

Changes in the Most Cited Scholars in Five International Journals Between 2006 and 2020

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Abstract

The main aim of this article is to assess the most cited scholars in five international journals in three time periods: 2006–2010, 2011–2015, and 2016–2020. The five international journals are the *Asian Journal of Criminology* (AJC), the *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology* (ANZ), the *British Journal of Criminology* (BJC), the *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice* (CJC), and the American journal *Criminology* (CRIM). Of the 10 most cited scholars in all five journals in 2016–2020, four (Robert J. Sampson, Alex R. Piquero, David P. Farrington, John H. Laub) were well-known for developmental and life-course criminology research (compared with five in 2011–2015), while five (Tom R. Tyler, Jonathan Jackson, Ben Bradford, Liqun Cao, David Weisburd) were well-known for law, legitimacy, and policing research (compared with one in 2011–2015). Of the 50 most cited scholars in all five journals in 2016–2020, most were based in the USA (56%) or the UK (22%), and only one was based in Asia (Jianhong Liu). It is concluded that Asian researchers should make more efforts to publish their work in major international journals.

Keywords Citation analysis · Scholarly influence · Most cited scholars · Most cited works · Asian criminology

Introduction

The main aim of this article is to assess the most cited scholars in five international journals in three time periods: 2006–2010, 2011–2015, and 2016–2020. The five international journals are the *Asian Journal of Criminology* (AJC), the *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology* (ANZ), the *British Journal of Criminology* (BJC), the *Canadian Journal of Criminology* (BJC) are the control of the co

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Table 1 Citation information for the five international journals in 2016-2020

	AJC	ANZ	BJC	CJC	CRIM
No. articles	88				133
No. authors				260	326
Total cited scholars					27,060
Self-citations					1,082
Co-author citations					1,183
Eligible cited scholars					25,978
Average eligible cited scholars/article					195.32
Primary author locations	38% USA 11% UK	64% Australia 6% New Zealand	41% UK 17% USA		85% USA 5% UK
			13% Australia 7% Canada		3% Netherlands



Table 2 Most cited scholars in AJC, 2016–2020

Rank in 16–20	Rank in 11–15	Rank in 06–10	Name	Cites	Score
1	12	48	Tom R. Tyler	73	50
2	8	26	Jianhong Liu	64	49
3	X	X	Jonathan Jackson	43	48
4.5	4	1	Steven F. Messner	35	46.5
4.5	1	48	Robert J. Sampson	35	46.5
6	6.5	26	Robert Agnew	34	45
8	X	X	Ben Bradford	33	43
8	9.5	4	Liqun Cao	33	43
8	3	48	Francis T. Cullen	33	43
10	18	X	Ivan Y. Sun	31	41
12	14.5	X	David P. Farrington	30	39
12	2	X	Alex R. Piquero	30	39
12	X	X	Yuning Wu	30	39
14.5	X	X	Justice Tankebe	29	37
14.5	9.5	9	Lening Zhang	28	36
16	12	X	Travis Hirschi	26	35
17	36	X	Michael D. Reisig	23	34
18	36	X	Travis C. Pratt	22	33
19.5	X	X	Shanhe H. Jiang	21	31.5
19.5	X	X	Wesley G. Skogan	21	31.5
21.5	12	X	Eric G. Lambert	20	29.5
21.5	36	48	Jihong Zhao	20	29.5
23.5	X	X	Rong Hu	19	27.5
23.5	5	X	Byongook Moon	19	27.5
25.5	6.5	X	John Braithwaite	18	25.5
25.5	X	48	Lawrence W. Sherman	18	25.5
27.5	X	X	Ronald L. Akers	17	23.5
27.5	X	X	Kristina Murphy	17	23.5
29	X	15	J. Michael Hough	16	22
30.5	X	X	Jeffrey A. Fagan	15	20.5
30.5	X	X	Wesley G. Jennings	15	20.5
33	X	X	Hiroshi Fukurai	14	18
33	16	X	Paul Mazerolle	14	18
33	X	X	Peter Reuter	14	18
35.5	18	X	Michael R. Gottfredson	13	15.5
35.5	42	X	Stephen W. Raudenbush	13	15.5
39	X	26	Roger G. Hood	12	12
39	14.5	X	John H. Laub	12	12
39	X	X	Lorraine Mazerolle	12	12
39	29	X	Charles R. Tittle	12	12
39	36	X	Alexander T. Vazsonyi	12	12
44.5	22	X	Ronald V. Clarke	11	6.5
44.5	X	X	Ellen G. Cohn	11	6.5
44.5	X	X	Robert Eisenberger	11	6.5



Rank in 16–20	Rank in 11–15	Rank in 06–10	Name	Cites	Score
44.5	24	15	Marcus Felson	11	6.5
44.5	X	X	Jacinta M. Gau	11	6.5
44.5	X	X	Ineke H. Marshall	11	6.5

Table 2 (continued)

Criminology and Criminal Justice (CJC), and the American journal Criminology (CRIM). The most cited scholars in four of these journals (all except AJC) have been studied in five-year time periods from 1986–90 to 2011–2015 (see Cohn, 2011; Cohn & Farrington, 1994, 1998, 2007; Cohn et al., 2014, 2017). AJC only began publishing in 2006. Iratzoqui et al. (2019) assessed the most cited scholars in AJC in 2006–2010 and 2011–2015, and compared them with the most cited scholars in the other four journals up to 2011–2015.

In AJC in 2011–2015, 85 articles were published by 177 individual authors, of whom 76 (43%) were from the USA and 67 (38%) were from Asian countries (mainly Japan, mainland China, and Hong Kong); see Iratzoqui et al. (2019). In contrast, in AJC in 2006–2010, 56 articles were published by 86 individual authors, of whom 32 (37%) were from the USA and only 18 (21%) were from Asian countries. The increase in the number of articles was at least partly attributable to the fact that, in 2012, AJC expanded from two to four issues per year. In the present article we will investigate whether the number of AJC authors from Asian countries has continued to increase in 2016–2020.

Farrington et al. (2019) and Iratzoqui et al. (2019) found that AJC tended to identify the same most cited scholars as the other four international journals. For example, every one of the most cited nine scholars in the other four international journals in 2011–2015 was among the most cited 51 scholars in AJC in 2011–2015, as were eight other scholars who were highly cited in the four international journals. In the present article, we will investigate overlaps between journals in the most cited scholars in 2016–2020. In addition, we will investigate whether the citations of older scholars are decreasing and whether the citations of younger scholars are increasing (see e.g., Cohn et al., 2020), and whether citations of female scholars have increased or decreased over time.

It is often true that the most cited scholars in one time period tend also to be among the most cited scholars in the next time period. For example, in CRIM, 32 of the 50 most cited scholars in 2011–2015 (64%) were also among the 51 most cited scholars in 2006–2010 (Iratzoqui et al., 2019). Because the most cited scholars were defined as all those ranked up to 50, their number might not be exactly 50. The percentage overlap was also high for ANZ (59%) and BJC (56%), but lower for CJC (39%) and lowest of all for AJC (29%). In the present article, we will investigate whether these trends have continued over time.

The most cited scholars in the four international journals (and especially in ANZ and CRIM) in 2011–2015 tended to be working on developmental and life-course topics. Robert J. Sampson, David P. Farrington, John H. Laub, Alex R. Piquero, Daniel S. Nagin, and Terrie E. Moffitt were among the most cited nine scholars. However, the most cited scholars in AJC in 2011–2015 were more diverse. In the present article, we will investigate the main topics of the most cited scholars in these five journals.

We are using the number of citations as a measure of scholarly influence. However, it might be argued that citation counts do not distinguish between positive and negative references, and that some researchers may deliberately cite their friends and avoid citing their critics. Nevertheless, research shows that most citations are positive rather than negative,



 Table 3 Most cited scholars in ANZ, 2016–2020

Rank in 16–20	Rank in 11–15	Rank in 06–10	Name	Cites	Score
1	3	10	Tom R. Tyler	63	50
2	34.5	8	Don Weatherburn	47	49
3	2	6.5	Alex R. Piquero	45	48
4	5	2	David P. Farrington	44	47
5	1	1	Robert J. Sampson	43	46
6	39.5	X	Jonathan Jackson	39	45
7	X	9	Chris Cunneen	37	44
8	X	X	Ben Bradford	31	43
9	12	19	Francis T. Cullen	30	42
10	26.5	X	David Weisburd	29	41
11	34.5	X	Kristina Murphy	28	40
12	X	26	Ronald V. Clarke	27	39
13.5	X	X	Stephen Farrall	22	37.5
13.5	X	X	Samantha Jeffries	22	37.5
15	X	X	Christine E.W. Bond	21	36
16.5	30	26	Lawrence W. Sherman	20	34.5
16.5	45.5	X	Wesley G. Skogan	20	34.5
18.5	X	X	Liqun Cao	19	32.5
18.5	X	X	Adrian Cherney	19	32.5
22	X	X	Eileen Baldry	18	29
22	X	X	Lorana Bartels	18	29
22	X	39.5	Roderic G. Broadhurst	18	29
22	X	30	Janet B.L. Chan	18	29
22	17	X	Shadd Maruna	18	29
25.5	X	X	Emile Durkheim	17	25.5
25.5	X	X	Kelly Richards	17	25.5
28	X	X	Steven F. Messner	16	23
28	X	X	Philip C. Stenning	16	23
28	X	X	Anna L. Stewart	16	23
32	X	X	John E. Eck	15	19
32	12	33	Arie Freiberg	15	19
32	X	X	Peter K. Manning	15	19
32	X	X	James R.P. Ogloff	15	19
32	19.5	39.5	Stephen W. Raudenbush	15	19
37.5	22.5	3	John Braithwaite	14	13.5
37.5	12	39.5	J. Michael Hough	14	13.5
37.5	X	X	Jason Payne	14	13.5
37.5	26.5	26	Clifford D. Shearing	14	13.5
37.5	X	X	Lucy Snowball	14	13.5
37.5	X	X	Rob White	14	13.5
45.5	X	X	Don A. Andrews	13	5.5
45.5	45.5	X	James L. Bonta	13	5.5
45.5	X	33	Marcus Felson	13	5.5
45.5	10	22	David Garland	13	5.5



Rank in 16–20	Rank in 11–15	Rank in 06–10	Name	Cites	Score
45.5	х	x	Jude McCulloch	13	5.5
45.5	X	48.5	Tim Newburn	13	5.5
45.5	X	X	Anastasia Powell	13	5.5
45.5	X	X	Robert Reiner	13	5.5
45.5	X	X	Rick Sarre	13	5.5
45.5	X	x	Ronald Weitzer	13	5.5

Table 3 (continued)

and that citation analysis tends to identify the same scholars as other measures of scholarly influence, including peer ratings, scholarly awards and recognition, and productivity and publication rates (see Cohn & Farrington, 2012). The main point is that citations are an objective measure of scholarly influence, and that the basic information is readily available and can be easily checked by anyone.

It might be argued that an analysis of a small number of journals, however important, should not be used to draw wider conclusions about scholarly influence in criminology. However, Cohn et al. (2021) studied 20 journals and found very similar results to those obtained in studies of fewer journals. The 20 journals included five American criminology journals, five American criminal justice journals, five international criminology journals, and five international criminal justice journals. The most cited nine scholars in these 20 journals in 2015 included Robert J. Sampson, Alex R. Piquero, David P. Farrington, John H. Laub, Daniel S. Nagin, Terrie E. Moffitt, and Rolf Loeber—all known for their research in developmental and life-course criminology. All seven scholars were among the most cited 11 scholars in nine major journals in 2011–2015 and all seven were among the most cited 50 scholars in AJC in 2015.

Method

Because of the identified limitations of other sources of citation data (e.g., Google Scholar, Scopus, Social Sciences Citation Index), Cohn and Farrington (1990, 1994) began manually counting the number of times each scholar was cited in the reference lists of all articles in each journal. A similar counting method was used in the present analyses. "Articles" include research notes, comments, and rejoinders, but exclude book reviews, book review articles, editorials, letters, and obituaries. Unpublished reports and conference papers are included if they were cited. Articles and authors are excluded if institutions were listed as authors, and all self-citations are excluded. Co-author citations, however, are included, which occur when the author of an article cites one of their own multi-authored works. For example, if X cites an article by X and Y, the citation of X would be excluded as a self-citation, but the citation of Y would be included as a co-author citation.

Information was collected and checked in several stages. First, the references pages were downloaded from online full-text copies of all journals. Next, a file was created that generated counts for each cited scholar in each article in each issue of all journals. When a reference had multiple authors, duplicate listings were made of the reference, in order to count each co-author. Extensive checking was conducted to ensure that no references were omitted, to minimize the possibility of typographical errors, and to detect, and if possible



 Table 4 Most cited scholars in BJC, 2016–2020

Rank in 16–20	Rank in 11–15	Rank in 06-10	Name	Cites	Score
1	1	5	Robert J. Sampson	163	50
2	2	12	Tom R. Tyler	131	49
3	8	X	Jonathan Jackson	122	48
4	10.5	7.5	David P. Farrington	114	47
5	3	1	David Garland	101	46
6	5	11	Ian Loader	97	45
7	27.5	x	Ben Bradford	89	44
8	27.5	13.5	Stephen Farrall	87	43
9	X	45.5	Stuart Hall	86	42
10	x	X	Ben Crewe	83	41
11	27.5	X	Sandra Walklate	82	40
12	27.5	41.5	Shadd Maruna	69	39
13	22.5	21	Anthony E. Bottoms	62	38
14.5	7	27.5	John H. Laub	61	36.5
14.5	X	X	Alison Liebling	61	36.5
16	X	X	Wim Bernasco	60	35
17	X	X	Matthew L. Williams	58	34
18	x	45.5	Alex R. Piquero	56	33
19.5	27.5	19	Stanley Cohen	55	31.5
19.5	32	X	David Weisburd	55	31.5
21.5	9	4	John Braithwaite	54	29.5
21.5	22.5	3	Michel Foucault	54	29.5
23	x	X	Simon Winlow	53	28
25	50	10	Richard V. Ericson	51	26
25	18	6	Patrick O'Malley	51	26
25	32	30.5	Loic Wacquant	51	26
28	6	17	Ronald V. Clarke	50	23
28	40.5	45.5	Francis T. Cullen	50	23
28	X	X	Kristina Murphy	50	23
31.5	X	X	Adam Crawford	49	19.5
31.5	22.5	X	Keith J. Hayward	49	19.5
31.5	4	2	J. Michael Hough	49	19.5
31.5	44.5	34.5	Julian V. Roberts	49	19.5
35	18	X	Marcus Felson	47	16
35	X	X	Fergus McNeill	47	16
35	X	X	Sveinung Sandberg	47	16
38	47	X	Paul J. Brantingham	46	13
38	X	X	Kelly Hannah-Moffat	46	13
38	20	34.5	Lawrence W. Sherman	46	13
40	13.5	x	Stephen W. Raudenbush	45	11
43.5	X	34.5	Pierre Bourdieu	44	7.5
43.5	13.5	15	J. Richard Sparks	44	7.5
43.5	X	x	Patricia L. Brantingham	44	7.5
43.5	16	22	Tim Newburn	44	7.5



Rank in 16–20	Rank in 11–15	Rank in 06–10	Name	Cites	Score
43.5	x	x	Thomas Ugelvik	44	7.5
43.5	X	X	Federico Varese	44	7.5
47	10.5	17	Jock Young	43	4
48	37	17	Clifford D. Shearing	42	3
49.5	42.5	26	Daniel S. Nagin	41	1.5
49.5	X	X	Gresham M. Sykes	41	1.5

Table 4 (continued)

correct, mistakes in reference lists, including misspelled names and incorrect or missing initials. Where references specified "et al." rather than listing all authors, the names of all co-authors were obtained whenever possible. Finally, the complete list of references for all five years of each journal was then sorted alphabetically and the number of times that each name occurred was counted. Citations to scholars with multiple names were merged where known. In the case of Chinese names, both orderings of first and second names were investigated and amalgamated where they were found (e.g., Jianhong Liu and Liu Jianhong).

The "nationality" of all authors of all articles published in the five journals was also coded and analyzed. Nationality was determined by the author's institutional or organizational affiliation, as stated in the article, rather than by citizenship. Importantly, this means that a scholar who is of Asian origin, but who is working and publishing in an American university, would be classified as American for the purposes of this analysis.

Results

Table 1 shows citation information for the five international journals in 2016–2020. BJC published the most articles (357) with the most authors (759), while AJC published the fewest articles (88) with the fewest authors (207). Compared with 2011–2015 (Iratzoqui et al., 2019), the number of published articles increased considerably in ANZ (from 115 to 151) and BJC (from 289 to 357), but not much in the other three journals. For example, AJC increased only from 85 articles in 2011–2015 to 88 articles in 2016–2020. The average number of cited scholars per article was around 100 for four journals but 195 for CRIM, which increased from 157 in 2011–2015, as did AJC (from 78 to 110) and CJC (from 78 to 103).

In AJC in 2016–2020, 88 articles were published by a total of 207 individual authors (not necessarily different authors, as a person would be counted more than once if they published more than one article). Of these authors, 78 (38%) were from the USA, 22 (11%) were from the UK, 19 (9%) were from Australia, 7 (3%) were from Canada, and 3 (1%) were from the Netherlands. The other 78 (38%) were from a variety of Asian countries: 19 from mainland China, 13 from Japan, 6 from South Korea, 6 from Taiwan, 6 from Vietnam, 5 from Singapore, 5 from the Philippines, 5 from Hong Kong, 5 from Brunei, 4 from Malaysia, 1 from India, 1 from Pakistan, 1 from Bangladesh, and 1 from the United Arab Emirates. As mentioned, the percentage of Asian authors in AJC increased greatly from 2006–2010 (21%) to 2011–2015 (38%) but it then stabilized at 38% in 2016–2020. The percentage of US authors has stayed tolerably constant, at 37% in 2006–2010, 43% in 2011–2015, and 38% in 2016–2020. These articles produced a total of 10,142 cited



 Table 5
 Most cited scholars in CJC, 2016–2020

Rank in 16–20	Rank in 11–15	Rank in 06–10	Name	Cites	Score
1	2	1	Julian V. Roberts	47	50
2.5	1	2	Anthony N. Doob	44	48.5
2.5	9	34.5	Alex R. Piquero	44	48.5
4.5	8	13	James L. Bonta	41	46.5
4.5	4	6	Robert J. Sampson	41	46.5
6	6	10	Don A. Andrews	40	45
7	27	X	Martin A. Andresen	38	44
8	X	X	David Weisburd	37	43
10	X	X	Liqun Cao	34	41
10	7	20.5	Francis T. Cullen	34	41
10	X	34.5	Tom R. Tyler	34	41
12	X	X	Paul J. Brantingham	32	39
13	5	3.5	David P. Farrington	31	38
14.5	X	X	Patricia L. Brantingham	27	36.5
14.5	13.5	24	Scot Wortley	27	36.5
16	X	X	Shawn D. Bushway	26	35
17.5	41.5	18	John H. Laub	24	33.5
17.5	X	X	Raymond Paternoster	24	33.5
19	X	X	Lawrence W. Sherman	23	32
20	10.5	X	J. Stephen Wormith	22	31
21.5	X	x	John E. Eck	21	29.5
21.5	10.5	X	Marcus Felson	21	29.5
23	X	X	Ronald Weitzer	20	28
24	X	X	Rod K. Brunson	19	27
25.5	13.5	X	Daniel S. Nagin	18	25.5
25.5	41.5	X	Jerry H. Ratcliffe	18	25.5
28	X	X	Shadd Maruna	17	23
28	21.5	x	Jane B. Sprott	17	23
28	27	X	Cheryl M. Webster	17	23
31.5	41.5	24	Paul Gendreau	16	19.5
31.5	X	X	Elizabeth R. Groff	16	19.5
31.5	X	X	Shane D. Johnson	16	19.5
31.5	X	X	Shannon J. Linning	16	19.5
37	X	X	Ben Bradford	15	14
37	13.5	20.5	Peter J. Carrington	15	14
37	23	X	Lawrence E. Cohen	15	14
37	X	X	Jonathan Jackson	15	14
37	49.5	X	Pierre Tremblay	15	14
37	X	X	Leslie M. Helmus	15	14
37	X	X	Nicolas Malleson	15	14
42	x	X	Anthony A. Braga	14	9
42	x	x	Jeffrey A. Fagan	14	9
42	49.5	X	John L. Hagan	14	9
49	X	X	Wim Bernasco	13	2



Rank in 16–20	Rank in 11–15	Rank in 06–10	Name	Cites	Score
49	49.5	24	Alfred Blumstein	13	2
49	X	X	Marvin D. Krohn	13	2
49	X	X	Michael E. Lamb	13	2
49	13.5	42	Carol LaPrairie	13	2
49	X	X	Christopher T. Lowenkamp	13	2
49	18.5	X	Carlo Morselli	13	2
49	41.5	X	Samuel Perreault	13	2
49	X	X	Samuel R. Sommers	13	2
49	X	X	William Terrill	13	2
49	X	X	Yuning Wu	13	2

Table 5 (continued)

scholars (again, not necessarily different persons), including 477 self-citations and 448 coauthor citations. Therefore, there were 9,665 eligible cited scholars, an average of 110 per article.

Table 2 shows the 47 most cited scholars in AJC in 2016–2020 (all those ranked up to 50). Each scholar was given a score of 51 minus their rank, which meant that all scholars ranked 51 or greater received a score of 0. The most cited scholar, Tom R. Tyler, was cited 73 times. He had 34 different works cited in 16 different articles (18% of all articles in AJC). His most cited work, "Why people obey the law" (Tyler, 2006), was cited 12 times. The second most cited scholar, Jianhong Liu, was cited 64 times.

Of the 47 most cited scholars, 33 (70%) were based in the USA, 7 (15%) in the UK, 4 (9%) in Australia, 2 (4%) in China, and 1 (2%) in Canada (based on locations in 2016). The highest-ranked scholars of Asian origin (based on their names) were Jianhong Liu (ranked 2), Liqun Cao (ranked 8), Ivan Y. Sun (ranked 10), Yuning Wu (ranked 12), and Lening Zhang (ranked 14.5). However, of these five scholars, only Jianhong Liu was based in Asia (in Macau, China). Six of the most cited scholars were female, and the highest-ranked females were Yuning Wu (at 12), Kristina Murphy (at 17), and Lorraine Mazerolle (at 39).

Of the 47 most cited scholars in AJC in 2016–2020, 26 (55%) were also highly cited in 2011–2015. This is a big increase from the 29% overlap between 2006–2010 and 2011–2015. Between 2011–2015 and 2016–2020, big advances were made by Tom R. Tyler (from 12 to 1), Jianhong Liu (from 8 to 2), and Ivan Y. Sun (from 18 to 10). The highest new entrants were Jonathan Jackson (at 3), Ben Bradford (at 8), and Yuning Wu (at 12). Only 10 scholars were among the most cited in all three time periods.

In ANZ in 2016–2020, 151 articles were published by a total of 379 individual authors. Of these authors, 242 (64%) were from Australia, 24 (6%) were from New Zealand, 23 (6%) were from the USA, 23 (6%) were from the UK, and 20 (5%) were from Canada. A total of 31 authors (8%) were from Asian countries: 11 from mainland China, 8 from Hong Kong, 5 from Thailand, 5 from Singapore, 1 from Taiwan, and 1 from Indonesia. This was a big increase from only 5 Asian authors in 2011–2015.

Table 3 shows the 50 most cited scholars in ANZ in 2016–2020. The most cited scholar, once again Tom R. Tyler, was cited 63 times. He had 26 different works cited in 16 different articles (11% of all articles in ANZ). His most cited work, again "Why people obey the law" (Tyler, 2006), was cited 12 times. The second most cited scholar, Don Weatherburn, was cited 47 times. Of the 50 most cited scholars, 23 (46%) were based in Australia, 15



 Table 6
 Most cited scholars in CRIM, 2016–2020

Rank in 16–20	Rank in 11–15	Rank in 06–10	Name	Cites	Score
1	1	1	Robert J. Sampson	216	50
2	2	8.5	Alex R. Piquero	184	49
3	11	7	Raymond Paternoster	129	48
4	4	2	John H. Laub	110	47
5	8	6	Daniel S. Nagin	108	46
6	48	X	Jeffrey A. Fagan	89	45
7	X	X	Laurence Steinberg	82	44
8	X	X	Tom R. Tyler	81	43
9	15.5	21.5	Shawn Bushway	79	42
10	34.5	X	Christopher Uggen	76	41
11	5.5	5	Francis T. Cullen	75	40
12	24.5	X	Scott H. Decker	70	39
13	31	X	Bruce Western	69	38
14	5.5	4	Travis Hirschi	68	37
15	15.5	18	John L. Hagan	66	36
16	3	11	David P. Farrington	64	35
17	X	X	Thomas A. Loughran	63	34
18	9	19	D. Wayne Osgood	60	33
19	X	X	Andrew V. Papachristos	59	32
20	X	49.5	Travis C. Pratt	58	31
21	10	8.5	Terrie E. Moffitt	57	30
23	13	10	Michael R. Gottfredson	56	28
23	X	X	Devah Pager	56	28
23	X	X	Gary Sweeten	56	28
26	20	24.5	Robert Agnew	53	25
26	38.5	12	Darrell J. Steffensmeier	53	25
26	18	31	Mark Warr	53	25
28	22	14	Steven F. Messner	50	23
29	32	X	Ross L. Matsueda	48	22
30	24.5	45	Marvin D. Krohn	47	21
31.5	X	X	David S. Kirk	46	19.5
31.5	7	3	Stephen W. Raudenbush	46	19.5
34.5	X	20	Robert Brame	45	16.5
34.5	41.5	X	Paul J. Brantingham	45	16.5
34.5	X	X	Elizabeth Cauffman	45	16.5
34.5	x	28	Richard Rosenfeld	45	16.5
38	20	21.5	Avshalom Caspi	43	13
38	X	35.5	Ronald V. Clarke	43	13
38	23	X	Terence P. Thornberry	43	13
41.5	44.5	X	Patricia L. Brantingham	42	9.5
41.5	34.5	49.5	Theodore G. Chiricos	42	9.5
41.5	X	40	Janet L. Lauritsen	42	9.5
41.5	44.5	X	Eric A. Stewart	42	9.5
44	X	X	Peggy C. Giordano	41	7



Rank in 16–20	Rank in 11–15	Rank in 06–10	Name	Cites	Score
45	X	X	Charis E. Kubrin	40	6
46.5	X	X	Stephen A. Cernkovich	39	4.5
46.5	X	X	Finn-Aage Esbensen	39	4.5
49.5	X	X	Jonathan Jackson	38	1.5
49.5	X	X	Edward P. Mulvey	38	1.5
49.5	X	37.5	Cassia C. Spohn	38	1.5
49.5	X	X	Sara Wakefield	38	1.5

Table 6 (continued)

(30%) in the USA, 8 (16%) in the UK, 3 (6%) in Canada, and 1 (2%) in France. Twelve of the scholars were female, and the highest-ranked females were Kristina Murphy (at 11), Samantha Jeffries (at 13.5) and Christine E. W. Bond (at 15).

Of the 50 most cited scholars in ANZ in 2016–2020, only 19 (38%) were also highly cited in 2011–2015. This was a decrease from the overlap of 59% between 2006–2010 and 2011–2015. Between 2011–2015 and 2016–2020, big advances were made by Don Weatherburn (from 34.5 to 2), Jonathan Jackson (from 39.5 to 6), and David Weisburd (from 26.5 to 10). The highest new entrants were Chris Cunneen (at 7), Ben Bradford (at 8), and Ronald V. Clarke (at 12). Only 12 scholars were among the most cited in all three time periods.

In BJC in 2016–2020, 357 articles were published by a total of 759 individual authors. Of these authors, 312 (41%) were from the UK, 128 (17%) were from the USA, 99 (13%) were from Australia, 54 (7%) were from Canada, and 30 (4%) were from the Netherlands. A total of 22 authors (3%) were from Asian countries: 16 from Hong Kong and 6 from mainland China. This was a big increase from only 2 Asian authors in 2011–2015.

Table 4 shows the 50 most cited scholars in BJC in 2016–2020. The most cited scholar, Robert J. Sampson, was cited 163 times. He had 45 different works cited in 73 different articles (20% of all articles in BJC). His most cited work, "Neighborhoods and violent crime" (Sampson et al., 1997), was cited 21 times. The second most cited scholar, Tom R. Tyler, was cited 131 times. Of the 50 most cited scholars, 22 (44%) were based in the UK, 14 (28%) in the USA, 4 (8%) in Australia, 4 (8%) in Canada, 2 (4%) in Norway, 2 (4%) in France, 1 (2%) in Denmark, and 1 (2%) in the Netherlands. Five of the most cited scholars were female, and the highest-ranked females were Sandra Walklate (at 11), Alison Liebling (at 14.5), and Kristina Murphy (at 28).

Of the 50 most cited scholars in BJC in 2016–2020, 33 (66%) were also highly cited in 2011–2015. This was a little higher than the overlap of 56% between 2006–2010 and 2011–2015. Between 2011–2015 and 2016–2020, big advances were made by Ben Bradford (from 27.5 to 7), Stephen Farrall (from 27.5 to 8), and Sandra Walklate (from 27.5 to 11). The highest new entrants were Stuart Hall (at 9), Ben Crewe (at 10), and Alison Liebling (at 14.5). As many as 22 scholars were among the most cited in all three time periods.

In CJC in 2016–2020, 103 articles were published by a total of 260 individual authors. Of these authors, 225 (87%) were from Canada, 23 (9%) were from the USA, 6 (2%) were from the UK, and 5 (2%) were from Australia. None was from an Asian country (as in 2011–2015).

Table 5 shows the 54 most cited scholars in CJC in 2016–2020. The most cited scholar, Julian V. Roberts, was cited 47 times. He had 32 different works cited in 20 different articles (19% of all articles in CJC). His most cited work, "Aboriginal incarceration in Canada



Table 7 Most cited scholars in five journals, 2016–2020

Rank	Rank in 11–15	Rank in 06-10	Name	AJC	ANZ	BJC	CJC	CRIM	SUM 5 J
1	1	1	Robert J. Sampson	46.5	46	50	46.5	50	239
2	9	13	Tom R. Tyler	50	50	49	41	43	233
3	3	9	Alex R. Piquero	39	48	33	48.5	49	217.5
4	2	2	David P. Farrington	39	47	47	38	35	206
5	4	5	Francis T. Cullen	43	42	23	41	40	189
6	27	X	Jonathan Jackson	48	45	48	14	1.5	156.5
7	X	X	Ben Bradford	43	43	44	14	X	144
8	5	4	John H. Laub	12	X	36.5	33.5	47	129
9	42.5	40	Liqun Cao	43	32.5	X	41	X	116.5
10	20	X	David Weisburd	X	41	31.5	43	X	115.5
11	17.5	26	Lawrence W. Sher- man	25.5	34.5	13	32	X	105
12	10.5	18.5	Steven F. Messner	46.5	23	X	X	23	92.5
13	26	X	Shadd Maruna	X	29	39	23	X	91
14	X	X	Kristina Murphy	23.5	40	23	X	X	86.5
15.5	23	16	Raymond Paternoster	X	X	X	33.5	48	81.5
15.5	22	25	Ronald V. Clarke	6.5	39	23	X	13	81.5
17	X	X	Stephen Farrall	X	37.5	43	X	X	80.5
18	X	X	Shawn D. Bushway	X	X	X	35	42	77
19	X	X	Jeffrey A. Fagan	20.5	X	X	9	45	74.5
20	6	6.5	Daniel S. Nagin	X	X	1.5	25.5	46	73
21	12	20	Travis Hirschi	35	X	X	X	37	72
22	21	36	Robert Agnew	45	X	X	X	25	70
23	14	10	Julian V. Roberts	X	X	19.5	50	X	69.5
24.5	10.5	15	John Braithwaite	25.5	13.5	29.5	X	X	68.5
24.5	X	X	Paul J. Brantingham	X	X	13	39	16.5	68.5
26	X	X	Wesley G. Skogan	31.5	34.5	X	X	X	66
27	7	33	Stephen W. Raudenbush	15.5	19	11	X	19.5	65
28	X	X	Travis C. Pratt	33	X	X	X	31	64
29	8	24	Marcus Felson	6.5	5.5	16	29.5	X	57.5
30	17.5	6.5	J. Michael Hough	22	13.5	19.5	X	X	55
31	X	X	Patricia L. Branting- ham	X	X	7.5	36.5	9.5	53.5
32	31	X	James L. Bonta	X	5.5	X	46.5	X	52
33	16	3	David Garland	X	5.5	46	X	X	51.5
34	37.5	X	Don A. Andrews	X	5.5	X	45	X	50.5
35.5	X	44	Don Weatherburn	X	49	X	X	X	49
35.5	40	X	Jianhong Liu	49	X	X	X	X	49
37.5	X	38	Anthony N. Doob	X	X	x	48.5	X	48.5
37.5	X	X	John E. Eck	X	19	X	29.5	X	48.5
39.5	35.5	X	Ian Loader	X	X	45	X	X	45
39.5	33	X	John L. Hagan	X	X	X	9	36	45
42	X	47	Chris Cunneen	X	44	X	X	X	44
42	X	X	Laurence Steinberg	X	X	X	X	44	44



Rank	Rank in 11–15	Rank in 06-10	Name	AJC	ANZ	BJC	CJC	CRIM	SUM 5 J
42	X	X	Martin A. Andresen	х	х	х	44	x	44
44	19	28.5	Michael R. Got- tfredson	15.5	X	X	X	28	43.5
45	X	X	Stuart Hall	X	X	42	X	X	42
47.5	X	X	Ben Crewe	X	X	41	X	X	41
47.5	X	X	Christopher Uggen	X	X	X	X	41	41
47.5	X	X	Ivan Y. Sun	41	X	X	X	X	41
47.5	X	X	Yuning Wu	39	X	X	2	X	41
50	X	X	Sandra Walklate	X	X	40	X	x	40

Table 7 (continued)

since 1978" (Roberts & Reid, 2017), was cited 6 times. The next most cited scholars, Anthony N. Doob and Alex R. Piquero, were each cited 44 times. Of the 54 most cited scholars, 28 (52%) were based in the USA, 17 (31%) in Canada, 8 (15%) in the UK, and 1 (2%) in the Netherlands. Eight of the most cited scholars were female, and the highest-ranked females were Patricia L. Brantingham (at 14.5), Jane B. Sprott and Cheryl M. Webster (both at 28).

Of the 54 most cited scholars in CJC in 2016–2020, 23 (43%) were also highly cited in 2011–2015. This was similar to the overlap of 39% between 2006–2010 and 2011–2015. Between 2011–2015 and 2016–2020, big advances were made by Alex R. Piquero (from 9 to 2.5), Martin A. Andresen (from 27 to 7), and John H. Laub (from 41.5 to 17.5). The highest new entrants were David Weisburd (at 8), Liqun Cao (at 10), and Tom R. Tyler (at 10). Only 14 scholars were among the most cited in all three time periods.

In CRIM in 2016–2020, 133 articles were published by a total of 326 individual authors. Of these authors, 278 (85%) were from the USA, 17 (5%) were from the UK, and 11 (3%) were from the Netherlands. Only one author was from an Asian country (Hong Kong), compared with two Asian authors in 2011–2015.

Table 6 shows the 51 most cited scholars in CRIM in 2016–2020. The most cited scholar, Robert J. Sampson, was cited 216 times. He had 65 different works cited in 74 different articles (56% of all articles in CRIM). His most cited work, "Shared beginnings, divergent lives" (Laub & Sampson, 2003), was cited 19 times. The next most cited scholar, Alex R. Piquero, was cited 184 times. Of the 51 most cited scholars, 46 (90%) were based in the USA, 3 (6%) in the UK, and 2 (4%) in Canada. Nine of the most cited scholars were female, and the highest-ranked females were Terrie E. Moffitt (at 21), Devah Pager (at 23), and Elizabeth Cauffman (at 34.5).

Of the 51 most cited scholars in CRIM in 2016–2020, 30 (59%) were also highly cited in 2011–2015. This was similar to the overlap of 64% between 2006–2010 and 2011–2015. Between 2011–2015 and 2016–2020, big advances were made by Raymond Paternoster (from 11 to 3), Jeffrey A. Fagan (from 48 to 6), and Christopher Uggen (from 34.5 to 10). The highest new entrants were Laurence Steinberg (at 7), Tom R. Tyler (at 8), and Thomas A. Loughran (at 17). As many as 21 scholars were among the most cited in all three time periods.

Table 7 shows the most cited 50 scholars across all five international journals. As mentioned, each scholar in each journal was given a score of 51 minus their ranking, and then the scores were added up over the five journals (for a maximum possible score of 250). This method of scoring gives equal weight to all five journals.



 Table 8
 Most cited works of the most cited scholars in five Journals, 2016–2020

Rank	Author	Work	# Cites
-	Robert J. Sampson 86 different works cited; 43% cited once	Sampson, R. J., Raudenbush, S.W., & Earls, F.E. (1997). Neighborhoods and violent crime: A multilevel study of collective efficacy. Science, 277, 918–924	48
		Sampson, R. J., & Laub, J. H. (1993). Crime in the making: Pathways and turning points through life. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press	46
2	Tom R. Tyler	Tyler, T. R. (2006). Why people obey the law. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press	51
	79 different works cited; 38% cited once	Sunshine, J., & Tyler, T.R. (2003). The role of procedural justice and legitimacy in shaping public support for policing. Law and Society Review, 37, 513–548	45
3	Alex R. Piquero 166 different works cited; 52% cited once	Paternoster, R., Brame, R., Mazerolle, P., & Piquero, A.R. (1998). Using the correct statistical test for the equality of regression coefficients. Criminology, 36, 859–866	15
		Piquero, A.R., Farrington, D. P., & Blumstein, A. (2007). Key issues in criminal career research: New analyses of the Cambridge Study in Delinquent Development. New York: Cambridge University Press	11
4	David P. Farrington 140 different works cited; 82% cited once	Piquero, A.R., Farrington, D. P., & Blumstein, A. (2007). Key issues in criminal career research: New analyses of the Cambridge Study in Delinquent Development. New York: Cambridge University Press	7
		Farrington, D.P. (1986). Age and crime. In M. Tonry & N. Morris (Eds.), Crime and Justice, vol. 7 (pp. 189–250). Chicago: University of Chicago Press	9
'n	Francis T. Cullen 97 different works cited; 65% cited once	Pratt, T. C., & Cullen, F.T. (2000). The empirical status of Gottfredson and Hirschi's general theory of crime: A meta-analysis. Criminology, 38, 931–964	16
		Pratt, T. C., & Cullen, F.T.(2005). Assessing macro level predictors and theories of crime: A meta-analysis. In M. Tonry (Ed.), Crime and Justice, vol. 32 (pp. 373–450). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.	13
9	Jonathan Jackson 70 different works cited; 40% cited once	Jackson, J., Bradford, B., Hough, M., Myhill, A., Quinton, P., & Tyler, T.R. (2012). Why do people comply with the law? Legitimacy and the influence of legal institutions. British Journal of Criminology, 52, 1051–1071	14
		Jackson, J., Bradford, B., Stanko, E., & Hohl, K. (2012). Just authority? Trust in the police in England and Wales. Abingdon, UK: Routledge	13
7	Ben Bradford 52 different works cited; 42% cited once	Jackson, J., Bradford, B., Hough, M., Myhill, A., Quinton, P., & Tyler, T.R (2012). Why do people comply with the law? Legitimacy and the influence of legal institutions. British Journal of Criminology, 52, 1051–1071	15
		Jackson, J., Bradford, B., Stanko, E., & Hohl, K. (2012). Just authority? Trust in the police in England and Wales. Abingdon, UK: Routledge	14



Rank	Rank Author	Work	# Cites
∞	John H. Laub 36 different works cited; 47% cited once	Sampson, R. J., & Laub, J. H. (1993). Crime in the making: Pathways and turning points through life. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press	47
		Laub, J. H., & Sampson, R.J. (2006). Shared beginnings, divergent lives: Delinquent boys to age 70. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press	43
6	Liqun Cao 37 different works cited; 43% cited once	Cao, L. (2014). Aboriginal people and confidence in the police. Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice, 56, 499–525	∞
		Cao, L. (2011). Visible minorities and confidence in the police. Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice, 53, 1–26	7
10	David Weisburd 72 different works cited; 57% cited once	Weisburd, D., Bushway, S., Lum, C., & Yang, S-M. (2004). Trajectories of crime at places: A longitudi- 12 nal study of street segments in the City of Seattle. Criminology, 42, 283–321	12
		Weisburd, D., Groff, E.R., & Yang, S-M. (2012). The criminology of place: Street segments and our understanding of the crime problem. New York: Oxford University Press	11



Table 8 (continued)

Table 7 shows that the most cited scholars, Robert J. Sampson (score 239) and Tom R. Tyler (score 233), were highly cited (in the top 10) in all five journals, and their scores were close to the maximum possible score of 250. Four other scholars were among the most cited in all five journals: Alex R. Piquero, David P. Farrington, Francis T. Cullen, and Jonathan Jackson. Of the 50 most cited scholars, 28 (56%) were based in the USA, 11 (22%) in the UK, 6 (12%) in Canada, 4 (8%) in Australia, and 1 (2%) in Macau, China (Jianhong Liu). Jianhong Liu was also the only Asian scholar on this list in 2011–2015. Only four of the scholars were female: Kristina Murphy (ranked 14), Patricia L. Brantingham (ranked 31), Yuning Wu (ranked 47.5), and Sandra Walklate (ranked 50). However, this was an increase compared to 2011–2015, when only two of the most cited scholars were female.

Of the 50 most cited scholars in 2016–2020, 29 (58%) were also among the most cited in 2011–2015. Between 2011–2015 and 2016–2020, big advances were made by Tom R. Tyler (from 9 to 2), Jonathan Jackson (from 27 to 6), Liqun Cao (from 42.5 to 9), and David Weisburd (from 20 to 10). The highest new entrants were Ben Bradford (at 7), Kristina Murphy (at 14), and Stephen Farrall (at 17). As many as 21 scholars were among the most cited in all three time periods.

Table 8 shows the most cited works of the 10 most cited scholars. In four cases (Robert J. Sampson, Alex R. Piquero, David P. Farrington, John H. Laub), these were concerned with developmental and life-course criminology, while in four other cases (Tom R. Tyler, Jonathan Jackson, Ben Bradford, Liqun Cao), they were concerned with law, legitimacy, and policing research. In addition, although David Weisburd's most cited works in these five journals were on the criminology of place, he is also well-known as a policing scholar. For example, according to Google Scholar, his most cited work overall is "General deterrent effects of police patrol in crime hot spots" (Sherman & Weisburd, 1995). Another policing scholar, Lawrence W. Sherman, was ranked 11 in Table 7. In comparison, in 2011–2015, five of the most cited six scholars worked on developmental and life-course criminology (the above four plus Daniel S. Nagin). Of the other five scholars in the top 10 listed above, only Tom R. Tyler was among the most cited 10 scholars in 2011–2015.

Alex R. Piquero had the largest number of different works cited (166), followed by David P. Farrington (140). John H. Laub had the fewest number of different works cited (36), followed by Liqun Cao (37). Cohn et al. (2021) distinguished between versatile scholars, who had a relatively large number of cited works and a relatively small number of citations per work, and specialized scholars, who had a relatively small number of cited works and a relatively large number of citations per work. Based on Table 8, David P. Farrington and Alex R. Piquero were the most versatile of these scholars, and John H. Laub was the most specialized.

Conclusion

The main change in citations between 2011–2015 and 2016–2020 is the decreasing dominance of developmental and life-course criminology among the most cited scholars (although this topic is still important) and the increasing importance of law, legitimacy, and policing research. However, it is clear that many other topics are important, and that the most cited scholars are often versatile in their research topics. For example, Francis T. Cullen is highly cited not only for the types of theoretical papers listed in Table 8, but also for his work on the effectiveness of correctional rehabilitation (e.g.,



Lipsey & Cullen, 2007) and many other topics. The five most cited scholars in Table 7 were highly cited in all five journals.

The five journals varied in their identification of the most cited scholars. There was most agreement between ANZ and BJC, as 19 scholars appeared in the most cited lists of both journals. The next highest agreement was between AJC and ANZ (17), BJC and CJC (17), AJC and BJC (15), AJC and CRIM (15), and ANZ and CJC (15). There was lower agreement between CJC and CRIM (14), AJC and CJC (13), BJC and CRIM (12), and ANZ and CRIM (9). There was least agreement between CRIM and the other four journals (average overlap 12.5) and more agreement for BJC (15.75), AJC (15), ANZ (15), and CJC (14.75).

In 2016–2020, the most parochial journals in terms of authors were CJC (87% of authors from Canada), CRIM (85% of authors from the USA), and ANZ (70% of authors from Australia or New Zealand). The least parochial journals in terms of authors were AJC (38% of authors from Asia) and BJC (41% of authors from the UK). The most parochial journal in terms of most cited scholars was CRIM by far (90% from the USA), followed by ANZ (46% from Australia), BJC (44% from the UK), and CJC (31% from Canada). AJC was not at all parochial in its most cited scholars, as only 4% of these were from Asia.

Between 2011–2015 and 2016–2020, there was most overlap in the most cited scholars for BJC (66%), followed by CRIM (59%), and AJC (55%), and least overlap for CJC (43%) and ANZ (38%). Compared with the overlap between 2006–2010 and 2011–2015, the biggest increase was for AJC (from 29 to 55%), and the biggest decrease was for ANZ (from 59 to 38%). It seemed that citations became more consistent over time in AJC and less consistent over time in ANZ.

It might be expected that the citation rankings of older scholars would generally decrease over time, while the rankings of younger scholars would increase. In order to investigate this, the highly cited scholars in Table 7 were classified into the oldest (born before 1950), the middle-aged (born 1950–1969), and the youngest (born 1970 or later), based on available information. Only 10 scholars were born in 1970 or later, but their rankings improved between 2011–2015 and 2016–2020 in nine cases and stayed constant in the other case: Alex R. Piquero (born 1970), who was ranked 3 in both 2011–2015 and 2016–2020.

Of the 24 middle-aged scholars, 13 advanced in their rankings, 10 decreased, and one stayed constant: Robert J. Sampson (born 1956), who was ranked 1 in both time periods. Of the 16 oldest scholars, nine advanced and seven decreased. Also, of the seven scholars who were ranked highest (in the top 30) in 2011–2015 but who were absent from the 2016–2020 table (i.e., who all decreased), only three were in the oldest category and four were middle-aged. Therefore, there was no indication from Table 7 that the oldest scholars were decreasing more than the middle-aged scholars in their rankings, although it was very clear that the youngest scholars were advancing.

Between 2011–2015 and 2016–2020, the percent of the most cited authors who were Asian stayed constant in AJC (at 38%) but increased considerably in ANZ (from 2 to 8%) and in BJC (from 1.5 to 3%). Asian authors were rare in CRIM (only one in 2016–2020) and completely absent in CJC. Asian scholars were absent from the most cited lists in 2016–2020 except for AJC, but even in AJC only two Asian scholars were among the most cited.

How could the citations (and the scholarly influence) of Asian scholars be increased? It would clearly be desirable that more researchers based in Asia should seek to publish their research in major, widely-read, international journals. There were encouraging signs of an increase in Asian authors in ANZ and BJC, but more efforts to communicate Asian research to international scholars are clearly needed.



Declarations

Research Involving Human Participants and/or Animals This article does not contain any studies with human participants or animals performed by any of the authors.

Informed Consent Informed consent was not applicable to the data obtained for analysis in this article.

Conflict of Interest The authors declare no competing interests.

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