another difference is that of sex. In Aba, 20% of the young people who came before the court were girls as against none in Amanzari. The explanation for this may be inherent in the position of women in traditional towns like Amanzari.

Referring Agent

Police in Aba referred 93% of the cases; in Amanzari all the cases were referred by parents or relatives. The absence of police in Amanzari seems to pose doubt as to the true number of reported cases, but the cohesive and extended family system structure in Amanzari tends to make youths conform instead of deviate. Therefore, parents or relatives could not have reported cases other than those that really happened nor could they withhold any report. Again since the cases of youth delinquency in Amanzari are the concern of all and are brought before the council of elders of which the youth's family is duly represented, there is a traditional obligation for individual family elders to report cases of misconduct from his family members to the council of elders. This suggests that to a reasonable extent, all cases of youth misbehaviour in Amanzari are brought before the council of elders as compared with Aba where some personal variables may intervene with the arrest.

From the above viewpoint, it could be argued that delinquency in Nigeria appears above all as a direct consequence of the fundamental structural conditions of urbanism and economic development. One would, therefore, suggest that only the modification of those urban structures and a redefinition of the present urban value system with its emphasis on material wealth can bring about any progress in the fight against the social problems created by crime and delinquency in Nigeria.

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Every society, whether simple or complex, has its own system for training and educating its young people. Education for a good life has been one of the most persistent concerns of mankind throughout history. Traditional or indigenous education was the system of education widely used in Nigeria before the arrival of Islam and Christianity.

The indigenous education was generally used for an immediate induction into and a preparation for adulthood. It emphasised social responsibility, job orientation, political participation and spiritual and moral values. Under the traditional education system, children learned by doing. From birth, young people were engaged in participatory education through ceremonies, rituals, initiations, recitation and demonstrations. They were involved in practical farming, fishing, hunting, weaving, cooking, carving, knitting, etc.

Recreation subjects included wrestling, dancing, drumming, acrobatic displays and racing, while intellectual training included the study of local history, legends, the environment, local geography, plants, animals, poetry, reasoning, riddles, proverbs, story telling and story relays. Thus, traditional education was an integrated experience. At the end of a stage, demarcated either by age level or years of exposure, the child was given a practical test relevant to his experience and level of development and in terms of work expected of him. This was a form of continuous assessment which eventually culminated in a passing out ceremony, the award of a title (for example, 'Eze ji' for distinguished farmer) and initiation into adulthood.

Education then could be said to be functional because the curriculum was relevant to the needs of the society as well as of the individual citizen. Unemployment, if it existed at all, was minimal and very few young people roamed the village centres in search of employment. Moumouni (1968) summarised four qualities of traditional education as:

(i) The great importance attached to it and its collective and social nature.

(ii) Its intimate ties with social life both in a material and a spiritual sense.

(iii) Its multivariate character, both in terms of its

goal and the means employed.

(iv) Its gradual and progressive achievements, in conformity with the successive stages of physical, emotional and mental development of the child (1968: 15)

These qualities of traditional education further suggest that it was the aggregate of all the processes by which a child or young person developed the abilities, attitudes and other forms of behaviour which were of positive value to himself and to the society in which he lived. It was a process for transmitting culture in terms of continuity and growth and for disseminating knowledge either to ensure social control or to guarantee national direction of the society or both.

This system of education has changed as a result of the influence of the modern education system (Fafunwa, 1974). The principle of education as a continuous process, flexible enough to accommodate any person at any stage has also been greatly influenced. Now young people may not get education if they miss one stage or are considered to be less able. In Nigeria, for example, education is now based on the 'big English you speak'. The more English you speak, the more educated you are considered to be, irrespective of the degree of your moral and emotional development and the needs of the society. This is the trend of education in Nigeria today.

Portuguese merchant adventurers gave Nigeria their first

experience of education as it was practised in Europe (Lewis, 1970). This experience, however, was not quite effective until 24 September 1842, when the first missionaries made contact with and introduced the modern education system in Nigeria (Lewis, 1970: 16). The purpose and aims of Western or modern education not only varied from the Nigerian traditional education, but also varied from one age or period to another. The system also varied from one developed country to another. For example, while mental development was stressed by the Athenians as the main aim of education, the Spartans were concerned with development. The Romans adapted the Athenian aim of education and this later evolved into the current British system. The philosophy of education in developed countries, then, was based on psychological learning theories of mental discipline by constant exercising of the brain. The most practical of those advocating the theory of mental discipline insisted that the mind is a kind of muscle that can be strengthened by vigorous exercise and the more difficult, frustrating and unpleasant the subject, the greater its value to the student. This suggests that the subject matter of early Western education was not necessarily relevant to the needs of society, but to the physical development of mental exercise of the individual student. This theory which may be considered a pre-scientific theory of learning was used in controlling the aims and purposes of education in the developed world and in colonial days, was

exported to the colonies which today form the majority of developing countries including Nigeria.

While developed countries quickly changed their curriculum to suit the newly accepted scientific theories of learning which are also relevant to the moral, spiritual, social, political and economic needs of their societies, the colonies have maintained a curriculum which still favours the pre-scientific theory. As a result, especially in Nigeria, formal education has only been available to a very select few students who were considered particularly brilliant or whose parents could afford what, until the 1960s, appeared to many poor parents as a wasteful and expensive investment. Thus, while the children of rich parents were admitted into the highly competitive schools, the children of the poor went into trade apprenticeships or were admitted into what were known as public schools, less competitive and ill equipped. The effects on the youth of this system, relative to delinquency, are evident all over the country today. The victims of admission discrimination -the less clever and children of poor parents - all tend to become frustrated with the system in which eductional values have altered a great deal, and in which the achievement of goals is dependent on paper qualification.

In Nigeria, modern education does not seem to guarantee moral development, social control or rational direction of the society and the individual. Evidence tends to show

that the majority of those arrested as armed robbers and/or youth in trouble with the law in Nigerian cities are young people who have not received secondary education. Nevertheless, education now takes a bigger share of the Nigerian annual budget. Both the State and the Federal government of Nigeria have increased the education budget (see Capital Expenditure on Education 1981-1985 for details). Yet, a significant percentage of students drop out of Nigerian schools each year.

While the statistics for school drop outs in developed countries are based on those who fail to continue with their secondary education following completion of their elementary education, drop outs in Nigeria are based on the number that dropped out of the elementary and secondary schools, compared with the relatively few who gained admission into the small number of schools that do exist. It is difficult, therefore, to count the number of drop outs from the percentage of children that are of school age, as in the case of developed countries. While students in developed countries drop out on their own volition, children in Nigeria are pushed out of school for securing low grades. Schools tend to justify this policy by saying that it provides opportunities to more brilliant students in a situation where the number of existing schools is not sufficient for the number of children of school age. Taiwo (1968) reported that a high percentage of primary school children drop out of school before they reached Primary VI.

Nigeria's Second National Development Plan of 1970-1976
developed out of a sharp increase in primary school
enrolment between 1960 and 1970. This was, however,
followed by a high drop-out rate. In its own analysis,
the Federal Ministry of Education claimed that inadequate
facilities and poor quality of teachers - which were to a
large extent a reflection of poor financing and improper
planning - were responsible for the high incidence of drop
outs (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1971). Thus, within the
period 1975-1980, the number of school drop outs rose and
as a result Nigeria has witnessed a new wave of social
disasters which includes mass illiteracy, urban
unemployment, a shortage of potential manpower, youth
delinquency and criminal activities • (mostly armed
robbery).

High school fees may be associated with drop out and
delinquency in Nigeria. To highlight this point we have
chosen to illustrate a hypothetical case of a school child
who is given the bill on the first day of the new
quarter. He takes it to his mother who tells him to take
it to his father. The father at first indicates that he
has no money to pay the bill. He later takes the bill and
promises that he will pay it soon and that the child
should come back another time for the money. The child
attends school for three or four days and goes back to the
father to ask for the money. He puts it off for another
day. Meanwhile the child has no school materials, such as

a pen, and so in the class he sits idle.

After the first week, as the bill is not paid, he is turned out of the school and he may spend several days on the street. After a few days, the father may give the child the money for the school bill or the mother may pay, if the father continues to put it off. The child returns to school, but still without the exercise books, test book or even pens or pencils. After a few days, the teacher notices him and sends him out of the class again. The child returns to the father to ask for the money to buy these materials and he may well be told to return to tell the teacher that his father is out of the town. He may be allowed to stay in the class for a few days, if he does not draw too much attention to his idle condition. Eventually the teacher becomes abusive, storms at the child and turns him out yet again. The child returns once more to his father who in turn abuses him for coming back, and then sends him back to school with another defensive lie.

Fearing the abuse of both his father and his teacher, the child may simply stay away from school and say nothing or tell his own lie because he has indirectly been taught that lies are the best way out of demanding situations. When one of the parents finds out the child is not in school, further abuse is hurled upon him; he may even receive physical punishment, but finally, say in the third or fourth week, one of the parents decides to buy the

school materials.

The child returns to school with his books, only to find his name has been struck off the register and another boy admitted in his place. Then he starts a desperate search for a place in another school, to take the place of another defaulter. The search is rarely successful and the result is that the child may find himself out of school for the remainder of the quarter. If, on the other hand, he is admitted, he may again be turned out because his uniform is in rags — as is often the case if these are the only clothes he has. Weeks may go by, whilst the necessary clothing is obtained. Missing the first few weeks of every term, the child gets behind in his classwork. He is cuffed, abused and punished. Becoming frightened by the whole situation and discouraged by his grades, he may start to truant. He may leave home every morning pretending to go to school. Instead he stays out on the street where he is most likely to join delinquent friends. He may tell lies at home and in school, since lies have become normal behaviour.

Other parents tend to insist that children should pay their own school fees by working. This attitude may be explained by the Nigerian philosophy of success: "Children have to succeed the hard way". The experiences this group had when they first came to the city still linger in their mind. Evidence tends to show that the idea of children working, in order to pay school fees, may result in child

abuse and child labour and finally in delinquency. Those interested in school must pay the bill in order to attend school, so they must get the money no matter how. Those uninterested may join the street gangs and become delinquents.

Another common truancy factor in Nigerian city schools, and that which has associations with delinquency is the nature of punishment at the school. A report at Yaba Welfare office shows that children in town schools are inclined to truant because they are afraid of the cuffing, kicking, shoving, beating and other forms of corporal punishment administered in the school. Discipline in all Nigerian schools is based on fear. The head teacher feels he must be feared, and therefore tends to intentionally bawl at any child he addresses. For them, there seems to be no clear definition between respect and fear. While head teachers in developed countries may demand respect and allow the children to participate in discussions affecting them, the Nigerian headteachers are those who must be obeyed and/or feared. Children here must be seen and not heard. They must run if they meet the headteacher or any teacher at all on the footpath. "Run, our teacher is coming." This common practice alone makes teachers masters and not friends of the children they teach.

It is rare to enter a school in Nigerian cities and not see some teacher punishing a child by such strong methods as scraping teachers' shoes on a child's bare feet,

hitting the child's arm, and knocking his funny bone or knuckles with a ruler. The majority of teachers hold a stick in their hands, ostensibly as a blackboard pointer, but it is brandished to and fro, in the uses detailed above. It is used indiscriminately to hit children whilst they duck here and there vainly trying to evade it. From three to as many as thirty lashes may be administered on the hands, arms, back and buttocks. If the child squirms or tries to escape, his classmates are called to hold him down while the teacher lashes out viciously. Other forms of punishment in use include standing in the corner, kneeling on the floor, bending down with the head under the table. The psychological humiliation suffered by these children seems to surface in their adolescent years and it is society which seems to have to pay greatly for it.

Though the Education Department's regulations permit only the headteacher to administer corporal punishment, which he must enter in a special book (Black Book), few schools seem to keep to these regulations. With such methods of discipline, the sensitive child tends to live in perpetual fear and tends to appear duller in class than he really is. This may result in his running away from home and/or becoming a school drop out. Since the Nigerian parent's attitudes favour a hard training for children, the children seem to have nowhere to escape to. Those parents who may care, on the other hand, tend to be pre-occupied with the pressures of urban economic

activities. They tend to have no time to listen to their children's complaints about their teacher or school curriculum.

It can be argued that since the urban schools seem to teach and instill in children something of a philosophy of hate, the children may know little about love and affection. They may hate their teacher and resort to truancy as this seems the only possible alternative. Some even tend to carry the hatred back home and many run away from home at the slightest provocation. These children tend to become the 'motor boys' or the bus conductors. Others may join delinquent gangs or engage in street hawking or both.

To highlight the school situation, its punishment structure and its effect on the problems of young people in Nigeria, the following two case studies are illuminative.

Boy aged 12 years:

I dislike school because although my class teacher likes children, the headteacher is very strict. Whenever boys make a noise, he comes and picks out some of the boys, not necessarily the ones who actually made the noise. He either canes them or makes them bend down with heads under the table and their hands behind their back. I am very upset when I get caught because I know the Head will cane me.

Boy aged 9 years:

I go to church to pray that God may help me to know my lesson, so that I shall not be caned by my teacher. I am very afraid of being caned. For example, if the teacher sets five sums (Arithmetic) and I do not get them all right, I am caned two strokes on the palm for each sum I

fail. I am also caned for playing in class. I
hate being caned because I may get very big
sores if I am struck where I already have a
cut. I am so afraid that I cannot overcome my
fear and would like the probation officer to
speak tactfully to my teacher.

From this point, it could be argued that the city school
teachers do not encourage their students. They tend to
discourage them instead by their harsh treatment and
intimidation. Evidence shows that such a situation tends
to lack mutual relationships between the teacher and the
students and may encourage school drop outs and running
away from home.

URBAN POPULATION AND YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT

Statistics about unemployment and youth delinquency in
most developing countries are inaccurate, if kept at all.
Non-existence of Labour Exchanges, Guidance Units and
private regional employment agencies have further made the
records of unemployment even more difficult in Nigeria.
Thus, there is still no clear answer to the question of
how unemployment and youth delinquency are interrelated.

Nevertheless, starting from the viewpoint of unemployed
youth, a hypothetical analysis of reactions to the complex
social problems of youth unemployment among Nigerian young
people tends to indicate that unemployment is a major
cause of deviance. Data supplied by the Statistics Units
of the Nigerian National Manpower Board in 1977/78 shows
that the unemployment rate was highest among the youth
(see Tables 6.2 and 6.3). This trend still continues.

Table 6.2   Urban Labour Force Structure and Unemployment
Rates: 1974

LABOUR FORCE STRUCTURE

Age Group	Male	Female	Total
15-19	11.1	13.4	11.9
20-24	14.1	18.9	15.8
25-29	19.9	20.1	20.0
30-34	15.0	14.9	15.0
35-39	13.1	12.2	12.8
40-44	10.5	9.1	10.0
45-49	8.7	6.6	7.9
50-54	6.3	3.9	5.5
55	1.3	0.9	1.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

UNEMPLOYMENT RATE

Age Group	Male	Female	Total
15-19	18.1	24.4	20.7
20-24	12.9	9.6	11.4
25-29	4.6	5.4	4.9
30-34	1.8	1.8	1.8
35-39	1.6	1.1	1.4
40-44	3.5	1.9	3.0
45-49	1.6	0.5	1.2
50-54	1.2	0.0	0.9
55	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	5.8	6.8	6.2

Source: National Manpower Board, Statistics Unit, Lagos

Serviced by the Federal Office of Statistics, Lagos.

*Table 6.3   Urban Labour Force Participation Rates by Age
           and Sex: 1974*

| AGE GROUP | PARTICIPATION RATES | | |
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
15 - 19	45.8	32.0	39.0
20 - 24	83.5	44.7	60.8
25 - 29	95.6	46.4	69.1
30 - 34	97.5	50.1	72.6
35 - 39	99.0	59.9	80.8
40 - 44	97.0	63.9	83.0
45 - 49	88.7	71.9	88.7
50 - 54	95.1	62.4	83.9
Exactly 55	94.2	50.0	74.8
TOTAL	84.6	47.8	66.2

Source: National Manpower Board, Statistics Unit, Lagos.
          Serviced by the Federal Office of Statistics, Lagos.

Some studies in developed countries suggest that "for young people at risk, being unemployed may lead to complex consequences.   Where they are in close contact with wage-earning contemporaries, they may easily resort to crime for cash that will enable them to participate in peer group activities" (Marshand, 1978: 17). In Britain, the National Youth Bureau, in its written evidence to the Royal Commission on criminal' procedure, drew attention to evidence suggesting a frightening link between youth unemployment and crime (Apex, 1977-78).

"Unemployment", says Gulbenkian "is demoralizing enough for the young people whose backgrounds have given them

every reason to feel personally secure and confident. Those who are disadvantaged in one or multiple ways may turn against society which, as they see it, patently has no interest in them" (1979: 27). Lack of research into this area tends to make a conclusive statement impossible with respect to Nigeria. However, evidence tends to support a hypothetical assumption that a jobless school leaver may tend to have feelings of loss because his life, which was hitherto tied up with schooling activities, is now spent in idleness and unrewarding searches for employment. For the first time, the experience of idleness and boredom may result in a sense of profound shock and confusion. The first reaction may be one of crisis. The crisis may become greater and have a negative impact when there is no hope of immediate employment, where there are few chances of employment in sight and when one must compete for jobs with hundreds of others. This is the situation in Nigerian cities where the majority of unemployed are unskilled or semi-skilled.

As the employment opportunities are not keeping pace with the rate of the growing urban population, school leavers and migrant job seekers may become affected by what Klaus (1982) called "Time Horizon". The unemployed school leaver who has no hope of getting a job soon, tends to appreciate the span of time on organized or single delinquent or criminal activities. The time spent on delinquent activities become more important than the time spent looking for jobs that are nowhere in sight. As

Klaus puts it, for the unemployed, "time is used less meaningfully and becomes an unstructured continuum" (1982: 87).

Klaus compared a group of thirty unemployed youths with a control group of thirty employed youth in his study of the effect of unemployment on time-consciousness in the Trier Area of West Germany.[4] The findings demonstrated that "time rationality decreases and the time horizon changes such that one's view becomes fixed on the present and past with unemployment. Thus time consciousness change results in damage to the unemployed youth's identity, decreased adaptability to situational constraints and increasingly passive leisure time behaviour" (1982: 85-91). Although the study was done in West Germany, it seems that its findings apply to young people in Nigeria.

Nigerian young people tend to be frustrated by unemployment because it creates anxieties about the prospect of having to depend on parents or relatives for a period of time. We have noted that Nigeria does not operate a welfare state policy, such as is found in Britain and in some other developed countries. Hence, in Nigeria there are no such things as social security benefits, unemployment benefits and child or youth allowances. Thus, unemployed youngsters have no choice but to depend entirely on their parents for all their needs. It has also been pointed out that Nigerian youths,

especially among the Southern people, strongly dislike being considered as boys. They enjoy assuming adult roles early in their lives perhaps in order to avoid being called boys. Unemployment, therefore, tends to weaken this ambition to assume an adult role and makes them all the more dependent on their parents.

It, thus, seems that the only way to keep pace and lessen the dependency on their parents is to indulge in unlawful practices, given the absence of any meaningful economic engagement. Again, as parents, especially in urban areas, may withdraw their support over a long period of unemployment, a youth's social relations may tend to be adversely disrupted. Their contacts with relatives and good friends may become reduced because of their inability to reciprocate social obligations. This, in turn, tends to weaken the kinship tie system which would have given further support and/or prevented delinquent behaviour. Such hypothetical assumptions, however, need empirical verification, but evidence in Nigeria has demonstrated that youth self-esteem tends to be affected by prolonged unemployment. Some may, as a result, tend to feel badly about themselves, see themselves as useless failures, not contributing and worthless, becoming depressed and filled with anxiety. The frustration that results tends to be manifested in deviant behaviour and delinquency.

Evidence shows that many unemployed Nigerian youths tend to depend on drug and alcohol for solving their

psycho-social and economic problems. Odejide (1977, 1978, 1979), Ogunremi et al (1979), Anumonye (1980), Nevadomsky (1981), Ebie and Pela (1981), Lambo (1964) and Asuni (1964) all showed that, within the last decade, there has been a drastic change in the pattern of drug use by young people in Nigerian cities. This trend, according to them, is the by-product of unemployment. Anumonye's (1980) study of Lagos, for example, reported that drugs and alcohol are most widely used by unemployed urban youths. The survey undertaken by Poitou (1978) among 120 young Nigerian delinquents considered employment, cinemas, drugs, prostitution, gambling and cigarettes in relation to theft and burglaries.

The relationship between youth unemployment and delinquency in Nigeria calls for increased attention. In view of the above analysis, more research in this area now seems essential. Such research might well focus on the different reactions of urban youth to the complex social ramifications of unemployment including their subjective interpretation. In order to avoid or reduce the effect of special state characteristics in the relationship between unemployment and delinquency, such a research project may adapt comparative methods to study the 19 states of Nigeria. It would be of even greater significance, if it compares Nigeria with another West African country. The result, it is hoped, would help Nigeria to examine youth unemployment in relation to delinquency.

INFLUENCE OF ADULT CRIMINALS

Like all other causal factors of delinquency in Nigeria, there is no statistical data available to measure the extent of the relationship between the influence of adult criminal behaviour and the development of delinquent behaviour in youth. However, it seems difficult to analyse the problems of juvenile delinquency in Nigeria without drawing a parallel with the criminality of the adults which is vast and violent. In this respect, until the civilian government came to power in 1979, the public execution of armed robbers was a symptomatic reaction to the spreading problems of adult crime in Nigeria. This has been reintroduced by the present military administration.

The origins of armed robbery in Nigeria may be found in the process that marked the end of Civil War in 1970; and in the Yoruba system of values which favours above other consideration, the respect of strength and wealth. Thus, in the traditional upbringing, the principle of seniority, as we have noted, is applied with extreme rigour. The child, having no other right but that of contributing to his elders' well-being, may become delinquent as soon as he escapes this fundamental rule before being himself old enough to impose his own authority on his juniors. Thus, youths behaviour, at all levels of Nigerian society, tends to take its inspiration from the adults' exacerbated materialism that nobody dreams of questioning as it constitutes the end by itself.

The urban environment usually seems the only place to escape from the so-called fundamental rules, where many believe they can get rich over night by indulgence in criminal and/or delinquent opportunities offered by the anomic structure of urban centres. The anomic structure of Nigerian cities, as in Yoruba towns, fits Durkheim's (1965) social disequilibrium theory of catastrophy and subsequent sudden enrichment by a few. The events which occurred soon after the Civil War and since the exploitation of oil is a very good example of his catastrophic and sudden enrichment theory.

Recent events also seem to have contributed to the climate of criminal violence in Nigeria. The unequal sharing of oil income tends to have reinforced social inequalities since 1973. In this regard, the environmental permissiveness and frustration generated by the gap that keeps getting bigger between the various income groups, and between states, tends to favour social disorganisation, social deviance, crime and delinquency in Nigerian cities.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, it could be argued that one of the most significant social problems in Nigeria has been the rapid and unplanned development of cities and towns, especially the Federal Capital which has increased its population many times since the 1960s. Such a rapid urbanisation creates major social problems of overcrowding, lack of

services and employment facilities among others. These difficulties can clearly be a disruptive influence on the normal personality development of young people.

At times, urbanisation has had a major impact on the social structure of rural families. This may be seen from the rate at which young people leave the rural areas to go to the urban areas: the disruptive role and obligation of parents for and over their children and children's behaviour. Parents' rights to control their children are severely weakened by their migration to urban areas and the structure of the city which tends to encourage a free for all life style may and frequently does lead to delinquency and other problems among young people.

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Notes

1. Juju is a term used to describe the use of an object superstititiously to harm, charm or confuse people. This action is regarded as taboo by Nigerians.

2. On several preceding pages allusion has been made to why youth delinquency was an unknown phenomenon in pre-colonial Nigerian society, especially among those with strong extended family ties. This chapter will continue to outline more of those Nigerian cultures that significantly precluded the existence of youth delinquency, in an attempt to show the impact of

modernisation and a high rate of delinquency.

3. Banjamen borrowed the expression "anomie" from Durkheim's
    writing in Merton (1957). Durkheim used the concept
    to imply individualism in an anomic society.

4. In this study, time consciousness is viewed in Klaus'
    concept as two dimensional, involving changes in
    (a) "time rationality" - the efficient use and organi-
    sation of time; and (b) "time horizons" - the time
    one sees as important.

CHAPTER SEVEN

A REVIEW OF CHILD AND YOUTH CARE SERVICES IN NIGERIA: ADMINISTRATION AND SERVICE DELIVERY

Introduction

Having analysed the theoretical causes of youth problems in Nigeria, the next step is to review the welfare institutions there which provide services for children and convicted delinquent youths. These include educational and social welfare centres.

For the purposes of this study, the term "care services" is used to identify the broad areas of child and youth welfare services in Nigeria which are directed either towards helping families by providing supplementary support or towards serving as an alternative to family care and training.

In previous chapters the historical analysis tended to indicate that youth problems in Nigeria are closely associated with socio-economic and socio-political changes, especially in the urban areas. A similar historical approach is adopted here in order to highlight the ways in which welfare services have developed in Nigeria We will look at the organisation and administrative structure of these services as well as the functional roles which these services play with particular emphasis on their response to today's child and youth care problems.

Fulcher (1983), Scull (1977), Seed (1973) and Donzelot (1980) emphasised the importance of an historical analysis of welfare services to "illuminate the relationship between social control of deviance and the economics of social control" on social care (Fulcher, 1983: 13). Chapters 4 and 5 have already dealt with the pre-colonial or traditional periods (see Family Structure and Patterns of Child Care). Given that insignificant changes have been made in this area since the colonial and immediate post-colonial periods, these periods are reviewed together here as one period, with an emphasis on colonial patterns.

The primary focus, however, is on post-colonial changes in socio-economic structures which have influenced the development of new socio-cultural and economic systems in Nigeria. These in turn have influenced the development of new systems of administration in child and youth care services. Where possible, functional roles of care services in Nigeria will be compared with similar services in Great Britain. In making such comparisons, there is no intention to compare a particular care centre in Nigeria with another in Great Britain or the United States. Rather, the intention is to outline "structural features that are characteristic of services" (Fulcher, 1983) in the child and youth care service delivery systems of both Nigeria and Great Britain. This approach, it is hoped, will help us to identify in Nigeria those areas that need

further improvement or development.

Historical_Development_of_Existing_Services_within_a "Continuum_of_Care"_Policy_Orientation

Historically, the development of child and youth care
services in Nigeria dates back to the pre-colonial period
when family structures, coupled with the socio-economic
and political conditions of the time, allowed traditional
extended Nigerian family systems to provide care for one
another's children. The pattern of extended family care
was collectivist in orientation and for this reason,
traditional and extended family care in Nigeria could be
referred to as a 'collective care service'. Everyone was
very conscious of giving care to all the children and
young people within the family and in the community. This
principle was founded on the philosophy of 'everyone is
every one else's keeper and caregiver'.

The roles of the family and the extended family in
relation to child and youth care have declined remarkably
since Independence in 1960, following the end of colonial
administration in Nigeria (Guglar and Planagan, 1978).
Changes in the socio-economic structures of traditional
society, urban development and the consequent migration
processes which followed this period tended to make the
traditional collective child and youth care system
ineffective. In addition to unprecedented population
growth, the increased number of parents working outside
the home tends to reduce the amount of time and attention

that can be given by parents to the care of their children and young people. In response to these developments, new and different systems of child and youth care services emerged in the urban centres: systems of care which could be referred to as 'modern care services'.

Colonial subjects who were victims of the Second World War were settled in areas which over time developed into urban centres. Such settlements, combined with the mass inward migration of rural population from the early 1940s onwards, resulted in unprecedented population growth in the urban areas. Consequently, the number of children who were in need of care, protection and rehabilitation systematically increased.

It was in response to this situation that the Colonial Welfare Acts of 1940, 1945 and 1950 were enacted (Akeredolu-Ale, 1979: 45). Among other things, the Acts favoured child and youth welfare, free services for the disabled and the establishment of boys' clubs which aimed at preventing crime and delinquency among rural-urban migrants. In 1945 and 1950, the Acts were extended to other areas of child and youth care. These included adoption, foster care, marriage counselling and remand homes. At first, these services were limited to Lagos, the capital of Nigeria, but with the passage of time the regional capitals and other large cities saw the development of such services. These included Enugu, Port Harcourt and Calabar in the then Eastern Region, Ibadan

and Bendel in the then South-western region, and Kano, Kaduna and Jos in the then Northern Region.

After Independence in 1960, the Welfare Acts focused only on juvenile and family welfare and, like the colonial periods, only those within the urban centres - federal and regional capitals - had such services available. After the creation of 12 and then 19 separate states in 1967 and 1975 respectively, all the state capitals had provision for juvenile and family welfare services. These were managed by the Federal public services created in 1967. In 1972 a new body - the Ministry of Social Development, a division of the Federal Ministry of Labour - took over the administration of these centres. As the problems of young people and unwanted children increased, a separate Ministry was established to provide services for young people and children in trouble. This Ministry is called the Ministry of Social Development, Youths, Sports and Culture. Among other things, this Ministry oversees, manages and co-ordinates the activities of youth development, voluntary youth organisations, the National Youth Services Corps, etc (Federal Republic of Nigeria Handbook, 1977: 160-169). Since the creation of the new ministry, care services have been expanded to cover not only the 19 state capitals, but other major towns and local government areas as well (Onokerhoraye, 1983: 150).

To provide a brief analysis, the welfare services available for children and young people in Nigeria are

divided into the five broad headings as suggested by
Fulcher (1983). These are:

1. *Services directed into the home.*

2. *Supplementary care services around the family.*

3. *Care services away from home.*

4. *Alternative family care.*

5. *Imposed care and control services.*

We have selected these five different types of care
services because they tend to reflect the broad areas of
services found available for children, young people and
families in Nigeria.

Support services directed into the home tend to
underline the roles of the extended family. Thus, the
informal care services provided by the extended family
members and the community in which it interacts represents
the traditional forms of child and youth care services.
This varies considerably from modern programmes found in
Britain and in some urban areas of Nigeria. These more
recent developments tend to provide *supplementary care
services around the family.*

The *care services provided away from home* are
represented by the Western type of educational system in
which care is provided by residential institutions,
reflecting a group care structure. The modern system of

foster care and adoption which represents *alternatives to family care services* is not very significant in Nigeria, because of the histo-cultural extended family system. Today, however, this may be found in both formal and informal patterns. Such care is formal when it is conceptualised in terms of formal care institutions as found in the cities. It is informal when foster care takes the form of obligatory services rendered to or by a member of the extended family in a traditional setting (Hill, 1977; Jones, 1975; Martin and Martin, 1978).

For example, when any member of the extended family accepts responsibility for the care and training of the child of another member, and in this case s/he takes the child concerned to live with her/him, either within the family or outside the family. In either case, there is only a moral "commission to act as care giving services" (Fulcher, 1983: 45). This is differentiated from *imposed care and control services* where one finds the juvenile or justice courts, probation services and the referral centres or institutions which have a "legal commission to act" (Fulcher, 1983: 45).

To illuminate the functions of each of the care services outlined above, a review is offered, based on sixteen different types of service provision in Nigeria. This, however, is preceded by a review of the administrative structure of various child and youth care services outlined above. A review of these services is

necessitated by socio-economic and political changes, high rates of migration and a consequent increase in the number of child and youth problems found in Nigeria today.

Our aim, therefore, is to illustrate the structures, distribution and evaluation of problems associated with child and youth care services in Nigeria and to identify areas which could usefully be developed further. The hypothetical assumption is that Fulcher's (1983) *Continuum of Care ideal*, which seems to connote a modification of traditional extended family and community patterns of care, could be adopted within the structure of formal care services provided in Nigerian urban areas. This is not suggesting a total replacement of services but important supplements to the existing service delivery network found in Nigeria today.

It must be noted that, although the five features of care services selected for discussion in this study are quite important in Nigeria today, not all of them are very effective in terms of the changing nature of the problems faced by children and young people there. While some are still at a rudimentary stage of development, the majority have maintained traditional patterns. , For the care service to meet the changing needs and desires of contemporary Nigerian youth, they must reflect the changing patterns of society. Analysis of current needs tends to indicate that national policy should as much as possible respond to the problems created by rapid

socio-economic and political changes within the last two decades.

The Nature of Child and Youth Care Services

All societies have their own peculiar ways of caring and providing services for their future generations. In all societies the care services available depends on and reflects the level of socio-cultural and economic development of the society. Traditional service structures may also play an important part, especially in identifying and recognising needs. Thus, child and youth care services vary in nature and content from one society to another.

In the same way, it seems that the definition of care may also differ from one country to another, depending on the needs, aspirations and the level of economic and social development of the country. Therefore, it is important to define the context in which the term is used in this study. For our purposes, welfare services for children and young people, or child and youth care services as we prefer to call them, may be defined as those services in which various levels of government, as well as voluntary organisations, private agencies, various communities and extended families either collectively or individually, provide for the particular benefit of children, young people and their families. These include the "services provided largely for social [and economic] motives in terms of fulfilling the needs of specific

segments of the population" (Onokerhoraye, 1984: 6).

Care services also "encompass older [traditional care] as well as newer [modern care] forms of service where nurturing care, socialization experiences and specific learning opportunities are made available to children and families" (Fulcher, 1983: 31). Again, this may be provided by collective efforts of the primary family and the extended family (as in pre-colonial or pre-urbanised Nigeria), the community and/or government bodies.

On the basis of the above definition, one could imagine that a variety of care services could be identified in Nigeria. Our focus, however, is on those care services which are directed around the family welfare structures. In view of the present economic changes and growing poverty in Nigeria, there seems now an urgent need to supplement or relieve many families of the burden of traditional fostering and adoption services. As recent evidence has continued to indicate, many families — especially those living in the urban areas — are no longer able economically to provide these services adequately.

The Structure of Care Services found in Nigeria is rooted in the organisation and administrative structures reflected in the 19 states of the Federal Republic. Historical and present differences which exist within these states are important but are not the central concern of this study. Such a detailed focus is, however, important to future research. Suffice it to say that the

differences which affect child and youth care services existed mostly in the traditional systems of care.

In Chapter 4, it was noted that many of these differences were the result of religious and cultural differences between the Christian South and the Muslim North. The present care systems seem to have reduced these differences a great deal in terms of the standard of care provision. This is largely because the modern system is aimed at achieving similar goals throughout the country. Nevertheless, there is still a great deal that needs to be achieved because of the fragmented definition of *who needs care services.*

One important factor influencing the *distribution of child and youth care services* in Nigeria is related to the pattern of urban development. Most of the care centres, particularly those established by the state and private individuals, are concentrated in the city centres. In effect, those in the rural areas are established by Christian missions or international charitable organisations. The privately owned care services, particularly day care centres, are attracted to urban centres because of the profit motive. It is only in the city with its high population density that they can be assured of customers on a regular basis (Onokerhoraye, 1979: 405, 415; 1984: 136). Government sponsored care services also tend to be located near large population areas and usually these are in the major cities. Thus, it

can be argued that in Nigeria the distribution of social
and welfare services for children and young people is
closely related to the distribution of urban centres.

Further analysis of spatial variation within the urban
and rural areas immediately illuminates differential
treatment in terms of accessibility of various
socio-economic groups to the available care services. The
difference in allocation, as reflected by the profit
orientation of private agencies, is purely intentional.
As pointed out earlier, the concentration of these
services in the urban areas by private providers compares
with the availability of regular customers. For the
government's part, the reason seems to be a lack of
financial resources. The Government seems unable at
present to provide financial support for the development
of care services in the rural areas.

ADMINISTRATION OF CHILD AND YOUTH CARE SERVICES

The administration of welfare services for children and
young people in Nigeria involves four levels. The first
three levels concern the three government structures in
the country. That is the Federal, the States and the
local governments. The fourth is the voluntary agencies
and private individuals. The criticism about the
administration of care services is that the number of
professional social workers is, inadequate, suggesting a
need to train more, especially now that the government is
showing an interest in the administration of these

services at the _Federal_level_.

It has been pointed out that the majority of child and youth care services in Nigeria are provided by voluntary agencies and private individuals. It is only recently – due to the changes resulting from socio-economic development and the new patterns of care which have accompanied it – that the Federal government has shown an involvement in the administration of child and youth care services. Establishment of the Federal Ministry of Social Development, Youths, Sports and Culture in 1967 gave the Ministry responsibility for social policy relating to child and youth care services. In theory, this includes:

1. Co-ordinating intergovernmental and interstate social development activities.

2. Conducting research and surveys into various aspects of social development.

3. Training professional social workers and the organisation and co-ordination of training facilities for governmental and non-governmental social agencies.

4. Handling international casework and adoption enquiries.

5. Promoting legislation at the national level on matters affecting social development.

6. Co-ordinating with voluntary organisations at national and international levels.

7. Conducting all international matters affecting social development.

8. Handling overseas and national repatriations.

9. Organising national youth activities.

10. Developing recreational activities such as sports (Federal Republic of Nigeria Handbook, 1977).

The Ministry is headed by a government minister who is assisted, where available, by professionals and administrators who are in charge of various departments of the Ministry. This structure is shown in a diagrammatic form below.

The administration of care services at <u>State level</u> began earlier than the Federal government. Nevertheless, the organs of service delivery vary from state to state as well as from those of the Federal government. In some States, the administration of welfare services is the responsibility of the Ministry of Health; in others, the Local Government Ministry is responsible for their administration (Onokerhoraye, 1983).

Nevertheless, there are elements of similarity in the aims of the establishment. The welfare services for children and young people in all the States aim at achieving adequate care services for children and young people in need by:

1) Helping their clients to better understand the nature of their problems.

2) Advising their clients on how best to deal with their problems which involves:

   a) putting their clients in touch with statutory and voluntary organisations which can help;

   b) making their clients' needs known to the appropriate authorities.

In practice, these theoretical objectives have not been achieved. In many instances, achievement is thwarted by a lack of professional staff to supply the services.

Fulcher has argued with reference to the work of Grunewald (1974) that child care services must be decentralised so that they are "within easy access of the whole community" as well as providing "enough professional personnel to supply services in a given geographical area" (1983: 58). The existing patterns, distribution and management of child and youth care services in Nigeria fall short of this West European expectation.

The third level of administration in Nigeria involves is the local_level. The involvement of local government in child and youth care services, as we have already noted, tends to be concentrated in the urban areas. The absence of services in rural areas means that local government authorities tend not to be involved in the formal administration of welfare services for children and young

people. This is not to say that these services are less important in the rural areas. Rather, it is a further illustration of how and where services have developed. In effect, rural areas in Nigeria have not felt the impact of modern welfare services for children and young people. Instead rural areas have largely relied on the use of social support networks provided by the family, extended family, friends, communities and housemaids. These informal care services have been reasonably effective in terms of their reciprocity and mutuality, but as we have shown in Chapter 5, they can also be destructive.

Analysis of this diagramme indicates that the National Assembly is the final educational institution at the national level. The National Assembly formulates laws affecting educational policy in Nigeria. Next is the Federal Ministry of Education. This body is headed by the Federal Commissioner for Education, who is responsible to the National Assembly and seeks their approval for his policies. The National Council for Education, is the policy making body which makes all policies affecting education in Nigeria and pass them for approval to the National Assembly through the Commissioner for Education. The National Council for Education is made up of the Federal Commissioner for Education as Chairman, and all the States (19) Commissioners for Education, Representatives of National Universities Commission, Representatives of Joint Admission Board and the National Council on Technical Education.

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

FEDERAL MINISTRY OF EDUCATION

GENERAL MINISTER FOR EDUCATION
(AS THE HEAD)

The Policy
Making Body

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR   FEDERAL MINISTER OF STATE
     EDUCATION   (AS ASSISTANT)

(AS THE CHAIRMAN)

FEDERAL MINISTER OF   PERMANENT SECRETARY
    EDUCATION   (AS THE HEAD OF CIVIL SERVICE)

ALL THE STATES   VARIOUS LEVELS OF CIVIL
COMMISSION FOR   SERVANTS IN THE MINISTRY
  EDUCATION

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF   JOINT ADMISSION
TECHNICAL EDUCATION   BOARD

                              Charged with admission for candidates
NATIONAL UNIVERSITY   into Nigerian universities,
   COMMISSION   especially Federally owned
                              universities.

Charged with the planning and
management of all Federal
universities.

*This represents an example for administration of welfare
 services for children and young people in Nigeria.

The final tier in the administrative line of decision making is the National Universities Commission. This Commission is charged with the planning and management of the Federal Universities. Next is the Joint Administration Board (JAB), charged with the responsibility of admission for candidates into Nigerian Universities, especially the Federal Universities. Finally, the National Council on Technical Education carry responsibility for planning and managing polytechnics and colleges of education.

Voluntary   Organisations represent the fourth administrative level affecting child and youth care services. Throughout this chapter, allusion has been made to the involvement of voluntary agencies in providing welfare services in Nigeria. Although state, and recently the Federal, government often give financial grants to assist voluntary agencies, the various institutions established by these agencies are still managed by voluntary groups. The work of these organisations has been seriously hampered by a lack of information about their existence and objectives. Information and referral services have not yet developed to any great extent in Nigeria.

THE CONTINUUM OF CARE IN NIGERIA

It has been noted that the historical development of Social Services in Nigeria followed British traditions. The colonial administrators knew that, in order to

maximise their economic objectives in Nigeria, it was necessary to develop some social services, especially those relating to welfare or personal services. Among those provided were transport, education, health care, housing, personal services and recreation.

It is worth noting that these services were provided for the consumption of certain groups of the population, and only these groups knew about their existence. Because of the aims for which these services were provided, there seemed no need for public information which could enlighten the general public about support services available. Thus, very few people knew about the existence and the actual work of social welfare services. Only the elite, who were less likely to need such services, knew that welfare services existed to help deal with vulnerable groups in the society - the old, the handicapped, children, etc.

Information and Referral Services

Information services involve providing information about services which are available for child and youth care; and putting those in need of care and protection in touch with institutions or voluntary organisations. Until recent times, information about services available in the traditional collective structure was contained informally within the structure of the family, extended family and tribal groups. It always followed this system and operated in a very elaborate way. Such a system was quite

effective and there was little need for formal information services. The need for a formal mechanism only came in the later stages of development when care shifted from being the responsibility of the family, extended family and tribal group to being the responsibility of the state and private organisations.

Today an analysis of welfare services or employment problems in Nigeria, for example, tends to indicate that many youths are unemployed because they lacked access to the information network which could advise them about what employment opportunities were available. Thus, it can be argued that information services in the traditional structure operated more effectively than they do in today's modern structure of welfare services in Nigeria.

In addition to economic reasons which have produced a fragmented information network, another explanation might be that only the Federal and State ministries of information are responsible for providing information of this kind on a national basis. Unfortunately, such information is only available in the Federal and State capitals. People in the rural areas and in many cities outside the capitals are thus deprived of much support in respect of care for children and youth, because of inadequate information services.

The question that arises here is how to find ways of making information available to people quickly in a way that will allow them to have access to services and enable

them to know what modern social welfare services can offer. This will require further development and research aimed at finding how information services can be extended to the rural areas. It will also be necessary to train personnel to collect and supply information relevant to child and youth care needs in given geographical areas. In other words, decentralisation of information services needs to occur in such a way that they are "readily accessible and capable of supplying detailed, and up-to-date information about support services that are available within the geographic locale" (Fulcher, 1983: 66).

SUPPORT SERVICES DIRECTED INTO THE HOME

The fact that Nigeria has a great regard for child and youth care has already been established. It has also been noted that the provision of these services during the pre-colonial era was to a large extent collective, involving all the members of the extended family, friends, relatives and the community.

The changing patterns of living conditions within the last few decades, especially within the urban centres, have considerably altered the collective social support directed into the home. Changes in the process of child care are noticed, particularly in the cities where there have been dramatic economic changes and the numbers of working parents have increased.

Within the country, there are some parents who, as a result of modern economic forces, death or divorce, cannot adequately provide care for their children in this rapidly changing society. Modern care services tend to provide alternatives or supplement the services provided hitherto by the family, for these and other groups of families in the urban areas. Nevertheless, within some families in the rural areas, services for children and young people are still provided by their families, its extended system and the community.

Support services directed into the home in Nigeria are grouped diagrammatically below.

GROUP A	GROUP B	GROUP C	GROUP D
Primary family support	Extended family support	Village & Community support	Child and family welfare centres

Primary family support

The family's responsibility for providing support for the care and socialisation of its members is a moral as well as a legal obligation in Nigerian society. The method used in the provision of these care services is purely informal. The family obligation arises in marriage where the maintenance of a wife or wives and the children is a primary obligation.

In Nigeria, the family is expected to provide all the

care services for its children until they are married and through the extended family system this will continue whenever the need arises. The family's functions in relation to care for children may not be much different from those provided by families in developed countries. What is dissimilar is the degree of support provided by the extended family.

Extended Family and Village Community Support

At several points in this study, allusions have been made to the functions of the extended family in relation to providing services for children and young people in Nigeria. Suffice it to say that the extended family unit is an example of small group living arrangements, situated primarily within the local community with which it interacts and works in close collaboration. The living arrangements and the care, protection and training offered on a more personalised basis, as compared to the formal patterns of care found in modern centres, tends to eliminate many opportunities for anti-social behaviours amongst the members, particularly among the youths.

The structure of the socio-economic life of the family in the pre-colonial period was such that the extended family provided employment services as well as other forms of care. Information services operated within the family and extended family or community (tribal) group, and - in a very elaborate but informal way - within the cultural traditions of the family. Thus, those in need were able

to have knowledge about what support or services were available.

It may be argued that "normalisation or decentralisation" (Fulcher, 1983: 58) within the family or tribal groups was due to the presence within the extended family of a comparatively large number of adults who could act as substitutes for one another or in some cases share responsibilities in the care of children and young people, as well as old people. This meant that child and youth care, or the sum of social welfare services, did not constitute a problem in pre-colonial Nigerian families. Rather, it seemed to have encouraged collective care and training of children and young people (Onokerhoraye, 1984: 59).

The quality of care and support which the extended family offered may of course be comparatively low. Nevertheless, these services are very significant when viewed against the socio-economic background in many parts of the country. If these could be modified and adapted, they might compare favourably with contemporary developments referred to by Fulcher as "imaginative alternative programmes which are community-based and include group care living and group activities" (1983: 38-9).

Child and Family Welfare Centres

Modern family welfare centres are still at a very

developmental stage in Nigeria. The structure of Nigerian families tends to discourage family problems from being settled outside the immediate family group or, at its most extreme, outside the extended family council of elders. Such cultural traditions may contribute to the non-existence of child and family welfare centres in the rural areas.

In the city centres, where these services exist, they handle what may be called urban oriented family problems. These include matrimonial disputes, cruelty, neglect and paternity disputes. The duties of child and family welfare centres sometimes overlap with those of day care centres, especially in areas relating to child custody.

Affiliated with child and family welfare centres are Domestic Training centres which are principally concerned with matrimonial disputes. Recently, city life has produced in some people a tendency to indulge in excessive alcoholism and drug taking. This can result in men failing to accept their responsibilities as fathers and husbands. In response to these trends, domestic training centres have been established in each of the 19 States.

The ideology upon which such centres as these are established is that family disputes should be settled within the family. The goal behind this philosophy is that welfare work should attempt to prevent or solve family problems without necessarily going to court. Thus, the main function of domestic training centres lies in

giving instruction on marriage requirements, marriage guidance, home economics, adult education, family counselling and reconciliation. The methods used are broadly casework-oriented.

SUPPLEMENTARY CARE AROUND THE FAMILY

Supplementary care around the family was provided collectively in the pre-colonial period by the community or the extended family. For example, the 'Egwu Onwa' (moonlight playground) and the 'Ogbakowa Ukwuokwe' (day recreational centre) were provided on an informal basis by the community or within the extended family circle. Today, the provision of these services has become a commercial venture for individuals and organisations. venture. Thus, the recent .trends toward economic profits in these services have motivated private agencies - some voluntary, but profit oriented - to become greatly involved in the provision of supplementary care services around the family. To some extent, some of these have failed to recognise an important issue raised by Strathclyde Regional Council in Scotland (1978) which adopted the policy where, as far as possible, "children should live normally in family like environments and that all forms of service should support children living in their own or another family unit wherever possible" (in Fulcher, 1983: 59).

The grouping of these services is represented diagrammatically below. This group falls within a second

stage of modern care services, which historically
developed from care contained in the network of family and
extended family or tribal group.

Grouping of Supplementary Care Around the Family

Group A	Group B
Day Care Centres	Youth Care Centres
Nursery Schools	Youth Clubs — Boy
Primary Schools	Scouts, Girl Guides, etc
Day Secondary Schools	

Day Care Centres

As was pointed out in the last chapter, changes in the
position of women in Nigeria have meant that a greater
number of Nigerian women are now working in government
offices and private establishments, or are engaged in
personal commercial activities. The spread of urbanism,
the new values attached to education, changes in parents'
attitudes towards girls' education and the introduction of
Universal Primary Education also meant that all boys and
an increasing number of girls now attend school. This
situation has thus created a scarcity of housemaids and
child minders whose help in the family supplements family
care provided by the extended family system in the
pre-colonial era.

Today day care centres have emerged in large numbers in
all the States and in almost all big cities, providing
supplementary family care. Lagos, Enugu, Owerri, Aba,
Umuahia, Port-Harcourt, Kano, Kaduna, Zaria, Benin City
are all examples of cities with numerous day care

centres. These centres are owned by private individuals and voluntary agencies, such as the Womens Christian Association and the Society for Family Organisation. Some of these centres, especially those owned by private individuals, are very poorly equipped. The low fees charged by these groups tend to attract children from low economic backgrounds. Those owned by mission and voluntary agencies seem to have better facilities and so charge comparatively higher fees. These attract the children of middle and upper income groups.

The absence of regulations or laws affecting the establishment of day care centres make the functions and organisation of these centres largely ineffective in relation to the objectives for which they were established. In developed countries, these services are largely provided by the government at local levels or by individuals and voluntary organisations. There are regulations or laws governing establishment of these services. Akeredolu-Ale (1978) has highlighted the need for both Federal and State government involvement in the provision of day care services. This is necessary to safeguard the interests of children under school age and to support poor parents who have no alternative but to seek the services of ruthless entrepreneurs who at present provide these services.

Day care centres tend to provide opportunities for women to participate in the labour force of the economy. They

are equally important for the healthy development and socialisation of children. Day care centres also tend to expose children to dual care: in the day care centres and care around the home after work. This suggests that attention might be given to co-ordinating the activities of both 'at-home' and day care centres. This includes the way in which it provides fundamental education, recreational opportunities for the children concerned, and co-ordinates traditional education (care around the home after work) with modern education (care in the day care centres).

For example, the main objective of traditional education, as noted in the previous chapter, includes making children conform to the norms of the society to which they belong. Day care centres could try to inculcate in children respect for their elders, which is one aspect of this particular society's norms. By co-ordinating aspects of both the Western and traditional education systems, the centres must also try to develop intellectual ability and promote social skills which can satisfy the needs of the individual and society. Thus, children may learn during periods of strict "timetable oriented" Western education (Fajana, 1971: 17) and during more relaxed periods of recreation; and working with their parents at home without a "strict timetable".

Nursery Schools

An historical review of nursery school provision in

Nigeria indicates that day nurseries date from the late 1970s when the rapid changes brought about by urbanisation occurred, and the consequent migration posed problems of care for working migrant parents who found themselves removed from the collective care system provided by the extended family. Since then centres providing day nursery services for children below 6 years have been provided in Nigeria largely by private individuals and voluntary agencies who charge fees for their services.

It is this feature which locates the organisation and administrative structure of nursery schools in Nigeria in a similar position as nursery schools in Britain and America. In the U.S.A., there is a large private, fee for service pattern of nursery provision, the major pattern found there. In Britain, private nursery provision is increasing steadily, especially with the present government. There are fewer in Scotland, but this number is also growing.

The high fees charged in Nigerian nursery schools tend to make this type of day care an urban middle class concern. "This constraint has made enrolment in day care nurseries very limited relative to the number of the children who qualify to attend school in terms of age" (Onokerhoraye. 1983: 18).

Day Primary Schools

Historically, primary schools in Nigeria date back to

the early work of the Church Missionary Societies. Day schools started in about 1846 when the first missionaries came to the coast of Nigeria to evangelise and educate the indigenous people (Nduka, 1964). Since then the administration of primary schools has undergone a series of transformations.

The problems of primary schools are significant to this study because Nigerian day schools care for children between the ages of 6 and 11 or 12 years. This could be regarded as one of the most important and effective socialisation and character formation periods of a child's life.

Day primary schools in Nigeria offer day care services for 6 years and fall into two sections. These are:

1. The Junior section for children in Primary 1 to 3 — usually children between 6 and 9 years.

2. The Senior section for children in Primary 4 to 6 — normally children in the 10 to 12 year age group.

Before the U.P.E. programme was introduced in Nigeria, primary schools cared for between 240 and 1,200 pupils (Onokerhoraye, 1983: 19). U.P.E. was launched in 1976 and since then the number of children enrolled in the primary schools has increased considerably. Table 6.1 shows the steady and remarkable rise in the number of children as well as the numbers of primary schools between 1975 and 1979. Nevertheless the number of primary schools are not

keeping pace with the growing number of school age children.

Table 6.1: Recent trends in Primary Education Service in Nigeria since 1960*

YEAR	NO. OF SCHOOLS	enrolment (in thousands)
1960	15,703	2,912.6
1964	14,976	2,849.5
1971	15,324	3,894.5
1975	16,256	5,267.4
1979	23,928	10,211.3

Table 6.2: Recent trends in Secondary Education Service in Nigeria since 1960*

YEAR	NO. OF SCHOOLS	enrolment (in thousands)
1960	883	135.4
1964	1,327	205.0
1971	1,234	343.3
1975	1,499	526.9
1979	1,834	1,654.3

*Source: Onokerhoraye (1983).   It will be noted that the fall in the number of children at schools between 1960 and 1964 indicates that primary schools suffered a great deal immediately after Independence.   This trend was due particularly to changes in the system of administration.

Primary schools in Nigeria run a double shift system, particularly in the urban areas. The shortcomings inherent in this system have been strenuously debated. Among other things, a system which allows children 3 1/2 hours of learning in school per day can hardly be said to meet the requirements for satisfactory educational achievement needed for individual development. A shift system allows one set of children to attend school between 8 a.m. and 12.30 p.m. while a second set attends between 1 p.m. and 4.30 p.m. The 30 minute gap between the morning and afternoon shifts highlights the inadequacies in the administration of the schools, and this tends to create problems in the way that school facilities are used by both children and the staff.

There are two basic arguments in favour of the shift system. First, it provides maximum usage of classrooms and other care facilities which are in short supply. Second, the shift system seems the only way of coping with the shortage of administrative manpower (Onokerhoraye, 1983). These are quite logical propositions but, given the 3 1/2 hours of study a day, can the shift system provide the best standard of education which is required for building the nation? We contend that further research is needed to identify better ways of solving the problems of manpower and classroom shortage. Obviously, the shift system is inadequate.

Secondary School Services

In Nigeria, secondary education falls into two categories. These are:

1. Residential or boarding secondary schools.

2. Day secondary schools.

Both the private and public secondary schools have been established to care for the continuing education of children who have completed their primary school course, usually from the age of 12 or 13 years. The residential schools in this study fall within the feature of care services away from home, and will be discussed under that heading. It is sufficient to point out at this stage that, apart from residential facilities which are the major differences, admission into both day and residential secondary schools is usually by competitive entrance examination. Eligibility, therefore, depends on individual performance at the entrance examination and not on the mass need for secondary school education services.

The 'automatic' admission for all primary school leavers in Lagos, Bendel, Ogun, Ondo and Oyo States further highlights differences in administration and provision of social welfare services from State to State. While the Western States have introduced a new system of admission into their secondary schools, the Eastern States still depend on competitive entrance examinations. In the North, the system which has been adopted allows for

continuing educational mobility. The ideology here is to
preach the educational gap between the South and the
North. It is argued that this system tends to diminish the
quality of education available.   However, the validity of
this argument will ultimately   depend   on   empirical
research.

Secondary schools in Nigeria   provide a five year
education and take on average between 350 and 700 young
people each. The bigger schools may take between 1,200
and 1,400 youngsters. The provision of these schools has
increased over the years. For example, in 1960 there were
only 883 secondary schools in Nigeria with about 13,564
students as compared with 1,327 schools and 205,002
students by 1964 as indicated in Table 6.2. The fall
between 1964 and 1971 was partly due to the Civil War and
partly to problems in the post-colonial administration
which arose as the   indigenous worker inherited the
administration of these schools after Independence in
1960. This, rather   than   the   closure of so-called
substandard institutions as argued by Onokerhoraye (1983),
was responsible for the decline in secondary and primary
school services within the above periods. Some secondary
schools were closed down before and during the Civil War,
not because these schools were substandard, but because
the indigenous administrators within these periods seemed
to lack administrative skill. Some schools were also used
for military purposes during that time.

Though the trends indicated an increase in the number of schools and enrolments between 1975 and 1979, evidence tends to show that not all the qualified youths were enrolled in a given year because the number of schools available could not keep pace with the numbers of qualified young people. Little wonder then that some secondary schools operated a shift system just like primary schools, in order to cope with the high demand for secondary education, especially in the urban areas. Like the primary schools, this system encourages even more problems in the secondary schools. To occupy the time of young people outside school hours and those who are unemployed, youth centres - the second group of supplementary care services around the family - were developed.

Youth Centres

Work in these centres has concentrated on occupying the time of young people outside school hours by engaging them in activities which, it was hoped, would inculcate a sense of responsibility and encourage them to get involved in making a contribution to their communities. The centres co-ordinate the activities of youth clubs, youth associations and the like.

From time to time speakers are invited to give lectures on areas affecting youth development. These include the history of youth clubs in Nigeria, public health services, problems of adolescence and programme planning in youth

clubs. The centres also offer courses and training in sports, games and other recreational activities. One of their aims is to foster normal personality development in the young people as well as to encourage respect for persons and property. There is at present one youth centre in at least eight local government areas in each of the 19 States of the Federation.

Because youth centres have no profit incentives, private individuals do not tend to show much interest in these services. Voluntary agencies do show an interest, encouraging such activities as boy scouts, boys and girls brigade, girl guides and youth fellowships. These are all non profit making youth clubs. Like all the other child and youth care services, youth centres are predominantly provided in local government areas within or near the city. Because of this, children and young people in the rural areas are denied such centres.

SERVICES AWAY FROM HOME

Services away from home are the third form of social welfare services for children and young people in Nigeria. A diagrammatic grouping of this grouping of services is provided as illustration.

GROUP A	GROUP B	GROUP C
Residential Secondary Schools .	Special Residential Schools Motherless Homes	National Youth Service Corps

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Each group serves as a support to families' care for their children and young people. Services away from home supplement the traditional extended family care system, where a child might be sent to live with a distant relative for a period of time, say about six months or more. It may also be for a shorter period. This is quite different from foster care which will be discussed later.

For motherless children, away from home services also provide alternatives to normal family life. In some developed countries, services away from home also provide group care for delinquents (Fulcher, 1983: 68).

Residential Secondary Schools

The education network in developed countries, especially in Great Britain with its greater emphasis on "normal population has relied since early times on a variation of the residential institution as the setting wherein education services can be dispensed" (Fulcher, 1983: 32). Apart from the nursery, primary and day secondary schools, the Nigerian education system has followed a similar

pattern. However, cuts in public spending which now affect residential secondary schools indicates a departure from this tradition, especially in the public residential secondary schools in recent years. The few existing private secondary schools still maintain a residential system. Common among these are mission-owned secondary schools.

Special Residential Schools

In the past, Western education was regarded as the exclusive right of male children. This idea may be based on the system of rights to remain and live within the natural family and keep to the family's name. The male child was supposed to remain within the family as well as keeping to the family's name. Girls were expected to marry into another family, lose the right to their natural family and thus transferred any returns from her education to another family (Onokerhoraye, 1984: 157).

Though this idea seems to have been less in favour in recent years, there are still objections to the idea of educating delinquents and emotionally handicapped children. This is especially true for girls, who until now have lagged behind educationally in Nigeria. It has been pointed out that for most Nigerian families, Western education seems to be regarded as an economic investment. It must be invested only on the children who, in the opinion of the parents, will be able to produce substantial returns from their educational investment.

Such returns would be measured in terms of *position* and *salaries*. The question that has not been clearly answered is how this can be determined even before a child is sent to school.

However, the attitude towards who should get Western education and who should not, prevents adequate attention being given to delinquent and emotionally handicapped children in Nigeria. Recently, Federal and State governments acknowledged the problems created by the absence of educational institutions or proper welfare services for these people. Between 1976 and 1979 about forty special schools were established in the country to provide care services for young people in trouble. These include: the Suden United Mission School in Gindiri, the Special Education Centre in Oji River, the Sudan Interior Mission School in Kano, the Pacelli School in Lagos, the Enugu Special School for the Deaf and the Wesley School for the Deaf in Lagos.

A detailed examination of these centres tends to indicate that the majority are again owned and managed by private individuals and voluntary agencies. The pattern of distribution suggests that only 5 states have this service and all are located within the urban centres. The urban centres. There have been arguments that one element influencing the location of a centre is the size of the general population and proximity to social amenities, such as a housing scheme.

The concentration of welfare services within urban areas in Nigeria is not necessarily influenced by "proximity to social amenities, the extent to which a facility can be made secure and the extent to which architectural design supports programme activity for a particular clientele" (Fulcher, 1983: 46). Instead, the siting of such centres in Nigeria tends to be influenced by access to a regular pool of middle class paying customers.

Apart from the above explanation, another argument in support of the urban concentration of welfare services for children and young people contends that welfare care centres should be located where the primary parents can be involved in the care services provided for their children. This argument would tend to suggest that families in need of care are found only in urban areas. However, it can also be argued that the cohesive family ties within Nigerian society, outside urban areas, provide positive preference for rural areas. Here, if the primary parents cannot be involved in care services provided for their children because they live in the cities, their relatives in the rural areas may become involved. Of course the traditional behaviour control structures operating in rural areas may also influence the quality of care given to the children in terms of normal personality development. Certain economic realities and local resources, in terms of availability of land for building such centres, tend to suggest a further preference for rural environments compared with urban areas.

The argument here, however, is not the preference for rural or urban areas; but that considering the spreading influence of urbanism and the increasing numbers of children and young people in need of care and protection in both rural and urban areas in Nigeria today, the rural population also needs social welfare services. What this suggests, therefore, is decentralisation, so that the whole community can have easy access to child and youth care services in Nigeria.

Motherless Centres

Motherless centres (or orphanages) represent another group of services provided for children and families in Nigeria. Motherless homes accept babies who are at least one year old. Like some of the centres discussed above, the majority of motherless centres are owned and managed by private individuals or voluntary agencies.

Statistical data available in 1975 indicated that of 150 motherless homes in Nigeria, 121 were owned and managed by voluntary agencies, 10 belonged to private individuals and only 19 belonged to State government. This is to say that each State has only one. None of the motherless centres belong to the Federal government. Little wonder then that these homes are mainly urban based, concentrated only in the big cities where the service providers hope to make a fast, guaranteed profit.

While it can be argued that the demand for the services

of these centres tends to be higher in the urban areas than in the rural areas (Onokerhoraye, 1984: 151), there is no evidence - empirical or theoretical - to show that they are not needed in the rural areas. It can also be argued that the difficulties created by rapid socio-economic changes in Nigeria have gradually spread to the rural areas and thus make the demand for such services no less apparent in these areas than they are in the urban centres.

Services are provided not only to meet the particular needs for which they were established, but also the related needs. If this hypothesis is correct, then it can be argued further that the provision of motherless care centres in the rural areas or an extension of its services beyond meeting the particular needs of children and families in need of care, could also provide employment opportunities for young school leavers. In return, this might help to limit the rate of migration of young school leavers into the urban areas. Murray (1978), Onwuegeogwu (1978, 1981), Powers and Wintner (1951) have all endorsed the view that youths migrate because employment opportunities and urban type facilities are not available in the rural areas.

THE NATIONAL YOUTH SERVICE CORPS SCHEME

Historically the ideological features which lead to the development of the National Youth Service Corps Scheme in Nigeria may be different from other youth organizations

elsewhere, while sharing similar underlying objectives. For example, there seem to be clear parallels between the Nigerian National Youth Services Corps and Uganda's National Youth Organisation, the Young Pioneers in Nkruma's Ghana, and Kenya's National Youth Service (Kuper and Smith, 1971).

In some developed countries, youth organisations emphasise para-military service as a means of instilling discipline and a spirit of patriotism in the youth. In Italy, the Militare; in America, Canada and Britain, the Peace Corps; the CUSO in Canada and the Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO) (Kuper and Smith, 1971) respectively are youth services sharing common scope with youth organisations in other countries, especially Nigeria. Most of the youth organisations in developed countries focus on international understanding and the extension of national interests overseas.

In Nigeria, the focus is on national unity and furthering inter-state interests. It is founded on an ideology which is similar to the ideology of "multiculturalism" in Canada (Perry et al, 1977); the "melting pot" theory in the United States of America (Milton, 1972) and the "Division of Power" or Unitary State in the United Kingdom (Kellars, 1979). These ideologies, like those supporting the National Youth Service Corps, have aimed at solving the social, political, economic and employment problems prevalent in a

pluralistic state (Kuper and Smith, 1971).

Nigeria is a country whose colonial history and experience in the immediate post-colonial era were characterised by ethnic loyalties. Such mutual group suspicion and distrust, culminated in the traumatic events of a bloody Civil War of 1967. As a developing country, Nigeria is further plagued by all the problems which constitute a condition of underdevelopment, namely poverty, mass illiteracy, an acute shortage of highly skilled manpower (coupled with a most uneven distribution of the skilled people that are available).

Faced with these almost intractable problems, which were further compounded by the burdens of reconstruction after the Civil War, the Government and the people of Nigeria established fresh goals and objectives for the country, aimed at establishing Nigeria as:

(a) a united, strong and self-reliant nation in terms especially of manpower;

(b) a just and egalitarian society;

(c) a great and dynamic economy;

(d) a land full of bright opportunities for all citizens; and

(e) a free and democratic society.

A country with distinct cultural, linguistic and in many

cases religious differences, Nigeria represents a mosaic of multi-ethnic nations bound together largely by evidence of a colonial past. Nigeria's experiences of nation building, like many other heterogeneous or pluralistic societies, have thus been marked by inter-group conflicts, arising from dual loyalties to one's ethnic group and those favouring the goal of national unity.

These conflicts have had their effects on interpersonal and intergroup relationships. Within the broad ethnic differences and intergroup rivalries, class conflicts have also tended to masquerade as ethnic conflicts, making the problems of group differences less tractable than otherwise. For example, the number of inter-ethnic marriages is low, as is the assignment of different areas for strangers settlements (Sabon Garri in the North; Abakpa in the East and Adugbo-Alyo in the South). At an individual level, there are difficulties in identifying with a broad national value orientation.

Against the above realities of ethnic group differences in Nigeria's national history, the post-War military government in Nigeria was posed with the task of re-unification. Consistent with this task were problems of regional disparity and geographical distribution of skilled manpower that would put Nigeria on the road to meaningful social, economic and national development. This was exacerbated by the apparent reluctance and unwillingness among many young Nigerian graduates to seek

career opportunities in regions outside their own. Thus, there seemed a need to awaken in the minds of the graduate youth the idea of one Nigeria, one nation, one destiny and an indivisible identity.

Based on the foregoing issue, the military government under General Gowon's administration established a military decree which in June 1973 gave rise to the National Youth Service Corps Scheme. Its aim, as will be obvious, is to relate the whole scheme to national policies and goals designed to maintain national awareness among the youth, permit manpower mobilization, citizenship training and overall national and personal development. The feature of ideological policies of N.Y.S.C. outlined below may help to illustrate the concept of the service.

General Objectives of N.Y.S.C. Policy

The N.Y.S.C. was established to achieve the following goals:

(a) *To inculcate discipline* in Nigerian youth by instilling into them a tradition of industry at work, and of patriotic and loyal service to the nation in any situations they might find themselves.

(b) To raise their *moral tone* by giving them the opportunity to learn about higher ideals of national achievements and social and cultural improvements.

(c) To develop in them attitudes of mind, acquired

through shared experience (in group work orientations) and suitable training which will make them more amenable to *mobilization* in the national interest.

(d) To develop *common ties* among them and *promote national unity* by ensuring that:

> (i)   as far as possible youths are assigned to jobs in States other than their State of origin;
>
> (ii)   the youths are exposed to the modes of living of the people in different parts of the country with a view to removing prejudices, eliminating ignorance and confirming at first hand the many similarities among Nigerians of all ethnic groups.

(e) To encourage members of the service corps to seek at the end of their corps service, career employment all over the country, thus promoting the free movement of labour.

(f) To induce employers partly through their experience with members of service corps to employ more readily qualified Nigerians, irrespective of their State of origin.

(g) To enable Nigerian youth to acquire a spirit of self-reliance (Federal Republic of Nigerian, 1977, Extraordinary Gazette).

The italicised items can be said to represent areas or criteria which can be used for any meaningful evaluation

of the N.Y.S.C. with regard to how successful the scheme has been in achieving these objectives. A number of research endeavours have been pursued but it can be argued that at present there is insufficient statistical data available, based on empirical research, to draw any firm conclusions. One would, therefore, advocate for more process research to support or contrast some of the reservations being expressed about the continued operation of the N.Y.S.C. scheme in its present form. Alternatively, there may be merit in supporting an expansion of the scheme to cover the problems of the less able and less qualified sections of young people in Nigeria, who at present have no hope of obtaining a place in the N.Y.S.C. scheme.

ALTERNATIVE FAMILY CARE

Alternative family care in this perspective is provided by fostering and adoption services. In Nigeria these services are not yet well developed. To establish initial groundwork for a comparative analysis, an attempt is made here to outline the historical development of the minimal services provided by fostering and adoption agencies in contemporary Nigeria.

Foster Care Services

The recent socio-economic changes in Nigeria have created a situation whereby children, without parents or whose parents are not in a good enough position to care

for them, now find themselves to be in need of care. In the past, such care was provided by any or all members of the extended family collectively. Thus, the modern system of foster care is an illusion, unknown even in the more advanced traditional areas.

The history of modern foster care seems to date back to Civil War days when two international child welfare agencies "re-integrated more than 10,000 war displaced and orphaned children into normal family life" (Mere, 1975). This was achieved through foster institutions outside the country which provided temporary care for the children. Since then many States in Nigeria have provided foster care services. But like some other welfare services discussed above, this care is provided mostly in urban areas and is often established and managed by voluntary agencies. They provide care facilities for children who have no parents to care for them.

Many more privately owned foster care services are emerging in the urban areas of the country, especially in Anambra and Imo States. This is perhaps due to regular financial assistance from both government allocation and public donations. It may also be that because of the war experience, these States are more aware of the importance and the effective need of foster care services than their counterparts.

Adoption

In Chapter 4, it was noted that from the Nigerian perspective, the context of the term 'adoption' is defined in terms of a free or loose obligation by members of the extended family, relatives and friends to the family or children in need. Here again there is no "legal commission to act" as adoption care giver(s); and it does not imply transfer of parental rights of ownership. Thus, partly because of the significant "traditional values assigned by Nigerians to have their own children" (Onokerhoraye, 1984: 152); and partly because of the conventional connotation of modern adoption, Nigerians have refused to show an interest in this method of child care delivery.

In spite of the increasing numbers of abandoned children in the urban areas or children whose parents and other relatives are unknown or cannot be traced, Nigerians still regard any child care service that implies the transfer of parental rights from the child's natural parents to adoptive parents through a court order, as unethical. Consequently, Nigeria has no adoption laws and therefore no adoption care services such as exist in Britain or North America.

In the Nigerian system of adoption, a child is expected to adopt a new life style, but not necessarily a new social and cultural environment. The problem lies with those children whose parents or relatives are not known or

cannot be traced. For this group, the prevalent attitude among Nigerians has a great negative impact. The absence of modern adoption care services not only denies them the opportunities for socialisation and care in a normal family, but it also tends to encourage the number of abandoned children roaming the streets, and beggars who will indirectly produce future delinquents and criminals. It is, therefore important, now more than ever before, for empirical research to examine how best to develop an adequate system of care that will be charged with formal fostering and adoption services in the light of the present socio-economic changes in Nigeria. The aim of such research might be to evaluate how best the formal fostering and adoption services could enable the children and young people in need of care to achieve certain objectives. These include: socialisation in normal family life, optimal environmental conditions, basic material needs, adequate income and economic opportunities, adequate knowledge and skills and optimal health.

The assumption here is that if the natural families are prevented from providing normal care for their child either because of economic circumstances such as poverty or some other natural and/or social forces such as death, divorce and abandonment, the children should have an opportunity to enjoy adequate care in other families that can adequately provide them. If the hypotheses relating to inadequate family care and delinquency is accepted, then this step is very necessary for the interest of the

children concerned and for Nigerian society as a whole.

IMPOSED CARE AND CONTROL SERVICES

As used in this study, imposed care and control services include Juvenile Courts and Remand Homes, Reformatory Schools, Centres for Rehabilitation of Disabled and Delinquent Youths (including beggars in states where begging is regarded as deviance) and special schools for convicted youths. The review of these services is aimed at analysing the ways in which residents are prepared for a return to normal society as well as the extent to which these services provide opportunities for the residents to acquire vocational and/or manual skills that can be profitable to them in later life. These issues, in the opinion of this writer, should form the primary objectives of imposed care and control services in Nigeria.

The assumption is that delinquency in Nigeria is survival oriented and the youths involved are mainly unemployed and homeless. Thus, it seems very necessary that imposed care should provide training, especially in practical and vocational skills, so that delinquent youths can earn their own living. They should also be encouraged to become useful and contented members of their communities. Imposed care should aim at successfully reintegrating delinquent youths back into society once they leave care and control services. The grouping of imposed care and control services can be illustrated as follows:

GROUP A	GROUP B
Juvenile Courts	Remand Homes
Police	Rehabilitation Centres
Welfare Agencies	Special schools for
Hospitals	convicted youths
Probation Officers	Reformatory Schools

Juvenile Courts

Juvenile Courts in Nigeria, as in developed countries, are established to decide the nature of punishment for young offenders. These are youths aged between 14 and 20, but not over 21 years of age. Offences that can result in referral to the juvenile courts in Nigeria include conflict with the law and being beyond parental control. Those in need of care and protection are also brought before juvenile courts for referral to the appropriate juvenile centres for treatment or care. The police, social welfare agencies, state hospitals and parents or guardians can also refer problem youths for care and treatment without first going to the courts.

The juvenile courts in Nigeria are presided over by senior magistrates. The other members include "male and female lay assessors" (Federal Republic of Nigeria Nigeria Handbook, 1977: 71). As in many developed countries, the courts in Nigeria depend on reports from a probation officer regarding the particular offender to help inform decisions. Such reports give information about the social background of the offender, conditions and attitudes of the family, medical reports and other facts relevant to

the case (1977: 172). Those found guilty of serious delinquency are committed to probation or to remand homes.

Remand Homes [1]

Theoretically remand homes or approved schools as they are sometimes called, are established in Nigeria to provide full daily remedial or corrective training for juvenile delinquents committed for treatment. The object of this training is to help the delinquents acquire some kind of positive practical learning that transmits encouragement and self-confidence. This implies developing ways of doing things which the youths can effectively employ once they return to regular and normal society.

The 41 remand homes in Nigeria are fairly well distributed among the various states and attempt to train the inmates to read, write and do basic arithmetic (Onokerhoraye, 1984: 157). Apart from the girls who receive lessons in needlework, handwork, housekeeping crafts and cookery (1984: 152), no other vocational training is given. The recreational activities include indoor and outdoor games such as football, table tennis, draughts, ludo and cards.

While the positive effects of these recreational activities on the psychological and physical development of the youths may not be doubted, it can be argued that,

in view of the present level of socio-economic development of contemporary Nigeria, the impact of these activities cannot be appreciated or measured in terms of economic wellbeing. On the other hand, one cannot argue with introductory lessons on reading and writing, although these skills alone cannot guarantee the employment opportunities which young people such as these need to sustain themselves once they are back in the normal community.

LIMITATIONS IN THE EXISTING RANGE OF PROVISION

In conclusion, attention has been drawn to five patterns of child and youth care services found in Nigeria. The five patterns are based on the social policy ideal of a "continuum of care", providing support services to families both in traditional and in modern crisis situations. A review of the formal and informal care services available in Nigeria identified sixteen different types of welfare care services designed to provide services for children, young people and families in need of care and protection. They ranged from traditional, collective care to modern care services.

Imposed care services which provide care for youths in trouble with the law are an example of modern care services. The family, extended family and tribal groups (collective) care services represent the traditional care provision which were found mainly in pre-urbanised Nigerian society. These traditional systems of care can

still be found today in rural areas of the country.

Comparatively, the traditional systems of care seem to be the more effective in terms of economy of information, availability and distribution of services, and the involvement of government and the community in service provision. An evaluation of modern care services in Nigeria tends to indicate gaps in the above areas. Other areas for potential development include administration and legal policy. Deficiencies in terms of definitions of treatment and corrective systems of care have been illuminated, as has the absence of child protection laws. Building for the future in Nigeria is the focus of the next chapter. Here attention is drawn to how the overall range of provision for child and family welfare might be improved, giving special consideration to the economics of social care.

Note

1. This was the name used by colonial administrators to describe institutions responsible for remedial and corrective training for juvenile delinquents. The term disappeared in the U.K. from 1968-1971 onwards. It has remained unchanged in Nigeria, although the term approved schools is more commonly used these days, another term that is no longer used in the U.K.

CHAPTER EIGHT

BUILDING FOR THE FUTURE

This study concludes with a summary of the major issues addressed. Thus far, we have analysed Western theories of delinquency causation and their application to problems in developing countries. We made a comparative examination of the application of these theories to the Nigerian situation. Traditional Nigerian systems of child and youth care practice were examined in order to understand the impact of urban development on traditional institutions of care. The impact of urbanisation on the behaviour of young people was also analysed. The aim was to establish the relationship between rapid economic development and socio-cultural changes on the one hand, and rural immigration and Nigerian delinquency on the other. The existing social welfare services were examined to evaluate how they relate to the problems and needs of contemporary Nigerian children and young people. In this way, it was possible to identify areas that need further attention and improvement.

Nigeria has been rather slow in improving its social welfare services to meet the particular needs of juvenile delinquents and neglected, dependent, destitute or otherwise victimized children. The reasons for this slow response are not difficult to identify. Firstly, it was generally believed that modern social welfare services are

Western oriented, with the result that their efficacy in the Nigerian context have been a matter of doubt for a long time.

This study, however, has shown that Nigeria is constantly changing and therefore the situation has become different in Nigerian urban centres. The impact of rapid urban development, coupled with socio-economic and cultural changes seem to indicate that problems associated with social changes include juvenile delinquency. These changes have thus affected the ways in which young people relate to their elders, families, communities and alter other institutions which offer checks and balances on anti-social behaviour. The changes also have profound effects on traditional child care practices and so have increased the chances of young people becoming involved in delinquent activities, including lack of respect for traditional institutions as well as for their elders. It is, thus, obvious that the traditional impact that families had on individual young people is declining in Nigeria, just as it has done in Western societies.

Throughout this study, both theoretical and empirical findings have given support to the assertion that delinquency is a social phenomenon concomitant with industrial, social and economic development. It is, therefore, arguable that methods of prevention and rehabilitation used in the so-called developed countries could be adapted and modified to suit the problems of

Nigeria. In so doing, attention should be given to research and practice initiatives carried out in developed countries, in order to avoid the errors and failures which had to be surmounted by these countries.

A second reason for the slow response involves the economic and social issues confronting the Nigerian government. Those have often resulted in a lack of institutional care and rehabilitation programmes for delinquents. Inadequate financial supports and societal attitudes have made diversification of measures for dealing with delinquency very limited. Specialized personnel needed to explore new measures are also lacking. However intensive the human needs, the present level of delinquency tends to indicate that Nigeria has a duty to participate actively in the rehabilitation of delinquents and to do this within the needs of its socio-economic context.

In Chapters 3 to 7, attention was devoted to an analysis of delinquency and to the social and economic factors in Nigeria which tended to encourage delinquency. This included references to Federal, State and local government initiatives and to the efforts of private and voluntary organisations to provide social welfare services for children and young people in need of care. The analysis of problems and policy issues which hindered progress in the provision of these services seems to reinforce the view held by criminologists that "all the efforts made to

fight crime and to re-socialize delinquents will be of no lasting value if organizations at the disposal of the administration of justice are unsuccessful in rehabilitating criminals and providing justice that are at once scientific and more humane" (Arcand and Brillon, 1973: 207).

A wide range of strategies have been developed in Europe and North America to rehabilitate delinquent children and young offenders as well as to prevent opportunities for involvement in delinquent behaviour. As a developing country, Nigeria still needs to develop strategies for the provision and distribution of child and youth care services, services that respond to the unique needs of delinquent youngsters who are at present inadequately provided for. In view of its unique histo-cultural background and religious differences, it is difficult to recommend specific models for the prevention, rehabilitation and care of juvenile delinquents and youthful offenders which will be effective, as well as practicable, all over the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Nevertheless, the fact that delinquency has been shown to be largely an urban problem has made this task somewhat easier.

Considering the economic cost of rehabilitation, our recommendations are, for the most part, directed towards the prevention of delinquency and youth crime. For the interest of those who are already delinquents or those in

need of care and protection, vocationally oriented rehabilitation programmes are recommended. By providing this group with some form of training that would lead to legitimate employment in the future, it is hoped that their economic and social status will be improved, thereby reducing the chance of their becoming more involved in delinquent behaviour.

Our working definition for prevention is the sum total of interventions which may reduce the indices of delinquent involvement. Rehabilitation embraces a broad range of activities directed toward delinquent youth, either in institutions or at the individual family level, with the aim of preparing them for a return to and making them acceptable in normal society. This includes training that will enable the delinquent youth to contribute positively towards normal personality development as well as "full participation in the occupational and social life of the community" (Caplan, 1964: 113). In other words, treatment and in this case rehabilitation involves instilling in delinquent youngsters the sense of "full development of the human being as a rational, creative and self-actualizing organism" (Apter, 1982: 210).

PREVENTIVE STRATEGIES

Modern writers on the problems of juvenile delinquency have placed special emphasis on delinquency prevention as opposed to treatment and rehabilitation. Hawkins and Fraser (in Whittaker and Garbarino, 1983) suggested three

strategies for prevention of the problem which have been explored in the United States of America:

a) the provision of social support to families;

b) the development of supportive relationships for youths themselves; and

c) the strengthening of linkages among families and schools, the remit of which are responsibility for the social development of young people (1983: 333).

In Nigeria, Onokerhoraye (1984) has suggested a combination of both "preventive and remedial approaches to social welfare services". According to him, emphasis should be given to a more "systematic analysis of social problems" based on the culture of the society (1984: 165). Sofola (1983) advocated a culturally oriented approach to "African social problems" (1983: 29). The validity of culturally oriented approaches to socio-cultural problems are not in doubt. What is in doubt, however, is their effectiveness in relation to providing solutions to the proliferation of cases requiring supportive services in contemporary Nigerian society.

Our findings have indicated that, given the present economic situation, many Nigerian families are unable to provide adequate care for their children and young people. The services directed into the family by extended family members have also declined considerably, making traditional care practices less effective. The nature of problems faced by children and young people have also changed and become more complex.

It could therefore be argued that modern Nigerian cities
nave outgrown the traditional forms of preventive
services. Resulting from socio-economic changes and
subsequent migration to urban areas, contemporary Nigerian
culture has become more or less urban-oriented. Social
welfare services for children and young people in Nigeria
should therefore emerge in response to problems created by
social and economic change. Since the customary methods
of prevention and rehabilitation have been shown to be
less and less effective in checking the increase in
anti-social behaviour in urban centres, it now seems that
the integration of old and new systems of care might
achieve positive outcomes.

To this end, we recommend increased participation by
various units in society, especially the informal units of
family and community. Our findings indicate that this
could go a long way to restoring commitment and attachment
to the society that is capable of preventing many problems
confronting young people today. This collective approach
to the problems of children and young people was seen to
be very effective in controlling anti-social behaviour in
traditional Nigerian society.

Fulcher (1983) has suggested the formulation of a social
policy ideal involving what he called a "continuum of
care" to attempt to provide solutions to the problems of
children and families in developed countries. In
developing countries a "continuum of care" social policy

perspective could be used to further develop services for children and young people. This continuum ideal tends to suggest modification of traditional systems of child and youth care services found in Nigeria and offers an integrated system of care which aims at providing a range of solutions to the problems and needs of children and young people in a rapidly developing society. In a country like Nigeria, the next decade will need to see a better co-ordination of formal aid, or services offered by the helping professions in remedial education, counselling or family advocacy, and informal aid including the network of care provided by family, friends and neighbours.

In developed countries, most of these services are provided by psychologists, education, welfare, medical or community nursing personnel, probation officers, social workers, etc. In the Nigerian context, such professional services are not yet developed. Thus, the co-ordination of formal and informal services should aim at providing a new and creative alliance of formal and informal systems of care and support, and in so doing, offer a more effective response to the problems of children and young people in Nigeria.

Our study finds unsatisfactory consequences in the growing instability of the family in urban areas, causing many children to be sent out of their families or where child care is sought outside their own home. This is central to the traditional system of child and youth care

practice, and to the "continuum of care" policy which aims at providing services to children and keeping them in their own homes. One of the causes, and perhaps the major cause of this, is the reference of family disputes to public courts. Nigerian culture does not favour family disputes to be settled outside the family or outside the extended family council of elders. Experience has shown that this system has supported marriage stability in rural areas where it is still operated.

An integrated system of care, based on modern "continuum of care" policies can offer solutions by encouraging family counselling and/or family courts which gives support directed into the family. The structure of family counselling or family court centres should as much as possible reflect the structure of the council of elders. Trained professional social workers sitting with the members of the family concerned should hear, arbitrate and help settle cases of family dispute within the family. In addition, these centres could provide instruction on marriage arrangements, home economics and adult education as well as advising parents and children on how to cope when separation or divorce occurs, and with the consent of the affected child/children, decide who takes custody - the mother or the father. The economic disposition of the parents should be one of the factors influencing the decision on custody of children and young people.

Economic realities of Nigeria tends to indicate that

most children, especially those from large families, have
no guarantee of formal education. It was noted earlier in
this study that delinquency can be a form of reaction to
psychological problems associated with deprivation of love
and affection. Support within the home might well
encourage family planning and thus help to ensure that
families are not overcrowded, another factor associated
with delinquency. It is more often the case that, if
children are wanted, then more adequate preparations are
made, and love, affection and other supports are made
available to them. This, of course, removes other family
factors which are associated with delinquency (Mays,
1973). Family planning will also help to ensure that all
children in the family have a right to education. None
will have to wait for the others to finish before he or
she can start, a pattern which is common in Nigeria and
other parts of Africa.

Another element of the "continuum of care" policy which
aims at providing support to families and improving care
services for youngsters involves Supplementary Care
Services Around the Family. In developed countries these
services are supplied by local and voluntary groups,
churches, social services and others who provide day care
centres, pre-school play groups etc. These offer
effective socialization experiences for children in these
countries. In traditional Nigeria, these services were
provided informally by families and their extended
members. In contemporary Nigeria, the increased numbers

of working parents have meant that the socialization of children and young people is now left to schools, housekeepers, house helpers or baby sitters. Such a change of responsibility now suggests that:

1. Schools should be well equipped with child care workers who are provided with professional training required to offer adequate socialization of children.

In Canada and Britain as well as in the United States, supplementary care services are increasingly provided by trained social workers or professional child and youth care workers.

2. The curriculum for teacher education should be developed further to give teachers a better understanding of their important profession. Our findings show that teachers' attitudes towards their students in many Nigerian schools seem to instill in children a philosophy of hate and a lack of love and affection. These have associations with truancy, runaway delinquency and youthful crime.

In response to this situation, we recommend that teachers should be made aware that they and parents have a common interest in the social and psychological development of children. To this end, teachers' attitudes towards school children must not only illuminate love and affection, but must also allow children to participate in formal and informal discussions affecting them. In this

way, it is hoped, the psychological humiliation which is suffered by children who are subjected to harsh punishments at school, a factor which has been associated with truancy and delinquency, could be controlled.

For effective socialization of chlidren in Nigeria, teachers and child care workers should be trained to co-ordinate aspects of both traditional and Western educational systems. To achieve this there is an urgent need to do the following.

3. Social work institutions should be established to train professional child care workers, especially for those who intend to work in day care centres and/or in nursery schools.

4. Private day care centres, nursery schools and pre-school play groups should be licensed.

5. In order to achieve the objectives for which child care centres are established, their functions and organisation should be regulated by established laws. These laws should regulate the fees charged as well as the nature of equipment provided. In this way, all children could benefit from the services offered by these centres.

Government owned secondary schools and some schools owned by private and voluntary organisations provide _away from home care services_. Some of these receive subsidies from the Federal or State governments. Nigeria's present economic situation imposes restrictions on the amount of

money which can be made available for the continued
provision of residential facilities in all secondary
schools including those owned by the government. On the
other hand, services away from home pre-suppose that
children have to live in boarding schools away from home.
This situation tends to disturb the cohesive links between
the child and his family, a factor which, this study has
shown, can be associated with delinquency. We, therefore,
recommend that secondary schools - whether owned by the
government, private individuals or voluntary organisations
- be made available in a way that children and young
people are able to attend schools from their home. In
this way, constant links between children and parents
could be maintained and parents' interest in their
children's activities can be encouraged. There should be
no need to point out that the human and economic resources
saved by this exercise could then be used to improve
special schools and rehabilitation centres for the growing
number of disabled and delinquent young people.

There is some evidence to show that religion may play a
significant role in children's moral development and
behaviour, especially in Nigeria where culture has
attached much importance to spiritual values. One would,
therefore, like to recommend a reintroduction of
compulsory religious education both in primary and
secondary schools. In Israel, an analysis of a religious
approach to delinquency prevention shows that the Rabbi of
the Bukharian quarter of Jerusalem has managed to lure

some of the local delinquents away from crime by getting them ritually involved in Orthodox Judaism (Gerald, 1981). This rather unique way of tackling the problem could be compared to the traditional initiation programmes found in rural Nigeria. This could be encouraged in urban areas in Nigeria.

This study reveals that, apart from the problems of juvenile delinquency, there are also problems presented by neglected and ill-treated children in Nigerian cities. These factors have a correlation with delinquency. If children are to be prevented from becoming delinquents, "everything within reason must be done to ensure not only that children are not neglected but that they get the best upbringing possible" (Kahan, 1966: 164). Since the economic and social changes, growing poverty, outward migration and diminishing extended family structures have altered those supplementary services informally provided by the extended family, there seems an urgent need to provide well developed Alternative to Family Care programmes which will address the problems of neglected children.

6. To this end, we recommend that fostering and adoption laws be introduced in Nigeria to provide care services for neglected and ill-treated children.

In addition to the many other benefits which would accrue from these measures, the provision of adoption and foster care services would release many families from the

traditional obligatory fostering practices. Adoption and foster care services would provide opportunities for Nigerian children to enjoy adequate socialization and care in normal families which they would otherwise be deprived of under the old system. It would also keep the growing number of children and young beggars off the streets.

7. He also recommend that the Welfare Acts of 1940, 1945 and 1950 should be reviewed and amended to cover and serve the needs of all Nigerian children, young people and their families.

An evaluation of the management and organization of Imposed__Care__and__Control__Care__Services in Nigeria indicates that these institutions need a broader orientation and internal reorganisation. The need for a better understanding and scientific implementation of the concepts and issues inherent in managing such services have been suggested by Tutt (1975). The achievement of more realistic training objectives depends on the level of professional staff involved in the management and organisation of programmes of care and control. Evidence shows that in Nigeria, imposed care and control services tend to be starved of professional staff, the absence of which has resulted in a movement away from the objectives and ideologies for which these services were originally established.

For example, the punitive, instead of treatment care approach adopted by unprofessional staff in these centres

tends to reinforce criminal behaviour. Punitive care is based on the concept of detention, coupled with inflicting physical and emotional punishment on the offenders in the belief that these will prevent them from future deviance. Unfortunately, young people do not always modify their behaviour because of what was done to offenders (Wills, 1962).

Another factor associated with deviant behaviour, and perhaps that which encourages more involvement, is environmental interaction. Environmental interaction based on day to day experiences in detention care seems to influence first offenders a great deal. The influence on first offenders who are subjected to more intensive interaction with other mature and established criminals simply reinforces opportunities leading the first offenders on to more dangerous criminal activities in future. Thus, it can be argued that we do not seem to deal successfully with young offenders simply by detaining them or inflicting physical and emotional punishment.

Delinquency is a function of human responses to circumstances inherent in a dynamic society and therefore imposed care and control services should be dynamic in their approach. An evaluation of why, where and how our existing imposed care and control systems have failed will go some way towards helping us to consider where and how our techniques should be amended to fit the dynamism of our society and its contemporary youth problems. The

hypothesis which holds that detention and punitive experience may help to create in the offender a deviant identity and thus produce in him a more established predisposition to criminality is fundamental to our recommendations.

8. As far as possible a distinction should be made between the methods of care used with mature and established delinquents, and methods used with first offenders.

9. There must be a shift towards a more humane concept of care for young offenders. Modern methods of care which encourage differential assessment and training oriented towards rehabilitating the offenders should be the normal and acceptable approach.

10. Legislation should be introduced which will provide for the punishment of adults for cruelty to children and young people, for causing or allowing youngsters to beg or for encouraging or exposing girls to the risk of seduction, exploitation or victimization.

This study has revealed that one of the major causes of crime and delinquency in contemporary Nigerian society is the growing problem_of_migration_and_youth__unemployment. It was noted that one major factor which contributed to urban unemployment is the quality and quantity of labour market information and labour exchange centres. The absence of adequate and effective job centres which bring

employers and potential employees together is a contributing factor to labour problems in Nigeria.

11. *We, therefore, recommend as a matter of priority that it is necessary to provide employment opportunities as well as establishing employment agencies, with the aim of helping young people find jobs as well as ensuring adequate information about jobs that are available. These centres must liaise with industries, ministries, commercial organisations and other employment providing institutions. This system has been very effective in Britain, North America and other developed countries where it operates. In Nigerian urban areas where urbanism has altered the informal system of information, formal systems of information should therefore be encouraged and made more effective.*

12. *Little professional guidance is available to students in either secondary schools or universities. This has further restricted the availability of information about career and employment opportunities. Professional guidance centres which provide career advice to students should go some way towards improving employment opportunities. It would also encourage industrially oriented education and therefore enhance industrial and technological education.*

13. *Our findings showed that the rate of delinquency is higher among those who lack formal education and among those with lower educational qualifications. This trend*

suggests a need to establish an _alternative form of Youth Service Scheme_ which can address the problems of unemployed school leavers and those who lack formal qualifications. This could compare with the British Community Service Volunteers or the British Youth Employment Scheme which seeks to provide employment for unemployed school leavers and less skilled youngsters.

14. We recommend that young people should be encouraged to engage in purposeful activities through joining youth clubs, farming clubs etc rather than employing their leisure time in roaming the streets and becoming involved in delinquent behaviour. To this end, youth clubs and youth centres should be established and equipped to provide vocational training and job-oriented discussion as well as sporting activities. They may provide formal information about jobs available in a given geographical area. In Britain, Canada and the United States, youth centres of this type sponsor voluntary work programmes. In Nigeria, we could experiment with agricultural training programmes. This seems important as it will not only regain food self-sufficiency but also enhance purposeful employment.

15. We recommend that the problem of migration could be lessened by slowing down the rate of urbanisation. It should be possible to slow down the rate of migration, crime and delinquency by doing so. One way of slowing the rate of urbanisation is by providing small scale

industries in rural areas, developing new cities by decentralising new industrial, commercial and government programmes to rural areas. Employment provided by this programme would help to keep people from rural areas — particularly the youth — from moving to the larger urban centres. Agriculture should be made a profitable venture and in this way the love of the land can be restored.

IMPROVING THE ADMINISTRATION OF SERVICES INCLUDING INFORMATION GIVING SERVICES

The establishment of social welfare services in some areas in Nigeria represents a major landmark in the general awareness of the problems created by delinquency and other social problems. However, the present structure of welfare services in which services are available only to the urban population is inadequate. It has become obvious from this study that the difficulties created by rapid socio-economic changes in Nigeria have gradually spread to the rural areas and have, thus, made the demand for welfare services in these area similar to that found in the urban areas. In response to this situation, we recommend the following.

16. Social welfare services should be decentralised to provide easy access to the whole population within a given government area. In this way, those in the rural areas can benefit from the services provided by the welfare services.

17. A new and independent Ministry of Social Welfare should be created. The present system in which social welfare is merged with other ministries tends to make its functions in relation to youth problems inadequate and ineffective, and its roles in relation to the rehabilitation of delinquents more difficult to define.

18. Research centres should be established to carry out ongoing research into the problems of young people and the development of social services for children and young people. It is important that these services should be consistent with economic and social changes as well as with Nigerian cultural background.

19. Formal and informal services capable of supplying up-to-date information about welfare services available for children and young people should be encouraged. Inadequate information services deprive rural populations in particular of direct support in relation to care for youngsters. We have suggested in Chapter 7 that what needs to be done is that information should be available to the whole population about support services that are available.

It seems important here to add that the setting up of formal information centres within the rural areas may not require special facilities or additional expenditure since, as Fulcher (1983) has noted, these may be located within existing facilities such as a centrally located

hospital, a local social service agency, or even with the police. In the rural areas the Obi of the community chief, the community hall or the Obi of the Council of the elders could be used as formal information centres.

The strategies outlined above seek to prevent and control children and young people from becoming involved in delinquent activities or developing delinquent behaviours. Our attention now turns to care and rehabilitation programmes which address the problems of those who are already delinquent and are in need of care and protection. These include children and young people suffering from neglect, the young beggars and disabled youngsters.

CARE AND REHABILITATION STRATEGIES

The social problems created by the rapid growth in the number of delinquents and disabled beggars in Nigerian urban areas have been highlighted in this study. Little (1957), Marries (1967), Oloruntimehin (1970) and Odekunle (1979) have all suggested some kind of comprehensive programme of care and rehabilitation for those who cannot help themselves, especially the young beggars and delinquents. Unfortunately, there is still no such comprehensive programme of care and rehabilitation for disabled youngsters, beggars or delinquents in Nigeria. In some areas, where some rehabilitation centres do exist, the government's good efforts have been frustrated by limited administrative resources and management

deficiencies. The present methods of providing beggars with ad hoc rehabilitation facilities for a few days, with the intention of keeping them off the street while important government officials are visiting a particular city or town (Onokerhoraye, 1984) seem irrational, frustrating, misleading and may simply create further problems. Above all, it is not in the interest of the nation or the citizens concerned.

20. In response to this situation, we recommend that more rehabilitation centres be established while the existing ones improve their facilities for vocational training so as to provide skills required for job opportunities. This may require a systematic period of training to enable offenders to acquire some kind of manual or technical skill which will enable effective integration into normal society. To this end, we re-emphasise training in agriculture as this will provide a source of income and employment opportunities and will be less expensive to support. Therefore, rehabilitation centres with technical and agricultural training staff should be made a central part of social welfare policy for the state as a whole. In this way, this back to the land programme could effectively be enhanced.

SUMMARY

We have examined Western theories of delinquency causation and their application to the problem in developing countries. Using the continuous comparative

approach suggested by Glaser and Strauss (1967), we have
analysed these theories in relation to their application
to the Nigerian problem. Historical analysis enabled us
to examine child and youth care practices and traditional
variables in Nigerian culture associated with youth
problems. Prevention and rehabilitation strategies were
analysed and recommendations were made in relation to the
culture and causes of youth problems in Nigeria. The
argument raised here is that traditional child and youth
care practices could be conveniently integrated with a
modern system of care suggested by Fulcher's (1983)
"continuum of care" social policy orientation, thereby
creating a unique pattern of care which would be relevant
to Nigeria's social and multi-cultural environments. An
integrated system of care would be comparatively less
expensive to implement and would enable social welfare
services to be provided jointly by welfare officers and
indigenous community leaders.

Integration of traditional child and youth care
practices with modern care systems requires grounded
empirical research to achieve its objectives in Nigeria.
This re-emphasizes the need to establish research in the
field of child and youth care services. While government
may not be directly involved in the provision of child and
youth care services, it is important that they assume
greater financial responsibility by providing research
grants and giving lump sum subsidies to voluntary
agencies, religious bodies and private organizations for

the administration and maintenance of these services. It is also hoped that more charitable organisations and private individuals would become involved in raising funds to support these services.

In the words of President Lyndon Johnson, speaking to the American Congress on 9 March 1966:

> The problems of crime (and delinquency) bring us together. Even as we join in common action, we know there can be no instant victory. Ancient evils do not yield to easy conquest. We cannot limit our efforts to enemies we can see. We must, with equal resolve, seek out new knowledge and new techniques and new understanding (President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, 1967).

This is the challenge facing Nigeria in the next decade.

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