

Newsletter of the *European Society of Criminology*

CRIMINOLOGY IN EUROPE



**Dietrich Oberwittler and Sebastian Roché on the Attitudes
of Migrant Youth towards the Police**

Martin Killias on Evidence-Based Criminology

Michael Tonry

KEEPING THE ESC SMALL IN SPIRIT AND WARM IN HEART



Hooray! The European Society of Criminology is well established, economically viable, a basic part of the annual calendars of criminologists world-wide, and likely to be around for a long time.

That's the good news. The bad news is that, Alas! The European Society of Criminology is well-established, economically viable ... If we're not careful the ESC will evolve into another soulless organization that runs anomic, perfunctory annual meetings. At the end of this article I discuss some things I'm going to propose the

ESC do to reduce the odds of that happening. First, though, I reminisce a bit about the ESC's beginnings and explain why I believe we should work hard to keep it the special organization it has so far managed to be.

The ESC's early years were more precarious than most people knew, but the organization was small, cozy, and familiar, and the annual meetings were, I believe most who attended them would say, fun. Once you'd attended a couple you began to realize that you recognized many of those attending the next ones. Not everybody, of course, but enough to give a feeling of connection.

There was an esprit. Almost everyone attended receptions and plenaries. Half typically attended the oddly named "Gala Dinners." Almost everyone who registered to present a paper appeared when scheduled and gave a talk they'd thought seriously about. During sessions the corridors were mostly empty. Almost everyone was attending panels. The publishers' reps were often alone with their books. Except concerning the gala dinners, those generalizations remain by and large true.

All that contrasts starkly with American Society of Criminology meetings. There, the very idea of conference dinners became unimaginable decades ago. A quarter of the people who register to give papers show up at the meeting but not at their scheduled panels. Fewer than ten percent of registrants attend plenaries. The corridors are always full. Most panels are sparsely attended.

Fourteen years have passed since the ESC began as a glimmer in the eyes of Josine Junger-Tas and Martin Killias. In November 1999, at the annual meeting of the ASC, they convened a dozen or so people in a small conference room in the Toronto Royal Oak Hotel to discuss the possibility of organizing a European criminology society. The group decided to give it a try.

The following spring, Josine and Martin convened a formal organizing meeting in The Hague. The Netherlands Ministry of Justice's Research and Documentation Center, which Henk van de Bunt then headed, provided support.

Several dozen people from a respectably wide range of countries attended. Their names appear on the ESC web page.

In the ensuing few years, the ESC took shape. Probably it survived only because Josine Junger-Tas and Martin Kilias were determined that it would. There was neither start-up money nor financial or staff support. Other members of the early ESC boards oversaw things and tried to be useful, but Martin and Josine did the work.

Martin organized every administrative detail of the first annual meeting in Lausanne in 2001 except for the scientific program. Josine did that single-handedly. She processed abstracts from 350 people and arranged panels. Martin served as the ESC's first president, wrote the constitution, and persuaded legal experts to oversee the organization's establishment. Later on for several years he served as the ESC's treasurer, stabilizing its finances, creating its administrative routines, and establishing admirable traditions of transparency and accountability that continue to this day.

Josine was the ESC's second president and later on organized and led its two most ambitious and successful working groups. One planned and nurtured successive waves of the International Self Report Delinquency study. The other focused on comparative understanding and improvement of youth justice systems and produced several fine books.

Their efforts succeeded. The ESC's march of progress has been steady. During the early years, annual meeting attendance fluctuated between 350 and 500. That rose to 806 in Bologna in 2007 and to more than a thousand in Budapest in 2013. There have been fluctuations but the direction is clear. The ESC and its meetings are becoming larger and are likely to continue to do so.

The great challenge will be to preserve the ESC's distinctive participatory flavor. So far, the ESC has managed to maintain its traditions. Lots of young people attend. Their enthusiasm and seriousness of purpose are contagious. Paper presenters prepare conscientiously. Almost everyone goes to panels and plenaries. If attending the ESC feels like passing through a train station, attending the ESC retains a bit of the flavor of going to summer camp.

From the outset, the successive ESC boards have tried to be inclusive. One way was by moving the meetings around Europe. As long as applications kept arriving from "new" countries, no country repeated. Another way was by trying to attract presidential candidates from "new" countries. That pattern continued until a few months ago when Gerben Bruinsma became Josine's successor as the second Dutch president. It is surprisingly difficult to persuade people to become candidates for the presidency. In most years someone has had to be persuaded to run. Many are invited; most decline. Despite serious efforts to attract more than one candidate for president, so far that's happened only once.

I plan to try to persuade the ESC board and then the membership to adopt a couple of new policies meant to keep the ESC fresh. One is to change the constitution, which now calls for election at the same time of two at-large board members for two-year terms. Thus, every second year three of the five voting members of the board are new, which means the institutional memory is weak. I will propose in Prague that the ESC switch to having three at-large members elected for overlapping three-year terms. This would assure a continuous flow of new blood since one-third of board members would be new each year, and also improve continuity.

The other thing I'd like to do is to devise a system to assure that there are contested elections each year. It would be better and look better. People have been willing to run for board members' positions against opposition but not for president. Possible candidates almost always back out if they learn someone might run against them.

That's a shame. One solution might be for the board or the president each year to appoint a nominating committee whose job is to identify people willing to be candidates and propose at least two for each open position. No doubt there are other solutions. Advice will be gratefully received. Something will be proposed in Prague.

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FROM THE NEXT ISSUE

> *Anna Maria Getoš on Crime Problems in the Balkans*

Dietrich Oberwittler and Sebastian Roché

EXPERIENCES, PERCEPTIONS AND ATTITUDES

VARIATIONS OF POLICE-ADOLESCENTS RELATIONSHIPS IN FRENCH AND GERMAN CITIES

INTRODUCTION

Young males are the demographic group most likely to have a strained relationship with the police. One doesn't necessarily need to look to scientific studies to support this view. In riots and violent protests which have occurred in several West European cities over the last couple of years, adolescent boys and young men have universally dominated the rioting crowds, in accordance with the mean peak age of delinquent behavior more generally. However, it seems less challenging to investigate the reasons for this demographic pattern than to ask the question why some young males do have a strained relationship with the police, and others don't. This variation gains relevance because it does not only occur on an individual level, but also on the level of socially, ethnically, and spatially defined groups. Why do boys and young men revolt against the police in some areas of some cities, and not in others areas or cities? Why have some European countries seen eruptions of collective violence directed toward the police or triggered by police action, and others didn't? To what extent are the police-related experiences and attitudes of adolescents from ethnic minorities in today's multiethnic urban societies worse than those of native adolescents, and if yes, which social or cultural processes are responsible for such ethnic differences?

These questions have occupied researchers in Europe for quite some time, they touch pivotal issues in the field of research on trust in the criminal justice system. As the visible and tangible arm of the state monopoly of power, and the force which is responsible for maintaining public order and confronting wrongdoers, the police have a key position among state institutions. The normative starting point which is widely shared by criminologists is that a positive relationship between citizens and the police expressed by high degrees of trust and legitimacy is desirable. Evidently, violent youth riots cause considerable physical damage, injuries, and even deaths. Moreover, urban upheavals are the tip of the iceberg of a deeply adversarial relationship between adolescents and the

police which is likely to cloud their daily interactions, and may exacerbate or even shape the problem of societal and political integration particularly for adolescents from ethnic minority groups and from disadvantaged neighborhoods. Finally, the lack of trust in the police and the subsequent unwillingness to turn to the police for help can promote retaliatory modes of conflict solution and fuel spirals of violence among adolescents (Kubrin and Weitzer 2003).

A theoretical framework which is widely used to capture important dimensions of the police-citizens relationship is the procedural justice model proposed by Tom Tyler (Tyler 2007, 2011; Tyler and Jackson 2013; Tankebe 2013). Tyler (2011, p. 258) claims that "success in policing efforts depends upon gaining supportive public behavior", and that voluntary compliance largely depends on whether citizens view police actions as legitimate. Police legitimacy is the willingness of citizens to accept decisions made by police officers and to obey their rules, as well as—according to a recent theoretical extension proposed by Jon Jackson and his colleagues—"a sense of shared moral values and group solidarity with the police" (Jackson et al. 2013, p. 13). The core assumption of the procedural justice model is that police legitimacy crucially depends on the perception that the police treat citizens fairly and with respect. Any experiences of disrespectful, unfair, or even brutal treatment by the police will reduce their legitimacy—not only for the person who has suffered such treatment but also for many others who will hear his or her stories about it. In the case of citizens from ethnic minorities, unfair treatment by police officers is particular detrimental to legitimacy because it carries an implicit message on how members of an ethnic group are valued by the police and/or the government. Discriminatory policing practices, for example in the form of ethnic profiling, will be regarded as unfair by minority citizens because "they are being stigmatized by legal authorities via the application of a negative group stereotype to them based not on what they are doing, but on their race, gender, or age" (Tyler and Blader

2003, p. 359). Integrating these extremely compressed hypotheses, what counts for the assessment of police-citizens relationships, viewed from citizens' perspective, are experiences of encounters with the police (including their understanding of the interaction) as well as attitudes which are influenced by experiences, especially trust, legitimacy, and moral values. Although, as already mentioned, adolescents and young adults often have more adversarial relationships with the police than other age groups, there is nothing fundamentally different from the general population which precludes the use of this theoretical framework for the analysis of police-adolescents relationships. However, one should be careful not to lay the blame for strained police-adolescents-relationships unilaterally at the police officers' feet without taking into account the potential influence of adolescents' deviant behaviors and blatant disrespect for social rules that are widely accepted far beyond any specific ruling social group, such as the respect for property and physical integrity.

RECENT RESEARCH

Not surprisingly, recent research on police-adolescents relationships in France has been dominated by the experience of the riots of 2005, the largest of its kind in recent European history (Lagrange 2006; Lapeyronnie 2006; Jobard 2009; Muchielli 2009; Roché and de Maillard 2009, Roché 2010). In contemplating its causes, both the disadvantaged socioeconomic situation and the lack of societal and political integration of ethnic minority youths in the French banlieues as well as discriminatory police behaviors and hostile interactions between adolescents and the police have been prominently discussed. While French research tended not to entail systematic, large-scale empirical data collections (which is hampered by the absence of ethnic categories in official statistics) relying more often on a mix of qualitative and theoretical or political analysis, a series of recent studies have produced evidence of biased police practices. A covert observation at public transport locations in Paris showed that ethnic minority passengers of African origin were six- to eight-times more likely to be stopped by the police than 'white' native looking passengers (Goris, Jobard and Lévy 2009). An opinion poll carried out in the most deprived areas of France or ZUS (Zones Urbaines Sensibles) in 2006 by a political research unit in Paris, Cevipof, found that non-whites were subjected to disproportional ID checks (unpublished findings, cited in Roché, 2006). This study did not control for self-reported crimes or other indicators of propensity to violate the law; however,

the fact that juveniles as well as elderly were over-policed indicates that the ethnic focus of police controls is not explained by demographics (youth being a more at risk age group). Existing research findings are not welcome or even accepted by public authorities and police chiefs in France. They are discarded in the name of equality: since the law doesn't account for the existence of ethnic groups in France, there cannot be any discrimination against them. By definition, police are unbiased. Such an approach departs from the United Kingdom or the United States, where ethnic and religious affiliations are commonly referred to by researchers or by politicians in the public debate. As part of the Eurojustis project (<http://www.eurojustis.eu>) coordinated by Mike Hough, a French pilot survey took place in 2011 both nationwide and in the most deprived province of the country, the Seine Saint-Denis, a suburb of Paris. It unveiled, among the 18+ population, a much lower level of trust in police in minority groups than in the majority population (Roux, Roché and Astor 2011).

In contrast to France and the UK, research on police and adolescents is much less developed in Germany. Yet, the emerging picture tends to be rather positive, with relatively high levels of trust in the police and with smaller or no ethnic differences. Two large-scale surveys of adolescents in Germany found no pronounced differences in trust levels between native German and ethnic minority respondents. Heitmeyer et al. (2005, p. 40) reported even higher scores of trust in the justice system for Turkish minority compared to native German respondents. In a nationwide school survey, more than 60 percent of respondents voiced a positive attitude towards the police, and Turkish minority youths were on the same positive level as native German youths, whereas youths of Russian or Polish origin held a more negative view of the police (Baier et al. 2010, p. 141). Qualitative case studies based on participant observation, interviews, and focus groups which have been conducted in some German cities with high proportions of migrant populations paint a nuanced picture of police-adolescents relationships. While ethnic prejudices are common among police officers, their actual behavior towards ethnic minority citizens seems to be restrained. Yet, in disadvantaged areas adapted to a rough 'street corner' culture (Hüttermann 2003), German police officers frequently stop and search adolescents, and some of them repeatedly, but the decisions seem to be based on behavioral criteria rather than on ethnic appearance (Schweer and Strasser 2003). Nevertheless, according to Gesemann (2003) Turkish participants in focus groups expressed resent-

ment about stop and search practices which they perceived as discriminatory.

Some projects have been initiated to analyse police-adolescent relations in cross-national, comparative perspectives. Most existing comparative studies are of a qualitative nature, using limited data collections. Some studies have compared the socio-economic situation of adolescents and their experiences of urban segregation in France and Germany (Loch 2009; Tucci 2010) which is important to understand for the societal framework in which police-adolescents relationships are embedded. Jeremie Gauthier (2012, cf. Lukas and Gauthier 2011) pursued a comparative ethnographic study of police units in Paris and Berlin and found that policing styles in France are more aggressive and discriminatory than in Germany.

THE FRENCH-GERMAN POLIS PROJECT

POLIS is an acronym for “Police and Adolescents in Multiethnic Societies” and the title of a French-German research project run by the CNRS, PACTE research unit of Science-Po - University of Grenoble, and the Max Planck Institute for Foreign and International Criminal Law in Freiburg. The principal investigators are Sebastian Roché in Grenoble and Hans-Jörg Albrecht and Dietrich Oberwittler in Freiburg. The research teams include Jacques de Maillard, Sandrine Astor, Mathieu Zagrodzki, and Laura Boschetti in France and Daniela Hunold, Tim Lukas, Dominik Gerstner, Anina Schwarzenbach, and Beate Ehret in Germany. Funded by a joint grant from Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) and Agence Nationale de la Recherche (ANR) within the program “Projets franco-allemand en sciences humaines et sociales,” the POLIS project set out to investigate the relationship between adolescents and the police in urban, multiethnic contexts in both countries. By focusing on the micro-level of daily interactions between adolescents and police officers, as well as on their mutual perceptions and attitudes, the project intends to improve our knowledge of the causes of tensions and violence in urban settings and the source of police legitimacy among adolescents in multiethnic societies, as well as the possible consequences for social order and policing strategies. The study’s comparative, cross-national approach increases the variance of macro-level conditions which may be among the determinants of youth behavior (social, economic, ethnic conditions), on the one hand, and police behavior, on the other hand (institutional, organizational, staff composition conditions).

What makes this project distinct from previous comparative studies is the use of a common theoretical framework embedded in a multi-methods and multi-city research design, a systematic and broad empirical approach which combines qualitative, in-depth field research with two large-scale quantitative school surveys. Research focused on two German and two French cities which we selected on the basis of their size and ethnic composition. These cities are Lyon and Grenoble in France and Cologne and Mannheim in Germany. Lyon and Cologne are both large cities of about one million inhabitants, Grenoble and Mannheim are medium-sized cities of about 300.000 to 400.000 inhabitants. All cities have a high share of migrant populations. In Cologne and Mannheim where such figures are provided by the statistical offices, roughly half of the population under 18 years has a migration background of some kind. The largest ethnic minorities are the Turkish in Mannheim and Cologne and North Africans in Lyon and Grenoble.

The empirical field work was carried out between 2009 and 2012 and followed an identical plan in both countries. As the two pillars of the qualitative portion of the study, participant observations with the police and qualitative interviews with police officers were carried out in all four cities. Around 250 to 350 hours of participant observations were collected in each city spread over different types of neighborhoods, during which around 350 interactions between police officers and citizens were observed and described in extensive field notes in France, and around 210 interactions in Germany. Those interactions were later coded alongside a joint French-German grid for further statistical analysis. In addition, we conducted around 65 qualitative interviews with

▼ Figure 1. School survey: sample sizes

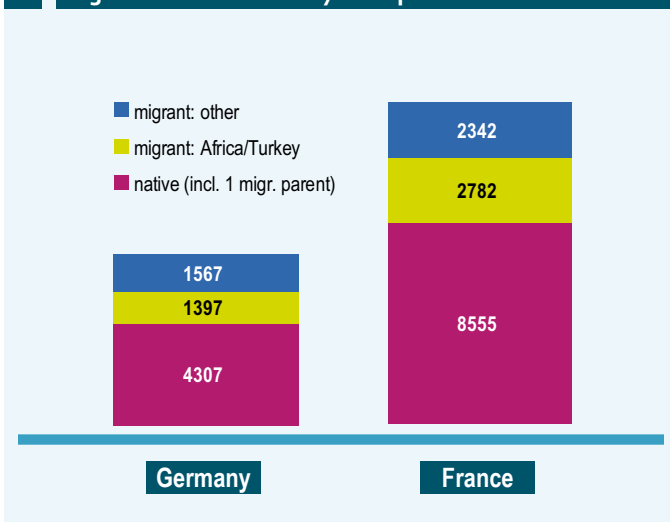
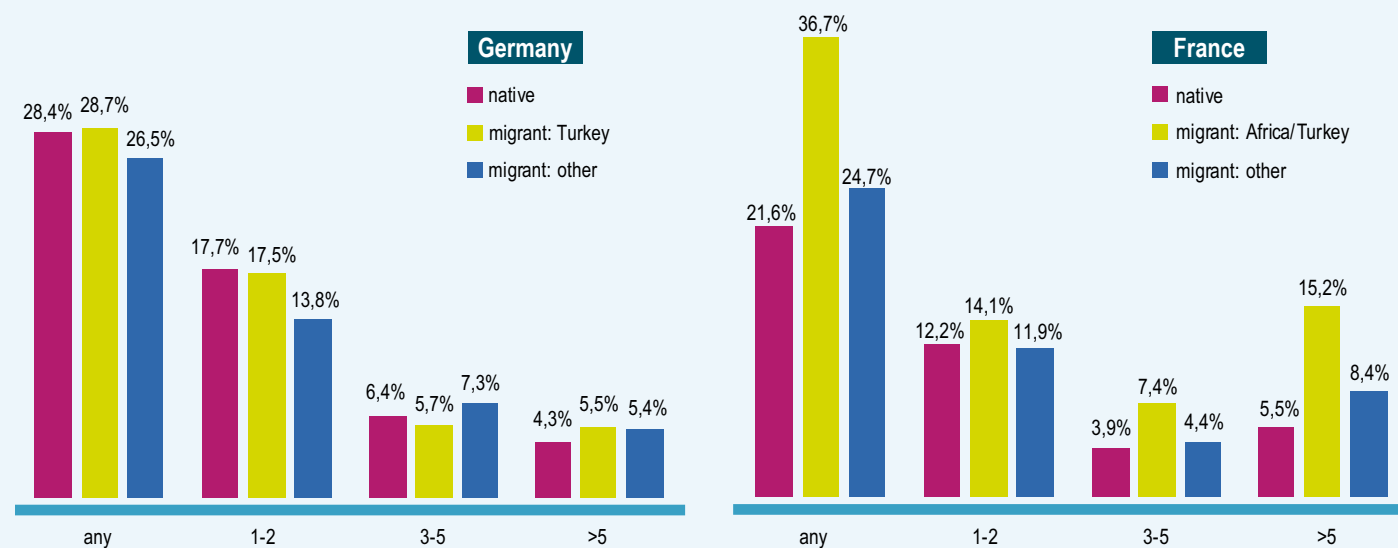


Figure 2. Frequency of police-initiated contacts (identity checks, traffic controls, last year), boys only



police officers from different organizational units and hierarchical levels in Lyon and Grenoble, and around 50 interviews in Cologne and Mannheim.

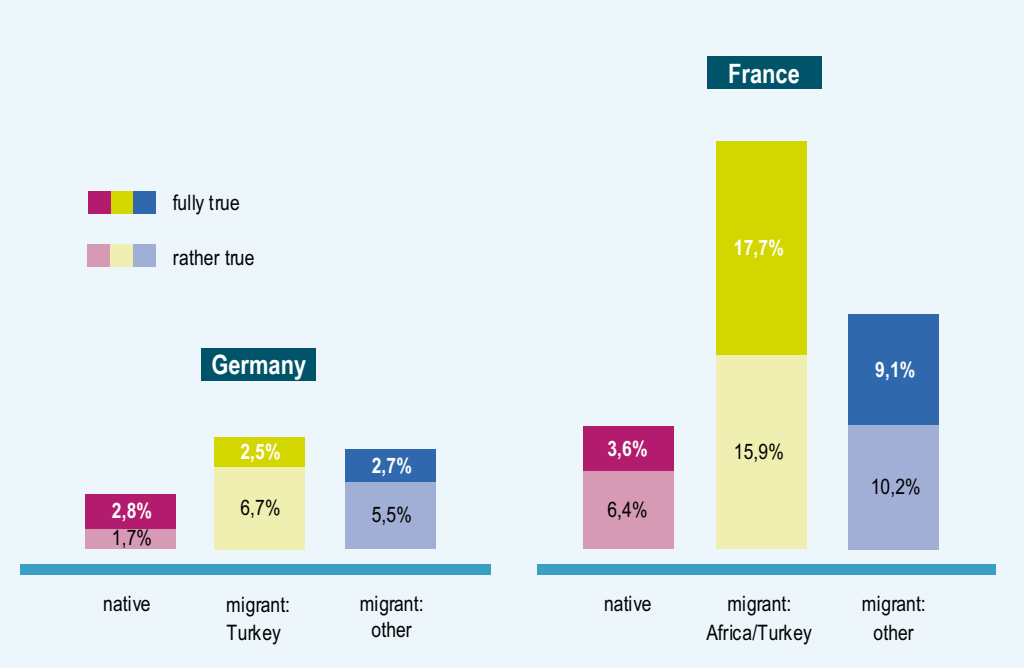
The quantitative part of the POLIS project is a school survey of students aged mainly between 13 and 17 years. Beyond that age, school surveys become increasingly biased due to the end of universal secondary schooling in both countries. The questionnaire contained detailed questions on contacts with police officers, including the experience of the last contact, and attitudinal scales related to the police, as well as questions on self-reported delinquency, victimization and related issues. Thanks to the very large sample sizes (13,500 in France and 7,300 in Germany), the two surveys offer unique opportunities to analyse the experiences and attitudes of adolescents from ethnic minorities (as well as of native adolescents) without quickly running into the problem of small numbers. With responses from nearly 2,800 Maghrebian/African adolescents in France and 1,400 Turkish adolescents in Germany (see figure 1), these surveys are probably among the largest datasets available for research on this topic. Due to spatial clustering within the four cities, it will be possible to analyse neighbourhood effects on police experiences and attitudes using multilevel modeling.

POLIS is an ongoing project in terms of data analyses and publications, especially with regard to cross-national comparisons and the explanation of differences between the two countries. We will now present some first topline findings focusing on the school surveys.

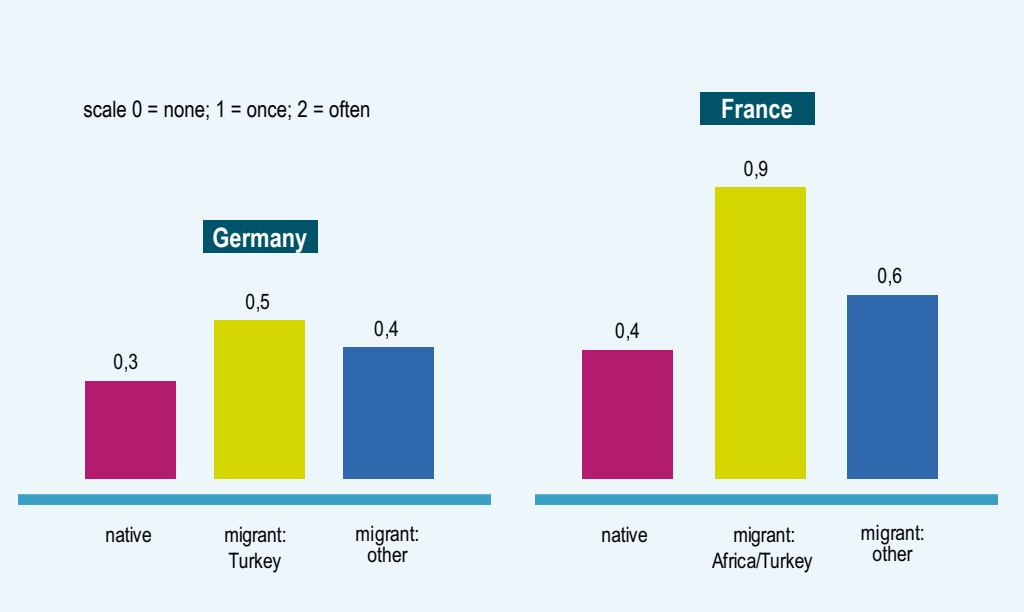
FINDINGS

Based on the quantitative school surveys, we can estimate the proportion of adolescents who had police contacts during one year (prevalence rate) and the frequency of these contacts (incidence rate), differentiated by sociodemographic variables and by various types of contacts. These figures are based on an item list of seven common types of contacts, for example as a witness, a victim, or a suspect of a crime, as a traffic participant, or being stopped and searched by the police in public spaces. Figure 2 displays the prevalence rates ('any' contact) and categorized incidence rates (1 to 2, 3 to 5, or more than 5 contacts) of police-initiated police contacts for boys during the last twelve months. Police-initiated contacts are here defined as stops and searches in public spaces and roadside traffic stops, contacts as suspects or witnesses of crime excluded. In the two German cities, slightly less than 30 percent of the boys had one or more police contact of this kind, irrespective of their origins. Again, when looking at the incidence rates, no differences exist between ethnic groups; if anything, boys from 'other' ethnic backgrounds are less frequently checked by the police than native German or Turkish boys. Only around 5 percent of boys report more than five police-initiated contacts during the last 12 months. This pattern is very similar in French cities, but only for native French boys and those from 'other' migrant groups. With a prevalence rate of 22 percent, native French boys report considerably less contacts than native German boys. However,

▼ **Figure 3. “The police became violent” during last contact, boys only**



▼ **Figure 4. Vicarious experiences of police disrespect**



the experience of boys of African origin in France is very different: 37 percent of them report any police-initiated contact, and 15 percent—three times more than native French boys and almost twice as much than ‘other’ migrant boys!—report more than five contacts during the last 12 months. These ethnic differences are more pronounced when concentrating on male adolescents, because girls of (North) African origins tend to be less visible on the streets.

Do these findings suggest that French police forces in fact practice ethnic profiling, in particular that they

stop and search a considerable number of boys of African descent time and again? First of all, such a pattern is completely absent in the German sample regarding the largest minority group that originates from Turkey. Second, other concurrent variables have to be identified and controlled. In order to control for behavioural factors which might explain higher risks of being stopped by the police (like staying out late at night, meeting often with friends on the street, drinking a lot of alcohol), we ran multivariate regression models. Those, however, did not render the ethnic category of the searched youth insignificant in the French sample, indicating that ethnicity matters for police selection of contacts.

These survey findings are supported by our participant observations. The proportion of contacts which are police-initiated without a concrete suspicion is much higher for ethnic minority youths (37 percent) than for native French youths (19 percent) in Lyon and Grenoble, hinting at the practice of ethnic profiling. We did not find differences by migration status

in these proportions in the two German cities. In order to gauge the quality of the interactions, we asked the respondents about their experiences during their last contacts with the police. Among other things, we asked them about the use of force by police officers. As in the previous figure, the answers for boys, differentiated by migration status are displayed in figure 3. Native German boys are least likely to report that police officers ‘became violent’ during the encounter, with a share of only 4.5 percent if one combines the answer categories ‘rather true’ and ‘fully true.’ Boys of Turkish

origin are twice as likely to report violence by the police (ca. 9 percent), on the same level as 'other' migrant boys in German cities and native French boys (ca. 8 percent, resp. 10 percent). With a share of 34 percent, the experience of boys from African backgrounds is radically different in French cities. 'Other' migrant boys, too, experience much more police violence than native French boys.

Again, when relating these quantitative findings from the school survey to qualitative findings from the participant observations, there are commonalities between both data sources. Encounters between adolescents and police officers in French Cities are more often tense than in German cities.

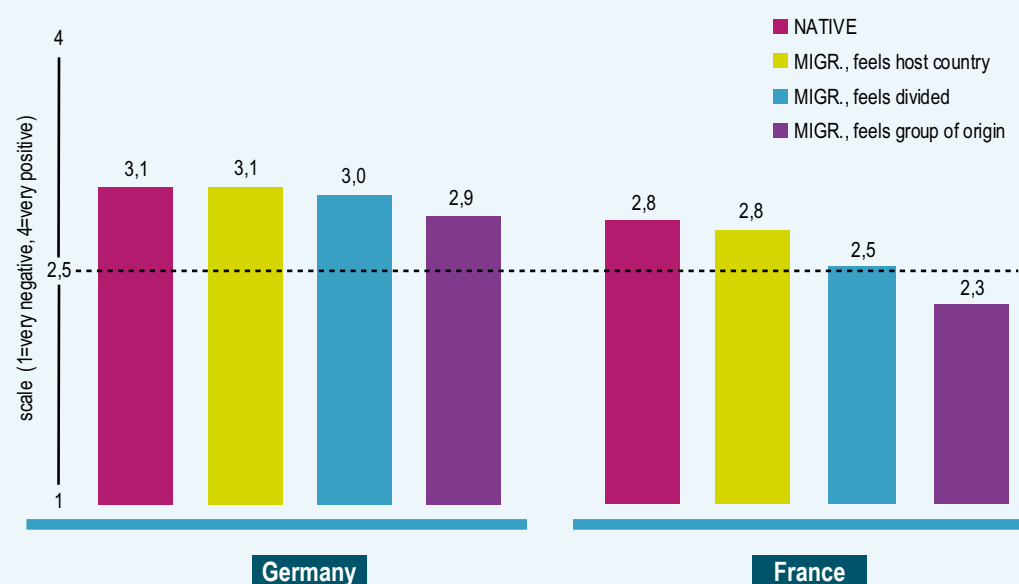
Vicarious experiences are indirect experiences reported by others (such as family members, friends, or neighbours). Among adults, vicarious experiences of unfair and disrespectful behaviours of police officers have been found to be similarly detrimental to trust in the police as self-made experiences (Brunson 2007; Roux, Roché and Astor 2011). As with the previous questions, in our survey respondents of African origin in French cities report indirect experiences of disrespectful behaviour by police officers much more often than native French or 'other' migrant respondents (figure 4). In this figure, boys and girls are taken together.

A similar difference, though on a much lower level, is visible between adolescents of Turkish origin and native German adolescents in German cities.

According to the procedural justice model, experiences and perceptions influence attitudes. We finally look at the attitude of adolescents towards the police, using a scale which includes measures of trust and legitimacy (the willingness to obey the police). These questions refer to both theoretical dimensions but turned out to be empirically one-dimensional. The scale ranges from a minimum of one to a maximum of four which signals the utmost positive attitude towards the police. The neutral mid-point of this scale is 2.5 which is marked in figure 5 by a dotted line. Values above the dotted line signal a positive attitude towards the police, whereas values below 2.5 signal a negative attitude. In figure 5, the results are differentiated by the national or ethnic identities of migrant respondents. Respondents with migrant backgrounds were asked whether they fully or partially feel like a member of the host society, or fully or partially feel like a member of their ethnic groups of origin, or else feel equally divided between both poles. In the French sample, one can see a very clear association between stronger minority identities and less positive attitudes towards the police. Adoles-

cents who fully feel like members of their ethnic group have a very negative view of the police in French cities, whereas the same group in German cities still holds a positive attitude towards the police. In both French and German cities, migrant background adolescents who completely feel like members of the host society show the same or almost the same level of positive attitudes towards the police as native adolescents. This finding emphasizes the power of group identities for shaping trust in the police (Tyler and Blader 2003). Yet, overall the level of positive attitudes towards the police is higher, and the association between group identi-

✓ **Figure 5. Positive attitudes towards the police**



MIGR.: migration background

migrant respondents are categorized according to their answers to the question: "Overall, do you rather feel as French/German or as member of your group of origin?"

feels host country: answered "completely" or "rather as French/German"

feels divided: answered "partly/partly"

feels group of origin: answered "completely" or "rather as member of my group of origin"

ties and attitudes towards the police is weaker in German than in French cities.

Summing up these findings from the quantitative survey, we find a clear difference between French and German cities in all dimensions of police-adolescents relationships: In the frequency and quality of encounters between adolescents and police officers, in the adolescents' indirect perceptions of police behaviour, and finally in their attitudes towards the police. One main difference is that the degree of positive experiences and positive attitudes is higher in Germany than in France. The other decisive difference is that the French police have mostly bad relationships with adolescents of African origin which really stands out from other migrant groups, and also from the experience of Turkish adolescents in Germany.

These quantitative findings based on survey data are supported by the participant observations which produced evidence for the practice of ethnic profiling in some police units. The observations showed that interactions between police officers and adolescents in French cities, particularly involving adolescents of African origin, are often more tense than interactions in German cities. Differences in the quality of police-adolescents relationships are also reflected in the interviews with frontline officers in both countries. French police officers frequently complained about hostility and hatred in their daily interactions with citizens. While German officers also complained about a lack of respect and authority, especially among ethnic minority adolescents, they nevertheless seemed more self-confident and better capable of deflating tense situations.

Further analyses and interpretation of the data combined with contextual information from France and Germany will produce a more differentiated picture of commonalities and differences between the two countries. On the basis of rich and complex empirical data spanning quantitative and qualitative methodologies, the POLIS project will help to give more detailed and rigorous answers to important questions on the factors fostering or endangering adolescents' trust in the police in multiethnic societies.

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The
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Postgraduate Study in Criminology.

The School of Law has an international reputation and a tradition of excellence stretching back over a hundred years. We offer a teaching team of renowned academics who are dedicated to pursuing an innovative programme of criminological research and to delivering high-quality education in criminology at both masters and doctoral level.

The Centre for Criminological Research is a focal point for criminology at Sheffield and one of Europe's leading centres in the subject area. Reaching across the university to bring together experts from a wide range of departments, it forms a unique interdisciplinary forum for research and innovation. The Centre is committed to the development of the next generation of criminologists who will make their own contribution to theory, policy and practice.

All this makes Sheffield an exciting choice for postgraduate study.

MA in International Criminology (MAIC)

This taught programme provides its graduates with a comprehensive understanding of criminology and criminal justice from international and comparative dimensions. MAIC offers three possible pathways:

- Taught pathway
- Research pathway
- Restorative justice pathway

Postgraduate Research Programmes

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Dr Matthew Bacon

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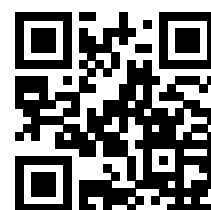
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Shadd Maruna – Desistance; psychosocial criminology; prisoner reintegration

Anne-Marie McAlinden – Child sexual abuse; sex offenders; restorative justice

Kieran McEvoy – Restorative justice; truth recovery; transitional justice

Marny Requa – Truth recovery; human rights; transitional justice

Phil Scraton – Deaths in controversial circumstances; criminological theory; prisons

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▼ ESC EUROPEAN CRIMINOLOGY AWARD

Martin Killias

COMMITMENT TO EVIDENCE-BASED CRIMINOLOGY

Receiving a Distinction, such as the European Criminology Award, is a good reason to look back and forward at once. How did it start, where are we now, and what the future will bring? In my case, looking back means paying tribute to the many people who have helped me throughout my career. The first to cite is certainly Marshall B. Clinard who, in 1973, hired me as his research assistant shortly after my LLM. A well-known professor in his early 60s at the University of Wisconsin at Madison, he had received a grant to study Switzerland as a "crime-free" society. The book that came out a few years later¹ included data from all kinds of sources, including a crime victimization survey in Zurich, the first one ever realized outside the United States. Clinard convinced me that a solid training in sociology and social psychology would be the precursor to a successful research career in criminology. After my doctorate in sociology of law, with the support of my two PhD mentors² and through Clinard's connections, I was awarded a post-doctoral fellowship at the School of Criminal Justice, State University of New York at Albany. During the 18 months spent there, I was much impressed by teachers like Leslie T.

Wilkins, Donald J. Newman, Hans Toch, Travis Hirschi and Michael R. Gottfredson. Again through a lot of luck I successfully applied for an associate professorship at the School of Criminal Justice of the University of Lausanne (Lake Geneva area). Apparently, my French learned at school was considered sufficient to start with.

Upon leaving America, I returned to Europe with a dream, namely that Europeans would, sooner or later, be able to set up crime victimization surveys, self-reported delinquency surveys, truly comparative crime statistics (following the model of the American Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics) and, last but not least, a

1 Clinard, M.B. 1978. *Cities with Little Crime: The Case of Switzerland*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

2 My mentors were Professors Manfred Reh binder, Professor of Sociology of Law, and Jörg Rehberg, actually one of my predecessors as the chair of criminal law at the University of Zurich. Indirectly, though, I received invaluable support from Professor Karl-Siegfried Bader, a famous legal historian who, as a former Chief Prosecutor of Germany's French occupation zone, had developed a strong interest in criminology.

European Society of Criminology holding annual conferences. As we know, this dream has largely become true. Inspired again by Marshall B. Clinard and Josine Junger-Tas, who, in a common article published in 1979,³ had first demonstrated the potential of surveys to promote comparative criminology, we have seen the emergence of International Crime Victimization Surveys from 1989,⁴ as well as of International Self-reported Delinquency Surveys from 1992.⁵ A few years later, the European Sourcebook of Crime and Criminal Justice Statistics emerged as a lasting collection of data of various kinds across Europe.⁶ Finally, the European Society of Criminology was established in 2001 at Lausanne, Switzerland, with the support of the American Society of Criminology and especially Professors Chris Eskridge, its Director, and Ron Huff, at that time the President of the ASC.

These successful comparative data collection initiatives and platforms led to a boom of comparative research throughout Europe. The easy availability of comparative data made such comparisons possible which a few years before would have been unthinkable. However, correlational analyses definitively have their limits, and we must therefore find methods that more specifically address issues of causality. This brings me to experimental studies, my most recent research interest.

Again, it was Leslie T. Wilkins who, during my Albany years, first instructed me in the logic of experimental research. Randomized controlled trials (RCT) allow one to identifying causal effects without any ambiguity and without sophisticated mathematical models. Perhaps even more important, RCTs allow one to assess long-term effects. In my own country, we had the unique chance, thanks to a courageous Minister of Justice in the Canton of Vaud (Claude Ruey), to evaluate community work and electronic monitoring through RCTs. Defendants sentenced to short imprisonment had the opportunity to volunteer to do their time either in the form of traditional custody, community service or electronic monitoring, with the understanding that they would be randomly assigned to these sanctions. Thanks to this design, the groups are perfectly comparable and allow one to make causal inferences. Contrary to what had been anticipated, community service did not produce particularly positive effects, especially 8 and 11 years later. Even more interestingly, electronic monitoring produced significantly better results not only with regards to re-offending, but also regarding social integration.⁷ As with the famous Cambridge-Somerville experiment, a classical quasi-experimental or a simple before-after study would have produced clearly misleading results.

All those who usually point to potential ethical issues, whenever it comes to randomly allocating subjects to different conditions, should perhaps give more attention to ethical implications of publishing erroneous policy-recommendations. Many policies throughout Europe have never been evaluated in the form of an RCT, although such evaluation would have been easy to realize. Examples range from alternative approaches to juvenile delinquency, such as “diversion” in Germany, to many of the treatment programs in institutions which include sports (where power-sports are still the dominant option available to inmates) and, finally to assistance programs focused on victims. We simply do not know to what extent these programs do any good—or worse, whether they are not damaging in the end.

Experiments, however elegantly they may be conducted, suffer from questionable external validity. What works in California may not necessarily work in Sweden or Denmark. A further important initiative in this respect has been the establishment of the Campbell Collaboration Crime & Justice Group which initiates, coordinates and supervises the systematic reviews of relevant literature that present the state of the art, under the form of meta-analyses, in a condensed, easily readable form.

Recently, thanks to my long-term friend C. Ronald Huff, I became involved in an endeavour focused on the

3 Clinard, M.B., and J. Junger-Tas. 1979. “Probleme und Resultate beim Vergleich internationaler Victim Surveys.” In *Das Verbrechensoffer*, edited by G.F.Kirchhoff and K. Sessatr. Bochum: Studienverlag Brockmeyer.

4 van Dijk, J., P. Mayhew, and M. Killias. 1990. *Experiences of Crime across the World. Key findings of the 1989 International Crime Survey*. Deventer/Boston: Kluwer (2nd edition published in 1991). More recently, and thanks to my former student Dr. Giangly Isenring, these surveys have been adapted to cover economic crime.

5 The third wave is currently under way, under the direction of I. Marshall, D. Enzmann, M.Stekeete, J. Kivivuori, M. Hough, and myself. The last two volumes published under the leadership of Josine Junger-Tas were *Juvenile Delinquency in Europe and Beyond* (Springer, 2010) and *The Many Faces of Youth Crime* (Springer, 2012).

6 www.europeansourcebook.org. The experts committee in charge of this project is chaired by Professor Jörg-Martin Jehle (University of Göttingen).

7 See Killias, M., G. Gilliéron, F. Villard, and C. Poglia. 2010. “How damaging is imprisonment in the long-term? A controlled experiment comparing long-term effects of community service and short custodial sentences on re-offending and social integration.” *J. of Experimental Criminology* 6(2):115-30; Killias, M., G. Gilliéron, I. Kissling, and P. Villettaz. 2010. “Community service vs. electronic monitoring: What works better? Results of a randomized trial.” *British J. of Criminology* 50(6):1155-70.

Marcelo F. Aebi and Pierre Margot

MARTIN KILLIAS

Martin Killias has often mentioned that he really discovered criminology in 1973, when Marshall Clinard hired him as his research assistant for the fieldwork that led to the publication of *Cities with Little Crime: The Case of Switzerland*. By that time, Martin had already earned a Law degree from the University of Zurich and, immediately after, he started studying Sociology and preparing his Ph.D. in Law, while also working as a researcher at the Law Department of his alma mater. In 1980, with three degrees in his bags, he obtained a post-doctoral fellowship and left for the State University of New York at Albany, where he met Leslie Wilkins, whose work had a great influence on his thinking. Two years later, he became a professor at the University of Lausanne (UNIL).

Upon his arrival at the UNIL, Martin Killias created a postgraduate degree in Criminology that, with the introduction of the so-called 'Bologna reform' of the European University system, became the present Master in Criminology, complemented since 1992 with a Ph.D. in criminology. He would remain in Lausanne for 24 years, supervising 14 Ph.D. Dissertations in Criminology, and teaching criminology mainly through courses such as an introduction to criminology and research methods. He also taught a research seminar, which led to the first edition of his *Handbook of Criminology*, published in 1991. In 2006 he took up a position at the University of Zurich; he is currently a professor at the University of St. Gallen.

Throughout these years, Martin conducted a long list of empirical research projects, which led to the publication of some 20 books and more than 200 research articles. His research projects pointed to the development of reasonably valid and reliable crime measures in the form of victimization surveys, self-reported delinquency studies, and criminal statistics. His research likewise supported the evaluation of programs, preferably through an experimental design, guided by a situational approach to crime, and placed in a comparative and historical-comparative perspective. A good example is his theory of breaches was published in the *European Journal of Criminology*.

In particular, Martin Killias conducted the first Swiss National Victimization Survey in 1984-7, applying the innovative Computer assisted telephone interview (CATI)



technique. This technique interested Jan van Dijk, who invited Martin and Pat Mayhew to join him in a project that led, by the end of the 1980s, to the development of the International Crime Victim Survey (ICVS). Martin was also part of the group of experts that developed other major international projects, such as the International Crime against Businesses Survey (ICBS), conducted for the first time at the beginning of the 1990s and the International Violence Against Women Survey (IVAWS), conducted in 2005. A particular mention must be made here to the International self-reported delinquency study (ISRDL), conducted for the first time in 1992, and in which Martin Killias was also involved through his long-time association with Josine Junger-Tas. In 2006, the Swiss version of the second ISRDL was conducted using the Computer Assisted Web Interview (CAWI) technique, which will likely become the standard way of conducting surveys in the near future. Since the 1980s, Martin Killias has also participated in several different committees of the Council of Europe. He became, in 1993, the chair of a group of experts that eventually published the first edition of the *European Sourcebook of Crime and Criminal Justice Statistics*. His internationally oriented research led him to receive the Thorsten Sellin & Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck

award of the American Society of Criminology (ASC) in 2001 and the G. O. W. Mueller award of the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences in 2008. Martin Killias was also one of the founding fathers of the European Society of Criminology.

Parallel to this international projects, Martin Killias also headed numerous research projects in Switzerland. Among them, special mention should be made of the evaluation of the heroin prescription projects and the evaluation of community service as an alternative to short term imprisonment. The latter evaluation led to his appointment as a Fellow of the Academy of Experimen-

tal Criminology in 2000, as well as to his membership to the Campbell Collaboration Criminal Justice Group in 2003, before becoming co-president of the group in 2010. Among his other accomplishments, he also led research on the field of homicide, road delinquency, imprisonment, electronic monitoring, firearms control, self-reported delinquency of military recruits, and crime prevention.

Marcelo Aebi and **Pierre Margot** are Professors of Criminology at the School of Criminal Sciences, University of Lausanne, Switzerland

ESC European Criminology Award and ESC Young Criminologist Award Nominations Sought

Do you know a talented young criminologist with an excellent scholarly output who is not yet well-known in the scientific community? Do you know an outstanding scholar who contributed greatly to the development of European criminology and would deserve the ESC European Criminology Award? Sure you know! So do not forget to send your nominations with a short descriptions of the reasons why you think your candidate(s) should receive the awards to the Executive Secretary by no later than 31st January, 2014.

miscarriages of justice across the world. Through the lens of my career, this recent interest brings me back to my former long-term involvement in teaching and practicing criminal law and procedure. As it turns out, no system is intrinsically 'better' or 'worse', but certain 'simplified' procedures, such as plea bargaining, the continental 'penal order,' or other variants of 'abridged procedures' create serious risks to finding the truth. The discovery that 'economies' at procedural levels may increase 'costs' in terms of quality, may be the important lessons to learn on both sides of the ocean.

Last but not least, receiving an Award is, in addition to looking back, an opportunity to thank all those students who contributed throughout the years to realize the many research projects my team has been involved in. To name just a few, they include Patrice Villettaz, André Kuhn, Marcelo Aebi, Gwladys Gilliéron, Sandrine Haymoz, Sonia Lucia, as well as Giangly Isenring, Lorenz

Biberstein, Anastasiia Lukash who still belong to my team, but also many others who, often in connection with a PhD, contributed so successfully to many projects.

No draw-backs? Certainly there were many, principally, a certain disappointment that comparative data sets are not as widely used as they should, or that experiments are still rare exceptions in a World of excessively positive evaluations. I have never been indifferent to theoretical thinking, but I seriously feel that theories should match data—not the other way around. Once data did not support what I thought they should, I often changed my position. Some may call this inconsistency—for me it was a matter of being, first and above all, committed to evidence-based criminology.

Martin Killias is Professor of Criminology and Criminal Law at the University of St. Gallen, Switzerland, and the recipient of the 2013 ESC European Criminology Award.

Nerea Marteache

THE ROLE OF PUBLIC OPINION IN CRIMINAL JUSTICE POLICY MAKING

The trend towards more punitive criminal policies over the last few decades in Western countries is a widely studied phenomenon. One of the factors involved in this trend is the ever-growing influence of public opinion in criminal policy and legislation (Garland 2001; Roberts et al. 2002). Social demands for legal intervention stem from public perceptions of crime and safety. Regardless of whether there is real evidence behind society's concern about crime, quick and "tough on crime" initiatives have become popular responses.

Spain is no exception to this trend. Public outcry has become one of the primary leading forces of criminal policy modifications in this country; addressing increasing social demands for safety has become a priority for policy makers (Díez Ripollés 2003; Rechea, Fernández, and Benítez 2004; Varona 2008; Becerra 2013). Since the publication of its most recent version in 1995, the Criminal Code has been modified a total of 28 times. Sixty seven percent of these modifications have been punitive in nature, either creating or lengthening prison terms for certain crimes (Díez Ripollés 2013). Interestingly, while Spanish citizens believe that in the last years there has been a sharp increase in crime, victimization surveys show that, in reality, crime has been steadily decreasing (García et al. 2009).

HOW DO WE MEASURE PUBLIC OPINION?

It is important to determine the position of the public regarding criminal justice issues, since public opinion carries great weight in determining legislative processes. The two main methods that have been used to assess public opinion are surveys and focus groups. The primary limitation of surveys is that respondents are asked to express their opinion on-the-spot, without taking into account the information that the person has about the topic itself; and that they don't allow us to distinguish between simple public opinion and public judgment. When we talk about simple public opinion we refer to poor quality public opinion, characterized by inconsistency, volatility, and non-responsibility. Public judgment, on the contrary, refers to "the state of highly developed public opinion that exists once people have engaged an issue, considered it from all sides, understood the choices it leads to, and accepted the full consequences

of the choices they make" (Yankelovich 1991, p. 6). It is therefore characterized by its stability, consistency, and responsibility. Focus groups compensate for the traditional poll's lack of depth and allow us to capture public judgment, but the cost is the lack of generalizability of the results (Green 2006).

In the early 90s, Fishkin (1995) created Deliberative Polling®, which is a method of assessing public judgment that combines the advantages shown by the previous two methods and minimizes some of their disadvantages. In this method, a random, representative sample of the population is polled on the targeted issues before and after being provided with information and having the opportunity to discuss among themselves, and with competing experts and political leaders. Parts of the discussions are broadcast on television. The resulting changes in opinion represent the conclusions the public would reach if they had the opportunity to become more informed and more engaged by the issues. Deliberative Polling® is especially suitable for measuring public views about criminal justice issues, about which citizens are often uninformed. It has been proposed as a better way of assessing the public will than traditional surveys (Green 2006).

THIS PROJECT: MEASURING PUBLIC VIEWS ON SEX OFFENDING AS A SOURCE FOR CRIMINAL POLICY-MAKING

The goal of the project for which I received the 2013 ESC Young Criminologist Award was to compare public judgment to public opinion as sources for criminal justice policy-making. Specifically, the research questions guiding this project were:

- Are public views on sex offending different depending on whether we use surveys (public opinion) or deliberative polls (public judgment)?
- Is public judgment stable, and more resistant to the influence of the media than public opinion?

To study these questions, the project was designed as an experiment which assigned participants to a treatment and control group. Respondents were college students majoring in Criminology and Psychology from two universities in Spain. In each of three observations, all participants were asked to answer a survey about their

knowledge of sex crimes in Spain, and their attitudes toward sex offenders. The methodology is thoroughly described in the original article (Marteache 2013). The general research design is depicted in the figure below.

The idea behind deliberative polling is that, once people receive information and have time to think about a topic, their opinions will change. It basically assumes that people are misinformed about the issue. The first step was to discover if that was the case with this sample. The results of Survey 1 showed that students did not really know a lot about sex crimes at the beginning of the study. For example, they estimated that approximately 30 percent of all reported crimes are sex crimes, when in reality less than 1 percent are; or that around 80 percent of sex offenders recidivate, while scientific data show that it is fewer than 20 percent.

With regards to their opinions, the students' attitudes toward sex offenders at the beginning of the study were very moderate. The instrument used to measure participants' opinions on this topic was the Community Attitudes Toward Sex Offenders (CATSO) scale (Church et al. 2008). In this scale, higher scores indicate more negative attitudes toward sex offenders in four dimensions: capacity to change, dangerousness, social isolation and deviancy of sex offenders. For all dimensions of the CATSO scale mean scores were around or below the middle of each scale. The initial low scores are probably due to the fact that the sample consisted of college students majoring in Criminology and Psychology. The score would presumably be much higher if respondents were selected randomly from the general population.

The examination of the relationship between knowledge and attitudes showed that a higher level of knowledge was associated with more positive attitudes toward sex offenders (that is, with lower scores in the scale). Accordingly, the hypothesis was that, after participating in the deliberative process, the attitudes of the treatment group would become even more positive (the scores would drop), while the attitudes of the control group would remain the same.

After the first survey, half of the participants were assigned to the public opinion group and the other half to the public judgment group. Participants in the public judgment group went through a deliberative process about sex crimes and sex offenders before answering the second survey. The deliberative process consisted of a lecture and a debate in which students discussed the topics of sexual delinquency and sex crimes among themselves and with an expert. This process was an ad-

aptation of the concept of Deliberative Polling®. Comparing the responses given in Survey 2 showed that the individuals whom participated in the deliberative process had a more improved knowledge of scientific data about sex crimes and sex offenders and that, as a result of the process, their attitudes regarding sex offenders' capacity to change and dangerousness became more positive (lower scores in the CATSO scale). In contrast, the attitudes of participants who were not involved in the deliberative process did not change significantly from Survey 1 to Survey 2.

After the second survey, the students in each group (PJ and PO) were randomly assigned to a second intervention, which simulated the mass media coverage of sex crimes. Participants assigned to the media simulation read a document and watched the video of the reconstruction of a heinous sex crime that took place in Spain in the early 90s, in which three teenage girls were kidnapped, raped and murdered by two young males. The rest of participants also read a document and watched a video, but the topic in this case was the use of illegal drugs in Spain. The answers to Survey 3 were analyzed to find out if public judgment is stable over time, and whether it is more resistant to the influence of the media than public opinion. The results showed that the changes in attitudes detected in the second survey remain stable when the participants are surveyed for a third time, ten weeks after the implementation of the first intervention. Once a participant has the opportunity to become better informed and to think in depth about the issue, the attitudinal change is firm. Evidence of increased resistance of public judgment to the influence of the media was not found, most likely due to the limitations of the study (discussed at length in the article).

To summarize, these findings showed that:

- Respondents (even Criminology students!) were misinformed about the issue of sex offending at the beginning of the project;
- The attitudes towards sex offenders were indeed different when measured using plain surveys as compared to deliberative polls; and
- The change in attitudes experienced as a result of the deliberative process remained stable 10 weeks later.

What does all this mean? Although these results are not generalizable to the public at large, they do provide some insight into the differences between public opinion and public judgment as sources for criminal justice policy-making. When asked to answer a survey, people express their views on a topic they may or may not know something about. If they know something

about it, that information may be based solely on what is reported in the media. Maybe respondents never even thought about the topic until they were asked to answer the survey. In deliberative polls, people receive balanced, scientific information about the different aspects of the issue at hand and they are provided an opportunity to think and discuss. Whatever their views on the subject may be, they reflect a carefully considered opinion. In those cases in which legislators are willing to take into account public opinion when designing criminal policies, shouldn't we try to make sure that the public views those policies are based on are not just fruit of the spur of the moment, but representative of what society really wants?

FUTURE AVENUES OF RESEARCH

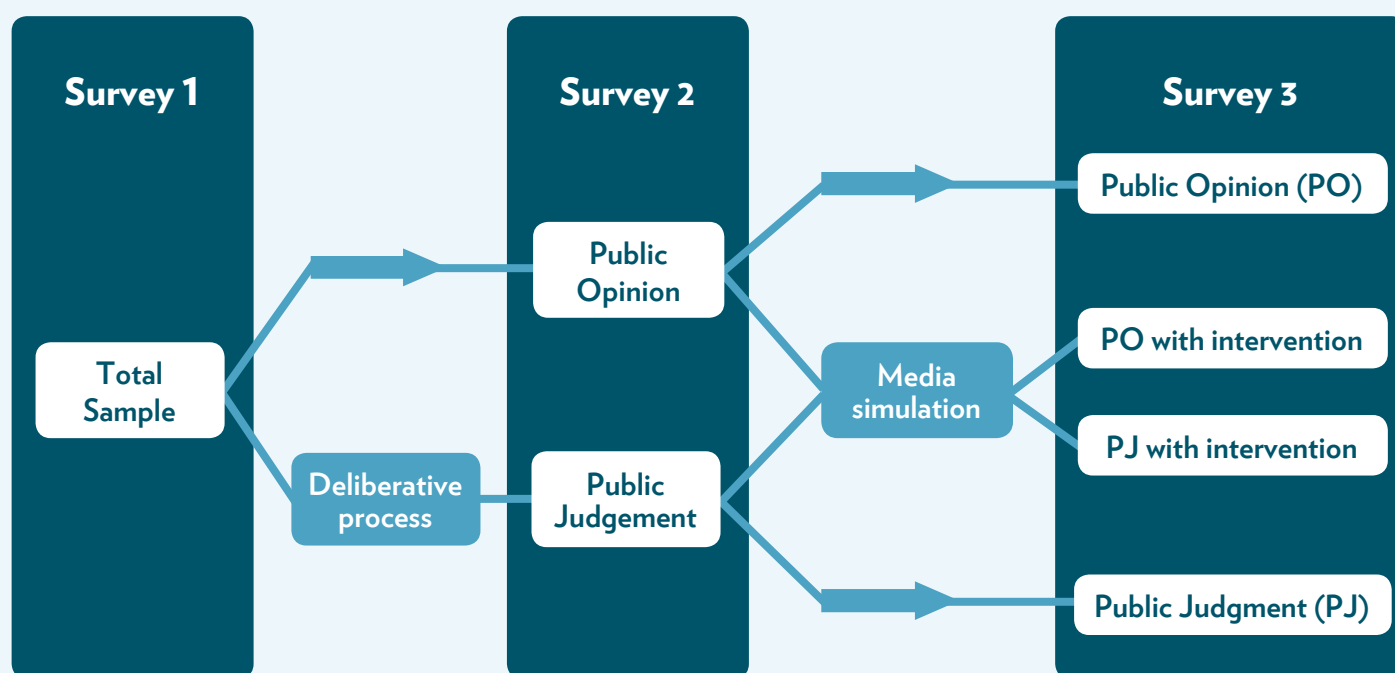
Despite its obvious importance, much remains unknown about the role that public opinion plays in criminal policy and legislation. How are the contents of public opinion determined by political actors? Even if we are able to accurately measure public views on a subject by using deliberative polls, will those results be trusted by policy makers as constituting an accurate portrayal of the public will? How exactly are public perceptions used in the creation of criminal policies? What happens when those perceptions contradict scientific evidence?

What role does the media play in creating and interpreting public opinion?

Recent studies address different pieces of this puzzle. Efforts to understand the decision making process used when crime policy is formed highlight the complexity of the issue and the need for a multidisciplinary approach (Becerra 2013). Some research (Brown 2011; Jerre 2013) suggests that political actors tend to rely on their own experience, their intuition, and news media coverage to determine what society wants, building on the assumption that it is 'obvious' and a matter of 'common sense' that the public has a need for increased safety and that it favors punitive approaches. At the same time, other research shows that, despite what is commonly believed, the public is not as punitive as we might think (Varona 2008; Fernández and Tarancón 2010).

Echoing the need to understand and disentangle the process of construction of penal policy and the factors that influence it, a new ESC Working Group on 'Criminal Law Making Policy' was launched during last September's ESC conference, and was submitted for approval to the Executive Board. One of its objectives is to 'obtain a deeper knowledge of the criminal law-making processes in different countries' which includes the study of the 'sociological pre-legislative stages [in which] social, economic and political groups of interest,

✓ Figure 1. General research design



as well as the media, among others, may play a leading role in the definition of the problem and of possible alternatives to confront it' (Díez Ripollés and Becerra 2013, p. 1). It has the potential of becoming a forum where European scholars can work together on different aspects of this complex issue. Acknowledging the increasingly important role played by public opinion in crime policy formation, and understanding how that opinion is constructed, measured, interpreted, and used by political actors, is key to developing more rational criminal policies that not only react to crime problems, but also adequately respond to them.

Nerea Marteache is Assistant Professor at the Department of Criminal Justice, California State University, San Bernardino, California, USA. She is the recipient of the 2013 Young Criminologist Award.

Becerra Muñoz, J. 2013. *La toma de decisiones en política criminal. Bases para un análisis multidisciplinar*. Valencia, Spain: Tirant lo Blanch.

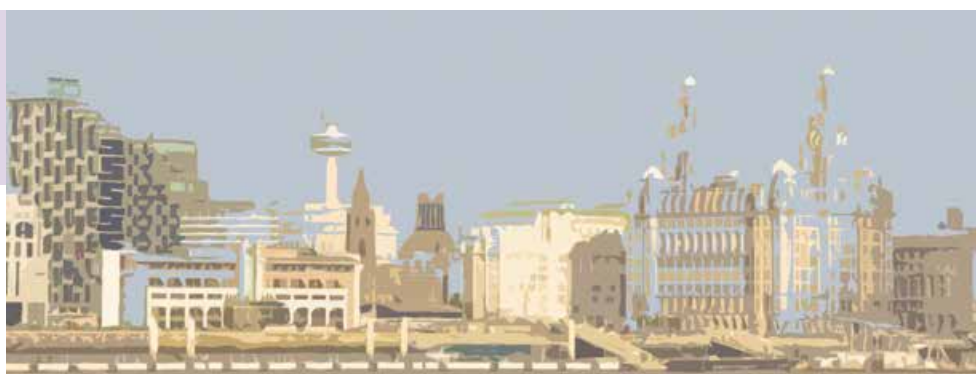
Brown, E. 2011. "Constructing the Public Will: How Political Actors in New York State Construct, Assess, and Use Public Opinion in Penal Policy Making." *Punishment and Society* 13(4):424-50.

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CRIME, JUSTICE, WELFARE: CAN THE METROPOLE LISTEN?

10th – 12th July 2014

The Department of Sociology, Social Policy and Criminology, School of Law and Social Justice, The University of Liverpool will host the British Society of Criminology annual conference. The title of the conference is:

'Crime, Justice, Welfare: Can the Metropole listen?'

A postgraduate conference will be held prior to the main conference on 9th July.

Criminology, like other core social science disciplines, reflects a tendency to over-write the metropolitan experiences of the Northern hemisphere. Criminology's starting point, therefore, is based upon the continual attempt to reinvent, improve, or make more just, a 'rule of law' society in the image of the hegemon. Such over-writing takes its toll on the 'discipline' in multi-faceted ways, all of which tend to contribute to hegemonic epistemologies and practices that serve to marginalise different ways of thinking about, and engaging with, an alternative criminological enterprise.

Taking as its starting point the intrinsic connections between crime, welfare and (in)justice, the conference will examine the counter-hegemonic potential of criminology, and explore how it might give 'voice' to those that stand outside the dominant narratives of the metropole.

The key aim of the conference will be to consider criminology in this context: What is the modern criminological project, and how successful is it? How inclusive is it? What are the implications and opportunities for criminology as it grows from a European then 'Western' discipline into a global conversation.

We will extend this main theme into three core strands that focus upon the relationship between the 'Centre' and the 'periphery':

- Imperial Metropolises.
- Domestic security, austerity and resistance.
- The State and local power.

Confirmed keynote speakers include

Professor Raewyn Connell University of Sydney, Australia; **Professor Chris Cunneen** Cairns Institute, James Cook University, Australia; **Professor Didier Fassin** Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey, USA

Further information is available on the conference website

<http://www.liv.ac.uk/law-and-social-justice/conferences/bsc/>

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Board Members and President: Nominations and Applications Sought

The nomination and application process for at-large board memberships and the presidency to be elected at the 2014 Annual Meeting in Prague is now open. Members are encouraged to nominate others or apply themselves. Nominations and application shall be sent to the Executive Secretary by not later than 31st March 2014.

THE EUROPEAN SOCIETY IN BUDAPEST

Budapest! This Central-European city is aware of its grandeur and beauty. The splendor of the former Austrian-Hungarian Empire still visible, and when visiting one of the many cafés one can easily imagine the vibrant social and intellectual life that took place there, with the great Hungarian artists and intellectuals of the late 19th and early 20th century sitting around the tables.

But the darker sides of Budapest's history also comes to mind—a deep contrast to the pleasant walks and the warm September sunshine. You pass the deeply affecting Jewish monument on the quay of the river, with rows of shoes lined up in remembrance of the Hungarian Jews shot into the icy Danube by Arrow-Crossers, a Hungarian Nazi movement during the Second World War. Suddenly Strauss' *schöne blaue Donau* turns less and less *blau* and the river scene less *schön*. And imagine Budapest in late October of 1956! My first political memory is associated with the uprising, when my parents cut down both Saturday night candy and Sunday dinner dessert, telling their sons that the money should be sent instead to the Hungarian freedom-fighters.

The Hungarian and European history was also present at the conference of the European Society of Criminology between the 4th and 7th of September, 2013. The threats posed by right wing extreme parties in Hungary and elsewhere in Europe were underlined (see article in the 2013/2 issue of the ESC Newsletter). The importance of trust in justice and institutional legitimacy was stressed in the large EU-financed FIDUCIA as well (see the same Newsletter). A belief in the unique possibilities of Europe was also pointed out: that the cosmopolitan and liberal character of Europe could ultimately be a safeguard against repeating mistakes from the past and could possibly stand as an example for other continents.

European criminology is becoming more of a community. The common language has evolved in theory and methods that facilitates communication. It is however not self-evident that Western European and Anglophone theoretical concepts should immediately be applied in countries with a different history, like in Central and Eastern Europe. Imported concepts might conceal rather than reveal.

The major themes from earlier conferences of course still dominated the discussion, issues like criminal justice, imprisonment, community sanctions, policing and gender and violence. Some sessions were devoted to

cross-border crimes in Europe like trafficking, drugs, and organized crime. The new technology made its marks with several sessions on cybercrime, and social media is now represented in the conference through sessions on Twitter. Tendencies in criminal policy reported in the sessions were remarkably similar in many European countries. Security has increasingly become a governing principle and Ministries of Justice are starting to become Ministries of Security. Criminal policy is focused on violence, recidivism, and life imprisonment, resulting in over-crowded prisons. Is this tendency a reflection of similar political situations or, for better or worse, a diffusion of ideas within a more integrated Europe?

Several new books on comparative European criminology were presented at the conference: *The Routledge Handbook of European Criminology*, *The Routledge Handbook of White-Collar Crime and Corporate Crime in Europe*, *European Penology?*, and *Punishment in Europe*. Together they illustrate the increasing collaboration between European criminologists. They do also point to the possible benefit of European criminology. What has been regarded as an obstacle to collaboration, language, legal systems, and culture can be turned into an advantage. The European countries are similar enough to allow comparisons but also dissimilar enough to offer possibilities for the fruitful exploration of variations.

The Presidential address was delivered by Vesna Nikolic-Ristanovic on the sympathetic subject of happiness as a preferred form of crime prevention—a criminological version of Beate's *All you need is love*. The European Criminology Award this year was given to Martin Killias. The price committee stressed, among other things, his role as a founder and also the first President of the Society, his publications which widely span different fields and languages, and his engagement in many European and international research project and criminal policy bodies. The Young Criminologist Award went to Nerea Marteache for her article *Measuring Public Views on Sex Offending as a Source for Criminal Policy-Making*. Both awards were well deserved but the price committees urged members to come up with more nominations.

The plenary speakers were, of course, all competent. However, maybe for future conferences some of the plenaries could become a little more exciting by arranging them more as confrontations. Key issues in criminology including criminal policy could be discussed by two

researchers with opposite views like evidence-based criminology, micro and macro predictions, prostitution and drug policy.

Overall both the form and the content of the sessions seem to have improved over the years. Powerpoint is helpful—though of course not necessary—when listening to a presentation in a foreign language. Full text pages and whole sheets filled with small numbers have also become less frequent. The overall knowledge of English has definitely improved and the language problem is now more created by those who are fluent in English and talk or read too fast.

The pre-conditions for these and other analyzes of the role of criminology in Europe points to an effective organization. And the Budapest conference at the Eötvös Loránd University was certainly well organized! The hosts—who included many students of newly founded criminology MA at the University—were most helpful in everything from technical assistance in the session rooms

to selling tickets for the local busses. My only objection to the perfect organization is that it might have contributed to learned helplessness among European and other criminologists.

In the closing ceremony Miklós Lévy said that he asked his staff to go out into the streets and attempt to find 15 more conference participants, but no one was willing to pay the registration fee. Had it succeeded, we would have reached a record number of 1,000 participants. Even so, it was still an all-time high.

As the conference came to a close, to the strains of *An der schönen blauen Donau*, the ESC flag was handed over to the representative of the organizing committee next year in Prague—and the music turned to Smetana's *Die Moldau*. Applause!

Henrik Tham is Professor Emeritus at the University of Stockholm and the former President of the ESC.



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