

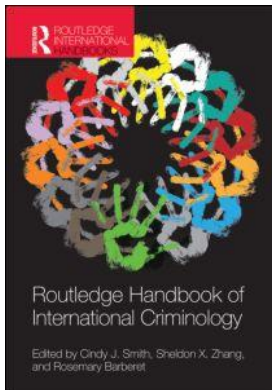
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Cindy J. Smith, Sheldon X. Zhang, Rosemary Barberet

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Juanjo Medina

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Doing criminology in the “semi-periphery” and the “periphery”

In search of a post-colonial criminology

Juanjo Medina

Introduction

This chapter aims to reflect on some of the challenges facing criminologists doing criminological research “in the periphery”; that is, outside those countries with a more established and solid criminological community and research tradition. Being from the semi-periphery and maintaining strong links with it, I have spent most of my academic life working in the North Transatlantic “core,” namely the US and the UK. It should be clear from the outset that my own understanding of the challenges facing criminology outside the core has been powerfully colored by my own personal experiences and those of researchers closer to me. In this sense I am more familiar with the challenges encountered in my own home country (Spain), and other Spanish-speaking countries, as compared to the US and the UK than elsewhere. Nevertheless, I also believe that the challenges facing Spanish-speaking criminologists are not unique, but representative in many ways of many other national realities.

Often in the social sciences the apparent impartiality and neutrality of the rules of the game we aspire to follow in the production of knowledge blind us to the ingrained social and economic inequalities that shape the structure of our field and the consequently biased specificities of knowledge associated with this structure. Although awareness towards some forms of “written out criminological knowledge” (that produced by minority scholars or females) has increased in recent times, criminology remains structured in such a way that knowledge produced in the periphery continues to be neglected and often considered of an insufficient standard. That this has taken place despite the significance of post-colonial theory in other areas of the social science contributes to the reputation of criminology among non-criminologists social scientists as a rather conservative or middle-of-the-ground enterprise. This chapter intends to develop a greater appreciation for this “written out” criminology and for the scholars who work in these environments.

Before I begin describing some of the challenges, it is worthwhile briefly discussing the ideas of the “core,” “periphery” and “semi-periphery”. The concepts of core and periphery were popularized and developed by Wallerstein (2004) in his world systems theory. Wallerstein suggested that the world economy is organized around two interdependent regions (core and periphery) hierarchically related, in which the powerful and wealthy “core” societies dominate and exploit “weak” and poor peripheral societies. In his account, technology and science play a

central role in this positioning and the peripheral countries are constrained to experience a type of development reproducing their subordinate status. According to Wallerstein's account semi-peripheral states act as a buffer zone between core and periphery. Wallerstein used these concepts to highlight the profound economic differences across the world and to challenge the idea of modernization as a driver of development.

I use these terms in a rather loose way, not as absolute categories but as representing different points in a continuum, and not in the strict Wallerstein sense. It is clear that the US is the country, followed by the UK, with a more established criminological community as represented by a number of indicators (the number of universities offering degrees, the number of PhD students, and the number of journals), and that therefore sits clearly in what we could call the "core." This is, for example, clearly reflected in the data of attendance to the European Society of Criminology conference. Since its first annual meeting in Lausanne in 2001 and with the exception of the Tübingen annual meeting in 2006, the largest contingent of criminologists attending the meeting have come from the UK, often with a proportion of two to one with the second country in the list. Equally, although this is a European conference, criminologists from the US have always figured as one of the top five most represented countries in this conference (Nobli and Crocitti, 2008).

Even if we admit that the US and the UK represent the core, the semi-periphery and the periphery are more diffused categories. For example, where do you locate Canada, Australia or the Netherlands? If we were to talk of a semi-periphery in criminology given its current level of development we could possibly locate most of continental Europe and some other English-speaking countries, and then a "periphery" where our discipline is even more diluted in a landscape where historically criminology may have a more troublesome past of justifying authoritarian repression (Aniyar de Castro, 1987; Huggins, 1998) or colonial domination (Agozino, 2004).

Different degrees of academic institutionalization: problems for recognition and stable careers

Disciplines are intellectual categories, cultures and institutional structures (Wallerstein, 2003). In this latter sense, as institutional structures (e.g. departments in universities, specialized degrees, scholarly journals, national associations, shelves in bookstores), a review of the situation of criminology across different countries reveals a continuum of development with the core countries at one end with fully developed structures and periphery countries on the other, striving for institutional recognition and organizational autonomy.

In the US and the UK some consider this discipline has grown so much that it needs to be reconsidered (Garland, 2008). Indeed, one of the first challenges that scholars outside the core countries face is gaining recognition for their work and an institutional space where they can carry out their work. This limited institutionalization has repercussions for achieving a sense of respect for their work and it also implies limited reward in the development of one academic career. The problem of inadequate recognition for the discipline is magnified in countries with a more bureaucratic, rigid and formalistic university environment where, such as in Italy or Spain, academic subjects fall within bureaucratically established areas crucial for recruiting faculty as well as attracting government funding (Maffei and Merzagora Betsos, 2007, p. 465). Criminology in these institutions does not have the formal recognition as an academic discipline in its own right.

In countries where criminology is not a recognized discipline, criminological research is often carried out as a "part time" enterprise (Barberet, 2005), subject to low pay, in the context of criminal law, and surrounded by colleagues with little knowledge of the culture, development and recognition of the discipline. Scholars in criminology are ostracized from their "parent"

disciplines and often have to justify the relevance of their existence to their peers. Criminologists often have to migrate to the UK and the US to continue their careers (Oberwittler and Hofer, 2005). Those who stay may pay the price of personal isolation and greater difficulty in gaining academic promotions and appointments, because they are judged by others with little criminological knowledge. In Spain, for example, many colleagues of my generation are still in contracts with pay and stability equivalent to those of graduate teaching assistants despite their remarkable achievements. Not surprisingly, in these contexts scholars interested in criminology have a vested interest in advocating for greater recognition by university authorities and government funding (Redondo Illescas, 2001; Medina Ariza, 2002).¹ Research is still carried out by these scholars, who face adverse environments while pursuing the satisfaction of being national pioneers no matter what field they explore. However, these challenges hamper the stability required by researchers to produce work that can compete internationally.

Different degrees of the “governmental project”: the role of administrative criminology

The relationship between science and policy in the field of criminology is without doubt a complex one that is played out in different ways in different countries. However, the level of commitment by the state towards the development of knowledge about crime and criminal justice often goes a long way in explaining why criminology has become institutionalized in some countries but not in others.

When writing about the origins of British criminology, Garland (1997, p. 12) contended that “modern criminology grew out of the convergence of two quite separate enterprises: the ‘governmental project’ and the ‘Lombrosian project.’” The first was linked to state efforts to develop a more efficient and equitable crime control system and the second was orientated towards developing a better understanding of crime. It was only the combination of these two that proved essential to the academic institutionalization of criminology. Equally, across the world the institutionalization of criminology as an academic discipline and recognized field of research has been closely linked to the interest of different states in producing knowledge about the functioning of their respective criminal justice systems.

It is perhaps no accident that in the two countries with the largest and most productive criminological communities, the UK and the US, crime features prominently as a cultural phenomenon that is taken seriously by citizens and politicians (Garland, 2001). These are also the countries in which policy makers and government administrators are also, at least rhetorically, committed to the notion of “evidence based policy” or of “experimenting society.”

One factor common in the US and the UK is the strong government support for criminological research. This support is evidenced by the many government agencies, such as the Home Office Research and Statistics Directorate, the Bureau of Justice Statistics or the National Institute of Justice, which carry out internal research or fund external projects. Although the political, theoretical and methodological agenda of these institutions, as well as their practices, is often questioned by criminologists of a critical disposition as being too conservative in nature and narrowly focused, this “administrative criminology” produces a large body of information, resources and governmental positions that simply do not exist in most other countries.

In other words, although administrative criminology can be manipulated (Hope, 2004) and create problems of its own for crime control policy and for academic researchers (Walters, 2003), it also helps to create a vibrant field of criminology in these countries. These government research institutions have developed rich data about their criminal justice institutions, crime prevention schemes and their respective crime problems. Critically they may also have contributed to a

culture of “relative” transparency among criminal justice agencies that encourages data quality and outcome measures. Van Swaaningen’s (2006) account of the role of the Dutch Ministry of Justice’s Research and Documentation Centre (WODC) and the Netherlands Institute for the Study of Crime and Law Enforcement clearly illustrate the important role these institutions play in shaping the field of criminology at the national level.

On the other hand, government-sponsored criminological research cannot be taken for granted. As Liu (2009) points out, “frequently, governments consider crime-related data to be politically sensitive and are reluctant to disclose them to researchers.” In most countries around the world there are few agencies comparable to the Home Office Research and Statistics Directorate or the National Institute of Justice. This has significant implications for the type of statistical information that is being gathered, its transparency and quality standards on data collection methods.² The absence of government involvement restricts funding to research projects. Such absence tends to diminish the rhetorical weight of criminologists in policy and political decision making.

The rich data generated by government agencies in the UK and the US do not automatically translate into good policy. In fact, it is rather puzzling to realize how incredibly punitive, regressive and counterproductive criminal justice policies are in the UK and the US despite the amount of information available to policy makers in these two countries. This contradiction demonstrates that the “experimenting society” and the “Maryland” approach to criminal justice policy are based on a rather candid view of the world of politics. Evidence-based policy often turns into policy-driven evidence (Matthews, 2009).

The paradoxical result of this is that in countries with a more established criminological tradition we can witness the development of critical interpretations of “administrative” or governmental criminology. In the periphery, “critical” or “public” criminologists are the ones who often have to carry out the basic “positivistic” descriptive research about the function of the criminal justice system that we often associate with administrative criminology. In contexts where discussions about crime policy do not even consider data about the realities of the criminal justice system, generating these data to inform debates has a strong critical edge and often becomes one of the main tasks of academic researchers hoping to elevate the tone of the policy debate and to ground it in the everyday realities of criminal justice. This has implications as well for the limited international recognition and relevance granted to the work of these scholars that will normally be perceived as too descriptive, basic or of little relevance to the Anglo-American experience.

It’s the money, stupid . . .

Data from the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development show that there is significant variation across countries in their civil research and development expenditure. It is difficult to access cross-national data on social science research expenditure and even more so on criminological research expenditure. In this context, it is difficult to judge claims by researchers based in different countries complaining about the lack of access to sufficient research funds (Kerezi and Levay, 2008; Olafsdottir and Bragadottir, 2006; O’Donnell, 2005; Barberet, 2005). This is a common complaint among researchers no matter how abundant research funds are in their own respective country, particularly given the increased competitiveness for these resources. Yet the lack of clear and comparable quantitative indicators cannot prevent us from highlighting the relevance of differential expenditure on criminological research by both private and public institutions as an additional challenge facing criminologists in the periphery. There is no question that (1) these differences exist, even if it is hard to quantify them, and that (2) they do have a significant impact on the type of research one can do and its impact. The literature on research

productivity has documented a strong and clear correlation between receiving grants or special funding support for research and success on scholarly publication (Teodorescu, 2000).

Differences in funding vary significantly from country to country. For example, the Economic and Social Research Council, the main public body funding social science research in the UK, formally considers a “small grant” anything below £100,000, which is subject to the expedited review process of 14 weeks. These small awards are often tailored more towards younger researchers. However, in Spain, the Ministry of Education rarely provides grants for social science research projects over €40,000 and only after several months of deliberation. These awards need to be split among medium-sized teams of researchers (Barberet, 2005). These funding differences constrain research designs and dramatically condition the type of research questions examined. Complex data-gathering projects integrating individual and community level measures or qualitative and quantitative components, quantitative or the more ambitious qualitative longitudinal designs and project evaluations with sufficient statistical power and sample size become almost impossible to achieve in these national contexts. There is simply not enough money to support these expensive but state-of-the-art research designs. These methods are also linked to the increasing theoretical and analytical complexities of the field. The inability to use such sophisticated methods places researchers in a disadvantageous position.

That is not to say that one can only do research with these expensive designs. As we say in Spanish “*el hambre agudiza el ingenio*” (hunger makes you sharper). These limitations indeed force researchers to use creative solutions. It may mean that the standards of what is considered acceptable evidence or a good study may be flexible. There may be more quasi experiments with small sample sizes, ethnographic studies conducted by lone researchers, small-scale surveys with less fancy methods of data collection and limited quality control, or manual collection of archival data. Some of these studies may be very good. However, such small-scale studies will in general make it more difficult (1) to publish in journals where the standards are higher and subject to methodological fashion, (2) to interest people to attend your conference presentations and (3) more generally, to acquire an international recognition as anything other than an expert for one’s home country.

Publishing and language

With limited budget and access to government-sponsored criminal justice data, even electronic data such as the National Archive of Criminal Justice, scholars working in the periphery face an uphill struggle to produce work of sufficient quality to reach international standards of recognition. Even when successfully meeting these challenges, researchers face additional difficulties in getting their work published in internationally ranked journals that Anglo-American criminologists do not experience. This is particularly problematic in the new globalized context where higher education operates. As recognized by many, “governments around the world are holding their own academics, sociologists included, accountable to ‘international’ standards, which means publishing in ‘Western’ journals, and in particular American journals” (Burawoy, 2005, p. 284).³

Clearly language barriers are an important challenge. Of the 31 journals for which an impact index is computed in the ISE Web of Knowledge and classified as criminological in the *Journal Citation Reports*, only two admit articles in a language other than English. English is indeed the international language of science. Being able to speak and write in English is simply a requirement that those who want to do science must accept. The existence of a lingua franca indeed facilitates communication among researchers and can be a driver for cross-fertilization. Unfortunately this renders the work of many scholars from non-English-speaking countries invisible to the international readership. Younger scholars from non-English-speaking countries are more fluent

in English than their predecessors and this may be less of a problem in the future. But this has indeed been a factor that historically has limited the influence of criminological research outside English-speaking countries. Not surprisingly some criminologists from non-English-speaking countries have demanded editorial policies in criminological journals be more sensitive to these linguistic issues (e.g. more support to papers with poor English, multilingual journals and acceptance of translated papers originally published in a language other than English).⁴ But rarely have these calls been heard, even in the case of journals representing international professional societies.

More problematically not only do the majority of criminological journals in the *Journal Citation Reports* use English, but the overwhelming majority of them (26 out of 31) are published in either the US or the UK and their editorial boards are composed of criminologists mostly based in American or British universities. This fact illustrates the degree to which the Anglo-American experience with crime and crime control has shaped current criminological knowledge and debates. This, in itself, has implications for those aiming to publish in these journals – they are expected to both know and care greatly for the Anglo-American experience. An American researcher is not expected to explain common acronyms (e.g. UCR, NCVS). Equally, when writing about criminal justice in these two countries, one need not provide background details about the history or the configuration of the particular criminal justice institution simply because both editors and writers are presumed to be familiar with the cultural environment. This, however, is a common problem facing those in the periphery. They are often asked (1) to explain what to them is the obvious and (2) to situate their findings in relation to issues and debates that affect primarily the Anglo-American context. The end result is that most of what gets published in these journals is quite parochial in scope and of questionable relevance to most of the world. Burawoy (2005, p. 289), in his advocacy for a public sociology, argued that along this process “national sociologies lose their engagement with national problems and local issues” with these external demands.

The indifferent “core” criminology? The unidirectional transference of knowledge

Much has been written recently in criminology about the transfer of policy ideas and their underpinning theories, with a primary focus on the “transatlantic crossings” from the US to Europe (Wacquant, 1999; Newburn, 2002; Jones and Newburn, 2002) and other parts of the world (Huggins, 1998; Brogden and Nijhar, 2005). This emerging literature on policy transfer of criminal justice ideas often reflects a concern with the entrepreneurial exportation of policy and theoretical models from the American “juggernaut” that to European sensibilities is somehow unpalatable, too conservative or simply inadequate to explain their own contexts. As Brogden and Nijhar (2005, p. 81) point out in reference to community policing, Anglo-American inventions are exported overseas as the only valid models, denying the legitimacy of other alternatives. Indeed, as highlighted by many, one of the dangers of comparative criminal justice and criminology is that of ethnocentrism: “assuming that what we do, our way of thinking about and responding to crime, is universally shared or, at least, that it would be right for everyone else” (Nelken, 2009, p. 291). Implicit in the ambivalence about or direct opposition to the transferability of such concepts as broken windows policing or research on youth gangs in Europe is the recognition of the danger of ethnocentrism. Yet the structural factors as highlighted earlier and the strength of Anglo-American criminology make the transfer of knowledge about crime and crime control largely unidirectional from the core to the periphery.

There is also a certain degree of *orientalism*, which envisions all countries outside the US and the UK as fundamentally similar to one another and fundamentally dissimilar from the US and

the UK. Karstedt (2001) has written about the common tendency to treat cultures as monolithic entities and how as a result cultural comparisons in criminology suffer from exaggerations of differences. For instance, Anglo-American criminologists tend to talk about Asian exceptionalism in relation to crime and crime control. The same reasoning can also be applied to some of the current writing on punitiveness and the way that European countries are often clustered together under a “welfare” model that supposedly prevents high levels of incarceration (Nelken, 2009; Larrauri, 2008). This way of thinking about the periphery demands that scholars outside the US and the UK demonstrate through their research the danger of extreme relativism as well as parochialism (Nelken, 2009).

This is not a global indictment of Anglo-American criminology. Their wealth of ideas has certainly energized theoretical and empirical work elsewhere and that, in itself, is not a bad thing. Moreover, many Anglo-American criminologists are truly interested in developments from other countries and have aimed to foster a greater multidirectional cross-national understanding. Some of the efforts of the International Division of the American Society of Criminology or other international societies, such as the International Society of Criminology or the European Society of Criminology are good examples.⁵ Thanks to their efforts, for example, concepts such as restorative justice have become mainstream within the field. A global indictment this is not, but clearly there is a state of academic dependency in social sciences where researchers and practitioners from the periphery depend on their counterparts in the North Atlantic for ideas, concepts, methods, theories (Alatas, 2003) and, critically, for recognition. This situation also extends to criminology and is perpetuated by “certain features of the global division of labor in the social sciences” (Alatas, 2003, p. 460). Burawoy’s following comment about the present and future of sociology is highly pertinent in this context and can be extrapolated to the field of criminology:

Without conspiracy or deliberation on the part of its practitioners, United States sociology becomes world hegemonic. We, therefore, have a special responsibility to provincialize our own sociology, to bring it down from the pedestal of universality and recognize its distinctive character and national power. We have to develop a dialogue, once again, with other national sociologies, recognizing their local traditions or their aspirations to indigenize sociology. We have to think in global terms, to recognize the emergent global division of sociological labor.

(Burawoy, 2005, p. 284)

On the other hand, criminologists outside the core can be ethnocentric and parochial in their own way. In fact, they themselves may often be complicit in this unidirectional and uncritical transference of knowledge. That, in itself, is part of the problem. The powerful seduction of the ideas generated in the core often leads researchers in the periphery simply to conform themselves with checking whether “they apply to their national contexts,” thus reducing the contribution of the periphery to a sort of laboratory for external validity. In sum, the strength and wide diffusion of the theoretical and policy ideas of Anglo-American criminology requires that researchers in the periphery are vigilant to guard against artificially reconstructing their own national contexts according to these marketed exports.

The relevance of international and cross-national collaborations

Cross-national research can and should be one way to challenge the parochialism of national criminologies. In addition, in countries where the institutional space occupied by criminology

is limited and national funding for its research activities is sparse, collaborations with researchers from other countries, particularly when aimed at obtaining external funding, become a key engine for driving research. There has been a number of such collaborations that have contributed to cross-national links among researchers, forums for international discussions on specific topics, and data and research protocols in ways that may alleviate some of the difficulties noted above. The *International Crime Survey* (van Dijk *et al.*, 2008) and the *International Self-Report Delinquency Study* (Junger-Tas *et al.*, 2009) are prime examples of such collaborations. These enterprises not only have generated national quantitative crime data in countries where the governments devote few resources for this type of research, but also have created unique opportunities for participating scholars in the periphery to raise their profile both nationally and internationally. These studies have indeed highlighted the fact that scholarly productivity outside the core “is highly dependent on accessing professional international networks” (Teodorescu, 2000).

One of the problems of these collaborations is that up to this point these studies have been more directed towards countries in the semi-periphery than those in the periphery. So far, Anglo-American researchers have primarily carried out collaborations with European colleagues or those in other English-speaking countries where criminology has some presence. Most of the world, particularly post-colonial societies, have received little attention from Anglo-American criminologists and those attempting to develop criminological research in the periphery are particularly isolated. Africa, for example, remains an almost invisible continent to criminologists from the North Atlantic. The traditional polar division between sociology as the social science for developed societies and anthropology as the social science that focuses on the periphery (Wallerstein, 2003) still casts a long shadow when it comes to criminology.

A legitimate question that also needs to be asked is whether some of the existing international collaborations represent what Wallerstein (2004) calls forms of *unequal exchange* that both typify and perpetuate relations of subordination between the core and the periphery. Do these collaborations allow for local development of ideas? Or rather, do they treat the collaborators as field managers for essentially a core intellectual project? Who benefits the most from these research collaborations in terms of research productivity and scientific recognition? Do these research collaborations treat seriously the problem of acculturation of concepts based on the Anglo-American experience? Are these cross-national collaborations testing true cross-national questions or simply generating the export of particular ways of thinking about crime and its control originated in the core? Unfortunately the answer to these questions often suggests that unequal exchange in international collaborations within the field of criminology is the norm rather than the exception.

Conclusions: public criminology in the comparative context

Some of the contemporary debates about the future of sociology and social sciences (e.g. the *Gulbenkian Commission Report* of 1996, current debates about public sociology) have emphasized the need to think globally, to recognize non-Western experiences, the hegemonic position of the North Atlantic social sciences and the unequal global division of labor within social sciences. In criminology, however, most debates remain provincially anchored in the Anglo-American experience as ever (Garland, 2008; Loader and Sparks, 2008). This is partially explained by the fact that criminology still concerns itself mostly with rather local matters – street crime and its control.

What are the possible solutions to this state of affairs? Some of the problems highlighted here are big problems and are rather hard to solve. The global unequal division of labor within social sciences is hard to deal with in a context in which resources remain in a few hands. This is

something that increasingly affects the higher education sector. Yet some measures can be taken to resist these inequalities. Professional associations, for instance, can play an important role in this regard. These inequalities can be contested by increasing academic and professional associations’ support to open access to electronic journals, thus reducing the economic burden on research institutions and scholars outside the core. Why shouldn’t we advocate for the free digital access to the journals of our professional associations? For that matter, we could demand our professional journals develop editorial policies that (1) diminish the hegemonic position of the English language by accepting translations of material originally published in other languages and by providing support to authors whose English is less than ideal, (2) develop a less parochial interest with the realities of the North Atlantic, and (3) reduce not the rigorous methodological standards but the nonsensical methodological fetishism.⁶ The publication of special issues related to geo-political regions in the periphery could be a way to achieve some of these goals.

Issues of unequal exchange in international collaborations can and should be addressed by our professional associations. Why can these professional associations not develop specific protocols or ethical guidelines in these regards to prevent situations of exploitation? Also, some professional societies, such as the Law and Society Association, (1) offer special membership discounts to scholars from lower-average income countries as classified by the World Bank, (2) encourage ordinary members to contribute to a fund to support annual meeting attendance of these scholars, and (3) have a special program to sustain international collaborations. Why do criminological associations such as the American Society of Criminology⁷ and the European Society of Criminology not follow this lead? These initiatives could be complemented with specific training workshops aimed at young scholars from these countries. These proposals, albeit modest, are certainly good starting points. Some authors have argued that the global problems in social sciences should lead to a restructuring of the field that dispenses with the disciplinary boundaries that were inherited from past centuries (Wallerstein, 2003). Garland (2008) recently questioned the way that criminology has become institutionalized in the core insofar as it raises a number of significant problems (e.g. isolation from debates in other social sciences, narrowing of theoretical and empirical concerns, etc.). This is indeed a big debate. Unfortunately such a debate could be collective suicide for struggling scholars who strive to establish themselves in countries with little institutional recognition of criminology.

Problematic as it might be, institutionalization to some degree is required for scholars to be able to develop a research career. Perhaps we should be more open to different ways of thinking about institutionalization, rather than simply taking the American or British example as the only way forward. But what would those alternatives look like? As someone who has spent most of his professional life trying to think about the right balance between his advocacy for a greater space for criminological research and better informed policy in his own home country, I am afraid I continue to have more doubts and questions than answers. One thing is clear: these are questions should become part of a global criminology agenda not dominated by the Anglo-American experience.

Future research questions

1. Some countries clearly seem to have more thriving criminological communities than others. This chapter proposes some factors that may underpin this variation, but what other variables (e.g. level of democracy, economic development, etc.) may explain the more successful development of criminology as a scientific discipline across countries? Could you use the principles of fuzzy-set analysis (Ragin, 2000) for a cross-national comparative analysis of this question?

2. Clearly Anglo–American journals publish primarily Anglo–American contributions. But is it possible to empirically demonstrate a publication bias against contributions from other countries or regions?
3. As we have seen, a number of researchers from the periphery and the semi-periphery migrate to US and UK universities in order to develop their careers as criminologists. Does this migration affect the impact of their research outputs (as measured, for example, by citation metrics: ISI Web of Knowledge or through Publish or Perish)? How does the impact of their research outputs compare with that of researchers from their countries that do not migrate?
4. The general studies of intellectual diasporas suggest that researchers that work abroad from their home countries can play an important role as translator of ideas. What role do criminologists working abroad play in the development of research or policy initiatives in their own home countries?
5. Although the US remains a force to be reckoned with in the international arena, we are witnessing a significant change in the landscape of international economic relations where countries such as China, India and Brazil are becoming increasingly influential. What is the likely impact that these changes may have in the academic field of criminology?

Notes

- 1 This makes the support of the European Society of Criminology of its working group on undergraduate criminology benchmarks critical for the development of these institutional spaces outside the core.
- 2 For example, a great deal of American criminology, particularly of a macro character, is based on the use of these statistics that are easily accessible from the internet (via ICPSR or equivalent). In many other countries, however, these statistics are simply not accessible to researchers.
- 3 Actually, the problem is even more serious than this suggests. It is not only that publication in “American” journals is rewarded but the fact that publication in languages other than English is actually penalized. The use of criteria such as the h-index (that undercounts publications in languages other than English) means that those who spend their time trying to achieve a dual publication record do so at the risk of getting low scores in these metrics.
- 4 The unequal global division of labor within criminology means that the only papers that get translated are those produced by Anglo–American scholars into the national journals of the periphery in languages other than English.
- 5 But even these organizations operate under constraints of the global division of labor. Out of the 17 co-authors of the books winning the ASC International Division Award, 10 are US/UK scholars or work in US/UK universities, five work in either Australia or the Netherlands, and only two are based outside further from the “core.”
- 6 As Braithwaite (2005: 347–8) has argued, our so-called methodological high standards often are nothing but particular disciplinary obsessions: “So psychologists insist on an artificial experiment in circumstances when naturalistic qualitative work or a piece of survey research would be better to evaluate the hypothesis. Economists insist on econometrics to test a theory that could be tested, and would be more rigorously tested, by the psychologist’s preferred approach of a randomized controlled trial. Sociologists ignore recent advances in econometrics because being competent across them is expected of economists but not sociologists, or they use unvalidated single-item measures of attitudes in circumstances where psychology would rightly expect scaling of multiple items. Anthropologists stick with ethnography to answer quantitative questions. Sociologists of Foucauldian persuasion defend sloppy historical research of the sort Foucault himself did, ignoring accessible primary sources because they claim they are doing a history of the present rather than the past! Sociologists of law do research without reading cases . . .”
- 7 The International Division does give free and reduced membership to its Division based on country of residence after one becomes a member of the ASC, but the ASC refuses to do it at the ASC level.

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