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**THE PLACE OF CRIMINOLOGY IN THE STUDY OF
TERRORISM: IMPLICATIONS FOR HOMELAND
SECURITY**

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Abstract:

In this article, I intend to describe the history of terrorism, provide an explanation of some aspects of criminological theories related to the study of terrorism, and briefly articulate the link between criminology, terrorism, and homeland security. While criminology has made significant contributions in the understanding of crime in general, the literature on terrorism and homeland security by criminologists is still emerging. Arguably, this treatise calls for this void to be filled by criminologists, because terrorism and homeland security appropriately belong within the perimeters of criminology. This article employs the methodology of content analysis as used in social science research. It does not claim to settle all the budding and unsettled issues about criminology, terrorism, and homeland security today.

The events of September 11, 2001 have proliferated different writings and theorizing about terrorism. Society has witnessed a surge in criminological interests in the area of the phenomenon of terrorism. However, prior to the tragedy of 2001, only some notable criminologists have examined the problem of terrorism (Georges-Abeyie 1980; White 1998; Smith 1994; Stohl 1988.

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While terrorism has been part of recorded humanity, and while it falls within the purview of criminology, academic criminology, prior to September 11, 2001, has not made the issue apposite to the components of criminology and criminal justice pedagogy. Today, scholars and social thinkers are awakened to focus on the phenomenon because terrorism can no longer escape criminological inquiry. Realizing this imperative theme, LaFree (2005) indicates recently that the literature on terrorism has significantly increased since the 1970s, but he insists that these studies have not been executed by criminologists or published in criminological journals. Indeed, terrorism has become such an irritant in the annals of governments and the academy that criminologists can no longer overlook it (Crenshaw 2001; 2003). As a result, many criminology programs are currently instituting and developing new courses on terrorism and homeland security.

I firmly argue in this article that regardless of whether a distinction is made between terrorism and crime, terrorism, rooted in an ideology or not, should constitute an essential component of the discipline of criminology. After all, criminologists study white-collar crimes (Sutherland 1983), state crimes (Ross 2000; 2003), environmental crimes (Lynch et al. 2004a), the classics of American criminology (Gabbidon 1999b; Taylor-Greene and Gabbidon 2000; Young and Taylor-Greene 1995), counter-colonial criminology (Agozino 2003) and crimes of violence, such as serial and mass murders (Jenkins 1988). In order for criminology to make contributions to the knowledge of terrorism, the discipline ought to incorporate terrorism as part of the criminological

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enterprise. Although I will examine the important issue of homeland security and its connections to terrorism, I must first review the history of terrorism and the criminological theories that have been relevant in the understanding of terrorism and its deadly impact on society. This is important because with no theories as guides, then research might be conducted haphazardly and policies would have less credibility.

However, before one can adequately articulate and formulate new ideas about the occurrence of terrorism, he or she must be sufficiently knowledgeable about its history. Additionally, a comprehension and application of the existing theoretical perspectives in the discipline necessitates—and augments—new dimensions and proper areas of explorations and theoretical rationalizations. It is important that criminologists develop theories that will explain terrorism. The good news is that some scholars have been avidly tackling the issue (see Crenshaw 2001; 2003; Mueller 2002; Abrams 2003; Rudasil and Moyer 2004; Weinzierl 2004; Gurr 1970; 1988; Onwudiwe 2001), utilizing different theoretical and methodological approaches.

THE METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

This work began as an examination of a significant body of academic research on the history and theories of terrorism as well as of the recent emergence of the study of homeland security. Basically, I used the content analysis methodology, using the rich library search engines of various universities and internet websites. The goal is to scrutinize how other scholars have approached the issue of terrorism and its history in the literature. The textual

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information from the internet is supported by scholarly studies. Barbie (2006) describes content analysis as a typical social science methodology that employs verifiable human data from sources that includes books, websites, etc. Holsti (1969: 14) contends that it is “any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages.” Textual analysis permits scholars to filter through bulky information in an orderly and organized manner (Babbie 2006). It also allows them to describe the focus of their studies (Weber 1990.) and to substantiate sources of information by means of other methods of collected works (Krippendorff 1980).

Indeed, content analysis has been used in the study of the media, terrorism, and emotionality (Cho et al. 2003), organized crime (Ebbe 1999), the crisis of September 11, 2001 (Hart, Jarvis, and Lim 2002), political crime and pedagogy (Tunnell 1993), artificial intelligence and terrorism (van Cuilenburg, Kleinnijenhuis, and de Ridder 1988), law and justice in Nigeria (Okereafoezeke 2002), and documentation of pre-colonial criminal justice (Dalglish 2005). By and large, by loosely grouping scholarly research on the history of terrorism into various categories (global terrorism, revolutions, nationalism, anarchism, and settler states), I was able to utilize prior scholarly analyses of the history of terrorism to provide a selected documentation of the history of the phenomenon. This same data method was used in selecting some aspects of the theoretical perspectives of the study of terrorism. To ensure some modicum of accuracy and objectivity, I attempted to corroborate every piece of information with literature from other

sources that was independent of the original data.

BRIEF HISTORY OF TERRORISM

Some terrorism observers have indicated that (Simonsen and Spindlove 2004: 39) “understanding terrorism without learning something about the history of a terrorist group, individual terrorists and the conditions that spawned them is like eating soup without salt.” If violence leads to terrorism, then history is replete with many instances of terrorism all over the world. Terrorism seen in this context has become part of recorded history (Simonsen and Spindlove 2004; Parry 1976). Indeed, the history of the origin and modern forms of terrorism is an essential tool in a comprehensive and criminological investigation of terrorism. Without a focus on in-depth historical studies of terrorism, criminology can only provide a “quick-fix” solution to the dilemma posed by the phenomenon, which is evident at the moment in history with many proliferations of publications on the subject by journalists and other social thinkers (Olson-Raymer 1996). It must be underscored that in order to understand the underlying roots of terrorism from above and below, criminology must examine outbreaks of terror as part of centuries of fear, exploitation, oppression, racial and ethnic misunderstanding, hatred at home and abroad, religious squabbles, and residual effects of imperialism (Olson-Raymer 1996).

Specifically, global governments, represented by kings, tyrants, czars, and religious leaders, have historically rationalized the use of terror based on the legitimacy of their sovereign states or an ordained power from the deity (White 2006). Those without claims

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to legitimate rule and sacramental act, such as guerrillas, revolutionaries, zealots, vigilantes, and traitors defend their use of terror as an expected right to overthrow regimes of terror for political and religious reasons (Olson-Raymer 1996; Vetter and Perlstein 1991). Some point to the bible (see the book of Numbers and Joshua) to draw inferences that justify their actions, claiming that the holy book itself commands the use of terror, murder, and extermination of corrupt leaders. For example, Barsalou (2004: 141) points out that “terrorists often seek legitimacy through particular religious idioms,” allowing some “new Islamists wish to transform both the state and civil society in the image of what they believe can be a truly Islamic order.”

History demonstrates that the Sicarii, an extreme Jewish Zealot sect, fought against the Roman Empire (66-70 A.D.) by attacking its enemies in broad daylight and on holidays using daggers as a weapon of choice (Vetter and Perlstein. 1991). The Zealots targeted Greeks residing in Judea and Roman leaders and did not spare moderate Jews who were suspected of being Roman allies (White 2006). The Zealots-Sicarii goal was to purge Roman control and initiate the coming of the Messiah (Laqueur 2001; Weinzierl 2004; White 2006; Weinberg and Davis 1989). The Assassins (1090-1275 A.D.), a radical Shiite Ismali sect which waged a terror movement in the eleventh and twelfth centuries for the sanitization of Islam and to prepare for the arrival of Inman, considered being the sole rightful monarch of the human race, one which would restore a new and just civilization (Lewis 1967; Weinzierl 2004). Like the Zealots-Sicarii campaigns, the Assassins

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used the name of God to search for and slay their foes with short daggers. Their targets included Sunnis as well as Christians (White 2006).

Some major terrorism scholars (Parry 1976; White 2006; Weinzierl 2004; Laqueur 2001; Poland 1988; Vetter and Perlstein 1991; Georges-Abeyie 1980, Simonsen and Spindlove 2004; Olson-Raymer 1996) have traced the origin of modern terrorism in the English lexicon to the French Revolution between 1789 and 1795. Unlike the earlier historical epoch of terrorism, the French Revolution and its associated terror was not justified in the name of deity, but was rationalized in the name of the populace (Weinzierl 2004). Referred to as the “reign of terror,” under the auspices of Maximilien Robespierre, thousands of the enemies of the state were executed in France (Parry 1976). Indeed, Edmond Burke, a British theorist of that era, used the term terrorism to describe the butchery of French aristocrats, their families and supporters (LeFebre 1987). This policy of the French regime, and others, such as Hitler’s use of genocide, is the forerunners of terrorism from above in contemporary versions of state-sponsored terrorism (Weinzierl 2004).

The next period of terrorism in a historical context involves terrorism and the settler states (Georges-Abeyie 1991). It also includes aspects of terrorism perpetrated by modern non-state actors or terrorism from below, characterized by actions of guerillas and revolutionaries. This phase of terrorism emerged during the last part of the nineteenth century because of the failures of anticipated liberal and revolutionary reforms (Weinberg and Davis 1989; Weinzierl 2004). The populace became lethargic, as

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the revolutions of 1830 and 1848 did not materialize into comprehensive transformations since Germany lingered unchanged (Weinzierl 2004), Russia continued under the command of an autocratic Czar (Weinberg and Davis 1989), and the French Republic was transformed into an empire (White 2006; Weinberg and Davis 1989). In order to archive social or national liberations, some individuals and groups determined that terrorism was indispensable (Olson-Raymer 1996). With the publication of their Revolutionary Catechism in 1869, two Russian revolutionaries (see Olson-Raymer 1996; Poland 1988; Vetter and Perslten 1991; White 2006; Simonsen and Spindlove 2004), Michael Bakunin and Sergey Nechayev, set the historical stage for revolutionary terrorism. Together, with other Russian anarchists who were opposed to the Tsar's regime—such as Narodnaya Volya or the People's Will, which operated between 1878 to 1871—the anarchists advocated the assassination of government officials, members of the military, bureaucrats, capitalists, the clergy, and members of the royal families. The anarchists succeeded in the assassination of Tsar Alexander II in 1881 (White 2006). This is regarded in the literature as the earliest form of modern terrorism (Weinzierl 2004; White 2006). Additionally, in order to arouse panic, unease, and terror among the public and the state, the anarchists supported the execution of the proficient and intellectual adversaries (Weinzierl 2004).

Between 1878 and 1914, society witnessed an onslaught of assassinations of leaders (Laqueur 2001) by anarchists who practiced the concept of the “propaganda by the deed” (Georges

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Abeyie 1982; Poland 1988), meaning that a violent deed is the most effective means of propaganda. The anarchists believed that a competent philosophy of the bomb and propaganda would certainly stimulate the awareness of the people and bring them to sympathize with the terrorists' cause. Joll (1980) insists that despite the feat of violence widely used by the anarchists, they failed to achieve their goal of social revolution. Instead of activating the people to rally in favor of their cause, their violent actions were repelled by the populace. Analogously, the recent bombing of Jordanian hotels that claimed many lives has brought about condemnations by many Muslims in the region who had been sympathizers of the al-Qaida network.

History also shows that nationalism constituted a cause for terrorism in the latter part of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. This era of terrorism was characterized by nationalists who advocated nationhood for citizens who were under colonial command (Onwudiwe 2001a). Some nationalists were eager to rid their countries of imperial occupation by any means possible, including by the use of terror. Most colonial empires, such as Britain, Manchu China, Austria-Hungary, and Ottoman Turkey were the targets of nationalists who adopted terrorism (Weinzierl 2004). Unlike the anarchists, nationalistic forces did not focus on ideology; rather, their main motive was to rule their own nations (White 2006).

The assassination in 1914 of Archduke Ferdinand, an Austrian heir, by Gavrilo Principe for the purpose of liberating southern Slavs, has been recognized as one of the premier factors that precipitated world war and the demise of the Austrian Empire

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(Weinzierl 2004). Precipitated by right-wing or reactionary groups determined to change the status quo, a new phase of terrorism emerged between the world wars in Europe. Smith (1994) has provided an excellent history, typology, and organization of both right-wing and left-wing terrorist formations. In the United States, the Ku Klux Klan stands resolutely as an example of such terrorist organizations (Smith 1994). Hoffman (1998) indicates that in Europe, many citizens reacted to the Bolshevik revolution with the fear that communism, as predicted by Karl Marx, would engulf the human globe. Although Marx was wrong, liberals, communists, socialists, and intellectuals suspected of threatening the status quo were targeted for elimination (Hoffman 1998).

This period also experienced the rise of fascist and Nazi governments in Europe. Together, these totalitarian regimes adopted the tactics of terror to repress and control their citizens. Members of the Jewish population, suspected communists, and those regarded as opponents of the state were executed. Weinzierl (2004) observes that, because of strong anti-colonial sentiments against imperialist invaders, after the end of World War II, the revered neo-Nazi and Neo-Fascist movements declined and terrorist activists shifted their movement to Africa, the Middle East and Asia. Indeed, Menachen Begin, the leader of Irgun, used terrorism against the British Empire in order to undermine London's confidence and prestige (White 2006; Weinzierl 2004).

Perhaps the structure of nationalistic groups includes the actions of some jingoistic factions, who are united in the pursuit of political

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and economic liberation. The constituents of these clandestine movements usually regard themselves as soldiers or guerilla battalions and tend to rebuff the terrorist tag (Herman 1983; Olson-Raymer 1996; Vetter and Perlstein 1991). Depending on the dictum or aphorism in vogue about who is or is not a terrorist, the actions of these groups may be called terrorism, revolutionary or freedom fighters. For example, although a nationalist leader of the Irgun, Menachem Begin (former Prime Minister of Israel) and his underground members used revolutionary and guerrilla tactics to carry out many acts of terror against Arabs and British in the 1940s (Vetter and Perlstein 1991; White 2006). What Hacker (1977) labels terrorism from below represents the actions of revolutionaries or nationalists, also referred to as freedom fighters in the literature, that were fighting for national liberation movements; and terrorism from above is consistent with the use of power to control and enforce authority and to define who the terrorist is (see also Herman 1983). Put in another way, Vetter and Perlstein (1991:8) indicate that “if one accepts the basic Hobbesian premise that all social order rests ultimately on the use of power (i.e., violence) as the source of authority, then violence used to enforce authority can take two different forms: legitimate and illegitimate.” Based on this scrutiny, the actions of some nationalists may be tagged to be legal or illegal use of violence, and in contemporary usage, terrorism, by those who have power to label (White 2006). In Africa, particularly, Kenya, Algeria, and South Africa, nationalist movements and their leaders used revolutionary and guerilla tactics successfully in attacking their colonial occupiers. For example, the FLN (Front de Liberation Nationale) in Algeria achieved its goal of ending imperial occupation. Indeed, the FLN located bombs in restaurants, domes,

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and automobile-stations, which display how a petite band of Algerian nationalists could attack several French interests across the country (see Clark 1960).

In the former Republic of South Africa, nationalists of the African National Congress (ANC), despite decades of draconian state oppression and state-sponsored-murder of the majority black population regained political command of the state management in the early 1990s (Olson-Raymer 1996). It must be emphasized that some African scholars have not labeled the Mau Mau and the ANC as terrorist organizations (Onwudiwe 2001a; 2006a; 2006b; Opolot 2006; Okereafoezeke 2006). Indeed, despite the laws passed against the ANC, such as the Anti-Terrorism and Anti-Sabotage Acts by the apartheid regime, the actions of the apartheid government have been labeled to be unlawful. The illegal use of violence/terrorism by the apartheid state constituted a deliberate and calculated strategy of the government to repress the opposition. It was this first or original violence of the oppressor that generated the ANC's response to counter the regime's tyranny. The activities adopted by the ANC were essential to liberate black people from the primary violence of the state (see Onwudiwe 2001a). Categorically, nationalist leaders may or may not be labeled terrorists, depending on who has power to define. Menachem Begin, concludes as follows:

Our enemies called us terrorists. People who were neither friends nor enemies, like the correspondents of the New York Herald-Tribune, also used this Latin name, either under the influence of

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British propaganda or out of habit. Our friends, like the Irishman O'Reilly, preferred, as he wrote in his letter, to "get ahead of history" and called us by a simpler, though also a Latin name: patriots (quoted in Vetter and Perlstein 1991:11).

As this quote demonstrates, terrorism is a label that is used to define the outsiders, a tag of defamation, and a means of excluding those so labeled from human standing. Certainly, as Herman (1983) recognizes, states find it difficult to label their actions as terrorism or the acts perpetrated by their friends.

These historical facts are important to criminology, because incorporating the history of terrorism in criminological studies of the phenomenon entails that criminology can play a major role in formulating social policies based on a holistic understanding of the problem. Within balance and reason, an understanding of the history of terrorism, not only would aid criminologists to know the genesis of the issue (Gagnon 1989), but also would oblige criminological thinkers to formulate counter approaches to the problem of terrorism in homeland security. It benefits criminology to embrace the historical episodes and practices and tactics of terrorists all over the world in order for criminology to have an unadulterated exposure (Gagnon 1989) to the laboratory of terrorists' behavior and explanations of that behavior. What follows is a review of the criminology of terrorism.

THE CRIMINOLOGY OF TERRORISM

Some scholars have aptly noted the association between economic conditions and social conflict (Young 1999). Social

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violence occurs more frequently in underprivileged countries and is more severe in peripheral societies than in the prosperous core nations (Tilly, 1975). Gurr (1970) attributed these conditions to the struggle for scarce resources. In general, the social sciences contain a number of explanations of terrorism. More specifically, however, not all social science disciplines contain equally well-developed perspectives of the study of terrorism. In particular, criminological elucidations of terrorism are less developed than clarifications offered in other social science disciplines, such as in political science and history (see LaFree 2005). Typically, criminologists draw upon a few general theories of violence to generate hypotheses about terrorism. Usually, the hypotheses are drawn from either relative deprivation or sub-cultural theories of violence (role of ideas in causing terrorist/unlawful behaviors). Relative deprivation has been used in the literature to express situations where citizens through measures of economic, political, or social standards have maintained feelings of deprivation when balanced with other citizens of their comparable positions in society (Young 1999). Indeed, the frustration generated from feelings of relative deprivation has been represented as a probable antecedent of political violence, such as terrorism, political unrests, and social movements (Gurr 1970; Young 1999).

It must be emphasized that criminologists are making important contributions to the terrorism literature while drawing upon other theories, even those from other disciplines in the study of crime and terrorism. LaFree (2005) alluded to this point when he observes that the study of terrorism, as well as criminological

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focus on crime, has been largely interdisciplinary. LaFree (2005:1) further insists, "On the positive side, this interdisciplinary focus has stimulated research and pushed the study of both terrorism and crime well beyond the bounds of a single discipline."

In its explanation of terrorism, criminology has not yet fully embraced historical issues like colonialism, imperialism, and neocolonialism as systems of economic, political, social and cultural domination. These issues are fundamental in criminology's quest to provide explanations for terrorism and to articulate important counter-measures against it. In deed, as a result of the recognition that economic, political, social, and culturally colonized (dominated, controlled) people have the ability to adopt the use of force or to stage armed struggles in their attempts to attain or achieve liberation, international terrorism may arise (Onwudiwe 2001a). Conversely, states may use official terrorism to maintain their vital economic, political, social, and cultural interests over the dominated or oppressed societies to maintain power and influence. Terrorism, therefore, has two faces. One represents individuals and groups within a nation who are trying to keep their economic resources and maintain independence; the other reflects the interest of states, which want to dominate and control the lives of the subjugated. Each sphere adopts terrorism to achieve liberation through political action (Onwudiwe 2001a).

In order to counter colonial oppression, resistance movements may become international in their attempt to be heard. Some also adopt terrorist tactics and strategies to achieve their political and economic place in the world economic distribution. In return, the powers that hold the key to the world economy may

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counter terrorism, resulting in the two faces of terrorism. This is clear in Fanon's emotional and intelligent accounts of the colonial system (Forsyth 1960; Fanon 1982), where he insisted that it is through violence alone that the masses can be liberated. It is also through violence that the masses can be suppressed.

Prior theories of crime and violence have not focused on the structures of colonialism, imperialism, and neocolonialism. However, some of the existing perspectives on crime and justice are embedded in undeveloped implications for terrorism. Some theories do not. World Systems Theory (WST) may fill this vacuum in criminological efforts to explain terrorism (Wallerstein 1979a; 1980). This is important since the relationship between WST and terrorism has not been given due consideration in criminological assessments of the causes of criminality and violence. It is also crucial because terrorism has not been defined in such a way as to incorporate the various actors that engage in this type of fierce crime. As the theory argues, a country's economic position in the world system (WS) contributes to the level of terrorism targeted against other nations in the world (Wallerstein 1979a; 1980).

In the defense of criminology, which emerged only as a separate academic discipline in the early 1970s, I must also accentuate that political science has long dominated theoretical perspectives over terrorism by focusing on theories of collective violence. Specifically, political scientists and historians have examined theories of revolution and guerrilla warfare, anarchism,

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fascism and nationalism (Gurr 1988; Stohl 1988). Criminologists have also looked at the disciplines of theology, religion, and philosophy for criminological understanding of terrorism (Kraemer 2004; Juergensmeyer 2003). Others have argued that, because religious terrorists believe that they are fulfilling the wishes of God, religion provides the motif for terrorism to occur (Hoffman 1995). Indeed, criminology—compared with political science and other social science disciplines—has the most important role to play in explaining terrorism by integrating some aspects of sociological and psychological explanations with criminological perspectives (LaFree 2005). Mueller (2002), in a paper presented at the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences, claims that terrorism essentially is within the scope of criminology. A former administrator in charge of the United Nations Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Office, Mueller (2002) identified six common elements, such as potential perpetrator, victim, target, purpose, goal, and motive that can be used to distinguish terrorism from other kinds of crimes. Additionally, LaFree (2005:1) queries why criminologists have not devoted a lot of research energy on terrorism when he opines as follows:

... given that one of the most widely accepted definition of criminology--provided by Edwin Sutherland more than 70 years ago--includes the study of "...the breaking of laws and reactions to the breaking of laws," it seems clear that the study of "the breaking of laws" would include terrorism. Like wise, "reactions to the breaking of laws" would also seem to be an integral part of understanding terrorism."

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Briefly, theories of criminality originated with the studies of Quetelet and Lombroso (Shelley, 1985). Shelley (1985) noted that early criminologists argued that the key concern of criminology was to explain the origin and distribution of crime in society, placing emphasis on social factors as the cause of crime. These scholars produced studies that permitted a comparison of the incidence of crime with such social factors as age, sex, poverty, geography, education, race, and economics. From the data presented by the two scholars, it becomes clear that poverty and other biological and psychological antecedents are the source of much crime (Shelley, 1985).

Biological and Psychiatric Theories of Terrorism

Cesare Lombroso (1876), best celebrated for his biological theory of atavism, insisted that criminals are evolutionary throwbacks to earlier stages of physiological development. This was an attempt to explain deviant behavior at the individual unit of analysis, by reference to the most rudimentary biological determinism (Jeffery 1965). Lombroso focused only on the characteristics of the individual offender and ignored the impact of environmental, social, economic, and historical factors on crime (Jeffery, 1965; Shelley, 1985). Biological researchers of terrorism believe that individuals involved in the cyclical nature of violence are characterized by hormonal imbalances and neurochemical variations in their brain functions (Hubbard 1993). They contend that terrorists have abnormal levels of norepinephrine,

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acetylcholine, and endorphins compounds in their body chemistry (O'Connor 2005; Hubbard 1993; Jeffery 1965). They also note that norepinephrine is more closely associated with terrorism than the other compounds because it deals with flight or fight (a state of arousal under stress in which organs operate more proficiently) machinery in individual body chemistry.

In a series of articles drawn from psychological perspectives, Post (1984; 1990) has aptly scrutinized the link between terrorism and mental illness. Based on the theories of psychiatry, he maintains that terrorists are products of dysfunctional childhood practices and a distorted sense of self-esteem. He uses the analogy of the terrorist mindset (personality characteristics) to conclude that mental illness induces people to commit crazy acts (O'Connor 2005). Furthermore, Hacker's (1977) earlier theory identified not only the criminal and crusader terrorists, but also the crazy terrorist. While perpetrators of the 9/11 havoc may not by any stretch of the imagination be deemed crazy, Post (1984) postulated on the Freudian Oedipus Complex by making a distinction between terrorists who hate the world of their fathers and those who defend the national mission of their fathers.

This psychological analysis is important since some studies (Bartol 1999) have shown that introverted terrorists, such as skyjackers, mail bombers, abortion clinic bombers, and those involved in suicide missions, may have experienced negative affections with their fathers during their early childhood developments. Bartol (1999) provides various analyses of the psychological profiles of criminals and terrorists, which may help in the fight against terrorism by understanding the terrorist

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mindset, frame of mind, and behavioral attitudes. Additionally, research indicates that terrorists of the radical ideological tradition are more likely to revolt against their father and acquire a deterministic desire to use violence because of low self-esteem (Post 1984).

Laqueur (1999) divides terrorists into two categories—fanatics (religious zealots) and extremists (political zealots). He believes, however, that all terrorists are fanatics and rejects any label of religious inference. Psychologically, fanaticism is characterized by mental illness. However, Laqueur (1999) insists that it is typified by excessive cruelty and sadism, and Taylor (1988) points to other characteristics such as despotism, a stringency of ideas, and derision for other alternative viewpoints. The acceptance of the terrorism mental illness linkage focuses on the premise that mentally ill individuals do not observe rules and regulations set by society, are erratic, and are unable to control their emotions (Bartol 1999). In view of the fact that they are apt to act irrationally at any given moment, crazy people are, therefore, potentially hazardous. If we also assume that people who commit violent acts are crazy and sick, we are also supposing the view that mentally ill people are unsafe and individuals who commit bizarre acts are psychologically unwell (Bartol 1999).

Sociological and Psychological Theories of Terrorism

Durkheim (1983) gave sociology its “raison d’être,” and pointed out that social facts like suicide rates can be studied adequately by

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examining specific social conditions in society. Durkheim also emphasized the impact of larger social developments on criminal behavior. Like Gabriel Tarde, Durkheim also emphasized the impact of larger social developments on criminal behavior. Unlike Lombroso, Durkheim's method was radical and required the theorist to remain at the societal level of analysis for explanations of social phenomena, rather than looking for deterministic psychological and biological factors (Rennie, 1978; Shelley, 1981; Vold and Bernard, 1986). Durkheim viewed crime, not only as a sign of progress, but as a social necessity (Rennie, 1978; Vold, Bernard and Snipes, 1998).

In short, Durkheim's thesis has been well received in criminology and has influenced the discipline (Vold, Bernard, and Snipes 1998). His study of suicide as a social phenomenon to be explained is imperative. Durkheim argued that during economic expansion, rising expectation "surpass the means at their command," expose people to stress, and result in suicide. He believed that the foundation of soaring crime rates in industrialized societies rest in anomic conditions caused by the swift shift from mechanical to organic states. Therefore, Durkheim attributed the high rate of crimes and other forms of vice to the breakdown of rules generated by the industrial revolutions. Durkheim's theory influenced the development of control, strain, and ecological theories in America (Vold, Bernard and Snipes 1998). In Durkheim's philosophy, law contributes in maintaining the social cohesion of the traditional and modern societies.

Another scholar who influenced criminological knowledge

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believed that crime rates increased rapidly with the industrialization of society (Marx 1981). Marx believed that it was important that people in society be productive in life and in work. He argued that industrialized societies have large numbers of unemployed and underemployed people. He believed that those who are jobless in such a society become demoralized and, therefore, have a proclivity for all forms of transgression and vice, including terrorism. Marx used the label Lumpenproletariat to describe this group of people who are unproductive and who exist outside of the system of economic production (Lynch and Groves, 1989).

Marx emphasized the necessity to study a society's economic process:

The economic structure of a society is the real foundation on which rise legal and political superstructures and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production in material life determines the general character of the social, political, and spiritual processes of life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but, on the contrary, their social existence determines their consciousness (Marx in Lynch and Groves, 1989:12).

Marx saw society as a product of force, constraint, and domination. An early Marxist criminologist, Willem Bongers (1916), provided support for the Marxian perspective on crime. He

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believed that criminal behavior is associated with the strains of life under capitalism (Lynch and Groves, 1989).

Some scholars have argued that relative powerlessness is a significant structural factor associated with the evolution of patterns of behavior that powerful actors may define as criminal, including terrorist acts of violence (See Chambliss and Seidman 1982; Quinney 1970). In his book, *The Social Reality of Crime*, Quinney (1970: 15) insists that “crime is a definition of human conduct that is created by authorized agents in a politically organized society.” The view that prejudice exists in mainstream criminological definition of crime, which favors only the wealthy and punishes the poor has also been expressed by Chambliss (1999). He contends that traditional criminology’s focus on predatory crimes echo’s the discipline’s middle-class favoritism. Thus, according to Chambliss (1999:18):

Along with law enforcement agencies and politicians, middle class bias criminologists reflect the middle class bias of their own social backgrounds. Despite a preponderance of evidence of the frequency and seriousness of white collar, corporate, and state crimes, middle class criminologists continue to believe that the “real crime problems” are the crimes that are disproportionately (though not exclusively) committed by members of the lower classes: Robbery, burglary, murder, rape, and theft.

Additionally, relative deprivation theory is not primarily a theory of crime, but it can be used to explain terrorist behavior in an urban environment (Shelley, 1985). Relative deprivation occurs

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in industrialized societies where lower class young males or ethnic minorities feel economically discriminated. It can also exist in developing societies, where new metropolitan residents seek to acquire material possessions that were never made available to them due to external and internal policies that have denied their human pride (Shelley, 1985). For example, after independence, most African leaders looted their state treasuries and became overnight millionaires (Onwudiwe 2001a). Those who have the least in such societies may be angry because the society's distribution of wealth is unjust. Therefore, relative deprivation combines economic inequality with feelings of resentment and injustice among those groups who have the least in such societies (Box, 1987; 1981). This has been demonstrated with the Palestinian suicide bombers, where such feelings of resentment characterized by poverty and inequality, may lead to terrorist acts of violence.

Criminology needs new ideas and perspectives that encourage diversity in the study of crime and terrorism. As this brief review of the history and theories of terrorism reveal, criminology offers a monolithic view that typically obstructs its object of study from the context in which it is enmeshed. Criminology must provide an appropriate context in which terrorism may be situated and understood (LaFree 2005). To further understand this context, the next section is devoted to the pertinent implications criminology and terrorism has for homeland security.

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DEVELOPMENT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND SECURITY AFTER 9/11, 2001

Undeniably, it is a truism today that the U.S. federal government initiated and created the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) after the tragedies and events of 9/11 (White 2006). September 11, 2001 also ushered in the development of security and homeland security programs in criminology departments. It is argued here that programs in homeland security created for the purpose of preventing human havocs, such as terrorist events should include terrorism and counter-terrorism courses as part of their pedagogy. Therefore, programs in homeland security must incorporate aspects of terrorism studies in order for students to have a comprehensive understanding of the issue. According to the DHS website, the Homeland Security Act of 2002 established the DHS to do the following:

- A. Prevent terrorist attacks within the United States;*
- B. Reduce the vulnerability of the United States to Terrorism; and*
- C. Minimize the damage, and assist in the discovery, from terrorist attacks that do occur within the United States.*

Some scholars have aptly noted that the tragedies of 9/11 encouraged politicians and policy makers in the United States to require states and local law enforcement agencies to participate in the protection of the native soil from terrorism (White 2004).

Based on the actions of 9/11 and the immediate anthrax postings, the U.S. government, groups, institutes, and citizens have

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called for greater security and safety of the American homeland (White 2004; Bullock et. al. 2005; Lexis-Nexis Editors 2004). A 9/11 Commission was also established, and its report reiterated the call for the development of the DHS. Subsequently, the federal government developed the DHS, which represents a comprehensive reorganization of the organs of the federal government. The U.S. Congress also passed several important new laws, including the U.S.A. Patriot Act (Onwudiwe 2005; Lexis-Nexis Editors 2004; Bullock et. al 2005).

Anti-Terrorism Laws

Comparatively, before analyzing the U.S. homeland security laws and regulations, I must first stress that America was not alone in developing internal security measures to guard against internal and external security threats. Inherent in the practice of maintaining internal and external peace, is the idea that freedom and safety of citizens has always been the hallmarks of civilized and democratic societies. It has always played a significant role in the democratic nations of Europe. Indeed, before the emergence of Al-Qaida, Great Britain passed a series of laws to quell the Irish Republican Army's onslaught against the citizens of England (White 2006). Germany, as a country, provides an excellent comparison since security has always occupied the minds of policymakers. Having endured inflation, the world's fiscal calamities of the late 1920s and early 1930s, draconic Nazi despotism and World War 11, Germans today cherish security and safety measures (Glaessner 2003). Like America, after September

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11, both the ruling and opposition parties in parliament approved and passed new anti-terrorism and security laws for the protection of German society (Glaessner 2003).

Such was the case in America as well, although we have witnessed attacks on some aspects of the laws. Opponents of the legislation seem to have forgotten about the 3000 lives that were lost as a result of 9/11. During this time (9/11 era), the concept of war was evoked to give the president the necessary legal authority for law enforcement action (Abrams 2003), even though it is debatable if the events that were perpetrated by Al-Qaida—an organization, not a nation—fall within the parameters of war doctrines (Koh 2002; Frank 2001; Nester 2001).

The Homeland Security Act of 2002 specifically established the DHS and its five directorates (Information Analysis and Infrastructure Protection; Science and Technology; Border and Transportation Security; Emergency Preparedness; and Response and Management), which was signed into law by President Bush on November 24, 2002 (White 2006; Bullock et. al 2005). The Act also reallocated several agency functions. Additionally, it established a Security Council to advise the President on safety issues.

Some of the laws established by the Act include aircraft safety (49 USCS 44918), arming pilots against terrorism (49 USCS 44921), cyber security enhancement (18 USCS 1030), purchase of explosives (18 USCS 841), and law enforcement authority (18 USCS 3051). The latter, which is very relevant to criminology and terrorism, authorizes government officers to “make arrests without

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warrant for offenses committed in their presence or for felonies on reasonable grounds.” While this may be controversial, the most debatable among all the post-9/11 laws is the USA Patriot Act of 2001 (Onwudiwe 2005).

This Act was primarily designed to “deter and punish terrorist acts in the United States and around the world, to enhance law enforcement investigatory tools, and for other purposes” (Bullock et al 2005: 33; Lexis-Nexis Editors 2004: XIV; Abrams 2003). In addition, the Act bestows the Attorney General of the United States with new-fangled authorities relating to civil liberties needed to fight a successful war on terrorism (Abrams 2003). Some of the new laws involve the enhancement of domestic security against terrorism, enhanced surveillance procedures, sharing of information, acquisition of foreign intelligence information, roving surveillance authority, increased surveillance duration, seizure of voice mails, expanded scope of subpoenas, emergency disclosure of customer communications, delay of notice of warrant execution, amendment of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA), nationwide warrant service, and restrictions on civil remedies for information disclosure, among others (Lexis-Nexis Editors 2004: XIV-XXV).

A COMMENTARY ON THE NEXUS BETWEEN CRIMINOLOGY, TERRORISM, AND HOMELAND SECURITY

There is an obvious connection between criminology,

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terrorism, and homeland security in America and national security of African nations. I posit that all the issues belong appropriately within the spheres of criminological inquiry. Since criminology focuses on crimes, and whereas terrorism constitutes depraved heart murder designed to instill fear on the populace, and because homeland security purports to defend against the actions of terrorists, then, they all have unique associations and are inseparable. If the purpose of terrorists is to instill fear and intimidate citizens or their victims and bring about reactions from individuals, organizations, and governments, it must be inferred that 9/11 certainly achieved that goal. This assessment can only be understood if terrorism experts pay more attention to the ideology of terrorism, which, in my conclusion, is the only practical way to defeat terrorism. If terrorists assume that they possess no legitimate means to address their grievances, they must believe that they can only succeed by using violence, which will allow governments to retaliate and respond. For terrorists, the essential purpose of violence is to instill fear, either through bombings, kidnappings, beheadings of innocent people, or by propaganda (White 2006). Terrorists believe that they will achieve their ideological goals and demands by employing methods of successful threats. If this view has any semblance of reality, Germany and the United States, as discussed above, have responded to September 11, 2001, because of the al- Qaida threats.

Both governments have instituted security measures to safeguard their respective countries from terrorism. Fisher (2005) indicates that American citizens were justifiably afraid because of 9/11. He also asserts that political decision makers were also worried as a result of the disaster that occurred on 9/11. According

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to Fisher (2005: 657):

“Prudent action to close the US airspace, borders, and so forth, as well as enhancing security in the aftermath was quite rational and very responsible. At some point, however, the words of Franklin D. Roosevelt would have proved quite instructive for all living within the USA, “we have nothing to fear but fear itself.” ... To live in the face of fear, to be undaunted, and to refuse to be traumatized by fear is denying the terrorist the opportunity to achieve his goal.”

Fisher (2005) persists that the US overreacted to the 9/11 attacks by changing existing laws, which in his view rewarded al-Qaida with the first goal of terrorism. Undermining the civil liberties of its people, policy makers demonstrated that fear is a recognized victory of terrorism (Fisher 2005). I will take a different view by recognizing doggedly that such laws were necessary in order to defeat terrorism. Citizens will have to sacrifice minimum aspects of their cherished rights if the enemies in our backyards are to be defeated. A sovereign nation need not exist if it cannot protect its citizens from terrorist cells. It is the duty of government under the social contract to provide adequate security for the people. Citizens expect and deserve such essential roles from their governments.

The DHS was created to achieve this expectation. It is therefore the function of criminology to analyze, study, and provide empirical evidence of the different areas of uncertainty

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(regarding civil liberties and the USA Patriot Act) that surround these laws and the role of the new domestic intelligence and preparedness as well as law enforcement in the protection of the homeland. Criminology is in a position to provide policymakers with the tools they need to make laws and policies that will defend the nation, and at the same time guard those essential rights ingrained in the lives of the populace. The nexus is clear and direct between criminology, terrorism and homeland security. However, future studies should examine the direct links between criminology and homeland security, such as the recent contrived attack by some terrorist cells to raze John F. Kennedy International Airport (JFK) in New York. The success of the DHS agents to foil the attack demonstrates a unique role of criminology or law enforcement in the prevention of loss of human lives and property (Goldman 2007).

The global society is borderless (Onwudiwe 2001b; Orłowski 1997), characterized by technological innovations that involve issues of cyber security (Rudasill and Moyer 2004), natural disasters, contractor fraud, and preparedness (Davila, Marquart and Mullings 2005), ambient intelligence (Wright 2005), tools for the war on terror (Nunn 2003), technology and privacy (Fifarek 2002), and public safety (Lyons 2002), all of which also are within the scope of criminology. To ignore this nexus is to ignore the very existence of our nascent and burgeoning discipline.

Understanding the history and theories of terrorism will equally be beneficial to the African nations, such as Nigeria, which is now beginning to experience the bane of terrorism in the form of ethnic protests, kidnappings, and bombings. In a recent issue of

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the International Journal of African Studies, African scholars have started probing the issue of terrorism and Africa from different perspectives. For example, Onwudiwe (2006a; 2006b) discusses the nature and theory of terrorism in Africa by examining its definitional and ideological problems. In a stimulating article, Okereafoezeke (2006) deals with the subject of legalism, tradition, and terrorism in Nigeria. Professor Okereafoezeke explores, through a case study of terrorism in Nigeria, an aspect of terrorism that is rarely apparent. Opolot (2006) surveys the interconnections between environmental crimes, security, and terrorism in Africa, while Munene (2006) insists that Africa and the United States need to build an alliance in the war against terror. Scholars interested in this area of research may wish to review these articles as we move ahead with further studies concerning terrorism and Africa.

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