ESC 2009: Ljubljana or is it Ljubljena, the Beloved!

By 'Peju Solarin

First rate! That was the assessment from one esteemed participant I queried, and probably it was the reaction of all. I can’t say if it was the lovely weather on opening day, or the warm atmosphere of the opening events, or the smiles of the student assistants, but whatever it was carried through the whole weekend and well beyond. Ljubljana, the city, opened its arms to the ESC and became for many—in happy Slovenian linguistic coincidence—Ljubljena, the beloved.

Slovenian hospitality was on display. The well-attended opening ceremony featured the Minister of the Interior, Katarina Kresal. The traditional Gala dinner was held on Thursday night in the grand Festivalna Dvorana Ballroom. It greets you with a magical staircase, magnificent sculptures, and mesmerizing lights. Oohs and aahs couldn’t be helped. The Slovenian Police Orchestra treated participants with a programme of American Jazz standards. Who would have expected to be entertained and protected, simultaneously, by law enforcement agents? Ljubljana’s charismatic mayor, Zoran Janković, pretty much gave guests permission to party all night when he stressed that the city is one of the safest in Europe (or was it the world)?

Dancing to jazz standards is not easy, but the spirit

Continued on page 4

European Prisons: Stability or Changes?

By Natalia Delgrande and Marcelo F. Aebi

This article presents an overview of prison populations in Europe in 2007 as well as trends from 2000 to 2007. It also includes a comparison of detainees not serving and those serving a final sentence in 2007, taking into account the percentages of nationals and foreigners included in such categories. The article is based on the latest available data from the Council of Europe Annual Penal Statistics, better known as SPACE (Aebi and Delgrande 2009).1

Prison population and prison overcrowding

The total number of persons detained in the penal institutions of forty-six European countries on 1st September 2007 was 1,789,108. Almost 49% of all European prisoners were held in Russian penal institutions (886,351). Russia remains the European country with the highest prison population rate even though this rate has been going down in recent years. Generally speaking, the highest rates can be found

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Nominations Sought for ESC President and At-Large Board Members

Nominations and applications are sought for the ESC presidency for 2011-2012 and for two two-year positions as at-large board members. They must be received by May 1, 2010. Presidents are elected for three-year terms, the first as president-elect, the second as president, the third as past-president. Nominations will not be regarded as final unless confirmed by the person nominated.

Applications should be sent to Marcelo Aebi, Executive Secretary, ESC (see p. 2 for address).

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Would a European Handbook of Criminology be useful? What kind of handbook? A description of what is going on in 27 countries, or more? When I asked a number of criminologists and sociologists of law which handbooks they use for teaching or research, I learned of their dependence on a variety of well-made British or American handbooks. We all agree that such books are essential. They are appealing and they benefit from years of thinking and experience.

Yet, it seemed to us that non-British (and sometimes British) users have to effect intellectual and pedagogical transformations to convey to their students and colleagues how and to what extent these handbooks do not necessarily reflect modes of thinking and practices in various European countries and in their own country.

A problem with such handbooks is their assumption that there is a universal sharing or what David Nelken defines (referring to punitiveness) as “an Anglo-American tendency to assume that what others do in foreign places and foreign languages is less important and that they…are bound to come into line eventually.”¹

Our recent conference in Ljubljana brought together a large group of criminologists from Eastern Europe, Belgium, Germany; England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, Greece, Portugal, the Netherlands, Italy, and France to discuss the possibility of a European handbook. Senior and junior scholars all agreed that the idea was welcome and long overdue. But how should we proceed to create such a book (or maybe a website)? It should obviously be the product of a collective endeavour. For instance, it would be important to learn (probably by circulating a questionnaire) what is missing from existing handbooks and where the gaps are.

I personally would like the terms that are used to be elucidated. A simple translation of community or anti-social behaviour or concern for crime needs functional equivalents to make sense in another country because of the specificities of history, institutions, laws, and culture. Translations are not enough.

It has been suggested that support should be sought from the twelve ESC working groups in order to proceed.

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¹

Message from the President

Imagining a European Criminology Handbook

By Sophie Body-Gendrot

Scholarship Award Nominations Due

Nominations for the 2011 ESC European Criminology and Young Criminologist Awards are due by 31 January. European Criminology Awards recognise the lifetime contributions of European criminologists. Young Criminologist Awards recognise outstanding articles by European criminologists who were 35-years-old or younger when their articles were published. Details concerning award criteria and nomination procedures can be found on the ESC website.
The European Criminology Award Address--2009

Challenges to Criminology in the 21st Century

By Josine Junger-Tas

First of all I want to thank the Award Committee of the European Society of Criminology for the 2009 ESC European Criminology Award. Receiving such an award from the board of a society that I helped launch a decade ago is really the top prize of my career and I am very thankful and happy to have been thought worthy to receive it.

I would like to share my thoughts with you on three questions that I feel are of importance for the way criminology will be practiced in the 21st century. These questions are: first, what type of criminology research is valued, what research questions should be on the forefront; second, how problematic is the relationship of criminologists with the state and to what extent the independence of criminological research at stake; and third, what actions should be taken to improve independent criminological research and to promote a striving and flourishing criminological science.

Theories of Crime

In the 19th and early 20th century Europe had a leading role in the development of the social and human sciences. Most people in Europe would consider that criminology started as a distinctive discipline at the end of the 19th century with Lombroso’s *L'uomo Delinquente*, published in 1876. This publication really shook all of Europe’s social scientists and it had considerable influence on the discipline, one important reason being that Lombroso was one of the first empirical criminologists: he collected a mass...
of the evening and the liveliness of the music put the thought in many people’s minds. It was no surprise that University of Ljubljana students organized an impromptu dance the following night! All work and no play evidently is not a Slovenian tradition.

Things were extraordinarily well-run. This was due in large part to the long-suffering vision of Professors Alenka Šelih (Ljubljana) and Gorazd Mesko (Maribor) and the teams that worked with them. An army of young blue-shirted volunteers kept the conference trains running on time. They were everywhere, usually asking with a smile whether you needed help before you realized you did. The students set things up, tore them down, showed you the way, and made sure participants were never (too) thirsty—there were bottles of water everywhere.

A founding member of the ESC, Professor Šelih had always dreamed of her home-country, a young, liberal democracy, hosting the annual conference. ‘Slovenia had been waiting for this opportunity since 1999’, she said. Šelih derived a quiet satisfaction that many foreigners were surprised by all Slovenia has to offer. ‘Citizens of older democracies have a wrong view of Europe…Slovenia has always been connected to all of Europe even before the 1990s. Slovenians don’t feel isolated’. In retrospect, Šelih used the bully pulpit her opening speech afforded to showcase Ljubljana, Slovenia, other eastern European countries, and their criminological research.

As she eased out of her organizing duties Šelih reflected on the importance of the ESC. It is important in many ways, she said, noting that prior to its creation, there was no European forum for deep and critical discussion of criminal policy and criminological research. Dr. Šelih believes the ESC has replaced a vacuum with a dynamic, interconnected synergy unrivaled in Europe.
the years, especially as they were prepared to embrace someone of her background—she is not a Criminologist, but a…
gasp…a Political Scientist!

Body-Gendrot is passionate about the need for interdisciplinary dialogue, something not uncommon in internatio-
philes (Think I just invented that word!).

’We are enriched by the enlargement of our visions…certain details that may have escaped criminologists that these
people [anthropologists or philosophers] will bring…’ She believes greater interdisciplinarity will strengthen criminol-
ogy. If she has her way, the ESC just might reach a new frontier of enlarged visions.

The ESC continued its tradition of honoring scholarly stars young and old. Georgios Antonopoulos, winner of the
2009 Young Criminologist award, explained how Greeks have redefined what it means to smuggle commodities, namely
cigarettes.

The darling of the awards ceremony and of the conference was the indomitable Josine Junger-Tas, who received
the European Criminology Award. Besides being with Martin Killias one of the two primary organizers of the ESC,
Junger-Tas organized the first conference in Lausanne in 2001 and later served as president. Her books and articles
continue to pour out as do the fruits of the second International Self-Reported Delinquency survey, of which she was the
prime mover. A standing ovation at the end of her acceptance speech showed the affection with which she is by everyone
regarded.

When the conference ended, there was some time left to indulge in the city’s amazing sights. Predjama Castle is
definitely memorable—built into a cave with an adjoining series of caves and caverns that reminded me of something out
of the movie *Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom*—remember the little train-car chase?

As an aside, I don’t know if people just don’t sleep in Ljubljana but I must share that I was rocked to sleep each
night with the booming sound of techno beats coming from the night club kitty corner to the hotel. I wondered if the
Clintons or the Dalai Lama received so energetic a welcome. Hvala Lepa!

I have to concur with Professor Selih that Slovenia is a ‘dynamic young nation’, and certainly a Ljubljena.
The Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences is seeking applications for the position of Editor of Justice Quarterly: An official publication of the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences. The Editor will be responsible for administering a high quality academic journal for the ACJS membership. The Editor will set editorial policy, select deputy and associate editors, create a peer review system, and manage the journal. Applications must meet the following criteria:

- Demonstrated record of scholarly activity as measured by such indicators as publications in refereed journals, book publication, and research. Strong preference will be given to applicants who have published their research and scholarly activities in Justice Quarterly.
- Prior editorial experience as measured by such indicators as editorial responsibilities for other scholarly publications and past experience as a referee or associate/deputy editor of an academic journal, or other editorial experience demonstrating the applicant’s ability to implement and maintain the integrity of blind review, to improve or maintain the quality of the publication, to communicate effectively, and to behave in a professional manner that is supportive of the mission and goals of the ACJS and consistent with the ACJS statement of ethics.
- Commitment to the ACJS Code of Ethics, particularly to Section III.C regarding research and publication.
- Earned Ph.D. or terminal degree in area of specialization.
- Senior (associate professor or above) academic rank at host institution.
- Formal declaration of support from host institution, including release time, space, and other support services the institution will commit to editorship.
- ACJS membership in good standing for three continuous years at the time of application.

Those interested in being considered should provide a formal proposal to the Editor Selection Committee no later than January 5, 2010. The proposal should include:

- Statement of editorial philosophy for Justice Quarterly;
- Statement of applicant’s qualifications, including vita;
- Formal declaration of institutional support;
- A budget including a breakdown of the expenses that will be provided by the host institution and those expected for the Academy.

Beginning in 2010, Justice Quarterly will be published six times a year, with issues in February, April, June, August, October and December. The Executive Board of the Academy will appoint the Editor for a three-year term. The Editor’s first issue will be February 2011. There is a $5,000 summer stipend for the Editor. Proposals for co-editorship will not be considered.

Applications and requests for further information should be directed to: Melissa Barlow, Department of Criminal Justice, Fayetteville State University, 1200 Murchison Road, Fayetteville, North Carolina, (910) 672-1972, mbarlow@uncfsu.edu. ACJS policies regarding journal editorships and operation are available for review as part of the Justice Quarterly Editor Announcement located in the Hot Topics section of the ACJS homepage: www.acjs.org.
About the University

- One of the largest Universities in the UK and Ireland with over 25,000 undergraduate and postgraduate students
- A long and distinguished history of university education since 1849
- A member of the Russell Group of leading UK universities
- Recently over £200 million has been invested in a new landmark library, redevelopment of the Elms student village, and major refurbishment of the Physical Education Centre and the Students’ Union.

Postgraduate Criminology and Criminal Justice at Queen’s is based in the School of Law with teaching staff drawn from the Institute of Criminology and Criminal Justice which is one of the four research clusters within the School.

RAE Performance

The School of Law received an impressive top-ten ranking in RAE 2008, finishing 7th in the UK with 95% of research rated as international in quality, and 60% rated as world leading.

Key research strengths

The Institute has a strong research capability in all areas of criminology but has exceptional research strengths in policing and police reform; prisoner resettlement; youth justice; sexual offending; gender and crime, and aspects of criminology and criminal justice drawn from the legacy of political conflict.

Criminology and Criminal Justice Programmes in the School of Law

- MSc Criminology
- MSc Criminal Justice
- Postgraduate Diploma in Criminology
- Postgraduate Diploma in Criminal Justice
- LLB/MSc in Human Rights and Criminal Justice (offered in conjunction with the Human Rights Centre)

Programmes may be taken on a one year (full time) or two year (part time) basis.

Modules are offered in the following areas:

- Theoretical criminology
- Policing and security sector reform
- Criminological research methods
- Restorative justice
- Prisons and penology
- Prisoner resettlement
- Sexual offending
- Transnational crime
- Gender, sexuality and violence
- Criminal justice management
- Transitional justice
- Crime prevention
- Youth justice
- Transnational crime
- Psychological aspects of crime
- Sentencing
- Social histories of crime

Interdisciplinary Programmes

The School of Law also offers an interdisciplinary LLM/MSc in Human Rights and Criminal Justice which combines the research and teaching strengths of the Human Rights Centre and the Institute of Criminology and Criminal Justice.

PhD Programmes

The School of Law has a vibrant and internationally derived postgraduate research community. Staff in the Institute of Criminology and Criminal Justice welcome prospective applications for PhD research in their area of expertise.

The School of Law also offers LLM programmes in Law and Governance, Corporate Governance, Legal Science, Human Rights. For further information please consult the School website www.law.qub.ac.uk

Further Information

Details about Criminology and Criminal Justice programmes within the School of Law and the application process are available via the School website (www.law.qub.ac.uk) or alternatively contact the postgraduate enquiries office at: pglawenquiries@qub.ac.uk
§6.2.3 Crime and criminalisation

Some social conflicts, e.g., between different communities in disadvantaged areas, may be associated with socially deviant behaviours and to their Criminalisation; the latter, in turn may influence the capability to address the roots of such behaviours as well as the possibilities of resolving the conflicts themselves. The objective is to identify the social, political, economic, legal and cultural factors in Europe conducive to the perception of crime and to the practice of socially deviant behaviours, and to examine the implications for crime prevention policies within the EU.

STREPs and/or CAs should consider how “new”, and “old” forms of violence have (re)defined the notion of crime and highlight the relevance of class, race, gender, age and location in understanding these phenomena; the distinctiveness of socially deviant behaviour as compared to organised crime, as well as possible relations between them (e.g. the first as recruitment field for the second); the causes and consequences of criminalisation and marginalisation together with the dynamics of socio-political, economic and media actors responsible for constructing feelings of insecurity. The challenges that measures such as detention and repatriation face in reproducing and preventing further crime—and in safeguarding or violating human rights—should be critically examined; the role of negative social stereotyping could also be considered in this regard. A comparison of different criminal law regimes and crime prevention and social integration policies implemented across national and European levels should be undertaken and good practices should be identified.

call. Each was supervised by two people: Factors of deviant behaviour (Pieter Spierenburg and Laurent Mucchielli); Criminalisation (Sonja Snacken and Yves Cartuyvels); Perceptions of crime (Adam Crawford and André Lemaître); Informal economy (Johanna Shapland and Paul Ponsaers); and Public policies of prevention (Hugues Lagrange, and later Tim Hope and Dario Melossi).

An additional work package was designed to assess methodological knowledge, to further proper methodological understanding, and to foster good practices for the development of theoretical and practical work with respect to crime prevention (Renée Zauberman and Philippe Robert, with help from Amadeu Recasens and Anabel Rodriguez).

Objectives
CRIMPREV defined a number of objectives:
1. The production of scholarly added value by the systematic use of comparisons within the European Union.
2. The dissemination of the scholarly added value produced, (a) within the Consortium; (b) more widely, within the scientific community; (c) among officials at different governmental levels throughout Europe; and (d) to the various stakeholders in these subjects (media actors, NGOs, the private security sector or others).
3. The development of an interdisciplinary scientific network susceptible of gradually integrating competent centres in different countries, starting from a solid core group and able to establish in the future relevant scholarly cooperation with centres located outside the European Union.
4. The provision, for officials at various governmental levels, of methodological skills bearing on assistance in decision-making, measurement of facts and evaluation of public policies, in order to contribute to the work of monitoring centres at supra-national, national or infra-national levels.
5. The use of CRIMPREV as a training ground for participants who had not had a chance to participate in European Framework programs. As I explain now, we successfully met these objectives.

What did CRIMPREV accomplish?
Answering this question is not so easy, because there are short-term results that are readily visible and quantifiable and long-term consequences which are more qualitative and not yet fully apparent. Much more detailed presentation and discussion of the activities of the six work packages occurred in Milton Keynes.

Visible results
Some results are readily visible and even quantifiable:
- Over these 3 years, there were 46 meetings in 27 European cities;
- These meetings have involved 470 individual participants, approximately two-thirds male and one-third female. Many were not part of the initial consortium. Overall, people from 196 institutions and 31 countries were involved.
- Thus I think that we fulfilled our assigned objective to include colleagues from countries other than those in the core group (57 participants) and especially to include scholars from recent EU member and candidate countries (25 participants), with the aim of fostering partnerships and consolidating research on socially deviant behaviours and prevention.
- Another visible result, albeit as yet partial, is the number and quality of publications stemming from CRIMPREV. Table 1 summarizes output through the Milton Keynes meeting.

Apart from the “deliverables” required in the funding agreement, there have been and will be many publications in hard copy or electronic form. Most are in French or English, but a few are in other languages. They range from journal articles, to collections of papers, and even to series of volumes.

Another result is CRIMPREV’s contribution to the growing body of comparative research in our field. The social sciences classically viewed comparison as a substitute for experimentation as used in the natural sciences. Durkheim observed that comparative sociology is not a special branch of sociology but sociology itself. In CRIMPREV, we stressed that Europe is a kind of natural experience field. Providing “comparative added-
value” was thus a primary objective. An enormous literature illuminates the difficulties of comparative research. Inexorably, there is a tension between looking for overarching resemblances or looking for specificities or as Adam Edwards and Gordon Hughes (2005) recently put it, between a nomothetic and an idiographic research tradition. The very idea of comparability is a matter of debate.

Durkheim insisted on the linkage between a given social fact and the specific society of which it is part, and pleaded that valid results can be obtained only from comparisons within a given type of society. In like vein, Fabien Jobard and Axel Groomemeyer (2005) argued that France and Germany are much better candidates for comparison than are France and the US or even the UK, because they have similar legal-institutional traditions. With its emphasis on comparison, CRIMPREV participated fully in the recently revived interest in criminological comparative research, as illustrated by the works of Michael Cavadino and James Dignan (2005), Michael Tonry (2007), David Nelken (2007), and Hugues Lagrange (2003), to name but a few. What characterises these works, and that within CRIMPREV, is their refusal to rely on such all-purpose unfalsifiable catchwords as “globalisation,” “neo-liberalism,” etc., and their emphasis on theoretically and empirically grounded differences and similarities.

**Less visible results**
This brings me to the less visible, but long-term effects of CRIMPREV. Our aim was to produce knowledge through networking. We did a lot of networking. This, I’m convinced, will have far-reaching effects. The opportunity it provided for cooperative interactions among so many European scholars will have ripple effects that will be evident for years to come.

CRIMPREV also provided rich opportunities for scholars to interact more closely with numerous decision- and policy-makers, and especially with non-academic entities that are active at an international level in the field of crime and prevention. Examples include the European Forum for Urban Safety—which was part of the consortium; the International Centre for the Prevention of Crime in Montreal—which took an active part; and the European Crime Prevention Network, which showed great interest in our work.

Last but not least, CRIMPREV has significantly increased the visibility of Groupe Européen de Recherche sur les Normativités (GERN) in Europe. GERN constituted the core group of CRIMPREV. This will have consequences regarding GERN’s future projects.

**Difficulties of European projects**
An implicit objective was to learn how European projects function. And I must say, we learned all along. Given that I expect many future projects to emerge from the CRIMPREV experience, it may be useful if I offer some very practical recommendations for partners and scientific coordinators of future projects and also for the European Commission.

**Some difficulties**
A main difficulty was dealing with more than 30 different bureaucracies, each having its own rules for managing European funds, but many having little experience in doing so.

Another, somewhat unexpected, but in retrospect understandable difficulty, is that European social scientists have learned to be exceedingly thrifty, and are unaccustomed to dealing with the amounts of money involved in a project such as CRIMPREV. This reality, combined with the difficulties in working with inexperienced partner institutions, and with ensuing uncertainties about how to spend and what for, led us to underspend. This sometimes meant we were less ambitious than we might have been.

**Some practical advice**
To would-be coordinators and partners of future FP programs, I offer the following suggestions:

- Limit the project to a moderate number of partners; a large number decreases flexibility, slows down decisions, and generally reduces reactivity.
- Limit the number of deliverables (I am grateful to our first scientific officer for suggesting this when we negotiated the contract: we probably could have not have achieved our initial list!).
- Keep the consortium agreement as simple as possible (in particular, make provisions for electronic votes, avoid quorum rules and, above all, avoid provisions for unanimous votes).
- Be aware that it is almost impossible to monitor the budget in real time (and the greater the number of partners, the less you can know).
- Don’t expect to make substantial changes to the program once it has started.
- Don’t plan any activities during the first 6 months (because you can’t be sure of the starting date of the contract).
- Don’t plan any activities during the last 6 months. These should be reserved for finalising the deliverables.
- Don’t start the project in July, as we inadvertently did, because this means you’ll have to do your reporting when most participants are on vacation (and it might spoil yours!).
- And above all, hire an experienced administrator and competent staff (which I was very lucky to have).

**Some suggestions to the EC**
I have fewer, but no less important

Continued on next page
recommendations for the Commission:

- Organise early training sessions for coordinators and project managers.
- Simplify the rules governing projects; no one fully masters them, even at the EC level, and even less within partner organisations, even big national agencies. This has 2 major consequences:
  (a) At the partner level, the conditioned reflex of frightened bureaucracies facing new and unmastered complexity is to impose additional restrictions to protect themselves, complicating things further.
  (b) At the Commission level, this increases the scientific officer’s discretion and increases the level of uncertainty (the “unknown unknowns,” as Donald Rumsfeld would say, and as we have had many opportunities to notice, since we had three officers in three years). Researchers familiar with the workings of criminal justice agencies know that officials have lots of discretion; as coordinator of a project, dealing with the ramifications of that reality can be a bit unnerving.
- Reduce the number of obligatory reports: on a 3 year project, there should be only one after 18 months and one at the end; no more, and certainly not one every year. This would significantly reduce the bureaucratic burden for everyone.
- Allow some spending by any partner (not only the coordinator as now) for a limited time after the official end date when justified to finalise deliverables (e.g., to pay for translations).
- Set up open calls within Framework Program 7, as major national funding organisations do. It is appropriate for the EU to define priorities, but it is bad policy—and a sign of distrust towards the academic community—to think that those in charge of selecting priorities will necessarily select the best ones. A good example is precisely that deviance, crime, criminal justice, and insecurity are only marginally present within FP7 calls since its beginning.

Perspectives

However serious the challenges these difficulties pose, they should not deter us from thinking about the future. It is a major success of CRIMPREV that a number of its partner institutions are eager to move on from networking to comparative research. Our challenge for the future is to change CRIMPREV from a training ground to a breeding ground and to develop new research initiatives in the course of FP7 or other funding schemes.

Within GERN, we have already given thoughts to future initiatives. We plan to set up a few working groups, supported by GERN funds to begin with. They will be asked to develop proposals for projects that might be funded within FP7 or other national or transnational funding schemes established by national research agencies (such as the British ESRC, the German DFG, and the French ANR). We also hope to set up a fund to enable doctoral and post-doctoral researchers to spend some time with GERN partners for the purpose of their research.

CRIMPREV has truly been a collective enterprise, based in large part on new and established cooperation among its participants. This forged cooperation did much to alleviate the difficulties mentioned before. Many partners have expressed their satisfaction for having been part of this endeavour. I am utterly convinced this is the starting point of long-lasting (and beautiful) cooperation!

References:

**NEW PUBLICATIONS FROM CRIMPREV**

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<td>Comparing Crime Data in Europe. Official Crime Statistics and Survey Based Data</td>
<td>Philippe Robert (CESDIP-Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Guyancourt, France)</td>
<td>Until the second half of the 20th century, crime estimates were locked up in an administrative monopoly: the only available figures resulted from counting the activities of various criminal justice agencies. By contrast, from then on, alternative measurement methods were developed based on general population surveys, which severed the crime estimates' dependency on the operation of the police or the courts. However, widening the range of the tools used for measuring crime will only be fruitful if their consideration proceeds beyond mere juxtaposition, towards genuine comparison. This volume accounts for the comparisons performed in a number of European countries between official criminal statistics and victimisation surveys.</td>
<td>June 2009</td>
<td>146pp</td>
<td>ISBN 978-90-5487-509-5</td>
<td>November 2008</td>
<td>168pp</td>
<td>ISBN 978-2-296-09875-6</td>
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<td>Victimisation and Insecurity in Europe. A Review of Surveys and their Use</td>
<td>Renée Zauberman (CESDIP-Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Guyancourt, France)</td>
<td>Victimisation and insecurity surveys are today one of the major ways to generate data usable for the measurement and study crime. Still, across European countries, they are carried out and put to use in a variety of ways. This is why it is essential to compare practices across some major countries so as to map the situation and identify the good – as well as the bad – practices within the European zone.</td>
<td>December 2008</td>
<td>170pp</td>
<td>ISBN 978-90-5487-495-9</td>
<td>November 2008</td>
<td>190pp</td>
<td>ISBN 978-2-296-06665-6</td>
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<td>Crime Prevention Policies in Comparative Perspective</td>
<td>Adam Crawford (University of Leeds, U.K.)</td>
<td>The book brings together a collection of leading international experts to explore the lessons learnt through implementation and the future directions of crime prevention policies. Many of the contributors have been closely involved in crime prevention and community safety policy and research in different countries over a number of years. As such, they are well placed to reflect upon developmental trajectories and the direction of change over the last quarter of a century, as well as to draw out the underlying influences that have shaped such changes.</td>
<td>June 2009</td>
<td>272pp</td>
<td>ISBN 978-1-84392-412-8</td>
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<td>Histoire de l’homicide en Europe. De la fin du Moyen Âge à nos jours</td>
<td>Laurent Mucchielli (CESDIP-Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Guyancourt, France) and Pieter C. Spierenburg (Erasmus University of Rotterdam, The Netherlands)</td>
<td>In this volume, twelve experts chart the history of homicide and serious violence in Europe from the middle ages to modern times. The book's broad geographic scope is unprecedented, with contributions ranging from Scandinavia to Greece and from Wales to Germany. Statistical analyses of past homicide rates are combined with perceptive studies of themes such as honor codes, revenge, the law, urban culture and modern organized crime.</td>
<td>February 2009</td>
<td>336pp</td>
<td>ISBN 978-2-7015-714-0</td>
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Edinburgh Law School

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Criminology Award Address

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of empirical material in order to try to support his theory.

Lombroso was inspired by Darwin’s theory of evolution. He considered that criminals were born as criminals, their biological characteristics being based on an atavism, a kind of evolutionary reversion. In accordance with Darwin’s theory of evolution, Lombroso assumed that criminals would have smaller brains than conventional people. On this basis he measured a great number of skulls to test his theory and he encouraged other researchers to do the same.

Interestingly, at the same time we observe in Europe the expansion of so-called Moral Statistics, a kind of ‘moral accounting’ to identify social problems that required political action (van Kerckvoorde 1995, p. 5). The idea that statistical regularities can explain the phenomenon of crime was developed in several European countries, including France, England, Germany, and Belgium.

In northwestern Europe, the Belgian astronomer and mathematician Quételet (1796-1874) was a founder of scientific crime statistics, relating criminality to sex, age, education, race, geography, climate, and the nature of the act. He introduced the concept of criminal propensity (penchant au crime) as ‘a statistical variable indicating “the probability of committing a crime by an average person”’ (van Kerckvoorde 1995, p. 7).

Around 1900 most criminologists were convinced that crime could be explained by the innate characteristics of criminals and that there was not much that anyone could do about it. However, among European criminologists there were enormous conflicts between Lombroso’s supporters on the one side and the French environmentalists on the other.

The main attacks of the ‘Milieu school’ were addressed to the bio-sociologists. The famous scientist Lacassagne (1843-1923) proposed a purely sociological approach to criminality (la sociologie criminelle) and started to test, correct, and improve the ‘milieu’ approach and also to consider economic conditions (Lacassagne 1978, 1987).

Both ideas were really new. Little had been written on economic conditions. In addition, empirical data on the possible ways in which the environment affected crime were non-existent. To demonstrate such effects, the Dutch criminologist Bonger employed statistical techniques and empirical data in his magnum opus (written in French and published as “Criminalité et Conditions Economiques”) (Bonger 1967 [1905]; van Weringh 1986, pp. 45-54; van Heerikhuize 1987, pp. 63-147).

Bonger drew a clear distinction between criminality as an individual act and crime as a phenomenon in society, a distinction that even in our days is not always clearly made by researchers or by judicial authorities. He attacked the idea that innate personality traits indicate a tendency towards crime (now some would refer to ‘a crime gene’) as well as the idea that a social phenomenon such as crime can be reduced to individual tendencies. There was a lot at stake, since the political and practical implications for combating crime are very different if one considers that crime has a biological and genetic origin than if one believes its principal causes must be found in the environment.

This, ESC members in 2009, was the major controversy of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. I have discussed our criminological past at some length because the essential problem faced in the 19th century greatly resembles differences in theoretical approaches in criminology today.

On one side, psychologists and psychiatrists emphasize genetic or neuropsychological deficits in the individual as the main causes of crime. Some claim that 90 percent of detainees in juvenile institutions are mentally disturbed and need psychiatric treatment. The very popular ‘risk factors’ approach for predicting anti-social and criminal behaviour also tends to characterize problematic psycho-social characteristics, such as impulsivity, aggression, and hyperactivity as stable traits of individual children that lead to later behavioural problems, including crime. These so-called, rather deterministic, static theories explain criminal behaviour in terms of an underlying factor called the ‘criminal propensity’ (Wilson and Herrnstein 1985; Gottfredson and Hirschi 1990; Moffit 1993).

On the other side are dynamic theories positing that life changes continually and that these changes have causal effects on behaviour. For example, desistance from crime is explained in terms of the influence of life events, changes in the individual’s life, such as getting a job, getting married, becoming a parent; by the timing of such changes; and by human agency (Laub and Sampson 2003). In addition, these theories posit that criminal behaviour varies and that most juvenile offenders do not become persistent adult offenders (Cline 1980).

The importance of this theoretical distinction lies in its implications for policy making. Static theories locate the causes of crime in the individual. This position is, for example, reflected in the way criminal justice systems have adopted the ‘just deserts’ approach, considering the individual—adults and juveniles—as a free agent who is fully responsible for his or her acts and thus must bear the consequences of his behaviour. In most western countries this approach has led to an explosion of incarceration and to the building of new prisons. In terms of crime reduction policies, authorities tend to act as if all they need do to prevent crime is to fund experimental interventions addressed at behavioural changes in individual offenders. Cont.
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Dynamic theories, by contrast, take into account the context of behaviour, such as, for example, the social and economic conditions of family life, the neighbourhoods where children are raised, and the quality of the education system. They also take account of later life events, such as stable employment, a good boss, and a marriage partner, all factors that promote law-abiding behaviour.

Such conceptions of crime causation place important responsibilities on the state in creating favourable conditions for its citizens to grow up and lead productive lives, such as providing for decent housing, good schools, safe neighbourhoods, and employment possibilities for young people on the state.

Some countries accomplish this agenda to a considerably greater extent than others. For example, comparing country clusters according to a number of welfare criteria (Esping-Anderson 1990; Saint Arnaud and Bernard 2003), we found in the ISRD-2 study that delinquency rates in the Scandinavian countries are substantially lower than in the Anglo-Saxon and Western European clusters. This result is supported in a study by two British public health researchers of the relationship of income inequality with different health and social problems, including crime (Wilkinson and Picket 2009).

I consider it one of the most important tasks for criminologists in the near future to test these two important theoretical approaches on their validity for reducing criminal behaviour. Such a test would not only require fundamental research, but also applied studies, such as policy experiments and evaluation research. It is to this subject that I now turn.

The Aims of Research
There was a time in Europe when all important research was done within universities, which used to fund their own research, usually in departments of Law or Social Sciences. Of course, that type of research was often purely academic and theoretical, and rarely directly relevant to policy makers. Since the 1980s two developments slowly put an end to the universities’ dominant role.

First, there was a growing awareness within governments and parliaments of the need for empirical evidence to inform development and modification of government policies. Second, globalization, and with it the full-fledged market economy, invaded Europe and slowly transformed all institutions, including the universities.

A main consequence of globalization has been that governments have greatly reduced university budgets. Because universities tend to see the education of young people as their essential education function, funds available for research are greatly diminished. Because, unlike in Anglo-Saxon countries and Germany, most continental European countries do not have large foundations willing to fund elaborate fundamental studies, the only funding agency researchers can turn to, and increasingly do, is the state.

One might say that ‘all is well in the best of worlds’ because the state’s needs for information derived from research matches the research community’s need for funding. Researchers have indeed become used to turning to the state for funding. One consequence is a growing emphasis on applied research at the expense of fundamental research.

Fundamental or theoretical research is focused on generating and testing hypotheses serving to support, modify, or innovate theory. Consequently, it is there that the fundamental objectives of study are found; the results shape and embody the discipline’s progress. Applied research by contrast finds its subject outside the discipline in social reality. Its results are addressed to practical policy; it is action-oriented. The aim is to improve policy within the framework of the prevailing values and norms of society.

As I see it, the social sciences, including criminology, have a second fundamental mission besides realization of their ambition to conduct fundamental research and advance scientific knowledge. That mission is to make a contribution, however small, to achieving a somewhat fairer, more humane, and more rational society.

It is absolutely necessary in contemporary society that researchers attempt to inform the development of policy. The use of reason—manifested in research—will lead to better, clearer relationship between the ends and means of policy. Societies are improved when specific solutions to specific problems are evaluated, and the solutions are modified, and evaluated again.

However, this trend, although useful in many respects, has unexpected consequences. One is that researchers have to deal with policy makers who have their own objectives regarding the policy problem to be studied. These may differ from the researcher’s objectives, creating a situation which may threaten the integrity of the researcher and the scientific independence of the commissioned research.

A first problem relates to research agendas and priorities. To the extent that researchers depend on the state for funding, the state can set the agenda. Contemporary researchers know the research topics for which funding can be found. In order to raise
money, many are ready to embrace any question ‘à la mode’. For example, in the United States we have seen successive trends in research topics, directly influenced by politicians’ agendas for criminal justice. There have thus been successive waves of research on incapacitation and career criminals, followed by research on drugs, and most recently on organised crime and terrorism.

There is a danger in having governmental funding authorities determine research priorities. This may seriously restrict the range of criminological research and stifle innovation and creativity. Authorities tend to limit their research questions to practical problems they are confronted with and want to solve. There is an increasing tendency among policy makers to determine the research agenda to which researchers can then subscribe.

A second question is how effective such research is in shaping or modifying policy decisions. A dilemma is that the distance between policy decision makers and researchers is usually too great for research to influence political decisions. Frequent interaction with policy makers is necessary if a study’s outcomes are to make a real impact on policy decisions. That kind of interaction may put researchers at risk of identifying too closely with government’s management and political problems. The result can be inability to maintain a critical distance.

Related to this problem are differences in conceptions of ‘valid’ outcomes of research. For a ministerial or multinational bureaucracy, outcomes that do not challenge the bureaucratic system are valid. If in this sense the outcomes are successful, they can be rapidly communicated to the minister, his staff, and the media.

If the outcomes reveal serious policy shortcomings or worse, the failure of policy measures, the report may be sent back to the researchers with the suggestion that the research design or methodology may not have been correct, and—with greater or lesser emphasis—requests for revisions. Another option for policy makers is to praise research findings, to declare that there policy implications will be seriously considered, and to put the report in a drawer that will never again be opened.

Another problem that regularly arises concerns the recommendations based on research findings. Researchers are better at identifying problems than at formulating policy options to solve them. Policy makers often, in any case, may not appreciate receiving recommendations, judging this to be their own prerogative. In recognition of this dilemma, recommendations tend often to be meaningless—either the well-known formula that ‘more research is needed to reach the bottom of the problem’, or recommendation of policy measures that affect ministries or departments other than the one that commissioned the research.

Another recurring problem is the situation in which the mandated study is meant to serve as a smoke screen, for example when the minister must respond to requests from parliament but does not really wish to take any action. In these cases research often serves as a pretext to delay sine die difficult political decisions. In some cases research serves to justify decisions that have already been taken. Obviously, such studies will not have any real impact on policy making.

A practical problem for the conscientious researcher is the suddenly pressing policy problem to which he has to respond in a very limited period of time, if not immediately. Such research can only be superficial. But, if solid and serious research into the matter reaches policy decision makers at a moment when the decision has already been taken, it is not very useful. This is one of the reasons policy makers make use of commercial marketing agencies.

Crime policy interests, including ideological orientations and politics, threaten research integrity in criminology. This is why the existence of independent research foundations is so important, and why their absence in many countries is so sorely felt. Non-governmental sources of research funding would allow an autonomous development of fundamental research producing real progress of the discipline.

What Now?
The question now is—and this is my last point—what can we do to improve the situation?

I am convinced universities have a big role to play in guaranteeing research integrity. In my own country—since the 1990s—all Dutch universities have an Ethics Commission which has formulated a Code of Conduct aimed at avoiding conflicts of interest. For example, there are codes of conduct for medical research, for research on ethics in medical practice, and for the social sciences with respect to data protection issues. In addition, a national organisation for academic integrity was established in May 2003; it has an appeal function in cases in which conflicts cannot be resolved at the university level, although its verdict is not final. However, although all existing codes specify the correct procedures to follow, there is still a need for a code of normative principles concerning the credibility and incorruptibility of academic research (van der Heijden 2004).

It is of paramount importance that universities pay considerably more attention to questions of scientific ethics in their curriculum than they used to do, so that students and future researchers are taught the norms and values they will have to respect when they enter the world of research. In this way they will be better prepared for what they may expect and may be able to resist pressures, whether they work for national or local authorities or for private industry. It would also help if criminology as a social science was taught in faculties of social sciences rather than in faculties of law, as it still is in most of Europe.

When research is funded by third parties, transparent contracts must be made, which specify research conditions, including methodologies to be used, ownership of data, uncensored publication of the research findings in a reasonable time, and responsibility for a study’s conclusions.

Universities must make it quite clear to students and to the wider community—that they work not only for the government or a private

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funding agency, but also for the entire community, for the general good. It is crucial to take into account the long-term interests and credibility of academic research and to guarantee the independence of researchers.

Academic journals might require contributors to reveal who funded the research and where the study was conducted. Some academics also claim that legislation is needed to reinforce the position of the researcher and protect his scientific integrity.

Finally there might also be a role for the ESC. When I was ESC president I proposed creation of a Scientific Commission, a suggestion that later died a quiet death. It might be a good idea to revive the idea and ask such a commission to draft a research agenda with research suggestions, for example for a period of about three years, giving room to all kinds of creative and innovative ideas and including basic as well as applied research. Subjects might include the causes of crime, circumstances of onset and desistance of crime, and gender and ethnicity, and also questions of relevance to policy making in Europe, such as crime trends, migration problems, and cross-border crime. Such an agenda would be addressed to universities and to funders, including individual states and the European Union, assisting them to focus on research issues that are of importance for the science of criminology and for policy making.

* * *

LITERATURE


President's Message

Continued from page 2

twelve ESC working groups in order to reflect the state of the art of their work. The working groups could act as go-betweens with more distant European countries (or countries close to them), the research of which is not widely known outside the particular country because of language barriers (countries such as Ukraine, Greece, or Byelorussia were mentioned).

Then, there is the immense work accumulated by the CRIM-PREV research network for the past three years. It offers top syntheses on comparative and complex phenomena which could be very useful for such a book. Modes of cooperation should be explored. It was agreed by all those with whom I have spoken that such a handbook should reflect the best of European research.

Participants at the meeting in Ljubljana to discuss possible plans for a handbook expressed the wish to limit at first the number of themes in order to keep intellectual control of the work, make use of comparative work already produced, and facilitate the possibility of translations. The selection of themes could be inspired by existing handbooks, adding a European twist to them.

One difficulty and complexity of this endeavour will be to find the most competent author or authors, who have extensive knowledge of the diversity of European practices, to take responsibility for a particular theme. They will have to find out and explain why a theme is little studied in a particular country and to resolve problems of terminology.

Graduate and postgraduate students, postgraduate researchers, academic peers, and other research users, including governments and NGOs, could benefit from the knowledge transmitted by the European
handbook. Criminologists in the meeting from Eastern Europe and the Netherlands deplored the frequency with which their students yield to the temptation to use clear, friendly, not overly complex, and readily available American handbooks to the detriment of the local handbooks they or their colleagues have produced.

I wanted to share with you at this stage some of the dilemmas and also the enthusiasm we felt after this meeting.

The General Assembly of the ESC meeting in Liège next year will be asked to consider whether it wants to give the green light to a handbook project and provide staff and funds to get it going. In the months to come, conversations and exchanges will take place by mail. Suggestions are welcome.

You may also hear from a small group of dedicated scholars who have agreed to devote time and resources to advance thinking about what to do and what not to do regarding methods, definitions, concepts, themes, various cultures, divergences in orientation, legal systems, and policy and community responses.

A Gigantesque task but why not? As Italo Calvino remarked, “What can be imagined can be dreamt. But before all action, you need a dream…”


European Prisons

in the former Soviet republics. With the exceptions of Armenia, Moldova, and Lithuania, the countries of that part of Europe present rates that are higher than 250 prisoners per 100,000 inhabitants.

Countries with the highest prison population rates do not coincide with countries reporting prison overcrowding. Our cross-sectional analyses show that the seventeen countries where the number of detainees exceeds the total capacity of penal institutions are generally located in Central or Western Europe. However, the validity of this indicator is doubtful, because the way in which the total capacity of penal institutions is calculated varies from country to country.

For example, in England and Wales, total capacity refers to operational capacity and, since 2003, this country has never reported a problem of overcrowding, although its prison density (number of prisoners per 100 places) is usually near 100 (e.g. 96 in 2007). On the other hand, in Scotland, total capacity refers to the design capacity of the penal institutions, and this country usually reports overcrowding, i.e. more than 100 prisoners per 100 places (e.g. 117 in 2007). Indeed, a prison designed for a certain number of prisoners can increase its operational capacity by, for example, adding extra beds.

In the same perspective, eighteen countries (less than half of the ones that provided information for SPACE) provided explicit indications on the surface area foreseen in cells per each prisoner. The minimal requirements of the CPT¹ – included in the European Prison Rules [EPR] (2006, p.49) – are 6m² per prisoner. In the majority of Eastern European countries that provided information, the surface area is less than 6m² (average=4.48). In Western Europe, the average is 8.58; i.e. approximately twice as large as in Eastern Europe. Finally, some countries calculate their prison capacity on the basis of the number of beds available.

Trends in prison population

In order to obtain a longitudinal view of prison populations in Europe, we applied a longitudinal regression equation on the annual available figures from 2000 to 2007. This allowed us to calculate the average percentage of the annual change in prison population rates in all the CoE Member States (Figure 2).

Figure 2 confirms the trends that we described two years ago (Aebi and Stadnic [Delgrande], 2007⁷). Using a photographic metaphor, the evolution of prison population rates from 2000 to 2007 shown in figure 2 is the negative of the prison population rates revealed in figure 1 for 2007. Countries with the highest prison population rates in 2007 are also those who present the greatest decreases in their rates between 2000 and 2007, with the exceptions of Albania (for which we compared 2000 to 2006) and Georgia which experienced an opposite trend. At the same time, countries with low and medium prison population rates, located mainly in Western Europe, have generally experienced an increase in their rates during the period studied.

During these seven years the most important decrease took place in Romania (-6.5%). Other relevant
examples of a decrease in prison population rates can be found in the Baltic States, Russia, and Ukraine. Even if these countries remain in the category of those with the highest rates in 2007, they are also those who show the most important reduction in their prison population between 2000 and 2007. This is not the case for France, Finland, and Northern Ireland. These countries are in the middle category as far as prison population in 2007 is concerned (99.9 prisoners per 100,000 population in France, 82.1 in Northern Ireland, and 69.2 in Finland), but these rates have increased during the period studied by 3% in France, by almost 4% in Finland, and by 7.8% in Northern Ireland.

The situation in Italy deserves an explanation. This country shows a decreasing trend which is explained by a collective pardon accorded on 1st August 2006 that led to the release of 20,000 prisoners. As a consequence, there was a huge decrease (-36.1%) in the Italian prison population rate between 2005 and 2006. Thus, Italian figures should be considered very cautiously in longitudinal comparisons.

All in all, two thirds of the 43 European countries that provided data for the whole series registered an increase in their prison population rates between 2000 and 2007. The most important increases (more than 5%) were in Bulgaria, FYRO Macedonia, Northern Ireland, Croatia, Luxembourg, Cyprus, Georgia and Albania. In the 27 countries of the European Union, the average percentage of increase between the period examined was 1.8%.

**Serving vs. not serving a prison sentence in Europe in 2007**

The European Prison Rules stress that the application of pre-trial detention must be the ultimate measure. It should only be applied when it is not possible to keep the person in the society by using alternatives to imprisonment.

In that context, in figure 3 we have made a distinction between persons who serve and those who do not serve a final sentence. According to the methodology applied in SPACE, in the first category we have included the prisoners who are serving a final sentence. In the second one, we considered the untried detainees, those who were found guilty but who have not received a final sentence yet, and those who were sentenced but who had appealed or were within the statutory limits for doing so. The average percentage of detainees not serving a final sentence in Europe is 23.4% and the median is 19.9%.

Figure 3 shows that the distribution of these categories is not homogeneous. In several countries, more than half of the detainees are not serving a final sentence (e.g. Turkey=60.9%, Monaco=63.9, Italy=58.5%). Countries with the lowest percentages are usually located in Eastern Europe. Outside that region, the only countries with less than 20% of their detainees not serving a final sentence are Iceland (10.4), Finland (13.8), England and Wales (16.1), Germany (16.9), Ireland (18.6), and Norway (19.8). However, a high percentage of prisoners under that category is not necessarily a synonym of a high prison population rate. Thus, among countries with percentages higher than 30%, Switzerland (37.9), Italy (58.5), the Netherlands (39.4), and Belgium (32.0) have a prison population rate.
of less than 100 prisoners per 100,000 inhabitants (figure 1). In that context, it has frequently been pointed out that foreigners are more often kept in pre-trial detention than nationals because, especially when they are not legally established in the country, they are not eligible for the existing alternatives to imprisonment. This finding suggests that a high prison population rate could also be partially explained by the presence of a large number of foreigners held in penal institutions and, in particular, in pre-trial detention or awaiting a final sentence. Indeed, figure 3 shows that the highest percentages of detainees not serving a final sentence are usually located in entry and transit countries. For that reason, in figure 4, we analyzed the composition of the category of prisoners not serving a final sentence in order to see if it is influenced by the number of foreign detainees.

Figure 4 shows that half of the countries with percentages situated over the European average of detainees not serving a final sentence effectively present an important percentage of foreigners under that category (more than 10%). However, the other half does not confirm our hypothesis. In the cases of Turkey or Northern Ireland, for example, we should have expected an overrepresentation of foreign detainees who were not sentenced, but the figures show that foreigners in that category are only 1.1% and 3% respectively. However it can be seen that in entry and transit countries (e.g., Austria, Belgium, Greece, Italy, Netherlands, Spain, and Switzerland) the percentage of foreign detainees is usually larger than in the rest of the countries. This distribution suggests that the number of foreign detainees seems related to the geographical position of the country (countries concerned by the problem of illegal immigration) as well as to its role in drug trafficking networks.

Finally, we have calculated the median length of imprisonment in Europe. The median length of detention before a final sentence is 3.7 months, and the length for sentenced prisoners is 9.7 months. The longest stays in detention before a final sentence (more than 10 months) can be found in Georgia, Azerbaijan, Latvia, Czech Republic, and Portugal. The longest stays in prison for sentenced prisoners (more than 30 months) can be found in Portugal, Spain, Latvia, Turkey, and Luxembourg. With the exception of Latvia, the latter group of countries shows long lengths of imprisonment for sentenced prisoners although their prison population rate is close to the European average (138.6 prisoners per 100,000 inhabitants).

Conclusion

In 2007, the highest prison population rates could be found in Eastern Europe but, in general, the rates of these countries have been decreasing between 2000 and 2007. On the other hand, in Western Europe, prisons rates have slightly increased (+1.8% in EU countries) during the same period.

The number of foreign detainees is very low in Eastern European countries. As a consequence, they do not play a major role in the explanation of the prison population rates in these countries. On the contrary, in Western Europe, the number of foreign detainees is relatively high and is related—especially in countries exposed to important flows of illegal immigrants as well as in entry and transit countries for drug trafficking—to the percentage of detainees not serving a final sentence.

Finally, this short article shows that overcrowding is related to the way in which the prison capacity is calculated.


\footnote{CPT : European Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment of the Council of Europe: http://www.cpt.coe.int/en/}

\footnote{Council of Europe Committee of Ministers 2006. European Prison Rules. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.}


\footnote{This methodological choice is made because many countries cannot produce figures for the category of sentenced prisoners who have appealed or who are within the statutory limits for doing so.}

\footnote{These categories are sometimes ambiguous (e.g., they vary according to the type of drug trafficked); but they have been used by several studies in the field of drug trafficking and trafficking of human beings. Thus, Austria, Belgium, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Netherlands, Spain, Slovenia, Slovakia, and Switzerland are here considered as entry and/or transit countries. For more details on this topic, see: N. Delgrande and M.F. Aebi "Les détenus étrangers en Europe: quelques considérations critiques sur les données disponibles de 1989 à 2006." Déviance et Société, 33(4): 475-99.}
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