

Please cite the Published Version

Laverick, W (2017) Book Review: Transnational crime, edited by James Sheptycki, London and New York, Routledge, Volume I–IV, 2015. *Policing and Society*, 27 (3). pp. 324-340. ISSN 1043-9463

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/10439463.2016.1250054>

Publisher: Taylor & Francis

Version: Accepted Version

Downloaded from: <https://e-space.mmu.ac.uk/617746/>

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Transnational crime, edited by James Sheptycki, London and New York, Routledge, Volume I–IV, 2015, 1395 pp., £900.00 (hardback), ISBN 9780415830294

Introduction

James Sheptycki's four volume edited collection has been published at a time when interest in international, transnational, comparative and global criminology has expanded, alongside the field of international policing cooperation, transnational policing and international crime and criminology. This literature has explicitly sought to examine the relevance and impact of social transformations and global interconnectivity upon crime, security and law enforcement. It has also sought to explore the impact of such change upon governance arrangements, internationally, regionally and nationally (see, for example, Anderson 1989, Nadelmann 1993, Sheptycki 2000, Deflem 2002, Sheptycki and Wardak 2005, Watts et al. 2008, Shoham et al. 2010, Smith et al. 2011, Bowling and Sheptycki 2012, Findlay and Henham 2012, Lemieux 2013). This burgeoning field acknowledges that processes of economic, political and social integration, in addition to developments in transportation and information communication technologies, have served to generate opportunities for crime and victimisation, undermining traditional mechanisms of social control. These developments, we are informed, have the potential to undermine security and development, rendering governments vulnerable to economic or geopolitical shocks emanating from outside their own territories. A diverse range of social ills have consequently become defined as international, regional and national security threats, including international terrorism, the spread of deadly technologies, climate change, organised crime and corruption (Council of the European Union 2010, p. 11, HM Government 2010, p. 16, NSS USA 2010, p. 3, UNODC 2010, p. 13, Laverick 2016, pp. 10–12). These developments are also widely acknowledged to have destabilised conventional distinctions between domestic and foreign policy, internal and external security, 'high' and 'low' policing, policing and military action (Aas 2007). Consequences are presented by scholars working within this area as profound, with debates continuing regarding the contemporary shape of governance arrangements and the international and regional political and law enforcement infrastructure, the relative power and role of key actors (including, and moving beyond 'the state'), and the implications for accountability and transparency.

While it is increasingly evident that the term 'globalisation' has penetrated international, regional and national security and law enforcement discourse, also gaining considerable currency among politicians and criminologists alike, it is also evident that the 'standard' or 'mainstream' view (and its associated liberal 'law and order' framework of crime control), have increasingly come under interrogation. Indeed, commentators have recently presented the existing liberal framework as normative, partial and/or incomplete, with current crime control strategies challenged for diverting attention away from structural determinants of crime and for remaining insensitive to issues of power, geo-politics and the potential for transformative change (Findlay 1999, 2008, Andreas and Nadelman 2006, Bigo 2013).

It is against this background that James Sheptycki, a Professor of Criminology at York University, Toronto, and a leading commentator in the field of transnational crime and policing, has skilfully compiled this four volume edited collection *Transnational crime*. Sheptycki's contribution and influence upon the field is already well established. Notable books include: *Global policing and transnational law enforcement* (2015); *Global policing* (2012); *Transnational organized crime* (2014); *Crafting transnational policing* (2007); *En Quête de Police Transnationale* (2005); *Transnational and comparative criminology* (2004); *In search of transnational policing* (2003); *Issues in transnational policing* (2000); and *Innovations in policing domestic violence* (1993).

Published in 2015, *Transnational crime* is an intelligently crafted collection, reveal-

ing considerable expertise and dexterity within a complex, dynamic and continuously evolving subject area. There is, to my knowledge, no comparable volume of work (with the nearest perhaps Smith, Zhang and Barberet's excellent 2011 Routledge handbook of international criminology), and certainly none that embraces such an impressive range of ontological and epistemological questions, spanning disciplinary boundaries and engaging with theoretical disputes emanating from within security, international relations, globalisation and criminological literature. The scope and ambition of this work should therefore be commended from the outset. It is with regret, then, that this necessarily brief review will inevitably fail to do justice to the important contributions contained within, with many of the authors deserving comprehensive comment in their own right in order to reflect the value of their work to the discipline. That said, and having acknowledged the limitation of the present review, the paper will continue with a brief overview of the stated aims and structure of the four volumes, in addition to a discussion of the content, key themes and disciplinary contributions of this work.

Empiricism and beyond: methodological complexity, research ethics and design

Sheptycki's collection is divided into four parts, with each of the four volumes accompanied by a helpful introduction. Volume I aims to provide a survey of literature on the methodological concerns of transnational and comparative criminology. Divided into 14 chapters, it reveals considerable complexity and variety, introducing the reader to a range of approaches and research designs, including quantitative and qualitative, experimental, quasi-experimental and non-experimental. The essays encompass a variety of data collection strategies, including surveys, case studies and book reviews, alongside studies employing historical comparative methods and cross-national research. The work contained within the first volume also serves to highlight several challenges faced by researchers undertaking their work within comparative and transnational contexts, inviting readers to consider what is possible and to provoke the criminological imagination. Ko-Lin Chin's study, *Into the thick of it: methodological issues in studying the drug trade in the Golden Triangle*, is significant in this regard, comprising an ethnographic study, thick in descriptive detail, illustrating the realities of research including challenges associated with gaining access, issues of personal safety and security, trust and sample bias. Mark Israel's *Strictly confidential? Integrity and the disclosure of criminological and socio-legal research* is also a 'must-read' for undergraduate, postgraduate and established academics alike, highlighting ethical issues involved in the disclosure of confidential information in criminological research. While I am unable fully to describe each chapter, suffice to say, they have been purposefully selected in order to raise challenging questions, including: 'what constitutes meaningful evidence concerning crime phenomena in the context of a global social system?' Giulia Mugellini's essay on International crime statistics, and J. Van Dijk's essay, entitled *The ICVS and beyond: developing a comprehensive set of crime indicators*, detail the main complexities and pitfalls related to the problems of validity, reliability and comparability of crime statistics, before moving on to discuss contemporary developments in quantitative comparative studies. Their work considers the utility of employing international social statistics, and the benefits of combined, synthesised research including other kinds of social statistics to enhance validity and reliability. In doing so, this work engages with age old debates surrounding the Enlightenment belief that people are able to measure crime and victimisation, map patterns and variations in crime and the rule of law, and comprehend and control the universe by means of reason and empirical research. The liberal and modernist belief in progress, objectivity, the perfectibility of science and data collection processes, alongside the utility of positivist and empirical approaches for comparative and trans-

national crime research, remain key themes within the collection. This is, perhaps, best typified by the analytic empiricism of Lawrence Sherman in his 2005 essay *The use and usefulness of criminology, 1751–2005*, in Volume II, and in his 2011 lecture *Professional policing and liberal democracy*, in Volume IV. His earlier work examines the prospect for experimental criminology to provide more comprehensive evidence about responses to crime, with the potential to generate better science and better policy, as a consequence. His later work promotes experimental criminology and ‘evidence-based policing’ as essential to the creation of global liberal democracy, calling for ‘a revival in federal funding’ alongside effort to excite ‘public interest’ in the value of experimental and analytic research.

In contrast, Felipe Estrada’s article, *Juvenile violence as a social problem: trends, media attention and societal response* (Volume I), and Rob White’s essay *Researching transnational environmental harm: toward an eco-global criminology* (Volume I), reflect the social constructivist view of crime. This position emphasises the political and contested nature of crime definitions, and the social construction of crime statistics, including attention to variation in counting rules, reporting and recording practices. With roots located in the sociological symbolic interactionist tradition, associated with the ideas of George Herbert Mead, Charles Horton Cooley, W.I. Thomas, Herbert Blumer and Erving Goffman, constructivism, both within the disciplines of criminology and international relations, remains associated with the view that society and culture are sites of political struggle. Meaning, interpretation and social context and consequently viewed as vital aspects of a dynamic process of action and interaction (see Laverick 2016, pp. 139–141). Work within this tradition therefore gives due consideration to the constructive nature of narratives, discourse and media representation, particularly in relation to deviance amplification, self-fulfilling prophecies, societal responses and agenda setting processes. Described as a ‘relativistic philosophical approach’, it challenges positivist assumptions, inviting readers to take seriously the view that crime emerges ‘out of the interplay of sociocultural, economic, political-geographic and legal relations between people’. As cultural constructs, measures of crime and the meaning of indicators are subsequently problematised rather than uncritically taken for granted. This work therefore provides space for consideration of issues of power, interest and questions regarding the application of law and its function. These remain key themes and re-emerge throughout the collection. White’s work in particular highlights the importance of data availability and quality, the prioritisation of particular issues over others, the notion of interest, and the need to embrace methodological complexity in relation to eco-criminological issues and harms, a newly emerging and highly important subject area, which transcend legalistic concepts of crime. Volume I therefore endeavours to transcend the mainstream US-centric preoccupation with statistics and surveys, in order to provide ‘a space for serious consideration of qualitative research methods and theory’.

Transcending ethnocentricity and generalisation

Richard Bennett’s essay *Comparative criminology and criminal justice research*, in Volume I, is the first of several essays contained within the collection addressing the state of criminological knowledge worldwide. Intent upon providing a typology of comparative studies, Bennett’s work explores the relative benefits and impediments to comparative research. The contribution is significant. It introduces key themes, including the need for the discipline to transcend ethnocentricity, appreciating cultural, political, policing and judicial diversity, both within and between nations, alongside sensitivity and reflective awareness regarding the influence of researcher-bias and values tied to historical, geographical and culturally specific boundaries upon the production of criminological knowledge, and the interpretation of research data. Such

issues are exemplified in Volume III, in the contributions of Amir Zamani and Casey Jordan's Law enforcement in the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Socialist Peoples' Libyan Arab Jamahiriya: a comparative study; Jill Crystal's Criminal justice in the Middle East; and Ali Wardak's Crime and social control in Saudi Arabia. Each essay provides rich and fascinating detail to counter overgeneralisation and misperception in relation to a much neglected region of the world. Their essays permit the reader to gain insight into similarities and differences within and between Muslim countries. James Sheptycki's cross-national analysis of policing within Belgium and the Netherlands, Political culture and structures of social control: police-related scandal in the Low Countries in comparative perspective (Volume I), is also worthy of comment in this regard. These contributions invite readers to remain sensitive to the important influence of local culture, religion and politics, directing attention to the importance of historical and cultural specificities. The reader is further reminded of the importance of placing mechanisms of social control, state-based policing models and institutional structures, within the wider context of state building, external intervention, invasion and colonial encounters. In doing so, the utility of interdisciplinary analysis and historical contextualisation for an analysis of crime, crime control and punishment is clearly illustrated. There is a powerful message here, with the reader cautioned against overgeneralisation and simplification. Susanne Karstedt's Comparing cultures, comparing crime (Volume I); Francis Pakes' The comparative method in globalised criminology (Volume I); James Sheptycki's Relativism, transnationalisation and comparative criminology (Volume I); John Braithwaite's Crime in a convict republic (Volume II); and Fran Buntman's Prison and democracy: lessons learned and not learned, from 1989 to 2009 (Volume I), are excellent contributions in this regard and lend further support for the application of the historical method within transnational and comparative research. Each example illustrates the value of cross-national, historical comparative methodologies for shedding light upon structural developments and organisational transformation. Braithwaite in particular provides a critique of Foucault's 'five stage model' of the history of punishment, employing historical and cross-national comparative analysis, comprising narrative detail and social statistics as a means of theory testing, which exposes the shortcomings of the dominant model's categories when applied to an analysis of Australian penal history. His argument is well researched and convincing.

The benefits of comparative and historical research are also evident in work dedicated to an examination of policy transfer. Jonny Steinberg's essay, Crime prevention goes abroad: policy transfer and policing in post-apartheid South Africa (Volume III), offers a cautionary word of warning, detailing what is described as 'an exemplar of hubristic failure' in relation to the export of crime prevention police practice within post-apartheid South Africa. Bill Dixon's essay, In search of interactive globalization: critical criminology in South Africa's transition (Volume III), similarly challenges modernist assumptions regarding the inevitability of humanitarian impulses and progress, assumptions often underpinning policy transfer and the application of western community policing models. Dixon engages with Maureen Cain's earlier discussion of orientalism and Occidentalism, (as distinct hegemonic tendencies associated with charges of ethnocentricity), including the tendency to adopt paternalistic, racist and condescending attitudes towards the 'Other', and to see everything from the perspective of the West (or North). These criticisms are presented within her paper Orientalism, Occidentalism and the sociology of crime (Volume I). In response to such charges, Dixon questions the extent to which the flow of ideas, practices and institutional structures are unidirectional, challenging the view that the South is a passive recipient of northern criminological theorising and crime control policies. In doing so, Dixon provides space for peripheral voices, contemplating the role of agency and resistance in Africa, illustrating the constitutive practices of recipient nations, thereby challenging

deterministic and over-simplified accounts. Alice Hills' *Managing the interface: regional security and substate politics* (Volume III), and David H. Bayley and David Weisburd's essay *Cops and spooks: the role of the police in counterterrorism* (Volume IV), emphasise variation and diversity: the former, in relation to policing and regional security cooperation, and particularly the lack of fit in Sub-Saharan Africa with European models; and the latter, in relation to variation in models of counter terrorism, drawing out the implications of such variation for the legitimacy and accountability of high policing. These examples serve to remind us that one should remain wary of one-size fits all models, and to highlight the benefits of comparative and transnational research to test theories and to analyse and evaluate the transmission of policy and practice cross- and multi-nationally.

John Pratt's *The international diffusion of punitive penalty: or, penal exceptionalism in the United States? Wacquant v Whiteman* (Volume II) similarly challenges what are viewed as overstated or deterministic arguments regarding the extent to which US models of punitive penalty have been exported and emulated worldwide. While certainly not denying the existence of broad tendencies towards repressive penal populism within some nations, Pratt argues that it is equally important not to overstate the case or to assume the inevitability of this outcome. The shift towards 'prisonisation' remains, it is argued, contingent upon the existence of protective factors including historical and cultural patterns of responsibility and accountability of the state towards the public, welfare traditions, patterns of inequality and the role and power of civil society. Volume II and III of the collection consequently seek to provide 'a rough guide to transnational and comparative criminology in a global context'. Described as a 'region-based whistle stop tour', each volume displays a variety of different perspectives with the explicit intention of 'giving space for divergences rather than trying to universalise'. Volume II, comprising eighteen chapters, focuses upon Europe, the Americas, Australia and New Zealand. Volume III, entailing 16 chapters, addresses Africa, the Middle East and Asia. The essays are varied, insightful and thought provoking.

Hegemonic perspectives and peripheral vision: knowledge production, strain and security

Continuing with the earlier question (raised in Volume I) regarding the contemporary state of criminology, Jianhong Liu's paper, *Asian criminology: challenges, opportunities, and directions* (Volume III); Maggy Lee and Karen Joe Laidler's *Doing criminology from the periphery: crime and punishment in Asia* (Volume III); Mokerrom Hossain and Shahid M. Shahidullah's *Global-local nexus and the emerging field of criminology and criminal justice in South Asia: Bangladesh case* (Volume III); Bill Dixon's *In search of interactive globalization: critical criminology in South Africa's transition* (Volume III); and Biko Agozino's essay *Crime, criminology and post-colonial theory: criminological reflections on West Africa* (Volume III), each expose a variety of challenges currently facing criminologists working at the periphery. Methodological considerations, raised within the first volume, particularly concerns regarding the availability and comparability of data, are accompanied within this work by attention to geographical, cultural, institutional, linguistic and political barriers. These include issues regarding the formal recognition of the discipline within peripheral nations, the negotiation of research access and funding, with debate expanding to question the role and remit of criminology, and the interpretation and application of findings.

Volumes II and III explicitly acknowledge and direct attention to the significance of the existence of a global economic world system, a view associated with the work of Immanuel Wallerstein and his *World Systems Analysis* (Wallerstein 2005). Due consideration is consequently given to highlight divergent positions regarding the utility

of the concept of 'globalisation' as a heuristic device through which to interpret and understand the present and concerning assumptions regarding the consequences of globalisation trends for crime and terrorism, law enforcement and governance arrangements (see Laverick 2016, p. 270). Volume II and III therefore reflect work taken to illustrate research and criminological knowledge originating within core, semi-peripheral and periphery nations. The contributions also reflect Wallerstein's concern to expose and critique existing structures of knowledge, and to provide space for the neglected histories and the voices of oppressed groups (Wallerstein 2005). Sheptycki's selection of contributions has, therefore, been deliberately chosen in order to highlight mainstream perspectives and formal government knowledge alongside contributions reflecting more critical and transformationalist agendas. In doing so, the collection effectively invites readers to note divergences in approach and interpretation, extending beyond US-centric and Western mainstream theorising.

Freda Adler's 1995 presidential address to the American Society of Criminology, entitled *Our American Society of Criminology, the world and the state of the art*, in Volume II, comprises a celebration of the achievements of the discipline and the increasing voice and policy influence of the Societies' membership. Adler's address, made from within a 'core' nation, (thereby representing the hegemonic position), reveals an ambition for international crime and victimisation surveys and for international comparative approaches to criminology more generally. Despite such clear progressive optimism, Adler's address also reflects upon challenges posed by technological advancements, and the failure of the criminal justice system to keep pace with such trends. Attention is therefore directed towards the potential for transnational and comparative criminology to test theory, with Adler depicting her 'synomie-anomie' model as a means to explain variation in crime rates. Clearly indebted to liberal thought and to the modernisation approach associated with the development of strain and control theories within criminology, Adler's work is aligned with the standard (liberal) view of globalisation (Andreas and Nadelmann 2006, Laverick 2016) or the 'functionalist argument' (Deflem 2002). This view, regarded as the mainstream narrative, depicts globalisation processes as facilitators of social progress, democratisation, peace and prosperity, but also as potentially destabilising forces. Adler therefore argues that as societies develop, dysfunction of the social structure may generate strain, resulting in the breakdown of traditional social control mechanisms, and the development of opposing value systems and normative standards. Globalisation processes are consequently understood as providing motivating and/or facilitating conditions, undermining protective factors, with trends in technology and transportation, also enhanced opportunities for crime and terrorism and risks to security. Majid Yar's essay, *The novelty of 'cybercrime': an assessment in light of routine activity theory* (Volume I), is also illustrative of this position, additionally worthy of comment as an exercise in theory testing within the context of globalisation. Thus, Yar explores the extent to which the concepts and aetiological schema attached to routine activity theory can be transposed to crimes committed in the 'virtual' environment, engaging with debates regarding the consequences of globalising trends and developments in technologies and investigating the extent to which cybercrime represents new and distinctive forms of crime.

Twyman-Ghoshal's essay, *Contemporary piracy research in criminology: a review essay with directions for future research* (Volume IV), applies anomie theory, differential association and strain theory to an analysis of international piracy, extending beyond modernisation concerns with dynamic density (population increases) and globalisation trends, towards structural economic and political considerations. Thus, Twyman-Ghoshal identifies strain resulting from the contemporary neoliberal

economic order and the importance of an appreciation of geo-political context for an understanding of crime patterns and motivations. Wider structural concerns and the notion of strain are also evident within James Sheptycki's essay, *Policing political protest when politics go global: comparing public order policing in Canada and Bolivia* (Volume II). Here, it is argued that national positioning within the global economic world system and the consequences of IMF policies, drug prohibition regimes, economic liberalisation and external influence, comprise explanatory factors with which to explicate public disorder and police tactics, due process and the use or non-use of force within periphery and core nations.

The notion of strain also finds analytic purchase within a number of essays introducing the topical and contentious issue of migration. Again, this collection of work transcends mainstream modernisation accounts. Scott H. Decker, Frank Van Gemert and David C. Pyrooz's work, *Gangs, migration, and crime: the changing landscape in Europe and the USA* (Volume II), is particularly worthy of comment, detailing as it does the consequences of anomie and structural disadvantage and cultural conflict upon gang formation within Europe and the USA. Kerry Carrington's excellent analysis of border protection measures in Australia, *Law and order on the border in the neo-colonial antipodes* (Volume II), similarly frames migration control within a politics of inclusion and exclusion, conceived as an extension of, and consistent with, 'other forms of illiberal governance' mechanisms. This work again contextualises such developments within the context of the global economic system. Thus, the tendency towards punitive and intolerant migration control strategy and the associated erosion of human rights, along with the conflation of security and development narratives, are historically contextualised. Carrington consequently restores attention to deeper issues of global marginalisation, economic sustainability and nation building within a neo-colonial context, asking important questions regarding the structural precursors for states designated as 'weak' or 'failed', and for the processes involved in designating individuals and groups as 'deserving' and 'undeserving', 'lawful' and 'unlawful' and subject to 'protection' or 'punishment'.

Janne Flyghed's essay, *Crime-control in the post-wall era: the menace of security* (Volume II); Bernd Belina's *From disciplining to dislocation: area bans in recent urban policing in Germany* (Volume II); and Wendy S. Shaw's *Riotous Sydney: Redfern, Macquarie Fields, and (my) Cronulla* (Volume II), provide much needed, historical detail regarding the emergence of a new, and expanded, security discourse and the associated manufacture of threat images in the wake of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet empire. Flyghed in particular describes what is viewed as 'a paradigm shift', where the traditional narrow conceptualisation of security, (predominantly concerned with military threats from other nations), has become superseded by a much more 'diffuse criminal threat'. Thus, as noted earlier within this review, the new security discourse, infused by the 'standard view of globalisation', has extended the range of issues defined as security challenges, the range of actors presented as posing such threats, and the level of appropriate response. This development reflects an acknowledgement on the part of national governments regarding their impotence in the face of globalising trends, challenges and risks. In consequence, security responses have increasingly become multi-lateral, regional and international, emphasising the need for collective and collaborative security arrangements. The identification of vague threats and risks have, it is suggested, resulted in an expansion in not only internal controls and levels of surveillance, but also in direct interventions.

Flyghed persuasively argues that this situation has further resulted in a 'right to security' superseding an individual's right to personal integrity, the right of association, freedom of speech and freedom of opinion. Belina's examination of area bans within German cities illustrates the point further, revealing the function of such repressive measures to 'dislocate undesirables', namely the 'superfluous classes', for whom their 'mere physical presence' warrants criminalisation and the proactive policing of urban space. The coercive power of law, applied as a tool of state power in the service of financial capital, is consequently revealed within this work, with such developments clearly framed within the context of global neoliberalism. Neoliberalism, the reader is informed, has resulted in the dismantling of the welfare state, and is accompanied by the hollowing out of civil liberties. Shaw's examination of three riotous events in Sydney, Australia also addresses the social production of space in the global city, highlighting the power of discourse and media representation both to shape, amplify or to diminish conflict, particularly in relation to racialised and/or classed groups. Each paper therefore engages with broader themes regarding the meaning and application of security narratives, and of processes of social exclusion and inclusion. These contributions retain a focus upon power and privilege, highlighting accountability deficits attached to the application of spatialised policing within urban landscapes, and also emphasising the coercive potential of the law and policing.

For me, this body of work is reminiscent of Ann Tickner's (1992, 2014) challenge to realist national security discourse, emphasising the role of hierarchical social relations and the legacy of colonialism, imperialism and capitalism upon security definitions and agendas. Indeed, given the interdisciplinary nature of the collection, perhaps, my only guarded criticism is that further emphasis ought to have been placed upon the contribution of feminist scholars working within international relations, international political economy, women's studies, peace studies and development (see Enloe 1990, Jacobs et al. 2000, True 2012). This is not a slight upon the value of the collection, rather a call to expand the inclusiveness of the collection even further, and to raise the profile of this neglected area within comparative and transnational criminological theorising.

Despite this omission, Volumes II and III are extremely welcome contributions to the discipline, and necessary correctives to mainstream approaches, which conventionally remain ahistorical, depoliticised and insensitive to global economic and political contextualisation, and to the voices of marginalised others. As argued elsewhere, an awareness regarding the development of the institutional and moral framework and the assumptions underpinning contemporary law enforcement policy and strategy, while frequently absent, is increasingly important for theorists endeavouring to assess the adequacy of crime control responses at national, regional and international level. In 2006, Andreas and Nadelmann convincingly argued that mainstream neglect, and/or the side-lining of such issues, have led to the emergence of a 'standard view', which, they argue, has served to interpret the recent acceleration and proliferation of global policing and international policing cooperation as an inevitable and necessary response to recent alterations within the external security environment and the internationalisation of crime and terrorism (Andreas and Nadelmann 2006; see also Deflem 2002, p. 224, Naim 2002, Bowling and Sheptycki 2012, p. 132 cited in Laverick 2016, p. 270). Contemporary strategies, devised to counter transnational organised crimes and terrorism, therefore, typically employ action to facilitate collaborative international action, the development of normative consensus, utilising a range of

situational and social crime prevention measures (albeit narrowly conceived) as collective solutions to contemporary security threats.

Mokerrom Hossain and Shahid M. Shahidullah's essay, *Global-local nexus and the emerging field of criminology and criminal justice in south Asia (Volume III)*, is, I would argue, aligned with such a position. Thus, their paper identifies what are viewed as two competing demands of globalisation, namely, the imperative towards normative consensus, particularly the values of democracy, justice and human rights, in addition to the emergence of a new set of trans-border and transnational crimes, threatening governance and national security. In line with the standard view, detailed above, the authors contend that these competing demands justify the need to redefine the traditional institutions of crime and justice, and to contain and control global crimes, also underpinning the growing importance of criminology and criminal justice within South Asia. Other contributions within Volumes II and III challenge the dominance of this position, directing attention to the need for historical, cultural and political contextualisation, interdisciplinary analysis, and the need for awareness regarding the structure and normative imperatives of the contemporary international society of states.

The role and remit of transnational and comparative criminology: beyond law to social harm and injustice

Fully engaging with this tension in interpretation regarding the emergence of the contemporary crime control infrastructure, Volume IV explicitly seeks to 'bring together a range of essays that consider contemporary transnational crime issues and control responses'. In doing so, the final volume draws together many of the earlier themes within the collection, directing attention to the expanding remit and function of transnational and comparative criminology, highlighting global crime issues and control responses and, further, engaging provocatively with debates regarding social order and the normative function of law enforcement and crime control. Katja Franko Aas' essay, 'The Earth is one but the world is not': criminological theory and its geopolitical divisions (Volume IV), condenses and consolidates many of the issues and themes introduced within her earlier seminal text *Globalization and crime* (2007). In particular, Aas considers the constructive function of criminological knowledge, engaging with debates regarding ethnocentricity and the universality and comparability of mainstream knowledge production. Her essay addresses 'the prevailing assumptions about geo-political context in criminological theory and attempts to examine its "situated identity" (i.e. the situated activities and their normative connotations)' (p. 20). Thus, the reader is invited to reflect upon conflicting and alternative interpretations of globalising trends. The first position outlined conceives such developments as a means to challenge, confront and subvert existing geo-political imbalances and universalistic claims; to generate and encourage critical reflection and sensitivity regarding the importance of developing national and local, cultural and political understanding, and to provide space for new, subaltern voices to enter the debate. Alternatively, a second perspective detailed within the essay permits the interpretation of aspects of globalisation, as a means of reinforcing existing asymmetries, reinforcing hierarchies of inequality and injustice, perpetuating 'context-free responses to global challenges', detached from historic and structural conditions, and remaining blind to the political economy of security and social control. For Aas, as for other critical scholars

committed to the former position, it is therefore essential to provide space to consider the legacies of imperialism and (post-) colonialism, issues of strain, inclusion and exclusion, alongside the politics of spatialised injustice as legitimate criminological concerns. Her work therefore once again raises poignant questions regarding the appropriate remit and goal of transnational and comparative criminology. The argument is convincing. Indeed, the need to move beyond legalistic conceptions of crime and to engage with issues of harm, fairness and injustice are powerfully reflected in several contributions.

Stanley Cohen's 1986 review article, *Bandits, rebels or criminals*, and his later 1990 essay, *Politics and crime in Israel*, both included in Volume III, address the political and moral responsibility of criminologists, challenging social researchers to employ interdisciplinary and historically sensitive analysis. The first paper problematises the uncritical acceptance of crime statistics and legalistic conceptions of crime. In doing so, Cohen questions disciplinary boundaries, categories, ideologies and assumptions. Cohen challenges a number of assumptions underpinning modernisation approaches, addressing criminalisation processes within the context of a developing capitalist political economy. Mindful of gender, race and class struggles, land expropriation and exploitation, Cohen emphasises the historical legacy of colonialism, imperialism, nation building and dependency within the global capitalist economic world system. The reader is therefore reminded that labelling processes and criminalisation remain sites of political and narrative struggle, raising questions regarding who retains the power to define, the legitimacy of such categorisation and the contestability of such outcomes. Cohen's later paper continues to deconstruct taken for granted criminological frames of reference, obliging social researchers to address atrocities and human rights abuses and violations of international law.

Ronald C. Kramer and Raymond J. Michalowski's article, *War, aggression and state crime* (Volume III), is similarly concerned to address violation of international law, reconceptualising the 2003 US/UK invasion and occupation of Iraq as a form of state crime. In doing so, the limits of criminal justice responses are exposed, directing attention to the need to address a wider range of social harms resulting from state and corporate action, including the theft of countries assets, privatisation and foreign acquisition. Arguments concerning the need to transcend legalistic definitions of crime, the need to address a much wider range of social harms and the violation of international law and human rights, and to address the ecological consequences of state and corporate actors, are further addressed within the excellent essays of David O. Friedrichs and Jessica Friedrichs, *The World Bank and crimes of globalization: a case study* (Volume IV); Rob White and Diane Heckenberg, *Environmental scanning and criminological theory and practice* (Volume IV); and, Reece Walters, *Criminology and genetically modified food* (Volume IV). Each contribution makes a convincing argument to expand the remit of transnational and comparative criminology and to address the structural violence associated with neo-colonialism, neo-imperialism and neoliberal globalisation (see Michalowski 2010, p. 23). This work is reminiscent of Michalowski's observations regarding the need to remain vigilant to the layered dynamics that often lie behind or well underneath the more obvious crime, requiring attention towards the interrelated 'political, economic and cultural practices that can be deeply injurious to human life and planetary survival' (Michalowski 2010, p. 14 cited in Laverick 2016, p. 145).

The contributions noted above, and those of Philip J. Cook, Wendy Cukier and Keith Krause, *The illicit firearms trade in North America* (Volume II); Biko Agozino, Ben Bowling, Elizabeth Ward and Godfrey St Bernard's, *Guns, crime and social order in the West Indies* (Volume II); Biko Agozino, *Crime, criminology and post-colonial theory: criminological reflections on West Africa* (Volume III); Svante E. Connell, *The Narcotics threat in Greater Central Asia* (Volume III) and Wendy Cukier and James Sheptycki's *Globalization of gun culture transnational reflections on pistolization and masculinity, flows and resistance* (Volume IV), also render the separation of the state from corporate practice problematic. Boundaries between licit state and corporate behaviour, and between organised crime, state crime, corporate and white-collar crimes and terrorism are destabilised, exposing state complicity, the infiltration of state institutions by organised crime, corruption and interdependence between state and non-state actors and crime types. Challenging state-centric, Realist interpretations, Cook, Cukier and Krause's multinational comparison of firearms regulation and the illicit firearms trade is a case in point. Addressing source and destination countries, supply and demand dynamics and associated patterns of violence and crime, the authors argue that the United States is a major supplier of illegal handguns to both Canada and Mexico. Their work highlights the significance of production and distribution, also noting the limits of current responses and barriers to regulation, and the ready availability of firearms from other nations including China, Russia and Eastern Europe. Cukier and Sheptycki's later work, included within Volume IV, adds another layer to concerns regarding the restriction of access to guns at the national, regional and international level, directing attention to issues of culture and gender, and emphasising the significant role of civil society and NGOs in both promoting and lobbying against arms control.

Directing attention to geo-politics and the region's colonial history, Agozino, Bowling, Ward and St Bernard's article further addresses what is described as the 'nexus between drug trafficking, political patronage and armed violence'. This work prompts the reader to reflect upon what is described as an over reliance on law enforcement solutions, further implicating the structural violence attached to structural adjustment policies, neoliberal planning, currency troubles, unemployment and poor living conditions. Viewed within a broader economic, historical and political context, illicit markets are conceptualised as symptoms, requiring alternative responses including attention to public health, community capacity building, alternative dispute resolution mechanisms, governance and education. These contributions effectively raise the important question of what we mean by security, prompting engagement with debates challenging the currency of state-centric notions of national, regional and international security, and placing the notion of human security firmly upon the agenda.

As noted previously within this review, 'standard', 'mainstream' or 'functionalist' perspectives have traditionally interpreted the recent expansion and acceleration of criminology, the international criminal justice infrastructure, the penal law, policing and law enforcement as necessary and inevitable responses to the recent growth in crime and terrorism. Infused by liberal modernist assumptions and globalisation narratives, theorists working within this tradition implicate global interconnectivity and developments within transportation and technology as facilitators in this process. Alternative voices have however risen to challenge this dominant viewpoint. Thus, a body of critical literature has emerged, reconceptualising criminal law enforcement, international policing strategies and international criminal justice as 'tools of

statecraft', 'tools of global governance', 'methods of social control', and as 'instruments of geo-political strategy and state-crafting' (see Sheptycki 2000, Deflem 2002, p. 215, Andreas and Nadelmann 2006, p. 227, Goldsmith and Sheptycki 2007, p. 11, Findlay 2008, p. 217, Laverick 2016).

Indeed, Sheptycki has long argued that policing 'offers a window onto the emerging governmental practices of the transnational state system', further describing it as 'a crucial building block' and 'defining feature of global governance' (Sheptycki 2000, p. 201, Bowling and Sheptycki 2012, p. 132 cited in Laverick 2016, p. 269). Critical scholarship has consequently called into question the emerging transnational crime control infrastructure and its associated crime control strategies. This framework, which currently remains intent upon enhancing governance arrangements, improving legislative frameworks, facilitating police, security and judicial cooperation mechanisms, reducing opportunities and incentives to crime and enhancing the risks for prospective criminals and terrorists, is viewed as 'at best' incomplete, and at worst, part of the crime and security problem. While badged as progressive solutions to contemporary security challenges, peripheral and critical scholars dispute this portrayal, reinterpreting the existing framework as social control mechanisms directed towards maintaining the economic and political status quo underpinning the current international system and world order. Suzie Dod's Report on the third annual Latin American Critical Criminology Conference (Volume, II) is an excellent and provocative introduction to the debate. Her paper details the emergence of Critical Criminology within Latin America, setting out the agenda, identifying contemporary topics for research alongside setting out a wider political ambition, to develop a 'Criminology of liberation'. Tasked with challenging the traditional and current use of 'dictatorial social control systems', which are conceived as intent upon maintaining the peripheral status of nations 'within a hemisphere dominated by US economic, political and military power', Dod advocates a critical criminology directed toward the exposure and eradication of exploitation, state violence and repression. There are certainly parallels here with Cohen's work, detailed previously, touching upon the limits of First World Models of criminology, and the moral obligation and political role of critical research, themes also apparent within Carlos Alberto Elbert's thought provoking and conscience raising essay *Rebuilding Utopia?* (Volume II).

The structure and accountability of contemporary governance arrangements

The forth volume is explicitly tasked with bringing together a range of essays that consider contemporary transnational crime issues and control responses. Engaging with issues of social order, global security, global crime issues and control responses, the contributions within the forth volume were reportedly selected to 'reflect the nature, character, tenor and scope of the transnational and comparative conversation as it entered the second decade of the second millennium'. The final volume does not disappoint. Comprising fifteen chapters, cumulatively serving to highlight new and emerging topic areas, the collection closes with a consideration of broader themes. These include the normative and political function of law enforcement and the structure and accountability of contemporary governance arrangements (of which the law enforcement, security, intelligence, military and regulatory infrastructure remain 'defining features' or 'crucial building blocks') (Sheptycki 2000, p. 201; Bowling and Sheptycki 2012, p. 132).

To my mind then, the final contributions discussed within the present review are of particular importance. James Sheptycki's 2009 paper, *Criminology and the transnational condition: a contribution to international political sociology*, and Bowling and Sheptycki's later 2011 essay *Policing Globopolis*, both contained within Volume IV, reflect upon the emergence of a global polycentric transnational system of power. Attention is directed towards the contemporary shape of governance arrangements within the field of law enforcement, intelligence and security. Highlighting the pluralisation and complexity of current arrangements, Sheptycki describes a complex patchwork of crime control and security institutions, demarcated by fragmentation, militarisation and securitisation. Acknowledging the significant role of globalising trends in destabilising conventional boundaries between domestic and foreign policy, and between the role and remits of law enforcement, intelligence, security and military agencies, Sheptycki and Bowling and Sheptycki's contributions expose what is termed the 'security-control paradox', namely, a self-defeating pattern of anxiety generation, social exclusion, repression, insecurity, producing wider social harms and diverting attention and finances away from alternative responses and from wider transformative change. Clive Harfield's paper, *The organization of 'organized crime policing' and its international context* (Volume IV), applies this notion of a polycentric power structure and the issue of pluralisation specifically to area of 'social response to organised crime'. The paper reveals the emergence of a multiplicity of interests, alongside state and private security provision, in the organisation of organised crime policing, emphasising barriers to cooperation and harmonisation, and reminding readers to remain sensitive to variation within state capacity, diplomatic perspectives, prioritisation, and power within the international arena. Conor O'Reilly and Graham Ellison's essay, *'Eye spy private high': re-conceptualizing high policing theory* (Volume IV), similarly reveals the complex nature of contemporary arrangements. In particular, their work highlights pluralisation within the state-corporate security nexus and the fusion of state security, economic and commercial affairs and the role of the military, private military and private security actors within order maintenance and high policing functions. The hybridisation of security provision, in relation to state and private security, between public and private policing, and between police and military actions, are also central within the work of Harfield (Volume IV), detailed previously, and within the work of Jean-Paul Brodeur, *High and low policing in post-9/11 times* (Volume IV), and Jude McCulloch's *Blue armies, khaki police and the cavalry on the new American frontier: critical criminology for the twenty-first century* (Volume IV). Together, the essays engage with wider debates regarding the relative power and influence of the state within the contemporary evolving governance arrangements of the twenty-first century, with Brodeur rejecting the utility of 'the hollowing out of the state thesis', arguing that states retain their influence within the high and low policing arenas. This position diverges from the argument presented within McCulloch's paper. Thus, the latter retains belief in the explanatory value of the hollowing out thesis. Hence, it is argued that the state has indeed lost power and is currently in the process of being transcended by corporate-dominated neoliberal ideology. This is viewed as occurring within a landscape characterised by increasing militarisation and the blurring of police and military functions, repressive tendencies and the erosion of law and order and democracy. Regarded as relevant, both internationally and domestically, these developments are argued as having serious implications for transparency, accountability, security and ultimately the legitimacy of

current arrangements. Elbert agrees, noting that 'The priority of state policies is largely about protecting or enhancing business opportunities' with 'business communities' 'amassing power over state authorities at an ever expanding rate and pace' (Volume II). This, we are informed, has resulted in the creation of an 'acute system of exclusion', social inequality and disparity of opportunity, marginalisation, unemployment, poverty, displacement and migration. Reflecting the arguments presented within Dod's earlier essay (Volume II), it is suggested that current arrangements collaborate in the deepening of social disparities, maintaining social and economic hierarchies, frequently transforming political, social and economic issues into problems of security control. For Dod, Agozino (Volume III), as for other critical criminologists and state crime theorists, contemporary crime control and security arrangements therefore operate as an 'ideological cover' for the maintenance of the status quo. Within this perspective, mechanisms of social control and institutions of law enforcement are conceived as frequently operating in order to support a system of ongoing resource extraction often without regard for human rights, human development, environmental protection and human security.

Contribution and reflection

Taken together, the collection makes a powerful case for interdisciplinary analysis. While no definitive statement is made regarding the future direction or consequences of contemporary social transformations and trends, it is evident from the contributions that a tension remains between mainstream liberal efforts to strengthen the existing institutions, legislative frameworks and international criminal justice apparatus, and those who allocate space and attention to geo-politics, corporate and state interest, power and exploitation. The latter position clearly challenges the capacity of current 'law and order' solutions to control crime. This work suggests that contemporary collective problem solving efforts, including efforts towards harmonisation and criminal and judicial cooperation, merely divert attention away from the cultural, economic, political and social structural conditions underpinning crime and terrorism, also serving to detract from wider issues of harm, violence and injustices attached to neoliberal corporate and state practices.

To conclude this review, it is evident that there is much to praise within this four volume edited collection. It comprises a major achievement and an indispensable contribution to the field of comparative and transnational criminology, and indeed, for the discipline of criminology more generally. Incorporating essays to illustrate a range of ontological and epistemological issues, embracing both qualitative and quantitative methods, Transnational crime represents an important advance. As detailed here, the essays embrace a diverse range of debates, providing insight and exposing tensions regarding the limits of state-centric and legalistic definitions of crime, and the contemporary shape, legitimacy and accountability of governance arrangements. The contributions offer explanation for divergent crime rates and patterns of crime control, also engaging with critical scholarship concerned with the normative function of law enforcement, and arguments surrounding the notion of global governance through crime. Moving beyond the mainstream narrative of globalisation and crime, this collection has something for everyone, transcending ahistorical and depoliticised theorising, prompting questions regarding the structural precursors for crime, social exclusion, fear, the generation of suitable enemies and punitive responses.

Significantly, this groundbreaking contribution challenges simplistic assumptions, introducing a range of perspectives and research from within the core, semi-periphery and periphery of the existing international society of states. The essays raise stimulating and provocative questions, inciting debate regarding concepts of fairness and justice, leaving the reader to reflect upon the state of criminological knowledge globally, and its future direction.

The collection is extremely likely to become an essential reference for policy makers, practitioners, researchers and theoreticians. Logically structured and thoughtfully sequenced, with a wealth of contributions to illustrate the variety of research practice, and the production of research evidence, also providing numerous examples of different criminological issues and control responses, the work is an invaluable resource, and remains accessible to a wider audience of undergraduates and post-graduates, spanning disciplinary boundaries. Perhaps most importantly, and the key message obtained from this work, is the need for scholars to employ critical reflexivity, to extend their criminological imagination regarding what is possible, what ought to be possible and for what purpose. I have no doubt that my own students will be utilising this resource for years to come.

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<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10439463.2016.1250054>