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PERSPECTIVE

Whither Indian Criminology?

Amit Thakre¹ & K. Jaishankar²

Raksha Shakti University, India

Abstract

The purpose of this perspective article is to critically examine the development of Criminology in India and the state of embedding criminologists in the Criminal Justice System (CJS). The article starts with an overview of the history of Criminology in India that majorly covers the inception of Criminology in academia. With concern to the status of Criminology in India, the article also critically examines impediments in the growth of Criminology in the existing Criminal Justice machinery of India. Consequently, the authors discuss the initiative of employing Trained Criminologists by Raksha Shakti University (RSU), Gujarat. The article further emphasizes on the need to fill in gaps left in 'applied nature of Criminology' and suggests replicating RSU model of Trained Criminologists in other Indian States.

Keywords: Critique, History, Indian Criminology, Applied Criminology, Trained Criminologist, Criminologists–Police Partnerships, RSU.

Introduction

In terms of culture and demography, India is different than other countries on many levels. As per last national-level census, 2011 conducted by the Government of India, the population of India was 1.21 billion just second to China with 1.38 billion. India is densely populated with 382 persons present per square kilometer. The sex ratio indicates that there are 940 females per 1000 males in India with an overall literacy rate at 74 percent. The religious constitution of India is mixed with nearly 80% Hindu, 14.2% Muslim and the remaining 6% constituted by other faiths (Christian, Sikh, Buddhism and Jain). Socio-economically a large chunk of the population is marginalized (22% of the population living below poverty line).³ This calls for the need to look at the crime

¹ Formerly Trained Criminologist, Department of Criminology, Raksha Shakti University, Lavad, Gandhinagar, Gujarat, India. Email: thethakre@outlook.com

² Professor and Head / Program Director (Trained Criminologist Project) Department of Criminology, Raksha Shakti University, Lavad, Gandhinagar, Gujarat, India. Email: profjai@rsu.ac.in

³ Data released by the Reserve Bank of India, 2012. Retrieved from <https://www.rbi.org.in/scripts/PublicationsView.aspx?id=15283>

problem in India from the lens of regional and local perspectives.⁴ Also, crimes are intimately linked to social problems, poverty, governance and national policies which are unique to every country (Carrington et. al., 2016). This makes it all the more necessary to adopt original and indigenous criminological approaches⁵ to assess the Indian crime problems. Notably, it has been acknowledged by western scholars that certain social aspects like patriarchy and rigid traditional norms⁶ are overlooked by international criminologists (Carrington & Scott, 2008).

In past few decades, there has been a notable growth of publications of criminological researches in India and several new academic departments have been initiated in Indian Universities. However, this growth has not been able to create a unique identity for Indian Criminology at par with American, British and European (ABE) Criminology. The Indian Criminologists and the University Criminology Departments are heavily relying on ABE Criminology. Further, the research culture of adopting reverse-ethnocentric approach⁷ is stunting the growth of Indian Criminology.⁸ Willis et. al. (1999) stated that Criminology and Criminal Justice education shall grow better when it is least influenced by outsiders. Hence, there is a need to develop Indian Criminology from indigenous perspectives.

The growth of Criminology in India is evident in the academic sphere but the same has not been transcended within the Criminal Justice System of India. The discipline of Criminology in India majorly played the role of a good observer of the CJS from the outside. Hence, the critical commentary by Indian Criminologists on the functioning of CJS rarely influenced policy changes (Chandra, Kunjappan & Jaishankar, 2018), except for rare instances.⁹ The policy implication of Criminology in India is weak because criminal justice-related policies are framed on unscientific grounds and rarely criminology researches are part of the policy decision-making process (Chandra, Kunjappan & Jaishankar, 2018; Khan, 1984). To change this situation and develop a link between

⁴ Industrialization in western world has caught the imagination of western Criminologists and henceforth the sociological explanation of crime was grounded in urban context. These theories may not fit in well in India with 70 percent of its population living in rural areas (Census, 2011) and the caste scenario is unique to India.

⁵ For developed countries like US and UK, the Criminological approach to crime may target the problem of crime only where as in developing countries like India, the Criminological approach shall be different and much wider that includes other issues as well, such as poverty, inequality and caste based discrimination.

⁶ Patriarchy and rigid traditional norms are deeply ingrained in Indian culture which strongly affects the social order and mass behavior in India. It is a matter of research to understand how these two norms affect the nature and frequency of crimes in India.

⁷ Evaluating indigenous social issues according to the theories which were formulated based on values and customs of other culture.

⁸ Carrington and Sozzo (2016) in their research argued that criminology in South Asia is not growing intellectually due to borrowing knowledge base from western Criminology.

⁹ Recently, the Government of India directed online video channel Youtube to take down videos of Andaman Jarawa Tribal Women after Halder and Jaishankar (2014) study analyzed Jarawa Tribe and found about their online victimization. This study was effective in removing Youtube videos of Andaman Jarawa Tribal Women.

criminological knowledge and CJS machinery, the Raksha Shakti University¹⁰ (RSU) of Gujarat has taken an initiative in 2017 by recruiting 3 Criminologists. These recruits were employed under a MoU signed between RSU and Commissionerate of Ahmedabad Police. This initiative is funded by Suraksha Setu Scheme.¹¹ By far the Criminologists have successfully completed phase one of crime analysis and as part of major findings, they were able to establish certain significant patterns of crimes, especially crimes against persons in Ahmedabad City. These findings were presented before the Commissioner of Ahmedabad Police with an aim to assist in performing result oriented – evidence-based policing and based on this study, the Raksha Shakti University is contemplating to create a Centre for Crime Data Analytics within the Department of Criminology. This initiative taken by the RSU is first of its kind in India and is significantly contributing to the development of Criminology in India.¹²

This perspective article comprises the academic evolution of Criminology in India and its critical analysis. Subsequently, the article shed some light on impediments in the interaction between Criminological researchers and the Indian Criminal Justice System. Further, the article discusses gaps left in the growth of applied Criminology in India and how the effort of RSU model of Trained Criminologists is reshaping the growth of Criminology in India.

1. History of Criminology in India

The inception of Criminology in India was different as compared to the way it was established in the western world. In the west, criminology was introduced via the philosophies of Plato and Aristotle which mainly focused on the role of government and inequality/discrimination arisen due to the power dynamics associated with the ruling class. Further, criminology in the western world was established due to public uprising against abuse of power by authority, whereas in India; Criminology was introduced in the mid-20th century due to International expert's voice¹³ in unison who strongly

¹⁰Established by the Government of Gujarat in 2009 by the then Chief Minister, Shri. Narendra Modi as first Internal and Police University of India with an aim to educate students in Internal Security related Programmes. The University at the present has 6 academic departments including the Department of Criminology. By April 2019, the University started functioning in its 230 acre permanent campus at Lavad Village, Gandhinagar District, Gujarat. More details of the University are available from its website www.rsu.ac.in

¹¹ Suraksha Setu is Gujarat State Home Department's Programme which promotes initiatives for effective policing and safer societies. Apart from policing, the scheme also reaches in community to bridge the gap between police and public with focus on crime prevention.

¹² The Trained Criminologist Project of RSU created ripple effect that has reflected in the LNJN National Institute of Criminology and Forensic Science, New Delhi recent on-going collaborative research studies on 'UP-100', Uttar Pradesh Police and 'the assessment of police culture and organizational socialization' in National Capital Region.

¹³ In 1955, London held first Criminal Justice Education Convention, organized by UNESCO in collaboration with the International Society of Criminology. UNESCO's report of 1957 prepared in collaboration with Carroll and Pinatel stated that "Thus, the need for teaching Criminology has been asserted not only by criminologists themselves, but all those who cooperate in crime prevention and the treatment of delinquents". A survey was conducted in 10 countries and India was also one of them. The report emphasized on the need for establishing academic institutions of

recommended the need for promoting Criminological education¹⁴ in the Asian region. Apart from that, the idea of initiating courses of Criminology and Forensic Science in Indian Universities was supported by the National Conference of State DGs of Police, IG & DGP of Police at New Delhi in 1950 (Khan & Unnithan, 2008).

Criminology was initially introduced in the Criminal Justice System (CJS) of India by the interventions of American Criminologist, Professor Walter. C. Reckless¹⁵ (who visited India in 1951 to study and recommend solutions to reform prisons and correctional services). Reckless was invited by the Government of India for the concern raised by the then Prime Minister of India, Shri. Jawahar Lal Nehru regarding improving conditions of prisons in India (Chandra, 2017a). In this important turning point in the development of Criminology in India, J. M. Kumarappa the then Director of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences (TISS), Mumbai was also linked up with Reckless to complete the study (Chandra, 2017a; Khan & Unnithan, 2008). In 1952, Reckless submitted a recommendation report to the Government of India titled 'Jail Administration in India'.¹⁶ Next year in 1952, TISS in collaboration with Professor Reckless and Dr. Edward Galaway (UN advisor on social defense) organized a six-month training program for prison officials. This program was funded by the Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India (Panakal, 1967).

Raghavan and Mishra (2017) in their study pointed that Reckless and Galaway's emphasis on prison reforms exemplified in Indian Government's Five Year Plans.¹⁷ This phase led to mushrooming of correctional institutions, universities (with programs focusing on corrections), training modules for correctional services, promoting academic researchers for improving correctional administration. This phase not only saw outer institutional growth but inner dynamics of corrections also changed. Sethna (1952) captured the perceptual shift of prison staff which was now focusing more on well-being and reformation of the offender. As an action over the recommendations forwarded by Reckless, Lucknow Jail Training School in 1959 formulated Criminology oriented teaching module for prison officials that was later emulated by Central Bureau of Correctional Services, New Delhi (1961), Regional Institute of Correctional Administration in Vellore, Tamil Nadu (1978) (Now Academy of Prisons and

Criminology, adopting an inter-disciplinary approach of teaching (Criminology with biology, psychology, sociology, penology and forensic science).

¹⁴ Taking cue from the UNESCO's recommendations to develop Criminology in Educational Institutions, Dr. Hari Singh Gour University (formerly and more popularly known as Sagar University or University of Saugor) in Madhya Pradesh started an independent department of Criminology and Forensic Science in 1959.

¹⁵ Professor Walter C Reckless (expert in correctional administration) was invited by the Government of India on a request made to United Nations Technical Assistance Program. Reckless visited India as UN's representative.

¹⁶ The major recommendations of Reckless report were increasing number of prison officials, more focus on rehabilitation, reformation training, specialization in prison administration, increased use of probation services, more focus on aftercare of released prisoners and separate institutional facility for juveniles (Reckless, 1953).

¹⁷ Indian economy is planned, executed and supervised by the NITI (National Institute for Transforming India) Aayog (formerly Planning Commission), Union Cabinet, Government of India which rolled out new plans every five year. This practice is happening since 1947 up until present.

Correctional Administration (APCA)) and Institute of Correctional Administration, Chandigarh (1989).

To promote Criminology in CJS, in 1961, a team of senior judges and administrators met the University Grants Commission, Government of India, to persuade for starting Under graduate and Post graduate programmes of Criminology at University level. The Government turned down the idea¹⁸ (Khan & Unnithan, 2008). Later, Government of India also withdrew its support for prison reforms in the sixth five-year plan (1980-85) and then came a downfall in the growth of prison reforms in India (Raghavan, 2013). The disinvestment phase in corrections dampened the spirits of Criminology discipline in India and consequently led to job crunch for Criminologists in the system.

Verma (2005) assessed the educational courses imparted in Criminal Justice Systems in India. However, in this critical study, Verma did not focus on the extent of applicability of Criminology in the Criminal Justice System of India. Verma in his study majorly criticized the subordination of criminology under other scientific disciplines. The criticism made by Verma was done within the boundaries of academic growth of criminology in India. To understand the holistic picture, the growth of criminology needs to be viewed beyond academic institutions as well. After the phase of criminology subject gaining its independence as a stand-alone department in Universities of India, the growth of Criminology in Criminal Justice System and in Civil Society in India need to be analyzed and recorded as well. The major part of literature in India is silent on the growth of Criminology on these two aspects.

Verma observed that teaching of Criminology in the framework of Criminal Justice System of India was mostly ignored and if at all present, it was there in form of short training courses in various government-run academies or either focusing more on technical aspects of crimes (such as recording, storing and analyzing fingerprints or maintaining crime records). There was no place created for understanding the historical significance of colonization over the contemporary CJS policies in India, linkages between social norms with crimes and teaching of theoretical Criminology to the workforce of Criminal Justice agencies in India. The only exposure of Theoretical Criminology to government officials was made available in National Institute of Criminology and Forensic Science (NICFS) (set up in 1972, now Lok Nayak Jayaprakash Narayan National Institute of Criminology and Forensic Science) and that too was reserved for middle and senior-level officials from Judiciary, Corrections, Police, Prosecution and Forensic services in India. Every year, around 500 officials, selected from their respective home departments receive training in Criminology in NICFS.¹⁹ Unfortunately, even after a decade of Verma's Study, the situation is still the same. The education of Criminology imparted in various Universities and Colleges of India is not absorbed properly in the Indian Criminal Justice System.

¹⁸ In spite, Criminology is recognized as an independent discipline by the University Grants Commission and it conducts every year the Junior Research Fellowship (JRF) and Eligibility for Assistant Professorships in Criminology Examination.

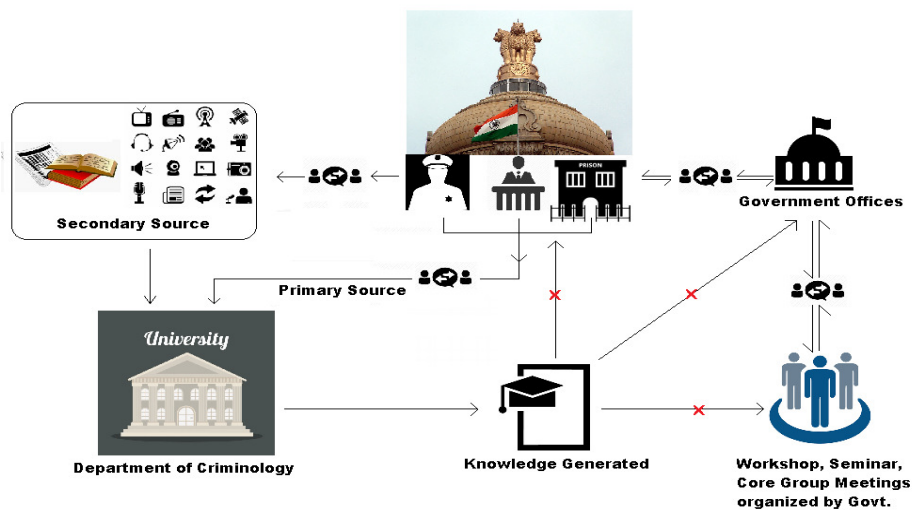
¹⁹ The objective of NICFS is to train in-service personnel of Criminal Justice Machinery about Criminology and Forensic Science, perform advanced research in the field of Indian Criminology and to promote the discipline of Criminology across Universities in India. Significantly, NICFS started running PG program in Criminology from 2004 in affiliation with Guru Gobind Indraprastha University, New Delhi.

2. Process of Dissemination of Criminological knowledge in Indian CJS

a. Primary Source of data collection

The discipline of Criminology in India is getting expert inputs from CJS (police, courts & prisons) of India from two main ways. One of them is through primary sources that involve direct interaction of the Criminology researchers with the CJS functionaries. Another is secondary sources. The primary source of data collection process is scarcely used due to two reasons. One is persistent rejection by concerned authorities for data collection²⁰ and second is inconvenience faced by researchers due to rigid procedures/guidelines²¹ set forth by the Government for data collection (Ministry of Home Affairs Website, Government of India).

Figure 1. Dissemination of Criminological knowledge in Indian CJS



²⁰ Lee and Laidler (2015) in their study on the status of Criminology in Asian region observed that Governments in South Asian region are rigorously regulating access to official data by researchers, hence inhibiting Criminological research growth in South Asian region.

²¹ In document number V-11018/3/2010-PR released by Ministry of Home Affairs with subject 'Guidelines for allowing visit inside jails by individuals/NGOs/Company/Press for the purpose of undertaking research, making documentary or interviewing the inmates etc.' the documents laid stringent rules for researchers working with CJS. The guidelines gave full discretionary powers to the State/UT governments whether to allow a researcher inside the system or not. The process is further made cumbersome by putting layers of permission from Jail Superintendent, Head of the Prison Department and Home Department. The researchers also need to pay a security deposit of Rs. 1 Lakh (0.1 Million) a discriminatory policy against researchers from poor background. Clause 3 (l) dampen the spirit of quality research, such as, tools for data collection like pen, pencil, paper are not allowed inside. Clause 3 (J) calls for constant supervision of Jail superintendent, this shall affect the response of the inmate and prone to produce biased findings. Clause 3 (o) sought for obtaining 'no objection certificate' from State Government and this shall promote abuse of power and custodial violence. Already, violation of human rights of inmates is underreported in India. This guideline by Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India has made system more insular to researchers and activists in India.

b. Secondary Source of data collection

Media is playing a proactive role in knowledge dissemination through constant monitoring and reporting the critical analysis of CJS functionaries. Media has a strong presence²² in India. The strong presence of media in democratic India tends to have strong accountability effect over the government which is chosen by the people. This answerability of the government to the media led to a situation where media draws the greater scale of information from the government which is otherwise 'opaque' to criminology researchers. The information generated by media becomes a rich source of secondary data for Criminology scholars in India. Apart from that, universities also rely on journal articles, book chapters, conference proceedings, monographs, and edited books for the review of the literature. However, in most cases, the nature of secondary data is mostly non-indigenous due to lack of homegrown researchers which forces scholars to draw heavily from western studies. This fallacy could be attributed to the opaqueness of CJS in India.

Comparing media and criminology research, media is able to get greater access to CJS in India which has led to greater critical analysis and reporting of CJS functionaries and policies. However, due to a negligent intervention of criminological researchers there is a lack of understanding of core problems in a scientific manner, hence delaying the pace of CJS reformation. Indian Criminal Justice System is paying dearly for ignoring intellectual inputs from criminologists. The quality of secondary data might have been better if criminology researchers would get adequate exposure, access and opportunity to interact with people involved within CJS of India.

c. Knowledge Generation

The quality researches done in Criminology Departments in India²³ are generating knowledge which is mostly getting published in International & National Journals and

²² As per Information and Broadcasting Ministry, Government of India, there are more than 400 news and current affairs TV channels (local and national; private and government). According to Broadcast India Survey-2016, there are more than 183 million TV homes (Urban-84 million & Rural-99 million) (Malvania, 2017). In terms of Internet usage, according to the National Association of Software and Services Companies (NASSCOM), by 2020 India shall have more than 730 million internet users (Kumari, 2017). In terms of print media, there are more than 1,05,443 newspapers and periodicals registered with the Registrar of Newspapers for India (Registrar of Newspapers for India Website) and there are more than 330 million daily newspaper readers in India (highest in the world).

²³ Criminology in India is taught at various levels. These includes Independent Departments, Joint Departments (with Forensic Science), Diploma Courses, Criminology paper as part of a unit or syllabus, Distance learning courses and in institutions conducting training or refresher programs (Bajpai, n.d.). Notably, "even after 60 years of the introduction of Criminology in India, there are only Twelve Independent University Departments of Criminology (Doctor Harisingh Gour Vishwavidyalaya Sagar (University of Sagar), Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Karnatak University, Maharaja's College, University of Mysore, University of Madras, Manonmaniam Sundaranar University, National Institute of Criminology and Forensic Science, Rani Channama University, Raksha Shakti University, Sardar Patel University of Police, Security & Criminal Justice and Most recently Jharkhand Raksha Shakti University and Gujarat Forensic Sciences University (Only course and no department) offering Master's programme on Criminology and few undergraduate

books. Notably, except for few Indian Journals (or international journals published from India),²⁴ a majority of Journals on Crime and Criminology are published outside India (as per the University Grants Commission, Government of India approved list of journals).²⁵ The publication of Criminology research in India is restricted to academic exercise²⁶ and there is a huge gap left in making these research a reference point for CJS functionaries in India. Presently, criminological research in India majorly lay in libraries of the Universities in form of publication in Books and Journals or in Thesis and Dissertations. This status is having minimal impact over influencing CJS policymaking. Medina (2011) also stated that one of the major impediments for the growth of discipline is non-recognition of criminology institutions as legitimate resource partner by the Government. The process of denial or non-referral to Criminology Departments by the Government is discussed in points below.

d. Programs organized by the Government

The lead author has nearly 2 years of experience of working in Policy, Research, Program, and Planning Division (PRP&P) of National Human Rights Commission of India (NHRC).²⁷ From the experience of working in the Government institution, the lead author found that the Government regularly holds workshops, sensitization events, national and regional seminars and core group meetings on crucial CJS issues of National interest but there is minimal involvement of academicians in these events. Mostly, the delegation/speakers/participants are current/retired functionaries of CJS. Events organized by the Government of India are majorly ignoring inputs of academics in the policy-making process.

e. Meeting in Government Offices

This phase has maximum interaction between government officials sans knowledge generated by the University Department(s) of Criminology. As discussed in previous point, the 'minutes of meeting' or 'recommendations' of government events are conveyed to the government offices without criminological interventions and secondly, government offices heavily rely on its sister Ministries (who frequently reports the progress report to main ministry) and barely seeks/refers to intellectual information generated by University Department(s) of Criminology. Government offices hence become an ultimate storehouse

programmes are offered in Colleges in some states (Especially Tamil Nadu) and five universities offer Criminology by Distance Education" (Jaishankar, 2017a, para 7).

²⁴ There are only four UGC listed Indian Journals or international journals published from India. They are: *Indian Journal of Criminology* (Published by: The Indian Society of Criminology), *Indian Journal of Criminology and Criminalistics* (Published by: LNJN NICFS), *International Journal of Cyber Criminology* (Published by: Professor K. Jaishankar) and *International Journal of Criminal Justice Sciences* (Published by: South Asian Society of Criminology and Victimology & Professor K. Jaishankar).

²⁵ Available at <https://www.ugc.ac.in/journallist>.

²⁶ The growth of the Criminology as an independent discipline in India is slowed by structural confusions associated with the subject regarding its scope, concepts, emerging areas, methodology and application of Criminological knowledge (Bajpai, n.d.).

²⁷ NHRC is an autonomous Government Body which reports to Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India.

of information (ignoring Criminology researchers) that is used to frame policies. Khan (1984) suggested that in order to incorporate Criminology research in policy making by the Government of India, Criminology researchers need to do more action-oriented research rather than descriptive researches with a conclusive approach. There is a need to thrust upon applied criminology and link them with policy-making process.

3. Issues that hamper the growth of Indian Criminology

Chandra and Jaishankar (2017) chronologies the growth of Criminology in India and mentions about two crucial documents at the International level that promoted the growth of Criminology in India, viz., the Canadian Report (1956) and UNESCO Report (1957). These back-to-back recommending documents from international forum strongly suggested for developing Criminology as a subject discipline in India. It was the UNESCO report (1957) that recommended on the need to develop scientific Criminology. Apart from starting Criminology teaching in Universities, the UNESCO report also had a major repercussion leading to slow growth of Criminology in India. Due to the emphasis on developing scientific Criminology by the UNESCO report, the forerunners of Criminology institutions in India started joint departments of Criminology and Forensic Sciences. This led to the lack of emphasis on theoretical and applied Criminology in India, in its initial phase of growth as a separate entity.

i. Other Disciplines Supremacy and/or Exclusion

In India, criminology is besieged by Law, Forensic Science and Social Work. For example, Sagar, Madhya Pradesh (1959), Karnatak University (1965) and University of Mysore (1971), the pioneering institutes of Criminology in India, initially focused more on Forensics than on Criminology. In Tata Institute of Social Sciences, the discipline of Criminology was introduced on the recommendation of Reckless and Galaway and is strongly interlinked with social work²⁸ and correctional work. Also, most of the Law Colleges or Law Universities have legal programs with concentrations on criminology but criminology is not treated as a distinct social science discipline²⁹ like history, sociology or political science. Additionally, many Universities that are heavily dominated by left leaning intellectuals exclude criminology (thinking criminology as a right winged and pro-state discipline) and even "the foremost university of the country — Jawaharlal Nehru University, has no criminology department/centre."³⁰

The picture above, of a history of criminology in India, is comparatively different to the United States where criminology departments are kept independent of Forensic Sciences/Law or any other related discipline(s). This stand-alone and independent status of Criminology/Criminal Justice Departments could be attributed to the discipline's

²⁸ In the Tata Institute of Social Sciences initially Department of Criminology and Correctional Administration was established and now it is renamed as Centre for Criminology and Justice. This Centre offers Master of Social Work with specialization in Criminology.

²⁹ The "Bar Council of India (BCI) does not recognize Criminology as a separate discipline of Social Sciences; it is still preoccupied by the idea that Criminology is a sub-discipline of law, thus giving rise to a debate, as to 'whose Criminology is it? Law or Social Sciences?' (Chandra & Jaishankar, 2017).

³⁰ Professor Jaishankar pointed this out (Nair, 2017, para 8).

exponential growth in the United States in terms of reinforcing positive impact on the society through quality criminological and criminal justice research.

ii. Lack of Governmental Support

One of the major impediments to the growth of Indian Criminology is Government's reluctance. The reluctance of the system is hampering the growth of Indian Criminology and one major example is opaqueness shown by the system to allow researchers to study the system from within. The moral panic of decision makers in the system makes them to turn down research proposals of a majority of criminological researchers or the research objectives are mellowed down to the likes of senior officers, suiting to the good image of the system. This goes against the unbiased approach of criminology and largely blocks the natural growth of the discipline. Contrary to the left leaning intellectuals' perspective, criminology is considered as anti-state by some of the government officials. The myopic political perceptions (neither the left nor the right or the centre accepts criminology) on this discipline is severely hampering the creative space required for its growth in India.

The callousness of the system is a major de-motivating factor for budding researchers and eventually slowing down the pace of the growth of Indian Criminology. The system needs to be more transparent in order to assist in the growth of Criminology. To bring a significant change towards the growth of Criminology, the Government of India needs to give space to Criminology in schemes of good governance. Morn (1995) also emphasized the importance of support from the Central Government for the development of Criminology in the Nation. There are two steps of Government of India which, if taken systematically, shall promote the growth of Criminology in India. One is, restructuring architecture of Criminal Justice System to allow internships for young criminologists (because by not doing so, the system is creating a gap between education and training). The second step is to create jobs for Criminologists in the mainstream of Criminal Justice System. With such practices in hand, one could hope for the remarkable growth of criminology and create a robust Criminal Justice System in years to come ahead.

iii. Lack of Distinct Identity

Presently, Indian Criminology is contributing to the current global pace of understanding criminals and preventing crimes through teaching methods and through National and International publications but in the pages of history, the Indian Criminology has not been able to create a distinct identity as created by American, British or European Criminology (ABE Criminology). Americans significantly contributed to the discipline of Criminology from Sociological perspectives, British majorly dominated Penological and Legal pedagogy of crime whereas Europeans contributed to the knowledge of Criminology from the cumulative contributions from Biology, Anthropology, and Psychology. Ironically, the growth of Indian Criminology is majorly influenced by ABE Criminology. However, the contemporary scholarly criminological work in India is progressing to develop understandings of crime based on India's rich and diverse history filled with testable parameters that shall give a unique identity to Indian Criminology on the global platform in years to come.

The systematic growth of Criminology in the footsteps of ABE Criminology is acknowledged in the academic field in India and the same reverberates in several criminology conferences in India. However, gradually this trend is changing and in recent

years, the criminology conferences in India are promoting the development of regional criminological knowledge, keeping abreast with contemporary developments in criminology/criminal justice/victimology in other countries as well.

4. Pioneering Models of Embedded Criminologists

The relevancy of integrating Criminologists with practitioners in India can be derived from the best practices of other countries. Bales et. al. (2014) in their study on the impact of short and long-term collaboration between Florida Department of Corrections and the Florida State University College of Criminology and Criminal Justice reported effective outcomes and encouraged for such frequent collaboration to generate quality policy research. Pesta et. al. (2016) in their research on translational Criminology found that translation of research knowledge to policy making is likely to be achieved in conditions favoring frequent interaction between academicians and practitioners. Braga (2013) emphasized on embedding Criminologists in police departments to suggest police solutions for chronic social problems. Keeping in view the recent demand for increased association between academia and CJS functionaries, numerous researches are examining researcher-practitioner partnerships (RPPs). There is a need to integrate Criminologists in the system and promote their utility.

So far in India, the growth of Criminology is noticeable in the academic field only. Beyond academic institutions, criminology discipline was not given its deserving space and opportunity to develop. However, there are few instances to notice where the post of Criminologist was created in the State police services. Kerala Government has a post for a Criminologist in police training academy in Thirussur. The post of Criminologist was made equivalent to the rank of a Deputy Superintendent of Police. The role of Criminologist in Kerala was designed for: teaching new recruits or taking lectures on Criminology for refresher batches of police officers, supervision of Kerala police newsletter (published on monthly basis), conducting researches on areas related to Kerala state police, conducting public awareness programs on crime prevention issues, sensitizing youths and school children about pro-social behavior, analysis of crime statistics and guiding students from various universities on issues related to policing in Kerala.

The presence of an embedded Criminologist in Kerala brought in other valuable initiatives in the state police, such as a proposal to set up Kerala Police Research and Development Wing, State Victim Justice Survey System, Kerala Police Journal and Integrated Digital Criminal Profiling System. Besides the proposal forwarded by the Criminologist to Kerala state government, the Criminologist in Kerala police was working on creating a state model on crime mapping, setting up crime lab (containing digital information related to crime and criminal as a reference point for investigation officer) and promoting research in genetic influence on criminal behavior (to locate the crime gene!). Also, recently the Kerala Police Academy has collaborated with the University of Calicut to offer courses on applied criminology, crime analysis and human rights (Mili, 2019). This shows that a single opportunity given to a Criminologist in the system opens new ways to look at crime problem(s) differently and take creative and potentially effective steps towards crime prevention which were not there in the earlier times. The initiative

taken up by the Kerala police remained confined to Kerala itself and hardly any of the Indian states (except Gujarat)³¹ replicated this model.

Another such effort was made by the Government of Tamil Nadu which opened doors for criminology graduates in correctional services. In Academy of Prisons and Correctional Administration (APCA),³² Vellore, criminology graduates were made eligible for teaching/training. The post of Lecturer in Criminology³³ at APCA is designated for training correctional administrators on imbuing ethics, values and sensitizes prison staff about human rights, to undertake or organize conferences/workshops on correctional administration, to conduct research on reformation, rehabilitation, and reintegration of offenders. If a Criminologist in APCA is compared to lecturers in other police training academies or correctional services, there are some stark differences. APCA Criminologist would be more motivated and have a higher sense of acceptance in administration because he/she is appointed as In-Cadre whereas in other such similar institutions (prisons or police academies) the lecturer post of Criminology is either filled by Ex-Cadre³⁴ or is simply kept vacant (Chandra, 2017b).

In Gujarat, three 'Trained Criminologists' were appointed in January 2017 in Raksha Shakti University, Ahmedabad under a MoU signed between the University and the Commissioner of Ahmedabad Police (Times of India, 2017). These three Criminologists worked in collaboration with the Ahmedabad Police to help police perform evidence-based policing (Chandra, 2018). In January 2017, three Criminologists were appointed on 12 months contract at the University. These 3 Criminologists were placed under the guidance and Supervision of a Police Officer and an academic criminologist.³⁵ The task was defined for each of the Trained Criminologists based on their expertise and interest in research areas.

The findings³⁶ of patterns of crimes against persons were presented before the Commissioner of Ahmedabad City Police on 14th July 2017 to adopt and promote result

³¹ Raksha Shakti University in Gujarat, the first Internal security/Police University of India appointed Trained Criminologists in collaboration with Ahmedabad City Police.

³² APCA is a regional institute which is sponsored by five states (Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Telangana).

³³ Initially, there was only one Lecturer post in Criminology at APCA during the times when Professor P. Madhava Soma Sundaram was Lecturer (*Currently, he is a Professor at the Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice, Manonmaniam Sundaranar University, Tirunelveli, Tamil Nadu*). Recently, the current Lecturer in Criminology Dr. A. Mathan Raj was promoted by the APCA Board to Professor of Criminology. This significant move has paved way for more entry of criminology graduates in to teaching/training positions in APCA. Further, there are some research positions in Criminology at APCA and now this institute is aiming at more collaboration with Universities for research and capacity building.

³⁴ Notably, the Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel National Police Academy at Hyderabad which trains IPS recruits has no separate criminology trained faculty member and this academy utilizes the services of a Police Officer to teach/train in Criminology.

³⁵ The Trained Criminologist Program was supervised by Vikas Sahay IPS, Additional Director General of Police & Director General (I/c) of Raksha Shakti University and Professor K. Jaishankar, (Program Director, Trained Criminologist Project) Head, Department of Criminology, Raksha Shakti University.

³⁶ One of the major limitations of the Trained Criminologists Project was the lack of information on important variables such as latitude & longitude (place of crime, place of victim & place of

oriented and evidence-based policing. The initiative taken up by the Raksha Shakti University, Ahmedabad of recruiting Trained Criminologists is with a vision to ensure safer communities and mission to utilize Criminological expertise in assistance of effective crime preventive policing in Ahmedabad City. The aim is also to engage stakeholders of CJS to promote services of Criminologists in other districts of Gujarat as well. This shall open up opportunities for many young Criminologists in India who will become part of the CJS machinery. This model will open the channels for exchange of criminological knowledge for synergizing the efforts of academicians and Police for safer communities. The Trained Criminologist initiative by RSU is a symbolic representation of a Criminologist's utility in a system. Through this exercise, not only the importance of a criminologist in a system shall be highlighted but it shall positively reshape the developmental process of Criminology in India.

The importance of a Criminologist in a system is validated in Wartell and Gallagher (2012) research in which they assessed 1000 crime analysts across the world and found that Criminological knowledge plays important role in effective policing and crime prevention in communities and the present initiative of RSU is doing pioneering work on same lines. The Trained Criminologist initiative shall be helpful in refocusing theoretical perspectives of looking at the crime problem in Indian culture and highlighting root causes of crimes that will be crucial in the inclusion of criminological knowledge in policymaking. It needs to be continued and replicated across the States in India.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The major findings and recommendations of Chandra's (2017a)³⁷ research which are enumerated as under needs to be considered for the growth of Indian Criminology:

- Critical thinking amongst students of Criminology needs to be nurtured. Majority of Criminology students are studying for the purpose of examinations only and are

offender), details of victim & offender (age, gender, education, caste, religion, occupation, income, criminal history-*recidivism*, victim history-*repeat victimization*), victim-offender relationship, type of weapon used and motive of offender. Availability of these variables would have given a more wholesome picture of patterns of crimes against persons in Ahmedabad city. It is anticipated that in times to come ahead and with the availability of more variables, the Trained Criminologists would provide more insight into patterns of crime in Ahmedabad City and assist police in executing effective strategies. The next stage of the Trained Criminologist Project of RSU shall be getting attached to police stations (with highest recorded crime cases) and doing field visits with an aim to understand the causes of crimes. Based on the major findings emerged from this research, the criminologists shall endeavor to find the causes behind these patterns, such as, reasons behind high number of body offences recorded during Sundays, Mondays and Thursdays; reason behind high number of body offences recorded from particular police stations; reason behind peak in body offences cases during summers and reason behind peak hours of body offences recorded in Ahmedabad city. At a later stage, a recommendation report on intervention strategies shall be prepared in consultation with the DG, RSU and Program Director and the same shall be submitted to Ahmedabad City Police to take further necessary action.

³⁷ Chandra (2017) assessed the contemporary status of Criminology in India, and conducted in-depth interviews with 28 professionals in the field of Criminology in India. He came up with certain crucial findings pertaining to teaching and training, professional practice, research work and the need for collaboration between academia and government.

not thinking beyond the class room structures. This sub-culture is hampering criminological research in India. There is a weak emphasis on research methodology, specifically on qualitative research techniques.

- Criminal Justice System in India is insular and it is keeping criminology students from gaining field experiences. The system needs to change its policies to become more research-friendly.
- Lack of specialized courses under the aegis of Criminology is leading to unemployment of Criminology graduates. It was also found that due to lack of Undergraduate courses in Criminology in Colleges; entry-level Masters Students of Criminology has a weaker foundation to start with.
- There is a disconnection between practitioners and academicians in the framing of Criminology curriculum. This lead to demand (government and corporate sector) and supply (academic institutions) discrepancy. The demands of CJS need to be reciprocated to educational institutions. Apart from formal institutions, educational institutions are also not interacting with NGOs/think tanks/private corporations in exploring the scope for employability of criminology graduates.
- Research agencies do not find Criminology graduates enterprising due to lack of strong research and data analytical skills. This again is an outcome of demand-supply discrepancy discussed in the point above.
- There is a need for academic societies³⁸ of Criminology to negotiate with CJS and create job opportunities for young scholars.
- There is a need to place Trained Criminologists in Criminal Justice setting (Court, Corrections, Juvenile Homes, Prisons, Victim assistance centers, attachment with public prosecutors, and in research team for assisting Judiciary).

Chandra (2017b) also suggested sharing the developments of Trained Criminologists Project of RSU with Ministry of Home Affairs and policy makers to the Government of India. Further, Jaishankar (2017b) proposed the idea of establishing a Directorate of Criminologists at Central Ministry level to institutionalize Criminologists in the mainstream governance and he suggested for appointment of Assistant, Associate and Full Criminologists.

The recommendations mentioned above would not be complete without emphasizing on the need to conduct indigenous researches on crime/social issues in India. So far, criminology in India positioned itself with respect to knowledge generated in America, Britain and Europe. Recently, Jaishankar (work in press) opined that “this academic parochialism is not helping the growth of criminology in the South Asian region.... Also, the criminological problems of South Asian region are unique and regional in nature which will not be understood by other regions.” On a broader scale, Liu (2009) stated that Asian Criminology is influenced by Western Criminology and hence is not been able to mature fully as a discipline. Further the International Social Science Council (2010) also acknowledged the low visibility of scholarly work at the International level from Criminologists belonging to the Asian region. Due to heavy reliance on western criminology, the replication of intervention strategies are not yielding significant outcomes

³⁸ Indian Society of Criminology (ISC), Indian Society of Victimology (ISV) and South Asian Society of Criminology and Victimology (SASCV).

and hence keeping criminology away from making major dents in policy making in India. The researchers in India need to ponder over two areas; one, is to find ways to bridge western theories and criminological knowledge with the current crime/social issues in India³⁹ and two, to develop indigenous theories and knowledge base, keeping in mind the cultural and social diversity of the country.

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³⁹ The scholars in India may try ‘Goodness of Fit’ model to explain how western criminological theories could explain crime and social problems in India.

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