

The State of Criminological Studies in East Asia

Jianhong Liu
Distinguished Professor
Faculty of Law
University of Macau

https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Jianhong_Liu2

Introduction

■ Western-centric bias of criminology

- A growing recognition that criminology has a Western-centric bias.
 - Marginalization and hegemony over non-Western criminology (Carrington, 2017; Liu, 2009, 2016, 2022; Moosavi, 2018, 2019).
 - Neglect concerns and knowledge of crime and justice in the non-west (Cohen, 1988).
 - Overlook alternative accounts that inform criminological scholarship.
 - Western theories and policies are very often inappropriate in non-Western contexts (Liu 2016, 2017, 2022; Messner, 2015).
 - Insufficient studies on non-western contexts have been a major shortcoming of criminology (Carrington et. al. 2019; Liu 2016, 2017; 2021).
 - Turn attention to the nonwestern context is a new direction for the growth of criminology

Asian Criminology and Southern Criminology

- Leon Moosavi stated: “Asian criminology’ and ‘Southern criminology’ are the latest projects that seek to decolonize criminology from its Western-centric bias”. (Moosavi 2018:1)
- Both projects have led the non-western criminology movement and have made significant achievements in rectifying Western-centric bias in criminology.
- Influential scholars have discussed the similarities and differences between the two paradigms (Moosavi 2018; Belknap 2016: 262; Walklate, S. 2016: 47)
- Southern criminology has inspired numerous publications (Matthews 2017: 581; Fonseca 2018: 709)
- A primary feature of Southern criminology is to critically respond to the hegemony, and inequality of North over South knowledge.

Special Context of Asian criminology

- Special geography and culture location:
 - *“Asian criminology, in being neither here nor there (Carrington 2015), stands at the positive intersection of the north-south and east-west in terms of geography and culture.” (Walklate, 2016:1:47-59).*
- Special background
 - *“Asian criminology has its roots in the founding of the Asian Criminological Society and the Asian Journal of Criminology” (Moosavi 2018:1)*
- Special relationship with Western criminology
 - *“Western criminology has a lot to learn from Asian criminology” (Belknap 2016: 262)*
- The special features of the Asian contexts call for the need to understand the overall state of criminological studies in Asia to make an effective strategy for rectifying western-centric bias.

Key Questions about State of criminological Studies in East Asia

- Is East Asian criminological research a local scholarship? Or an international scholarship?
- What are the major research interests/topics in East Asian criminology?
 - *Attention to different topics of justice?*
 - *Attention to different crimes?*
 - *Attentions to theories?*
 - *Approaches to theory development?*
 - Three-step Asian paradigm: testing, elaboration, theory initiative.
- Which countries/regions have received more attention than others? (where the center of criminology studies are?)
- What are the overall features of criminology studies in East Asia?
- What are the theoretical and empirical implications for global criminology?

The Present Study

- Purpose of the present study is to assess the overall state of criminology studies in East Asia.
- Conventional assessments of the overall situation tend to be based on personal perceptions and subjective judgments, which can vary among different scholars. A new assessment based on objective data is needed.
- An objective conclusion of the overall state of criminology requires a comprehensive collection of data on criminology studies on East Asia
- No available data directly answer our key questions about the overall state of criminology studies in East Asia.
- The most relevant objective data are all studies that have been completed and published.

The Present Study – considerations of data collection

- The ideal data would include all published and unpublished studies; however, there are serious difficulties with this objective.
 - *Not all studies have good qualities and are equally credible.*
 - *There is no representative and reliable access to unpublished studies*
 - *Access all studies in non-English or translating them for assessment is resource prohibitive and is not feasible at present.*
- Limit the scope of data collection to all published studies from a relatively complete list of influential English journals is the best choice.
 - *Published studies are objective and factual data, have a clear scope, and limitations are clearly known for proper interpretation.*
 - *The published articles are all accessible to all researchers facilitating review, criticism, reassessment, and continuing supplementation.*
- The best available data thus are all published studies from a complete list of influential English journals.

Previous relevant studies and limitations

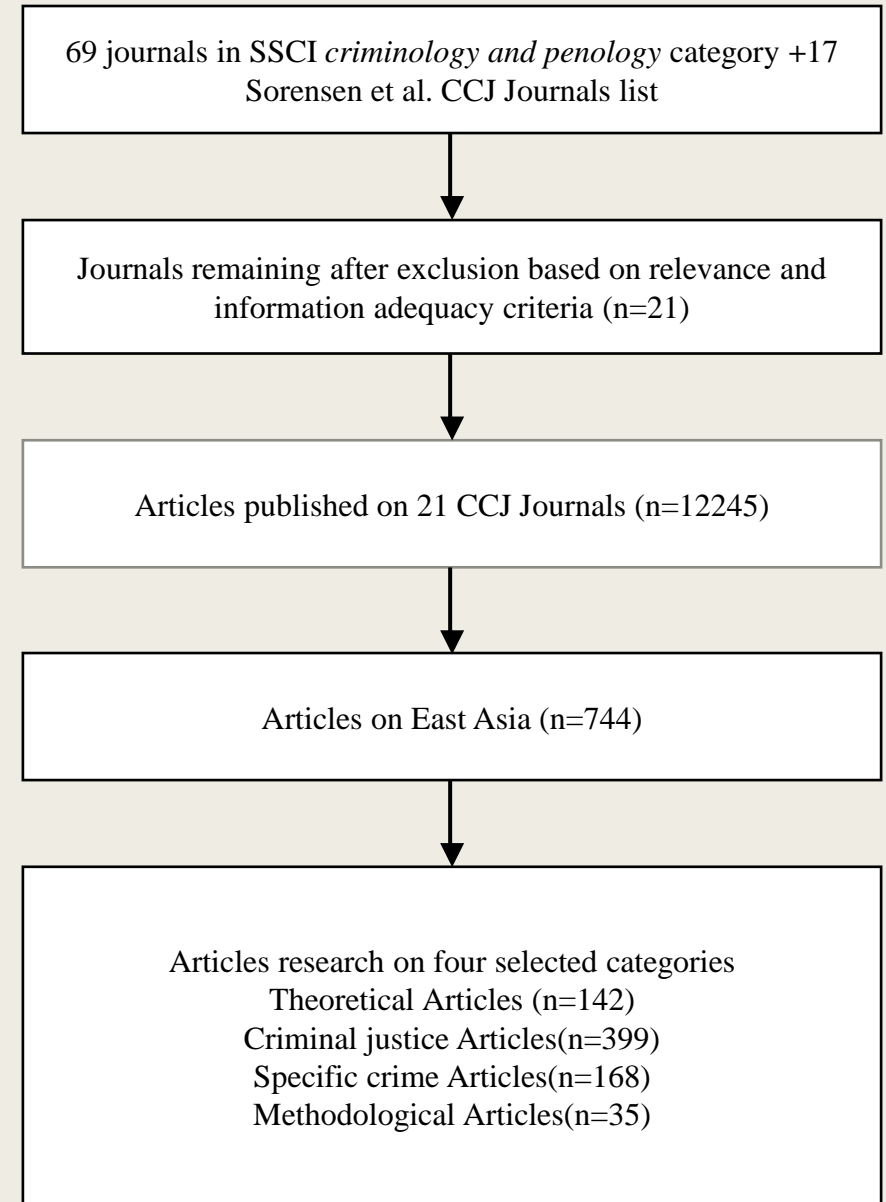
- Assessment of the state of criminology studies in Asia has been mostly based on subjective perceptions and judgment. Few studies collect factual data to address the key questions.
- Some studies collect published research articles but are limited to one region or a few countries. (Xu, 2011; Travers, 2013; Liu & Miyazawa, 2018; Hebenton & Jou, 2005, 2013).
- Few studies focus on the overall situation of criminological studies in the whole of East Asia.
- Research questions are mainly on some specific topics, and no comprehensive data on multiple topics are collected. (Suzuki et al., 2018; Ganapathy & Broadhurst, 2008; Broadhurst & Chang, 2013; Kim et al., 2014; Travers, 2013).

The present study - methodology

- The primary methodology is to first collect comprehensively high-quality criminological and criminal justice research articles addressing Asian-related topics published in all influential SSCI criminology journals from the year 2009 to 2021.
- The present study then analyzes the distribution of these published studies on dimensions relevant to key questions on the state of criminology in East Asia.
- More in-depth observations are made under each key question
- The findings provide insights into features of East Asian criminology and suggest adequate approaches to rectifying Western-centric bias in criminology.

Methodology – Data

- 17 top journals in the CCJ field by Sorensen et al.
- 69 journals in SSCI criminology and penology category.
- The first criterion is to examine whether the published research of each journal is highly related to the research topic of CCJ.
- The second criterion is whether there are studies on East Asian issues published in the journal.



Screening process

Methodology

Table 1. Data

- A total of 12245 original research papers were published in 21 journals between 2009 and 2021, of which 744 were studies of East Asian issues thus selected as our sample.
- Among the total East Asian topic articles, 399 on criminal justice; 168 on various crimes; 142 are on theories; and 35 are on methodologies.

Journals	Total Articles	Criminal justice Articles	Various crime Articles	Theoretical Articles	Methodological Articles	East Asian Articles (%)
IJOTCC	1318	56	36	43	7	142(19.09%)
AJC	212	65	29	24	8	126(16.94%)
IJLCJ	380	64	13	12	2	91(12.23%)
PIJPSM	641	48	2	4	4	58(7.80%)
CLSC	707	30	22			52(6.99%)
BJC	869	23	18	4		45(6.05%)
DB	1007	1	26	15		42(5.65%)
C&D	848	7	7	15	2	31(4.17%)
PJ	397	18		1	2	21(2.82%)
P&S	632	19		1		20(2.69%)
JCCJ	241	8	3	4	3	18(2.42%)
JCJ	825	8	2	5	3	18(2.42%)
JC	345	11	3	3		17(2.28%)
CJB	1051	6	1	3	2	12(1.61%)
CCJ	468	5	4	1		10(1.34%)
JRCD	328	6	1	2	1	10(1.34%)
PQ	266	8		2		10(1.34%)
PSIJP	379	9				9(1.21%)
TC	358	6			1	7(0.94%)
JQ	603	1	1	1		3(0.40%)
C	370			2		2(0.27%)
Total	12245	399(53.62%)	168(22.58%)	142(19.08%)	35(4.70%)	N=744

Research Findings

Is East Asian criminology studies a local scholarship? Or an international scholarship?

- Table 1 shows that except AJOC can be considered related to “Asia”, 83% of the studies about East Asia are published in prominent international journals, which are not linked to East Asia.
- **Criminology in East Asia are highly internationalized.** It has attracted international attention and influence widely in prominent international scholarship.
- The journal that publishes the most articles on CCJ topics in East Asia are *the International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology(IJOTCC)*, the *Asian Journal of Criminology (AJC)* and *the International Journal of Law Crime and Justice (IJLCJ)*.
- The *IJOTCC* has the longest publication history and published most papers. It has published 142 articles (19.09%) involving East Asia topics. The next most published journal on East Asian studies was *AJC*, with 126 out of 212 articles (59.43%) focusing on East Asian topics. The *IJLCJ* published 91 articles (12.23%) on East Asian studies.

Research Findings

What are the major research **interests**/topics?

- The distributions of 744 articles reflect the main interests or concerns of East Asian criminologists; the studies mainly fall into four categories of research topics: criminal justice articles, crime research articles, articles on theories, and articles on methodology.
 - Among the four major interests, the largest number of articles are on criminal justice of East Asian countries with over half of the 744 articles on this topic (n=399, 53.62%).
 - The second largest number of studies are on various crimes (n=168, 22.58%).
 - The number of articles on theoretical studies in criminology was 142 (19.08%)
 - There was a good number of studies on research methodology with 35 articles (4.7%).
- Justice system and practice reflect most variations of Asian from Western standards thus contributing more new knowledge for criminology.

Research Findings

Table 2 Attention to different topics of justice?

- The article categories reflect the main concerns of East Asian criminologists. Justice topics mainly include six categories: Policing, Judicial system, Corrections, Juvenile Justice, Crime prevention, and Restorative justice.
- The policing is the most studied topic, with over half (n=157, 39.35%) articles on policing research issues in East Asia, followed by 123 (30.83%) studies on the judicial system.

	Policing	Judicial System	Corrections	Crime prevention	Juvenile Justice	Restorative Justice	Total (%)
China	55	68	32	15	3	5	178 (44.61%)
South Korean	50	12		7	6		75 (18.80%)
Taiwan	27	5	9	2		1	44 (11.03%)
Hong Kong	12	15	9	2	3	2	43 (10.78%)
Japan	2	16	6	7	2		33 (8.27%)
More than one region	10		1	2	1	3	17 (4.26%)
Macau	1	7		1			9 (2.26%)
Total (%)	157 (39.35%)	123 (30.83%)	57 (14.29%)	36 (9.02%)	15 (3.76%)	11 (2.76%)	N=399

Number of Articles on Criminal Justice in East Asia (N=399)

Research Findings

Criminal justice research in East Asia

- ***Policing:*** Topics include
 - police legitimacy
 - public's perceptions on the police
 - community policing
 - police management
- ***Judicial System:*** Among the 123 articles
 - the most discussed topics are penalty system, especially the death penalty
 - evidence system
 - criminal sentencing
 - wrongful convictions
- ***Corrections:***
 - informal control mechanisms such as interpersonal relationships and shame play an important role in the prevention and correction
 - emphasis on family or group-based collectivism and harmony in Asian societies
 - Largest number of studies are on China's correctional system
 - Japan dog-assisted program for inmates in prison
 - Hong Kong prison volunteers in the rehabilitation and social reintegration of prisoners

Research Findings

Criminal justice research in East Asia

- ***Crime prevention:***
 - Japan's crime prevention system is at the forefront of research in East Asia.
 - The role of volunteers and non-profit organizations in Japan.
 - drug abuse prevention
 - sexual crime prevention
 - anti-corruption prevention
- ***Juvenile Justice:*** The discussion is very extensive
 - juvenile justice system
 - the causes of juvenile delinquency
 - rehabilitation programs/treatment
 - juvenile victimization
 - juvenile correction

Research Findings

Criminal justice research in East Asia

- ***Restorative Justice***: RJ is distinctive in various regions of East Asia
 - Liu was the first to demonstrate that Confucian thought in China and East Asia promotes similar principles with principles of Restorative Justice (Liu, 2007a, 2007b).
 - Braithwaite discussed shame and virtue in Confucian thought, arguing that they can be combined with formal law and punishment (Braithwaite, 2015; Braithwaite & Zhang, 2017).
 - “*Jidan*” in Japan
 - “*Tiaojie*” and “*Si Liao*” in China
 - “*comforting the victim*” in South Korea
 - RJ practice in juvenile justice
 - impact of RJ on Non-custodial penal measures
 - deficiencies in the protection of victims’ rights in the development of RJ in Taiwan
 - prevent school bullying in Hong Kong (Wong et al., 2011).
- There are rich traditions for RJ to be further developed in East Asia, and the main challenge is to strengthen the protection of victims’ rights based on the integration of specific approaches with East Asian cultural values.

Research Findings

Table 3. Attention to different crimes?

- There are 168 articles focusing on crime studies, which fall into seven broad categories of crime and reflect the main concerns of Asian criminologists.
- The major categories: violent crimes (n=43, 25.6%), economic crime (n=31, 18.45%), corruption (n=28, 16.67%), organized crime (n=20, 11.90%), youth crime & deviance (n=20, 11.90%), drug-related crime and addiction (n=16, 9.52%), and cybercrime (n=10, 5.95%).

Type of crime	Number (%)
Violent Crime	43 (25.6%)
Violence against women & children and Trafficking	28
Homicide	6
General violent crime	9
Economic Crime	31 (18.45%)
Sex Industry	13
Fraud	10
Counterfeit Crime	3
Robbery & Burglary	3
Casino-related Crime	2
Corruption	28 (16.67%)
Organized Crime	20 (11.90%)
Youth Crime & Deviance	20 (11.90%)
Drug-related Crime and Addiction	16 (9.52%)
Drug-related Crime	14
Internet & Drinking Addiction	2
Cybercrime	10 (5.95%)
Total	N=168

Number of various crime research articles (N=168)

Research Findings

Studies on Crimes in East Asia

- ***Violent Crime:*** The violent crime received the most attention from criminologists, accounting for more than a quarter of all specific crime research articles (n=43).
 - In these studies, women and children have become the focus of research as victims of violent crimes(n=27), like previous research on Asian criminology (Belknap, 2016).
 - intimate partner violence
 - sexual assault
 - dating violence
 - child abuse
 - women trafficking
 - foreign women were trafficked to China for forced marriage or sexual exploitation from Vietnam, North Korea, and Myanmar

Research Findings

Studies on Crimes in East Asia

- ***Economic Crime:*** most common types include sex industry, fraud, counterfeit crime, robbery or burglary and casino-related crimes.
 - sex industry are mainly discussed in mainland China and Hong Kong, including the role of women in organizing others' prostitution
 - the transaction chain of different sex
 - and the motivation and explanation of prostitution
 - South Korea's research on fraud emphasized the role of ethical corporate culture in anti-fraud strategies
 - counterfeiting crime
 - the counterfeiting of food (Cheng, 2012), cigarettes (Shen et al., 2010) and trademarks (Cai, 2020).
 - robbery and burglary
 - factors that affected property crimes, such as weather, urban construction environment, and victim's living style).
 - casino related crimes.
 - monopolizing sports gambling system in Korea
 - crimes in the casino culture of Macao

Research Findings

Studies on Crimes in East Asia

- ***Corruption:*** focuses on China (n=20).
 - main organization of corruption: charitable organizations, high-speed railway units, private enterprises, and public hospitals.
 - corruption types: the illegal transfer of money between jurisdictions, illegal transactions of government positions, white-collar and corporate crimes.
 - control corruption: deal with police corruption and misconduct between Hong Kong and the United States(Jiao, 2010), the effectiveness of China's anti-corruption campaign.
 - governance and reform to fight corruption: local cultural and political factors.

Research Findings

Studies on Crimes in East Asia

- *Organized Crime*: different due to its geographical, sociological and cultural particularity.
 - The study of organized crime in East Asia is more prominent in the Hong Kong
 - the triad-organized crime. Triad is the oldest organized criminal group in China
 - wildlife trade focuses on China often associated with corruption.
 - new research began to focus on organized crime in cyberspace and explore how loan sharks use the online P2P lending market for illegal loans.

Research Findings

Studies on Crimes in East Asia

- *Youth Crime & Deviance* :
 - juvenile violence (Ohbuchi & Kondo, 2015)
 - youth gangs (Lo & Tam, 2018; Zhang et al., 2017)
 - street crime (Chui & Khiatani, 2018)
 - pathological gambling among adolescents (Ho, 2017).
 - prevent the emergence of youth crime and deviance (Chen, 2017; Park et al., 2017; Tong et al., 2016; Wang & Jang, 2017).

Research Findings

Studies on Crimes in East Asia

- **Drug-related Crime and Addiction:**
 - drug abuse,
 - use of different types of drugs, such as methamphetamine (Brewster, 2020), opium (Kim, Leban, et al., 2017), psychoactive substances (Zhao, 2020) and narcotic drugs (Hartley et al., 2011; Huang et al., 2012)
 - drug relapse behavior (Hazama & Katsuta, 2020)
 - illegal drug use by adolescents (Yang et al., 2020).
 - drinking problems. gender differences
 - early onset drinking and problem drinking in the United States and Japan
 - Internet addiction among adolescents

Research Findings

Studies on Crimes in East Asia

- *Cybercrime*: Cybercrime has become more frequent in Asia
 - types of cybercrime
 - cyberbullying
 - cyber-attacks
 - online pornography
 - the regulation of cybercrime

Research Findings

Table 4. Attentions to theories?

- There are a total of 142 articles on the application and testing of Western criminological theories in East Asia. Out of these 142 articles, nearly 20 criminological theories were discussed.
- The six most tested theories in East Asia are General Strain Theory (GST), Self-Control Theory, Routine Activity Theory (RAT), Social Learning Theory, Social Control Theory, and Social Capital Theory (N=105).

Theory	Fully supported	Partially supported	Not supported	Total (%)
General Strain Theory	14	17	1	32(30.48%)
Self-control Theory	15	11	5	31(29.52%)
Routine Activity Theory	13	6		19(18.10%)
Social Learning Theory	5	3	1	9(8.57%)
Social Control Theory	4	2	2	8(7.62%)
Social Capital Theory	3	3		6(5.71%)
Total(%)	54(51.43%)	42(40.00%)	9(8.57%)	N=105

Number of articles by theories and extent of applicability (N = 105)

Research Findings

Approaches to theory development?

- Liu (2019, 2022) has proposed the Asian Paradigm for theory development in Asian criminology. The strategy highlights the continuity and consideration of Western wisdom as a starting point.
- Three-step Asian paradigm: testing, elaboration, theory initiative (Liu 2019, 2022)
- The first step is testing the Western theories. A large number of theories studies devoted to this task.
- 51.43% of the studies provided supportive evidence; 40% provided mixed results; 8.57% of the studies find the theories are not supported.
- A large number of supportive evidence confirms the necessity of the Asian paradigm strategy that links the Asian context to Western knowledge for theory development.
- 48.57% of studies either fail to provide fully supportive evidence or provide no support for the Western theories. This indicates the high importance of developing theories that consider special features of the Asian context.

Research Findings

Theory testing in East Asia

- ***General Strain Theory:***
 - Found support in some studies (Chan, 2021; Chen, 2021; Chen & Cheung, 2020; Choi, 2019; Lin, 2012; Oh & Connolly, 2019; Wang et al., 2020)
 - It is not supported in others (Agnew, 2015; Gao & Wong, 2018; Hartjen & Kethineni, 1999; Jang & Song, 2015; Ngai & Cheung, 2005; Park & Metcalfe, 2020).
- ***Self-control Theory:***
 - Mixed results when the theory was tested in Asia (Liu, 2017; Wang et al., 2019; Jiang et al., 2020; Moon et al., 2011; Reyns et al., 2018).
- ***Routine Activity Theory:***
 - Not for developing countries (Anderson & Bennett, 1996; Bennett, 1991; Stein, 2010). R
 - Not fully supported in East Asia also for other reasons (Chen & Zhong, 2021; Kuo et al., 2009; Moon et al., 2016).
- **Social Learning Theory:**
 - Mixed result from many studies in East Asia (Kobayashi et al., 2019).
 - May not be equally applicable to the Japanese (Kobayashi & Farrington, 2019).

Research Findings

Theoretical Testing in East Asia

- *Social Control Theory:*
 - Chen's study in Hong Kong (Chan, 2021). is inconsistent results.
 - Bao et al.'s (Bao et al., 2017). attachment to parents does not affect the connection with bad peers
- *Social Capital Theory:*
 - Liu (Liu, 2005). "negative capital" in Chinese youth Gangs.
 - Takagi and Kawachi (Takagi & Kawachi, 2014). No neighborhood-level social ties were found to have an impact on crime or fear of crime
 - Zhuo's (Zhuo, 2012). found **no** evidence of a relationship between social relationships and crime control satisfaction.
 - Han's study in South Korea (Han, 2021). Did not find any significant association between social capital at the district level and fear of crime.

Research Findings

Which countries/regions have received more attention than others?

(where the centers of criminology studies are?)

- For all four topics, justice, crimes, theory, and methodology (744 articles 100%; Table 5)
 - China is the most studied country (342 articles 45.96%)
 - South Korea is the second most studied country with 159 articles, 21.37%)
 - Hongkong is the third most studied region (79 articles, 10.62%)
- Topic on aspects of justice is the most studied topic. (399 articles; 53.62%; Table 2).
 - China is the most discussed country on the topic of criminal justice (n=178, 44.61%).
 - South Korea is the second most popular Asian country (n=75, 18.80%).
- Topic on various crimes is the second most studied topic (168 articles, 22.58%; Table 6)
 - China is the most discussed country on the topic of various crimes (n=95, 56.54%).
 - South Korea is the second most studied country (n=25, 14.88%).
- Topic on theories is the third most studied topic (142 articles, 19.08%; Table 7)
 - South Korea is the most studied country (n=54, 38.03%).
 - China is the second most discussed country on the topic of theories (n=50, 32.21%).
- China and South Korea have received more attention on East Asia topics.

Table 5 Countries/Regions by Research Topics (N = 744)

	Criminal justice Articles	Various crime Articles	Theoretical Articles	Methodological Articles	Total (%)
China	178	95	50	15	342 (45.96%)
South Korea	75	25	54	9	159 (21.37%)
Hong Kong	43	19	14	3	79 (10.62%)
Taiwan	44	9	12	2	67 (9.01%)
Japan	33	12	7	3	55 (7.39%)
More than one region	17	5	4	2	28 (3.76%)
Macau	9	3	1	1	14 (1.88%)
Total (%)	399(53.62%)	168 (22.58%)	142(19.08%)	35(4.70%)	N= 744

Table 6 Countries/Regions by Various Crimes (N = 168)

Region	Violent Crime	Economic Crime	Corruption	Organized Crime	Youth Crime & Deviance	Drug-related Crime and Addiction	Cybercrime	Total (%)
China	23	21	20	11	7	9	4	95(56.55%)
South Korea	11	6	1		4	2	1	25(14.88%)
Hong Kong	3	2	3	5	4	1	1	19(11.31%)
Japan	2	1	1	1	4	3		12(7.14%)
Taiwan	3				1	1	4	9(5.36%)
More than one region	1		2	2				5(2.98%)
Macau		1	1	1				3(1.79%)
Total	43(25.6%)	31(18.45%)	28(16.67%)	20(11.90%)	20(11.90%)	16 (9.52%)	10 (5.95%)	N=168

Table 7 Countries/Regions by Various Theories (N=142)

Region	General Strain Theory	Self-control Theory	Routine Activity Theory	Social Learning Theory	Social Control Theory	Social Capital Theory	Other theories	Total (%)
South Korea	13	19	5	4	3	1	9	54(38.02%)
China	13	8	8	2	3	2	14	50(35.21%)
Hong Kong	1	3	3		1	1	5	14(9.86%)
Taiwan	3		3	1			5	12(8.45%)
Japan		1		2	1	2	1	7(4.93%)
More than one region	1						3	4(2.81%)
Macau	1							1(0.70%)
Total	32(22.54%)	31(21.83%)	19(13.38%)	9(6.33%)	8(5.63%)	6(4.22%)	37(26.05%)	N=142

Research Findings

What are the overall features of criminology studies in East Asia?

- A major feature of Asian criminology is to internationalize criminology knowledge from both Western and non-Western.
- Studies address concerns, interests, and aspects of topics that are often overlooked in the Western literature but have special importance in East Asia. (such as Women trafficking for marriage)
- The data from East Asia show a linkage between East Asian criminology with Western criminology, indicating a feature of continuation from existing knowledge.
- Studies often extend a theme or topic to the East Asia context and address the differences and new findings.
- East Asian contexts provide great opportunities to discover and develop new insights to contribute to growing new knowledge of criminology.
- Features of Asian criminology provide a foundation for developing an adequate approach to rectifying Western-centric bias.

Approach and Strategy to rectify Western centric Bias

- A broad question for an effective response to the Western-centric bias is: **what is an effective and productive approach to rectifying the bias?**
- One approach represents a direct and natural response to ignore and overlook marginalized groups and areas. That is to counteract or make up recognized hegemony or missing information. We can term this approach a “representation approach”, or group-based approach. (Liu 2021)
- Another approach is to examine contexts and differences between Western or Northern and nonwestern contexts. Discover ignored and missing knowledge and their linkage to achieve broader and more inclusive knowledge, The approach is a “context-focused approach”, stresses the importance of special features of the nonwestern contexts, and focuses on discovering insights more visible under these contexts to grow internationalized knowledge.

Approach and Strategy to rectify Western-centric Bias

- Southern criminology can be said to have taken more the “representation approach” and has achieved important success in critically rectifying western-centric /Northern-centric bias.
- Asian criminology also adopted the representation approach and their studies have discovered and much of the overlooked facts and knowledge from Asia to increase the representation of groups and areas in Asia.
- More unique and significant aspect of Asian criminology is that it also takes the “context-focused approach”, which stresses building knowledge of crime and justice by taking insights from Asian contexts.
- The future enterprise of rectifying Western-centric bias should take an integrated approach that combines the “representation approach” and the “context-focused approach” to achieve greater success in developing criminology.

Limitations of the Study

- **There are possible biases in the data:**

- The journals selected exclude studies that are published in other less prominent journals, such as local journals and studies that are not published in English.
- Another source of bias can be said a “publication bias” in the current academic field. That is using published articles excluding unpublished reports and books and book chapters.

- Further studies to evaluate the extent of the data bias are called for and the plan for the next step is to examine all major journals and books published locally.

- To the extent the influences of these biases are limited, the findings provide a good start for assessing state of criminology in East Asia.

Conclusion and Discussion

- The study raised and answered a set of key questions essential for understanding the overall state of criminology studies in East Asia.
- The study has many discoveries based on well-defined data of a relatively complete set of all high-quality studies from 2009 to 2021 on East Asia.
- It produced a data set that is a unique resource for studying crime and justice in East Asia. Researchers can conveniently find references/articles for specific topics and interests from the data set.
- East Asian studies have revealed many special concerns and reality overlooked and marginalized by Western criminology.
- East Asian studies have discussed the cultural characteristics of East Asia and in-depth discoveries of non-Western contexts including politics, economy, and surrounding environment of East Asia (Hwang & Akers, 2003; Jo & Zhang, 2012; Lai, 2016; Liu et al., 2022; Wang et al., 2002; Zhao et al., 2019).

Conclusion and Discussion

- Studies show an Asian paradigm that provides concepts, methods, and theoretical tools to produce knowledge of Asian criminology (Cunneen et al., 2017).
- The studies together reflect a linkage in topics, interests, theories, and methodology, with Western criminology (Liu 2019).
- The linkage reflects the continuity of the past to the current, and to the future.
- East Asian studies and the approaches have made a significant contribution to rectifying Western-centric bias and the growth of global criminology.

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