**CRITICAL HISTORICAL CRIMINOLOGY IN THE ANTIPODEAN**

**UNTHINKING HISTORY AND CRIMINOLOGY IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH**

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# **Abstract**

This paper makes a call for a critical historical criminology of the Antipodean and the Global South. The paper makes a preliminary argument for a critical historical criminology that is ‘against method’ and in favour of political alliances with ‘critical perspectives’ that can enrich historico-criminological understandings in an Antipodean and Southern context. In particular, the paper explores the potential for a politico-academic alliance between critical historical criminology and *i)* postcolonial studies, *ii)* Southern theory, and *iii)* Indigenous research. Such politico-academic alliances reveal that critical historical criminology is best understood as a ‘negation’ of both criminology and history and that historical criminology does not have to be understood as a new sub-discipline and academic specialism at the intersection of history and criminology. On the contrary, this paper argues that historical criminology can be approached as a critical attempt to ‘unthink the social sciences’ and to ‘de-discipline ourselves’.

*Keywords*: critical criminology, historical criminology, historical study of crime, Indigenous research, postcolonialism, Southern theory

# **Introduction**

It has become commonplace to speak of ‘historical criminology’ as if it were a new specialty in criminology, an emerging sub-field in the study of crime. The core assumption behind the burgeoning discourse of historical criminology seems to be that historical criminologists are intent on fulfilling the conventional tasks of criminology by incorporating historical research into the working methods of the study of crime, or else that historical criminology is still criminology but done in ‘in a historical mode’. In this paper, I offer an alternative way of thinking about historical criminology as critical endeavour. Arguably, historical criminology is not a ‘continuation’ of traditional criminology but rather a positive attempt to do without it, to effectively move beyond it, to create something positive by negating it. To conceive of historical criminology in a critical fashion is to see it as attempt to overcome the strict disciplinary boundaries of both history and criminology. When seen in this light,the novelty of historical criminology lies in a double negation that gives life to the positive affirmation of a distinctive academic positionality at the intersection of history and criminology. In what follows, I expand on this insight by showing that a critical historical criminology of the Antipodean and Global South can effectively move beyond history and criminology by establishing a web of politico-academic alliances with Indigenous research, Southern theory, and postcolonial studies.

It is a truism to say that works of historical criminology are neither works of history nor works of criminology – and yet they are a bit of both. However, such a widely accepted observation has not been scrutinised with a sufficiently critical eye. Though it might be assumed that the key methodological implication of this observation is that a defining feature of historical criminology must be its ‘interdisciplinarity’, this is a suboptimal way of thinking about historical works on crime. The point of doing historical criminology is not necessarily that of enabling a degree of compatibility between, say, criminological classifications and historical narratives, or establishing a level of integrability between criminological theories and historical data. Historical criminology does not have to be understood, by necessity, as an interdisciplinary synthesis. On the contrary, the reason we have no choice but to speak of historical criminology – to acknowledge it and recognise it as an independent reality – is because, over the years, research efforts in the historical study of crime have given life to a “history of interaction” between historians, criminologists, and other participants in the historical study of crime that has made it obsolete or even impossible to classify certain historical works on crime and certain criminological works on history as either ‘historical’ or ‘criminological’ in scope (Godfrey, Lawrence and Williams, 2008, p.19). In other words, something positively new and different has emerged from this process of interaction at the intersection of history and criminology that denies both its criminological and historiographic origins.

This suggests that, when seen in a critical light, historical criminology is about transgressing and transcending disciplinary boundaries rather than building bridges between them. Historical criminology is an attempt to ‘unthink’ and ‘undo’ criminology and to ‘unthink’ and ‘undo’ history, and not an attempt to synthesise them. Borrowing from Wallerstein (1988, 2001), it can be argued that historical criminology offers a way to ‘unthink social science’, to overcome the limits of 19th-century social-scientific paradigms and to go beyond the existing structures of social-scientific thinking. Hence, historical criminology is not a criminological advance but a partial abandonment of orthodox criminology. It is neither an inherently intradisciplinary or interdisciplinary development but a way of combating the arbitrariness of disciplinary constraints and divisions in the social sciences. As Foucault (1980, p.39) would put it, historical criminology is one of the avenues through which social scientists are struggling to ‘de-discipline’ themselves. It follows from this that historical criminology is not a sub-discipline of criminology but a practice of ‘de-disciplinisation’. Historical criminology should not be regarded as an exclusively criminological specialty – just like crime history is not to be regarded as a ‘history specialisation’ – but, at best, as a set of ‘conversations in a crowded room’ (Yeomans, Churchill and Channing, 2020) initiated by scholars from disparate fields to further a sort of dialogical and discursive transgression and transcendence of social-scientific disciplinary fields.

This paper teases out the implications of this way of thinking about historical works on crime for a critical historical criminology of the Antipodean and the Global South. In particular, the paper outlines a possible way forward for a number of critical criminological varieties – postcolonial, Southern, and Indigenous criminologies – to work together and make politico-academic alliances across a Global Southern context. A number of forces have conspired against the coming together of the critical criminological varieties that this paper is concerned with, and it would be wrong to believe that such criminologies are natural allies. Cunneen (2018), for instance, critiqued criminological perspectives from the Global South for failing to adopt an Indigenous lens and for failing to adequately distance themselves from administrative criminology. In turn, Southern criminologists have explicitly rejected nativism and the romanticisation of ‘the Indigenous other’ on the basis that the hegemony of colonial thought is such that criminology cannot disentangle itself from it completely, making a pure postcolonial or Indigenous lens “either a fantasy or an impossibility” (Carrington, et al., 2019a, p.165). Trapped within the boundary constraints of their own sub-specie of criminology, scholars have overlooked the potential for historical criminology to become the theoretical glue that can make all variants of critical criminology stick together, as well as an essential epistemic conduit support for critical fluxes in criminological research.

# **Decolonisation, Southernisation, and Indigenisation**

The prospects for a critical historical criminology of the Antipodean and the Global South are tied to our capacity to conceive of recent changes in the structure of social-scientific thinking in dialectical terms; the emergence of a distinctive historico-criminological way of thinking originates in an attempt to undermine and fracture, and not to further consolidate and solidify, the disciplinary boundaries of criminology and history. It is only by developing such a cognitive capacity that a sense of continuity between historical criminology and critical criminology can be established. Critical criminology emerged in the United States and Britain in the late-1960s and early-1970s to challenge the theoretical assumptions and practical aims of traditional criminology, and not to further them. Relatedly, all the pioneering works in the historical study of crime from the 1970s were works of critical history – or what Godfrey (2011) calls ‘critical crime history’ – and their overarching aim was that of displacing rather than complementing the work of traditional practitioners of history. The new social historians of crime of the 1970s wanted the study of the past to become a vital tool for “the understanding of modern society and politics” (Jones, 1983, p.5) and critical criminologists in 1970s saw in critical historical perspectives on crime the possibility “to introduce politics into criminology” (Cohen, 1986, p.469). By bringing politics into criminology, critical criminology effectively tried to ‘de-criminologise’ criminology, to make it less of a criminological science and more of a political practice.

When critical criminology was imported into Australia, it gave life to a “strongly politically engaged criminology” working on prison abolition and various struggles for justice and criminal justice campaigns around prisoners’ movements, deaths in custody, police killings, the policing of Indigenous people and young people, gendered violence, and miscarriages of justice (see Carrington and Hogg, 2010). Just as critical crime history has been centrally involved in the study of modern institutions of control, crime and empire, race and colonialism, slavery and immigration, and gender and violence (Godfrey, 2011), so a critical historical criminology of the Antipodean must engage with these critical themes. The question, however, is how to approach the critical study of such themes and issues. Commenting on the study of death in custody, for instance, Cunneen (2011a, p.169), argued that historical research should not be treated exclusively as “a method of understanding the past” but also as “a method for appreciating the present”, for an occurrence such as a death in custody is “simultaneously an historical event and happening in the present”. Arguably, however, a historico-criminological understanding of issues such as death in custody does not take a critical shape via a methodological synthesis between past-oriented history and present-centred criminology. On the contrary, historical criminology becomes critical precisely by being ‘against method’, and by focusing on the elaboration of critical historical ‘perspectives’ rather than on the development of narrow methodological specialisms:

The advancement of historical criminology lies not in the exclusive embrace of any given method or programme, but in the assembly of a shared conceptual framework through which to make sense of and evaluate diverse historical perspectives on crime and justice. (Churchill, 2018, p.9)

In other words, critical historical criminology requires us to eschew strictly methodological interpretations of what the historical study of crime and crime-related phenomena is about.

The focus of this paper is on ‘the assembly of a shared conceptual framework’ for the critical study of historical perspectives on crime-related phenomena in an Antipodean and Southern context. The guiding contention of the paper is that, instead of working on a gradual historicisation of criminology premised on the adoption of certain historiographic techniques like comparative analysis, archival research, and long-time frame approaches, we should strive to identify valuable historical perspectives on crime and justice that will help us further de-discipline ourselves and assist us in fulfilling the task of unthinking social science. Our task as critical thinkers should be that of building politico-academic alliances between compatible perspectives that challenge conventional social-scientific systems of thought, and not that of artificially creating new interdisciplinary methodologies that will further help to entrench them.

## *For a Critical Historical Criminology of the Global South*

What are some of the key lessons to be learned from postcolonial, Southern, and Indigenous perspectives in criminology? That criminology has historically been complicit in colonial projects of domination and that it originates in the planned colonial genocide against Indigenous people, that it developed as an imperialist science designed for the control of others, and that, today, it continues to be a ‘control-freak’ discipline and a technology of social control (Agozino, 2003, 2004, 2010). That criminology started as a pseudo-scientific project in the Global North through the popularisation of mischaracterisations of ‘the criminal’ as a sub-human, monstrous and evolutionarily degenerate ‘Other’ typified by members of ‘primitive’ cultures from the Global South (Carrington and Hogg, 2017). That criminology confuses ‘metropolitan thinking’ with ‘universal knowledge’ while mostly ignoring epistemologies from the global peripheries, and that it treats of justice as a ‘domestic’ and national project, thus overlooking both historical and contemporary criminal justice trends and episodes from outside the Northern hemisphere – from colonial penal practices and victimisation in postcolonial contexts to the over-policing and overrepresentation of Indigenous people in prison and the Islamisation of criminal justice in parts of the Global South – as well as disregarding customary forms of justice and transitional justice movements (Carrington, Hogg and Sozzo, 2016; Carrington, et al., 2019b). That criminology, in its pursuit of crime control knowledge, is complicit in the silencing of Indigenous voices, experiences, and perspectives, that it views Indigenous people through the prism of dysfunctionality, that it constructs Indigenous individuals and communities as ‘criminal others’, thus furthering their stigmatisation and marginalisation, and that many Indigenous people experience criminology to be a form of settler-colonial violence (Tauri and Porou, 2014; Cunneen and Tauri, 2016, 2019; Tauri, 2018).

Postcolonial, Southern, and Indigenous perspectives in criminology unambiguously substantiate what Lynch (2000) argued over 20 years ago using a Foucauldian lens; that an attentive analysis of the history of criminology reveals it to be a science of oppression. Such perspectives tell a history of criminology quite different from the one found in most criminology textbooks; the Enlightened origins of the discipline are questioned, its scientific character is put in doubt, its modern function is exposed as a remanence of colonial times. In short, such perspectives tell an anti-history of criminology that engender criminological counter-memories. A sustained engagement with such perspectives points at obvious solutions; decolonising criminology, internationalising and southernising it, indigenising it. This is easier said than done, however, for mainstream criminology has historically proved to be quite resilient and resistant to change. Though already in the early 1980s critical criminology could be said to have become part of “the accepted order of things” (Cohen, 1981, p.241), Jock Young’s (2002, p.252) claim that critical criminology is no less than “the criminology of late modernity” is yet to be proven true in practice. In fact, some would argue that critical criminology’s time has passed, or at least that its disruptive effects have so far been successfully contained. Garland and Sparks (2000, p.14), for instance, referred to the rise of critical criminology as “a short-lived moment” in the 1970s that “did not last long”. Similarly, Valverde (2008, p.203) claimed that “the battle for the soul of criminology that began with the rise of critical criminology in the 1960s has been lost”. It needs to be acknowledged that, when taken in isolation, the various ‘strains of critical criminology’ have quite little to show for their efforts. Yet, taken collectively, they constitute an alternative *weltanschauung* that has the potential to at least act as a potent criminological ‘counter-voice’ (Young, 2002, p.259).

This is why we should refrain from attempting to turn historical criminology into a new criminological specialism or even a new variety of critical criminology. Instead, we ought to explore the potential for historical criminology to become a unifying mode of thinking critically about crime and justice in historical perspective and, at the same time, an academic practice that will take us beyond both history and criminology. Wallerstein (2008) would have probably approved to call historical criminology a particular manifestation of ‘historical social science’ that advocates ‘unidisciplinarity’ and the dissolution of arbitrary sub-disciplinary divisions in criminology. Moreover, the fact that, in Wallerstein’s schema of things, historical social science’s principle of unidisciplinarity follows from the principle of ‘historicity’ which, in turn, follows form the principle of ‘globality’ (1998, pp.106-107) suggests that there is some value in using Wallersteinian terms to understand the relation of historical criminology to postcolonial, Southern, and Indigenous perspectives. One problem, however, is that, though Wallerstein’s critique of the social sciences and their world-historical development within historical capitalism is fundamentally a critique of Eurocentrism, Wallersteinian world-system analysis can be accused of blurring and occluding colonial difference by relying on a quintessentially Western epistemology (Mignolo, 2002). Because of this, the temptation to interpret historical criminology in exclusively Wallersteinian terms should be resisted. That said, Wallerstein’s call for ‘the unthinking of the social sciences’ offers a valuable orientation to make sense of recent calls for the decolonisation of the curriculum in social science departments across both the Northern and Southern hemispheres and can, therefore, provide some guidance to appreciate the following discussion.

## *Decolonising Knowledge Systems*

It could be argued that, within an academic social-scientific context, decolonisation stands for a critical will to ‘unthink and undo’ the social sciences – to ‘de-do’ them and ‘re-do’ them, to fundamentally re-imagine and re-structure them. At the heart of this effort is a desire to expose the Northern and colonial origins of the social sciences and their complicity in Western imperialism and expansionism, the subjugation of non-European peoples, and appropriation of Indigenous lands. At the basis of this process of ‘unthinking and rethinking’ the social sciences lies a conscious re-historicisation of social-scientific developments, that is, a re-reading of the history of the social sciences. Just as recent decades have witnessed feminist, postmodernist, queer, and postcolonial thinkers offer a re-reading of liberalism that denies its claim to emancipatory universality and sees it, instead, as oppressive, parochial, and historically and geographically contingent (see Seth, 2001), so the 21st century has propelled a critique of the universalist assumptions of social science. Noticeable examples of this critical dialogue are Quijano’s (2000) work on the coloniality of power in a Latin American intellectual context, Chakrabarty’s (2000) studies on the provinciality of Europe and on social history in India, and Connell’s (2007) work on the geopolitical assumptions of Northern models of knowledge and the need for a Southern theory. Though social science has historically succeeded at representing itself as timeless and placeless, such critiques expose it as Europocentric and parochial, blind to the realities of the subaltern, and ignorant of epistemic and cognitive differences. Moreover, the critical counter-narratives of Quijano, Chakrabarty, Connell, and others show that the decolonisation of the social sciences refers to a process of ‘de-Westernisation’ of such sciences premised on a historical understanding of Western expansionism and colonialism as not only political and economic processes but also epistemological, intellectual, and discursive ones.

Building an alliance between historico-criminological and postcolonial perspectives is a necessary part of this process of de-Westernisation, as it allows criminologists and historians to acknowledge the parochiality of their own disciplines and facilitates the construction of subaltern counter-narratives that can invalidate the universalist presuppositions of Western social science. Colonialism is not just a specific historical moment that came to be reversed or reverted at some point in the past through a process of decolonisation that ‘got rid of the coloniser’, recovered sovereignty and territoriality for colonised people, and revived their local and Indigenous languages and customary practices. Colonisation is not reducible to the imposition of direct rule over certain regions of the world by colonial powers but is to be understood, instead, as “the whole process of expansion, exploration, conquest, and imperial hegemonisation which constituted the ‘outer face’, the constitutive outside, of European and then Western capitalist modernity after 1492” (Hall, 1996, p.249). Colonialism is as much a system of knowledge production and symbolic representation as it is a system of power, force and subjection. This means that colonisation is, at one and the same time, a synonym for the concrete and material Westernisation of the globe and for a certain way of staging and narrating history – a way of telling a story about the Western domination of the globe. In this regard, postcolonial and de-colonial thinking are to be regarded as particular kinds of critical theory (Mignolo, 2007, p.155) but also, I would argue, as specific ways of knowing the past and performing the present.

Some of the key aims of postcolonial and de-colonial thinking and theory are *i)* resisting the ideological hegemony of Western thought by engaging in global conversations that counteract Western impulses, acknowledge cultural diversity, include and represent the voices of colonised people, and establish “cross-cultural dialogue without the baggage of imperialism” (Chakrabarty, 2005, p.4812) – in one sentence, postcolonialism is about letting the subaltern speak (Spivak, 1988), *ii)* demystifying global knowledge formations and exposing inequalities in the existing geopolitics and political economies of knowledge by re-narrativising the story of Western capitalist modernity in a way that problematises and displaces the relationship between ‘centre’ and ‘periphery’ (Hountondji, 2006) and lets peripheral histories and temporalities proliferate and intrude into the grand narratives of the West, and, crucially, *iii)* achieving global justice not just at a social level but also at a cognitive one, confronting ‘epistemic injustices’ (Bhargava, 2013), acknowledging the ‘epistemicides’ and the murders of knowledge perpetrated by Western modernity (de Sousa Santos, 2014, p.92), and making possible a process of epistemological cleansing of the intellect, that, in educational settings, takes the shape of a decolonisation of curricula, research methodologies, and research fields. The bare minimum that a critical historical criminology can do to stay attuned to the past realities of colonialism and their continuing effects in the present is taking seriously and helping achieve these three overarching goals of postcolonial critique.

Postcolonialism is not a ‘disciplinary field’ but a ‘political project’ that aims to restructure Western knowledge formations, turn global power structures upside-down, and refashion the world from below through a critical interrogation of histories of oppression, violence, and injustice – and the 21st century can be said to be already “the century of postcolonial empowerment” (Young, 2012, p.20). One of the core tasks for a critical historical criminology of the Antipodean and the Global South, I would submit, is that of contributing to such an empowerment by way of two interrelated research strategies. First, to disturb the relationship between postcolonial studies and the study of history (Cooper, 2005) by *i)* elaborating on Agozino’s (2003) claim that imperialism is the quintessential form of criminality and that typical criminal acts and behaviours in today’s society can be analysed through a postcolonial lens by reference to imperialist violence, *ii)* initiating and continuing participation in critical research projects on the colonial origins of the study of crime, policing, criminal justice institutions, international law, etc., *iii)* further researching the structural and ‘inherently eliminatory’ – and at times genocidal – qualities of settler-colonialism (Wolfe, 2006) and their relevance for an understanding of contemporary crime-related phenomena in settler-colonial societies and elsewhere, *iv)* using critical historical perspectives to further expose the triangulation between colonialism, crimes of the state, and the over-representation of marginalised peoples in criminal justice systems worldwide (Cunneen, 2011b), and *v)* bringing closer together critical criminological and postcolonial perspectives by advancing acritical interrogation of colonial and settler-colonial histories of oppression, violence, and injustice – and, critically, doing so in consultation with justice movements active in the political field today so that a critical historical criminology of postcoloniality does not become just another ivory tower.

The second research strategy consists in assisting with more general tasks relating to *i)* the democratisation of historical and criminological knowledge, *ii)* the de-Westernised internationalisation of the historical study of crime, *iii)* the careful scrutiny of the historical, geographical, and politico-economic specificity of historico-criminological knowledge production, and *iv)* the recognition of the value of peripheral thinking and Southern theorising. In this context, ‘the South’ and ‘the periphery’ ought not to be confused with purely geographical domains. As Carrington, Hogg and Sozzo (2016, p.5) put it, the term ‘Southern’ is “a metaphor for the other, the invisible, the subaltern, the marginal and the excluded” and, accordingly, a ‘Southern’ criminology is not simply a criminology of the Southern hemisphere but a criminology of the other, the invisible, the subaltern, the marginal, and the excluded. The ‘South’ is a social construct and “a metaphor for the global inequality in knowledge and power” (Carrington, et al., 2019b, p.8) that serves as a symbol of representation for the collective peripherality of voices lost in the deafening noise of colonialism, Eurocentrism and Westernisation.

## *Southernising Historical Criminology*

Southern criminology is inextricably linked to postcolonial theory and de-colonising projects in the Global South and is centrally concerned with addressing two interconnected problems. First, that the history of colonialism has instituted a geopolitics and political economy of knowledge at a global scale that creates hierarchical stratifications of epistemologies which tend to invalidate the contribution to knowledge made by scholars from the Global South. And second, that such a state of affairs in the dynamics of global knowledge production pushes ‘criminologies of the periphery’ into a subordinate role in the global organisation of criminological knowledge (Carrington, 2017). The solutions offered by Southern criminology are informed as much by postcolonial theory as by Southern theory and are, therefore, part of a project that is integral to campaigns for justice worldwide. Such solutions rely on a systematic weaponisation of Southern epistemologies, cosmologies, and realities to fundamentally transform the global dynamics of criminological knowledge production. Southern criminology aims to unthink and undo the Northen side of criminology and to reorganise the criminological enterprise as a whole in a way that is inclusive of peripheral perspectives and Southern voices and, therefore, in a way that is truly global. Southern criminology is about ensuring that Southern theory gets the credit it deserves for theorising the South ‘in its own terms’, and that critical perspective on imperialism and colonialism from the South are integrated into contemporary analyses of crime and justice.

‘Southernising’ criminology, then, means dealing with current imbalances in the global production of criminological knowledge and abandoning the Northern bias that has historically energised conventional criminology. Southernising criminology requires overcoming the Western limits of criminology in pursuit of an ideal of social science that does not equate the ‘globalisation’ of knowledge with its ‘peripherisation’ and that knows how to distinguish between the mere availability of information and a genuine sharing of knowledge. Just like Southern theory more broadly, Southern criminology aims to challenge Eurocentric knowledge systems; it attempts to move beyond “the self-referentiality of Northern social science and the extraversion of intellectual work in the periphery” and to move towards “a more democratic structure of theory on a world scale” (Connell and Dados, 2014, p.134). Relatedly, Southern criminology borrows from Southern theory a sense of urgency about the need to rearrange the global division of labour within university settings. Even in a ‘rich periphery’ like Australia, academics have historically assumed a peripheral attitude of intellectual subordination to and dependency from academic authorities from the Global North. As Connell (2017, p.7) puts it: “We travel to Berkeley for advanced training, invite a Yale professor to give our keynote address, teach from US textbooks, read theory from Paris”. It is here that the benefits of an alliance between Southern and critical historical perspectives become clear. Without a clear sense of its historical subservience to Northern intellectual hegemony, Southern criminology risks becoming a useful tool of Western administrative criminology that perpetuates the creation of peripheral reservoirs of new facts and data-extraction sites and that lets the epistemic injustice intrinsic in processes of peripherisation go unchallenged.

Put differently, criminologies from the Global South need to reckon with the fact that often “ideas run, like rivers, from the south to the north and are transformed into tributaries in major waves of thought” (Cusicanqui, 2012, p.104). At a fundamental level, this means that Southern criminology is at risk of becoming a derivative discourse and of being absorbed by mainstream trends in global and comparative criminology. As Brown (2018, p.85) provocatively asks: “Is Southern criminology anything new or different, or is it fundamentally but one more variant of criminology’s oldest game, comparative or transnational observation?”. According to Brown, for Southern criminology to bring about a different state of affairs in criminology, Southern criminologists cannot simply limit themselves to supplementing mainstream criminology with peripheral observations. Instead, they need to aim at fundamentally changing the discipline as a whole. Southern criminology ought to make it possible to unthink criminology as it is, to imagine a different criminology. It has to enable the flourishing of a criminology that does not resemble its historically Northern and Western characteristics and that does not culminate in a new science of oppression, this time with a Southern face. Arguably, this will only be possible once Southern criminology abandons its current docility, as its practitioners seem more interested in ‘re-orienting’, ‘modifying’, and ‘augmenting’ criminology than in ‘denouncing’, ‘opposing’, and ‘displacing’ it (Carrington, Hogg and Sozzo, 2016). This is where the need for a fully historical Southern criminology – and for a critical historical criminology of the Global South more broadly – becomes apparent; if the historical development of criminology can be said to have coincided with the emergence of scientific techniques of oppression and control that played a crucial role in the subjection of colonised and Indigenous peoples, then we have no choice but to be against criminology, to be willing to undo it and unthink it.

That said, it would be inaccurate to suggest that Southern criminology is inevitably prone to be co-opted by administrative criminology, for criminologies of the Global South have historically come to life as political projects – and not just empirical and theoretical ones (Carrington, Hogg and Sozzo, 2016, p.2). As Carrington, et al. (2019a, p.182) pointed out, “critical studies of crime, crime control, punishment, and state violence in the Global South…did not arise in a vacuum. Rather, they emerged at times of resistance”. As Connell makes clear, the issues raised by Southern theory must be formulated not in purely intellectual but in practical terms: “What does this *ask us to do* that we are not now doing, as knowledge workers?” (2014, p.218, italics in original). The decolonisation of university systems must be understood both as theory and as praxis, that is, as discourse that takes imperialism, colonialism, and racism as serious objects of study and as political practice that aims to introduce concrete changes in educational settings (Bhambra, Gebrial and Nişancıoğlu, 2018, p.2). The practices associated with the decolonisation of the curriculum and the southernisation of theory do not necessarily constitute an attempt at ‘destroying Northern knowledge’ but they do, however, point towards processes and activities of ‘de-centring’ and ‘de-territorialisation’ of Eurocentric systems of knowledge and power (le Grange, 2016, p.6). This is why it is imperative for Southern criminology to take a critical and oppositional stance. Not doing so would render Southern criminology vulnerable to being turned into a curricular instrument for administrative criminology departments in the Global North to engage in ‘de-colonial washing’ – that is, in managerial tactics used to give the impression that decolonised forms of knowledge are being taught at university when this is not really the case (see le Grange, et al. 2020).

Borrowing from Cusicanqui (2012, p.107), it could be argued that, today, the real challenge for criminologies of the Global South lies in constructing “South-South links” that will allow Southern criminologists “to break from the politics and academies” of Northern criminology and that will enable the making of a truly Southern theory of crime and the establishment of a fully Southern dialogue on justice. Unavoidably, such a dialogue on justice will only be truly just if it gives prominence to Indigenous voices.

## *Indigenising Historical Criminology*

Indigenous criminology is unabashedly oppositionist. The reason for this is obvious; respect for indigeneity has never been a defining quality of Western criminal justice. Though Western laws were declared a ‘sanctuary’ for Indigenous people living in Australia when the Jack Congo Murrell’s Case was decided in 1836 by the Supreme Court of New South Wales, the reality is that the beginning of ‘a reign of British law’ on Australian land in the early 19th century coincided with the suppression of a pre-existing system of Indigenous self-governance and customary law (Muldoon, 2008). The fact that, in the *Uluru Statement from the Heart* of 2017, Indigenous leaders use the word *Makarrata* – or ‘the coming together after a struggle’ – to describe the culmination of the agenda of Australia’s First Peoples is a telling indication of the low level of trust that Indigenous people have for the Western language of justice. From an Indigenous point of view, the history of colonialism and the history of crime control are one and the same; they are interconnected projects – a fact that, on its own, implicates criminology in the continued subjugation of Indigenous peoples in settler-colonial societies. Why then, would Indigenous scholars participate in the criminological enterprise? Certainly not to further the subjugation of their own people. On the contrary, Indigenous criminology is critical criminology (Cunneen and Tauri, 2016, p.29) – a form of anti-criminology, a criminology against criminology that can have a rich and productive dialogue with critical historical criminology.

Indigenous criminology espouses an explicitly postcolonial orientation that aims to challenge mainstream criminological discourses by giving Indigenous people a sit at the criminological table. Indigenising criminology is one way of decolonising criminology, of exposing the problematic influences of the Western criminological gaze and countering the positional superiority of criminological knowledge produced in the Global North and within Western epistemic frameworks. In the context of Indigenous research, decolonisation can be understood as a process of doing research “in such a way that the worldviews of those who have suffered a long history of oppression and marginalization are given space to communicate from their frames of reference” (Chilisa, 2012, p. 14). This is not simply a matter of welcoming and fostering cultural diversity in academic and research contexts. ‘Diversifying’ university departments, higher education curricula, and research fields is not the same as decolonising them. Indigenous scholars that participate in criminological discussions and debates do not simply complement and supplement such discussions and debates by adding a touch of diversity to them. Indigenous criminologists actively seek to disrupt and disturb the basic assumptions of criminological reflection and the taken-for-granted canons of criminological research. As Tauri (2013, p.11) put it, Indigenous scholars “challenge the hegemony of criminological practitioners who empower themselves to speak for us, while employing mythological constructs to silence our voices”. Just like historical criminology, Indigenous criminology represents an attempt to move beyond criminology.

Indigenous criminology is a way of challenging criminology, of unthinking and undoing what Tauri (2013) calls ‘authoritarian’ criminology – that is, mainstream, administrative criminology in settler-colonial societies – by bringing Indigenous politics into criminological settings. In fact, it is its unmistakably political and oppositionist alignment that makes Indigenous criminology unquestionably critical from a criminological point of view (see Tauri, 2018, p.14). Indigenous criminologists do not conceive of their criminological function in purely academic or theoretical terms. Rather, they experience their criminological interventions as forms of political participation in a struggle for justice, emancipation, reconciliation, and reparation. Indigenous criminology is as much about offering a more truthful understanding of Indigenous people’s relationships with criminal justice and of their (mis)representation in criminological discourses as it is about siding with Indigenous people in their resistance against historical injustices. As Smith (1999, p.2) put it, Indigenous scholarship overcomes the conventional distinction between theory and practice and utilises Indigenous counter-narratives as forms of resistance. In that regard, Indigenous criminology – and Indigenous research more broadly – is openly ‘against method’ in a Feyerabendian sense. As Feyerabend (1993) argued in *Against Method*, to be against method is to have humanitarian rather than intellectual goals in mind when acting in a scholarly capacity, that is, to work on ‘supporting people’ rather than ‘advancing knowledge’. It is to be able to see that Western science is not the only science available but only “*one science among many*” and that the “prophets of truth” in any given field would benefit from engaging in dialogue and consultation with non-experts (1993, p.xiii, italics in original).

To be against method is to realise that the advancement of Western science – which in Western countries has been historically and traditionally perceived as a sign of progress of knowledge and civilisation – has been experienced, in many parts of the world, as an imposition of “Western ways and values” and as a “killing of minds” (Feyerabend, 1993, p.3). Indigenous researchers’ emphasis on Indigenous data sovereignty and the right to control data from and about Indigenous communities, on the need to learn from Indigenous voices and to treat Indigenous people as ‘subjects’ and not ‘objects’ of knowledge, on the imperative of designing research strategies that foster community empowerment and that are seen as valuable by Indigenous communities – all these priorities of Indigenous research point at ways of unthinking (if not outright dismantling) Western science and methodology. Similarly, Indigenous research in criminology is conducted in accordance with a set of principles that are more political than methodological in nature: the principles of ‘committed objectivity’ and ‘speaking truth to power’, ‘giving back’ to communities that contributed to generating knowledge and insight, making research ‘real’, that is, based on the experiences of Indigenous people and communities, and making research endeavours emancipatory, or ensuring that research helps Indigenous people decolonise their existence and their lived experience of settler-colonialism and, ultimately, achieve justice (see Cunneen and Tauri, 2016, pp.30-42).

Indigenous criminology is, by default, Indigenous critique of criminology. Such a critique starts with a critical historicisation of the very notion of indigeneity and its relation to coloniality. In strictly etymological terms, the word ‘indigenous’ comes from the Latin *indigenus*, an adjective that refers to someone who is ‘native’ to a given place, someone who was born in a given geographical location. In principle, this means that indigeneity is a universally shared trait rather than a particularistic one (Agozino, 2014). This explains why the movement to indigenise the social sciences that gained momentum in the early 1970s had a universalising rather than a particularising mission. This was a movement led by “indigenous scholars from the Third World [who] raised their voice against the implantation of social sciences perpetuating ‘captivity’ of mind” (Atal, 2004, p.99). The movement’s *raison d’etre* was incapsulated in the belief that indigeneity in social science could be an antidote to the universality of Western social science and its coloniality. The ultimate goal of the movement was intellectual ‘self-rule’, i.e., making social science in non-Western countries independent from Westernised influences. The notion of an Indigenous social science, then, emerged as an attempt to de-Westernise social science, to unthink conventional ways of doing social science in non-Western settings. Hence, when Loubser (1988, p.179) made a call for the indigenisation of the social sciences, he did not have in mind specific groups of people (i.e., ‘Indigenous peoples’) but rather understood indigenisation as a process of development of “communities that are self-reliant, self-sufficient and self-directing, in other words, autonomous and independent”. Likewise, Mukherji spoke of the indigenisation of social science not as way of particularising and making it a property of specific groups of people but as a means of universalising it, or as “*a process of generating relevant concepts or providing a testing ground for examining the goodness of fit of concepts generated elsewhere, including in the non-western world*” (2005, p.318, italics in original).

By contrast, when Cunneen and Tauri (2019) claim that the negative nature of the interactions between Indigenous peoples and criminal justice systems will not change unless criminology starts supporting Indigenous peoples’ desire for self-determination, they clearly have particular ‘peoples’ in mind. Similarly, when Tauri and Deckert (2014) speak of an ‘International Indigenous School of critical social science’, they seem to be referring to a particular set of social-scientific trends started by Indigenous scholars rather than to a universalistic mode of doing social science in the non-Western world. On the one hand, coloniality infects our mind and makes us see Indigenous peoples as the ‘other’, as non-Western peoples that exist “somewhere over there and not here” (Mignolo, 2009, p.39). On the other hand, the term ‘Indigenous peoples’ emerged in the 1970s out of the struggles of the American Indian Movement and the Canadian Indian Brotherhood and, in that context, it came to symbolise the internationalisation of the experiences of oppression of colonised people from around the world (Smith, 1999, p.7). Indigenous criminology and critical historical criminology arguably meet in this space where indigeneity and universality both clash and coincide, where indigeneity is both a technology of exclusion and ‘othering’ and a way of feeling included in processes of de-Westernisation and feeling part of struggles for freedom and emancipation that are global and yet local. Indigeneity is a way of being global but in a Southern sense, but also a way of being excluded simply by ‘staying home’ (Rose, 1991).

# **Conclusion**

This paper offered some preliminary thoughts and reflections on the development of a critical historical criminology of the Antipodean and Global South. Though as early as the mid-1990s criminologists like John Pratt (1996) started to notice the emergence of distinctively historico-criminological trends in Australia and New Zealand, today ‘historical criminology’ remains a marginal undertaking within the Antipodean study of crime. This is particularly problematic for the thriving of critical criminology in the Southern hemisphere. Recent developments in Indigenous criminology and calls for southernising and decolonising the study of crime will have beneficial long-term effects on the criminological enterprise in settler-colonial societies, the Global South, and beyond. Yet, taken on their own, postcolonial, Southern and Indigenous perspectives will not succeed in countering mainstream criminology’s administrative tendencies without the support of a critical criminology that is fully historical. In this paper, I argued against a strictly methodological understanding of historical criminology and for the need to advance a critical conception of historical criminology that will help us ‘unthink history and criminology’ and that will allow us to ‘de-discipline ourselves’ (as criminologists and historians). Such a critical conception of historical criminology can help criminologists working historically build politico-academic alliances with critical perspectives that have the potential to enrich and be enriched by historico-criminological views of crime and justice.

An ahistorical critical criminology of the Antipodean does a disservice to the emancipatory project of critical criminology in the Global South, but making critical criminology more historical by appealing to traditionalist historiographic rigour and methodological syntheses is not the right solution. A more fruitful way of advancing the cause of a critical historical criminology of the Global South is that of thinking less like criminologists and historians and more like postcolonial, Southern, and Indigenous scholars. Indeed, the prospect of a critical historical criminology of the Antipodean and Global South is inextricably bound to our capacity to collectively participate in these interlinked processes of un-thinking and de-disciplining the social sciences and to rethink our theoretical and practical priorities in the present. Some might argue that a historical criminology that does not link directly to strictly criminological and historical approaches, models, theories, and methodologies, effectively renounces to be ‘historico-criminological’. This might as well be the case, but making historical criminology ‘more historical’ and ‘more criminological’ will have an even greater nullifying effect; as sociologist and criminologist Pat Carlen (2016, p.xxi) argued, discourses tend to ‘destroy’ each other and to create a ‘discursive abyss’ in the process, thus making it irrelevant whether scholars “style themselves critical, cultural, public, Marxist, feminist and/or…whatever”. We have to resist the discursive forces that are trying to turn historical criminology into just another ‘whatever’ in criminology.

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