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An Assessment of Criminology in the Latin Global South

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ABSTRACT

Criminology research, on theories, policies, and practices, has a history of focusing on crime in the Global North. The Latin Global South, neighboring the United States, is a region in the world that produces some of the highest rates of crime and violence. The research questions in this thesis were to document the representation of criminology research in the Latin Global South, view how it has changed over time, and to present some of the findings from criminology research in the Latin Global South. By solely focusing on Latin criminology (i.e., crime, crime control, and criminal justice), various patterns have emerged; most importantly, the continued exclusion of the Latin Global South in many international criminological studies.

INTRODUCTION AND REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Criminology is a field that is interdisciplinary and has largely been dominated by British and U.S. White male scholars born into privilege who, according to Rock (2007:3) in *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology*, "learned at first or second hand conditions in Britain and elsewhere, and they cultivated in their turn the beginnings of a comparative, investigative stance towards problems of crime, policing, and punishment." Professor Jianhong Liu, a prior president of the Asian Criminology Society, an academic criminology organization that is only in its seventh year, published an article entitled "Asian Criminology--Challenges, Opportunities and Directions," published in 2009 in the *Asian Journal of Criminology*. Joanne Belknap, in an article forthcoming in the *Asian Journal of Criminology* and presentation at the 7th annual Asian Criminology Society annual meeting in Hong Kong in 2015, presented a design and her findings for a study she conducted on the growth and unique research contributions of criminology in the Asian Global South since 1900. Her design and findings distinguished Asian criminology scholarship by types of crimes and across Asian countries, as well as over time. I have replicated her work, by collecting similar data for Latin countries in the Global South.

International Crime and Justice, a 2011 book edited by Mangai Natarajan, provides research contributions from over fifty well-respected criminologists across the world. In this book, one scholar, Shelley (2011:8) discusses the importance of the globalization of crime, further underlining the need for more global criminology: "Globalization has contributed to an enormous growth in crime across borders as criminals exploit the ability to move goods and people." More specifically, the globalization of crime has created the need to study different patterns of crime, such as why crime is committed, where crime exists, and, among other

patterns, the responses to crime by law enforcement, the courts and prisons.

The globalization of crime, however, has not been the only factor that has driven the increase in crime research. The development of technology has accelerated the spread of international (across-nation) crimes, and, in turn, the growing importance of *international criminology*. Fortunately, the advancement in technology has significantly increased the ability to obtain international criminological data. With the click of a mouse, one can acquire the information necessary to grasp the state of criminology in specific regions around the globe. However, after investing a large amount of time and conducting meticulous research, it is apparent there are regions where there has been an insufficient amount of criminological exploration. In the remainder of this thesis, I will summarize the importance and growth of international criminology, with a data-driven focus on criminology scholarship in Latin countries, how it has grown across countries and by crimes studied, and some of the contributions of the existing research on crime in the Latin Global South**.**

Clayton Hartjen (2008:xiii), in his book entitled *Youth, Crime, & Justice: A Global Inquiry*, reports in the introduction that his book "summarizes criminological research on youth crime and juvenile justice." Hartjen's work contains several tables that display data on youth offenders by country, gang types in different countries, rates of people in the criminal justice system (juveniles and adults), and models of juvenile justice. Examining his summary of these major works, I noticed a strong pattern: the invisibility of research on offending in the Latin Global South." (xiii).

In their chapter entitled "Women and International Criminal Justice," in a 2011 book entitled *International Crime and Justice,* Mangai Natarajan and Monica Ciobanu, address women as offenders and victims of international crime. In this reading, women offenders are

categorized into four typical scenarios where women act as perpetrators of international crime: drug trafficking, human trafficking, terrorism, and genocide. I will focus on the former two, drug trafficking and human trafficking, because these are more relevant to the Latin Global South than terrorism and genocide. The data I collected in the data and findings section of this thesis from the ISI Web of Science included violence against women and children and trafficking, which is different from this Natarajan and Ciobanu (2011), who detail women's role in international crime as *offenders*.

From an analysis of drug traffickers caught smuggling between 1991 and 1997, Natarajan and Ciobanu (2011) explain women who smuggle drugs "take on a high-risk but lower-status role of courier and carry Class A drugs in large quantities" (2011:50). This suggests that women drug traffickers are of little importance if they are caught smuggling drugs, but are risking more by carrying higher class drugs in larger quantities. The reading, however, fails to report the gender of the smugglers who were caught in their analysis. This is important because men may report a different opinion than women regarding the risk and status of women traffickers. It is plausible that male smugglers might view themselves as risking more because they may perceive themselves as the heads of their households.

Although the gender of the smugglers interviewed were not reported, Natarajan and Ciobanu (2011) report "women take up the largest portion of traffickers and they are involved in all stages of the trafficking operations" (2011:50). The second half of this reading considers women as victims of international violence, specifically *culture-specific violence*. The authors provide seven examples of culture-specific violence and explore which cultures these crimes primarily occur. The seven examples of culture-specific violence are female genital mutilation, honor killings, female infanticide, bride burnings, fatwah, bonded labor, and acid attacks

(2011:51). Following the description of each crime, the authors explain the regions where these crimes occur; Africa, Asia, the Middle East, the United States, Australia, and Canada (among several other individual countries). I found it alarming there is not one mention of these crimes occurring in Latin countries in the Global South.

Jan van Dijk and Jo-Anne Wemmers (2011) discuss the problem with victim surveys in their chapter "Victimology: Services and Rights for Victims of Domestic and International Crimes" in *International Crime and Justice*. They claim: "Victimization surveys revealed not only that many victimizations were never reported to the police but also that many reporting victims were dissatisfied with the way their cases were handled by the authorities" (2011:33). Therefore, there was a need to improve services rendered for international crime victims. These revelations lead to several international movements for victimization surveys, one of which was the World Society of Victimology (1979). The movements focused on not only the needs of victims of international crimes, but "as well as the needs of indirect victims such as family members and witnesses" (2011:34). This movement was an important advancement for international criminology because it stressed the importance of the victims themselves, which allowed survey respondents to be more willing to accurately report crimes committed against them.

Mario Arroyo Juarez (a researcher on strategic intelligence at the Tecnologico de Monterrey in Mexico) and Veronica Martinez Solares (a board member at the International Organization for Victim Assistance), provide a history about the development of criminology in Mexico over the past fifty year, their 2011 chapter entitled "Mexico: The state of criminology and public safety." They report that Mexico experienced an increase in criminological publications in the 1960's and 1970's, which was a product of the fight for democracy. Juarez

and Solares list some of the leading publishers during this era, but explain that Siglo XXI Editores, one of the new publishers at this time, started to publish books on critical thinking, ideas and studies to expose the power structure at the time and its excesses to explain the roots of the emergence of social upheaval and a dominant party authoritarian regime" (Juarez and Solares 2011:456). As Mexico's criminological field developed, however, it lacked originality and was influenced by South American criminological train of thought. The lack of 'native theoretical and empirical research' caused criminology in Mexico to be labeled as an 'appendix of criminal science' (Juarez and Solares, 2011:457). Criminology at this time did not focus on policy or the criminal system, but on how to control crime and keep it to a minimum; especially, with the rise in drug trafficking.

Drug trafficking, since the mid-to-late 1980s, created a different venue for crime to be reported. Criminologists were no longer the main source for reporting crime to the public. Media outlets began to substitute criminologists and real scientific research for journalistic assessments (Juarez and Solares, 2011:457). Therefore, crime was being studied from more of a journalistic standpoint and less from a criminological perspective, deteriorating the growth of criminology that was made since the 1960s.

According to Juarez and Solares (2011), most crime statistics are compiled by two main sources in Mexico; the National Institute of Statistics and Geography (INEGI) and the National Public Security System. Both of these systems are unreliable because they do not focus on all crime (i.e., unrecorded crime), and the accessibility to these statistics is limited, which causes the statistics from these sources to be "incomplete, biased and/or unreliable, especially if used for planning, research and public policy analysis" (Juarez and Solares, 2011;458). Although there have been advancements in Mexican criminology since the 1960s, Mexican criminology's lack

of native theoretical and empirical research, the fact that the media has taken the place of criminologists when studying the drug trade, and highly unreliable sources of statistics have made the progress of Mexican criminology come to a standstill.

THE METHOD

Introduction

This thesis is in large part a replication of Belknap's (forthcoming) research on Asian Global South Criminology, instead focusing on Latin Global South Criminology. The first data set reported in this thesis were collected using the ISI Web of Science, identical to Belknap's method but replacing Asia with the Latin Global South. Whereas Belknap conducted a summary of the research articles in the *Asian Journal of* Criminology for her second data set, I differ in my second data set, drawing instead on the representation and findings of Latin criminology scholarship in books on international/global crime. In this methods chapter I will describe each of these data sets and my project design. This thesis is unique in the research questions it addresses on criminology scholarship in the Latin Global South. Given the research question, the literature review was somewhat limited because it was difficult to determine what should be in the literature review and what should be in the findings, as I am trying to document the scholarship in the Latin Global South.

The Two Data Sets

Data Set I: A Replication of Belknap's Asian Criminology Study with Latin Countries

Identical to Belknap's (forthcoming) method to examine the representation and growth of Latin Global South Criminology over time, I also used ISI Web of Science to identify research articles using the same keywords and subjects as Belknap to identify criminology articles, but in my study, I focused on research in the Latin Global South instead of Asia, which I will from now forward refer to as Latin countries.

The time period for inclusion in Data I of my study, was criminology articles published starting in 1900 and to the present day. I chose this time period in order to examine how Latin criminology has grown since the beginning of the 20th Century. The second time period I used was from 2010 to present day, which I did to be able to document how criminology research has changed since 2010 (as well as since 1900).

In full replication of Belknap (forthcoming) study, I confined my search on the ISI Web of Science website by only including specific "research domains" on this scholarly research engine. The research domains I selected were "social science" and "science technology," but excluded "arts humanities." ISI Web of Science also offers the opportunity to confine a search by "document type." I only selected "article" under document type and excluded the remaining document types (i.e., abstract, review, book, data set, meeting, reference material, and editorial).

In further replicating Belknap (forthcoming), I used the ISI Web of Science to first search for research articles that included the words "crimes" OR "criminology" OR "criminal justice" OR "crime control", and I did this for various Latin countries. Table 1 refers to this search as "Traditional Criminology and Crime Control" or, simply as TCCC. Through the ISI Web of Science, I identified all of the articles fitting these search words by Latin nation, from 1900. Second, I divided the Latin Global South countries' individual (and total) TCCC articles to

articles published prior to 2010 and those published in 2010 and later (to date). Thus, I am able to provide a percentage of the articles published since the year 2010.

Following Belknap's (forthcoming) Asian Criminology study, I also added a second ISI Web of Science for various countries in the Latin Global South, this time with search with a second string of topics: "violence against women" OR "domestic violence" OR "sexual assault" OR "child abuse" OR "sex trafficking" OR "human trafficking." These data are also reported in Table 1, labeled "Violence against Women and Children and Trafficking," or, more simply, VAWT. I wanted to add this second string of topics to my research design not only because Belknap (forthcoming) provided an argument for how this research is often not included in "criminology" but should be, but due to my own concerns about the high rates of human and sex trafficking in and out of the Latin Global South. Obviously, one article could be found in both TCCC and VAWT categories and in several different Latin countries. If an article included different countries, it could be found in different searches based on the specific countries.

As seen in Table 1, I also recorded the first year a criminological article was produced for each Latin country. Recording this information was essential for determining which countries were first being studied from a criminological lens and how the amount of research completed for these countries has fluctuated over time.

In my Data Set I data collection on the ISI Web of Science, I conducted the ISI Web of Science search for all Latin countries. However, I am not reporting on some of these countries due to very small population sizes or because they are independent territories and not countries, and thus published articles are extremely limited or nonexistent. The countries and independent territories I excluded due to their smaller population and minimal criminological research are: Guadeloupe, Martinique, Saint Martin, Saint Barthelemy, and French Guiana.

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Data Set II: A Representation of Latin Criminology in Books on International Global Crime and Criminology

The second research method I used, for Data Set II, was to identify books/monographs on global/international crime/criminology and examine the representation of Latin Global South criminology in these publications (which are not listed in the ISI Web of Science). I combed through the chapters on the Latin Global South in these international criminology books for information on this criminology scholarship in the Latin Global South. Additionally, I further examined some of the articles I identified through the ISI Web of Science on Latin Global South criminology in Data Set I to report on the contributions of Latin Global South criminology. I selected articles I thought appeared to offer some significant contributions. Although I read the entirety or at least abstracts of many of the articles on criminology in the Latin Global South, I chose the ones I believe had the most to offer in excellent and unique contributions to Latin Global South criminology. My rationale for this method was due to the fact that there is very limited representation of academic studies on Latin criminology in the global academic criminology.

Limitations

The methodological design of this thesis is not without limitations. First, the ISI Web of Science is disproportionately focused on articles published in English, and there is a significant challenge for new journals, and likely those from the Global South, to achieve acceptance into the ISI Web of Science. Second, although I attempted to be careful in finding books on international crime, it is certainly possible that I missed some of them. And, again, given the increased stature to publications in the Global North, it is likely that books published in the Global South are often

difficult to locate and identify. However, given the paucity of research on criminology research in the Latin Global South, this thesis provides an important initial step in documenting some of the problems, but also some of the contributions of the criminology research in the Latin Global South that does exist and is fairly readily available.

In sum, this chapter detailed the methods I used for this thesis study of criminology research in the Latin Global South. I believe these methods are sufficient and appropriate for documenting the changes in Latin Global South criminology and the attention that Latin Global South countries have received in criminology scholarship. The following section explains the findings from my thesis.

THE FINDINGS

A major theme I found to hold true in my research was that Latin criminology has progressed very little over time and there is not an abundant amount of chapters committed to Latin criminology in books on international criminology. It is imperative to not only take an in-depth look at the work conducted in international criminological books, but, also, to compare the amount of attention that is paid to Latin criminology when compared to criminological study conducted around the world in books on international/global crime/criminology.

Another aspect of my research distinguishes between Latin Global South countries. In this research, it was evident that there is a great disparity in the criminology research conducted *among* countries in the Latin Global South. The data collected from ISI Web of Science reveals that the majority of publications since 1900 have focused on three countries: Brazil, Mexico, and Colombia. Therefore, I believe it is important to take a closer look at criminology in other Latin countries and how this academic field has changed overtime.

Data Set I Findings: The Representation of Latin Global South Criminology in the ISI Web of

Science

The data collected from ISI Web of Science revealed multiple patterns in criminological research in the Latin Global South over the last few decades. By totaling the percent of TCCC articles written after 2009 and dividing by the total number of countries, it became clear half (50.1%) of all TCCC articles have been published after 2009. For the VAWT articles, the percentage of articles written after 2009 (43.1%) was less than that of TCCC articles. Importantly, though, both percentages are still very high considering the average year for first articles written was 1974 for TCCC articles and 1987 for VAWT articles. The first TCCC article published was in 1938 (Argentina) and the first VAWT article published was in 1964 (Chile). These statistics reveal that criminological research in the Latin Global South is increasing post-2009, but also document very low rates of Latin criminology published in academic journals prior to 2010.

Varying representations of Latin TCCC criminology research by country

The majority of TCCC articles written since 1900 apply to five countries; Mexico (405), Brazil (385), Colombia (181), Argentina (112), and Chile (107), with the next highest studied country being Guatemala (49). The average percentage of TCCC articles written about these five countries after 2009 is very high (54.5%), which indicates most of the research being conducted have come in the last five years. The least number of TCCC articles written since 1900 also apply to five countries; Uruguay (7), Paraguay (7), Panama (8), the Dominican Republic (8), and Ecuador (9).

Varying representations of Latin TCCC criminology research by country

The majority of VAWT articles written since 1900 apply to two countries; Brazil (522) and Mexico (345). The next highest number of VAWT articles draw on data from Colombia (110). The average percentage of VAWT articles written about these two countries after 2009 is also high (45.5%), which follows the trend that significantly more Latin criminology research has been conducted in more recent years. The least number of VAWT articles written since 1900 apply to six countries; Paraguay (3), Uruguay (5), Panama (6), Venezuela (6), the Dominican Republic (7), and Honduras (7).

From these ISI Web of Science data, it is clear that Panama, Uruguay, Paraguay, and the Dominican Republic, consistently, have the least criminological articles written about them. The total number of TCCC articles written about these countries is very low (30), which is 1.9% of all TCCC articles found on the ISI Web of Science site. Twenty-one VAWT articles have been written about these five countries, which is 1.4% of all VAWT articles found on the ISI Web of Science site. There is little criminological data found on the ISI Web of Science that applies to these five countries, which could be, in-part, due to the great emphasis on criminology in three Latin countries; Mexico, Brazil, and Colombia. The criminological data taken from ISI Web of Science largely focuses on the three countries mentioned; over half (63%) of the TCCC articles taken from this site and close to three quarters (66.3%) of VAWT articles concern the three countries.

The Ratio of TTTC to VAWT Latin Criminology

Finally, I analyzed the ISI Web of Science data to depict the ratio of VAWT publications to TCCC publications. Seven countries recorded a ratio over 1.00; Nicaragua (3.04), Ecuador (2.78), Haiti (1.88), Peru (1.44), Brazil (1.36), Bolivia (1.28), and Puerto Rico (1.12). Six countries were in the 0.75 to 0.99 range; the Dominican Republic (0.88), Mexico (0.85), El

Salvador (0.80), Cuba (0.80), Chile (0.79), and Panama (0.75). Three countries were between the ratios of 0.50 to 0.74; Uruguay (0.71), Costa Rica (0.67), and Colombia (0.61). Five countries reported a ratio of equal to or less than 0.49; Guatemala (0.49), Honduras (0.37), Argentina (0.34), Venezuela (0.27), and Paraguay (0.13). Two-thirds of all countries had more TCCC publications than VAWT publications.

Data Set II Findings: The Representation of Latin Criminology in International/Global Criminology Books and the Contributions of Latin Global South Criminology

Data Set II includes a table of a major edited international crime textbook and the representation of the Latin Global South in this book, the representation of Latin Global South criminology in Hartjen's (2008) book entitled *Youth, Crime, and Justice: A Global Inquiry*, and contributions from specific countries on Latin Global South criminology in the international crime books or articles identified via ISI Web of Science.

The 2008 *Routledge Handbook of International Criminology*

One of the major works that I used to expand my knowledge on Latin criminology was the *Routledge Handbook of International Criminology*, edited by Cindy J. Smith (former Chair of the International Division of the American Society of Criminology), Sheldon X. Zhang (respected author and great contributor to multiple prestigious criminology magazines), and Rosemary Barberet (recipient of the 2006 Herbert Bloch Award of the American Society of Criminology). The Routledge handbook discusses international criminology as a whole, but also emphasizes the state of criminology in several countries and regions around the world. Of the 48 chapters in the book, 22 chapters discuss international criminology and 26 focus on specific

countries or regions. I broke down the latter to determine how much attention was given to countries in the Latin Global South (see Table 2).

Five of the 26 chapters are focused on Latin countries; Brazil, Mexico, Chile, and two chapters written on criminology in Colombia. A large focus was on Asian countries, which account for eight chapters; two chapters on the People's Republic of China, the Golden Triangle (includes Myanmar, Laos, and Thailand), Cambodia, India, South Korea, and two chapters on Hong Kong. Identical to the number of chapters on Asian criminology, European countries accounted for eight chapters; two chapters on the Netherlands, Estonia, Great Britain, Russia, Turkey, and two chapters on Italy. Three chapters focused on African countries (Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone), one chapter on Canada, and one chapter on Australia. It was interesting that there were no chapters on the United States.

Considering Europe and Asia are bigger regions, it is understandable that most of the chapters would be focused here. However, I expected the Latin Global South to be discussed more because of the rise of the drug trade and human trafficking in recent years. Predictably, North America is given little attention because there has already been a large amount of crime study for this region and the book focuses on international criminology. Looking at the different degrees of observation in different regions, it is apparent which regions are spotlighted and which are shunned. It is concerning that Africa and South America receive little attention, given the high rates of poverty and crime. However, the target of this study is criminology in the Latin Global South, so I will put my focus toward this region.

Hartjen's (2008) book *Youth, Crime, and Justice*

Hartjen's 2008 book *Youth, Crime, and Justice,* referred to previously in this thesis, contains an abundance of data on youth crime in various countries, which are displayed in multiple data tables. I examined these tables and determined how much of this data relates to the Latin Global South. Hartjen's first table (Table 3.1, page 39) reports the *Percentage of Minors among Offenders, by Country, in 1999*. Data from over forty countries is divided into different types of offenses by youth including *traffic offenses, intentional homicide, assault, rape, robbery, theft, auto theft, burglary, domestic burglary, drug offenses, and drug trafficking.* Surprisingly, there is no data on the Latin Global South. This data set contains data from only European countries and collected from Council of European Committee on Crime Prevention 2003, 66-67. This requires one to ask why there was no table in this book focused solely on the Latin Global South.

Table 4.1(page 65) in Hartjen's book, is on gang types in various countries. Gang types are broken down into five categories; *traditional, neotraditional, compressed, collective,* and *specialty*. Seven of the forty-five countries (15.6%) listed in this table are from the Latin Global South; Argentina, Brazil, Columbia, El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico, and Puerto Rico. I expected this table to include more countries from Central and South America due to the high rates of gang violence in this region.

Hartjen's (2008) Table 3.3 (page 47), on the rate of persons in the criminal justice system (using United Nations data), compares juvenile and adult rates of persons in the criminal justice system (per 100,000). Of the 43 countries in this data set, four (9.3%) are from the Latin Global South; Chile, Colombia, Uruguay, and Venezuela. It is important to note that of all the countries, Chile (444.22) and Uruguay (424.54) have the fourth and fifth highest rates of juveniles in the criminal justice system; only behind Germany (836.85), New Zealand (817.69), and Finland

(787.44). The table also displays the rates of adults in the criminal justice system and Chile

reports the second highest rate (4,181.64), only behind Finland (5,964.23). The pattern of high

crime rates, yet, minimal reported data for the Latin Global South continues.

Lastly, Table 5.1 (page 88) in Hartjen's book on youth and international criminology is

on models of juvenile justice. This table breaks down the juvenile justice model into six

categories: *participatory, welfare, corporation, modified justice, justice,* and *crime control*. Only

eleven countries are discussed and none are from the Latin Global South. In the previous tables

discussed, it is clear the Latin Global South has little data reported or are completely invisible,

even though table 3.3 indicates relatively high rates of juveniles in the criminal justice system in

a few Latin countries. The remainder of my thesis will discuss criminology in each country from

the Latin Global South.

Latin Global South Criminology Contributions from Specific Chapters and Articles

This section reviews some of the contributions of chapters on Latin Global South criminology in

the edited books on international criminology reviewed in this thesis and articles on the Latin

Global South identified through the ISI Web of Science. For the remainder of this section, I

distinguish the findings by the Latin Global South country from which the data are collected. The

only exception is a section entitled "zero tolerance," because a number of Latin Global South

countries took this approach and this seemed deserving of a separate section. Latin Global South

criminology research is reported in alphabetical order, concluding with the "zero tolerance"

Latin Global South studies.

Argentina

ISI Web of Science data presented Argentina as one of the more studied countries in the Latin Global South, however still behind Mexico, Brazil, and Colombia. There was an abundance of criminological articles to examine for this country, but one that was very interesting was *Campaigning to eradicate court delay: power shifts and new governance in criminal justice in Argentina* (2014). Pablo Ciocchini (2014) examines the change in criminal justice since the early 1980s, when Argentina transitioned to democracy, but mainly focuses on court delay as a problem for this region. Setting the context, Ciocchini explains that "the issue of court delay has been a key issue in a major prison riot in 1996, and 10 years later in a hunger strike involving 14,000 prisoners" (2014:61). The author reveals the problems that court delay had caused; "court delay was the cause of violation of human rights of the defendants who had to wait in prison for their trial and consequently this cause prison overpopulation…. it (court delay) led to closing criminal cases before reaching a sentence" (2014:63). "In the Latin American context there has been a number of socio-legal studies that have sought to identify the causes of and to propose solutions to eradicate court delay" (2014:62). Thus, Ciocchini's concluding research is taken from a different standpoint than what was usually taken on court delay, a criminological standpoint.

Brazil

Corinne Davis Rodrigues's (2011) study of the state of criminology in Brazil, emphasizes the growing importance of crime research in Brazil since the 1980s. An immense increase in homicide rates from 1980 to 1990 created a necessity for further research on crime. Rodrigues explains the current criminological approach in Brazil is a three-part presentation: specific actors within the criminal justice system, specific types of crime and victims, and the development, implementation and evaluation of crime prevention and correction programs and policies

(Rodrigues 2011:317). A large portion of her reading, focuses on the research being conducted

on organized crime and high crime areas, specifically, drug trafficking and favelas (or urban

shantytowns). Thus, criminological research in Brazil attempts to understand crime by

examining the impact of social transformations on interpersonal relationships (318). Rodrigues

details the difference between the quantitative and qualitative research being conducted in this

country. Quantitative research for this region applies little description to the crimes being

committed and tend to focus on police statistics, leaving little possibility for critical analysis of

the crime. The qualitative research being conducted includes ethnographic studies of high crime

areas and criminals, but also examines the social organization of policing (319). There have been

great advancements in the criminological field for Brazil since the 1980s; the increasing rates of

violent crimes in the 1980s has created a greater importance for crime studies, the rise of drug

trafficking and organized crime has spawned new research to discover the patterns of this crime,

and the increasing rates of all crime has established a need to uncover what policies actually

deter criminals. Although crime study has become paramount in Brazil, there is still inadequate

and incomplete data available to study all crime, completely and thoroughly.

Chile

It was very difficult to locate publications on Chilean criminology. In *Chile: A*

criminological approach, Joanna Heskia, a professor at Pontificia Universidad Catolica de Chile

and Alberto Hurtado University, discusses the history of Criminology in Chile. Heskia (2011)

reports the low numbers of criminological publications. Using data from 'an important

bibliographical study covering 54 Chilean journals over a 121-year period, there were only 938

studies or articles published that dealt with either criminal law or criminology' (year: 358). She

also notes that 'only 37% of them dealt directly with criminology' (2011:358), which means

there have been approximately 350 Chilean publications that have examined criminology exclusively from this study. These low numbers mirror my findings (Table 1); Chilean publications (TCCC and VAWT) take up 6.3% of all publications.

Heskia (2011) indicates that a large amount of the 938 studies and articles have been published in the last couple decades, "523 were published between 1995 and 2006, and of those, 319 were published between 2000 and 2006" (2011: 358). Heskia's findings on the, relatively new, publications reflect my study (Table 1) in that 61.7% of Chilean TCCC publications and 38.8% of VAWT publications have come after 2009. It is important to note the first Chilean article from the ISI Web of Science site was published in 1964.

The focus of the data I collected were TCCC and VAWT, defined in the methods of my thesis, while the articles used in Heskia's research on crime were classified into seven categories; penology (122), prisons and prisoners (82), criminal behavior (53), juvenile crime (41), gender, minorities and victimology (24), social systems and criminology (13), and police and security (11) (Heskia:358). Her report divides the publications into more specific categories than my data collection, however, the paramount conclusion in both studies is the lack of Latin criminology, especially in Chile.

Colombia

If one were to be asked, what is the biggest type of crime in Colombia? The answer would most likely be, drug trafficking. This is true, but what some might not realize is drug trafficking produces a ripple effect of crimes; leading to higher levels of violent crimes, high rates of property crimes, and high rates of domestic violence; all of which generate the need and importance for crime study. Gipsy Escobar's publication, *Colombia: Crime trends, criminal*

justice, and criminology in a society in turmoil, recounts Colombia's different criminological approaches, crime studies, and crime statistics over the past few decades.

The 1990's brought with it a rise in cartel terror campaigns and violence, setting in motion the creation of several crime research groups and empirical research conducted on specific cities, "The majority of empirical studies that have analyzed those factors that may explain violent crime rates have focused on the main urban centers, particularly Bogotá and Medellín" (Escobar, 2011:369).

Two research groups from the Universidad de Los Andes, Paz Publica and CEDE, attempted to find variables that were associated with higher homicide rates in Bogota. They found that socio-demographic variables had a weak to zero relationship with high homicide rates in this area, but "the presence of bars and liquor stores, criminal structures, and illegal markets have a stronger impact on violence" (Escobar, 2011:370). By identifying what variables have a positive relationship with high rates of homicide and high rates of violent crime, it becomes evident what steps should to be taken to deter violent criminals in Bogota. Similarly, the National School of Public Health at Universidad de Antioquia in Medellin (NSPH) attempted to identify the distribution and characteristics of violent crimes in Medellin by using survey methods (Escobar 370). Both studies were similar, however, the target for the NSPH study targeted the different types of violent crime (rape, assault, murder, etc.) instead of what variables were associated with violent crimes. The information recorded in these studies help give a clearer picture of the violence occurring in urban areas in Colombia.

Similar studies have been conducted on specific violent crimes, but the studies on domestic violence report high rates in urban areas like Santiago de Cali. Using household surveys, the NSPH and CISALVA were more in-depth with their research than previous studies.

These surveys found that "35 percent of domestic violence in that city (Cali) can be classified as psychological and verbal, 28 percent as physical, 27 percent as neglect, and 6.5 percent as sexual abuse" (Escobar 371). This data is very compelling, but one can be skeptical because of the subject matter. Domestic violence data, especially via household surveys, can be misleading due to a participant's fear of the aggressor. If the aggressor is in the home while the survey is taking place, the participant might fear retaliation by the aggressor for "snitching" and will not report the domestic violence.

Cuba

Israel Castellanos's (1933) article, "The Evolution of Criminology in Cuba," provides an introduction into early Cuban criminology, which is important to include considering my study is of criminology from the 1900s to now. Cuba, from the data used from the ISI Web or Science site, was one of the least studied countries; out of the 3,014 articles in my data, Cuba only had a total of 36 criminological articles published since 1900 (1.19%). Although this is impressive in terms of being published in 1933, his analysis and findings are highly raced and racist. "The various races populating Cuba display peculiar characteristics in their crimes, as in their suicides" (1933:227). He expresses that the study of criminology, up to that point, had been problematic because of the "Negro race," which "offers further difficulties since it must be distinguished from Jamaicans and Haitians who, notwithstanding the fact that they are Negroes and West Indians, have a distinct type of criminality" (1933:228). Castellanos describes two types of Negro criminality in Cuba, which were caused by slavery: "fetishism, which on several occasion has led to the murdering of white women and the 'naniguismo': a criminal organization employing the knife as a means of settling personal grudges" (1933:227). He identifies "Negro criminology," but asserts that criminology has been lacking in Cuba "because we have been

forced to study the endogenous and exogenous factors most intensely in order to differentiate the delinquency of natives from that of foreigners" (1933:228). Thus, according to Castellanos, through a glaringly racist lens, criminology lacked progress due to the distinct racial groups living in Cuba at that time.

A more useful and less racist aspect of Castellanos's work is his documentation of also policing and advancement in technology in Cuba since 1900. He classifies the identification by finger-prints as an important revelation during this time. In 1912, all identification services were centralized in the National Bureau of Identification, making it easier and more efficient to organize all finger-print data (1933:228). Blood analysis later became an important advancement for homicide investigations, which caused the need for a better functioning data-collecting agency; the National Bureau of Identification was "reorganized into a scientific laboratory in 1927 so that all physical, chemical and analytical methods might be applied to the discovery and investigation of crime" (1933:228). Castellanos concluded that criminology was progressing faster due to technological advancements, facilitating the ability to identify who committed crimes.

Guatemala

The Guatemalan Truth Commission: Genocide through the Lens of Transitional Justice, by Marcia Esparza, John Jay College of Criminal Justice, discusses Guatemalan history of truth commissions. In the 1960's Guatemala experienced a large social movement by indigenous communities demanding economic, political, cultural, and social rights (2011:401). The next few decades brought with it large amounts of violence that attempted to diminish the movement's progress, which led to the creation of the Guatemala Truth Commission, the Commission to

Clarify Past Human Rights Violations and Acts of Violence That Have Caused the Guatemalan

People to Suffer (HCCG), in 1994. The HCCG has three specific aims:

> "(1) to clarify with objectivity and impartiality the human rights violations and acts of
> violence causing people suffering during the war, (2) to prepare a report of the findings of
> the investigation, and (3) to recommend the ways the government could promote peace
> and reconciliation" (HCCG, 1999, Conclusions, 47-69).

This truth commission would give the victims of the crimes committed by the Guatemalan

Army, or Civil Defense Patrols (PAC's), a platform to tell their stories in order to determine it

these crimes could be considered crimes against humanity. The testimonies that were shared

helped calculate the number of Guatemalan crimes committed and helped identify what type of

crimes had been committed by PAC's. The Guatemalan Truth Commission made it possible for

these stories to be kept as a public records and, as a result, 'concluded that the Guatemalan State

had committed genocide against the Mayan population' (2011:405).

Haiti

      A study conducted by Shannon Lankenau (2013) I located through the ISI Web of

Science, "Toward Effective Access to Justice in Haiti: Eliminating the Medical Certificate

Requirement in Rape Prosecutions," examines the violence that Haitian women experience,

particularly, rape. Although this study focuses on the history of rape in Haiti, Lankenau (2013)

provides a fascinating explanation on the changes in sexual violence after the earthquake in Haiti

in 2010. More specifically, Lankenau demonstrates why the rates of sexual violence increase

after major disasters; post-disaster displacement creates conditions where women and girls are at

more of a risk for sexual violence. Lankenau (2013) explains that women are more vulnerable in

a post-disaster setting "due to the collapse of social infrastructure, inequitable access to social

services, absence of law and order… loss of autonomy… and limited access to resources and participation in decision making," and displacement camps lack the basic necessities (i.e., water, food, sanitation, and shelter) (2013:1763). This is significant in revealing why it is important to conduct new studies on crime and crime control following an epic disaster, given the often powerful and negative impact of epic disasters on crime in these post-disaster settings. Similarly, Instituto Igarape (as cited by Lankenau, 2013) found that the "risk of sexual assault was twenty times greater for camp residents than for residents in other areas of Port-au-Prince" following the Haitian earthquakes (2013:1763). The studies conducted in post-disaster countries can provide the information necessary to make changes in disaster aid.

Lankenau (2013) also focuses on the change of rape law in Haiti. Lankenau explains that "the Haitian Penal code of 1835 mirrored nineteenth century French law and failed to provide criminal sanction for what was seen as a crime 'against the honour of the family'" (2013:1766). The punishment for the offender would be to pay the family of the rape victim, which is why many law officials found it hard to believe rape victims. Judges, police, and prosecutors believed victims would falsely report rapes in order to obtain money (2013:1767). A Haitian women's movement eventually made enough progress to where, in 2005, the government began recognizing rape as a crime against the person. However, there is no specific definition of rape, so it is up to court judges to decide what is rape and what is not. Lankenau explains, "judges in Port-au-Prince have generally adopted a legal definition whereby sexual penetration, absence of consent, and criminal intent constitute the elements of rape" (2013:1767), which is not an explicit definition, leading to misinterpretation and misapplication of rape (2013:1767). Lankenau's study on the evolution of rape and rape law in Haiti is one of the more important

articles I found; however, it was important for the simple fact that there were very few articles that focused on rape in the Latin Global South.

Mexico

From data collected from ISI Web of Science, it is clear Mexico is one of the more researched countries in the Latin Global South. One could conclude this would indicate strong criminological study and thought in Mexico. However, this is inconsistent to some extent with what Juarez and Solares (2011) reported in their overview, as stated earlier in this thesis. For this reason, I do not report on additional chapters or articles I found on criminology from the Latin Global South.

Puerto Rico

Reading several articles from the ISI Web of Science, it was made explicit that Puerto Rico has a significant drug problem. In both articles that I will discuss, the relationship between drug use and crime, specifically violent crime, was at the forefront.

Alfredo Montalvo-Barbot's study, "Crime in Puerto Rico: Drug Trafficking, Money Laundering, and the Poor," considers the "effectiveness of drug policies in reducing street crimes" (1997:535). In an attempt to reduce street violence state and federal governments in Puerto Rico have taken several actions including increasing enforcement against drug users and sellers and reducing the availability for drug users to acquire illegal drugs, which leads to a higher risk for drug users and sellers to be caught and leads to an increase in the cost of drugs (1997:534). Montalvo-Barbot explains the Puerto Rican government implemented a series of crime control policies in order to reduce high murder and robbery rates stemming from drug use and drug trafficking, which closely resembled Nixon's war on drugs. Three key events, occurring

from the early 1980's to mid-1990's, reflected Puerto Rico's firm stance against money laundering, drug trafficking, and drug use.

Operation Greenback was the term coined for the first of the three events, 'from 1982 to 1985, federal law enforcement agencies in coordination with the Puerto Rican government attempted the eradication of money laundering activities on the island' (1997:535). Lucky Strike was the second event (1990), which involved the deployment of federal law agents 'to determine the origin of millions of dollars discovered by local residents buried on a private farm in the town of Vega Baja (1997:535). The last event, occurring in 1993, focused on eliminating hot spots for drug distribution, which would decrease the high rates of violence and property crimes in Puerto Rico.

The second article I used to further my knowledge of crime in Puerto Rico was "Drug Courts: A Bridge between Criminal Justice and Health Services" (2001). Suzanne Wenzel, Douglas Longshore, Susan Turner, and M. Susan Ridgely examined "14 drug court programs that had received implementation funding from the Drug Courts Program Office for 1995-1996" (2001:245). The authors explain the high rates of drug use among offenders and the negative effects that drug use has on the community in Puerto Rico (i.e., poor physical and mental health, the spread of diseases, high rates of attempted suicide…) caused a need for intervention from the criminal justice system, "Because the offender population is one that has had minimal access to substance abuse treatment or other health care services, the criminal justice system serves as an important point of service contact" (2001:242). The need for intervention sprouted the rise in drug courts in 1994, which sole purpose was to provide health services for offenders with drug problems in-order to be able to 'promote his or her reentry into society' (2001:243). Puerto Rican criminal justice system now became an opportunity for offenders with drug problems to seek

treatment. However, substance abuse treatment was just one of the many services provided. Other services included primary healthcare, public health, housing, employment, education, and family services (2001:244). This study provided an in-depth look at the 'linkages between drug courts and health services' (2001:241), but little attention was given to the effectiveness of these services, leaving one to wonder if the goals of these programs are being achieved.

By examining some studies conducted by criminologists, it appears drug use and high rates of violent crime have a strong relationship in Puerto Rico. The first TCCC article pulled from the ISI Web of Science site was from 1975 and 1971 for VAWT articles, which is important because it reveals that criminological research sprouted just before Operation Greenback. It is a possibility that the increase in awareness of the crime occurring in Puerto Rico might have been a reason for the initiation of these crime control policies.

Uruguay

Applying B.L Ingraham's six stages of criminal procedure in their study *Criminal Procedure in Uruguay, South America: A Test of the Universal Applicability of Ingraham's Six Stages of Criminal Procedure*, Evelyn Smykla and John Smykla increased the understanding of Uruguay's criminal procedure. The six stages of criminal procedure, pulled from Ingraham's model, used in this study were "intake, screening, charging the defendant and safeguarding his/her rights, adjudicating, sanctioning, and appeal" (1993:595). Adding context for their study the Smykla's gave a selected history of Uruguay's demographic population, economy, and presidential policies.

The work being done during the intake stage – 'complaint reception, detention, and investigation' (1993:599) – is carried out by the police force. During the screening stage, police and prosecutors present evidence to the district court judge in order to determine if the case

should go to trial or be thrown out. Charging the defendant and safeguarding his/her rights is an important part of the six stage model. The study reports that although there is a criminal code provision placing a 48 hour holding limit, it is the district court judge's discretion to decide if the defendant should be detained for longer because there is no constitutional safeguard (1993:599). This is one procedural protection that the study had found protecting Uruguayan defendants, but an unavailability of information was cited as one reason for not being able to explain all procedural protections. The next stage is adjudication, where both prosecution and defense present evidence to the district court judge for determining guilt. Witnesses are called to testify and the judge will deliberate over his/her decision after all viewpoints are presented. The following stage is sanctioning. If found guilty, the judge will deliver a sentence. In this study, a large amount of time was spent explaining Uruguay's penal code. The authors present the six categories of sentencing, determined by length of sentence, that is provided by Uruguay's penal code and offer different degrees of seriousness of crimes. The last task of criminal procedure is appeals, in which 'decisions as to guilt or innocence and any other pretrial or post-conviction official decision regarding the accused can be reviewed by higher authorities' (1993:601).

By using Ingraham's six stages of procedure, the Smyklas were able to give a more comprehensive look at Uruguay's criminal procedure. They make a compelling case for the potential contributions of using Ingraham's model to examine Latin law. Unfortunately, this was the only study I found that took this insightful approach. This study provides a substantial contribution given the very limited scholarship conducted on the framework of laws and rules that govern Latin countries in the Global South.

Zero Tolerance Policing in Latin America

Kate Swanson's article, "Zero Tolerance in Latin America: Punitive Paradox in Urban Policy Mobilities" in Urban Geography, discusses a change in policing approach in the Latin Global South that has caused more harm than good. High crime rates in various Latin countries, specifically in urban cities, have caused high levels of public fear. High crime rates, high levels of fear, and high rates of homicide in Latin countries lead to Latin politicians to explore different policing approaches. Swanson explains that many Latin countries have turned to a zero tolerance approach, which was popularized by New York City mayor Rudolph Giuliani and Chief William Bratton (2013:974). Giuliani and Bratton's policing approach was deemed as a success after crime rates dropped in the 1990's leading to the adoption of this policing strategy by many Latin countries, "Giuliani and Bratton have been hired or have been cited as the inspiration for policing strategies in Mexico, Brazil, Ecuador, Venezuela, Chile, Argentina, Honduras, El Salvador, Guatemala, and the Dominican Republic, to name a few" (2013:975). This approach is largely influence by the broken windows theory.

In *Reimagining Broken Windows: From Theory to Policy*, Brandon Welsh, Anthony Braga, and Gerben Bruinsma define this theory by writing, "Relatively minor problems such as aggressive panhandling and graffiti serve as an invitation to an array of would-be offenders that particular neighborhoods are good locations to commit more serious crimes" (2015:449). The zero tolerance approach, now being adopted by Latin countries, attempted to diminish high crime rates in urban areas. However, this change to policing was problematic for Latin countries, which was not the case for Guiliani and Bratton in New York. "Given vast inequalities (economically, socially and racially), high levels of police corruption and limited infra- structural resources, zero tolerance in Latin America is often implemented in a way that explicitly targets the poor" (2013:975). Zero tolerance policing might have been seen as an easy way fix to high rates of

urban crime by Latin politicians; however, this change in policing displays why it is difficult for Latin criminal justices to apply new crime control policies.

CONCLUSIONS

My first attempt at gathering information on criminology in the Latin Global South was frustrating when I came to the realization that not much attention has been given to criminology in this region. This realization created a new dimension to my thesis, which was to focus on Global South Latin criminology, how it has grown over time, how it is represented in some international crime books, and some of the contributions of Latin Global South criminology scholarship. By using the ISI Web of Science site, I could assess where Global Latin South criminology has progressed since 1900. The average year for first articles published was 1981, which is why the majority of my thesis focuses on criminology in the latter half of the 20th century. Only one of the articles I analyzed came before 1950, which was on Cuban criminology in the first quarter of the 20th century. The articles published in the ISI Web of Science indicate how little research is being published. *Only five of all Latin countries I searched for on this site had over 100 publications since 1900*.

The next step of my thesis was to look in international criminology books to find chapters written on Latin criminology. I only found one book, *The Routledge Handbook of International Criminology*, published in 2011, that allowed me to compare the amount of attention being given to the Latin Global South and other regions. The chapters in this book closely followed the realization I came to when I first began my study; the Latin Global South continues to be

ignored. Surprisingly, though, criminology research from North American was far more ignored in this book than that from the Latin Global South.

Criminology is becoming more important for examining the changes in crime, criminal justice, and policing. Understanding what causes crime, where crime exists, and why crime occurs grants the knowledge for developing crime reduction strategies. An example given in my thesis was the adoption of zero tolerance policies in various Latin Global South countries. However, as stated in my thesis, it is difficult for Latin Global South criminal justice agencies and governments to apply new crime control policies due to the high levels of corruption and limited infra-structural resources and eventually becomes a policy that targets the poor. In several of the other studies I reviewed, there were extremely relevant findings about high rates of crime, types of crime, and methods for gathering this information; however, many of these studies do not offer ideas on what crime control policies could work for reducing crime in the future. In essence, I found that Latin Global South criminology is far behind other regions in the world and the studies that have been conducted in the Latin Global South are often incomplete or irrelevant to finding solutions for high rates of crime that exist in this region.

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Table 1. Asian Criminology Articles Published in the ISI Web of Science by Country

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Country	Traditional Criminology & Crime Control (TCCC) Publications				Violence Against Women and Children & Human/Sex Trafficking (VAWT) Publications				Ratio of 1.00 VAWT to TCCC Publications
	No. of Articles		% Articles 2010+	Date of 1st Article	No. of Articles		% Articles 2010+	Date of 1st Article	
	Since 1990	2010+			Since 1900	2010+			
Argentina	112	59	52.7	1938	38	17	44.7	1991	0.34
Bolivia	18	8	44.4	1966	23	9	39.1	2009	1.28
Brazil	385	180	46.8	1969	522	274	52.5	1981	1.36
Chile	107	66	61.7	1993	85	33	38.8	1964	0.79
Columbia	181	97	53.6	1941	110	51	46.4	1992	0.61
Costa Rica	21	8	38.1	1984	14	3	21.4	1980	0.67
Cuba	20	5	25	1933	16	10	76.9	2006	0.8
Dominican Rep.	8	3	37.5	1983	7	2	28.6	2000	0.88
Ecuador	9	7	77.8	1993	25	13	52	1993	2.78
El Salvador	46	31	67.4	1993	37	16	43.2	1994	0.8
Guatemala	49	36	73.5	1951	24	9	37.5	1975	0.49

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Table 1. Asian Criminology Articles Published in the ISI Web of Science by Country (Continued)

Country	Traditional Criminology & Crime Control (TCCC) Publications				Violence Against Women and Children & Human/Sex Trafficking (VAWT) Publications				Ratio of 1.00 VAWT to TCCC Publications
	No. of Articles		% Articles 2010+	Date of 1st Article	No. of Articles		% Articles 2010+	Date of 1st Article	
	Since 1990	2010+			Since 1900	2010+			
Haiti	17	8	47.1	1994	32	15	46.9	1994	1.88
Honduras	19	13	68.4	1992	7	3	42.9	1989	0.37
Mexico	405	230	56.8	1947	345	133	38.6	1971	0.85
Nicaragua	23	7	30.4	1988	70	28	40	1989	3.04
Panama	8	6	75	1996	6	4	66.7	1980	0.75
Paraguay	7	2	28.6	2002	3	1	33.3	1997	0.13
Peru	36	13	36.1	1974	52	22	42.3	1992	1.44
Puerto Rico	41	12	29.3	1975	46	10	21.7	1971	1.12
Uruguay	7	3	42.9	1991	5	3	60	1989	0.71
Venezuela	22	13	59.1	1944	6	2	33.3	1998	0.27
TOTAL AVERAGE	1,541	807	50.1		1,473	658	48.1		1.02

Table 2: The Representation of World Regions and Countries in the 2011 *Routledge Handbook of International Criminology*[1]

Region	Country (author)	N of Chapters	(%)
Europe		8	(30.8%)
	The Netherlands (Soudijn and Viilbrief), Italy (Montana and Nelken), Estonia (Markina), Great Britain (Brunton), Italy (Serra), Russia (Gilinskiy), Turkey (Ozodogan), The Netherlands (Soudijn)		
North America		1	(3.8%)
	Canada (Solecki, Crutcher, and Mihorean)		
Asia		8	(32.0%)
	China (Zhang), Hong Kong (Chu), Golden Triangle (Zhang and Chin), Cambodia (Broadhurst and Keo), Hong Kong (Xu), India (Poornachandra), South Korea (Jang and Choi), People's Republic of China (Xiu and Tingyao)		
Australia/New Zealand		1	(3.1%)
	Australia (Putt and Lindley)		
Africa		3	(11.5%)
	Ghana (Ebbe), Nigeria (Chukwuma), Sierra Leone (Warburton)		
Central/Southern America		5	(19.2%)
	Brazil (Rodrigues), Chile (Heskia), Colombia (Escobar), Colombia (Escobar), Mexico (Juarez and Solares)		
Total		26	(100.0%)

[1]This is for 26 chapters about a specific country in this book. There were 48 chapters in the book. Thus 22 chapters did not pertain to a specific region or country.