

THE SOCIAL ASPECTS OF PROPERTY CRIMINALITY IN ZAMBIA

By

NAWA NYAMBE

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE
DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN SOCIOLOGY

230580

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT STUDIES
THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA, LUSAKA

1990

All rights reserved. No part of this dissertation may be reproduced, or transmitted in any form by any means, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without the prior written permission of the author or the University of Zambia.

DECLARATION

I, Nawa Nyambe declare that this dissertation represents my own work, it has not previously been submitted for a degree at the University of Zambia or another University and does not incorporate any published work or material from another dissertation.

Signed: 

Date: 13/12/90

APPROVAL

This dissertation of **Nawa Nyambe** is approved as fulfilling part of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Arts in Sociology of the University of Zambia.

Signatures:

.....
.....
.....
.....

Date:

.....
.....
.....
.....

ABSTRACT

Zambia has seen tremendous rise in crime. Most of the crime according to available statistical data, is crime against property because this type of crime constitutes the single largest crime category. This study restricts its scope of investigations to property crime and does not include other types of crime such as crime against the state, crime against the person; crime without victims and several other crimes.

Various aspects have been examined in the study in order to determine the causal aspects of property crime and the reasons for its widespread. Theories of causes of crime, the socio-economic situation of property offenders, the property offenders' childhood experiences, the relationship of the theory of differential contact, the attitude of property offenders as regards alternatives and access to other means of survival and several other issues have all been examined in order to determine the extent to which they affect property criminality.

Various findings feature prominently in this study. The first is that property crimes are most widespread of all crime categories in Zambia, as stated above, since they constitute the single largest crime category; secondly, property crime and the socio-economic status of an individual are closely related to a large extent; thirdly, property crime is a phenomenon of the young and declines with age; fourthly, education and property

crime are related, the lower the level of education the more the individual is inclined to become a criminal and fifthly, the majority of property offenders were children of parents or guardians of low employment status and who had a history of law-breaking or criminality.

Another prominent finding in the study is that males had a higher inclination towards crime than females.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Several people have commented on various portions of the manuscript of this dissertation at different stages of its development and their comments have been very valuable indeed. I wish to thank, in particular, Professor Alifeyo Chilivumbo who has tirelessly spent most of his time and energy in providing guidance from the time I started writing this dissertation up to the end. Similar thanks also go to Dr. Nsolo Mijere for contributing significantly to the final guidance.

In addition, my sincere thanks are also due to Mrs. Robbie Siamwiza for providing sufficient time to enable successful completion of the dissertation and for making useful comments* on the final manuscript of the dissertation. My thanks are also sincerely due to the University authorities for the financial assistance they most kindly contributed. This helped substantially with the necessary research and preparation of this dissertation.

My last but not least sincere heartfelt gratefulness is due to Miss Joyce Bwalya of the Ridgeway Campus of the University of Zambia for typing the final copy of this dissertation in a very short space of time without which I would not have been able to present it in good time. I am deeply indebted to her.

LIST OF TABLES

	Page
1. Age of Property Offenders	25
2. Educational Background of Property Offenders ..	27
3. Income and Property Offenders	28
4. Occupation of Property Offenders	31
5. Number of Dependants of Property Offenders	32
6. Subjection to ill-treatment through beatings, deprivation of food, etc., during childhood ..	36
7. Habitual Giving of Pocket-money During Childhood	37
8. Father's Employment Status During Offender's Childhood	38
9. Mother's Employment Status During Offender's Childhood	39
10. Incidence of Property Criminality	41
11. Level of Contact Between Offenders and Friends or Relatives Who have Criminal Behaviour	42
12. Distribution of Offenders by Their Parents' Criminal History	43
13. Distribution of Offenders by their Religious Affiliation	45
14. Influence for Committing Offence	50
15. Is There any other Access to Property in Zambia?	53
16. Distribution of Previous Convictions	54
17. Sex and Access to Property	56
18. Age and Access to Property	58
19. Residential Background of Property Offenders ..	59
20. Educational Level and Access to Property	61
21. Marital Status and Access to Property	62

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Title of Dissertation	i
Copyright	ii
Declaration	iii
Approval	iv
Abstract	v
Acknowledgements	vii
List of Tables	viii
CHAPTER ONE: The Problem	1
Definition of Concepts	8
Literature Review	11
Hypotheses	18
Methodology	19
Significance of the Study	24
CHAPTER TWO: The Socio-economic Situation of Property Criminals	25
CHAPTER THREE: Childhood Experiences and Property Criminality	34
CHAPTER FOUR: The Incidence of Property Criminality and Differential Contact	41
CHAPTER FIVE: Property Criminality as the only Alternative of Obtaining a means of Living	52
CHAPTER SIX: Summary and Conclusions	64
APPENDIX I:	67

CHAPTER ONE

1. THE PROBLEM

The objective of this study is to examine the social factors and causes for the increase in crime against property. Thus, the study examines some social factors that may offer an explanation on why crime against property is widespread in Zambia.

Clifford (1974: 136) briefly defines the term crime against property as "... that category of crime committed for economic gains and include aggravating elements such as robbery, housebreaking, burglary or extortion, and related offences such as forgery, uttering, fraud, embezzlement or conversion, obtaining by false pretences, several forms of cheating, theft of motor vehicles, theft by public servant, petty thieving, pickpocketing and general theft." In a different category, but still incorporated as property offences, Clifford (1974) also includes such crimes as malicious damage, vandalism, arson and the destruction of crops. Although police records show that the proportion of crime against property compared to other types of crime has declined sharply since Zambia attained her political independence in 1964, these records show that crime against property is the single largest crime category. Although in 1964 crime against property as a proportion of all crimes reported to and dealt with by police accounted for 76.6 percent, in 1983, the proportion had dropped to 53.3 percent

(Police Annual Reports, 1964-1983). However, the 1983 proportion still shows that crime against property reported to police accounted for the largest crime category. The police records also show that within two decades, the crime against property reported to police had almost numerically doubled. Out of a total of 64,773 cases reported to and dealt with by police in 1964, 49,614 of these were crimes against property. These constituted 76.6 percent of the total. And, out of a total of 143,745 cases reported to and dealt with by police in 1983, 76,116 of these were crimes against property. These constituted 53.3 percent of the total (Police Annual Report, 1964-1983). The reasons for the rapid increase in crime in general and property crime in particular during the period 1964 to 1983 could be traced in the rapid increase in population and the high rate of urbanization that took place in Zambia within the same period. After South Africa, Zambia is reported to be the second most highly urbanized country in Sub-Saharan Africa (Central Statistical Office Records, 1963, 1980).

The seriousness of crime against property is reflected in the concerns expressed in the speeches of politicians, police press releases and the judgements passed by judges and magistrates when passing sentences

on those convicted of crimes against property.* Further proof of the seriousness of the spread of the wave of crime against property is shown by the passing in parliament, in 1974, of a law which has, after amendment of the penal code, since been incorporated within the penal code, Cap. 146 of the Laws of Zambia, through Act No. 29 of 1974, that gives a mandatory death sentence against persons found guilty of armed robbery, one of the common forms of crimes against property. Crimes against property are also common in other countries. This is confirmed by Clifford's (1974: 135) studies which show that "... excluding traffic offences, it is normally property crimes committed for economic gain which absorb most of the police time and attention in many countries."

In this study, Merton's (1957: 146) model of analysis will be utilized. Merton attributes criminality, including property criminality, to a situation he conceives as anomie. He defines the term anomie as "... a breakdown in the cultural structure, occurring particular when there is an acute disjunction between the cultural norms and goals and the socially structured capacities of members of the group to act in accord with them. In this conception, cultural values may help to produce behaviour which is at odds with mandates of the values themselves."

*Hatchard, J. and Ndulo, M., A Case Book in Criminal Law, Government Printers, Lusaka, 1983: pp. 318-398. Also see Police Press Release: Times of Zambia, Tuesday, September 18th, 1984: p. 1; Zambia Daily Mail, Tuesday, September 18th, 1984: p. 1; Times of Zambia, Tuesday, February 10th, 1981: p. 5.

By this, Merton means that crime is embedded in the social structure, more especially in the fact that there exists in the social structure a state or states of disintergration in that the generally approved goals of success and accumulation of wealth are not accompanied by institutionalised conduct norms due to the imposition of unfavourable norms, standards or values by the powerful and wealthy on the poor and powerless. He defines the term social structure as "That organised set of social relationships in which members of the society or group are variously implicated." He further defines cultural structure as "That organised set of normative values governing behaviour which is common to members of a designated society or group" (Merton, 1964: 162).

Using Merton's model of analysis it can be said that the changes brought about by industrialisation, urbanisation and rapid population growth whilst arousing high aspirations among all the people, the opportunities for realisation of the aspirations are not the same for all the people variously located in the social structure. The Zambian philosophy of Humanism states that all Zambians are equal and have equal opportunities of achieving success. Within the Zambian society, there are institutionalised means of reaching those culturally defined goals. The basic means seems to be through educational qualifications, talent, hard work, drive, determination and ambition. However, in the Zambian reality, the

goals of success and the need to meet the aspirations have not been balanced by the institutional means of achieving them. Though education is free, not everyone can attain the needed qualifications to obtain good means of living. Further, employment opportunities or the other means or ways of earning a living are not adequate. This leads to some people abandoning the rules of the game and strive to operate through non-institutionalised means in which accepted norms no longer direct behaviour (Merton, 1968).

Under such situation of anomie, an individual has five possible ways of adaptation in which he can respond: conformity, innovation ritualisation, retreatism and rebellion (Merton, 1968: 54, 154-156).. Merton defines each of these five ways sociologically. He defines conformity as "... an act of deviant behaviour symbolised by succumbing or conforming to both cultural goals and institutionalised means," Under this type of response or adaptation model, according to Merton, people become obedient and this helps to stabilise society because it is this type of response to which the majority of people in society resort, although it is an indication of helplessness and resignation on the part of those individuals who conform.

In referring to innovation, Merton seems to have in mind that situation in which on the one hand society's culture puts great emphasis upon pecuniary success and

the social structure on the other places undue limitations on approved means. Such situation, according to Merton, provides numerous situations for the development of socially approved departures from the institutionalised norms in the form of innovative practices. The use of such illegitimate means as crime to achieve culturally prescribed goals of success, power and wealth, therefore becomes common in society, argues Merton.

On ritualisation, Merton (1968) says this is an act or practice of abandoning or scaling down of the lofty goals of pecuniary success and rapid social mobility to the point where one's aspirations can be satisfied. Merton goes on to say that in ritualisation though one rejects the cultural obligation to attempt to get ahead in the world; though one draws in one's horizons, one continues to abide almost compulsively by institutional norms.

The other adaptation model Merton defines is rebellion. By rebellion Merton refers to a situation when persons turn away from the conventional social structure and seek to establish a new or greatly modified social structure after reaching a point when they regard the institutional system as a barrier to the satisfaction of legitimate goals.

In defining the adaptive model of retreatism, Merton says that this is a form of maladaptation which renders an individual to be in society but not of it and to

become a true alien in the sense that once in this form of adaptation the individual ceases to share society's common form of values because he has relinquished culturally prescribed goals and his behaviour does not accord with institutional norms. In a sense, says Merton, one might say retreatism is not so much an adaptation but a rejection of both cultural goals and institutional means because "The retreatist pattern consists of substantial abandoning both of the once esteemed cultural goals and institutional practice directed toward those goals" (Merton, 1964: 187). At this stage, argues Merton, the individual has internalised fully the cultural goals of success but finds inaccessible the institutional means to obtain them and, therefore, under internalised pressure not to obtain the goals by illegitimate means such as innovation provides, the individual finds himself frustrated and handicapped. He does not renounce the success goals but instead adopts escape mechanisms such as defeatism, quietism and retreatism.

Retreatism, according to Merton, (1964: 153) constitutes some of the adaptive activities of psychotics, outcasts, vagrants, tramps, chronic drunkards and drug addicts.

Of these five adaptive ways which Merton has described above, innovation is the model that would describe behaviour that leads to crime against property. Under this response an individual rejects the legal means of

achieving his aspirations and turns to deviant means, in this case, crime. Merton, (1968: 193-197) argues that members of the lower socio-economic strata are likely to select this route to achieve their success. With lower educational qualifications, with few ways of earning a good income, they have little access to conventional legitimate means of becoming successful. Hence they are more likely to deviate.

2. DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS

Crime is a wide subject. This study is restricted to property crime. The definition of the term property crime has already been given in paragraph two of this chapter. The study excludes other types of crimes: Crimes against the state; crimes against persons; crimes without victims and several other crimes.

What is crime? The term crime has been defined in many ways: legal, sociological, psychological and so on. Further, the term has relativity, assuming different meanings in different societies and sub-groups of people within the same society. In this study, crime must - for operational purposes - be defined sociologically. A legal definition will, however, be added because the whole range of property crimes being analysed in the study is derived from the penal code - a book of laws prepared by the state which lists criminal laws and other laws for the control of society. Hence the legal

definition will help in the understanding of the nature of property crimes under study. Further, the fact that the crimes under study are abhorred or prohibited both by the country's laws in particular and by Zambian society in general, makes it even more necessary to define crime both sociologically and legally, although the main operational definition will be the sociological one while the legal one will be merely supplementary.

Sociologically, crime is defined by Wolfgang (1962: 9) as "... an act by a member of a given social group, which by the members of that group is regarded as so injurious or as showing such a degree of antisocial attitude, overtly and collectively reacts by trying to abrogate some of his rights." Other sociological writers seem to support Wolfgang's sociological definition of the term crime. For example, Clifford (1974: 8) defines the term as "... an umbrella term covering a wide range of different circumstances and situations which will not be tolerated by the societies or groups of people within the societies." (Phillipson 1972: 71) adds to this dimension, "therefore the distinctive patterns of crime and societal reaction to them which characterise societies can be understood only by relating them to the surrounding structures of social meanings and social processes." Bogardus (1960: 413) defines crime sociologically as "... a violation of the social validity and an offence against the dignity of a collective system." Aron

(1967: 28) briefly interprets this to mean that "crime is an act prohibited by the collective consciousness".

Legally, Wolfgang (1962: 15) defines crime as "Any act or omission prohibited by the public law or the general public and made punishable by the state in a judicial proceeding in its own name". In this sense, the government can contribute to the rapid increase in the rate of crime of any description through the introduction of broad criminal regulations for society to follow. It can also reduce crime rates through the nullification of some of the prevailing or existing regulations. Similarly the government can interpret the law in favour of a particular section of a society or against another sector, but the question by whom and for whom law is made will not be explored further because it would exceed the scope of this study.

From the legal definition of crime, a criminal is a person who has violated a law and was tried, convicted and sentenced for an offence or offences.

The following list constitutes a whole range of property crimes under the penal code. The list is almost similar to the one outlined by Clifford (1974: 136) in his sociological definition of property crime at the beginning of this chapter: burglary; housebreaking; other breakings; illegal possession of diamonds or other precious stones; obtaining by false pretences

receiving; theft of motor vehicle; cycle theft; theft by clerk, servant or agent; stock theft; theft of postal matter; theft from person, robbery; forgery; uttering and personating.

3. LITERATURE REVIEW

Clifford's (1974: 136) studies in United States show that in 1965 and 1967 property offences alone accounted for 87% of all crimes reported by the United States Federal Bureau of Investigations. In England and Wales, according to Clifford (1974: 137), property crimes amounted to 80% of the total. He also shows that in countries such as Kuwait, Ghana, Tanzania, South Africa and other European and African countries, there is a marked degree of crime against property. In Zambia, police reports show that crime against property has become the most common crime. However, the reports do not give the causes that can help explain the growing wave of crime.

The extent of the wave of crime against property in Zambia is based on official crime statistics collected by police which show that this type of crime constitutes over 50% of all crimes reported. Gibbons (1977: 101) defines official statistics on crime as "an index used by police to establish the magnitude of crime in society." This index, according to Gibbons, is constructed from

statistics concerning crimes reported to the police, persons arrested, and other reports of this sort. However, it must be borne in mind that these police statistical records do not include what Mannheim (1965: 109) calls "The Dark Figure" in crime.

According to Mannheim (1965) the term dark figure in crime refers to "a category of crimes which have not been reported to and dealt with by police." He stresses this limitation when he writes: "By simply saying 'Crimes reported to' and 'Crimes dealt with by police' we clearly show our awareness of the fundamental limitations of official statistics on crime, the existence of other crimes remains entirely unknown to the police." This means that some offences remain altogether unknown, for example a theft may be committed without the owner noticing the loss, or a fraud, without the victim realising that he has been cheated. The disappearance of an article may be noticed but explained in a way that does not portray the commission of an offence or the commission of an offence may become known to others or at least suspected by them, but the authorities are not informed and no official action taken. Mannheim (1965) explains that this may happen for a variety of reasons such as fear of reprisals, of public disapproval, shame or because of the feeling that lenient treatment which the offender is expected to get from the courts would not justify the trouble of starting criminal proceedings. On the other hand, the reliability of police records is subject to several

factors. As Katakwe (1975: 58) shows, "Official statistics are usually influenced by factors such as changes in police efficiency in terms of employing qualified personnel. This increases the number of arrests; change in methods of reporting and recording cases affects the statistics; an increase in population increases the number of persons at risk and finally, police attitudes differ towards offenders of different social status."

It is obvious that the dark figure, as explained above, shows limitations of official crime statistics. However, despite these limitations the official statistics of crime at the moment remains the only comprehensive source through which the incidence of crime can be measured and estimated because they cover a large field and give the most comprehensive picture of the crime situation normally available in Zambia. It is for this reason that this research analyses these statistics. The basic question this research poses is whether the widespread of crime against property is related to the prevailing socio-economical conditions: the rising rates of un-employment and urbanisation, the rapid increase in the cost of living and frequent shortage and unavailability of essential commodities.

Clifford's (1974: 18) surveys show that everyone wants to know why people really engage in criminal activities, even some criminals themselves would like to know. He further argues that for over a century and a

half there has been extensive research and a whole library of studies pertaining to the causes of crime, but the results have been inconclusive. But he concedes that we are nearing an understanding of crime and criminals because the knowledge of crime and criminals has been greatly extended by the impressive work done on the subject. As a result of this knowledge and understanding, many countries of the world no longer regard criminals as necessarily evil, economically deprived, biologically inferior or always mere creatures of circumstances; they no longer devise punishments which are physically degrading or mentally oppressive in the hope that they will force offenders to see the error of their ways. Although such methods have not been abandoned by all countries of the world and examples of the resort to cruel and inhuman treatment of offenders and suspected offenders can still be found in many countries the attitude towards criminals and their treatment is greatly improving. Although in Zambia, the emphasis is on reformation or the rehabilitation of offenders, as stated by President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia in his book on Humanism (1974: 27-28), one still finds the existence of harsh sentences such as the death penalty for armed robbery as provided for by the penal code, Chapt. 146 of the Laws of Zambia. The penal code provides many other harsh sentences aimed at making the offender realise that crime does not pay.

The crime wave in Zambia is often attributed to the unprecedented rapid urbanisation growth since independence. Records from Central Statistics Office (1963, 1980) show that while in 1963 only 20% of the people lived in the urban centres, two decades later the urban population had more than doubled, 43.0%. In her paper presented at the police seminar in Mulungushi Hall in Lusaka in 1981, Knauder (1981: 5) shows a link between rapid urbanisation and crime wave. Knauder argues that the most visible consequences of urbanisation is the mushrooming of the squatter areas, popularly known as shanty compounds, within and around Zambia's towns and cities. It is needless to enumerate all the well known problems of squatter populations, the poverty stricken, ranging from poor housing and no sanitation to lack of education and medical facilities and probably culminating into the biggest problem of minimum wages, marginal employment and un-employment. And as a result of all these, the members of the city population proper, the rich or well to do, who live in good houses with all the services and facilities and high salaries, cannot enjoy their privileges peacefully or unhampered because there is constant threat of theft, burglary, house-breaking, robbery and so on.

Knauder's conclusion implies that property offences are a feature exclusively for the low socio-economic stratum of society, mainly the unemployed, those with

insufficient or no formal education, those lacking financial resources and those who live in poor housing which lack social amenities. Often the social reality tends to depict the poor stratum as a nursery for crime.

The view is erroneous as crimes are found in all the social strata of the society. Sutherland's (1949: 27) study of the urbanised societies shows how these are haunted by the white collar crimes. Crimes of the working and middle classes. Thus the social background of criminals cannot be assumed and requires empirical investigations. What is clear is that the rapid urbanisation in Zambia has created an environment in which people of different socio-economic status find themselves together and that unemployment is growing. This is shown by the National Commission for Development Planning in their third National Development Plan's (1979: 83) assertion that "of late, the population growth has outpaced the creation of the new employment opportunities that has resulted in widespread unemployment for the people of different socio-economic strata."

The literature on crime has shown a link between economic situation and crime. According to Tyler's (1962: 72) findings in the United States, "there seems to be a definite relationship between the volume of crime against property and the swings of the economic pendulum. When work is plentiful, wages are high and commodities are available, there tends to be fewer crimes against

property than in time of depression." Tyler (1962: 80) cites the example of Austria and Germany. "The clearest example of this contention is the Austrian and German experience after the First World War when the entire economic organisations of these countries were disrupted by the debasement of their currency. In both Austria and Germany, there was a tremendous increase in crime against property, which fell to normal levels as soon as the economic life of those countries were stabilised."

The rapid urbanisation and population growth in Zambia can be seen as having created an unhealthy economic situation in the country, one that could be conducive to the rise of crime against property. These rapid changes result in a state that Merton (1957: 146) has described above as anomie. Merton's model (1968: 154), which this study is using as stated in the introductory part of the study, however, does have flexibility and concedes that membership of the lower socio-economic strata, is not in itself sufficient to produce deviance.

To resort to crime there must be other factors. among these factors are one's family background and his association with others in society. Lazarus (1967: 421) identifies family background as a strong contributory factor. He argues that "persons may indulge in crime due to the criminal personality developed during the time they were growing up and the traumatic experiences they have had." Similarly, findings emerge from the

study of Glueck (1963: 3) in which family environment becomes basic cause of criminality.

One's association is another contributory factor in the development of criminal behaviour. Sutherland's (1947: 27) studies tend to suggest that criminal behaviour is learned through differential contacts with others in the social environment. It is through such contacts that persons learn criminal behaviour. The point that criminal behaviour is a function of one's experiences and association is stressed by the findings of Gibbons' (1977: 224) studies. The findings show that the more a person has access to criminal association over non-criminal ones the more likely he is to become a criminal himself.

In summary, this study utilizes Merton's model of anomie to test the factors that lead to the widespread of crime in the country, in particular crime against property. The concept of innovation in Merton's model is taken as a necessary condition, while family background, one's socio-economic status, association and experiences become contributory factors.

4. HYPOTHESES

From the above discussion a series of hypotheses have been generated and these are intended to throw some light on causes of increase in crime against property.

1. The socio-economic status of an individual has a link to criminal behaviour related to property. The variable of socio-economic status of property criminals will be tested in this hypothesis.
2. One's family background and past experiences are highly related to involvement in property criminality. The variables of family background and past experiences of property criminals will be tested.
3. Criminal behaviour is learnt through differential contact with others in the society. In this hypothesis the variable of differential contact will be tested.
4. Most criminals view their involvement in property criminality as the only alternative of obtaining means of living. The hypothesis tests the variable of only alternative to obtaining means of living.

5. METHODOLOGY

The data was collected through the study of police documents, study of prisoners' files and through questionnaire and interviews.

(a) STUDY OF POLICE DOCUMENTS

Police documents both published and unpublished showing statistical data of crime trends in Zambia were used to tabulate the crime trend between the

year 1964 to 1983. The period that has been covered is from 1964 to 1983.

(b) STUDY OF PRISONERS' FILES

All the files of the property offenders were piled up in each of the seven prisons studied. The files were studied. These have also helped to throw some light on what the causes of property criminality are. The prison records show the socio-economic background of each prisoner. Some of the necessary information for this study, i.e. type of offence, number of imprisonments, etc. were extracted from the files. This shortened the time for interviews and provided some proof of the correctness of oral interviews.

(c) QUESTIONNAIRE AND INTERVIEWS

A formal pre-coded questionnaire (Appendix 1) was used to interview two hundred male and female property offenders. The interviews took place in Lusaka, Copperbelt and Kabwe prisons and were carried out with the free agreement of the prisoners. The main variables measured were age, income, occupation (Job situation), education, family background, ill-treatment, number of dependants, influence for committing offence and differential contact.

(d) SAMPLE

Three types of prisons were visited namely, Maximum, Medium and Central Prisons. Specifically, I visited Kabwe Maximum and Medium, Lusaka and Copperbelt Central Prisons. Four of the Central Prisons were on the Copperbelt while one was in Lusaka (The Lusaka Central Prison). Altogether, seven prisons were visited. There is a total of nineteen (19) prisons in Zambia but I was able to visit only seven of these due to financial constraints coupled with transport problems. This may have affected the results of this study in one way or another, but it is hoped that the data gathered from the seven prisons will help throw some light on the nature of the problem under study and help open the way for further research in this field.

Kabwe Maximum Security Prison and Kabwe Medium Security Prison were selected because they have large concentrations of male and female property criminals. The Lusaka and Copperbelt Central Prisons were ideal for this kind of study because they are situated in areas which have been statistically proved to contain the highest rate of criminality in general and property criminality in particular (Police Annual Reports, 1964-1983) and, in fact, like the Kabwe prisons, these also contain large concentrations of property criminals.

Through a pilot study conducted inside the Lusaka, Kamfisa, Chingola, Mufulira and Kansengi Central Prisons as well as inside Kabwe Maximum and Medium Prisons, it was established that there were a total of 607 male and female property offenders in these prisons. A representative sample of 200 of these was chosen from the files by selecting every third file. This was a random and systematic sampling method, thus approximately one third of the total population was covered, which was a comparatively large sample. In the Lusaka Central Prison 50 property offenders were selected for interviews; in Kabwe Maximum Security Prison 30 were selected; in Kamfinsa Prison 35 were selected; in Kabwe Medium Security Prison 25 were selected; in Chingola Central Prison 25 were selected; in Mufulira Central Prison 20 were selected, and finally, in Kansengi Central Prison 15 were selected. This shows that each of the above mentioned seven prisons was represented among the two hundred sample offenders.

A total of 169 male and 31 female property offenders were sampled and interviewed during the study. The attached pre-coded formal questionnaire focusses the problem.

Bearing in mind the fact that those interviewed were captives, everything possible was done to ensure that the atmosphere under which they were interviewed

was conducive to giving honest responses. Although the questionnaire was written in the English language, it was interpreted to those offenders who did not understand English into their mother tongues with the assistance of trusted prisoners and prison warders and wardresses. The researcher was present throughout the interview process.

In order to ensure an atmosphere conducive to giving honest responses, each prisoner was called to an empty room within the prison premises and assured that the interview was in no way going to work against him or her. The researcher's presence during the interview process gave him the chance to observe the reactions of the various interviewees. It must be admitted, however, that some interviewees may have felt apprehensive during the interviews or that they may not have properly understood some of the questions on the questionnaire or interview schedule. This may have affected the overall results in one way or another, but under the circumstances everything possible was done to gather the data in the best possible way. There may have been other problems with the sampling procedure but these were not deliberate.

(e) DATA ANALYSIS

This study analyses the data mainly by using

descriptive statistics, frequencies, and cross-tabulations. The computer was used to process the data.

6. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The study aims at providing data for planners and policy-making bodies. The police, the judiciary, the social welfare workers and other relevant institutions will also find the information useful. The data will throw light on the determinants of crime in general and crime against property in particular.

Furthermore, at present, in Zambia there is no study on causes and rates of crime against property. Consequently, knowledge of causes of crime and the reasons for its increase are lacking. As a result, both ordinary people and policy-makers lack a firm basis to guide their actions. This is more crucial for law-enforcement agencies such as the police, the judiciary and the prisons. All these mostly engage in decisions not based on adequate data when dealing with the general crime situation and property criminality in particular.

CHAPTER TWO

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC SITUATION OF PROPERTY CRIMINALS

This study investigates the relation between crime against property and the socio-economic status of the property offenders in Zambia. According to Merton's model or theory on crime, property crime is mainly committed by the lower class within society because of the anomic condition in which they find themselves. The study examines the individual's socio-economic status link to criminal behaviour. The socio-economic factors examined are age, education, occupation before arrest, income and number of dependants.

(a) AGE

Table 1 shows the distribution of age of prisoners in the sample who were charged and convicted of property crime.

TABLE 1: AGE OF PROPERTY OFFENDERS

AGE DISTRIBUTION	NUMBER OF OFFENDERS	PERCENTAGE
Under 20	13	6.5
20 - 29	70	35.0
30 - 39	87	43.5
40 - 49	22	11.0
50 - 59	7	3.5
60 - 69	1	0.5
69+	-	-
TOTAL	200	100

The statistics in the table show that the phenomenon of property criminality is most commonly committed by persons between the ages of 20 and 39, 78.5 percent. The crime is most prevalent among the age group of 30 to 39, 43.5 percent; while those aged 20 to 29 come second; 35.0 percent. On the other hand, as the ages increase beyond 39 there is steep decline in crime against property. These findings suggest that crime against property is most common among the young. These are people who have not yet established their roots in society. One explanation is to be found in migration patterns. According to the 1980 population census, young people constitute the largest number of migrants from rural to urban areas. Once in urban they face the cultural discontinuities brought about by social change, that is, lack of social guidance, marginal employment and unemployment with its consequences of low income or lack of it.

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

It has been said earlier that lack of sufficient educational opportunities can be contributory to a situation of anomie in an individual. In fact, in Zambia education is the basic institutionalized means through which one can more easily attain culturally institutionalized goals of success in society.

TABLE 2: EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND OF PROPERTY OFFENDERS

EDUCATION DISTRIBUTION	NUMBER OF PROPERTY OFFENDERS	PERCENTAGE OF PROPERTY OFFENDERS
Never went to School	17	8.5
Grades 1 to 3	15	7.5
Grades 4 to 7	61	30.5
Grades 8 to 10	53	26.5
Grades 11 to 12	50	25.5
Above Grade 12	4	2.0

Findings in Table 2 show that the largest concentration of property offenders are those of educational levels between grades 4 - 12. These constitute 82.5 percent of the sample population. Only 8.5 percent never went to school and only 2.0 percent went beyond grade 12 level of education.

Since in Zambia education is the basic institutionalized means through which one can reach the goals of success, it therefore, follows that the moment an individual fails to reach or achieve sufficient educational standard and falls away from the education race within the range of grades 4 to 12, then his/her hope or aspiration for a better future life is shattered. The individual may feel he is left with no alternative other than to resort to Merton's anomic model of innovation

through which he rejects the legal means of achieving his aspirations and turns to deviant means, which is crime.

What is income? This term means payment or reward in monetary terms. This could mean either a salary or wage, interest and profit as well as rent. Rent, interest and profit refer to property-ownership, through which one earns an income for a living. For the purpose of this research, income refers to monetary earnings.

Table 3 which lists responses from the interviewees shows that 38 percent of property offenders either earned K100.00 or less or did not earn anything at all per annum before their arrest and consequent imprisonment.

TABLE 3: INCOME AND PROPERTY OFFENDERS*

AMOUNT OF KWACHA PER ANNUM	NUMBER OF PROPERTY OFFENDERS	PERCENTAGE OF PROPERTY OFFENDERS
Less K100.00	76	38.0
100 - 299	9	4.5
300 - 499	7	3.5
500 - 699	4	2.0
700 - 999	10	5.0
1000 -2999	51	25.0
3000	43	21.5
TOTAL:	200	100

The data show that there is no linear relationship between income and criminality against property. On the other hand, incomes of K1000-K3000 per annum are not adequate in urban areas. One can, therefore, safely conclude that the majority of property offenders are driven towards their offences by the unfavourable income situation in which they find themselves.

OCCUPATION

Unemployment in the country has some link to the crime situation and other social problems. This factor was noted at a seminar jointly organised by the Ministry of Labour and Social Services and the National Commission for Development Planning (NDCP) which took place at the President's Citizenship College (PCC) Mulungushi in Kabwe, in November, 1977.

Findings in this study, Table 4, show that 24 percent of persons charged of crime against property were not engaged in any employment before their arrest and subsequent imprisonment and only 6.6 percent were unskilled workers. By unskilled workers it is meant those employed but untrained persons usually lacking expert knowledge or professional know-how of the jobs they do. They are usually general workers who as individuals or in groups do different kinds of jobs that do not require expertise. On the other hand, there was a high proportion of semi-skilled and self-employed or businessmen, 20.5 percent

and the unemployed who constitute 24 percent among property offenders. The term semi-skilled will be taken to refer to a person who is partly trained in a particular skill, usually through on-the-job training under the supervision of a skilled and experienced person. A semi-skilled worker usually performs either manual or mental work or both. The proportion of unemployed shown in Table 4 is less than a quarter. Not all of these are illiterate, some of them are school drop-outs.

On the other hand, 76.0 percent of the offenders were employed or self-employed. Lack of employment in itself, therefore, seems not to be the only factor in property crime. The findings portrayed in Table 4 do not support the view that unemployed *per se* has strong criminogenic influence. What seems to be true is the fact that the pecuniary advantages got by the majority of people in Zambia through their occupation are not sufficient to cater for their basic needs, hence their involvement in property criminality. As noted above, incomes of K1000 - K3000 per annum are not adequate in urban areas.

TABLE 4: OCCUPATION OF PROPERTY OFFENDERS

NATURE OF OCCUPATION OR EMPLOYMENT	NUMBER OF PROPERTY OFFENDERS	PERCENTAGE OF PROPERTY OFFENDERS
Unskilled	13	6.5
Unemployed	48	24.0
Semi-skilled	41	20.0
Clerical	14	7.0
Managerial	4	2.4
Teacher	2	1.0
Executive	7	3.5
Farmer	9	4.5
Self-employed/ Businessman	41	20.5
Other	21	10.5
TOTAL:	200	100

TABLE 5: NUMBER OF DEPENDANTS OF PROPERTY OFFENDERS

NUMBER OF DEFENDANTS	NUMBER OF PROPERTY OFFENDERS	PERCENTAGE OF PROPERTY OFFENDERS
0	73	36.0
1	23	11.5
2	28	14.0
3	25	12.5
4	17	8.5
5	3	1.5
6	11	5.5
7	2	1.0
8	4	2.0
9	15	7.5
TOTAL:	200	100

(a) NUMBER OF DEPENDANTS

Overall, the majority of offenders had at least one or more dependants. The term dependant here will be taken to mean both the offender's own children and those who live with him/her in the same house and are looked after by him/her. On the other hand, it will be noted that the data show that as the number of dependants increases, the proportion

of offenders decreases. This is a function of age as Table 5 shows. Many offenders were young people who have had few children. This is why the largest single proportion of offenders are those with no dependants.

The study has examined the variables of age, education, income, occupation and number of dependants as measures of socio-economic status. The findings show that whilst the low socio-economic status may be responsible for criminality this relationship is not a direct one. The analysis of the hypothesis shows that the link between the socio-economic status of an individual and his criminal behaviour relating to property is complex and not a strong one. Due to this complexity there is need for further study.

CHAPTER THREE

CHILDHOOD EXPERIENCES AND PROPERTY CRIMINALITY

In analysing the problem of property criminality, the study looks at the childhood experiences of property offenders. As Sluckin's (1971: 9) studies show, "What happens early in the individual's life may profoundly influence his psychological development. This could be as true for animals as for man." Sluckin's studies show that this finding is reflected in the writings of churchmen, empiricist philosophers, marxists, psychoanalysts, learning theorists and several others. The terms "early experience" or "childhood experience," according to Sluckin, refer customarily to all effects of stimulation in infancy, whether immediate or long lasting. In this study, the term childhood will be used to mean people below the age of fifteen.

To test the hypothesis that 'one's family background and past experiences are highly related to involvement in property criminality, the following variables were used:

- (a) Childhood ill-treatment through beatings, deprivation of food, etc. by parents, guardians or siblings.
- (b) Childhood habit of being given pocket money.
- (c) Parents' employment status during offender's childhood.

The variabls of ill-treatment through subjection to beatings, deprivation of food, clothing etc. during childhood is reflected in Table 6.

Table 6 shows that the majority of the offenders, 64.5 percent, were ill-treated by their parents or siblings. The largest single percentage, 21 percent were ill-treated by fathers. This could account for the offenders' subsequent involvement in property criminality. The kind of beatings referred to in this study are those that were aimed at inflicting torture on a child and not the beatings aimed at merely straightening or disciplining a child like every parent or guardian is expected to do. Other forms of ill-treatment such as food-deprivation, denial of sufficient clothing, blankets, etc. were also taken into consideration when applying the questionnaire.

TABLE 6: SUBJECTION TO ILL-TREATMENT THROUGH BEATINGS, DEPRIVATION OF FOOD, ETC. BY PARENTS, GUARDIANS OR SIBLINGS DURING CHILDHOOD

BY WHOM ILL-TREATED	NUMBER OF OFFENDERS	PERCENTAGE OF OFFENDERS
None	71	35.5
Father	42	21.0
Mother	23	11.0
Both	13	6.5
Brothers	23	11.5
Sisters	9	4.5
Both	5	2.5
Both parents and siblings	14	7.5
TOTAL:	200	100

The other variable examined is the practice of being given pocket money. In the study, the findings show that the majority, 60.0 percent, of the property offenders were given pocket money during early childhood (see Table 7). Only 40 percent having not been receiving pocket money during early childhood.

TABLE 7: HABITUAL GIVING OF POCKET MONEY DURING CHILDHOOD

RESPONSE	NUMBER OF PROPERTY OFFENDERS	PERCENTAGE OF OFFENDERS OFFENDERS
Yes	120	60.0
No	80	40.0
TOTAL:	200	100

The variable of parents' employment status was examined to determine its relationship to property criminality. Parents' employment is a variable which has a strong bearing on the relations within the family. Unstable employment status and low pay may create financial hardships, leading to some poor families being tempted into stealing in order to obtain the necessities of life for survival. It is generally believed that the children whose parents' employment status is unstable or low-paying are more prone to delinquent behaviour than those whose fathers have higher employment status.

D.J. West (1967: 61) argues that the "the condition of those poor children is of all others the most deplorable: numbers are brought up to thieving as a trade; are driven into the streets every morning, and dare not return home without plunder... "Such statements show that parents' employment status is a factor related to criminal behaviour relating to property, both during childhood and adulthood. What then are the findings of

this research? Table 8 shows that the largest group of the offenders were children whose fathers were semi-skilled followed by farming.

TABLE 8: FATHER'S EMPLOYMENT STATUS DURING OFFENDER'S CHILDHOOD

EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF FATHER	NUMBER OF OFFENDERS	PERCENTAGE OF OFFENDERS
None	18	9.0
Unskilled	16	8.0
Semi-skilled	61	30.5
Clerical	8	4.0
Managerial	6	3.0
Teachers	12	6.0
Executive	4	2.0
Farming	29	14.0
Business of self-employed	21	10.0
Other	25	12.5

On the other hand, very few offenders came from families whose fathers were either unemployed, did unskilled jobs or white collar jobs. The findings do not give any clear observational trend between father's

employment status and criminal behaviour. The study also examined the mother's employment status in relation to the criminal behaviour of property offenders. There is an increasing number of working mothers in Zambia. The wives in many homes are expected to be an economic asset. The wife does not look at the husband as the sole source of income because his income may not be sufficient to sustain the family, particularly if the family is large. The findings with regard to this variable which are shown at Table 9 show that the majority, 64.5 percent, of mothers of the offenders were housewives who depended solely on their husbands' income.

TABLE 9: MOTHER'S EMPLOYMENT STATUS DURING OFFENDER'S CHILDHOOD

EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF MOTHER	NUMBER OF OFFENDERS	PERCENTAGE OF OFFENDERS
None	23	11.5
Housewife	129	64.5
Domestic	5	2.5
Clerical	3	1.5
Semi-skilled	2	1.0
Teacher/Mistress	11	5.5
Farmer	10	5.0
Marketeer	8	4.0
Business/self-employment	8	4.0
Other	1	0.5
TOTAL:	200	100

SUMMARY

Whilst there may be some truth in the notion that early or childhood experiences may render an individual to become a criminal, the data has shown that this does not often apply to property offenders. It may apply to criminals involved in other violent crimes such as assault, woundings and other lacerations. The hypothesis that early or childhood experiences and family background are highly related to involvement in property criminality, is not strongly supported by data in the sample, using an analysis that utilized three variables of ill-treatment through subjection to beatings, etc. during childhood; giving of pocket money; father's and mother's employment status. These variables do not show strong relationship between childhood experiences and property criminality. However, the overall trend that emerges is that one's family background and past experiences have some relationship to involvement in property criminality. But this finding is not conclusive.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE INCIDENCE OF PROPERTY CRIMINALITY AND DIFFERENTIAL CONTACT

1. There are several types of property offences.

Table 10 shows the proportion of offenders by types of crimes committed. The highest proportion is in the category called "Other property crimes," 34.5 percent, following by general theft, 17.5 percent, theft by servant, 15.5 percent and house-breaking, 12.5 percent. However, the Penal Code has listed 20 types of property crimes. Many of these have been included in the category called "Other Property Crimes."

TABLE 10: INCIDENCE OF PROPERTY CRIMINALITY

OFFENCE	NUMBER OF PROPERTY OFFENDERS	PERCENTAGE OF PROPERTY OFFENDERS
House-breaking	25	12.3
Burglary	13	6.5
General theft	35	17.5
Entry and theft	5	2.5
Theft by servant	31	15.3
Fraudulent/false accounting	7	3.5
Forgery and uttery	3	1.5
Motor vehicle theft	12	6.0
Other property crimes	69	34.4
TOTAL	200	100

The crime categories in Table 10 reflect legal definitions since they were derived from the penal code which is a book of laws prepared by the State for the control of society or the social structure. Since this research is on prisoners who were arrested, charged, convicted and imprisoned for breaking laws contained in the penal code - it becomes imperative that the laws that were broken or offences committed by the prisoners under study, be defined from the legal perspective, although the survey is a sociological one.

This chapter examines the relationship between differential contact and crime against property. The data in Table 11 show that the proportion of offenders who had association with criminals prior to arrest was low, 45.5 percent, compared to 54.5 percent for non-association.

Although lower, the data suggests that association with criminals has an influence and can ultimately lead an innocent person to commit an offence.

TABLE 11: LEVEL OF CONTACT BETWEEN OFFENDERS AND FRIENDS OR RELATIVES WHO HAVE CRIMINAL BEHAVIOUR

RESPONSE	NUMBER OF OFFENDERS	PERCENTAGE OF OFFENDERS
Yes	91	45.5
No	109	34.3
TOTAL:	200	100

While the relation between offenders and the level of association or differential contact with friends or relatives who were criminals is not strong, the link is very significant between the offender and one or both parents or guardians who had a record of law-breaking while the offender was still in his childhood. Table 12 shows that 94.5 percent of the offenders had parents or guardians who had been arrested for some form of law-breaking and only 5.5 had not. Table 11 and Table 12 are not the same. While Table 11 deals with the offenders' differential contact with friends of relatives who have criminal behaviour Table 12 deals with offenders' differential contact with parents or guardians who had been arrested for some form of law-breaking."

TABLE 12: DISTRIBUTION OF OFFENDERS BY THEIR PARENTS' CRIMINAL HISTORY

RESPONSE	NUMBER OF OFFENDERS	* PERCENTAGE OF OFFENDERS
Parents involved in criminal offences	189	94.5
Not involved	11	5.5
TOTAL:	200	100

The findings in Table 12 show the importance of the family in an individual's growth and development. The family occupies a central and unique place in an individual's

life and overall development and can be a major factor in delinquency and crime causation. The family is universally recognised as the basic unit of any society, charged with a number of important functions and responsibilities. Among these are the procreation and socialisation of the off-spring, provision and satisfaction of basic material needs, provision of physical protection, emotional and spiritual care.

A healthy and principled family offers better opportunities, for the healthy overall development of its off-spring. On the other hand, a disorganized or broken family possesses factors that may contribute or precipitate delinquency and crime, as the data in Table 12 prove. There is, therefore, a possibility that these offenders may have emulated the example of their law-breaking parents or guardians by equally engaging in criminality. Although the majority of the property offenders denied (in Table 11) having had close association with friends or relatives who led a life of law-breaking, the same offenders responded in the affirmative to the question: "What influenced you to commit the offence(s) for which you are currently charged? Many respondents, 31.5 percent, said that they were influenced by peer groups while 19.0 percent did not know who influenced them; 16.0 percent said they were influenced by the need to make ends meet and 14.0 percent by poverty. Other reasons given are listed in Table 13.

TABLE 13: INFLUENCE FOR COMMITTING OFFENCE

NATURE OF INFLUENCE	NUMBER OF OFFENDERS	PERCENTAGE OF OFFENDERS
Do not know	38	19.0
Poverty	28	14.0
Peer-group	63	31.5
Forced	13	6.5
Need to make ends meet	33	16.5
Need to live beyond one's means	15	7.5
Other	10	5.0
TOTAL:	200	100

These findings which show that a significant proportion of offenders were mostly influenced by peer-groups to commit the property offences for which they were currently imprisoned may indicate that one may associate himself with friends or relatives whom he clearly knows to be people who led a life of law-breaking or he may be influenced to commit an offence by friends or relatives who may not necessarily be people who led a life of a law-breaking. The data in the survey lends support to the hypothesis that criminal behaviour is learnt through contact with others in the society.

TABLE 14: DISTRIBUTION OF OFFENDERS BY THEIR RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

NATURE OF RELIGION	NUMBER OF OFFENDERS	PERCENTAGE OF OFFENDERS
No Religion (Pagan)	2	1.0
Seventh Day Adventists	12	6.0
United Church of Zambia	35	17.5
Roman Catholics	90	45.0
Jehovah's Witnesses	14	7.0
Anglicans	2	1.0
Methodists	5	2.5
Baptists	7	3.5
Other Religions	33	16.5
TOTAL:	200	100

There are many types of religious denominations in Zambia. Table 14 shows the proportion of offenders by their religious affiliation. The highest proportion is in the category called "Roman Catholics," 45.0 percent, followed by United Church of Zambia, 17.5 percent, other religions 16.5 percent, Jehovah's Witnesses, 7.0 percent, Seventh Day Adventists, 6.0 percent, Baptists, 3.5 percent, Methodists, 2.5 percent, as well as Anglicans and those without religion (the Pagans), 1.0 percent each.

The above data show us that some religious

denominations make people more prone to property crime than others with Catholicism forming the highest proportion. It would therefore be interesting to know why the Roman Catholic church formed the highest proportion of property offenders, or why the different denominations scored differently. Perhaps this situation could be explained by the fact that different denominations usually hold different religious attitudes, beliefs, values and practices.

The examination of the effect of religion on individuals and groups, as well as the specific relationship of religion to crime has intrigued social scientists for a long time. Wolfgang, Savitz and Johnson (1970: 499-508) carried out a survey in the United States on a group of 150 institutionalized delinquent Catholic boys aged between 14 and 16 years in order to ascertain the relationship between the boys' religious affiliation and their delinquent or criminal behaviour related to property and other forms of delinquent behaviour. Perhaps the findings in this kind of research will help to throw some light on what might have led to the results in Table 14. In terms of the relationship between religion and delinquent behaviour related to property 68.7 percent of the boys in Wolfgang, Savitz and Johnson's survey reported they had stolen items on several occasions ranging from 5 dollars to 50 dollars. The researchers attribute this and other

of delinquent behaviour by the boys to the fact that Catholicism seriously lacked adequate religious orientation. They argue that although religion is the most vital influence in developing the character of individuals especially the youth, it could also provoke and facilitate delinquent or criminal behaviour, depending on the situation prevailing within a particular religion. They further argue that the effectiveness of religion depended upon the internalization of standards during the critical formative years of childhood with parents, family members, the church and other significant primary groups. This internalization of standards during the critical formative years of childhood seemed to be lacking in the Catholic church, according to Wolfgang, Savitz and Johnson hence the Catholic children's involvement in delinquent behaviour. The Catholic adults tested in our research may have had similar childhood experiences, hence their involvement in property crime to a larger extent than members of other denominations. Furthermore, the other denominations may have scored lesser and at different levels because their members may have experienced a higher degree of internalization of standards during their critical formative years of childhood, to a more or lesser extent. However the above assertions need empirical investigations since this research did not investigate what childhood experiences the members of any or all the denominations in this study have had in their various faiths.

Wolfgang et al (1970) based the above stated research conclusions on a number of findings after testing the 150 Catholic boys. First, they found that most of the boys had parents who felt strongly that their children should go to church on Sundays but this was all the religion they taught them. The parents never taught the children to pray at home, **neither** did they lead by example. Secondly, it was found that the rate of reception of the Holy Communion or Eucharist among the boys was low and that generally the normal reception of the Holy Communion among practicing Catholics was usually less than their rate of church attendance. It should be noted that reception of the Holy Communion is a basic indicator of Catholic worship and belief and is normally viewed as a sign of serious commitment to the Catholic faith. But, according to Wolfgang and his co-researchers, it was observed that generally, there was also marginal commitment to church practices among the delinquent boys and that the situation was aggravated by the discovery that the boys associated with adolescents who were equally apathetic toward religion. They were also surrounded by generally non-censuring related outsiders or parents who provided ineffectual conformity models and no priests, religious, or religious-oriented adults with whom the delinquents had identified. Thirdly, it was revealed that the boys lacked personally-felt relation with God.

The above described findings are said by Wolfgang,

Savitz and Johnson (1970: 507) to be a result of the ambiguous parental influence, limited formal Catholic education and negligence in regular religious practice.

It should be noted, however, that the research by Wolfgang and his associates was based on a sample from only one religious denomination (the Catholic Church). The research did not make a comparative study of other religious denominations so as to find out whether those weaknesses that were traced within the Catholic Church were also present in the other churches, perhaps even to a much higher degree than portrayed by the Catholic Church.

However, the Wolfgang* research findings are a pointer to what may have led to the nature of data in Table 14. The data may lead us to the conclusion that one's religious affiliation may lead him/her to involvement in property crime to a more or lesser degree depending on the religious attitudes, beliefs, values and practices of a particular religious denomination.

Summary

The differential contact hypothesis has been examined using differential contact between property offenders and their parents, relatives, peer-groups and religious affiliation. The findings show a positive association between differential contact among the property offenders and people in society who led a life of law-breaking in one way or another.

CHAPTER FIVE

PROPERTY CRIMINALITY AS THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE OF OBTAINING A MEANS OF LIVING

This chapter examines the hypothesis that most criminals view their involvement in property criminality as the only alternative of obtaining a means of living.

Literature on property criminality as propounded by Vetter and Silverman (1978: 122) shows that "property offenders vary in the extent to which they depend upon crime for their livelihood; for some offenders crime represents their exclusive means of support, while for others crime is only a means of supplementing their income." Vetter and Silverman (1978), however, argue that despite these differences, most property offenders can be classified into one of three groups: ordinary career criminals, occasional criminals and professional criminals. In the analysis all types of property offenders are treated as one category..

Data in Table 15 show that a majority, 91.5 percent, of the respondents viewed property criminality as the only alternative of obtaining a living. Only a few, 8.5 percent did not. These findings were based on responses to the question: "Do you believe that in Zambia for you, there is no other way of having access to property except through stealing or other forms of law breaking?" In this sense, therefore, we classify the property offenders as people who viewed property

criminality as the only alternative of obtaining a living.

TABLE 15: IS THERE ANY OTHER ACCESS TO PROPERTY
IN ZAMBIA

NATURE OF ACCESS TO PROPERTY	NUMBER OF PROPERTY OFFENDERS	PERCENTAGE OF PROPERTY OFFENDERS
Only through stealing	183	91.5
Through other means	17	8.5
TOTAL:	200	100

The findings in Table 15 are supported by the findings in Table 16. Table 16 shows that the majority of property criminals, 72.5 percent, in Zambia's prisons are first offenders; 11.0 percent have one previous conviction; 6.5 percent have two previous convictions each, and so forth. The data in Table 16 was obtained both through the study of prisoners' files and through questionnaire and interviews. These results mean that the majority of the sample property offenders conform to or fall within the group called "Occasional criminals." But although findings listed in Table 16 clearly show that, in Zambia the majority of property criminals consist of individuals who are either first offenders or who have criminal records that consist of a single or a few

property offences, in conformity with the description of the group "occasional criminals" who take crime as a minor part of its life-style, one may ask: Why is it that the majority of offenders have suddenly resorted to property criminality for the first time? And, why is it that these first offenders have suddenly come to realise that property criminality is the only alternative of obtaining a means of living? The answer to both questions is that they have been forced to do so by certain social pressures. The high cost of living prevailing in this country could probably be one of such pressures.

TABLE 16: DISTRIBUTION OF PREVIOUS CONVICTION

NUMBER OF PREVIOUS CONVICTIONS	NUMBER OF OFFENDERS	PERCENTAGE OF OFFENDERS
0	145	72.5
1	22	11.0
2	13	6.5
3	9	4.5
4	3	1.5
5	4	2.0
6	2	1.0
9	2	1.0
TOTAL:	200	100

The findings in Table 16 show that the majority of offenders in Zambia have not made their entire living through criminal activity. Only a few seem to have done

so. The majority seem to fall under the category of property criminals described by Clinard (1974) as occasional property offenders who consist of individuals who are either first offenders or have criminal records that consist of a single or a few property offences. The 1.0 percent who have 6 previous convictions and other 1.0 percent who have 9 previous convictions each seem to conform to the definition of "Ordinary Career Criminals," described by Vetter and Silverman (1978) as those who primarily augment their income through property offences or make their entire living through property criminality. But in Zambia these do not make up a large proportion of the prison population as is the case in the United States of America, as argued by Vetter and Silverman (1978).

An examination of the variables of age, sex and education in relation to involvement in property criminality throws some light on why, as reflected in Tables 15 and 16 the majority of property offenders believed that in Zambia there was no any other way of having access to property except through stealing or other forms of law-breaking.

(a) SEX

Very few respondents shown in Table 17, 9.7 percent of the female property offenders said they believe that in Zambia there were other ways of having access to property apart from stealing and only 7.7 percent of the male property offenders said so. On the other

hand, 92.3 percent of the male property offenders denied that there was any other way of having access to property apart from stealing or other forms of law-breaking whilst 90.3 percent of the female property offenders concurred with this view.

TABLE 17: SEX AND ACCESS TO PROPERTY

NATURE OF RESPONSE	MALE	FEMALE
Yes there are other ways of obtaining property	7.7	9.7
No there are no other ways of obtaining property	92.3	90.3

On the whole slightly more females than males believed that there were alternative ways of having access to property apart from stealing or other forms of law-breaking. However, these sex response differentials are not very significant. But although the sex response differentials are not very significant, Clifford (1974: 34-41) argues that "As regards sex, it seems everywhere true that women commit less crime than men and all kinds of reasons have been advanced to account for this." Some explanations advanced by Clifford to account for the sex differentiation in criminal conduct or attitude include the degree of emancipation, female crime rate being higher where women are more free; the biological differences between

men and women, the latter being more passive and less aggressive; the dependence of women on men, the former instigating rather than committing crime; the greater protection of girls to avoid early pregnancy and the different social position of women. The above reasons may account for the findings that more females than males believed that there were alternative ways of having access to property or that more males than females believed that there were no alternative ways of having access to property apart from stealing or other forms of law-breaking.

(b) AGE

One would expect that age, as has been the case with sex, would affect responses on property offenders' feeling on whether or not there are other ways of having access to acquiring property apart from various forms of law-breaking.

Data in Table 18 show that only 16.7 percent of those aged under 20 agreed that there were other alternative ways of having access to property while 83.3 percent say there is no other way. The proportion of those who believe that there is no other way increases with increase in age.

TABLE 18: AGE AND ACCESS TO PROPERTY

NATURE OF RESPONSE	UNDER 20	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69
Yes	16.7	12.9	4.6	4.5	0.0	0.0
No	83.3	87.1	95.4	95.5	100.0	100.0

The overall picture that emerges from Table 18 is that although in all age categories the majority of property offenders do not believe that there was any other way of having access to property except through stealing or other forms of law-breaking, one thing which is clear is that belief in availability of alternative ways to stealing increasingly declines with old age. In other words, belief in the unavailability of alternative ways increases with old age. Perhaps this means that when people are still young they tend to have high hopes in life which decline as they grow up because they later discover or realise that what they hoped for is not actually forth-coming particularly in the urban areas where, according to Clinard and Abbot (1973: 85), "the emphasis is on individualism and material goods, which cannot be easily attained by the majority of the people through legitimate ways except through illegitimacy." The above assertion is especially true when one takes into consideration the fact that most of the sample property offenders had a predominantly urban background.

In other words, the majority, 46.0 percent, of the offenders were mostly brought up in the urban setting as Table 19 below shows. The Table further shows 33.5 percent of these offenders had a predominantly rural background.

TABLE 19: RESIDENTIAL BACKGROUND OF PROPERTY OFFENDERS

PLACE OF UPBRINGING	NUMBER OF PROPERTY OFFENDERS	PERCENTAGE OF PROPERTY OFFENDERS
Urban area	92	46.0
Rural area	67	33.5
Both urban and rural areas	41	20.5
TOTAL:	200	100

The findings in Table 19 were as a result of response to the question: "During your childhood (under 15) did you grow up in urban or rural areas or both?" It is natural that as people grow up they tend to develop all sorts of fantasies about life but most of these fantasies never materialise in adult life. This breeds frustration and eventual resort to unacceptable behaviour.

(c) EDUCATION

In Zambia as may be the case in most parts of the world, access to property and other opportunities is

associated with education, the educated presumably having greater access to legitimate channels.

Findings in Table 20 show the respondents' percentage of their opportunities and access to property in the Zambian social structure by educational levels. The data show no clear relationship between educational level and access to property. Offenders who had attained educational levels of grades 1, 2, 3, 10 and 11 had stronger belief that in Zambia there were no any other ways of having access to property except through stealing or other forms of law-breaking. In other words, 100.00 percent of offenders within each of the above educational categories denied that there existed any alternative ways of access to opportunities of better life in Zambia. On the other hand, among those who never went to school and those who attained grades 4, 6, 8, 9 and 12 there are some who believe that alternative ways exist. But the proportions are very low. These findings only suggest a clear lack of relationship between education and crimes against property.

The general pattern of the findings fluctuates and does not really give conclusive results. However, the general picture given by the data is that the majority of property offenders, regardless of their educational levels, are of the opinion or belief that in Zambia, for them there are no other ways of having access to property except through illegitimate ways. This is a situation symptomatic of anomie.

TABLE 20: EDUCATIONAL LEVEL AND ACCESS TO PROPERTY

NATURE OF RESPONSE	NEVER WENT TO SCHOOL	E D U C A T I O N D I S T R I B U T I O N											
		GRADE 1	GRADE 2	GRADE 3	GRADE 4	GRADE 5	GRADE 6	GRADE 7	GRADE 8	GRADE 9	GRADE 10	GRADE 11	GRADE 12
There is option to criminality	6.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	16.7	0.0	31.2	9.7	10.0	15.0	0.0	0.0	5.6
Only through criminal activities	93.8	100.0	100.0	100.0	83.3	100.0	68.8	90.3	90.0	85.0	100.0	100.0	94.4

The important point, therefore, remains that the majority of offenders, regardless of their level of education, believe that in Zambia, for them, there is no any other way of having access to property except through stealing or other forms of law-breaking or through illegitimate ways.

(c) MARITAL STATUS AND ACCESS TO PROPERTY

Findings in Table 21 show that there is a higher proportion of offenders among the married than among those who were never married or divorced. However, in all categories the proportion of those who believe there are alternatives to criminality is extensively low (see Table 21).

TABLE 21: MARITAL STATUS AND ACCESS TO PROPERTY.

NATURE OF RESPONSE	NEVER MARRIED	MARRIED	DIVORCED
There are alterna- tives	12.5	5.6	18.4
There are no alternatives	87.5	94.4	81.6

Lack of adequate resources by married men and women to enable them look after the affairs of their families satisfactorily can obviously drive one into believing that there was no any other way of having access to property except through stealing or other forms of law-breaking.

With the analysis which includes an examination of the following variables: sex, age, education and marital status and how they affect property offenders' attitude towards their involvement in property criminality, the overall picture that emerges is that most property criminals, in Zambia, believe there is no any other way of having access to property except through stealing or other forms of law-breaking.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The study has collected and analysed data which throw some light on the socio-economic aspects of property-related criminality. In the first chapter the general scope of the topic, hypotheses used in the study and the methodology employed are presented. This is followed by an examination of several theories related to causes of crimes in general and property criminality in particular. An analysis of the relationship between the socio-economic status of the offenders and crime against property follows. The analysis reveals existence of some relationship between certain socio-economic variables and crime. For instance, the variables of age, education, income, occupation, marital status, number of dependants as measures of socio-economic status were examined and the relationship between them and property criminality analysed. In the analysis it is seen that crime against property is more common among the young and that it declined with age. Education was found to have no clear link to property criminality. Equally, the relationship between property criminality and income is not straight and clear although the general trend pointed to the fact that the majority of property offenders are driven to their offences by the unfavourable income situation in which they found themselves. As for occupation, the

findings portrayed that unemployment had no criminogenic influence, but the variable of marital status was found to have some significant degree of criminogenic influence.

The above analysis leads to the conclusion that the hypothesis that the socio-economic status of an individual has a link to criminal behaviour related to property' is complex and that the available data, to a reasonable extent, indicate that some socio-economic variables may be responsible for criminality, but the relationship between the socio-economic situation and commitment of property crime is not a direct one. Further research is needed in this regard.

The study further examined the impact of childhood experiences of property offenders: childhood ill-treatment by parents, guardians or siblings through beatings, deprivation of food and other forms of ill-treatment; childhood habit of being given pocket money; and parents' marital status on the commitment of offences against property.

In summary, the findings in relation to the above variables are that there is no significant proof available to support the hypothesis that early or childhood experiences may render an individual to become a property criminal. This may however, possibly apply to criminals involved in other violent crimes such as assaults, wounding and other lacerations. However, the overall trend is that one's family background and past experiences

are related to involvement in property crime. But this relationship is not very clear.

The study examined the attitude of property offenders in relation to alternatives and access to other means of survival by the educational level of the property offenders. The conclusion that emerges shows a link that fluctuates but despite this, the overall picture that emerged is that the majority of property offenders, regardless of their educational level, had a strong belief that in Zambia, for them there were no other ways of having access to property except through stealing or other forms of law-breaking thus, proving the hypothesis that 'most criminals view their involvement in property criminality as the only alternative of obtaining means of living.'

APPENDIX I

SOCIO-ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF CRIME IN ZAMBIA

1. Card: 1
2. Prison: 2
Maximum = 1
Medium = 2
Central = 3
3. Name: 3-5
4. Sex: 6
5. Age: 7-8
Under 20 = 1
20 - 29 = 2
30 - 39 = 3
40 - 49 = 4
50 - 59 = 5
60 - 69 = 6
69+ = 7
6. Education: 9-10
Never went to school
Grade 1 - 3 = 1
Grade 4 - 7 = 2
Grade 8 - 10 = 3
Grade 11-10 = 4
Above Grade 12 = 5
7. Religion: 11
SDA = 1 Anglican = 5
UCZ = 2 Methodist = 6

RC = 3 Baptist = 7

JW = 4 Other = 8

8. Marital status: 12
- Never married = 1
- Married = 2
- Divorced = 3
- Widowed = 4
- Separated = 5
9. If married state number of wives: 13
10. Occupation before arrest: 14
- None = 0 Teacher = 5
- Unskilled = 1 Executive = 6
- Semi-skilled = 2 Farmer = 7
- Clerical = 3 Self-employed business = 8
- Management = 4 Other = 9
11. Income: 15-18
- Less K100 = 1
- 100 - 299 = 2
- 300 - 499 = 3
- 500 - 699 = 4
- 700 - 999 = 5
- 1000-2999 = 6
- 3000+ = 7
12. How many children of your own do you have? 19-2
13. How many of them go to school? 21
14. Apart from your own children, how many dependants do you have? 22

15. How many offences are you currently detained
for? 23
16. State the nature of offence..... 24
- | | |
|--------------------------------|-----|
| House-breaking | = 1 |
| Burglary | = 2 |
| General theft | = 3 |
| Entry and theft | = 4 |
| Theft by servant | = 5 |
| Fraudulent/false
accounting | = 6 |
| Forgery and uttery | = 7 |
| Motor vehicle theft | = 8 |
| other | = 9 |
17. What influenced you to commit the offences for which you
are currently charged?..... 25
- | | |
|------------------------------------|-----|
| Do not know | = 1 |
| Poverty | = 2 |
| Peer-group influence | = 3 |
| Friends | = 4 |
| Forced | = 5 |
| Need to make ends meet | = 6 |
| Need to live beyond
one's means | = 7 |
| Other | = 8 |
18. Have you ever been arrested? 26
- | | |
|-----|-----|
| Yes | = 1 |
| No | = 2 |
19. If yes, how many times? 27

20. For what offences were you arrested? 28
- Property offences = 1
- Traffic offences = 2
- Offences against state = 3
- Offences against persons = 4
- Offences and crime without victim = 5
- More than one of the above= 6
- Other = 7
21. How many previous convictions do you have?29
-
22. For what offences were you previously convicted? 30
- Property offences = 1
- Traffic offences = 2
- Offences against persons = 4
- Offences and crime without victim = 5
- Other = 6
- More than one of the above= 7
23. Were you in gainful employment at the time of each arrest you have experienced?..... 31
-
- Yes = 1
- No = 2
24. How old were you when you were first arrested? 32-33
-
-

25. Do you think that before arrest you had an equal
of earning a living to some other persons?
..... 34
Yes = 1
No = 2
Not sure = 3
26. Do you feel that you have done any wrong by
committing the offences for which you have been
arrested? 35
Yes = 1
No = 2
Not sure = 3
27. Which one of the following would you prefer?
To continue living in prison . = 1
To live outside prison = 2
28. Do you feel that you will completely stop involving
yourself in criminal activities after you have been
released from prison?..... 38
Yes = 1
No = 2
29. Do you think the following are fair in their
dealings with the public?
(a) Police
Yes = 1
No = 2
(b) Judiciary?..... 39
Yes = 1
No = 2

- (c) The Prisons? 40
Yes = 1
No = 2

30. During your childhood, did you ever encounter any
ill-treatment at the hands of your parents/
guardians? 41
..... 41
31. Do you think such experiences have had a negative
effect on your present life?
..... 42
32. Do you find in any way any pleasure in engaging
in criminality?..... 43
Yes = 1
No = 2
33. Do you believe that in Zambia, for you, there is
no any other way of having access to property
except through stealing or other forms of law-
breaking?..... 44
Yes = 1
No = 2
34. Prior to committing the offence for which you have
been arrested, were you closely associated with
friends or relatives who led a life of law
breaking?..... 45
Yes = 1
No = 2
35. If so, do you think this association has, in any
way, influenced you to engage in law-breaking?

- 46
- Yes = 1
- No = 2
36. To what period of imprisonment have you been
sentenced?..... (in months).....47-48
37. Do you feel that this sentence is enough lesson
for you not to engage in law-breaking any more?
..... 49
- Yes = 1
- No = 2
38. Before you were arrested, were you able to manage
the present cost of living without resorting to
stealing and other illegitimate ways of obtaining
a living? 50
- Yes = 1
- No = 2
39. During your early childhood, were your parents/
guardians in the habit of giving you pocket money?
..... 51
40. During your early childhood, did your parents 52
- (a) Divorce? = 1
- (b) Separate? = 2
- (c) Were always married= 3
41. If divorced, how old were you at the time? 53-54
.....
42. Did any of your parents die while you were still
a child (under 15)
.....

Yes = 1

No = 2

43. If so, who of them died?

Father = 1

Mother = 2

Both = 3

44. If any or both of your parents died indicate who brought you up?..... 57

Father = 1

Mother = 2

Grandparents= 3

Brother = 4

Sister = 5

Maternal Kin 6

Paternal Kin= 7

Other = 8

45. What is your mother tongue?..... 58

Tonga/Ila = 1

Nyanja/Chewa/Senga = 2

Lozi = 3

Lunda/Kaonde = 4

Bemba = 5

Lamba/Lala = 6

Tumbuka = 7

Mambwe = 8

Other = 9

46. Did your parents/guardians often quarrell or fight each other in your presence during your childhood?
..... 59
Yes = 1
No = 2
47. Did any of your parents engage in heavy beer drinking during your childhood? 60
None = 1
Mother = 2
Father = 3
Both = 4
Male guardian = 5
Female guardian 6
48. While you were still young, was any of your parents arrested for any form of law-breaking? 61
None = 1
Father = 2
Mother = 3
Both = 4
Female guardian = 5
Male guardian = 6
Both male/female guardian = 7
49. What was the nature of law-breaking?.....62
.....
Property offences = 1
Traffic offences = 2
Offences against state = 3

52. What was your mother's employment status?.....65

None	= 0
Housewife	= 1
Domestic	= 2
Clerical	= 3
Semi-skilled	= 4
Teacher	= 5
Farmer	= 6
Marketeer	= 7
Business/self employed	= 8
Other	= 9

53. During childhood (under 15) did you grow up?

..... 66

In Urban	= 1
Rural	= 2
Both	= 3

54. During your childhood, were you often subjected
to beatings by?67

Father	= 1
Mother	= 2
Both	= 3
Brother	= 4
Sisters	= 5
Both parents and sisters	= 6
Both parents and siblings	= 7

55. Which one of your parents did you admire most?

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aron, R.; Main Currents in Sociological Thought, London, Cox and Wyman, Ltd., 1967.
- Bogardus, E.S., The Development of Social Thought, New York, Longman, Green and Company, 1960
- Central Statistical Office Census of Population and Housing, (1969, 1990).
- Clerk, R., 'A Direct Study of the Child's Sentiment of Honour,' International Journal of Ethics, 42 pp. 454 - 61, July, 1932 Quoted by Sutherland and Cressey, op. cit.
- Clifford, W., An Introduction to African Criminology, London, Oxford University Press, Ely House, 1974: p. 8. Also see Phillipson M., Sociological Aspects of Crime and Delinquency; London. Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1987.
- Clinard, M.B. and Abbot, D., Crime in Developing Countries, New York, John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1973.
- Fincham, R., (ed.) Employment in Zambia, Studies in Zambian Society, Volume IV, Lusaka, University Zambia, 1979: pp. 5-14. Also see the Proceedings of the UNIP National Council, 9th December, 1984.
- Gibbons, D.C., Society, Crime and Criminal Careers, Prentice Hall, New York, 1977: p. 224.
- Glueck, S., and Glueck, E., Family Environment and Delinquency, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962.
- Hatchard, J., and Ndulo, M. A Casebook on Criminal Law, Government Printers, Lusaka, 1983: pp. 319-398. Also see Police Releases: Times of Zambia, Daily Mail, Tuesday, September, 18th 1984: p.1 Times of Zambia, Tuesday, February 10th, 1981, p.5.
- Katakwe, L., "Juvenile Delinquency in Zambia", in Rennie, J.K. and Robins, C.E. (ed.) Social Problems in Zambia
- Knauder, S., "Urbanisation and crime." A paper presented at the Police Seminar in Mulungushi Hall, Lusaka, from 23rd to 28th November, 1981.

- Lazarus, R.S., and Opton, N. Jr., Personality, Cox and Wyman Ltd., Great Britain, 1957.
- Mannheim, H., Comparative Criminology, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965.
- Merton, R.K., Social Theory and Social Structure, Free Press, New York, 1957.
- National Commission for Development Planning, Third National Development Plan. 1979.
- Phillipson, M., Sociological Aspects of Crime and Delinquency, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971.
- Police Annual Report, Government Printers, Lusaka, 1963.
- Police Crime Statistics, 1971.
- Sluckin, W., Early Learning and Early Experiences, Great Britain, G. Nicholas and Company, 1981.
- Sutherland, E.H. and Cressey, R.D., Principles of Criminology, Philadelphia J.B. Lippincott Company, 1949.
- The Penal Code, Chapt. 146 of the Laws of Zambia.
- Vetter, H.J. and Silverman, I.J., The Nature of Crime, Saunders Company, Philadelphia, 1978: p. 122.
- West, D.J., The Young Offender, London, Penguin 1967: p. 61.
- Wolfgang, M.E., Savitz and Johnson, N., The Sociology of Crime and Delinquency, John Wiley and Sons, Inc., New York, 1962: p. 15.