



Toledo, City of Marzipan, Armour, and Lost Criminologists

By Sara Harrop

On a sunny, optimistic early September afternoon in Toledo, Spain, a great many figures could be spotted shuffling though the warren of narrow streets, heads buried deep within their free-hand-out maps from the tourist office. It is quite difficult to see where you are going when your eyes are focused on a sheet of paper covered with a pink and green pictorial maze rather than the street in front of you, especially when you are already suffering from brain fade after an early morning flight and have been wandering, dazed and confused, up and down a series of Escheresque steps and blind alleys for over an hour.



Inevitably collisions occurred. ‘Perdona... Oh hello, it’s you. Great to see you again! Are you heading for the ESC conference too?’ Thus it was that little groups formed to thread their way uphill, through what

appeared to be a construction site to the comparative sanctuary of the University of Castilla-La Mancha and the ESC conference registration desk.

Toledo may be confusing to the uninitiated with its contorted medieval streets and its multilevel maze of alleyways but those same factors, along with its compact size, create a cosy, intimate atmosphere that is perfect as a conference venue. Instead of being merely absorbed into an amorphous large city, visiting criminologists inevitably ran into each other time and again – in restaurants, bars, museums – oh, and occasionally

Continued on page 8

Second ESC Conference a Great Success

By Rosemary Barberet and Cristina Rechea Alberola

The second annual conference of the European Society of Criminology in Toledo, Spain, was a huge success, not only because of the number of participants and the beautiful venue, but also because of the high quality of sessions and promising plans for further conferences and ESC-related activities. The feedback from the conference has been overwhelmingly positive, and plans are underway for the 2003 conference in Helsinki, 27-30 August 2003 (www.eurocrim2003.com).

The conference was inaugurated by the Spanish Minister of Justice, José Maria Michavila, the Regional President of Castilla-La Mancha, José Bono, the Mayor of Toledo, José Manuel Molina Garcia, the Rector of the University of Castilla-La Mancha, Luis Arroyo Zapatero, ESC President Josine Junger-Tas, and conference organiser Cristina Rechea Alberola. Much of the minister’s and regional president’s comments dealt with the importance of combating terrorism, particularly Basque nationalist

Continued on page 5

Paul Wiles, New ESC President

By Sara Harrop

On Friday 6 September at the General Assembly during the Toledo conference, Professor Paul Wiles officially stepped into the office of president of the European Society of Criminology. He will fulfil this role until Professor Ernesto Savona of Milan (formerly of Trento) begins his term as president at next year’s meeting in Helsinki.

We spoke to Paul Wiles during the conference and his enthusiasm and practical common sense provide grounds for confidence that 2002-2003 will be a year of refinement and consolidation for the ESC.

Continued on page 4

INSIDE THIS ISSUE:

Images of Toledo	pages 6-7
Criminology in France	page 3
NSCR	page 3
Message from Josine Junger-Tas	page 2

My Hopes for the Future of Criminology in Europe

By Josine Junger-Tas

Dear Colleagues,

This paper, my final public statement as President of the ESC, sets out my hopes for our discipline and the European Society of Criminology. When colleagues and I launched this society, we wanted to distinguish European criminology and develop an independent identity from the American scientific tradition, which many considered too dominant.

Most of us had an idealised vision of what could be achieved. I want to share my vision with you. My views do not necessarily reflect the opinions of all members of the board.

The contours of criminology

European criminology had two founding disciplines: penal law and psychiatry. Psychiatry, unfortunately, lost some of its credibility over time because of weaknesses in its scientific tradition. More recently psychiatry has experienced a revival. I consider the significance of this development for criminology a little later. Penal law, however, has long had, and continues to have, an extremely strong influence on criminological thought and practice in Europe.

Criminology continues to be housed in faculties of law in most European countries. It tends, however, to be given low priority. When law faculty budgets are cut, the consequence often is a reduction of the criminology section. As a result many institutes of penal law and criminology employ professors of criminology for only one or two days a week. Blaming law departments for this, however, is not constructive. Criminology has to defend its status as an autonomous science and to learn to stand on its own feet.

If one compares the situation in Europe with that in the United States, one important difference is that the social sciences in the United States have a considerably stronger tradition than in Europe, particularly with respect to methodology. None can

deny that progress in the social sciences, including in criminology and the behavioural sciences, is attributable to advances in research methodology and statistical analyses. American social scientists have played major roles in these advances. I say this without wishing to enter into a debate on the merits of quantitative versus qualitative research methods. Both have their roles to play.

European scientists must face some disagreeable truths. We have not



Josine Junger-Tas

always been able to integrate valid technological know-how into our scientific practice, or to reflect critically on what we want to accept and what we wish to reject as redundant technicalities. Nor have we sufficiently thought about how to enrich our qualitative research to make it more controllable and replicable, thereby meeting essential scientific requirements.

Criminology has long been dominated by sociology, especially in the United States. Of course psychology and psychiatry have continued to be interested in criminological subjects, but, especially in Europe, their influence has been marginal. However, for at least a decade, important progress in these disciplines, and in biology and genetics, has enriched our understanding of causes of crime.

Taking all this into consideration, what should be the role of the ESC? First and foremost, we must encourage empirical research in all its forms and varieties, always insisting on high standards of methodological quality. This is also embodied in the credo of the *European Journal of Criminology*, which states as its objective '...to bring together broad theoretical

Continued on page 15



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EUROPEAN RESEARCH INSTITUTES

Modern French Criminology and the Role of CESDIP

By René Lévy

There is a double paradox in modern French criminology. First, it does not recognise itself as such. Second, although the main research centre, the Centre de recherches sur le droit et les institutions pénales (CESDIP), is part of the Ministry of Justice, it has long enjoyed substantial autonomy. The price of autonomy is a relative lack of direct influence on the ministry's policies, but as director of CESDIP, I don't feel that this has been too high a price to pay.

'Is there a modern French criminology?' One can but give a cautious reply: from an international standpoint, one is tempted to answer yes. There are indeed a number of academics whose research falls into what is internationally considered criminology. But those who could be considered 'modern' criminologists do not see themselves as such, and those who call themselves 'criminologists' can hardly be considered modern.

This article is based on a talk I gave in Brazil in July 2002. It provides a brief introduction to criminology in France and then discusses the current state of affairs and CESDIP.

I start with the first paradox. In the course of my academic training, I attended the School of Criminology at the University of Montreal and obtained a masters degree in criminology. Technically, I may – or ought – to call myself a criminologist. When I talk to British or North American colleagues, that is how I describe myself. In France, however, I never do so. I say I am a sociologist. Although I am pretty sure that, in Europe, outside France, CESDIP is regarded as a criminological research centre, even we at CESDIP do not use that label in France.

Does French criminology exist?

This may seem an odd question to ask in as much as France is usually regarded as a birthplace of criminology. However, if one looks closely, there are very few conventional signs of the existence of a French criminology.

There is no specialised French journal with 'criminology' in its title like the *British Journal of Criminology*, *Kriminologisches Journal*, or *Criminology*. No French university offers a complete curriculum in criminology or a doctorate. A few criminology courses are included in law school and forensics curricula. There are also a few textbooks. There are no professional criminologists.

Continued on page 10

The Netherlands Institute for the Study of Crime & Law Enforcement at Leiden

By Gerben Bruinsma

The Netherlands Institute for the Study of Crime and Law Enforcement (NSCR) was established in 1992 on the initiative of the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research and the Ministry of Justice. At that time the Research and Documentation Centre of the Ministry of Justice held a dominant position in Dutch research on crime and law enforcement.

Universities had been weakened and criminology programmes had been cut way back. Policy-oriented research had become the norm. More fundamental research had become rare. The NSCR was founded to fill this gap and specialise in more basic mid and long-term research.

The NSCR is located at Leiden University. The staff exceeds 40 people. NSCR has stimulated and undertaken fundamental interdisciplinary studies of crime and law enforcement. Its principal aims:

- studying the interactions between crime and law enforcement in a fundamental, interdisciplinary manner, with an accent on strategic, cumulative research in which processes are followed over time;
- carrying out research, both independently and in collaboration with universities and other research organisations, and publishing the results in scientific media;
- participating in the training of young researchers;
- developing a national and international network of researchers on crime and law enforcement, in co-operation with other universities and research institutes, by organizing national and international conferences, seminars, symposia, workshops, and lectures.

NSCR prefers to undertake research that is longitudinal, that is sensitive to interaction effects, and that is multi-disciplinary. Research is conducted as much as possible in collaboration with others outside NSCR. Staff members come from many disciplines, including psychology, sociology, education, biology, criminal law, political sciences, public administration, and criminology. This is the case across the board, from senior, post-doctoral, and junior researchers to PhD students.

Collaboration

Collaboration with other researchers in the Netherlands and abroad is very important to the NSCR. Primarily this occurs in individual projects.

Continued on page 13

Paul Wiles: New President *Continued from page 1*

Paul Wiles is currently Director of Research Development and Statistics (RDS) at the Home Office. RDS is responsible for research and statistical series covering all areas of the Home Office's work. The Home Office is the British government department responsible for the police, prison, probation, and youth justice services, international and organized crime, crime reduction, immigration and migration, criminal law, and policies in relation to active communities, families, race relations, and religious tolerance. In addition, RDS carries out research on prosecution and court operations, although these areas are managed by other government departments.

Prior to joining the Home Office Wiles was Professor of Criminology at the University of Sheffield, and formerly Dean of the Faculty of Law and Director of the Centre for Criminology and Socio-Legal Studies. He previously worked at the Institute of Criminology at the University of Cambridge, and in the Department of Sociology at the London School of Economics and Political Science. He has also worked as a consultant with major consultancy companies.

Paul was part of the initial group that founded the ESC nearly three years ago. Their main objective was to organise a yearly, pan-European conference which any criminologist could attend and present their work. All are welcome – from western and eastern Europe, from students to professors. Wiles's view is that variability in quality of the papers presented is far outweighed by the opportunity for *all* to share their ideas, refine them, and hone their

presentation skills. However, he stressed that the ESC should focus on *empirical* criminological research and cover every aspect of criminology.

Paul Wiles has very clear goals for the ESC and will strive to achieve at least some of them during his year in

society and accessibility to potential participants, especially those from countries where criminology lacks strong institutional support.

Secondly, he is anxious to improve the logistics of the annual conference and to streamline all the practical

procedures such as paying membership and registration fees, making hotel reservations, submitting abstracts, etc. He believes that developing a single society website from which one can do all this is feasible, even in the short term.

He also believes, in common with many others we spoke to, in the need for more cross-national work to be presented, though he is well aware of the intrinsic difficulties involved in this. It is difficult for individual countries to fund such studies so, according to Wiles, the EU is the logical source of funding. He is thus keen to promote greater involvement with the EU. He also believes that there is great interest in criminal justice policy in the countries that are poised



Paul Wiles

office. First, he recognises the need to refine the business structure of the society and place it on a firm financial footing. In the longer term he hopes that a permanent secretariat will be established. This would require a more formal and self-sustaining business structure. Tied in with this is the need to make the annual conferences self-supporting. So far, it has been heavily dependent on sponsors and donations. Paul is well aware of the careful juggling necessary to calculate conference fees in order to maintain the delicate balance between solvency for the

to enter the EU.

These are all challenges that will take time and effort to meet. Paul suggests that the title of ESC President should eventually become an honorary one. However, Josine Junger-Tas, who nurtured the society through its infancy and early childhood, would maintain that it is far from merely honorary at present. Now, as it enters its tentative adolescence, it is still in need of parental guidance from a president with enthusiasm, energy, organizational ability, and a clear set of objectives. Paul Wiles meets all of these criteria. ■

Second ESC Conference *Continued from page 1*

terrorism, and referred to recent developments in Spain. Batsuna, the political party that supports ETA, is in the process of being illegalised. This is a particularly sensitive issue for Spain; indeed Regional President José Bono's political party (PSOE, the Spanish Socialist Workers Party) was illegal under Franco's regime. Rector Luis Arroyo, also professor of criminal law, gave a lengthy and well received speech on the history of criminology and its usefulness for informing criminal law. ESC President Josine Junger-Tas provided a gracious welcome to all ESC participants, thanking the University of Castilla-La Mancha for its hospitality.

Conference organiser Cristina Rechea noted the important symbolism of the conference venue, the city of Toledo, where for eight centuries Muslim, Jewish, and Christian cultures co-existed in harmony. Rechea also welcomed the twelve participants from EU accession states for whom the ESC had spent • 8,000 in travel grants in order to encourage attendance.

ESC-Toledo attracted 506 participants, with 376 papers presented on 91 panels. Four plenary sessions (on criminal justice experiments; the contributions of psychology to criminology; research on violence; and transitions and problems of crime and order) were complemented by an attractive poster session with 20 posters, a sizeable book exhibit, a restricted but fascinating visit to the new Aranjuez prison where family cells have been built where women and men who are both serving a sentence may reside with their young children, and many opportunities for meeting others, whether at refreshment breaks, over

meals, or at the gala dinner on the Friday evening.

Participants came from 47 countries, including Albania, Argentina, Armenia, Australia, Austria, Belarus, Belgium, Canada, Croatia, the Czech Republic, China, Chile, Cyprus, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Georgia, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Israel, Italy,



Cristina Rechea Alberola, Kauko Aromaa, and Rosemary Barberet

Japan, Lithuania, Malta, Mexico, New Zealand, Luxembourg, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Russia, Slovakia, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Gambia, the Netherlands, Togo, Turkey, Ukraine, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Venezuela. Most represented were the UK (122 or 24 percent), Spain (60 or 12 percent), and the USA (40 or 8 percent). Many leaders of other criminology associations were in attendance: Lawrence Sherman of the International Society of Criminology, Chris Eskridge of the American Society of Criminology, Richard Bennett of the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences, Michel Born of the Association Internationale de Criminologues de Langue Française, Pierre Tournier of the Association Française de Criminologie, and Anatoliy Zakaliuk of the Ukrainian Public Association on Criminology. Encouragingly, 91, or nearly a fifth of those attending, were students.

The most popular themes at the conference were organised and white

collar crime (11 panel sessions), corrections and alternatives to incarceration (10 panel sessions), policing and social justice (8 panel sessions), and violence (7 panel sessions).

This year, the ESC president, the programme chair, and the conference organiser were all women. This, coupled with the fact that the

programme committee was 50 percent women, surely had something to do with the fact that women were well represented at the conference. Forty percent of the presenters were women as were 42 percent of the session chairs. These numbers are relatively high compared to other criminology conferences. In addition, 25 percent of the plenary speakers

were women.

The ESC is publishing a journal with Sage, the *European Journal of Criminology* (Editor: David Smith, University of Edinburgh). Plans are underway for next year's conference in Helsinki, with the theme "Crime and Crime Control in an Integrating Europe". Abstracts are due by April 30th to Kauko Aromaa: HEUNI, PL 157, Uudenmaankatu 37, 00121 Helsinki, FINLAND.
Tel: 358 9 1606 7881
Fax: 358 9 1606 7890
Email: kauko.aromaa@om.fin.■



Rosemary Barberet was programme chair and Cristina Rechea Alberola was conference organiser at the 2002 ESC annual conference.

EUROPEAN SOCIETY OF CRIMINOLOGY

Conference 2002 • Toledo, Spain, September 5-7, 2002



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Toledo, City of Marzipan... *Continued from page 1*

even the university – giving them numerous opportunities for discussion of their work and of the ESC's second annual meeting. About five hundred participants had flocked in (as opposed to 350 at the society's first annual conference last year in Lausanne).

The conference begins

The opening ceremony in the university church was a most impressive affair. The Chancellor of the University of Castilla-La Mancha, the Regional Minister of Education, the President of the Regional Government, the Spanish Minister of Justice, and the Mayor of Toledo joined the conference organiser Cristina Rechea Alberola, and ESC President Josine Junger-Tas in welcoming the assembly to Toledo. Such an entourage attracted a platoon of local journalists and equipment wielding cameramen jostling for position. Cristina Rechea was interviewed by Spanish national radio and TV. Vickie Sheridan and I, gallantly wielding our puny handheld cameras in search of that perfect shot for this newsletter, felt a bit like shrimps among whales!

Formalities over, conference participants were able to enjoy *tapas* and sample some of the delicious wines of La Mancha, provided by the Regional Ministry of Agriculture. What more could one wish for than to be standing in a church cloister in one of Spain's most beautiful cities on a warm summer's evening, glass of wine in hand, chatting with like-minded people!

Key players and their comments

Arriving at the idyllic scenario above did not come easily. This second annual ESC conference represented months of hard work and preparation. Cristina, Josine, Rosemary Barberet, and other members of the board are grateful to have been able to learn from experiences in Lausanne. Cristina Rechea Alberola, Professor of Psychology and Law and Director of The Institute of Research in

Criminology at the University of Castilla-La Mancha, began work on the conference back in February. Fortunately, Paula Cavana, one of her postgraduate students, whose many skills include fluency in English and a flair for creating order from apparent chaos, was able to step in to help out almost from the beginning. The aspect of conference organisation that Paula enjoyed most was being in contact with so many people from all over Europe and beyond. After months of multilingual internet messages, she says that it was wonderful to meet the faces behind the email addresses. They often provided her with surprises, particular when they belonged to a person of the opposite gender than she had expected! She found the co-ordination of timing and logistics the biggest headache. Paula's advice to those organising next year's conference in Helsinki: 'Have a staff of a hundred and start planning as early as possible.'

Cristina remains deeply grateful to Paula for her cheerful and unflinching help throughout all stages of the conference.

Programme Chair Rosemary Barberet, working both from Spain and her office at the University of Leicester, UK, echoed Paula's comments about the problems involved in the logistics and scheduling of such a complex event. Rosemary was in charge of co-ordinating the complete programme of speakers and was therefore responsible for choosing topics, arranging for panel members, and trying to fit everyone into a workable schedule. She spent a hefty portion of each day from March onwards sending and receiving emails from all corners of Europe as she struggled to chase late abstract submissions, clarify titles, and juggle with potential time-slots. Rosemary coped with all this alone until an assistant, Svetlana Puzovic, was drafted in four weeks prior to the programme's completion. Rosemary reiterates her thanks to Svetlana for all her help. Rosemary is particularly happy that abstract submission will be via the Web for next year's conference, since every

computer she used to complete the huge task of cutting and pasting abstracts into a final programme insisted, in silicon language, that enough was enough, and collapsed in a heap of sulking hardware.

Rosemary had very clear priorities as programme chair. She considers that the ESC has an important role to play in education, especially in helping those from countries where the social sciences are still underdeveloped. She judges that the benefits to young researchers of being able to come along and present their work and to listen to sessions given by their peers and seniors far outweighs the risk of variable quality within the whole spectrum of presentations. Therefore virtually all abstracts submitted were accepted. Balancing the topics was another challenge. The programme was divided into 24 broad subject areas. Among these, Rosemary says, policing and violence were the biggest topics, whilst that of race, ethnicity, and crime remained somewhat lean.

Her second concern was that there should be gender parity throughout the event and she made a particular effort to locate female presenters, chairs, and plenary speakers to balance the many talented males already prominent within the world of criminological research. She was also anxious that eastern and southern Europe should be well-represented following concerns that northern and western Europe had been over-represented in Lausanne. To have a Mediterranean criminologist in a key position was a particular wish.

Cristina Rechea, well-renowned in her field and holding one of the two percent of full professorships in Spain that are currently held by women, was therefore particularly apt to fill the role of overall conference organiser. Putting on a conference in one's native language is a daunting enough prospect, but the thought of doing so entirely in a foreign tongue would seem incredibly so to most academic criminologists in the Anglo-Saxon world. Cristina deserves considerable praise and admiration for having accomplished this feat.

Rosemary was one of many key players in this second annual conference who lamented the lack of cross-national papers. Most people agree that these would be of great importance and interest but, unfortunately, there are all too few criminologists with sufficient background in and knowledge of the criminal justice systems and statistics of more than one country.

Trials and triumphs

Naturally, despite months of careful preparation, an event as large as this cannot be expected to proceed without a few minor hitches. Paula's computer crashed an hour before the registration desks were due to open. The somewhat cumbersome method of abstract collection defeated Rosemary's IT system on several occasions. The acoustics in the lovely university church, where many of the presentations took place, proved something of a problem. Professor David Farrington, during his opening plenary session, upon realising that his voice was inaudible to those at the back of the room, abandoned the podium and strolled around the room mingling with his audience. The intimacy of Toledo once again.

Despite all this and the fact that the greatest navigator since Marco Polo would need a ball of thread to find his way through Toledo, the general consensus was that it was a wonderful venue. Arriving in such a physically

stunning town should be enough to put most participants in enthusiastic frames of mind. Unburdened by the need to grapple with an unknown public transport system, people were free to wander at will, on foot, beneath the mellow stone buildings and warm sunshine.

Between presentations, less confident participants who did not wish to speak out in front of a large assembly were able to meet speakers and ask questions in the non-threatening ambience of the courtyard. The atmosphere was further enhanced by coffee provided by the French Society of Criminology and ice cream provided by the American Society of Criminology. Social activities such as a night walk around the city walls and a tour concentrating on the Jewish culture of Toledo were organised, as well as a visit to a local prison which attracted around 30 participants.

At the General Assembly on Friday 6 September, Professor Josine Junger-Tas, who has fulfilled the duties first of programme chair at the Lausanne conference and then of ESC president with her customary vigour and aplomb for the two years since the society's founding, handed over the gavel to Professor Paul Wiles of the Home Office. He will remain at the helm until the President-elect, Ernesto Savona, takes over at next year's conference in Helsinki.

On the Friday evening, a great many figures could once again be seen

threading their way through the labyrinthine streets towards Calle San Pedro Martir, this time with a notably greater air of confidence. Gone were the rustling tourist maps and frowns of concentration and in their place were swishing silks and black ties. It was easy to spot who was heading for the gala dinner.

Doubtlessly there is much to be learnt before next September to ensure that the Helsinki programme runs still more smoothly, and Kauko Aromaa and colleagues will be grateful to have Cristina, Rosemary, and Paula as advisors. However, I believe that ESC members left Toledo with many fond memories as well as bags of marzipan sweets and an enhanced knowledge of criminological research from the farthest flung corners of the continent.

Cristina Rechea would like to thank the French Society of Criminology for providing coffee, the American Society of Criminology for their delicious ice cream, the Regional Ministry of Agriculture for providing cheese and wine, La Fundacion General de Castilla-La Mancha, the staff of the San Pedro Martir site, and all the many staff and students of the University of Castilla-La Mancha who volunteered their help.

Sara Harrop produces this newsletter from the Institute of Criminology at Cambridge University together with Vickie Sheridan, of Castine Research Corporation, Castine, Maine.

European Journal of Criminology News

An earlier issue of this newsletter announced a **European Society of Criminology scholarship** for a PhD student prepared to work part-time as assistant to the editor of the *European Journal of Criminology*. The scholarship has been awarded to Giorgios Papanicolaou. Giorgios has both bachelor's and master's degrees in law from the University of Athens Law School, and an MSc in Criminology and Criminal Justice (with distinction) from Edinburgh University. Since completing his second master's degree at Edinburgh he has been working on research projects in Greece. In November he will travel to Edinburgh to start his PhD on ways in which the operations of national police forces in Europe are being shaped by international law. There will also be a large pile of work on the *European Journal of Criminology* awaiting him.

Over 30 scholars have agreed to be members of the Advisory Board of the EJC. About half of them attended the Toledo conference, and met on the Thursday over lunch provided by the publishers, Sage. Board members stressed the need to encourage criminologists to publish in the EJC as their first choice. They also underlined the need for editorial assistance to ensure a quick turnaround from submission to decision. Everyone agreed that the review process should not only aim to be quick and efficient, but should also give detailed guidance to authors where appropriate.

Four country surveys have been commissioned for early issues (Ireland, France, Switzerland, Poland). Other commissions will follow shortly. Although the first two issues are beginning to take shape, there is plenty of room for high-quality articles to appear in the first year of publication.

CESDIP *Continued from page 3*

However, there is an old French society of criminology (the *Association française de criminologie*). It was sleepy for a long time, but has revived since my colleague from CESDIP, Pierre Tournier, was elected president three years ago. One current topic of discussion within its board is whether it should drop the word 'criminology' from its name.

Who are the French criminologists?

Who then are the French criminologists? And is there a field of research in France that corresponds to what is called criminology elsewhere? An easy way to answer these questions is to look at criminology textbooks. Their authors are mostly lawyers, magistrates, or higher administrators and the books are published by publishers that specialise in law. The remaining authors are psychiatrists and physicians.

Many of these textbooks define criminology as the study of criminals and criminal behaviour. It is a purely etiological criminology. The most popular textbook, by Raymond Gassin, a professor of law from Aix-en-Provence, states that the study of social reactions to crime is not part of criminology but is a branch of legal sociology.

These boundaries are unusual from an international standpoint. I can't think of another country where the sociology of deviance or of criminal justice would be excluded from criminology. Elsewhere sociology has become the intellectual centre of gravity of a criminology which encompasses the study of the making of laws, the breaking of laws, and the social reaction to the breaking of laws.

Those who are interested in the issues excluded from French criminology are reluctant to be called criminologists, although they readily associate with foreign criminologists. Of the two most recent sociological textbooks on crime and criminal justice, one (Filleule 2001) refers to

criminology only in passing, and only in its introduction (alluding to nineteenth century debates). The second (Mucchielli and Robert 2002) never mentions it.

So, there is a consensus on the meaning of criminology. One could not find in France anything like Ron Akers's recent statement: 'I identify myself to others as a sociologist whose specialty is criminology or as a criminologist whose discipline is sociology. I am equally at ease with either designation. I have never seen a conflict; criminology is my field of study, and sociology is my discipline.'

Origins of French criminology

Early French criminology was much less influenced by sociological thought than is usually believed. Criminal anthropology, as it was called at the end of the nineteenth century, was dominated by physicians

dominated by arch-conservatives).

Sociology was part of the French criminological debate for a period only of about 20 years. Henri Joly, Gabriel Tarde, and the Durkheimian school were principal figures. Before World War I, however, and even more afterwards, sociologists' interest in criminology declined.

In the end criminology survived only in law schools and, even there, at the margins. In their survey of European criminology in the early sixties, Sir Leon Radzinowicz and Marc Ancel (1965) underline the low level of teaching and the total lack of research in the oldest and most famous institute in Paris, and attribute it to the lack of prestige of penal law in French law schools.

The 'new French criminology'

French criminology at the end of the sixties was weak and scattered.

The only research centre of significant size belonged to the ministry of justice and specialised in juvenile delinquency. During the 1970s, a new current of research emerged, however, under the leadership of Philippe Robert.

This was the start of modern French criminology, which shows two distinctive characteristics: its position

towards 'criminology' and its institutional setting. This new start was strongly influenced by American and British criminology. Key influences were Robert's connection to the University of Montreal School of Criminology and the meetings of the criminological committee of the Council of Europe. But despite this debt to criminology, always acknowledged by Robert, the label 'criminology' and assertion of its sociological nature have been rejected. CESDIP's original name referred to criminology (*Service d'études pénales et criminologiques, SEPC*), but was changed in 1983.

The second distinctive feature of the revival of criminology occurred in government. Why? Mainly because

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.... Those who could be considered 'modern' criminologists do not see themselves as such, and those who call themselves 'criminologists' can hardly be considered modern.

such as Alexandre Lacassagne and was influenced by biological theories and belief in the heritability of crime.

Lawyers interested in criminal matters were active in a different circle, called the *Société général des prisons*. They, like the criminal anthropologists, were hostile to Lombrosian criminology, and eager not to let it impinge on what they considered their own turf.

From the beginning of the twentieth century, these lawyers became more interested in criminology and promoted its integration into legal studies. This led to the creation in Paris of the first Institute of Criminal Sciences in 1906, which was renamed the Institute of Criminology in 1922 (and still exists,

those responsible for criminal policy felt themselves to be in a crisis, due to the effects of rising caseloads on outmoded judicial institutions, and were anxious to modernize them. They turned to Robert for help. He was trained as a lawyer and a sociologist, but was himself a magistrate. He was an insider, so to speak, and this helped him develop a research centre with its own long-term research agenda, centred on the study of the social processes at work in the criminal justice system, and on the relationship of this system with other state agencies and with society at large.

This centre has existed for more than 30 years and is the closest thing in France to criminology as it is conceived in other countries.

The 1980s and 1990s

CESDIP does not have a monopoly on 'criminological' research. Increasing numbers of scholars, especially sociologists and political scientists, are interested in this field. However, they'd be surprised to be called criminologists!

Government agencies have injected a fair amount of money into this field, which has attracted newcomers. Such agencies exist within the ministries of justice, interior, social affairs, urban policy, public works and transportation, and defence.

As a consequence, there have been significant research developments in at least 5 areas: victim surveys and fear of crime; public and private policing; urban violence and prevention; drugs; and corrections. Juvenile delinquency, white-collar crime, and sentencing have received less attention.

France is beginning to catch up with other European countries, but these developments remain fragile. The material base is uncertain: many researchers have been attracted by the availability of money, but the flow of funds is highly dependent on political events. The multiplicity of agencies provides a diversity of research priorities, thus enabling more researchers to submit proposals and giving them multiple sources of funding. Priorities relate more,

however, to short-term administrative concerns than to long-term knowledge building. Short-term deadlines hinder in-depth research.

Most academics are researchers in the *Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique* (CNRS) and other public research agencies, or are university professors, and hold permanent positions. They are not dependent on contracts for their employment, so they are not obliged to run from one contract to the next. (CNRS is the largest government research agency in France with a staff of 25,000 full-time researchers, technicians, and clerical employees. It covers every field of knowledge and all disciplines. Most of its personnel work in research centres and institutes that are joint ventures with universities.)

Although the number of interested researchers has grown significantly, there is no real scientific community. People are scattered, generally working in non-specialised settings. There are few specialised research centres, and these relate more to work in their members' disciplines than to work in other disciplines on the same subject.

This results from the tenuous hold of criminology in university curricula. There is not a common forum like the annual British Criminology Conference or the American Society of Criminology meetings; even the renovated Association Française de Criminologie has failed in this respect because it is preoccupied more with bringing practitioners and academics together and acting as a thinktank than with building a scientific community. The recently founded European Society of Criminology, built on the model of the American Society of Criminology, may play a greater role in this respect.

CESDIP

The second paradox, liberty of thought and expression enjoyed by a ministerial research centre such as CESDIP, frequently puzzles our foreign colleagues. There are a number of reasons for this situation.

First, the centre does not depend on the ministry of justice for its core budget. This comes from the national

research and development budget; this has until now been sufficient to cover the centre's regular operations.

Contracts and grants are required only for exceptional purposes (for instance, to fund a national victimisation survey), or to fund temporary research personnel. Apart from paying some clerical staff, the only operating cost for the ministry of justice is the rent of CESDIP's offices. This relative financial security has made long-term research programmes possible.

Second, the permanent administrative and research staff, except for some clerical employees, does not belong to the ministry of justice, but to the CNRS and universities.

Third, CESDIP is more accountable to the CNRS than to the ministry. The latter has delegated to the former responsibility for evaluating the centre's scientific production and its day-to-day management. This has not always been the case, but in the early 1990s the ministry of justice decided that the CNRS was better situated to oversee a research centre.

There is no systematic review by the ministry. This has important consequences in limiting political interference and censorship. As public researchers who are evaluated on their academic achievements and publications, CNRS researchers have a duty to publish their results. They would not undertake a research project if they weren't assured that the results would not be censored by the ministry.

As long as the ministry is prepared to support a research centre that produces reference works, it is bound to accept that it cannot control the centre's publications. The situation is very different from that of the Institut des Hautes Etudes de la Sécurité Intérieure, which belongs to the Ministry of Interior and funds research on police issues. This institute, which has no CNRS backing, has been very sensitive to political changes since its creation in 1991.

A lingering risk is that the ministry might distance itself completely from CESDIP and decide there is no real

Continued on next page

CESDIP *Continued from previous page*

need to maintain it. The ministry would not gain much financially from CESDIP's suppression, because the research funds would then not be maintained. This risk has always been present, but it has increased since CESDIP relocated in 1995 from a site near the ministry to a suburb. There has sometimes been a tendency to forget that we are part of the ministry. One main task of the centre's director and senior researchers is to maintain adequate channels of communication with the criminal affairs, corrections, and juvenile justice divisions of the ministry of justice.

CESDIP has always struck a delicate balance between administrative expectations and academic autonomy. We have tried to strengthen our scientific status by aligning more closely with national research agencies (a strategy followed by most departmental research centres in the 1970s) and we have tried to use our inside knowledge of the administration and of the state of research in other countries to anticipate the needs of the ministry in ways that suited our own research programme.

The ministry's inability to develop a long-term research agenda has been quite helpful. The need for specific knowledge typically arises when a policy issue arises or an event occurs. What is needed at that moment is an assessment of the state of knowledge on a particular issue, which necessarily depends on research that has already been done. The ministry's inability to define a research agenda results in addition from the turnover of administrators and an ensuing lack of institutional memory, a difficulty that is compounded by a lack of personnel qualified to deal with research issues.

How influential is CESDIP?

From what I have said of the development of the newer French criminology, and its institutional location, it is easy to understand that there is a profound ambivalence towards criminal policy.

In creating a criminological

research centre, the ministry clearly expected help in defining judicial policies. The theoretical stance taken by Philippe Robert implied a critical appraisal of these same policies. Contrary to the traditional 'lawyers'

CESDIP has always struck a delicate balance between administrative expectations and academic autonomy.

criminology', this 'sociological criminology' did not consider it had a duty to help governments fight crime by providing them with 'scientific' tools.

Now after 33 years of operation, what can we say of CESDIP's influence on government policy? CESDIP has little direct influence, in the sense that specific research leads to particular measures or policies. Its influence has been more diffuse, through participation in numerous working groups, through personal relationships, through improved dissemination of research results, and through teaching in the departmental vocational training system.

This is noticeable in the way certain criminal justice issues are now treated. Often we recognise our ideas in commentaries or in official statements without being able to locate the channels through which they travelled.

The most obvious is official judicial statistics: after years of explaining that judicial or police statistics are not crime statistics, this notion is now commonly accepted, even outside specialists' circles. We've also brought administrators to see criminal justice as a system, very much dependent on other agencies and other social control processes.

Finally, we've been influential in the area of corrections, because of our expertise in the demography of prison population. This is a modest set of achievements and we are frequently reminded of how little influence we

have: most of the time, bills are drafted without concern for the state of knowledge in the matter.

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NSCR *Continued from page 3*

Some collaborations, however, are institutionalised. The NSCR, together with Erasmus University Rotterdam, Leiden University, and the Free University of Amsterdam, for example, participates in the Research School 'Safety and Security in Society.' This collaboration provides post-graduate students with a place to continue their education, and offers collaborative links from which the NSCR can profit. The NSCR also contributes to a new criminology course, the first in The Netherlands, which offers bachelors and masters degrees and has been established in the three universities.

NSCR is also involved in the International Crime Victims Survey, the International Workshop on Research into Juvenile Criminology, the International Homicide Research Working Group, the International Research Group on Crime and Punishment Trends, the European Homicide Working Group, Eurogang, and the International Violence against Women Survey.

Contacts with practitioners and policy makers are extensive. Working relations with police, the judiciary, social services, and social organizations ensure that theoretical reflection goes hand in hand with research on day-to-day practice.

Activities

The NSCR undertakes a number of other activities that concern dissemination of knowledge on crime and law enforcement. The NSCR regularly organises national and international conferences, workshops, and lectures including, in September 2002, a conference called 'Developments in Criminology and Criminal Justice Research' to celebrate the tenth anniversary of NSCR's founding. Staff members give many lectures each year and are often quoted by the media. A number appear regularly as expert witnesses in criminal and civil cases.

The Research Programme

The NSCR's research programme is organised in working groups based around three central themes. Each member of the staff belongs to a

theme group, although research is also conducted jointly by members of different groups. The themes are thus closely interwoven. Within each theme, a number of issues serve as focal points.

Theme 1: Mobility and the distribution of crime (co-ordinator Dr. Henk Elffers).

The first theme explores the spatial distributions of crime and law enforcement, with special emphasis on variations over time, in terms both of space (changes in where crime does and does not occur) and specialisation (changing modus operandi, changing types of crime). The heart of the programme examines the spatial effects of how occurrence of crime and activities of law enforcers, including police, justice system officials, and local government, mutually influence each other. Environmental criminology, rational choice theory, and the governance paradigm are among the central theoretical perspectives.

The environmental criminology approach derives from the work of Shaw and McKay, with its emphasis on neighbourhood influences. Special concern is given to separating neighbourhood influences from the influences of individuals living in the neighbourhood using multilevel approaches. Influences from other spatially proximate neighbourhoods are examined using spatial auto-correlation methods. Data sources include police records on crimes and arrested perpetrators, victim surveys, and community socio-economic data.

NSCR has a long-term agreement with the police force of The Hague giving access to police data for research purposes. Typical projects look at the neighbourhood influence on location of burglaries, deteriorating neighbourhoods, and the effects of changing police activities. Experimental and observational methods are used.

A number of projects are based on versions of rational choice theory incorporating classical control-type deterrence elements. Expanding the relevant theories and contemplating

how displacement can be modelled within this framework are high on the agenda. Major projects include location choices of co-offenders and geographic profiling.

The influence of changing control strategies is central to work on the unintended consequences of decriminalisation. These studies – in the governance tradition – explore the effects of legalisation of prostitution on the location of the prostitution business, and the influx of illegal foreigners as prostitutes. A project on local media and local law enforcers explores ways they influence each other in defining the discourse on crime and law enforcement.

The transnational mobility of criminals is studied in projects on the interface of transnational criminals and on Chinese human smuggling. The other international dimension is developed in research centring on the International Crime Victims Survey. Special concern is given to differences between countries in rates of reporting to the police about victimisation. The parallel between this approach on a national level and the environmental approach on a neighbourhood level is being exploited.

Major projects:

- Neighbourhood characteristics and the distribution of crime (Dr. Wim Bernasco and Dr. Floor Luykx);
- Deteriorating neighbourhoods (Dr. Henk Elffers);
- Spatial analyses of crime and victimization (Dr. Wim Bernasco and Dr. Henk Elffers);
- Choice of location of crimes in cases of co-offending (PhD project of Hanja Colenbrander);
- Geographic profiling (PhD project of Jasper van der Kemp);
- Displacement theory (Dr. Christianne de Poot);
- Decriminalisation, governance, and prostitution: unintended consequences (Dr. Henk Wagenaar)
- Local media, local crime, and local law enforcement (PhD project of Barbra van Gestel);
- Interface theory and transnational crime (PhD project of Edgar Tijhuis);

Continued on next page

NSCR *Continued from previous page*

- The International Crime Victims Survey (Dr. Paul Nieuwebeerta);
- Chinese human smuggling and Chinese crime in the Netherlands (PhD project of Melvin Soudijn);
- Multi-trait multi-method analysis of sensitive data (PhD-project of Albert Harteveld).

Theme 2: The citizen and the criminal justice system (*co-ordinator Prof. Peter J. van Koppen*)

The second theme centres on criminal justice system operations. The criminal justice system is a complex sequence of public authorities, procedures, and decisions that range from reporting of crimes to execution of sentences. Interactions between citizens and the justice system determine the legitimacy of the system and are indispensable to effective law enforcement. Legitimacy influences the willingness of citizens to report crime and the degree to which people are inclined to take the law into their own hands. Legitimacy also affects acceptance of judicial decisions and co-operation with legal authorities and procedures. How the criminal justice system functions, how people are treated, and whether it is transparent and fair are all of prime importance for perceptions of legitimacy.

The theme examines interactions between citizens and the justice system, with particular focus on legitimacy. Attention is given to characteristics and perceptions of citizens (e.g., taking the law into one's own hands), and to characteristics of the criminal justice system itself. The group aims to integrate results from these studies and enrich theories about legitimacy with an emphasis on the dynamic and procedural aspects of law enforcement.

Major projects:

- Taking the law in one's own hands (Prof. Peter van Koppen, Dr. Jan de Keijser, Dr. Marijke Malsch, Prof. Theo de Roos [Leiden University]);
- Trust in the criminal justice system (Dr. Jan de Keijser, Dr. H. Elffers, Prof. Catrien Bijleveld);
- Transparency and openness of the

- criminal justice system (Dr. Marijke Malsch, Prof. Hans Nijboer, Dr. Jan de Keijser, Prof. Theo de Roos [Leiden University]);
- Principles of fair trial in comparative perspective (Prof. Peter van Koppen, Prof. Steve Penrod [John Jay, New York]);
- Police investigations in major cases (Dr. Christianne De Poot, Prof. Peter van Koppen);
- Crimes in intimate relations (Dr. Marijke Malsch, Dr. Eric Blaauw [Free University Amsterdam]);
- The criminal justice system from the perspective of the accused (Dr. Jan de Keijser, Dr. Marijke Malsch)
- Processing of rape cases (PhD project of Vera Haket);
- Reporting crimes to the police (PhD project of Heike Goudriaan);
- Subjective certainty of episodic memories of witnesses (PhD project of Geralda Odinet).

Theme 3: Life course, crime, and interventions (*co-ordinator Dr. Peter van der Laan*)

The third group focuses on life course studies and interventions. By *life course* is meant the development of antisocial and criminal behaviour from early childhood into adulthood. The development of criminal careers and the personal, educational, environmental, and social factors that affect development are being studied in order to differentiate among criminal careers and trajectories and to find explanations for those differences. Special attention is paid to the intergenerational transfer of criminal behaviour.

Interventions address a gamut of factors that may influence behaviour. Some are formal, and based on criminal law, semi-criminal law, administrative law, and disciplinary regulations aimed at preventing, ending, or shortening criminal careers. Other informal interventions address parenting and family life, upbringing, schooling, and conditions in the neighbourhood, at work, and in social life. Better insight into these processes may lead to more effective prevention and intervention programmes.

The projects in this group are

linked by their longitudinal nature and the methods and data collection employed. All projects examine one or more phases in the life course or study the consequences of interventions.

The studies use a wide variety of quantitative and qualitative methods, including surveys, interviews, observations, file analysis, and recording of life histories. Efforts are underway to nest randomised control trials in longitudinal studies to measure the effects of interventions.

Major projects:

- Criminal careers and criminal life of adults (PhD project of Arjan Blokland);
- Delinquency among young adults (PhD project of Andrea Donker);
- Homicide in the Netherlands (Dr. Paul Nieuwebeerta and Prof. Catrien Bijleveld);
- Establishing networks among young people, problem behaviour, and interventions at school (Dr. Frank Weerman, Dr. Wilma Smeenk, Dr. Anne-Marie Slotboom, Dr. Peter van der Laan, and Prof. Catrien Bijleveld);
- Early problem behaviour and later delinquency in relation to parenting and family influences (PhD project of Machteld Hoeve);
- Police, youth, and the policy of minimal interventions (PhD project of Manon van de Riet);
- Socio-emotional development and juvenile delinquent behaviour (PhD project of Leontine den Dijker);
- Outcomes of formal interventions (Dr. Peter van der Laan and Prof. Catrien Bijleveld).

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My Hopes for the Future of Criminology Continued from page 2

accounts of crime, analyses of quantitative data, comparative studies, systematic evaluations, and discussions of criminal justice institutions'. I hope that this will encourage our membership to redouble efforts to produce rigorous, high-quality research, be it quantitative or qualitative.

Criminology should become considerably more multi-disciplinary and better integrate perspectives of psychology, psychiatry, political science, law, and sociology. This would greatly enrich our discipline and help us uncover the complex causal mechanisms that lead to criminal behaviour, and to crime as a social phenomenon. In addition, let us recall – as was convincingly shown in Toledo – that the behavioural sciences have made important contributions to longitudinal studies and to the creation and evaluation of experimental interventions and prevention policies.

This brings me to my other main subject: educational programmes. I don't wish to hurt anyone's feelings in saying this, but I believe educational curricula for future criminologists must be enriched. What we teach students is an important subject, deserving considerable attention and reflection. I was happy to observe that sessions in both Lausanne and Toledo were devoted to 'Education and Training in Criminology'.

A number of changes need to be made. First, we should reduce the number of law courses in criminology training and allow more room for quantitative and qualitative research methods.

This would help law students understand criminological studies and research reports better. This would be an important improvement in view of their later roles in the criminal justice system. At the same time it would strengthen the training of future researchers.

Second, considering that crime and the safety of citizens have become overriding political issues in most countries, more attention should be paid to police and judicial operations,

not according to the law books but in day-to-day practice. This would stimulate students to reflect on ways to improve the criminal justice system.

Third, in view of the increasing use of criminological research by local and national authorities, students should be made aware of its uses and

May we develop a European Society of Criminology that reflects truly European values: those of the Enlightenment – emphasising reason, empiricism, and human rights – and those of social care and support for the losers in our society.

abuses and reflect on how researchers might get some grip on this process.

Fourth, western European universities have an additional duty – to support eastern and central European students. I have had the experience of reviewing papers from eastern European students. Many, although hard workers, had little understanding of key elements of scientific thinking: rigorous analysis, transparency of findings, and the need to substantiate claims so that others may verify and replicate findings.

The ESC should encourage western European universities to organise special courses for such students so that they in turn can educate the coming generations in their own countries.

A further initiative that might be considered by the ESC is the creation – together with universities – of special scholarships for promising PhD students. The ESC board has expressed the desire to create a special fund to allow academics from east and central Europe to attend our annual meetings.

In the coming years...

In the coming years I would like to see our society gradually develop interest in criminal policy in Europe. There will always be dissenting opinions on policy matters such as state versus private police, sanctions

and sentencing, immigration, youth policies, and private prisons, to name but a few. Criminology, however, is a social science, its subject being human behaviour in a social setting. Considering the damage, loss, misery, and grief that are caused by criminal behaviour and society's reactions to it, it would be unethical to withdraw into the ivory tower of pure criminological science.

In this respect I draw attention to Rod Morgan's article in the second ESC newsletter, showing the impact on prison policies of the activities of the Council of Europe's Committee on the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, and suggesting the importance of publicity on the criminal justice system's workings.

What the popular media present us on crime and punishment issues, and the ways the general public learns about crime and justice, create a wide gulf between what is known by criminologists and what is reported to the general public and to practitioners. Initiatives exist in some countries, sometimes from individual criminology institutes, to inform a broad audience of workers in the criminal justice field in simple language without technical jargon. The European Crime Prevention Network is a similar undertaking. The ESC might help spread better knowledge, for instance by publishing outcomes of outstanding research in policy relevant areas on its website and in the newsletter. Later the society might examine the desirability of presenting broad research overviews accompanied by policy recommendations. Efforts might also be made to achieve consensus on specific policy questions.

Dear colleagues, these are my thoughts and my hopes for the future. We have made a good start. May we develop a European Society of Criminology that reflects truly European values: those of the Enlightenment – emphasising reason, empiricism, and human rights – and those of social care and support for the losers in our society. ■

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LAUNCH OF NEW ESC RESEARCH NETWORK

THE EUROPEAN GOVERNANCE OF PUBLIC SAFETY RESEARCH NETWORK (EUGPSRN)

During the second ESC meeting at Toledo, a group of researchers and theorists from several countries agreed to set up a European network of researchers and critical scholars interested in the new local governance of crime, insecurity, and public safety. The group, in part, grew out of the UK Governance of Public Safety Research Network (UKGPSRN), which was established at the 2002 British Criminology Society Conference at Keele University, and as a direct result of a roundtable session on 'Researching Local Crime Control and Community Safety', convened by Adam Edwards and Gordon Hughes at the Toledo meeting.

The network consists of about 16 researchers from across Europe although it is envisaged that the network will expand significantly over the next year and, participants hope, organise several panels at the ESC conference in Helsinki in 2003. It is also intended that the network will organise regular colloquia and workshops, as well as comparative research projects, with the first thematic workshop provisionally planned for February 2003 at the European Centre for Crime and Policing at the Open University in the UK.

For further information, including a fuller statement of the Network's aims and rationale, contact **Gordon Hughes (g.h.hughes@open.ac.uk)**.