ESC in Tübingen: Structural and Developmental Dimensions of Crime and their Implications for Policy

By Hans-Jürgen Kerner

The ESC’s sixth annual conference will take place in Tübingen, Germany from August 26 to August 29, 2006, hosted by the University of Tübingen, sponsored by the Federal Ministry of Justice, and supported by a number of criminological associations.

The conference will be held in buildings belonging to the Eberhard-Karls University, and situated on the edge of the historic and scenic Old Town. The opening ceremony will take place in the “Neue Aula” (New Aula), which has been the main university building since the middle of the 19th century. Plenary sessions will be held in the modern “Kupferbau” (Copper Building). It was erected in the 1970s to provide teaching rooms for rising numbers of students. Workshops and panels will be held in these two buildings and some adjacent buildings.

In these settings, conference participants will appreciate the illustrious history of the Eberhard-Karls-University, named after its founder in 1477, Count Eberhard the Bearded, and its influential 19th century supporter, King Karl of Württemberg. Tübingen’s downtown area provides a

Krzysztof Krajewski has been nominated for president-elect of the European Society of Criminology. Krzysztof graduated in both law and sociology from Jagiellonian University, Krakow. He spent a year as a postgraduate student at the University of Connecticut.

He is currently a professor in the Department of Criminology at Jagiellonian and a professor in the Department of Penal Law and Criminology at Silesian University in Katowice. At both he teaches courses in criminology, criminal policy, drug policy, and legislation.

Krzysztof received his LL.D from Jagiellonian in 1986. His thesis dealt with violent crime and the subculture of violence theory. In 1995 he obtained his habilitacja degree, based on the monograph Criminological Theories and Criminal Law.

As an Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung Fellow he spent 1987-88 at the Max Planck Institute for Foreign

Professor Julian Roberts, reader in criminology in the University of Oxford, has been selected to succeed David J. Smith as editor of the European Journal of Criminology. Ben Goold, of Oxford’s criminology centre, will serve as associate editor. Roberts has extensive editorial experience and is a prolific author of articles and books on sentencing, community punishments, penal policy,

Human Trafficking ........................................... page 3
Criminology Programmes in the Netherlands ... page 3
Governance of Safety ................................. page 3
ESC Board Member Candidates ....................... page 5
ESC Working Groups ................................. pages 10

Continued on page 6

Continued on page 23

Continued on page 22

INSIDE THIS ISSUE:
Message from the President

Once a Criminal, Always a Criminal?

By Hans-Jürgen Kerner

The question whether there are distinct categories of criminals “out there,” and not only in our theoretical or policy or treatment-oriented approaches, has been paramount for criminology since its beginnings. It was discussed long before the famous, and now rather infamous, writings of Cesare Lombroso, and it arises in scientific and public arenas continuously, sometimes in waves, sometimes as an outburst, especially when shockingly violent crimes or sexual crimes against children occur.

Recent emphasis on “chronic” and “predatory” offenders has misapplied scientific knowledge. Life is complicated and so is knowledge about criminal offenders.

Criminology has never ceased studying individuals, families, kindergarten environments, school environments, peer groups, and small neighbourhood groups in order to find conditions conducive to delinquency and criminality. To critical observers, offender-oriented criminology seems always to have been inclined towards seeing crime as an individual “property.” The early texts show, however, that the founders of the discipline were not that simplistic, as is sometimes even today asserted by opponents. Nonetheless, that much earlier thinking, writing, and practice adopted a linear concept of causation, a static concept of personality, a deterministic view of the world and the human condition, and a pessimistic view of the possibilities of resocialising repeat offenders.

Comparative studies of offenders vs. non-offenders or criminals vs. non-criminals were consistent with this basic orientation, more often than not directed towards finding “negative differences” that might contribute to understanding the criminal personality or the criminal mind, rather than “positive differences”, that might contribute to understanding how to strengthen persons involved in crime and punishment, and help them to find their way to a basically decent manner of life.

Comparisons of first-time offenders with occasional offenders and heavy repeat offenders were, consistent with this basic orientation, more often aimed at finding “causes of failure” rather than conditions that might lessen the odds of entering into a criminal life, or accelerate its termination after a few contacts with the justice system.

Children and juveniles were particularly vulnerable. Youngsters who offended seemed to represent the core of the problems. The last “big wave” of negative thinking occurred, first in the USA, and then dispersing, step by step, to other parts of the world, in the aftermath of the scholarly invention of young “chronic offenders.” Some children of the coming generations soon became “super predators.” Young sexual offenders were called, and not only in the tabloid press, “monsters” or “ticking bombs.”

The ultimate new policy was to incapacitate dangerous youngsters for life, if the death penalty was not applicable. The American “three strikes and you’re out” laws signify the direction of the whole development. Violent offender laws, sex offender laws, new measures of preventive detention, and other instruments of control and restraint

Continued on page 16
Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation

By Kauko Aromaa and Martti Lehti

Trafficking for prostitution and other forms of sexual exploitation dominates the trafficking discussion and policy planning in Western countries. This is partly because lack of information and conceptual confusion are even greater in the case of other forms of trafficking in persons, and the phenomena are even harder to conceptualise. The sex industry is more visible than domestic servitude and sweatshop industries and seems to arouse stronger moral reactions. It is also economically less important than other industries using trafficked workers and is defended by less powerful interest groups.

This does not mean that trafficking for sexual exploitation is not a major problem. According to some estimates, 70 to 90 percent of the trafficking in women and children in Europe and Asia serves organised prostitution. As for traffic in adult men, sexual exploitation has only a marginal role.

The UN’s Palermo Protocol on Trafficking was completed in 2000, and some countries have changed laws to deal more effectively with trafficking for sexual exploitation. The subject, however, is not a law enforcement priority in most places. Much more needs to be done to

Continued on page 12

New Criminology Programmes Thriving in the Netherlands

By René van Swaaningen

In 2001, new undergraduate criminology degree programmes (bachelor and master) were established at the Free University of Amsterdam (VU), Leiden University, and Erasmus University in Rotterdam. They immediately attracted unprecedented numbers of students.

Although initial plans assumed there would be 35 to 50 students per university per year, student numbers exceeded all expectations and reached numbers of 180 to 230 per university per year. In 2005, the maximum number of students allowed to enter was fixed at 125 for the Erasmus programme, 100 for Leiden’s, and 125 for the VU’s.

Criminology departments have burgeoned until there are some 30 full-time teaching staff at the three institutions together – plus a changing number of temporary lecturers.

Besides these programmes, masters programmes were started in 2005: in criminology at Utrecht University, in criminal justice and criminology at Groningen University, and in forensic sciences at the Universities of Amsterdam and Maastricht.

This extraordinary expansion occurred just fifteen years after nearly all criminology curricula at Dutch universities were abolished and criminology departments were closed

Continued on page 18

The Governance of Safety in Europe

By Gordon Hughes and Adam Edwards

Theoretical Criminology recently published a special issue on “The Governance of Safety in Europe.” It emerged from debates aired in the inaugural colloquium of the European Governance of Public Safety Network (EUGPSRN), held in February 2003, and at panels convened by the Network at the third and fourth annual meetings of the ESC in Helsinki and Amsterdam.

To obtain access to the five papers making up the special issue, see the Theoretical Criminology website (http://tcr.sagepub.com)

The editors of the special issue, Adam Edwards and Gordon Hughes, are co-directors of EUGPSRN and other contributors, Jacques de Maillard, Rossella Selmini, Kevin Stenson, and René van Swaaningen, are founding members. This short article summarises the debates opened in the special issue. We hope it will stimulate ESC members and others interested to read the debates and research findings in the journal and share their views with members of the network.

Main Themes

The special issue has its origins in the network’s concern with comparative research into the diverse contexts of crime prevention across Europe. More specifically the debate is concerned with recognising and understanding the new governable places, actors, and objects generated by the “preventive turn” in crime control strategies. Specifically, it considers how strategies of crime prevention have facilitated the conflation of conventional concerns with crime and criminal justice into more nebulous notions of “disorder”, “security,” and “public safety.” As a broader cast of actors, beyond police and criminal justice professionals, are enrolled into strategies of prevention, the government of control itself becomes more volatile. The special issue considers what lessons can be drawn from current developments in European crime prevention for the prospective politics of the preventive turn.

It is important to emphasise that the contributions represent the foundations of a broad and ambitious programme of research rather than any conclusive statement. Nonetheless all contributions share a number of conceptual themes about the challenges facing comparative research

Continued on page 21
Catrien Bijleveld

Catrien Bijleveld took up her professorship in Criminological Research Methods at the Free University, Amsterdam, where she is now chairperson, in 2001. She studied psychology and criminal law at Leiden University. Her PhD was on the statistical analysis of categorical time series. After working as an assistant professor at Leiden University she moved to the Research and Documentation Center of the Netherlands Ministry of Justice. In 2001, she joined the NSCR in Leiden. Her main research interests are in criminal careers, intergenerational transmission of delinquency, genocide, and sex offending. Currently, she is investigating delinquency patterns over five generations. Starting from 200 boys admitted to a judicial re-education institution in the Netherlands in 1911, she has traced their parents, and three generations of descendants. The study has revealed strong intergenerational effects. She is developing estimates of direct and indirect mortality during the civil war in southern Sudan as well as rape victimization in Rwanda during the genocide.

Professor Bijleveld has written a textbook on research methodology for criminology students in widespread use in the Netherlands and Belgium.

Uberto Gatti

Uberto Gatti (MD) is professor of Criminology and Director of the Postgraduate Courses in Forensic Psychology at the University of Genoa (Italy), and Associate Investigator at the Research Unit on Children’s Psycho-Social Maladjustment (GRIP) at the University of Montreal. He is President of the Italian Society of Criminology.

He has been visiting professor at the Universities of Montreal, Ottawa, and Lausanne, and a member of the Conseil de Direction du Centre International de Criminologie Comparée of the University of Montreal, a member of the Criminological Scientific Council of the Council of Europe, and Chairman for the 20th Criminological Research Conference (Strasbourg 1993). He was a member of the Enlarged Group of Specialists on trends in crime and criminal justice for the first edition of the European Sourcebook of Crime and Criminal Justice, and the Italian correspondent for the second edition. He worked on the International Self-Report Delinquency study (ISRD 1) and is co-ordinating the Italian contribution to the ISRD 2. He was a founder member of the European Society of Criminology and is a member of the Eurogang network.

Michael Levi

Michael Levi has been Professor of Criminology at Cardiff University since 1991. He is on the Criminological and Scientific Council of the Council of Europe, and has been a Foundation Board Member of the European Society of Criminology and until recently a Council and Executive member of the British Society of Criminology. He is an Academician of the Academy of Learned Societies for the Social Sciences. In 2001, he received a lifetime distinction award from the American Society of Criminology.

Professor Levi’s main research areas are economic and organised crime. His books include Drugs and Money, Regulating Fraud, and The Phantom Capitalists, and he writes the Oxford Handbook of Criminology chapters on violent crime and the organisation of serious crimes for gain and terrorism. He is on the editorial boards of the European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research, Champ Pénal, the British Journal of Criminology, and Crime, Law and Social Change. He has recently been appointed Editor in Chief of Criminology and Criminal Justice, the official journal of the British Society of Criminology. He is currently researching with European colleagues a variety of international fraud and organised crime issues, including (under the EU 6th framework) crime-proofing EC policy proposals and products, and improving the quality of knowledge of organised crime in the EU, candidate countries, and the Balkans.

Gorazd Meško

Gorazd Meško is associate professor of criminology at the Faculty of Criminal Justice and Security, University of Maribor, Slovenia. His special interests are crime prevention, fear of crime, security issues, and comparative criminological research. Among his major writings in English are Corruption in Central and Eastern Europe (ed., 2000) and Dilemmas of Contemporary Criminal Justice (ed., 2004). Major publications in Slovene include Basics of Crime Prevention (2002), Visions of Slovenian Criminology (ed., 2002), and Crime Prevention - Theory, Practice and dilemmas (ed., 2004). He has recently written articles on policing, local safety, and prisons in Slovenia and headed a working group which prepared new graduate programmes in criminal justice and security studies at the University of Maribor, Slovenia. He has been an honorary visiting fellow at the Department of Criminology, University of Leicester, UK since 2005 and a visiting professor at the Faculty of Criminal Justice Sciences, University of Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina. He is chair of the ESC working group on European Curricula in Criminology.
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magnificent setting.

The 2006 annual conference aims to focus on a central concern: taking stock of what recent decades of empirical research in criminology and its allied disciplines has contributed to a theoretically improved, methodologically refined, and substantially profound understanding of the "crime problem."

The main programme will run from August 26 to 29. As of mid-May, the following programme had been scheduled. It may be modified depending on participant numbers.

**Saturday, 26 August**
18:00: Opening Ceremony at the Neue Aula, Auditorium Maximum.
19:30: Get Together and Welcome Reception in the Neue Aula or the Kupferbau.

This conference theme encompasses structural conditions enhancing the emergence of crime as a social phenomenon in neighbourhoods, towns, and countries; structural, socio-psychological, and individual conditions leading people to commit acts causing harm to others and defined by law as crimes; and conditions conducive to living a life of crime ("criminality"), and counter-acting forces and developments that enhance the termination of criminal careers ("desistance"). Finally it includes knowledge on predictions of crime and criminality, effective ways of (predominantly) local crime prevention, and approaches likely to bring lasting improvements in prevention and treatment.

The programme structure will include welcome reception on Saturday, August 26, and a Gala Dinner with fine hot and cold dishes, wine, beer, and non-alcoholic beverages (all at one inclusive price), and an artist’s performance in the impressive Summer Refectory of the 1000-year-old Bebenhausen Monastery.

**CONFERENCES REGISTRATION FEES: 2006**

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You can download a registration form from the conference website (http://www.eurocrim2006.org/) and fax it to Marcelo Aebi, Executive Secretary (Fax no. 34 954 094173.

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The social programme will include welcome reception on Saturday, August 26, and a Gala Dinner with fine hot and cold dishes, wine, beer, and non-alcoholic beverages (all at one inclusive price), and an artist’s performance in the impressive Summer Refectory of the 1000-year-old Bebenhausen Monastery.

**Programme Structure**

*Pre-conference activities will occur on August 25 through late afternoon August 26. Those meetings, of ESC and other groups, are subject to alteration through late July. However, at present the following meetings have been planned: (1) Board of the European Society of Criminology; (2) European Postgraduate Researchers Working Group (Initial Meeting); (3) Research Group on National Recov

Justice.

The main programme will run from August 26 to 29. As of mid-May, the following programme had been scheduled. It may be modified depending on participant numbers.

**Saturday, 26 August**
18:00: Opening Ceremony at the Neue Aula, Auditorium Maximum.
19:30: Get Together and Welcome Reception in the Neue Aula or the Kupferbau.

**Sunday, 27 August**
08:30: Panels and Workshops.
10:00: Break, Refreshments in the Kupferbau.
10:30: Panels and Workshops.
13:15: Lunch Break.
14:30: Plenary Session II: Crime Control through Policing and Law Enforcement. J. Reichertz (Essen), Gorazd Mesko (Maribor).
15:45: Ice Cream Social (sponsored by ASC).
16:00: Poster Session in the Kupferbau.
17:00: Panels and Workshops.

**Monday, 28 August**
08:30: Panels and Workshops.
10:00: Break, Refreshments in the Kupferbau.
10:30: Panels and Workshops.
12:00: Plenary Session III: Crime Control through Prosecution, Adjudication, and Sentencing. Jörg-Martin Jehle (Göttingen), Tapio Lappi-Seppälä (National Research Institute of Legal Policy, Finland).
13:15: Lunch Break.
14:30: Plenary Session IV: Crime Control through Deprivation of Liberty and Treatment of Offenders. Alison Liebling (Cambridge), Santiago Redondo (Barcelona).
15:45: Break, Refreshments in the Kupferbau.
16:15: General Assembly of the European Society of Criminology.
18:30: Shuttle Buses to Bebenhausen Monastery.
19:15: Gala Dinner in the Refectory of Bebenhausen Monastery (shuttle buses back to Tübingen at 21:30 and 22:30).

Tuesday, 29 August
08:30: Panels and Workshops.
10:00: Break, Refreshments in the Kupferbau.
10:30: Panels and Workshops.
12:30: Closing Ceremony Farewell Get Together.

In addition there will be special meetings on the occasion of the ESC-conference. As of mid-May, the following had been scheduled: (1) Editors and Advisory Board of the European Journal of Criminal Policy and Research, and (2) Editors and the Advisory Board of the European Journal of Criminology.

Post-conference activities of the ESC and other groups will take place in the afternoon of August 29. As of mid-May, the following had been scheduled: (1) ESC Board; (2) Expert Group on European Crime and Criminal Justice Statistics; and (3) Eurogang Research Network.

Plenary presentations are by invited speakers. They are identified in the schedule. Papers or posters are accepted. Such sessions may provide participants from other linguistic communities opportunity to share experiences and research results more easily. Participants are invited from other countries, however, in order to provide a European or international perspective.

Many papers and posters are expected to deal with the core issues of the 6th ESC Conference or at least pertain to the main topic – namely structural and developmental dimensions of criminality and crime, and their implications for policy. However, other issues will and should be discussed. There is a great and fruitful diversity of ongoing research studies, practical experiments, model institutions, and policy developments in Europe and elsewhere. Participants should feel free to submit ideas for papers or posters on a broad range of topics on criminology, criminal justice, criminal policy, and related fields or disciplines. The organizers will try hard to build coherent thematic workshops or panels.

By mid-May a number of themes, some extending over several panels, had been settled by the organizers. They include the topics set out in the table above.

The organizers hope the Tübingen conference will form the next major step in the development of the European Society of Criminology.

ACCOMMODATION IN TÜBINGEN

Accommodation options are available on the conference website (http://www.eurocrim2006.org/). You may book directly with the hotels. On-line booking via the Conference Secretariat will be available soon.

Early booking is strongly advised.

**Panel Themes in Tübingen**

- Applied Criminology in International Criminal Justice
- Criminal Careers Research and Social Policy Implications: The US and European Perspectives (extended)
- Criminal Policy Based on Fear of Crime
- Crime Trends in the Baltic Countries
- Current Issues in Transnational Justice (extended)
- Economic Crime in Europe
- Economics of Crime and Crime Control
- European Research on National Reconviction Rates
- Fear of Crime and Punitive Attitudes (extended)
- Gangs, Migration and Ethnicity: International Experiences (extended)
- International Comparison of Reconviction Rates
- International Self-Report Delinquency Study: Comparative Analysis of First Results
- Juvenile Justice: Recent European Developments
- Local Case Studies on Urban Security in Europe (extended)
- Migration Background as a Risk Factor for Delinquency
- Prosecution in Europe Today: A Six-Country Study
- Re-Victimisation Risk: Structural Dimensions and Policy Implications
- Spatial Criminology, under the Aegis of EQC-Network
- Structural Dimensions of Crime Attitudes and their Policy Implications
- The Challenge of Community Policing in an Age of Diversity
- The Deviance Society: Anomie, Social Insecurity, Communitarism, and Cultural Conflict in Multi-cultural Societies
- The Illegal Movement of People Across EU Borders
- The Validity of Self-Report Instruments in Criminological Research
- Transnational Crime and Corruption
- Victimization and Attitudes towards Punishment
Youth Justice
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Editors
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John Muncie  The Open University, UK

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ESC WORKING GROUPS

The European Quantitative Criminology Working Group
By Machi Tseloni

The working group (EQC), which lay dormant during last year’s ESC conference in Krakow, hopes to reinvigorate this year. Two EQC-sponsored panels on “Criminal Careers Research and Social Policy Implications: U.S. and European Perspectives” have been organised by Professor Brian Francis, University of Lancaster (asabj@exchange.lancs.ac.uk). These sessions will bring together European and U.S. quantitative researchers of deviance during the conference.

A panel on “Spatial Criminology” has been organised by Professor Henk Elffers (HElffers@nscr.nl), NSCR, and Dr Dietrich Oberwittler (d.oberwittler@iuscrim.mpg.de), Max Planck Institute for Foreign and International Criminal Law, Freiburg.

Dr George Saridakis, Warwick University (gsarid@essex.ac.uk), has put together a fourth EQC session on “Economics of Crime.”

“Individual and Structural Dimensions of Fear of Crime and Criminal Victimization and their Social Policy Implications” will be discussed in a session organised by your EQC update correspondent.

Each topic addresses this year’s ESC conference theme. Discussants, who we hope receive copies of the presentations in advance, will offer informal feedback and stir scientific debates. Readers who plan to present results of quantitative research fitting under any of the above topics or who would like to act as discussants please write to the respective organisers. We look forward to a lively exchange of ideas and methods for “Understanding Crime” this summer in Tübingen.

Machi Tseloni, University of Macedonia (atseloni@uom.gr).

European Governance of Public Safety Research Network
By Adam Edwards and Gordon Hughes

This network was established at the ESC’s second conference in Toledo following a panel on crime control and safety strategies in European localities. The group discussed the establishment of the network and the conceptual arguments behind its broad focus on “governance” (rather than simply government) of “public safety” (as opposed to a narrower concern with crime control/crime prevention) specifically in “Europe” (as opposed to generically). The aim is “to facilitate comparative research into current developments in the governance of public safety occurring in European localities,” thereby expressing a belief in the distinctiveness of European criminology and recognising the provisional character of this belief and the need for systematic comparative research to corroborate or revise it.

Please see the working group’s web page (www.esc-eurocrim.org/workgroup.shtml) for full details of aims, objectives, and recent activities. We will update the web page to take account of the changes highlighted below.

Membership
Membership has almost doubled in the last year from 17 to approximately 30 members. We have expanded the range of European countries represented. We hope to build on this progress as a result of panels in Tübingen (see below). We also hope to specify the particular research interests of members and provide e-mail addresses to ease communication among network members.

Conference Panels
We ran a successful panel on the “import-export trade in crime prevention” in Krakow and envisage further publications and a research project developing out of it. Members of the network have also successfully established a UK, ESRC-funded seminar series on “Rethinking community policing in an age of diversity.” There will be a panel on this at Tübingen and at the British Society of Criminology conference in Glasgow in July, and at the Stockholm Symposium in June. Network members have been centrally involved in production of the Jahrbuch für Rechts- und Kriminalsoziologie (2006) which focused on local research studies of insecurities in European cities and strategies of governance.

Links to Other Networks
We have established a working relationship with the European Forum for Urban Security (FESU). We have also applied to GERN for affiliation and await their response.

Publications
We now have a publications section on the web page. It contains a summary of the special issue of Theoretical Criminology on “governance of safety in Europe” which network members produced. We are also planning to publish a summary of Jahrbuch mentioned above.

For further details, contact Adam Edwards (edwardsa2@cardiff.ac.uk) and Gordon Hughes (HughesGH@cardiff.ac.uk).
European Postgraduate Researchers

By Jenny Johnstone

The ESC board approved a proposal from the Centre for Criminological Research, University of Sheffield, and the Scottish Centre for Crime and Justice Research, University of Glasgow, to start a European Postgraduate Researchers Working Group for early stage researchers in criminology and criminal justice. The proposal stems from experience at Sheffield and in the UK.

At Sheffield, the Centre for Criminological Research set up a group for doctoral and contract researchers (see our website: http://www.sheffield.ac.uk/ccr/), as we believe there is a need for a supportive framework so this group of researchers can share experiences as their academic careers develop. The group provides opportunity for members to present their research, and provides information on publishing, pursuing academic and research careers, applying for research funding, and working collaboratively. It is interdisciplinary, with members from various departments who are involved in criminological research, for example, law, and sociological studies.

The first meeting of the European Postgraduate Researchers Working Group will take place on the afternoon prior to the main meeting of the European Society of Criminology (26 August 2006, 14:00-18:00). The initial meeting will contain two main elements. The first will be a series of poster presentations. The second will be a roundtable discussion – led by senior academics – on publishing in journals and books. The remainder of the meeting will be a discussion on the future of the group. In order to move forward, the group will consider ways in which to disseminate information on research projects undertaken – and methodologies employed – by doctoral and post-doctoral researchers. We will also consider ways to expand group membership and establish a communication network between members (some ideas for discussion at the meeting include the use of e-mail distribution lists, a dedicated website/page carrying members’ details, and a regular newsletter). We hope that the working group will encourage and provide opportunity for pan-European collaborations, leading to a conference or colloquium and future funding bids.

We believe that this working group will provide a major new forum for doctoral and early stage researchers to discuss, develop, and collaborate on new and innovative criminal justice research with other early-stage researchers and senior academics on a European level.

For further details please contact Jenny Johnstone (j.johnstone@law.gla.ac.uk) or Lisa Burns, (l.k.burns@sheffield.ac.uk) for registration and poster submission forms.

Juvenile Justice

By Josine Junger-Tas

In 2003 a proposal for a working group on juvenile justice was published in the newsletter. The aim was to prepare a trend report addressed to the European Commission and to the member states. Our motivation was concern about the pressures in many countries to develop increasingly repressive, but not necessarily more effective, juvenile justice systems. The main question was whether we could produce a number of recommendations for change and propose effective interventions and innovations. A second question was whether a group of expert colleagues could be assembled who are willing to undertake real work to achieve these objectives.

The first meeting was held at the Helsinki conference and it was immediately clear that there was great interest. It was also clear we needed to take two steps to write a trend report, since we would have to collect preliminary information. We decided to write objective but critical first papers on national systems.

The result is 19 national reports, mostly European, including from new member states, but also including Canada and the United States.

The final chapter is a synthesis, concluding that there are three different juvenile justice orientations in Europe and North America: an Anglo-Saxon model, a continental model, and a Scandinavian one. The papers will be published by Springer (Handbook of International Juvenile Justice, edited by Josine Junger-Tas and Scott H. Decker, forthcoming).

The trends report is now underway. This concentrates on fundamental issues in juvenile justice, starting with a review of delinquency and violence in 25 European countries and discussing young people’s judicial rights, parental responsibility, the age of criminal responsibility, diversion practices, transfer to the adult criminal justice system, and evidence-based interventions and innovations. These chapters are written by specialists.

Finally, a new proposal will be to study, and compare, the various systems of youth protection. Juvenile justice and youth protection systems are communicating systems in most countries and, in some, the same judges deal with penal and protection (civil) cases. We are also interested in services delivered to children under a protection measure and in the influence of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child.

I hope enthusiasm for this will be as great as for our first project. Meetings take place at the ESC conferences.

Experts in the field interested in participating, please contact Josine Junger-Tas (Jungertas@xs4all.nl).
global estimates. No data exist on the number of victims trafficked within each country, which inevitably inflates regional and global estimates. Data concerning native victims cannot be used to estimate the number of victims trafficked within their country of origin. For this reason, only those trafficked across international borders need to be counted in order to estimate the number of victims trafficked globally. However, it is difficult to determine the number of people trafficked across international borders each year. The minimum estimate referred to above of 400,000 to 500,000 victims of prostitution-related cross-border trafficking annually, when compared with estimates of annual flows of irregular migration, suggests that the bulk of irregular migration is prostitution-related trafficking. As this cannot be true, either current estimates concerning global irregular migration are much too low or those concerning global prostitution-related cross-border trafficking are much too high. The latter are also high when compared with estimates of the number of migrant prostitutes in the world: 500,000 to 800,000 (de Tapia 2003, p. 29).

The World Bank reports the global total of legal immigrants and refugees arriving at and within the European Union in 2005 as about 150 million (Labour Migration 2005). A Council of Europe report estimates the number of irregular immigrants worldwide as over 30 million (de Tapia 2003, p. 29). For the annual volume of human smuggling, Babha (2005) estimates some 800,000. All these estimates are as hazy as those concerning trafficking. They are, however, much more moderate.

The US State Department estimates the number of people trafficked annually world-wide for either sexual or economic exploitation in 2004 as 600,000 to 800,000, 80 percent of whom are women and 50 percent children; the number of female victims would thus be 400,000 to 650,000. The International Organization for Migration (IOM) gives a similar figure: 700,000 women and children trafficked across international borders annually. Both estimates comprise all forms of trafficking. If estimates for Europe and Asia are applied globally, the annual maximum volume of cross-border trafficking for sexual exploitation is 500,000 to 650,000. This does not include intraborder trafficking.

The US State Department estimates that the number of victims in global domestic trafficking is 2 to 4 million people a year. Assuming that the percentage of victims of prostitution-related trafficking is the same as in the cross-border traffic, this would mean 1 to 3 million victims. The annual total number of victims would thus be 1.5 to 3.7 million.

A major problem with all these estimates is that neither the definition of trafficking nor the data sources relied upon is usually mentioned. Only rarely is it said to what the figures refer. Do they refer to persons or border-crossings? Do they include only those trafficked across international borders or also the victims trafficked within countries? Do they include only new recruits or also victims from earlier years whose exploitation is continuing?

There are additional problems with regional estimates because the same persons can appear in estimates of several countries. A victim trafficked through the Balkans from Ukraine to Belgium could be included in the figures of at least six to ten countries, and appear as six to ten victims in a joint European statistical system.

A victim can also appear in the statistics of a single country several times. A foreigner trafficked into a country, exploited in several different towns, and then trafficked out, should appear in the statistics of those trafficked into, of, and within that single country, and thus be counted as at least three different victims.

Considering these problems, only data concerning native victims trafficked out of and within each country should be used in international estimates. The rule is, however, impossible to apply. For most countries only estimates concerning the aggregate total numbers of victims are available, which inevitably inflates regional and global estimates. No data exist on which reliable estimates of the global volume could be based.

According to the minimum figures shown in table 1 (based on available national data), the estimated numbers of victims trafficked within each region are 300,000 for Europe and Russia, 50,000 for North America, 500,000 for East Asia, 250,000 for South Asia, 200,000 for Southeast Asia, 300,000 for Latin America, and 120,000 for Africa, making 1.7 million people all together. The corresponding number of persons trafficked out of the major geographical regions is about 400,000.

These figures correspond to those given by the US State Department: 1.5 million as a joint annual minimum figure for global cross- and intraborder trafficking, and 500,000 for cross-border trafficking. This, however, says nothing about their reliability: the figures probably correspond because the sources have been to a large extent the same.

The World Bank reports the global total of legal immigrants and refugees arriving at and within the European Union in 2005 as about 100 million, increasing considerably since then (Russell 2005, pp. 2-3). The IOM estimates that the current global volume of labour migration would be about 150 million (Labour Migration 2005). A Council of Europe report estimates the number of irregular immigrants worldwide as over 30 million (de Tapia 2003, p. 29). For the annual volume of human smuggling, Babha (2005) estimates some 800,000. All these estimates are as hazy as those concerning trafficking. They are, however, much more moderate.

The minimum estimate referred to above of 400,000 to 500,000 victims of prostitution-related cross-border trafficking annually, when compared with estimates of annual flows of irregular migration, suggests that the bulk of irregular migration is prostitution-related trafficking. As this cannot be true, either current estimates concerning global irregular migration are much too low or those concerning global prostitution-related cross-border trafficking are much too high. The latter are also high when compared with estimates of the number of migrant prostitutes in the world: 500,000 to 800,000 (de Tapia 2003, p. 29).

Current estimates of global trafficking for prostitution probably underestimate the volume. Although they exaggerate the role of trafficking in international prostitution of adults, most existing estimates underestimate trafficking in minors. Most child prostitutes fulfill the criteria of victims of trafficking. The joint number of minors in prostitution in Europe and North America only is estimated at about 400,000; the global total is estimated to be between 5 and 10 million.

Most traffic for sexual exploitation is short-distance. The main source areas of long-distance trafficking are Brazil, the Dominican Republic, Russia, Sri Lanka, China, Thailand, the Philippines, and Nigeria. What is common to all is exceptionally good infrastructure for trafficking: either strong domestic organized crime with wide global connections, or long-standing traditions of female economic emigration with established migration networks and immigrant communities (Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2003).

The industrialized countries are major destinations (see table 2).
Table 1. Global Volume of Prostitution-related Trafficking

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Annual identified victims in reported crimes/assisted by NGOs</th>
<th>Estimated annual victims trafficked within region</th>
<th>Estimated annual victims trafficked to/through region</th>
<th>Estimated annual victims trafficked out of region</th>
<th>Estimated people engaged in prostitution in region</th>
<th>Estimated child prostitutes in organised prostitution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nordic Counties</td>
<td>0-50</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100-1,000</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>&lt;10,000</td>
<td>&lt;100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baltic Countries</td>
<td>50-500</td>
<td>1,000-10,000</td>
<td>1,000-10,000</td>
<td>1,000-10,000</td>
<td>&lt;25,000</td>
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<td>Western Europe</td>
<td>3,000-5,000</td>
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<td>260,000-500,000</td>
<td>&gt;20,000</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Central Europe</td>
<td>500-2,000</td>
<td>100,000*</td>
<td>60,000-70,000</td>
<td>&lt;5,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>The Balkans</td>
<td>1,500-2,000</td>
<td>&gt;70,000</td>
<td>200,000*</td>
<td>&gt;200,000</td>
<td>&gt;60,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Mediterranean</td>
<td></td>
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<td>100,000-140,000</td>
<td>&lt;5,000</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Eastern Europe</td>
<td></td>
<td>5,000-100,000</td>
<td>&gt;200,000</td>
<td>&gt;100,000</td>
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<td>&gt;100,000</td>
<td>&gt;10,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Caribbean South</td>
<td>10,000-20,000</td>
<td>&gt;110,000</td>
<td>300,000-2,000,000</td>
<td>&gt;300,000</td>
<td>&gt;30,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Central America</td>
<td></td>
<td>300,000-2,000,000</td>
<td>&gt;110,000</td>
<td>&lt;10,000,000</td>
<td>&lt;3,000,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>South America</td>
<td>300,000-1,500,000</td>
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<td>&gt;3,000,000</td>
<td>&gt;1,000,000</td>
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<td>Southeast Asia</td>
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<td>&lt;3,000,000</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>1,000-15,000*</td>
<td>&gt;10,000</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>&gt;30,000</td>
<td>5,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>North Africa</td>
<td>&gt;10,000</td>
<td>&gt;500,000</td>
<td>&lt;100,000</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>West Africa</td>
<td>50,000-100,000</td>
<td>&gt;500,000</td>
<td>&gt;100,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Central Africa</td>
<td>10,000-100,000</td>
<td>&gt;500,000</td>
<td>&gt;100,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>East Africa</td>
<td>10,000-50,000</td>
<td>&gt;500,000</td>
<td>&gt;50,000</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Africa</td>
<td>50,000-100,000</td>
<td>&gt;500,000</td>
<td>&gt;100,000</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

*Trafficked through and out; ** Trafficked within, to, through and out; *** Trafficked within, to, and through

Sources: national and regional estimates

According to national figures, they comprise only 15 percent of the estimated global total minimum volume of 1.7 million victims; however, their share of cross-border trafficking is about 30 percent.

The bulk of cross-border trafficking takes place among third world countries. Although the impact of Western sex tourism on this traffic should not be underestimated, legislative and preventive measures taken only in Europe or North America (especially if they don’t affect sex tourism from these regions) can have but a modest impact.

The Main Characteristics of Trafficking for Prostitution

Victims of prostitution-related trafficking are older in industrialised countries than in third world countries, where a large proportion are minors. However, even in industrialised countries, victims are younger than those of other forms of trafficking. In Europe, over 40 percent are unemployed when recruited and many have had no previous working experience. A large percentage are single mothers with responsibility for supporting their children and often other relatives.

European data indicate that victims typically have fewer options than victims of other types of trafficking. This is even truer in regions of Asia, Africa, and Latin America where the bulk of victims are minors recruited by force or sold by their families, and have not even in theory any capacity

Continued on next page
Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation

Continued from previous page

to influence their fate (Muhonen 2005).

However, data exist that indicate that economic and social circumstances are not an exhaustive explanation for victimization. According to European and Nigerian data, the risk of victimization increases significantly if economic and social deprivation is combined with dysfunctional or abusive family relations (Dutch National Rapporteur 2004). Other data indicate that personal characteristics have some significance for victimization: the general profile of an adult victim in Europe is similar to that of other types of victim of sexual and violent crime.

Most trafficking for sexual exploitation is short-distance. According to the available estimates, 60 to 80 percent takes place within countries. The percentage of cross-border trafficking is 25 to 30 percent of global volume, and the bulk takes place between neighbouring countries. The major flows run from rural areas to cities and from economically depressed regions to affluent ones. The proportion of the traffic to the major industrialised countries is only 10 to 20 percent of the global whole.

Most prostitution-related trafficking takes place within and between the third world and eastern Europe. However, industrial countries have an important indirect role in the crime outside their borders, as Western and Japanese sex tourists are a substantial part of the clientele of local prostitution in several third world countries and Russia.

Trafficking is usually carried out by small local criminal groups operating as a network with a common contact point where the women arrive and the profits leave. The contact point operates directly or by go-betweens. The networks are flexible and the elimination of one cluster does not usually affect the activity of the whole network: the deleted link is replaced by another. Each group can act in several networks simultaneously.

Trafficking for prostitution is infested to a much larger extent with aggravated human rights abuses than are other forms of trafficking. Victims of sexual exploitation are subjected more often to aggravated violence and intimidation, rape, and other forms of outrageous abuse than are victims of labour exploitation. They are also controlled more tightly and often receive no financial compensation for their exploitation.

There are, however, significant differences among different ethnic trafficking networks, both in organizational and operational models and how they treat victims.

Prevention, Legislation, and Crime Control

The factors creating, motivating, and directing global trafficking for prostitution are the same as direct global migration flows as a whole: deep differences in standards of living between and inside different geographic regions. It is improbable that any fundamentally positive changes can be achieved until these differences have evened out.

Concerning crime control and preventive policies, all measures ought to be global to be effective. Measures taken in Europe or North America will have only minimal effect on the global situation, as most trafficking takes place outside these areas. The crucial crime control objectives are: (1) creating extensive and reliable data collection systems; (2) criminalising trafficking of women globally with relatively uniform criteria; (3) developing and increasing cooperation in crime prevention both internationally and inter-regionally (for example, using as a model the experiences of the European countries); (4) improvement of victims’ status and rights in legislation worldwide; (5) creating efficient witness protection legislation and programmes for victims of trafficking; and (6) creating effective social and economic shelter programmes for victims globally.

No reliable, comparative information is available on the extent of any type of trafficking. To improve the situation, international efforts should be made (e.g., by the UN) to create and harmonise national statistics concerning the reporting of trafficking crimes, using relatively uniform criteria and composed according to relatively similar standards. The raw statistics are, however, able to produce only indicative information. To obtain better knowledge and create a basis for more efficient data collection, it is important to increase basic research on trafficking and organised prostitution.

Legislation concerning trafficking in women is diverse. A primary goal is harmonisation of national legislation and improvement of the legal status of the victims: (1) trafficking should be made a special offence; (2) courts should be able to seize assets belonging to convicted traffickers; (3) victims should receive help and protection when necessary; (4) governments should set up agreements to facilitate victims’ return to their native countries; and (5) victims should be granted, if necessary, temporary residence status on humanitarian grounds. Primary goals should be as extensive as possible ratification of the UN’s Palermo Protocol on Trafficking and an application of its obligations in national legislation.

Special witness protection legislation applicable to the victims of trafficking exists mainly in Europe. The laws are relatively recent, and there is not yet much experience of how they will work. All include the possibility of temporary residence permits. In Belgium and the Netherlands the consent of the victim to co-operate in investigations and prosecutions is required. In Italy, all victims have similar rights whether they co-operate or not. In Spain the stipulations of the general witness protection law are applicable. Only Italy and Spain offer victims police protection, which continues after court proceedings have ended, but even the rights to this kind of protection are largely theoretical. It is questionable how effectively victims’ willingness to co-operate with the authorities, which is crucial for combating trafficking, can be improved merely by granting temporary
residence permits.

The trafficking routes are so numerous and variable and the organization of the crime is so flexible that it is not possible to close all routes and eliminate all networks. It would be better to concentrate prevention efforts and law enforcement operations in the main source countries and on the most important junctions of the trafficking routes. It is also crucial to continue and to invigorate campaigns against corruption, which is rampant in many source and in main destination countries (EU Organized Crime Report 2002).

Conclusions

Trafficking for prostitution is not a priority of every-day crime prevention in any country. Data are scarce, and information and studies on the phenomenon are largely based on the same few original sources. The subject is loaded ideologically, which does not help interpretation of data or research results.

It is usually assumed that prostitution-related trafficking makes up 70 to 80 percent of all global trafficking in persons when measured by the numbers of victims; it is also assumed that the volume is much larger than available sources show.

The first assumption is probably false. Other forms of trafficking, especially of men, women, and children for economic exploitation as domestic servants and as workers in agriculture, construction, and sweatshop industries, are globally at least as common as trafficking for sexual exploitation. In some regions, for example in Africa and North America, they are even more numerous.

Current estimates of prostitution-related trafficking underestimate rather than overestimate the volume. Although police authorities and NGOs exaggerate the role of trafficking in international prostitution of adults (the new paradigm of organized crime can easily lead to this kind of exaggeration and many NGOs have an ideological tendency to see all prostitution as trafficking-related), most existing estimates underestimate domestic prostitution of minors, or do not include it in the numbers of victims. It will be important to harmonise definitions of trafficking in persons used in national legislation and statistics. Creation of an international database (an idea presented for the first time at the 1913 conference in Madrid) would improve things considerably.

Although current statistics and studies overestimate the relative share of prostitution-related trafficking in all global trafficking in persons, there are good reasons for keeping the focus of preventive and legislative work on this crime. Aggravated abuses of human rights are substantially more common in trafficking for sexual exploitation than in other types of trafficking. Victims are submitted to violence and grave intimidation more often than victims of economic exploitation, their living and working conditions are worse, and their economic exploitation is more outrageous. Victims are also usually younger and less capable of defending themselves or escaping.

Whether prostitution should be allowed or abolished is a moral and ideological question. However, there is indisputable evidence that criminalisation of the activity of individual prostitutes, and current policies in many countries that criminalise the exploitation of prostitution by third parties but leave the status of prostitutes unclear, create favourable circumstances for abuse. The rights and status of prostitution and prostitutes should be defined in national legislation and prostitution be given the same economic, civil, and social rights as other citizens and foreigners.

It is important to harmonise legislation concerning trafficking in persons in national legislation globally, as regards the criteria of crime, sanctions, and the status and rights of victims. Victims should be given legal rights to help and protection when necessary and governments should enter agreements to facilitate victims’ return to their native countries when they so wish. The ratification of the Palermo Protocol as extensively as possible and the rapid application of its obligations in national legislation should be a primary goal. However, even the most effective legislation is not enough, if the will and resources for implementation are lacking.

In the long run the best and only way to prevent prostitution-related trafficking is to facilitate the general social and economic development of countries on the losing side of economic globalisation and to work to achieve more equal and balanced global economic and social development.

Continued on next page
References


Note

1 This is a much abbreviated version of an article to appear in volume 34 of Crime and Justice: A Review of Research (2006).■

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President’s Message

Continued from page 2

can be found nowadays in many states.

Some may infer that this is an inevitable consequence of offender-oriented thinking, research, and policy. That position in my view is myopic. Policy makers in some countries use research results that fit their pre-conceived convictions. The more populist their orientation, the more “selective” they are in filtering out complex results only what supports their views. An international and comparative research programme on “the uses of research” rather than on the “effects of research” is due.

Serious policy makers are confronted by individuals who pose threats to others due to their manifest aggressiveness. To curb that threat by restraining their liberty seems legitimate to the public at large, and also from a liberal standpoint, with emphasis on effective crime prevention and preserving victims’ rights and concerns.

Person-oriented criminology can help limit strong reactions, especially long-term measures of restraint of that tiny minority of offenders whose “dangerousness” is attributed to psychopathological personality traits and characteristics.

A host of difficulties impedes efforts to identify those individuals, to predict their future development, to search for effective treatment methods, and to give them a chance to regain (conditional) liberty. That there remain more questions than answers is as certain as it is clear that to do nothing is all but socially irresponsible.

Going beyond the “dangerous few” offenders, offender-oriented criminological research and treatment practices have changed substantially, particularly in the last two decades. Static conceptions of criminality have been superseded by dynamic ones. Longitudinal studies have demonstrated better the versatility of crime patterns and whole life histories, including the episodic or transitory character of offending among the large majority of offenders.

Longitudinal studies have shown that even seemingly persistent young repeat offenders often do not continue into adulthood, and that most adult criminal careers end between 25 and 35.

Pathways out of a criminal career are intricately related to basic turns in life concepts and attitudes, and better equilibration of emotions and future orientations, to name but a few elements. Sometimes change happens all at once. Usually it takes time. Termination of a criminal career is best seen not as an “event” but as a “process,” interspersed with relapses and failures.

The quality and velocity of that process is dependent on the number and stability of new social bonds persons develop or gain. They can be helped in that by others, sometimes just by avoiding unnecessary punishment, and more effectively by providing them professional support. Getting a meaningful job, entering a stable partnership, and developing structured leisure time activities are among the most decisive “factors” of eventual success. These are not just factors, or atheoretical phenomenological elements as grand theorists may be inclined to assume. They are, instead, the outer epiphenomena of complex person-environment interactions and developmental dynamics.

Whether personalities can change or be changed is open to debate. That “life scenarios” can be changed, however, and that former “criminals” can lead integrated lives in society has been convincingly demonstrated. This should encourage all who are sceptical about harsh anti-crime campaigns or “wars on crime.” Insofar as use of imprisonment now and in the foreseeable future cannot be avoided, one should remember that prisons never teach people to live a law-abiding life by depriving them of basic rights and decent treatment.

Standard prison rules are a good means to counteract such tendencies. The recently published European Prison Rules 2006 of the Council of Europe provide a fine and suitable “measuring stick” to evaluate policies and practices in our home countries and on the international level.■

Note

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Zelimir Kesetoviæ, Faculty of Defence, University of Belgrade, Serbia and Montenegro
“Policing in Serbia – Challenges and Developments”

Helmut Kury, Max Planck Institute, Germany
“Police, Fear of Crime and Attitudes towards Punishment”

Branko Lobnikar, Faculty of Criminal Justice and Security, University of Maribor, Slovenia
“Researching Police and Policing - Developments and Challenges for the Future”

Darko Maver and Anton Dvoršek, Faculty of Criminal Justice and Security, University of Maribor, Slovenia
“Developments in Criminal Investigation”

Gorazd Meško and James Houston, Faculty of Criminal Justice and Security, University of Maribor, Slovenia and Grand Valley State University, USA
“Obstacles to Police Professionalism in Slovenia: a Review of Research”

Anthony Minnaar, University of South Africa, South Africa
“Private Policing – A Comparative View”

Milan Pagon, Faculty of Criminal Justice and Security, University of Maribor, Slovenia
“Implementing Innovation in the Police: The Strategic Management Approach”

Andrej Sotlar, Faculty of Criminal Justice and Security, University of Maribor, Slovenia
“Private Policing in Slovenia – Recent Developments”

Goran Klemenèiè, Faculty of Criminal Justice and Security, University of Maribor, Slovenia

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or reduced drastically. How can this sudden shift be explained? And what can we learn from this experience with respect to the future of criminology? In another paper, I explore these questions, and provide relevant background. Here I sketch some answers and describe the three programmes in some detail. They make the Netherlands the third European country, after Belgium and the United Kingdom, with large undergraduate criminology degree programmes.

Institutionalisation and Downfall

Departments of criminology in the Netherlands traditionally offered only a number of optional courses within the curricula of lawyers or sociologists. In 1968, a complete criminological curriculum—separate from criminal law—was developed at the VU Amsterdam, and modest specialisations in criminology emerged at the universities of Nijmegen and Leiden. But these developments did not take off.

Growth in academic staff in the 1970s was mainly based on the allocation of research money and much less on stable teaching needs. The most important academic research institute was established at the University of Groningen, but here too the position of criminology as a teaching field was marginal. Research money, however, was in ample supply and criminology did pretty well everywhere.

Criminology collapsed in the 1980s when the allocation of university financing came to depend more and more on teaching needs. It became the victim of its marginal status and of a positivist swing back within the law schools in which criminologists were embedded. Criminology was seen as an unnecessary frill and staffs were reduced everywhere.

A Basis for New Programmes

The position of academic criminology improved greatly in the middle of the 1990s. Criminality had increased dramatically through the mid-1980s and became seen as one of the most important societal problems. The criminologist became an expert expected to ‘solve’ this problem.

Dutch policy-making is traditionally expert-led. Among policy makers there was a strong need for expert knowledge about ‘new’ types of criminality: cyber-crime, domestic violence, random violence, ethnically based youth gangs, trans-national organised crime, people-smuggling, environmental crime, stock fraud, corporate crime, and collusion.

The prevention and tackling of these phenomena also raised new questions. The emergence of the victim and related debates about compensation, redress, mediation, and emotional support has also led to new questions, as did the development of private criminal investigation and of local government and governmental control agencies in the curbing of insecurity. These developments create not only new knowledge questions, but also new jobs: jobs for criminologists.

There is also much demand for ‘real’ criminological researchers: lawyers seldom learn empirical research skills and social scientists often do not have enough eye for the juridical-normative context of the research field. Slowly the realisation has grown that the policy of financial cutbacks in teaching of criminology needed to be reversed.

Within criminology itself a growing need developed for a stronger educational position. The experiences of the past taught that the university position of criminology is greatly determined by teaching needs. It was necessary, in order to gain a solid position for academic criminological research, to concentrate first on establishing a strong teaching base. It was only possible to capitalise in an effective way on the growing knowledge need, if its continued existence was no longer dependent on short-term research contracts.

Developing a New Programme

In formation of the educational programme and philosophy, we made grateful use of experiences (partly our own) with previous Dutch criminology curricula, criminological programmes in other European countries and the United States (van Swaanningen 2001; Marshall 2001), an assessment of criminology curricula in Flanders (VLIR 2001), and scenario studies of probable knowledge needs in the year 2010 (Bruinsma et al. 2001).

What did we conclude? First, a new criminological curriculum must be intellectually challenging. Second, it must offer a broad contextual perspective on deviance and social control. Third, it must transmit solid knowledge based on empirical research about criminality and its control. And fourth, it must offer extensive training in methods and techniques of social science research.

We have emphasised in all our informational materials that our programme is not oriented primarily towards producing ‘offender catchers’. We have a lot to offer to those interested in crime analysis, but those who aspire to a uniformed function with the police or want to work in criminal investigation are better off going to the Police Academy and we advise those who want to do criminal profiling or work at the Dutch Forensic Institute to study psychology, molecular biology, physics, or medicine instead. Students who primarily want to ‘help people’ are advised to study social work.

The most frequent inquiry about our programme relates to employment prospects. Looking at past experiences, we cannot, and do not want to, ignore the ‘practice’ issue. We aim at offering a programme that is both scientific and practice-oriented.

That implies, first of all, a broad academic formation. We consider insight and overview the most important autonomous attributes of the generalist we aim to produce. Somebody who can think clearly, stand above the material, and make connections, and has methodological and social scientific knowledge combined with juridical skills, we believe, will find employment anywhere. In addition, the student needs to be offered concrete knowledge about the whole system and very concrete skills to operate...
We have divided the specific criminology functions we want indeed to offer preparatory training as follows:

1. Policy functions in ministries, public prosecution service, local government (mainly community safety), victim support, probation, Europol, etc.
2. Practical functions with the police or prosecution service (e.g., crime analyst), forensic services, organiser of a specific prevention or sanctioning project, monitor of stock transactions, manager within the probation service or prison system, etc. Many students argue that they want to ‘work with people, not with paperwork’.
3. Research functions at universities, ministries of justice and internal affairs, other big criminology research centres (UNICRI, HEUNI, WODC, NSCR), commercial research and advice organisations, larger municipalities, larger police forces, and such.

We very much realise that these ambitions can never be fulfilled without the strong commitment of those who teach in the programme. They must take their teaching seriously and not see it as an onerous side line that prevents them from doing their ‘real’ work: research. Motivating students and training them to become good criminologists is possible only when, as teachers, we treat them seriously; that means, to make time for them, to read their written work, to give them concrete suggestions about criminological questions which occupy them and to involve them quite early in scientific gatherings.

**Themes**

The domain of criminology can be divided into the following five subfields: description of criminality; explanation of criminality; study of victims and support for them; ways in which criminality is prevented and repressed; and crime policy and politics. All these dimensions are addressed in the curriculum of the Erasmus programme I focus upon here. But the question is: what is the best way of getting this knowledge across?

We thought it would be a good idea to kick off immediately, with the first introductory course in criminology, with the whole picture. We briefly deal with all of these subfields and hope this will enable students to see how later courses are inter-related. A second underlying idea is that every criminological research project starts with a good description of the problem. This subfield of criminology is covered by giving ample attention to conceptual and definitional problems, and especially by very specific criminological instruction in methods and techniques of research.

Criminological methods are differentiated from regular social science methodology by the kind of sources (from police files to hospital data and from self-reports by offenders to data from and about victims); the relatively greater unreliability of data (all sources have their own specific biases); the nature of the research population (dangerous fieldwork with criminal groups, the forced situation of prison respondents, the fact that participant observation is only possible on a limited basis); and the emotionally (e.g., in case of rape) or politically (e.g., the feeding of gut reactions) sensitive material.

These aspects receive central attention in methods instruction. Directly after the basics of social scientific research methodology are explained, we start off with statistics (SPSS). This is predominantly because good statistical skills are an absolute necessity if one is to work as a researcher today, but admittedly also in order to discourage students who study criminology only because they...
think it is ‘fun’ and ‘exciting’.

This class and subsequent methodology classes are developed along a two-stream instructional path whereby a quantitative line is followed by a qualitative one in a regular sequence. In this way, the student can discover that the choice for a particular approach depends mainly on the kind of research question and the nature of the research population.

Descriptive criminology is also the subject of students’ first active involvement course. We chose a thematic course structure in which the descriptive criminological elements are first attended to in a more implicit way. A similar approach is taken in the sub-field of explanatory criminology. In the first course we deal with epistemological notions about the limits of ‘pure’ observation and the influence of conceptions of human nature and society. After this, all theories in criminology are introduced.

In subsequent courses the explanatory aspect is an implicit part of the thematic treatment. By showing the connection between explanation and concepts and social reactions, we lessen the odds that aetiological notions are conceived in a too clinical way or are given a too absolute predictive significance.

We offer theoretical introductions to victimology and penology as well, but here we take a direct thematic approach. Three main courses in the third bachelor year are organised around causes and social construction; nature, distribution, and harm; and prevention and punishment. We try to treat these with reference to a similar series of offence: interpersonal offence (violence), public order and public health problem (drug use), and white-collar crime (fraud). This serves to illustrate that the conceptualisation of a problem, the direction in which an explanation is sought, and the kind of harm and the categories of victims of crime can vary greatly, and have direct consequences for the way these issues are tackled.

In a fourth year main course, contemporary themes around transnational organised crime (international drug trade, child pornography networks and other cyber crimes, human-smuggling, prostitution networks, terrorism, the abduction industry, and such) are coupled to sociological theories about the globalisation of the capitalist economy, the digitalisation of society, and the growing gap between rich and poor, between jihad and McWorld. Likewise, a course on safety and risk-assessment is coupled to theories on the risk society and a course on crime policy to theories on general developments in society and in politics. The box on the previous page provides an overview of the undergraduate programs at the three universities.

Conclusion

Some of the factors that determine criminology’s popularity in the Netherlands are quite independent of what we do—e.g., the political and media attention for crime and safety. Some have only an indirect relation with our own efforts—e.g., developments in the labour-market and the image and reputation of criminology as an academic discipline. Some are fully dependent on ourselves—e.g., an interesting and sound curriculum, dedicated staff, good logistics, and useful ‘tools’ for future jobs.

Of course it is very pleasant to be popular, not in the last place because we largely owe our contracts to the numbers of students. The huge interest in criminology allows us furthermore to be selective. So, the level of the students is on the average high—and that in turn will certainly contribute positively to the criminologists’ entrance onto the labour market. At the same time the large number of students also poses the biggest threat to the study-programme. The time that lecturers can devote to each student will decrease—and that can endanger the quality of the programme.

Another main question in this respect remains: ‘how many criminologists do we actually need?’ We do our best to prepare our students for a wide range of jobs, we do our best to take care for sufficient field placements, we already let the best students participate in our own research projects and in tutorials to first years’ active participation courses, and we will try to convince potential employers that our students have something to offer. But how criminologists will find their way on the labour market remains to be seen. All that remains is trying to do a good job and have some trust in the future and in our students’ future roles as diplomats for our study-programme.

References


Notes

1 This article is based on my paper on new criminology curricula in the Netherlands presented at the ESC’s 2004 annual meeting at the VU Amsterdam.

2 In the Netherlands, as in most European countries, but unlike in the United States, criminology is only an academic discipline. Training programmes (e.g., for police officers) are not taught at universities, but at the Police Academy and other colleges of higher education.


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The Governance of Safety in Europe

into European crime prevention:

- The increasing salience of crime prevention implies a shift in focus beyond national criminal legal codes and their enforcement by police and criminal justice professionals.
- The mobilisation of actors from (non-criminal justice) statutory agencies (in particular, municipal authorities), other commercial and voluntary bodies, and the broader citizenry of European societies suggests a shift from state-centred government to multi-agency “governance.”
- These actors have begun to contest, negotiate, and re-define the objects of prevention. It is possible to identify a movement away from an exclusive concern with the narrow concept of “crime” towards notions of “disorder,” “security,” and “safety” that encompass other harms and incivilities that are “sub-criminal” but nonetheless are thought to threaten citizens’ quality of life and thus are legitimate objects of control.
- The preventive turn recognises and creates new governable places for comparison. When seeking to study contrasts in criminal justice, it makes sense to take entire nation-states as the appropriate scale for comparison. Notwithstanding the sub-national legislative powers of regional authorities in federal polities, most criminal legal codes have jurisdiction across nation-state territories. They are constitutive of national sovereignty. However, the preventive turn disturbs this logic of comparison and recognises localities as the origins of innovations in control, security, and safety. The contributions to the special issue detail the role of certain localities and sub-national regions as innovators exporting their visions of control and safety within and beyond national borders. In turn they identify the uneven development of preventive strategies reflecting the balance of social and political forces within different localities.
- All contributions acknowledge the centrality of political action and analysis in social scientific accounts of control and in normative debates of how else the places, actors, and objects of control could be constructed.

Specific Foci of the Papers

Alongside these common themes, the contributions focus on specific questions and issues associated with their own localities and in the case of Edwards and Hughes’ paper on the broader issues of developing a geographical approach to studying governance across different European localities.

- In the first paper, “Sovereignty, Bio-politics and the Local Government of Crime in Britain,” Kevin Stenson focuses on the political struggles over the management of crime, fear and risk, and safety and security across different localities in Britain. He argues that security practices – often coded as “community safety” in Britain – manifest the struggle by local state institutions for sovereign control over specific populations and territories (“biopolitics”). Local examples, both rural and urban, are used to demonstrate the uneasy interaction between official and informal biopolitics, with the latter involving communal groups attempting to govern “from below.”
- In “Public Safety and the Management of Fear,” René van Swaaningen focuses on recent trends in the Netherlands where an increasingly intolerant, punitive, and exclusionary politics of public safety has emerged. This thesis is particularly striking as the process is occurring in a country generally characterised as tolerant and liberal in its control of crime and deviance. The article suggests that the city of Rotterdam has played a key “exporting” role in the uneven diffusion and symbolic assertion of an exclusionary culture of intolerance regarding the crimes and incivilities of racialised “alien” groups across the Netherlands.
- In “Towards Città Sicure? Political Action and Institutional Conflict in Contemporary Preventive and Safety Policies in Italy,” Rossella Selmini analyses how the processes of crime prevention and urban safety are influenced by local and regional contexts in Italy and how these contexts re-shape governmental definitions, initiatives, and programmes. She shows that the most influential factors in the Italian case are associated with the conflicts and negotiations between the national and the regional and local levels of state and governance. She focuses on how the region of Emilia-Romagna in particular acted as an innovator in exporting its vision and political programme of Città sicure to other regions and localities across Italy.
- In “The Governance of Safety in France. Is there Anybody in Charge?,” Jacques de Maillard plots the main changes concerning safety and preventive policies at the local level in France over the last two decades. De Maillard suggests that several features are increasingly prominent: namely “territorialisation,” the link between prevention and repression, and “contractualisation.” Arising out of these processes, it is argued that the traditional monopoly of the central state on security has been eroded. In its place the governance of safety is increasingly fragmented between various agencies and is marked in particular by the growing importance of local municipal authorities in the development and implementation of policies against insecurity. De Maillard concludes that there are complex, differentiated, local translations of the new governance of safety and that the French model has not turned decisively towards punitive strategies.
- Finally, in “Comparing the Governance of Safety in Europe: a Geo-historical Approach,” Adam Edwards and Gordon Hughes argue that the corollary of the

Continued on next page
The Governance of Safety in Europe

preventive turn is an approach to comparative criminology that is capable of recognising the diverse contexts that constitute governable places, actors, and objects of control. The two predominant traditions of comparative criminology – which seek either universality or uniqueness – are criticised and contrasted with an alternative method of comparison premised on principles of critical realism in the philosophy of social science. This method is used to identify and explore three key foci of comparison: the predicates of governance, particularly the relations of power dependence that structure political competition over the meaning, conduct, and outcomes of safety; the manifold objects of safety generated by this competition; and the variable spatial and temporal scales of comparison that are necessitated by the power-dependent character of governing safety. The implications of adopting a geo-historical approach for both the causal and normative analysis of safety politics (and attendant “geographies of responsibility”) are briefly considered.

Please keep checking our website for further updates on membership, events, projects, and publications associated with this ESC working group. Colleagues wishing to have further information on this Working Group should contact the coordinators by email: g.h.hughes@open.ac.uk; edwardsa2@cardiff.ac.uk.

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Julian Roberts: New Editor of EJC

and public opinion.

Said Smith, “I am very happy that the editorship is passing to such a strong team. As former editor of the Canadian Journal of Criminology, Roberts is especially well-qualified. Having taught, researched, and written in English and French, he is in a good position to understand the challenges faced by authors who are not writing in their native language—and in future the great majority of EJC authors will fall in that category.”

David Smith and his assistant Georgios Papanicolaou will be responsible for issues appearing during the rest of 2006 and for the first two issues in 2007. Roberts, Goold, and their Oxford team will be responsible for the issues appearing thereafter. Given the lead times necessary to convert submitted articles into refereed, accepted, revised, and edited works ready for delivery to Sage, the publisher, however, the Oxford team will begin handling incoming manuscripts almost immediately. Smith has agreed to remain on the journal’s editorial board.

“It is an immense honour to be selected to serve as editor of the EJC,” says Roberts. “Under the founding editorship of David Smith, it has emerged as one of the leading criminology journals, and in a very short space of time. The quality of the articles and the country surveys make it essential reading for anyone interested in criminology and criminal justice in Europe.”

Roberts’s team’s first published issue will contain a statement of their editorial policy and future plans for the journal. They are determined to continue regular publication of country surveys and share Smith’s ambition for a new practice of publishing special issue on key subjects of special interest in Europe.

Smith is delighted with the new team. “This job cannot be done by one person. So it is good that a team will be taking over, backed up where necessary with the expertise of other members of the Oxford centre. The old and new teams are now working together to ensure a smooth handover.”

Gordon Hughes is professor of criminology at The Open University and Adam Edwards is lecturer in criminology at Cardiff University.
Krzysztof Krajewski for President-elect

and International Criminal Law in Freiburg and has returned there for several shorter research stays since.

He has worked for the Council of Europe as a member of the Committee of Experts on Criminology and Criminal Law, and as a member of the Criminological Scientific Council.

Major research interests in recent years have included drug policies and drug legislation and aspects of organised crime. In 2002 he published a major monograph (in Polish) *Sense and Non-sense of Prohibition: Criminal Law and Drugs*. He has also advised the Polish government and parliament on various drug-related legal issues. He has been a member of the Advisory Group to the International Harm Reduction Development Program of the Open Society Institute since 2003.

Insecurities in European Cities financed by the European Commission.

He is author of articles on various criminological issues published in Polish and in English in *Crime, Law, and Social Change*, *European Journal of Criminology*, *Journal of Drug Issues* and in German (*Zeitschrift für die gesamte Strafrechtswissenschaft*). He is also co-author of a major criminology handbook published in Polish in 1999.

Krzysztof Krajewski has been president of the Polish Criminological Association since 2003 and is familiar to many ESC members as the organiser of last year’s annual conference in Krakow. If he is elected in Tübingen, the ESC will welcome its first East European president.
Joining the ESC is a Cost-Effective Thing to Do

People interested in European criminology or considering attending the European Society of Criminology’s annual meeting in Tübingen are urged to become members. Non-members who register for the Tübingen meeting meeting (175 euros before 1 July, 2006; 250 euros afterwards) pay as much for meeting attendance as do ESC members for attendance and one year’s membership in the society. Members, who automatically receive both the ESC journal, *The European Journal of Criminology*, and the ESC newsletter, *Criminology in Europe*, get a much better deal for the same money.

To become an ESC member, fax or mail a copy of the form below to the ESC’s business office, or go to the ESC website (http://www.esc-eurocrim.org/) to join online.

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