

## **Asian Criminology – the Concept and Paradigm**

Liu Jianhong<sup>1</sup>

Criminology originated in the West, has grown primarily in the West, particularly in the United States, and has achieved tremendous success (Liu, 2018, 2021, 2022, 2024). Theories and policy initiatives are mostly proposed and developed in western contexts. However, research in comparative criminology shows that crime patterns, law, and justice policy and practice vary from country to country (Liu & Messner, 2001; Liu & Palermo, 2009; Liu et al., 2017); the dominant theories often do not work very well in non-Western countries (Liu, 2009, 2017; Liu et al., 2001a; Messner et al., 2018; Messner et al., 2007; Messner et al., 2017; Zhang et al., 1996). A critical challenge for criminology is to resolve the conflict between the universality of theories, which is a basic assumption of sciences, and the cultural variations that are commonly observed across countries and contexts (Liu, 2024; Liu et al., 2021).

There are various approaches to responding to this challenge. The most often response adopted by many western-based theorists is to assume the universality of their theories but occasionally discuss exceptions and the need for adjustments under different cultures (Liu, 2021). Other criminologists question the universality of the theories by Western-based scholars; some further propose that theories are culture-dependent (Braithwaite, 2015; Carrington, 2014; Connell, 2007; Garland, 2021; Walklate, 2016). Critical criminologists criticize Western dominance and trace its roots

---

<sup>1</sup> Distinguished Professor; Faculty of Law, University of Macau

in the history of colonies of Western over non-Western countries; some criticize the hegemony of Western knowledge (Liu, 2018).

Therefore, *Asian Criminology* can be understood as a response to this critical challenge. (Liu, 2009, 2022; Liu & Liang, 2019). The vast cultural, political, economic, and social diversity in Asia poses a challenge to understanding particularity and building general knowledge but also provides great opportunities to develop criminology (Liu, 2009; Liu et al., 2001b; Liu et al., 1998; Zhang et al., 2008; Zhang et al., 2007).

Asian Criminology can be defined as “the study of crime and justice in the Asian context.” (Liu, 2022). This definition points to the advantages provided by Asian contexts in discovering facts and ideas often overlooked or ignored by the conventional criminology paradigm. Many aspects of crime and justice are not obvious in a Western context but are more visible in Asian contexts.

Therefore, criminology can gain insights by studying crime and justice in Asia. The definition of Asian Criminology stresses that an in-depth study of the contexts is more essential than geographic or various group boundaries. The approach of Asian Criminology is a “context-focused approach” (Liu, 2021, 2022). The mission is not only to discover new knowledge in the Asian contexts but also to reveal the broader implications of these Asian discoveries for a higher level of general understanding in criminology.

### **Development of Asian Criminology**

International scholars have witnessed the growth of Asian criminology over the past years (Belknap, 2016; Moosavi, 2018). Empirical data have shown a rapid increase in studies of crime and justice in Asia following the establishment of the Society (Belknap, 2016; Liu, 2022). Moosavi (2018) concluded that “Asian criminology has its roots in the founding of the Asian Criminological Society and the Asian Journal of Criminology in 2006 but was not proposed as a paradigm until 2009 when Jianhong Liu published ‘Asian Criminology—Challenges, Opportunities, and Directions’” (p. 257).

Therefore, 2009 was a year with special significance for Asian criminologists. First, Asian Criminological Society (ACS) was established in this year, and it has been holding the annual conference for 13 years. The first annual conference was held in Macau (2009); the second annual conference has held in Chennai (2010), followed by Taipei (2011), Seoul (2012), Mumbai (2013), Osaka (2014), Hong Kong (2015), Beijing (2016), Cairns (2017), Penang (2018), Cebu (2019), Kyoto (2020/2021), Gujarat (2022). The 14th conference is scheduled for 2023 in Sri Lanka; the 15th conference will be in 2024, in Manila, Philippines; the 16th conference will be in 2025, in Brisbane, Australia.

Moreover, the article “Asian Criminology – Challenges, Opportunities, and Directions” (Liu, 2009) published on *Asian Journal of Criminology*, which reviewed the background that the concept of Asian Criminology was proposed and discussed the main themes of Asian Criminology; compared the different features of Western and Asian to argue the special features of the Asian context poses; discussed challenges as

well as great advantages and opportunities for growing criminology; and also discussed the future direction and outlines the path for Asian criminology to grow.

### **The Mission of Asian Criminology**

Although the current development of criminology is in good shape and achievements have been made in many aspects, there are still scholars who criticize and worry about the current status of criminology. However, it is these limitations that give Asian criminology a good opportunity to contribute to the international criminology development. And this is the mission of Asian criminology.

### **The Major Limitations of the Current Criminological Discipline**

One primary limitation of conventional criminology is that it gives insufficient attention to non-Western countries and contexts. Aas (2012) noted that “the global does therefore not present itself as a smooth, unified surface, a plane of immanence accessible through a zoom function, but rather as a dynamic multiplicity of surfaces and tectonic boundaries” (p. 14). The absences of global South/Nonwestern in criminology “have three consequences: other voices and visions of social processes are excluded, non-metropolitan experiences are erased and the gathering of data from the ‘periphery’ becomes framed and informed by Northern concepts and methods” (Walklate, 2016). The current criminology is mainly based on western theories, and most of the empirical studies of criminology theories were tested in western context. Although there were non-Western context studies, most of them are testing the application of Western theories in non-Western societies, rather than developing a

theory suitable for local social situation.

Another limitation is the low impacts. Garland (2021) noted that “empirical research and criminological knowledge are downgraded” (p. 258) and “failing to have much impact on the contemporary politics of crime and punishment” (p. 271). Most theories are showing a regular pattern but a policy suggestion. Moreover, the empirical research methods of criminology are very different from the dogmatic methods of law, resulting in limited communication between criminology and law, which is hard to have a major impact on the judicial system or policy.

### **Calls for Developing Non-Western Criminology**

Nowadays, more and more scholars have noticed the blank of criminology research in non-western society. Messner (2015) calls for the development of concepts more sensitive to non-Western societies. Braithwaite (2015) points to areas in which the West could learn from Asian societies. Walklate (2016) points out a special advantage and mission for Asian Criminology in the discipline of criminology:

Asian criminology, in being neither here nor there, stands at the positive intersection of the north-south and east-west in terms of geography and culture. It is well placed to think differently, both conceptually and methodologically, about the criminological enterprise and the debates that such different thinking might generate. (p. 48)

These observations and criticisms are helpful in elaborating the mission for Asian Criminology as a new growth point for the criminology discipline. We shall elaborate on the mission of Asian criminology for its role in growing criminology, enhancing

criminology, taking advantage of the special features of Asia to discover previously omitted or ignored knowledge of crime and justice in Asia, to contribute to the general understanding of crime and justice with an enlarged scope and insights from Asia, and make practical policy contributions and impacts to the control of crime and justice in Asia and internationally in general.

### **The Concept of Asian Criminology**

Asian Criminology is *the study of crime and justice in the Asian context*. It brings out from the Asian context the missed or ignored contents by conventional criminology and stresses criminology can gain insights from special contextual features in Asia. The focus of Asian Criminology is on the context and the in-depth contents rather than its geographic or various group boundaries. The main contribution from Asian criminology is not knowing details of the geographic or group boundaries but the knowledge of the context.

This definition will help to clarify some of the confusion in understanding aspects of Asian criminology. Moosavi (2018) has criticized that “Asian criminology is dominated by East Asian criminologists, which may mean it would be more accurate to speak of ‘East Asian Criminology’ rather than ‘Asian Criminology’” (p. 263). However, the “Asian” in Asian criminology is not only a geographic concept, but also a focus of Asian Criminology that on the Asian context. Asian criminologist is someone who studies crime and justice in Asia. Scholar does not need to be an Asian or in any way identified or physically linked to Asia in any geographic sense. And the Asian context

can be one place, a country, a group, or the whole of Asia.

### **The Approach of Asian Criminology**

As mentioned above, Asian context is not a geographic concept, it is about the research subject. The approach is to achieve the objective of extending new insights and knowledge with their broader implications to reach a higher level of general understanding. And I define this approach as a “context-focused approach” (Liu, 2021, 2022). It give an opportunity to criminologists to conduct research based on Asian context. It allows scholars to pay more attention to the impact of different cultural backgrounds on crime and criminal justice systems in Asian societies.

The approach stresses the importance of revealing ignored or missed information, different voices, and perspectives existed in some locations or groups in Asia. These locations or groups or perspectives have been previously ignored or missed due to various macro or micro reasons and were not well presented for their particularity in the conventional criminology paradigm. Without these contents, there will not be complete knowledge of crime and justice for criminology.

### **Confusion About the Concept of Asian Criminology**

Much confusion about the concept of Asian criminology arises when critics consider clear boundaries or identification of a group as the focus and pre-requirement to learn the contents associated with the geographic place or group. There are many questions such as “how Asia is defined” “is Asian criminology produced by Asians” “how we define an ‘Asian’”. By the same token, critics can ask what constitutes Western or non-Western. Based on this line of confusion on the concept of Asian

criminology, critics can further question the possibility of “reverse discrimination” of nonwestern over western, or Asian groups could glorify themselves to the extent to create hierarchical inequality of Asian criminology disregarding the contributions of Western paradigms (Moosavi, 2018).

These confusions are based on conceptualizations of groups such as Asia/Asian as the basis for discussing other matters. However, the boundaries of the groups, geography, or people, in my view, are only convenient labels to be used to temporarily express the scholarly idea. These boundaries themselves are dynamic and may often change over time. Recognizing the underrepresentation of content is more important than the precise identification of temporary boundaries.

To solve such doubts, criminologists can apply the “context-focused approach” as the approach of Asian Criminology. The primary objective of the research is to gain insight from the study of a particular context or group for enhancing the general understanding of the discovered facts or meaning for criminology. Through the sharing of Asian experience, the misunderstanding of international scholars on Asian criminology and Asian paradigms will be broken.

### **Asian Paradigm**

In 2009, I published a paper that build a unified paradigm of Asian Criminology. The paper argued that “shared conceptual frameworks, research approaches, and institutionalization under a unified paradigm greatly promote the rapid growth of a science” (Liu, 2009). It cites the history of science as evidence to argue that a successful



discipline is typically supported by a paradigm as it rapidly grows (Kuhn, 1997; Liu, 2009).

Then, I define the Asian criminological paradigm as “a framework that consists of a set of relatively unified concepts, approaches, the institutionalization of criminology, and which forms a common basis for dialogue, debate, and discussion, as well as some generally shared standards for evaluation of research and programs and a relatively clearer direction for advancement” (Liu, 2018).

The concept of Asian criminology and approaches are corner stones for the framework of the Asian paradigm. The context-focused approach suggests that our research program can be most productive if it sets an objective of discovering facts and insights by focusing on studying the particular context, and further aims at extending those insights and knowledge to enhance general criminology knowledge. In the Asian context characterized by diversity, “the paradigm of Asian criminology should consider the diversity of Asia, particularly encouraging the in-depth study of particular Asian contexts, traditions, and theoretical or practice models, as well as topics that are particularly Asia” (Liu, 2009). Therefore, the “context-focused approach” helps criminologists to discover facts and insights by focusing on studying one particular context, then further aims at extending those insights and knowledge to gain a general understanding of criminology knowledge.

### **The Approach**

A generalized understanding of crime and justice is not achievable without fully examining and considering diverse contexts. Past studies often focus on Western

contexts, and non-Western contexts are often neglected. Western researchers often assume the theory is universal when conducting research. Then, many scholars have questioned that Western theories cannot be applied to non-Western societies, and some empirical studies have also found that Western theories cannot be applied to non-Western contexts. Asian paradigm helps criminologists discover missed or ignored contents and aspects of crime and justice and discover ignored voices and perspectives from the context in Asian societies.

Various Asian countries have their own effective ways of dealing with crimes (Liu et al., 2012). Although many practices in Asian countries may not look “orthodox” to Westerners or may even seem unacceptable from established Western perspectives, focusing on context will help us to understand the contents and meanings of crime and justice within the context and may provide insights. These insights can provide suggestive ideas for reforms. For example, “*tiao-jie*” is a judicial procedure deals with disputes and minor criminal cases, which contains the wisdom of Confucianism in traditional Chinese culture (Messner et al., 2017). Although the judicial systems of different countries have their own cultural background, less research focus on the context and culture. In empirical research, cultural background is more used as a control variable, rather than taking cultural background as an independent or dependent variable after further research.

Asian paradigm also can direct criminologists to take advantage of the opportunities that diversity affords us. Criminologists can carefully and deeply study the particular patterns of crime and justice in different regions and cultures. Introduce

to the world the unique patterns that exist in Asian cultures through empirical research. To enrich human experience and our collective knowledge of criminology by sharing Asian experiences.

### **The Path to Develop a Criminological Theory: A Three-Stage Path**

To develop a criminological theory, a three-stage path has been concluded. The first is examining and testing established theories, “which mostly originated from the West, in Asian contexts and conditions” (Liu, 2022). Strict empirical testing is indispensable for the birth of every theory. Through empirical testing, we can ensure the correctness and reproducibility of the theory (Liu, 2024; Liu & Li, 2023; Zhao et al., 2024).

Moreover, make theoretical elaborations to the existing theories to modify them for the context of Asia. This path asks for reworking the theory under new contexts (Liu, 2018). It is impossible for an existing theory to fully fit the Asian context, nor can it be completely unsuitable for the Asian context. When elaborating the theory, it is necessary to identify which part of the theory is applicable in the Asian context, so as to reflect the importance of the context. Criminologists need to base themselves on the cultural background of Asia, combine the development status of Asian societies, and conduct research in Asia to discover the part of existing theories that can be applied by Asian society. Or discover the limitations of existing theories in the Asian context, and put forward Asian thinking on this limitation, and contribute a part of Asian experience to the theory.

The third is propose new theories based on evidence supplied from the Asian

context. This stage is the most contributive stage, which is to propose new theories based on evidence supplied from the Asian context. Then integrate theories from Western and non-Western criminology to obtain a more general theory through comparative studies with other theories. At present, criminologists still pursue to have a general theory of crime, and many scholars have made theoretical contributions in this regard. By studying Asia and proposing a criminological theory suitable for the Asian context, criminologists can contribute the Asian experience in the process of building a general theory of crime.

Along the dimension of the paradigm of Asian Criminology, important progress has been made on the theoretical front (Liu, 2009; Zhong & Zhang, 2021). I have developed the Asian paradigm theory (Liu, 2016) and further proposed the concept of relationism as a characteristic social feature, and a “relational theory” (Liu, 2017). Then those theoretical efforts have been further developed into “relationism theory” (Liu, 2021), and these efforts have been highly evaluated by international criminologists (Braithwaite, 2015; Messner, 2015; Zhong & Zhang, 2021). This shows that culture has research value in criminology, and culture has a considerable influence on both crime and criminal justice.

A significant contribution of Asian criminology is to offer opportunities for comparative studies between the West and Asia. Among the six cradles of civilization, three are located in Asia (Mesopotamia, Ancient India, and Ancient China), especially the Chinese civilization, which has been continuously inherited until today. All reflect that Asia has a different cultural background from the West. Liu (2009) mentioned that

“Asia is an excellent context to compare with the West because of the large differences” (p. 7). Karstedt (2001) also pointed out that comparative studies “offer new insights, fresh theories and chances of innovative perspectives” (p. 285). Adler (1996) argued that “globalization affords us the opportunity to do cross-cultural testing and development of criminological theory” (p. 5). It can be seen that the potential of Asia as a research object of criminology is unlimited, and Asian contexts can provide indispensable opportunities to develop modern criminology. Criminologists should turn their attention to Asia and other non-Western societies to fill in the research gaps in criminology in non-Western contexts.

### **Institutionalization of Asian Paradigm**

Institutionalization builds the infrastructure for the Asian paradigm. As Liu (2017) stated that “the institutionalization includes the establishment of academic society and other academic networks, academic journals, and education programs, thus facilitating communication within the Asian criminological community and with other parts of the world” (p.75). So far, we have established the Asian Criminological Society, founded the Asian Journal of Criminology, established the “Springer Series on Asian Criminology and Criminal Justice Research”, and helped develop criminological academic educational programs in several Asian countries.

The establishment of the Asian Criminological Society provided a major platform. The annual conferences have been highly successful in facilitating the growth of the academic network and communications among scholars internationally. Within this

context, criminologists in Asian countries have also established institutions to grow Asian criminology. Many Asian countries have their country-wide society of criminology; some countries have established their country-wide associations with the support of ACS. For example, Sri Lanka established Sri Lanka Society of Criminology in 2015 with Jeeva Niriella elected to be the President of the society and she has been also elected the Vice President of the Asian criminological society in 2022. Many leaders of Countrywide criminology societies also hold the leadership positions of the Asian Criminological Society.

Over the past years, the journal has earned its prestige reflected in its increase in the international academic ranking. The journal was selected into the Social Science Index in 2018. Recently, SCImago published the latest list of SJR in 2021. The Asian Journal of Criminology was once again listed in Q1 in the subject of law, ranking 60th among 818 law journals in the world, rising to the top 10% of law journals. CiteScore™ is a journal evaluation system launched by Elsevier in 2016, which is used by many internationally renowned publishers, including Springer-Nature, Taylor&Francis, Elsevier, Oxford University Press, etc. According to its latest data, the Asian Journal of Criminology has risen from 126th in the law category in 2020 (722 in total) to 75th in the law category in 2021 (801 in total), in the CiteScore ranking, rising to the top 10% of Law journals and reigning in Q1 in the subject of Law. This reflects that Asian criminology has attracted many international scholars, and also shows that Asian criminology research can reach the level of Western research. These achievements affirm the results of our efforts and encourage us to actively participate in the research

of criminology in the Asian context.

Several sets of books related to Asian criminology also came into being. The “Springer Series on Asian Criminology and Criminal Justice Research” was established in 2018, and 10 books have been published in this series so far. Other books such as the “Handbook of Asian Criminology” in 2014 and “Palgrave Advances in Criminology and Criminal Justice in Asia” in 2015, the latter has published 20 books.

Criminological academic educational programs are a major infrastructure within the discipline, and they have known very significant growth in Asian countries. Several Asian countries and regions established their own criminology programs and academia, such as China, Malaysia, India, Israel, Uzbekistan, etc. And this trend of growth has been continuing (Liu, 2022).

### **Future Directions**

Studies of crime and justice in Asia can be traced back thousands of years ago in Asia, like ancient Chinese justice has long focused on the accumulation of experience. But the concept of “Asian criminology” is suggested in 2009 (Moosavi, 2018). Prior to this, Western criminology has been in the leading position in the world. Few non-Western criminology has received the attention of international criminologists. Many concepts of criminology are derived from empirical research in the Western context. In addition, there are different social and cultural traditions in the non-Western context itself, which makes it difficult for non-Western criminologists to reach a unified consensus. Non-Western criminologists need to find a way out of this dilemma and the

Asian criminology find it.

The new concept and paradigm function to unite the efforts and interests to grow the research and academic activities rapidly as indicated by statistics and findings of scholars (Belknap, 2016; Liu, 2022). More scholars can through the new concept to conduct new research, which extent the understanding of Asian context and Asian criminology. With more scholars joining in the study of Asia, the criminological research in Asia will go a step further, thus become a trend that cannot be ignored in international criminology research.

The concept of Asian Criminology and the proposed Asian paradigm contain rich implications for research and policy. Context-focused approach can guide scholars focus on research subject's culture and tradition, which did not attract the attention of international criminological research. By conducting research in Asian societies, scholars can not only gain theoretical research experience suitable for the local society, but also reach a theoretical consensus applicable to the Asian context through communicate with other scholars.

Direction for a solution is to develop markets (Liu, 2021). Asian criminologists need to deepen their understanding of the markets in different countries. As mentioned, each country has their own criminal justice system and their own understanding on crime. Therefore, different countries have different demands on criminology. Such as the needs of Southeast Asian countries for anti-drug work, the needs of Central Asian countries for anti-terrorism work, the needs of South Asian countries for social stability work, and the needs of East Asian countries for solving social instability brought about



by economic development, etc. There is a great demand in Asia for criminology, especially a set of criminology theories suitable for Asian social context.

In the context of such a huge demand, criminologists must provide high-quality products, including academic knowledge, policy initiatives, and practical skills. To achieve this, we will need to build more advanced criminology programs to train more young scholars rooted in indigenous criminological research. Meanwhile, it is also necessary to strengthen international communication and cooperation, learning cutting-edge methods of other research.

Criminology as an interdisciplinary, it is vital to strengthen interdisciplinary cooperation. Criminologists need to break down bias and gaps between disciplines. For example, criminologist can expand research on criminal policy to bridge criminology and study of doctrine. Therefore, the study of criminology in the Asian context is still a subject worthy of in-depth exploration.

## References

- Aas, K. F. (2012). 'The Earth is one but the world is not': Criminological theory and its geopolitical divisions. *Theoretical Criminology*, 16(1), 5-20. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1362480611433433>
- Adler, F. (1996). Our American Society of Criminology, the World, and the State of the Art - The American Society of Criminology 1995 Presidential Address Presidential Address. *Criminology*, 34, 1.
- Belknap, J. (2016). Asian Criminology's Expansion and Advancement of Research and Crime Control Practices. *Asian Journal of Criminology*, 11(4), 249-264. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11417-016-9240-7>
- Braithwaite, J. (2015). Rethinking Criminology Through Radical Diversity in Asian Reconciliation. *Asian Journal of Criminology*, 10(3), 183-191. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11417-014-9200-z>
- Carrington, K. (2014). *Feminism and global justice*. Routledge.
- Connell, R. (2007). The Northern Theory of Globalization\*. *Sociological Theory*, 25(4), 368-385.

<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9558.2007.00314.x>

- Garland, D. (2021). What's Wrong with Penal Populism? Politics, the Public, and Criminological Expertise. *Asian Journal of Criminology*, 16(3), 257-277. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11417-021-09354-3>
- Karstedt, S. (2001). Comparing cultures, comparing crime: Challenges, prospects and problems for a global criminology. *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 36(3), 285-308. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1012223323445>
- Kuhn, T. S. (1997). *The structure of scientific revolutions* (Vol. 962). University of Chicago press Chicago.
- Liu, J. (2009). Asian Criminology – Challenges, Opportunities, and Directions. *Asian Journal of Criminology*, 4(1), 1-9. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11417-009-9066-7>
- Liu, J. (2016). Asian Paradigm Theory and Access to Justice. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*, 32(3), 205-224. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1043986216656681>
- Liu, J. (2017). The New Asian Paradigm: A Relational Approach. In J. Liu, M. Travers, & L. Y. C. Chang (Eds.), *Comparative Criminology in Asia* (pp. 17-32). Springer International Publishing. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-54942-2\\_2](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-54942-2_2)
- Liu, J. (2018). The Asian Criminological Paradigm and How It Links Global North and South: Combining an Extended Conceptual Tool box from the North with Innovative Asian Contexts. In K. Carrington, R. Hogg, J. Scott, & M. Sozzo (Eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Criminology and the Global South* (pp. 61-82). Springer International Publishing. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-65021-0\\_4](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-65021-0_4)
- Liu, J. (2021). Asian Criminology and Non-Western Criminology: Challenges, Strategies, and Directions. *International Annals of Criminology*, 59(2), 103-118. <https://doi.org/10.1017/cri.2021.16>
- Liu, J. (2022). Asian Criminology—Elaborating Its Concepts, Approach, Paradigm, and Future. *Asian Journal of Criminology*, 17(4), 391-399. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11417-022-09375-6>
- Liu, J. (2024). The Relationism Theory of Criminal Justice—A Paradigm Shift. *Asian Journal of Criminology*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11417-024-09419-z>
- Liu, J., & Li, D. (2023). Is Machine Learning Unsafe and Irresponsible in Social Sciences? Paradoxes and Reconsidering from Recidivism Prediction Tasks. *arXiv preprint arXiv:2311.06537*.
- Liu, J., & Liang, B. (2019). A Case Study of Chinese Netizens' Opinions on Capital Punishment: Diversity, Rationale, and Interaction. *Modern China*, 45(6), 666-692. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0097700418819833>
- Liu, J., & Messner, S. F. (2001). Modernization and crime trends in China's reform era. In J. Liu, L. Zhang, & S. F. Messner (Eds.), *Crime and social control in a changing China* (pp. 3-22). Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Liu, J., & Palermo, G. B. (2009). Restorative justice and Chinese traditional legal culture in the context of contemporary Chinese criminal justice reform. *Asia Pacific Journal of Police & Criminal Justice*, 7(1), 49-68.
- Liu, J., Travers, M., & Chang, L. (2017). Why compare? Asian countries, the west and comparative criminology. In J. Liu, M. Travers, & L. Chang (Eds.), *Comparative Criminology in Asia* (pp. 11-15). Springer Cham.
- Liu, J., Zhang, L., & Messner, S. F. (2001a). *Crime and Social Control in a Changing China*. Bloomsbury Publishing.

- Liu, J., Zhang, L., & Messner, S. F. (2001b). Introduction: Impact of Market Transition - Changing Crime and Social Control in China. In J. Liu, L. Zhang, & S. F. Messner (Eds.), *Crime and social control in a changing China* (pp. xi-xvi).
- Liu, J., Zhang, Y., & Wang, X. (2021). Covid-19 and Asian Criminology: Uncertainty, Complexity, and the Responsibility of AJOC Amidst Eventful Times. *Asian Journal of Criminology*, 16(1), 1-4. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11417-021-09347-2>
- Liu, J., Zhao, R., Xiong, H., & Gong, J. (2012). Chinese legal traditions: Punitiveness versus mercy. *Asia Pacific Journal of Police & Criminal Justice*, 9(1), 17-33.
- Liu, J., Zhou, D., Liska, A. E., Messner, S. F., Krohn, M. D., Zhang, L., & Lu, Z. (1998). Status, power, and sentencing in China. *Justice Quarterly*, 15(2), 289-300. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07418829800093751>
- Messner, S. F. (2015). When West Meets East: Generalizing Theory and Expanding the Conceptual Toolkit of Criminology. *Asian Journal of Criminology*, 10(2), 117-129. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11417-014-9197-3>
- Messner, S. F., Liu, J., & Zhao, Y. (2018). Predicting Re-Incarceration Status of Prisoners in Contemporary China: Applying Western Criminological Theories. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 62(4), 1018-1042. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0306624x16669142>
- Messner, S. F., Lu, Z., Zhang, L., & Liu, J. (2007). Risks of Criminal Victimization in Contemporary Urban China: An Application of Lifestyle/Routine Activities Theory. *Justice Quarterly*, 24(3), 496-522. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07418820701485429>
- Messner, S. F., Zhang, L., Zhang, S. X., & Gruner, C. P. (2017). Neighborhood Crime Control in a Changing China: Tiao-Jie, Bang-Jiao, and Neighborhood Watches. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 54(4), 544-577. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022427816682059>
- Moosavi, L. (2018). A Friendly Critique of 'Asian Criminology' and 'Southern Criminology'. *The British Journal of Criminology*, 59(2), 257-275. <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjc/azy045>
- Walklate, S. (2016). Whither Criminology: Its Global Futures? *Asian Journal of Criminology*, 11(1), 47-59. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11417-015-9223-0>
- Zhang, L., Messner, S. F., & Liu, J. (2008). A critical review of recent literature on crime and criminal justice in China: research findings, challenges, and prospects (Introduction). *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 50(3), 125-130. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10611-008-9134-4>
- Zhang, L., Messner, S. F., & Lu, J. (2007). Criminological Research in Contemporary China: Challenges and Lessons Learned From a Large-Scale Criminal Victimization Survey. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 51(1), 110-121. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0306624x06294430>
- Zhang, L., Zhou, D., Messner, S. F., Liska, A. E., Krohn, M. D., Liu, J., & Lu, Z. (1996). Crime prevention in a communitarian society: Bang-jiao and tiao-jie in the people's Republic of China. *Justice Quarterly*, 13(2), 199-222. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07418829600092911>
- Zhao, X., Li, D. M., Lai, Z. Z., Liu, P. L., Ao, S. H., & You, F. (2024). Percentage Coefficient (bp) -- Effect Size Analysis (Theory Paper 1). *arXiv preprint arXiv:2404.19495*.
- Zhong, H., & Zhang, S. Y. (2021). Social Control of Crime in Asia. In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Criminology*. Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190264079.013.623>