CRIMXXIEDITIONS

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THOMAS-GABRIEL RÜDIGER (GERMANY)

"...a globalized digital space needs a digital legislation, too"

JESÚS TRUJILLO (SPAIN)

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Greetings from the director to our readers:

Christmas comes and with it many issues that have marked today's Criminology during the last weeks. Certainly an important mention to the attacks in Paris, where Jihadism has beaten hard in the heart of Europe. Many of us have been alerting since months ago of the importance of this issue that's going *in crescendo* and unfortunately it seems it doesn't have a short-term solution. Criminologists have a responsibility with this type of crime, and some of us are already working on this issue, through the intervention and with the much needed prevention wich is still very undervalued.

But climate changes in this issue, focusing on two aspects of Criminology that have nothing to do with Jihadism. On the one hand we will know about the experiences of a canarian veteran criminologist, experienced in the intervention on juvenile offenders. And on the other hand, we will visualize *Cibercriminology* by the hands of an ace on this aspect from our neighbor country Germany.

I hope this issue will leave the same good taste as the previous ones.

Félix MacGrier Ríos

Criminologist and Profiler. Director of CRIM XXI.

Thomas-Gabriel Rüdiger

(Germany)

Thomas-Gabriel Rüdiger is a German criminologist, researcher and lecturer at the Institute for Police Science at the University of Applied Science of the Brandenburg Police.

- He is an expert in criminological research with emphasis on youth violence and sexual delinquency, political extremism, cybercrime, and risks in web social communities and virtual worlds (in particular, online gaming).
- In 2013, Thomas-Gabriel was awarded the first European Future Award for Policework for his publication

"...a globalized digital space needs a digital legislation, too"



Thomas we know you are an expert for cybercrime, social media risks and policing in social media in the phenomenon of cyber grooming... Could you explain us what it is and what are the risks to which our society is confronted with the social media?

For about 10 years, the Internet has become a new public transport area especially with the introduction of Social Media like Facebook, WhatsApp, YouTube, and Instagram, but also online games like Clash of Clans, World of Warcraft and co. In this digital space people interact and communicate relatively anonymous on a daily basis without perceptible physical borders. The only barrier is the language. For

people with rudimentary English-language skills the whole world is opened up. But if people interact and communicate certain behaviour patterns can occur which could be seen as criminal act or at least deviant behaviour by people with a certain perspective of standards. For example, insult is a criminal act in Germany, but in other countries not per se. What penal code would apply if someone from the US for example insults someone in Germany via Facebook? In this case two legal systems oppose each other since there is no physical border to draw a clear line.

This demonstrates the fundamental dilemma in the Internet. When people interact with each other they develop policies to regulate behaviour towards one another which are naturally adapted to their community environment. Who violates these policies will be sanctioned by the community or an institution. The problem is that those policies are transferred easily to the Internet even though they are not adjusted to the Global community structure. In addition, no institution was built to sanction norm violations. This is not satisfactory. This is especially evident by the fact that the established law enforcement agencies are relatively incapable of fighting sex crimes in the digital space such as Cyber Grooming. The term "Cyber Grooming" refers to the online based initiating of sexual child abuse over the Internet. The classic is when a male adult tries to persuade children to meet them somewhere and to abuse them physically or to send him pornographic pictures or videos of themselves. To be successful, the perpetrators establish a long-lasting online relationship or lure the children with money.

Thereby, a perpetrator who lives in Canada can digitally abuse a child in its playroom in Australia.

How blatant perpetrators operate showed a campaign that was executed by the organisation "Terres des Hommes" in 2013. Terres des Hommes used a deceptively real looking virtual 11-year old girl named "Sweetie" who presented herself for live webcam sex on a Philippine website. A total of 20,000 persons contacted "Sweetie" and offered money for performing sexual acts on a webcam. Around 1,000 out of these 20,000 persons from various countries have been identified and the personal data forwarded to the respective law enforcement agencies.

Law enforcement agencies worldwide would not have been able to perform such an action. Who would be responsible? What penal code would be applicable?

This is actually surprising since from my point of view online based sexual abuse could constitute as a nucleus of global digital policing.

But sex crimes do not constitute the only risks to which we are exposed to in the digital space. These risks are roughly split up in crimes against network structures –

in particular hacking attacks – and crimes which arise through communication – such as cyber bullying, hate speech, cyber grooming, sextortion and so on. But again, the problem is that the perpetrators can operate worldwide and victimize their victims worldwide too. And there is no digital penal code which applies worldwide and no law enforcement agency to enforce such a law.

What are the functions of a criminologist in these areas?

I define my role as somebody who asks questions which are relevant to the understanding of development and enforcement of norms in the digital space. But I do not just raise these questions I also want to find answers. My standards question is often: "When did you last see the police doing traffic controls or observations?" By using this question I try to explain how important the visible presence of law enforcement agencies is to make people feel they live in a constitutional state. Individuals violate norms if their chances to get caught are low. And the likelihood (at least in the subjective assessment) depends on the visibility of law enforcement agencies. We always tell our children to address a police officer in any dangerous situation. Just imagine a community without any presence of the state in public space. The most probable consequences would be vigilante justice. But is it possible to bump into the police in the digital space? Is it possible for children to address them in case they get approached by sex offenders? When children grow up in this digital space without visible police presence they face a higher risk of getting victimized or of becoming a perpetrator themselves. Would this lead to a lower threshold also in the real world? I am trying to discuss and answer such questions in my publications, research projects but also on expert conferences and in interviews.

How well settled is Criminology as a profession in your country? Tell us about your career and work as a criminologist in the police.

In Germany criminology has the problem to be recognized as independent profession. Criminology is in a dynamic relationship with the social and legal sciences. A common way is that the applied criminology is institutionally settled in the faculties of law and is being disseminated by jurists or social scientists occupying this field. Real criminologists are barely seen. But an independent criminology is justified in my opinion and especially the combination of legal and social sciences can lead to an increased understanding of the problems. What very often stood out to me is that jurists only discuss legal questions and social scientists do not touch

any legal issues at all when dealing with a criminological phenomenon. From my point of view only the combination of both aspects allows a confident view on criminality.

I choose for myself an interesting path down the middle. At first I went through a classical study programme to become a junior command police officer. In doing this I got interested in the legal point of view. After that I took my Master's in criminology at the social science faculty of the University Hamburg. This allows me to combine both perspectives. After a couple of publication and research successes my police force offered me a research position at the <u>Institute</u> for Police Science at our University of Applied Sciences. Since then I have all opportunities to pursue research questions on a scientific basis, but I am still able to teach future police officers. Furthermore, I am deeply involved in international research projects, such as SOMEP. Currently I am working on my PhD in Law at the University Potsdam.

We know that you have investigated in Germany on issues that until now criminology had no answers to, such as the relationship between the real and virtual worlds, such as video games (like World of Warcraft, Clash of Clans...) What can you tell us about your results?

Interestingly, there is a worldwide discussion about the opportunities but also the risks Social Media like Facebook, Instagram, YouTube and co entail. Numerous online games also allow an anonymous communication and interaction worldwide. The speciality of online games is that in addition to the possibility of interaction there is a playful element which attracts children and contributes to trust building. This is the same rule which applies for example when people who do not know each other meet on a soccer field and play football together. They seem to tie up only because they love the same game. The same applies to online games with an additional circumstance. In the real world adults would adjust their playing behaviour to children. They would take it easy and let the children win once in a while. Since the persons who play online games do not see each other there is no such adjusting behaviour. The problem is that unknown adults play with children in the digital world without any control or supervision. If this would happen in the real world, for example an unknown male adult would approach a little girl on a playground, parents or bystanders would get suspicious.

All kinds of cybercrimes you can think of are being committed in online games. I use the term "Game crime". Players insult, harass, cheat at each other out of virtual goods. They spread hate crimes in game chats, steal user data and sell them to the underground economy. A lot of actual malware – so called Game Trojans – are explicitly designed to hack game accounts. But also fraud and doping offences are known in the world of e-gaming. Another serious case is sexual phantasies in virtual world. For example user program and live rape episodes or cannibalistic acts in Virtual Worlds. Furthermore, there are collateral crimes and crimes to finance their habits. When Gamer excessively play online games they want to eliminate disturbing sources or they commit fraudulent acts since they need money to finance their playing habits. And there are also crimes like tax evasion, money laundering, and coordination of criminal or even terrorist activities.

My current research focus lies on how sex offenders use child appropriate online games for contacting children to groom them. The number of such cases should not be underestimated. Just imagine, there are 26 million people in Germany alone who play online games and interact with each other in some way or the other. Computer games are therefore the number one leisure activity. The average age of gamers in Germany is 35 years. A while ago I conducted a study which shows that almost one in three gamers experienced offences and other crimes in online games. How problematic this in reality is shows the fact that 56 percent of the 6 to 7 year old children in Germany play online games as entry medium in the digital world. At the same time, children report about cyber bullying experiences in online games. Especially this problem is largely ignored by parents since they miss a certain degree of media literacy. In my opinion, online games – regardless of if it is played on a gaming console, PC or smartphone – is one of the biggest risks for children in the digital world.

Unfortunately, the used term "Game" makes politicians but also parents trivializing the topic.

Does excessive game playing induce or contribute to violent behaviour?

There are no hard facts on this assumption. Almost every week different studies from various experts appear which try to either confirm or refute that there is a link. I think the main problem is that nowadays almost every juvenile or adult up to the age of 40 play games regularly or at least occasionally. That's the reason why it is difficult to identify links to school shootings for example. It is the same as if someone would say every violent criminal also rides a bicycle which proofs that riding a bicycle leads to violent behaviour. Gaming is not a sport for a couple of nerds anymore but for the

general public. I personally believe that gaming as medium to live phantasies is more relevant especially when the gamer uses the game in a way not intended by the developer and publishes this on YouTube. I once wrote about a video uploaded on YouTube by a gamer. It was about a game called "Skyrim" – a so called "Open-Sand-Box-Game". The video shows how a gamer used this game to behead female game characters, undress them as far as the game allowed and drape them in a house as a serial killer would do, including a "Trophy board" with the heads of the victims on it. I estimate that the user invested at least 10 hours for producing this video. Since the game did not include such a quest the idea must have been an invention of the gamer's fantasy. That means he lived his own fantasy not the one of a programmer. I believe this is an important aspect in this field of research.

Do you believe that the actual laws are current on crime and crimes related to the virtual world?

Well, which laws, German, British or Spanish? The problem is we think in terms of national norms and legislation, especially the penal code, when trying to tackle norm violations in online games and the digital space. This cannot really work in my opinion. A suitable example is the child and youth media protection in online games. In Germany age ratings for games do not need to take communication risks – such as communication of sex offenders with children – into consideration. A possible solution could be a requirement for game providers to provide protective mechanisms for protecting children from those risks before giving them get a lower age rating for their games. The discussion about this proposal is mostly repelled with the argument that providers will move to other countries with less strict laws. This means that a globalised digital space also needs a globalised legislation.

How do the German police fight against cybercrime?

In Germany cybercrime is not equal to cybercrime. Until recently, the police and law enforcement agencies believed that hacking attacks against critical infrastructures, companies and banking institutions are the main problems in the digital space. Accordingly, IT specialists were hired and departments established to fight this kind of cybercrime. But in the meantime it needs to be recognised that offenses arise from communication between users is a huge field. Kids who bully each other, kids and juveniles who exchange pornographic pictures - so called "Sexting" –, people get blackmailed into committing sexual acts in front of a webcam - so called

"Sextortion" –, hate crime on Facebook - at the moment in regards to the refugee crisis -, and cyber grooming of course. We do not need IT specialists for fighting this kind of crime but police officers with media competencies which have an understanding of the usage of Social Media which exceeds the knowledge of an ordinary citizen.

I strongly believe that current police students need to be specifically trained in and familiarized with the issue of media literacy. The fact that this new generation of police officers grew up as digital natives does not necessarily mean they have developed an understanding about norms and phenomena in the digital space. Who should have taught them if parents are usually completely overwhelmed with the digital space? When growing up everyone has to face the dangers of road traffic and learn to deal with them. But this does not mean that everyone gets their drivers licence without special training and tests. This knowledge is only slowly and reluctantly accepted by police officials, but gives the police the chance to challenge their self-image and mission in the digital space and if they want to present themselves as visible contact partner for the citizen in Social Media for example. Within the framework of the research project SOMEP we created the slogan: "In the past the police had to be on an equal footing with hackers. Nowadays, they have to be at eye level with the citizen when it comes to utilisation of Social Media."

What projects are you currently working on?

Currently, I am working on a thesis which is about a generation without norms and standards. This thesis suggests that the new generation is developing a different perspective on standards in the digital space than in the real world. This is partly due to fact that until now there is no appreciable law enforcement in the digital space. Furthermore, parents cannot impart knowledge in this field to their children since there are lacking the necessary media literacy. An indicator for this development is the increasing number of cases of communication offences but also the fact that children and juveniles are committing such crimes. This is very obvious for Germany. In 2014 roughly 35 percent of criminal charges pressed in connection to sexual harassment in the Internet were aimed at children and juveniles. Another point is that vigilant justice might be used to compensate the lack of law enforcement. The last months have shown that the Internet community is actively taking action against hate speech for example. Net activists sent hate postings to the employers of the alleged perpetrators. One of the major German newspapers published the identities of alleged creators of hate postings on its website and openly talked about it as pillory.

Especially these actions highlight the risks of this development and the need to put the law enforcement in the hands of the respective authorities.

In particular, the Snowden case resulted in a worldwide public mistrust of security authorities who are active in the digital space even if their sole objective is the fight against cybercrime. The argument is that security services have no business there since they are seen as threats to freedom. Otherwise, cases of vigilante justice proof that there is a need for official supervision, regulation and enforcement of standards and rules.

Now is the time to start the discussion about which norms and standards should apply and which authority should be responsible for enforcing them. I strongly believe the fight against sex offenders could be the nucleus for such a debate.



Jesús Trujillo

(Spain)

Jesús Trujillo is a spanish Criminologist and Director of the Area for Children and Woman. We highlight the following from his professional curriculum:

- He has got a Bachelor
 Degree in Criminology and a
 Master in European
 Criminology (Las Palmas de
 Gran Canaria), with final
 thesis on mediation in
 criminal matters (Mediation:
 would it work in Spain too?).
- Professor of Criminal Policy I, II, and Methodology and Techniques of Social Research II, being the Director of the School since 2002 (Las Palmas).
- He was the Director of the Center for Juvenile Judicial measures The Montañeta, with Ideo Canaria Youth Foundation; and a regional coordinator of the centers for juvenile offenders.
- Nowadays he is the Director of the Area for Children and Women.
- Collaborations at conferences, two surveys to victims for the Government of the Canary Islands, and trainer for the School of Health and Social Services of the Canary Islands.

'Nowadays criminologists coordinate technically or direct many of the running execution programs, and many of them are educators who serve in the detention centers, or as technicians of open court measures'



What can you tell us about the project of Day Center for minors under legal measures in an open environment? How did you get the idea to start this project?

It was in 2000. All authorities involved in the care of juvenile offenders were scrambled, reorganizing and trying to prepare themselfs for the entry of the new law LO 5/2000 of Criminal Responsibility of Minors. There were only a few resources, and the catalog of measures that should be available to the courts had news for which there were not yet any answers provided.

At that time I was a professor of Criminal Policy and Methods of Social Research at the School of Criminology of Las Palmas, and at the Gran Canaria Association of Drugdependence "Gandhi", now defunct, proposed me to launch a day center to meet children with drug problems. I raised the possibility of converting this idea in a day care center to care for minors convicted of committing crimes and so we bid to the Provincial Prosecutor's Office and the Government of the Canary Islands who are responsible for implementing the measures. In just a year, the center covered the opening hours from nine o'clock in the morning to nine o'clock at night. It had occupational and pre-employment carpentry workshops, screen, computer and school support and literacy, combined with a program of social education incorporating a wide set of activities and emotional education, health education, values, sexual affective, social skills, conflict resolution, etc. The team was formed by a criminologist, a psychologist, a teacher, two social educators, and a workshops monitor.

In an effort to incorporate as many activities as possible, to adapt the content of programming to the needs of educational projects and implementation of individualized measures for each minor, we incorporated volunteers, and we did what we had the closest to us, wich were the adults of the day program for drug-dependent users. The combination was an extremely rewarding experience, and provided both children and adults in a intergenerational meeting point, and also leisure activities, fishing trips and excursions, gardening workshop, craft workshops, sports activities, etc.

That team of professionals, trainees and other professionals as volunteers that joined the project, formed the block on which a more ambitious project was hatched, the reopening of the Youth Residence "La Montañeta" as execution center of detention measures for minors offenders. We undertook this in 2002, trying to keep the educational intensity, in the context of detention. The commitment and main objective was to work in the context of a judicial internment like a boarding school, involved with security measures, but moving away a much as possible from the prison model, and subordinated within a purpose of a reintegrating and educational system.

What are your functions as a Principal of the Children and Women Area?

Currently the private foundation I work for owns nine protection homes integrated in the insular network of the Council of Gran Canaria, and assesses the suitability of adopters for the General Directorate of Protection of Child and the Family Government of Canarias. My job as responsible for these services is to manage the implementation of those foster homes under administrative custody, the staff and the technical control of the work that takes place in them. I have a team of about one hundred educators and caregivers of children, four social workers, a psychologist and three directors, of which one is a sociologist, one criminologist, and a social worker and criminologist.

What kind of conflict resolution techniques are being used to mediate conflicts in protection centers and homes?

Since 2010 our homes have in their internal regulations a mediation protocol, a standard method of resolving conflicts and problems of coexistence. We have also recently joined the use of family conferences, in particular following the script of the Navajo circles (círculos navajos). An important part of the staff has received basic training in Mediation and Restorative Justice, and several technicians with advanced training and teaching experience in this subject.

From your own point of view, do you believe the current Children's Law is effective?

One of the things the general public does not know is that when we say 'the Children Law', we talk about various laws, and various other regulations. The law LO 5/2000 of Criminal Responsibility of Minors, very well known and perhaps a very discussed law, is a brave law, wich is very little enhanced, underdeveloped in some communities, but especially poorly endowed for their purposes. It was born with the handicap of wanting to apply it to a lot of juveniles who were in prison's for adults, and that saw in it a lax and weak regulation, and the centers and services that were trying to apply the law, faced situations of uncontrolled violence, with unexperienced staff, with inadequate tools, and with an approach of the child protection field and not from the perspective of juvenile delinquency.

Fifteen years later, many communities continue executing judicial measures and preventive actions within administrative departments of child protection. If we hear today: 'juvenile delinquent', it is understood as an insult to the child, a reprehensible label. Understanding the child and his/her conduct as a passive product of a familiar reality, or of a determining social context is being unresponsible for their behaviors, of those who have decided to commit, and whom have made them criminally responsible. This dichotomous reality, juvenile justice and the protection of minors, live together perversely today. The same regional administration that protects and is

guardian for the children, runs the legal action, with the same prosecutors in child protection, along with the guarantees of their rights by the criminal charge and the inspectors of the services, both by the shelter as by the criminal enforcement.

When children come in contact with the justice system and with the criminal world, do you think more can be done to avoid them from entering in an adult prison in future? and in what way?

The juvenile delinquent should be actively involved in repairing the damage. They must know about it and be sensitized on the position, perspective and damage they have committed to the victim. We must educate in sensitizing them and bringing them closer to the harm they have caused, and the message we must pass on is that a bad action requires restorative and positive action. However we use very little this response. We oscillate between denial of their responsibility, charging this responsibility to the family and environment, or conversely, by punishing them. Neither one nor the other prevents second offences, or facilitates the social reintegration of minors. The soft hand mistreats, the heavy hand does not educate.

What type of rehabilitation programs are implemented in the centers for juvenile offenders?

The evolution in the centers of the Canary Islands is brilliant. Recently I have been able to know what ideas they are working on, what teaching guidelines are taking place and I was surprised by the variety, specification and quality of the realization of these tangible initiatives to improve employment and educational integration. The detention centers in the Canary Islands are managed by a public Foundation, "Ideo", where I worked for years ago in the early stages. The dispersion of the island's territory makes these initiatives more difficult and increases their costs, but we observe something like a factory of ideas and projects that seem to give results.

What role has the criminologist played in the Child Center and what do you believe they can do?

In the Canary Islands and in other communities criminologists have been an essential wildcard. Just a few years ago when a college professor of social education and social work had to prepare content to impart to their students, they relied on criminologists who knew what to look for and to provide it with material close to a

reality that was foreign to them. I was lucky to be a tutor at the practical lessons for two students of the first class of Social Educators of the University of Las Palmas, and they joined my team and still continue working in this sector, but until recently the training on intervention with young offenders offered to the students of social sciences was little or there wasn't any training at all.

Criminologists have been in my experience, perfect educators to work with adolescents who have behavioral problems, both criminal or addictive, and to prevent these behaviors in young people. Criminologists have shown great ability to organize and coordinate multidisciplinary teams. In my experience, to sit down a clinical psychologist with a lawyer and a social worker, it has always been necessary having a criminologist there to understand eachother. In the Canary Islands both in the early stages as now, they have been the most common professional profile in both programs as in half open internment, and for a long time all the directors of the centers have been criminologists, while other criminologists did the technical, educational and even therapeutic coordination. Nowadays, criminologists have technically coordinated or directed many of the programs, and many of them work as educators who serve at the detention centers, or as technicians in court measures.

We know that part of your studies were conducted in Canada, Can you tell us your experience? What vision of Criminology do they have in this country?

I was fortunate to study in Canada and Belgium. In the Simon Fraser University of Vancouver, and the Catholic University of Louvain. Those were the two places for the Canary Criminologists to find criminological knowledge. In Canada my mentor was Ezzat Fattah, and in Belgium Toni Peters. It was amazing not having to explain to other students what a criminologist was, or to fight to justify our very existence. Having first level facilities and libraries, meeting Doctors in Criminology with thirty years of teaching practice, or visiting services and intervention programs where a criminologist was a professional reference, it was something that a student of Spanish graduate could not aspire in our country.

In Canada or Belgium a criminologist is that what is discussed here yet, a professional reference with regard to the crime, the prevention, and intervention with its protagonists. Other professionals and disciplines come tangentially into play when they are required for their participation, but link a line from Criminology, without stridencies, without conflicts of interests, no competition, no fear of losing status or significance as a science.

When I studied in the Canary Islands, friends of the Faculty of Law asked me how anyone would think that a career in a branch of the criminal law could be created. In Canada, no one questioned who was the professional that would work with victims of a crime, in the intervention with the offender to prevent recidivism, in the prevention programs in neighborhoods and schools, or at the Restorative initiatives. In Spain mediation is a reef that everybody fights for to exploit, and justify it's 'ownership' of their discipline. In Canada or Belgium it's a matter out of question. The European Forum for Restorative Justice integrates professionals of all sciences, but was created in the School of Criminology at Loviana, the headquarters are right there, and was endorsed by the then Minister of Justice of that country, who holds a Degree in Criminology.

You were head of studies at the Superior School of Criminology, In what fields of Applied Criminology do the students work in?

In the School of Criminology of Las Palmas have been magnificent teachers and professionals from all fields. The current Rector of the University of Las Palmas was a teacher of 'La Escuela'. From there were born great initiatives and concerns in all fields, but with great interest in direct intervention, in the implementation of criminology into judicial expertise, social researching, crime prevention work in the streets with youth and adults, and work with drug addicts. 'La Escuela' wasn't the cradle of academicians, which gave some good ones too, but primarily social and judicial inspectors. Many of us orient ourselves to juvenile delinquency, mediation, and to demonstrate the versatility of the Criminologist, nobodies rings fell off when entering as a monitor into workshops in a prison, or a Juvenile Center, they did work hard. I claim the caquis that is shared with my colleagues of those years, because only a few of them remained in the theoretical discourse, and most of us went outside to work with humility, demonstrating that we knew, and we knew how to do it.

How would you describe the professional and academic status of Criminology nowadays?

The reality in the Canary Islands is not very positive. Nowadays to study Criminology you have to fly to other communities, where many programs are taught by other professionals, and where they are still waiting if Criminology will go out of style, and students to come back to their senses and will enroll in something that has got a greater future and further outputs. If we do not define the professional profile first, we

won't know what it is and what a criminologist can do and provide, we can not schedule academic content, or pretend to train young people. Train, to be what? That question remains unanswered in many corners of the Spanish geography. This lack of response makes studies in Criminology into an accessory role, complementary, a mere exotic touch to the training of psychologists, lawyers and social workers.

Fortunately criminologists have learned that we have to read and write English. We learned that we have to travel and participate in conferences and communicate with colleagues in other countries. We learned that we have large areas in which to contribute to society, where more and more persons look less at us like a rival, and see us a fellow professional from other disciplines. Those who have been lucky enough to be surrounded by criminologists in other countries, have been surprised that we open our mouth, and contribute, and are thankful and recognize us. We are not less. So many years having to explain this one sentence: what is a criminologist? Has made it to be clear what we are, what we know, and how much work there still is for us to do.

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