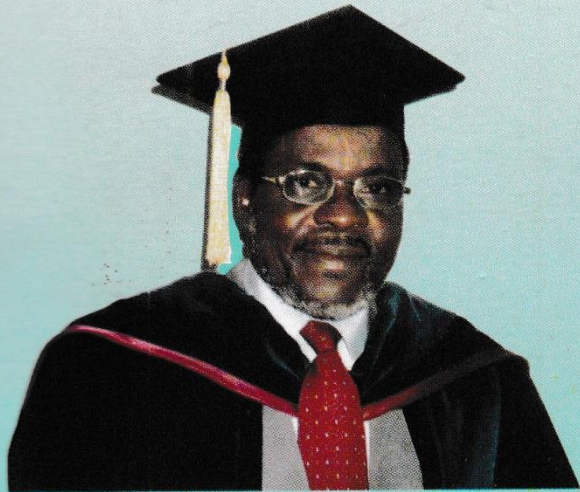


HUMANISM, GLOBALIZATION
And
**THE RELEVANCE OF
PHILOSOPHY**

*A festschrift in honour
of*



Professor Udo Akpan Etuk

Edited By:
Uduma O. Uduma
Francis Etim

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First Published, 2016

ISBN:978-0010109-9

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Published by:
Inbonet Resources
58 Grace Bill Road, Eket
Akwa Ibom State
(08023561019)

Cover Design: Comm-watch Productions (63 Nwaniba Road,
Uyo, AKS)

Printed by COMM-Watch Productions
63 Nwaniba Rd, Uyo

THE CRIMINOLOGY OF RELEVANCE AND THE RELEVANCE OF CRIMINOLOGY: AN INVITATION TO CRIME SCIENCE**

Aniekan S. Brown, Ph.D

Department of Sociology & Anthropology

University of Uyo Nigeria

Email:

Abstract

Udo Etuk (2007) in his *Inaugural Lectures* advocated for "the philosophy of relevance and relevance of philosophy". Inspired by this thought and given the complexity of crime and its impact globally due to the influence of globalization, this work appraised the extent to which extant theories and methods of criminology have met the goal of crime control over the years. It ascertained that the state of the discipline is risking irrelevance in the near future if there is no drastic shift from the traditional criminological-"pure" science approach to a more future-securing "applied-crime-science" approach. To contextualize criminology and make it relevant to the contemporary world, particularly to Nigeria, the paper advocated for the re-ordering of the discipline's mission, theory, research methods and attention to applications and audience. It is this adaptability that will ensure the continuous relevance of the discipline as an applied science.

Introduction

Arguably, no academic discipline can become institutionalized without a worth of relevance. The field of criminology, therefore, cannot be an exemption. However, the relevance of the discipline risks extinction if new methods and theories are not constantly developed to meet contemporary needs. According to George Vold and Thomas Bernard (1986), the

evolution of disciplines does not just occur, rather; they are predicated on historical realities and the challenges. In their words:

Much is already known about the phenomenon of crime. Further development in theoretical criminology will result primarily from making sense out of what we already know.

The field of criminology is traditionally viewed from the perspectives of the sociology of law, scientific analysis of the causes and effects of crime and crime control. However, more contemporary views would emphasize detection and treatment of the offender, as well as the explanation of crime and criminal behaviour (Jeffery, 1998). Little wonder Barak (1998) observes that criminology as an inter-disciplinary profession is built around the scientific study of crime and criminal behaviour including their forms, causes, legal aspects and control. Thus, the dynamics of behavioural predispositions that favour criminal activity (criminality) in a porous security environment remains a threat to humanity.

Since criminality is dynamic, it behoves of criminology and criminologist to be dynamic in order to meet the demands of relevance. The ability to adapt has over the years been the hallmark of criminology. This fact is emboldened by the epochal explanatory drifts that have always characterized the discipline. Such schools include: the classical and neo-classical, the positivist/biological roots, the psychological and psychiatric explanations, as well as the social processes and social structure perspectives. Notably, these have periodically made criminology green at various times, but lately they have proved to be insufficient and the discipline is losing its relevance as an academic discipline and a profession

This paper attempts to present a panoramic survey of the

above-listed perspectives, raise their gray areas and points a way forward for the continuous relevance of the discipline/profession of criminology which would be very scientific and devoid of quackery, because as a science, it must be logical, systematic, fact-based, empirical, replicable, public and problem-solving.

The Classical and Neo-Classical Explanations

Schmallerger (1999) notes that the classical perspective flourished in the late 1700s and early 1800s with roots in the Enlightenment movement which held firmly to the position that human beings are naturally rational. In which case, crime was harbingered by the exercise of free will, and that punishment would effectively serve as a deterrent to the commission of crime. It thus explained crime in the context of the pleasure-pain motivation, with its attendant proportional punishment without mitigation to deter the committing of crime. Bentham (1989) explains that nature has located mankind under the control of two sovereign/dictatorial masters, namely: pain and pleasure. This view was conceived as *hedonistic calculus* or *utilitarianism*. To moderate the dictatorship, Baccara (1993) argues that the more promptly and closely punishment follows the commission of crime, the more just and useful such punishment would be for the society.

The Classical school is criticized as being too concerned with laws, "arm-chairish", overwhelmed with the idea of free-will, fanciful judgement or rating of punishment and abstracts but not concern with concrete realities. Katz (1988) attempted to fill the gap created by this criticism of the classical school by emphasizing the degree of offenders' responsibility. His position was also criticized because of its emphasis on "will and responsibility" which introduced an impossible basis for ascertaining the action of judges, jurists and criminal justice experts. The stressed the criticism against Katz, however, was on the scientific error of equating the social origins of the concept of responsibility to the abstract and

metaphysical notions without taking cognizance of reality. Added to this, was the impossibility of creating uniform standards of judgement without taking freedom and responsibility into consideration.

The Positivist/Biological Roots

The failures of the Classical and Neo-classical schools heralded the evolution of the Positivist/Biological school which was made popular by Cesare Lombroso. His interest was inspired by the evolutionary thesis of Charles Darwin with the root serving as the earliest scientific explanatory foundation of criminology. This was, however, sequel to the works of Adolphe Quetelet and Andoe Michel Guerry who compiled the first criminal statistics and used same to predict and compare crime (Barlow, 1996). This generated the interest of Emile Durkheim in studying crime as a social fact moulded by the very environment of which it was an integral part; thereby, providing a break from the Classical and Neo-classical schools (Gerland, 1985).

Thereafter, the dominant thoughts of crime argued that crimes were caused; not chosen (Pfohl, 1985). This notion led Lombroso to believe that behaviours and actions of criminals were different from that of law-abiding people. The challenge therefore was to ascertain how criminals differed from law-abiding people. He then embarked on a study of thousands of individuals searching for physiological evidence of the link between criminal behaviour and biological forces. He discovered that criminals characterized by some physical anomalies like asymmetrical cranium, a receding chin, a low forehead, large ears, too many fingers, a sparse beard, protruding lips, low sensitivity to pain and deformities of the eye.

Principally, the positivist/biological school noted three classes of criminals, namely: born criminals, the insane criminals and the criminaloids. In summary, the school saw the offender as being strongly influenced, if not completely determined, by his/her

inordinate physiological constitution (Wilson and Herrnstein, 1985). It also advocated the adoption of penalty to the individual personality of the criminal to serve as deterrence. Sadly, the theory left no room for the influence of the psychological and social environments on crime and criminals. This created a basis for the need of considering psychological and sociological explanations in the subsequent era

The Psychological and Psychiatric Schools

These schools mainly attempt answers to questions that border on a possible criminal personality (Vold and Bernard, 1986). Theories were derived from the behavioural sciences and focus on the individual as the unit of analysis. Here, the personality of the individual offender is the focus of crime causation (Schmallerger, 1999), with conditioning and psychopathology as the major variables. For them, crimes are as a result of abnormal, dysfunctional, or inappropriate mental processes within the personality. The schools also posit that in spite of the position of social groups, criminal behaviour may be a purposeful action whereby the individual offender addresses felt needs.

Sub-strands of the schools include the psychiatric criminology otherwise known as the forensic psychiatry which held sway in the 1930s with emphasis on psychopath, sociopath, antisocial, and asocial personality (Cleckley, 1984). The other is the psychoanalytic criminology propagated by Sigmund Freud in the 1920s. It presents an interesting sub-strand which emphasizes the concepts of Id, Ego, Super Ego, psychotherapy, neurosis, psychosis and schizophrenia.

In the 1940s, Albert Bandura, Richard Walters and others developed the Frustration-Aggression strand of the schools which emphasizes the concepts of frustration, aggression, displacement, catharsis, alloplastic and autoplatic adaptation (Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mowrer, and Sears, 1989). For these authors, the Behaviour theory which emphasizes operant behaviour, conditioning, stimulus-response, reward and punishment in the context of B. F.

Skinner also played a dominant role in explaining crime causation in the 1940s. Then came the Social Learning theory in the 1950s which opined that people learn how to behave by modeling themselves after others whom they consider significant with interpersonal aggression, modeling and disengagement are some of the major concepts (Bandura, 1991).

In sum, the schools consider crime from the perspectives of psychoanalysis and learning. Thus, a person becomes a criminal when the definitions favourable to breaking the law outweigh the definitions favourable to non-violation. For this reason, criminal behaviour is an expression of needs and values. However, the unanswered questions against these schools border on the realities that other human beings may also have needs and values but elect not to break the law and deviate from established norms; as such crime cannot be explained in terms of those needs and values.

Social Structure and Social Process Perspectives

These perspectives attempt to explain crime causation from the standpoint of the role of the social environment. It thus emphasizes on the issues of statuses, roles, and institutions, otherwise known as the sociological theories, the social-structural approaches Ecological theory or the "Chicago-School", the culture conflict, Differential Association, Sub-cultural theory, Strain or Anomie theory, Social Control approaches, and the Life Course theories.

Stressing on the geographic, concentric and demographic aspects of societies and social disorganization as pivotal causes of crime and victimization, the likes of Ernest Burgess and Clifford Shaw made the Ecological theory (Chicago School) attractive in the 1920s and 1930s. They mapped out areas and clusters that were crime-prone for which they termed the "Delinquent Areas". Here, social ecology is emphasized as it attempts to link the structure and organization of any human community to interactions with its

localized environment (Haggett, 1997).

In the 1930s, Thorsten Sellin developed the Culture Conflict theory which posited that the root cause of crime could be found in the clash of values between social groups as to the norms for proper behaviour. The Cliff-hanger of the theory is in the concept of conduct norms which are the shared expectations of a social group relative to personal conduct (Sellin, 1988). Closely related to the Culture conflict theory is the Sub-cultural theory which has spanned since the 1920s to the present time. Frederick Thrasher, Gresham Sykes, David Matza and others are some of the major proponents. The theory highlights violent and delinquent subcultures and the role of variously socialized cultural groups in the development of crime. Put differently, a collection of values communicated through the process of socialization makes for crime (Whyte, 1993). Methodologically, the theory considers Focal Concerns (the key values of any culture, and especially the key values of a delinquent subculture) as the main focus for research (Miller, 1958).

The Differential Association theory of Edwin H. Sutherland emerged between the 1930s and 1960s with the view that criminal behaviour is learned through a process of association with others who share criminal values (Sutherland, 1940 in Tepperman, 2006). The theory is simply explained in the adages: "Show me your friend and I'll tell you who you are", and "Birds of the same feathers flock together". The theory considers the technique, the commission, the frequency, duration, priority, and intensity of association and crime.

The 1930s also witnessed the emergence of the Strain or Anomie theory emerged as pivoted by Robert Merton, Richard Cloward, Lloyd Ohlin and Albert Cohen. The theory, blames crime on the disconnect between socially and Sub- culturally sanctioned means and goals. Goals, means, opportunity structures, differential opportunity, and reaction formation are the principal concepts. Agnew (1992) notes that strain occurs when: an individual is prevented from achieving positively valued goals; his valued

facilities are denied him; or a favoured competitor/opponent is available. Cloward and Ohlin (1990) note that as the society sets goals for everyone, the means of meeting these goals are not evenly distributed, as the opportunity structure is highly stifled. As a result, those who legitimately access the opportunity structure become different from those who have impeded access.

However, the Strain theorists observe that crime is not due to the imperfect nature of man as a society devoid of crime would have necessitated a standardization of moral concepts for all individuals, which is neither possible nor desirable. Also, the fact that crime occurs in all societies, and in all stages of their development, makes it needful for crime to be scientifically termed as normal (Durkheim, 2001). Thus, Merton (1968) argues that deviant behaviour/crime is a product of social structure, and holds that the socio-cultural structure of the society pressurizes people into committing crime. While the Differential Association theory is criticized by largely being unstable and insufficient in explaining crime, the strain theory is criticized as being too irrelevant in societies with improved success opportunities; for being unable to locate people suffering from discrepancy as human optimism could override the aspiration: expectation interplay between aspiration and achievement (Hirschi, 1987). Arguably, not all those exposed to the same social structure behave alike.

The social process perspective is micro-sociological in nature and stem from the fact that people in the same social settings still behave differently (Barlow, 1996). Interweaving with the learning, socialization and Differential Association theories mentioned earlier, the theory holds that criminal behaviour is learned in the interaction with other persons in the process of communication. Within the interpersonal groups, techniques, motives, drives, rationalizations and attitudes are the common variables informed by the definitions of the legal codes (whether favourable or unfavourable). In addition, delinquency emerges when favourable

definitions to violations emerge; differential association may vary in frequency, duration, priority and intensity; the processes of learning criminal behaviour are as those of learning other behaviours. Indeed, while criminal behaviour is an expression of general needs strategy to meet express values; it may not be so in every situation, since non-criminal behaviour is an expression of the same needs and values (Sutherland and Cressey, 1994).

Social process theories are seen in the interactionist perspectives because of the triangular interplay between the offender, victim and the society (the criminal justice system). For instance, the labeling perspective sees continued crime as a result of limited opportunities for acceptable behaviour which stems from the negative responses of society to those defined as offenders (Becker, 1993). The labeling explanation thrived in the 1930s and got revamped in the 1990s. It is, however, criticized for having no explanation for the origin of crime. It also lacks firm empirical support for the idea of secondary deviance as a consequence of official labeling and association with those so labeled as criminals (Martin, 1990).

Another interactionist perspective, *Dramaturgy*, emerged in the 1960s. Inspired by the scholarship of Erving Goffman, the theory views the purposeful management of impressions as the crux of human behaviour. Emphasis is on performances, fractured identity and stigma. It has, however, been criticized for being an amalgam of concepts; not a consistent theoretical framework (Taylor, 1968). Beyond this, the existence of criminal reality through exploration of the worldview attributive of committed career offenders resulted in the phenomenological criminology in the 1970s with emphasis on phenomenological method, criminology, social construction of reality, and criminal worldview as the pivotal concepts. The challenge here now is to study the contents of human consciousness without regard to external conventions or prior assumptions (Schmallerger, 1999). The perspective has been criticized as being nihilistic, and difficult to test and verify.

From a single-sided perspective, victimology evolved. It studies victims of crime and the contributory roles in crime causation (Davis, Lurigio, and Skogan, 1997). It attends to victim proneness, victim-precipitated homicide, victimogenesis, restitution, victim impact statements, and victim as a social construct (Quinney, 1972). Theorists here are criticized for emphasizing on the victim, instead of the offender (Ryan, 1995).

The emergence of integrated theory led Sampson and Laub (1993) to develop the Life Course theory. The theory highlights the development of criminal careers which result from various criminogenic influences that impact individuals throughout the course of their lives. The theory is driven by career criminality, cohorts, social capital, evolutionary ecology, among other concepts. As the name implies, the theory is motivated by the idea of the life course through which all individuals travel from birth to death. The course consists of trajectories and transitions. Emphasis here is on the quality of social ties not discrete life events. The challenge of the theory is to unravel how continuity and change combine to promote or demote antisocial behaviour (Shaw, 1992). This theory is, however, most applicable in situations where the origins, factors that sustain criminal behaviours, and the reason(s) why some individuals cease from law-violating behaviours which others hold fast (Earls and Reiss, 1994; and Brown, 2006).

The above discussed theories have variously shown tremendous capacity to explain crime causation having regards to eras and places. They, however, are not without shortcomings, particularly with regards to the dynamics of crime and society. Some theories show strength within a time frame and fail in subsequent periods because of advancement in formation gathering device, criminal sophistication, global effort and community participation in crime control, etc (Zalman, 2005; Inciardi, 2007; Crow and Semmens 2008; and Pepper, 2010). Fundamentally since theories are always :

step behind reality, they mostly prove to be stale and less interesting when considered in the context of contemporary criminality and crime situations (Bennett and Hess, 2001; Swanson, Chamelin and Ternito, 2003; Welsh and Harris, 2004; and Saferstein, 2011). Consequently, the need arises for a departure from traditional criminology to crime science.

Invitation to Crime Science

Indeed, crime is not static but dynamic and as such existing patterns certainly get displaced by new ones (Bennett, 2007). This is because the present world is advancing more to technology. Manson and Ardai (2012) note that as surely as the future will bring new forms of technology, it will also bring new forms of crime. Such dimensions include: internet computer crimes, telecommunication crimes, support for criminal enterprises, hard and software thefts as well as white and blue crimes. Heeding the warning by Wilson (1975) that if criminologists did not refrain from framing theories in terms of unchangeable variables, the field would be doomed to irrelevance, Clarke (2004) opines the need to glide from criminology to crime science in the areas of mission, theory, research methods, as well as applications and audience. Equally, crime science will accommodate academic discipline as well as professional practice.

From Criminology to Crime Science: The Mission

Over the decades, criminologists have emphasized on: understanding the criminal; quest for long-term reform(s); assistance to the helpless criminal who is an underdog in the social equation; dealing with the discipline as a pure science; the drive by theories and theorizing; and avoidance of policy. As a result, criminology has somehow failed to really contribute to crime prevention and control (Clarke, 2004). This could be gleaned from Von Hirsch, Garland and Wakefield (2000) submission that criminologists have been somewhat blind to the very real

intellectual challenges of devising effective ways of plummeting crime rate while ensuring ethical and social responsibility.

To stem the grotesque trend, crime science would prefer understanding crime (not the criminal), immediate crime reduction, in this case, in place of long-term approach (which would be largely speculative). Reduction of harm to victims should be emphasized (not assistance to the criminal/offender). Virtues of applied science should supersede pure science. Thus, drive by the crime problem should be the primary motivation (not theory) for criminologists to embrace policy.

From Criminology to Crime Science: The Theory

The extant theories have emphasized the primacy of distant causes of crime, opportunity as a mere secondary issue, crime as being just pathological (crime as a social illness), the why (reason) of crime, dispositions to crime, motivation for crime, anomie (normlessness), subcultures and conflict; as well as psychiatry and law as the baseline disciplines.

Coming from this horizon, the future of criminology should therefore, be more inclined to applied science and immediate causes. Opportunity for crimes should be central (not secondary or peripheral) to theory and theorizing. Crime should be seen as normal (not pathological). The "how" (mode/method) should be considered above the "why". Of course, criminologists have spent decades to discuss reasons for crime but little energy has been dissipated on how crime is committed hence- paltry result as per crime control. Choice should be placed above criminal dispositions and the rewards for crime should be tackled head-on instead of hovering around criminal motivation. Rather than emphasize on Anomie, subcultures, and conflict theory; the Rational choice and Routine Activity theories should be more utilized (Clarke and Felson, 1993; and Clark and Eck, 2003). Criminologists should also factor-in Economics, Geography, Biology, Town Planning, Demography,

Computer Science, and Engineering. It should not be limited to Sociology, Psychiatry, Psychology and Law.

From Criminology to Crime Science: The Research Methods

Contemporary criminology stresses cohort studies, criminal careers, Regression Analysis, Self-Reported Delinquency, Randomised control trials, and long term indepth studies. Applied science would rather prefer: crime patterns (to cohort studies); Hot Spots (to Criminal careers); crime mapping (to Regression analysis); Victim surveys (to self-reported delinquency); crime specific case studies (to randomized control studies); and Rapid appraisal techniques (to long term indepth studies). These preferences would facilitate the glide to crime science.

From Criminology to Crime Science: The Applications and Audience

When criminologists become more interested in tackling the upstream instead of the downstream sector in the criminal justice process, they would automatically prefer policing to sentencing and treating of offenders (Brown, 2006). Businesses, industries and organizations would be more involved as they are increasingly in the orbit of crime and the control of crime (Felson, 1997). Criminologists of the future should, therefore, not neglect business, organizations and industries (Felson, 1998; Clarke 2004, and Brown, 2006).

The difference between criminology and the advocated crime science in terms of applications and audience are tersely presented on the table below.

Table 1: Typology of Criminology in Differential Application to Realities

	Orthodox Criminology	Crime Science
(i)	Crime and delinquency in general	Specific crimes and disorder problems
(ii)	Sentencing/treatment/social prevention	Detection/Deterrence/situational prevention
(iii)	Social workers/probation officers	Police/planners/security industry
(iv)	Social policy makers	Business and management
(v)	Scholarly treatises	Policy briefs
(vi)	Career in the academic	Careers in prevention/security/police

Source: Clarke, (2004)

Conclusion

This has been a library research suggesting and calling on criminologists to chart a new course towards attaining the status of an Applied Science. It noted that, over the decades, criminologists have tried hard though unsatisfactory at explaining crime causation. This scenario has risked of making the discipline and practice to be irrelevant in the near future.

To stem the tide, the paper, inspired by Etuk (2007) and Clarke (2004) advocates a radical departure from traditional criminological disposition to the clime of crime science. The compass for the needed departure is to focus on the areas of mission, theory, research methods as well as applications and audience. The discipline should be more directed at the prevention and control of crime from the upstream sector and play down on theories that blame crime on the platform of the disadvantaged folks of the society. It should be more concerned with policing, security and crime prevention. As it moves to enthrone scientific ideals, the starting point should be data base from which resulting analyses would point to the ways forward practically.

Finally, while this paper does not claim to have empirically processed the proffered positions, there is, no doubt that the contemporary dimensions of crime (including cyber crimes and terrorism) have gone beyond the confines of exiting offers by the traditional capacity of the discipline. Therefore, criminology today needs transformation and the way to go is crime science (Vold and Bernard, 1986). The starting point should be for criminologists to

comparatively and empirically study the issues highlighted here. With this, more progress and relevance would have been made out of the discipline and professional practice of criminology.

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* *This work is principally inspired by Udo Etuk (2007). The Philosophy of Relevance and the Relevance of Philosophy, 16th Inaugural Lecturer, University of Uyo, January 25.*

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