



2024

NEWSLETTER OF THE EUROPEAN  
SOCIETY OF CRIMINOLOGY

# Criminology in Europe

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**2024/03.**  
**VOL. 22**

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ISSN 1729-8164

Criminology in Europe, published by the European Society of  
Criminology

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## → MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

Michele Burman

# Presidential address



In my first Presidential message I wish firstly to thank the members of the European Society of Criminology for electing me as President and for giving me the honour to serve the Society in that role.

I'd also like to thank the organisers and all of the participants in the 24<sup>th</sup> Annual ESC Conference, held in Bucharest in September for making it a success. Immense thanks must go to Andra-Roxanna Trandafir and Doru Herinean and their local team who did sterling work to put together and pull off an excellent conference. Organising a successful international conference takes hard work, tenacity and formidable organisational skills and Andra and Doru demonstrated all of these qualities in their skilful preparation and delivery of the Bucharest conference, which actually was originally due to take place in 2020, but postponed until 2021 due to Covid-19, and finally took place in 2024. Many thanks also go to Csaba Györy in his role as conference coordinator and to Marcelo, as always, for his unwavering support for conference organisation and protocols. The Bucharest conference hosted 76 pre-arranged panels; 32 roundtables; 13 author-meets-critics; 243 panel sessions, and 114 posters, and more details on the conference can be found in Anna Di Ronco's piece in this Newsletter.

I also would like to thank Klaus Boers and Barbora Hola who this year completed their mandate as members of the Board, and to say thank you and goodbye to Barbara Gualco (organiser of the 23rd Annual Conference in Florence). A very

warm welcome to Anna-Maria Getos as incoming President-Elect and Marieke Kluin as the elected new at-large board member. We also welcome to the Board Dagmara Woźniakowska of Warsaw University who will be organising our Annual Conference in Warsaw in 2026.

My year as President-Elect has passed very swiftly, but has given me both reason and opportunity to think more directly about why the ESC matters for Criminology and criminologists working across Europe. Since joining the ESC in 2001, I have had the pleasure of observing the marked expansion of the criminological community of Europe, not only in student numbers but also accompanied by a diversification of the kind of research which sits within its purview. Currently, the ESC has 1556 members, an exponential growth since its inception. I was struck at the recent conference at the scope, scale and eclecticism of criminological work featured in the programme (including, for example, Green Criminology, Historical Criminology, Narrative Criminology, Gender, Crime and Justice, Computational Criminology and the interrelationships between crime, science and politics). The conference showcased research on just about any criminological topic you care to think of – and much includes work by early career criminologists. It is clear, to me at least, that the ESC, through its members, embodies some of the most exciting and innovative criminological research, teaching and practice in the world, with European authors routinely published and cited in top criminology journals.

The ESC is also an enabler. Through its activities, events and networks it enables connections to be forged, new criminological questions to be posed, and the continuing pursuit of more perennial ones. I have relished the opportunity to meet colleagues beyond my own institution and country, and discover new ways to engage with criminological questions. Moreover, through its provision of an open and inclusive environment, the ESC offers an opportunity to support the objectives listed in its constitution (e.g., bringing together criminologists in one multi-disciplinary society, advancing Criminology, encouraging exchange and cooperation, acting as a forum of dissemination of knowledge) whilst fostering an open and inclusive environment nurturing ideas and links across borders.

Recognising that our current volatile research environment particularly affects early career researchers and doctoral students, the inaugural Summer School held in Lausanne this past summer planted seeds to support the building of capacity of future generations of criminologists and facilitate the development of cross-Europe networks. Attended by young scholars from across Europe, this proved a resounding success<sup>(1)</sup> and plans are underway for the second Summer School to be held in June 2025.

But all this should not obscure the challenges likely to be faced by the ESC and its members in the coming years, in terms of, for example, the incursion of AI into academia which brings complex tensions between innovation and ethical, methodological and epistemological questions and poses challenges to critical thinking; the Open Access agenda (which carries implications for learned societies more generally)<sup>(2)</sup>; for some, a tightening of government control on research agendas and funding opportunities, and; the profound social and political transformations shaping our world that compel us to continually address their causes and implications through criminological enquiry.

As criminologists, we often go into places that aren't easy. Many of us encounter challenging situations in our research, whilst receiving little support from our home institutions. Some of us operate in more restrictive conditions where particular research topics can be out of bounds. Our research findings can be suppressed and our intellectual curiosity can be diminished or stifled by policies and politics that silence. Politics will always infiltrate Criminology and Criminal Justice by their very nature, and, whilst there may be divergent opinions on how to respond to political pressures and differences, such differences are to be respected and the ESC remains an open and inclusive Society for scholarly debate.

Following careful consideration and protracted discussion, the ESC Board have developed a statement which restates the ESC's mission, as outlined in its constitution, and which reaffirms that, whilst the ESC Board refrains from taking a position on conflicts occurring outside Europe, it condemns all violations of human rights and international crimes. As the ESC Board, we promote respectful scholarly engagement and continue to encourage members to examine the impacts of politics within criminology, and the social and individual impact of international crimes and other atrocities, and to continue to develop and promote laws, policies, and measures for their mitigation. The full statement of the ESC Board can be found in the [News](#) section of the ESC website.

In light of the increasing importance of research integrity and occurrences of research misconduct, it seems timely for the ESC to consider developing a set of principles for responsible ethical practice. Many existing professional societies' codes or frameworks of ethical practice incorporate the vision and values of the society, reflect its professional standards and set out researcher responsibilities, clarify the conditions under which disciplinary work can take place, highlight ethical considerations, and emphasise a duty of care to maintain safety and wellbeing of research participants and researchers.

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(1) For a view from students, see in this newsletter the piece by Daniela-Irina Stadniciuc, "The ESC Summer School – My Adventure from Research Insights to Impact and Everything in Between".

(2) Editorial note: the ESC hosts the European Network for Open Criminology (ENOC), which intends to bring together criminologists interested in open research and open science, aiming to become one of the driving forces for the promotion, training, application and rewarding of open research practices in criminology. More information about this and other ESC working groups [here](#).

In considering the need or desirability of a set of principles for the ESC, the aim should not be to impose a single model of ethical practice or a single set of processes, but rather to provide a frame of reference (a set of principles) which raise awareness of ethical issues, researcher responsibilities and professional conduct (including towards colleagues). Such a framework would aim to support the professional autonomy of European criminological researchers and inform their professional and ethical judgement but should necessarily be read in the light of any other professional ethical guidance to which they are subject, including those issued by individual academic institutions. This is an issue for further consideration through the coming year.

Many of you will know that next year – 2025 – marks the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the European Society of Criminology. Twenty-five years since the inception of the ESC, and the first, memorable, ESC Annual Conference held in Lausanne. Over the coming year there will be several ways to mark this silver anniversary; these include a number of blog entries published throughout the year, and a call for ESC members to send their thoughts and reflections on memorable ESC moments over the past 25 years (max. 60 words!). These could be reflections on theoretical developments or methodological shifts, or simply thoughts or memories of good times, good friends and fruitful discussions at ESC events over the past 25 years. Reflections will be collated in an online *Livre D’Or* to act as a living record, and archive and offer a contribution to the intellectual history of the ESC connecting the past of the Society to its future. Further information about the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary call can be found in this newsletter.

The forthcoming ESC Annual Conference in Athens (3 – 6 September 2025) will be the academic highlight of the anniversary year. The local organisers, led by Effie Lambropoulou, are working hard to make this 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary conference a success, but also an opportunity for celebration and reflection. Last October, the Board had the pleasure of visiting the conference venue – the American College in Greece – a spacious, green and leafy location just outside Athens city centre. At the conference, it is envisaged that there will be a roundtable looking back on 25 years of the ESC and a second roundtable looking forward to another 25 years of the ESC, linking the

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present with the past and thinking critically about its future. Convenors of Working Groups will be asked to consider holding one of their panel sessions at the Athens conference reflecting on continuity and change in their particular field over the past 25 years. Taken together these activities will add to the collection of the intellectual history of the ESC and the evolution of the discipline across Europe over the period.

The Board and I look forward to seeing you in Athens!



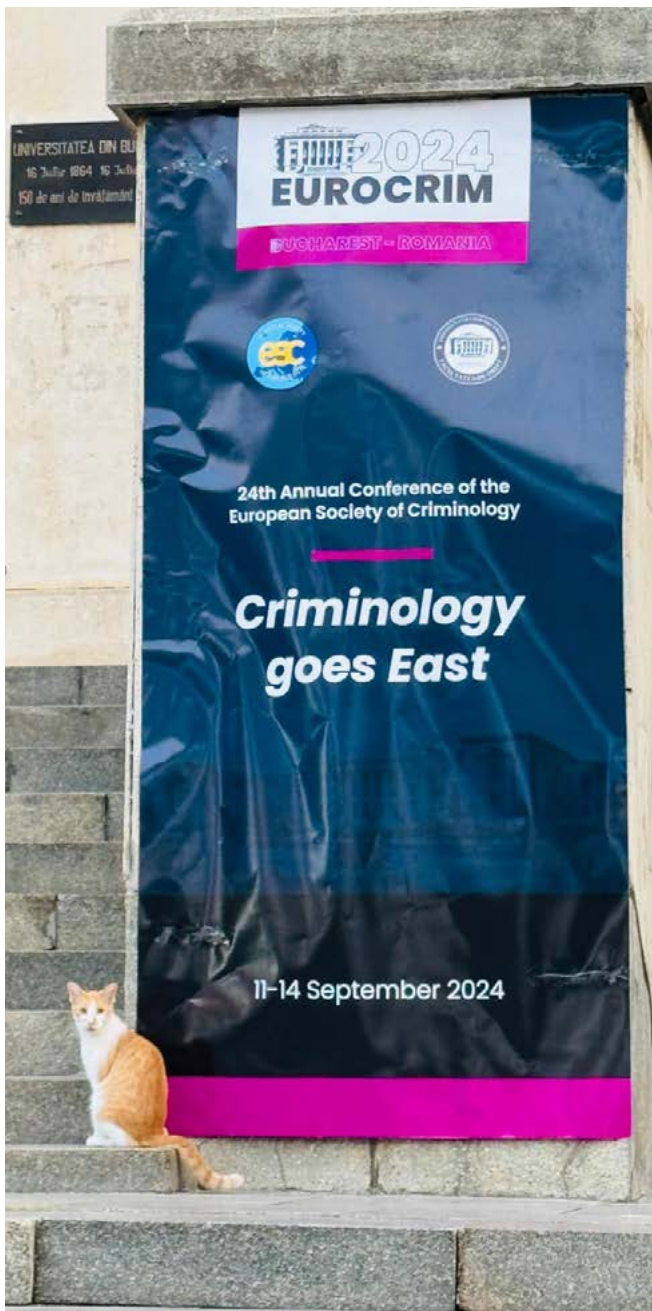
→ CALL FOR MEMORIES

# 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the European Society of Criminology: Call for Memories

For the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the ESC we are asking members to share with us their thoughts and reflections on what they consider to be their memorable ESC moments over the past 25 years. Whether you recall a breakthrough in your research over a glass of wine, your first presentation, spending time with friends and colleagues, or fruitful discussions, tell us everything by sending a text no longer than 60 words to the Editor of the Newsletter ([rfaria@direito.up.pt](mailto:rfaria@direito.up.pt)). All contributions will be collated into an online memory book, or a *Livre D'Or* to celebrate the milestone.

## → CONFERENCE REPORT

By Anna Di Ronco



European criminology went East – and finally it did so! This year’s conference in Bucharest, Romania, not only marked the eastern most geographical reach in Europe for the ESC annual conference, but it was also the most postponed conference in our society’s history, as Andra-Roxana Trandafir – the local organiser – reminded us during her plenary speech<sup>(3)</sup>.

But let’s proceed in order.

*The city of Bucharest.* A remarkable city with a post-communist vibe, Bucharest struck me for its vitality, complexity, and its mixture of communist-style buildings, ancient churches, scaffolded buildings, and more ‘modern’ (including tourist-oriented) venues, especially in the Old Town. I think it can be easily described as a layered city, where multiple historical and aesthetic layers coexist, collide, and merge, making the city extremely interesting and perhaps even charming, in its own peculiar way.

*The conference.* The conference was very pink! I am sure delegates of this year’s Eurocrim clearly remember the 150 pink-T-shirt-wearing students who dotted the Law Faculty’s entrance hall as well as the floors where the conference panels were held. As Andra noted in her speech, many of these students had not even started their first year at the Law Faculty, yet they showed up for 4 consecutive days, from dawn to dusk, to help out, ensure that the registration would go smoothly, and escort helpless delegates who, like me, would keep losing their bearings and never find the right room. A big ‘thank you’ to these tireless and polite students!

(3) Bucharest was going to host the ESC annual conference in 2020. That did not happen due to the COVID-19 pandemic. (Note from the editor)





The conference kick-started on Wednesday – after a multitude of pre-conference meetings – with the opening plenary, the lovely concert, and the reception conveniently hosted in the courtyard right outside the imposing faculty building.

The opening plenary started with the welcome by Răzvan Dincă and Marian Preda, the Dean of the Faculty of Law and Rector of the University of Bucharest respectively, and with the presentations by Josep Maria Tamarit Sumalla, the now past-president, and Andra-Roxana Trandafir, the local organiser. From Josep's plenary talk, we learnt that over the past 21 years of EUROCRIM annual conferences, some topics have featured more than others, and some have remained constant in the conferences' programmes. For example, interest in criminal justice, sanctions, security and policing in public spaces have roughly remained unaltered, suggesting them as core criminological issues. By contrast, topics such as the prevention of organised crime and youth delinquency have featured less in the conferences' programmes over time. Interestingly, among the topics which have increased in prevalence, there are those centred around victims and abuse, and restorative justice.

The second plenary talk by Andra shed light on the history of criminology in Romania. From Andra's talk we learnt that criminology was outright absent in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and was even prohibited during communism. In the early 2000s, the National Institute of Criminology was established, only to be dismantled, re-established and then dismantled again some years later. The Institute's demise, however, did

not mark the end of criminological research in the country, which today is very much alive and thriving. Andra also reminded us of the importance of holding our annual conferences in 'not-the-usual-places' but also in countries where EUROCRIM has never been hosted – to reach out and be accessible to everyone in Europe. As she suggested during her presentation, the number of Romanian delegates at the ESC annual conferences rose from only 3 in 2013 and around 15 in both 2020 and 2022 to 46 at this year's event. Hopefully, these numbers will increase even further in the future.

The following days of the conference were buzzing, with a total of 1577 delegates, 1242 papers presented in prearranged and regular panels, 32 roundtables, 13 author-meets-critics sessions and 114 posters exhibited during a lovely Ice Cream Social.

On Thursday we had our first plenary, with inspiring presentations from Anna-Maria Getoš Kalac and Thomas Ugelvik. Presenting the findings of a homicide study in six countries in the Balkans, Anna-Maria challenged the myth of the Balkans as being violence-ridden. Such myths, however, shape people's perceptions both in and outside the region, also arguably making these countries more subject to penal populism. The second talk of Thursday's plenary by Thomas expanded prison and desistance research by suggesting that the body, embodiment, and pain can be thought about in different and more positive ways than previously envisaged. The body of individuals in prison does not only become weaker, for example, because of sedentary prison life; it can



also become stronger while experiencing pain as in the case of running – an activity that can help former offenders to learn how to manage pain and ultimately support their desistance processes.

The last two plenaries on Friday and Saturday featured presentations on corporate crime and violence against women, respectively. In the first plenary talk on Friday, Sally Simpson outlined some new research areas for corporate crime research, inviting this scholarship and the wider discipline of criminology to collaborate more prominently in the future. In the following plenary talk, Nicholas Lord – interestingly starting from personal experiences working in business – presented his conceptual framework centred around the organisation, which helps understand and explain white collar and corporate crime.

The final plenary on Saturday focused on women either as victims or former offenders. Marieke Liem presented findings from a comparative project on femicide involving six European countries where female homicide victimisation rates were also compared to male victimisation, resulting in the identification of some specificities as well as overlaps between them. Last but not least, Ioan Durnescu presented compelling findings on the post-prison trajectories of Roma women in Romania, which he analysed through an intersectional lens.



A report on this year's conference cannot end without a mention to the farewell dinner, which was held in Caru' cu Bere – a historical, beautiful restaurant in the Old Town serving traditional Romanian food while showcasing traditional dancing interludes. I had an early night because of conference-related commitments the next morning but couldn't help observing the many colleagues who enthusiastically joined in the dances, and the very tired (yet delighted) faces of many others who slept very little that night (probably, because of the many cocktails they had at the cocktail party!). In short, it was a blast!

Bucharest, Romania, *multumesc* – thank you – hopefully, we shall see you again very soon.

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## → ESC EUROPEAN CRIMINOLOGY AWARD RECIPIENT

Per-Olof Wikström

# Acceptance speech



Per-Olof H. Wikström was awarded the 2024 ESC European Criminology Award in recognition of his lifetime contribution to European Criminology. Per-Olof H. Wikström (PhD, Docent, Stockholm University), FBA, is an Emeritus Professor of Ecological and Developmental Criminology at the Institute of Criminology, University of Cambridge and (currently) Professor of Criminology at Malmö University. He is a Principal Investigator of the Peterborough Adolescent and Young Adult Development Study (PADS+), a major ESRC funded research project which aims to advance knowledge about crime causation and prevention. Professor Wikström's main research interests are developing unified theory of the causes of crime (*Situational Action Theory*), its empirical testing and its application to devising knowledge-based prevention policies. He has received numerous scientific accolades: (1) 1992 he was elected Northern Scholar by the University of Edinburgh, (2) in 1994 he received the Sellin-Glueck Award for outstanding contributions to international Criminology from the American Society of Criminology, (3) in 2002 he was made a Fellow of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford, (4) in 2010 he was made a Fellow of the American Society of Criminology, (5) in 2011 he was elected a Fellow of the British Academy, (6) in 2013 he was given an Award of Excellence, University of Maribor (Slovenia), (7) in 2016 he was a winner of the 2016 Stockholm Prize in Criminology, (8) in 2017 he received an Honorary Doctorate from UNED, Madrid, (9) in 2024 he was awarded the Beccaria Gold Medal by the

criminological society of German speaking countries for "exceptionally outstanding contributions to the discipline of Criminology" and (10) also in 2024 he received the European Criminology Award.

## The Emergence of a Theory

Per-Olof H Wikström, FBA

It is a great honour to receive the European Society of Criminology life-time achievement award. My sincere thanks to all those who nominated me, and to the award committee who took the decision to grant me this prestigious distinction. Beate Völker's exquisite and generous laudation contributed to making this a memorable occasion. I see this award not only as a recognition of my work but also of the work of those that have contributed to or inspired my research over the years. I would also like to express my great appreciation for the support and inspiration I get from my partner in life Suzanna and our family.

I am particularly delighted to receive this award since I was one among a small group of people who took the initiative to set up the European Society of Criminology (ESC). I remember, some time in the early 1990s, sitting in the kitchen of The Swedish National Crime Prevention Council (my then employer) with Josine Junger-Tas discussing why there was no European association of criminologists, noting that many 100s of Europeans every year went to the annual conference of the American Society

of Criminology (ASC), concluding that there should be a scope for a European society. We agreed that establishing a European Society would be an important project worth promoting. This is not the place to review the process and events that led up to the ESC's constitution. It suffices to mention that the organisationally skilful Michael Tonry (then director of the Cambridge Institute of Criminology), who I recall responded quite enthusiastically to the idea, became pivotal, together with a group of prominent European scholars - notably Josine Junger-Tas and Martin Killias - in the work of setting up and organising the ESC. Participating in this project's realisation, attending the kick-off meeting held in the Netherlands at the WODC in April 2000, and subsequently being a member of the ESC's first executive board, was an exciting and gratifying experience.

The acceptance speech of a life-time achievement award naturally provides me with an opportunity to reflect on the content of my academic life and how it has unfolded. It also gives me an opportunity to acknowledge some of the many people that I have directly learned from, worked with, and been inspired by at various stages of my career. The creation of *Situational Action Theory* (SAT) and the design of the longitudinal Peterborough Adolescent and Young Adult Development Study (PADS+), testing some of the core propositions of SAT, are probably my major academic achievements. I shall focus on the emergence of SAT (and the design of PADS+) and briefly review how they are grounded in and grow out of my various research experiences, identifying limitations with dominant people-oriented and place-oriented research traditions and the need for the *integration* of their key insights to advance knowledge about crime and its causes. Crucially, I shall say something about how I gradually came to realise that providing *explanation* (answering why and how questions) - the importance of developing strong theory and its empirical testing - is the prime task and goal of Criminology (as a science) and a necessary foundation for the successful creation of a comprehensive and effective crime prevention policy and practise (something that unfortunately is rather lacking).

## The crime event

My initial interest as a young PhD student at the University of Stockholm was in the crime event, especially the violent crime event. This interest was founded in my experiences growing up in a 'problem neighbourhood' in a city somewhat exaggeratedly referred to at the time in the national media as 'the Chicago of Sweden' because of its violence problems. During the late 1970s and early 1980s I conducted several large-scale studies of police recorded violent crimes, which included spending an endless amount of time in archives in dusty basements of police stations up and down Sweden, personally going through and coding nearly 7000 case files comprising crime descriptions; offender, victim and witness statements; and crime scene investigation reports. The analyses of these data focused on *classifying violent events* by their circumstance, including place and time of occurrence, offender and victim demographic characteristics, victim-offender relationships, and type of violence used and injuries. The main findings from this research are presented as a core part of my PhD thesis (Wikström, 1985). Analysing the content of the crime event is an important aspect of the study of crime because explaining the causes of crime is ultimately a question of explaining the causes of the *crime event*. Knowledge about its characteristics helps guide the search for what factors may be reasonably implicated in its causation.

This research was partly inspired by the work on violence by Derick McClintock (1963), who I later was introduced to by my thesis supervisor Knut Sveri at a meeting of the European Council. This encounter eventually led us to conduct a comparative study of violence in Sweden and Scotland, with a special focus on Stockholm and Edinburgh (McClintock & Wikström; 1990; 1992). Despite often staying in a damp room at the Edinburgh University staff club, as a young scholar it was quite exciting and stimulating to visit, work and socialise with such a prominent senior UK scholar as Derick, and to meet some of the department's highly talented PhD students, including a very impressive young David Garland. I learnt a lot of useful things from Derick about the ins and outs of the criminological enterprise and spent interesting times with him exploring crime hot spots in Edinburgh, including visiting different kinds of seedy pubs and

clubs, prostitution areas and cannabis-smoke filled flats where drug-dealing took place. He even took me to Glasgow to visit the then infamous Easterhouse estate. Having some knowledge and feel for a city's criminogenic environments is very useful when doing studies of urban crime (but sometimes risky as I myself experienced being robbed at knifepoint in Chicago when walking around exploring some of its high crime neighbourhoods).

## The social ecology of crime

My interest in the violent crime event gradually extended to an interest in crime events more generally and paralleled an interest in the social ecology of crime, for example, exploring spatial and temporal variation of crime events in urban areas, typically but not exclusively at the neighbourhood-level, and their social and economic correlates, the association and overlap between offender, victim and crime geographical distributions in the urban environment, and topics of crime and distance (see e.g., Wikström, 1991). Later research in this area – during my stints as head of the research department of the National Crime Prevention Council in Sweden and subsequently working at the research unit of the Swedish National Police college – included moving away from police records to conducting large-scale surveys allowing the creation and use of instruments more apt at addressing key explanatory ecological research questions, such as those relating to integration and cohesion (e.g., Wikström, Torstensson & Dolmen, 1997; Wikström & Dolmen, 2001). This research was predominantly guided by social disorganisation (collective efficacy) theory, occasionally combined with some routine activity theory, two theoretical orientations that, in later works, I have referred to as 'a Criminology without people', because they provide only partial, albeit important, knowledge relevant to the explanation of crime events. Ecological research into crime is generally, but not exclusively, carried out at the aggregate level. One main problem when analysing aggregate data, e.g., neighbourhood level data, predicting crime rates is that there typically is a huge within-group variation (e.g., within-neighbourhood variation) in people's crime involvement that remains unexplained; another and related problem is the

difficulty of asserting causal relationships at the aggregate level.

The major scholar and flag bearer of the Chicago-school ecological tradition is undoubtedly Robert Sampson, who I got to know early in his career (long before his scholarly fame) when he was at the University of Urbana-Champaign. I was pointed in his direction by Albert Reiss Jr. at a meeting of the ASC; he prompted me to contact Rob saying that there is this American guy that has similar research interest to you, so you should really get in touch. Which I did, and subsequently we became friends and later collaborated on a couple of book chapters and edited a few books together (e.g. Sampson & Wikström, 2008; Wikström & Sampson, 2003; 2006). A distinct memory from our first meeting (1986) was that I stayed in a Holiday Inn full of cockroaches and that Rob had a very cool bright red convertible Pontiac with white leather seats. Our shared interest in the role of the social and moral context of the environment in crime causation has over the years resulted in many stimulating exchanges and Rob's work on collective efficacy and ecometrics have been important inspirations to our research on the criminogeneity of the setting.

While the study of the characteristics of the crime event and its social ecology provides important clues to understanding the role of the immediate *circumstances* and the features of the wider *environments* in which crime events occur, *there is something central missing*. It does not say much about why there is individual variation in how people *react* and *respond* to specific environmental conditions and the implications of this for their crime involvement. At the end of the day, it is people who commit acts of crime; it is their specific reactions and responses to particular environmental conditions that determine whether or not an act of crime will occur. A complete explanation of the criminogenic role of the environment requires an understanding of how (through what mechanisms) environmental inducements *situationally* affect people's criminal action choices and *developmentally* affect stability and changes in their crime propensities and exposure to criminogenic settings. I have argued that a true ecology of crime should focus on the role of the person-environment interaction.

## Developmental Criminology

Although I did my PhD in Criminology, my PhD training was primarily at the Sociology Department. Criminology did not at the time offer a PhD training program. It was a relatively new degree subject and did not become a separate department until 1987. The Sociology Department provided strong statistical/methodological training and gave in-depth courses on central sociological and social psychological theories (not textbook summaries). Reading and analysing the arguments in the original works of classic theorists such as Marx, Durkheim, Weber, Mead and Cooley certainly fuelled my interest in theory. The Sociology Department was headed by the imposing and demanding Carl-Gunnar Janson, from whom I learned a lot on the craft of doing good research, although I did not always follow his advice in all aspects. I remember presenting a paper on different assumptions of human nature at a PhD seminar, to which Carl-Gunnar commented, "I read philosophy in my spare time". Despite this put off I have over the years developed a keen interest in issues of the philosophical underpinnings of theorising and doing empirical research, relating to such issues as scientific realism, causation and explanation, and agency and action theory.

Carl-Gunnar's largest empirical project was the Project Metropolitan, a longitudinal study of about 15000 people born in Stockholm in 1953, which provided me with an opportunity to progress my newfound interest in the role of individual differences and their development, doing research on individuals' criminal careers, covering topics like sex, age and social class diversities in crime involvement, crime structure, age at onset, duration, desistance, versatility and specialisation (e.g. Wikström, 1987; 1990). This interest successively brought me in contact with a different 'tribe' of scholars and their body of research (the developmental criminologists), more often psychologists than sociologists. The first major figure in this field I got to know was the impressive David Farrington, the nestor of Developmental Criminology, who wrote a very generous book review of my PhD thesis, which led me to contact and then visit him in Cambridge. We subsequently came to collaborate on some different projects, including a comparative study of Criminal

Careers in London and Stockholm (Farrington & Wikström, 1993). I particularly remember when David came to Stockholm for us to work on this particular paper and I planned to take him from the airport to his hotel, but David insisted we should go directly to my office and start working, which we did. David had an immense, almost encyclopaedic, knowledge of offender-oriented and developmental criminological research. There are few topics and problems in this area of study to which he has not contributed. I certainly learned a lot by working and socialising with David. I will always cherish our pub dinners and illuminating conversations on the intricacies of doing longitudinal research and its various challenges.

Rolf Loeber was another giant of Developmental Criminology I was privileged to get to know. Socialising and working with Rolf had a profound influence on my own research; particularly, I learned a lot from Rolf and Magda Loeber about how to professionally organise and manage successful longitudinal research. In fact, the Pittsburgh Youth Study (at this time, undoubtedly the best organised and run longitudinal study into crime) became the template for the organisation and management of the PADS+ study. Rolf was always interested in discussing new ideas and finding ways to improve his research, so when I suggested adding an ecological dimension to his study he wholeheartedly embraced it and let me get on with analysing the neighbourhood structure of Pittsburgh, adding this to his data set. This allowed us to collaborate on some papers exploring pathways in crime in different neighbourhood contexts (Loeber & Wikström, 1997) and how neighbourhood socioeconomic context and individual characteristics (individual dispositions and social situation) predicted prevalence and early and late onsets in serious male juvenile offending (Wikström & Loeber, 2000). *Studying development in context* is a step closer to integrating developmental and social ecological aspects in the study of crime. However, *there is still something essential missing*. It does not say much about what moves people to commit acts of crime, the necessary glue that would help pinpoint and bring together key insights from people and place focused approaches in criminological study.

Developmental Criminology unquestionably harbours a lot of important knowledge about individual differences and patterns of change in

crime involvement. However, it is typically, but not exclusively, guided by a public health approach, focusing on mapping out risk and protective factors, principally statistically significant but often rather weak predictors of which hundreds have been identified, in many cases with unclear causal relevance. I have argued that the main challenge with this approach is to identify which few of all the many predictors are causally important, and that the way to do this is to ask what moves people to action (to commit acts of crime) and from that starting point seek to identify which key personal and environmental factors are directly (as causes) or indirectly (as causes of the causes) effective in this process. To accomplish this requires an adequate action theory.

## Making theoretical sense of it all – the importance of action theory

Becoming a fellow of the Centre for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences (CASBS) in 2002 was a turning-point for my scholarly work, providing me with uninterrupted time to develop my theoretical interests, digging into the extensive literature on action theory and the problem of causation and explanation, laying the groundwork for the development of SAT, my attempt to make theoretical sense of it all. Up to this point I had primarily worked on trying to integrate certain key concepts from some mainstream criminological theories but gradually realised that this was a rather futile enterprise. It quickly turned into prediction rather than explanation. The difficulty of conceptual unification and the black-box problem were significant. The glue was missing and the pieces to be glued together did not fit very well. To overcome this, a different approach to integration seemed necessary. I formulated two basic questions to direct my work. The first question was (a) why people come to see and choose crime as an acceptable action alternative in the circumstance; the second question was (b) what personal characteristics and environmental features are causally relevant and interact in this process. Addressing these questions became the focal point of my research at CASBS, observing that explaining people's acts of crime is not that much different from explaining what guides their actions in general.

Socialising with other fellows at CASBS, first-rate scholars from a wide range of different social and behavioural science disciplines, attending their seminar presentations, enjoying free access to coffee (very important to me) and joint lunches 'on the hill', created an extremely stimulating work environment, especially considering my cross-disciplinary interests. For example, my next-door neighbour at the centre, a very astute philosopher, directed me to some very useful central action-theoretical philosophical studies she thought was relevant to my work after having heard my seminar presentation outlining my ideas on the explanation of crime events. An important chance event, while browsing the books in the Stanford University bookstore, was coming across Mario Bunge's book 'The Sociology-Philosophy Connection' (1999). Having read and been impressed by this and other books by him I contacted Mario and eventually we met up in Montreal where he was working at the McGill University. Mario Bunge is the most remarkable scholar I ever have personally met and his approach to science has had a strong influence on my attitude to theory and its empirical testing. We became friendly and I invited him to a workshop in Cambridge to which he contributed a talk and a book-chapter (Bunge, 2006). Later we kept corresponding by email, and he had the kindness to read and comment on some of my initial draft writings on topics of causation and explanation in the study of crime; getting the thumbs up from him in these matters was very satisfying and reassuring. Our contact also made me aware of his neuroscientist daughter Silvia Bunge and her colleagues' important works on human rule-guidance. My time at CASBS was a very industrious and stimulating time and the kind of time one wishes for talented younger colleagues to have more of to allow them to develop their thinking, not being caught up in the increasingly strong publish or perish cycle, being judged primarily by the numbers of publications and citations rather than by the content of their work. A comment made that has stuck in my mind is that many of the historically great scholars from Cambridge would have struggled to get tenure in the current publish or perish climate (although Cambridge is probably a bit better on this front than many other universities).



## The Cambridge years – SAT and its testing in PADS+.

While I spent the first half of my academic life in Sweden, the last 27 years I have had my base at the University of Cambridge, the last 2 years as an Emeritus Professor after my retirement in 2022. I had no presentiment that I would end up in Cambridge. I unexpectedly got a call from Tony Bottoms, the then Director of the Cambridge Institute, asking me if I was interested in applying for a job in Cambridge, which I did and got, a decision I never have regretted. Tony helpfully introduced me to the peculiarities of Cambridge University and expertly familiarised me with the delights of the Indian cuisine which has become a favourite food of mine. An attempt he made to explain cricket to me was less successful. Tony is a truly inspiring intellectual in the classic sense. Over the years we have had many stimulating discussions, initially sharing an interest in social theory and more recently in the topic of crime and morality. Incidentally, his early work on the ecology of crime – the 1976 study ‘The Urban Criminal’ – was one key inspiration in my own research into the social ecology of crime.

At Cambridge things started to properly come together. After my stint at CASBS, I completed the writing up of SAT, resulting in three book chapters laying out the foundation and initial situational framework of SAT and its early application to developmental study (Wikström, 2004; 2005; 2006). The theory was subsequently elaborated and refined (e.g., Wikström, 2010; Wikström & Treiber, 2016), and its neuropsychological foundation strengthened (Treiber, 2011), but the fundamental propositions and principles remain the same. I present the most updated and refined version of SAT in chapter 2 of our new book: “Character, Circumstances and Criminal Careers” (Wikström, Treiber & Roman, 2024), a chapter in which I also compare and contrast SAT with some prominent mainstream criminological theories (social bonds, self-control and differential association), and discuss it in relation to rational choice theory and the idea of moral disengagement. In another work, Kyle Treiber and I have compared and contrasted SAT with Routine Activity Theory (Wikström & Treiber, 2015).

While at the Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention, in the first half of the 1990s, my interest in knowledge integration led me to organise two

international workshops, bringing together world-leading criminological scholars to present on and discuss the problems and prospects of integrating individual and environmental aspects on crime and crime prevention (Farrington, Sampson & Wikström, 1993; Wikström, Clarke & McCord, 1995). These workshops became the precursors to my development in Cambridge of the ESRC sponsored research network Social Contexts of Pathways in Crime (SCoPiC). This is not the place to review all the activities of the SCoPiC network; suffice it to say that an aim of the network was to contribute to cross-level integrative research and that this came to include the initial funding for PADS+. Although I designed PADS+ to cover the kind of individual dispositional, family, school and peer instruments commonly used in crime-focused longitudinal research, a unique feature of the study is its environmental measures (later partly copied in the Dutch SPAN study and the Swedish MINDS study). To better measure people’s environmental exposure and its changes over time, a *space-time budget* and a separate city-wide *small-area community survey* were included to jointly measure participants’ specific exposure to settings and their characteristics within and outside their neighbourhood. This enabled a more detailed study of the role of the person-environment interaction in crime causation and its changes over time. This was necessary for testing some key propositions of SAT, for example, to cross-sectionally test whether hypothesised criminogenic person-environment interactions predicted crime involvement, and longitudinally to test whether changes in people’s crime propensity and criminogenic exposure matched changes in their crime involvement in ways predicted by the theory. The empirical findings so far from the PADS+ research are published in two major books (Wikström, Oberwittler, Treiber & Hardie, 2012; Wikström, Treiber & Roman, 2024) and a number of journal papers (e.g., Wikström & Treiber, 2016; Wikström, Mann & Hardie, 2018).

Doing longitudinal research is not a one-person enterprise. I have been fortunate to work closely with a fantastic group of researchers in the PADS+ project, notably the highly talented Kyle Treiber, Beth Hardie and Gabriela Roman (Kyle and Beth making their PhD theses on PADS+ data), who all have played central roles at various stages of the research, bringing their own various skills and expertise to the study and analyses of its data, and now constituting the core team, ‘the three musketeers’, taking on the next wave of data

collection, now under Kyle's leadership. It is satisfying to know that the future of PADS+ is in safe and competent hands. The study has over the years also benefitted from contributions by Dietrich Oberwittler and Vania Ceccato, while being visitors to the Cambridge Institute.

So, what have I learned? That empirical research is important, but that theory is crucial to guide empirical work and make sense of empirical findings. That there needs to be a balance between theoretical and empirical work to avoid, in the words of Mario Bunge, "mindless data-gathering as well as wild speculation" (1999:11). That the ultimate goal of science is to provide explanations (answering why and how questions) that help us understand how things work and, if we so wish, can be influenced. The emergence of SAT may be seen as an initial attempt to explain *why* crime events happen and *how* this works (i.e., the central situational, social and developmental processes involved in its causation), an example of an Analytic Criminology approach to the study of crime (see Wikström & Kroneberg, 2022).

So, what does the future hold? I hope to continue being involved in PADS+ research (Kyle allowing me to) and I shall certainly work on further developments and refinements of SAT. The social mechanisms of the meso-macro link is one area that needs further work. There are also many applications of SAT to particular problems that require extra attention, such as the explanation of victimisation. Testing the situational mechanism - the perception-choice process - proposed by SAT would benefit from more experimental research, covering different crime circumstances. The role of genetics needs to be explored and its role within the theory specified (which I believe is in Kyle's pipeline - PADS+ has already collected as yet unanalysed genetics data from the participants). The implications of SAT for guiding the development of proactive and reactive crime prevention policy and practice needs detailed specification. Two ongoing projects that will occupy my time in the near future are a study financed by the Swedish Research Council, applying SAT into the problem of violence and its prevention, a collaboration between the universities in Malmö, Cologne and Cambridge, and the writing of a textbook on crime and its prevention in Swedish, together with my longstanding colleague and close friend Marie Torstensson (she is also taking part in the violence project). So, I will probably keep busy.

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Beate Völker

# *Laudatio* for Per-Olof H. Wikström, for the ESC European Criminology Award 2024



Dear audience,

It is a great honour to speak to you on behalf of all persons who submitted Professor Wikström's nomination to the committee and to the executive secretary of the European Society of Criminology, Marcelo Aebi, for this esteemed and well-deserved award. Per-Olof is a renowned scholar not only in Criminology but across multiple fields, including Sociology, Philosophy of Science, Human Geography, Psychology, and Law, just to mention a few.

His contributions to the field of Criminology are so vast that covering them all here would be impossible. But allow me to highlight a few of his most groundbreaking and influential achievements. These accomplishments are not only outstanding individual achievements, they also mean a lot for the field of criminology and for the whole research community in criminology.

Per-Olof's major contribution is that he integrated two pivotal strands within criminological scholarship: developmental criminology and environmental criminology. The former investigates the onset and progression of a criminal career, also often referred to as life-course criminology, while the latter examines the geographical context of crime and the spatial patterns of, e.g., offenders' and victims' residences. The synthesis of these two strands is novel in at least two ways: first, Per-Olof developed an integrative, comprehensive theoretical framework, which has become well-known as *Situational Action Theory*, and second, he rigorously tested the propositions

of this theory in longitudinal empirical studies, in collaboration with many colleagues.

Just note this: in a field where many observers highlight the severe problems caused by theoretical fragmentation, Per-Olof developed an integrative theory, which has been a beacon and applied in various settings all over the world. The importance of this advancement cannot be overstated.

Additionally, it was groundbreaking that Per-Olof designed large-scale empirical research into the social ecology of crime and the interaction between people and places in the explanation of people's crime propensities as well as the role of morality in their actions. The Peterborough Adolescent and Young Adult Development Study (PADS+) is a milestone and one of the largest and most successful longitudinal studies of crime undertaken in the UK. It has been replicated across many research sites and settings. Social Science, in general, and Criminology, in particular, need comparative research to further develop theoretical arguments and to accumulate knowledge through the falsification of hypotheses. Per-Olof created a benchmark, and this study serves as an example, setting standards for others to follow.

The cooperation with so many others was a result and a demonstration of Per-Olof's tremendous and great abilities to be an integrator, a connector, and an inspirer. He worked together with numerous researchers at numerous places.

**It was groundbreaking that Per-Olof designed large-scale empirical research into the social ecology of crime and the interaction between people and places in the explanation of people's crime propensities as well as the role of morality in their actions.**

Let me also highlight that Per-Olof's impact was evident from the very start of his career; his contributions were groundbreaking even in its early stages as can be attested by works such as *Patterns of Crime in a Birth Cohort*, 1987, *Age and Crime in a Stockholm Cohort*, 1990, *Urban Crime, Criminals, and Victims*, 1991, or *Everyday Violence in Contemporary Sweden*, 1985.

Finally, Per-Olof's highly original contributions are widespread and internationally acknowledged, which is demonstrated by the fact that he has been an elected Fellow of both the American Society of Criminology and the British Academy, was the recipient of the 2016 Stockholm Prize in Criminology and received the Beccaria Medal. He was also a founding member of the European Society of Criminology, served on the Board of the Scandinavian Research Council and of the National Science Foundation Consortium of Violence, as well as on the editorial boards of some of the field's most significant publications.

It's now time that we thank Per-Olof and honour him with the Award of the European Society of Criminology!

Congratulations!

Laura Kennedy

# Rethinking Peer Influence and School-Based Aggression



More than 30% of young people globally have been victims of school-based aggression, according to a recent UNESCO report. Aggression is an international public health problem that has significant psychological, academic, and social consequences for young people. These consequences include depression and self-harm, with long-term impacts extending beyond the school gates and into adulthood. Whilst peers play a major role in driving aggression, the long-term success of peer-focused interventions is often limited.

Responding to this problem, my research focuses on situational ('in-the-moment') peer influences on aggressive behaviour. My debut article, which won the ESC Young Criminologist Award in 2024, presented a new theoretical model of peer influence and developed innovative methods to test this model. Here, I discuss the background, contributions, and practical implications of this work.

This project was inspired by three major challenges in peer influence research. The first challenge was the need to identify possible causal mechanisms underpinning peer effects. At the time, there was surprisingly little criminological research on how and why peers influence the decision-making processes that lead to aggressive behaviour. The second problem was the neglect of person-environment interactions and limited understanding of the individual characteristics that reduce susceptibility to harmful peer effects. The final challenge was the lack of suitable methods and data capable of testing the situational dynamics of peer influence in real-world contexts. Addressing these challenges was critical,

not only for advancing the field but for informing the development of effective intervention strategies.

The first contribution of my research was theoretical. It applied Situational Action Theory (SAT; Wikström, Oberwittler et al., 2012) to the problem of school-based aggression, theorising the mechanisms and conditions of situational peer influence (see further Kennedy, 2024). By integrating interdisciplinary research, it specified how aggressive peers influence decision-making processes and identified the individual characteristics that moderate these effects. This work package contributed to the theoretical development of SAT and provided clear and testable implications for the situational model of peer influence.

Testing this theoretical model was challenging. It required situational data and methods that did not previously exist, even in prior empirical tests of SAT. This led to the adaptation of the PADS+ Space-Time Budget (STB) method to collect unique situational data on the types of peers present in real-world settings when aggression did (or did not) occur. The adapted STB interview recorded detailed time diary data covering multiple school days and combined this with a peer nomination technique to capture the peer context. This methodological contribution responded to repeated calls to improve the study of peer influences on aggressive behaviour, and it can be used to support future research across multiple fields.

The findings were compelling. Multi-method analyses showed that the impact of aggressive peers was

greatest for 'high propensity' adolescents who had weak morality and a poor ability to exercise self-control. Whilst these adolescents were situationally vulnerable to the influence of aggressive peers, 'low propensity' adolescents who had strong morality and a well-developed ability to exercise self-control were situationally resistant. The latter group was rarely aggressive regardless of the peer context, which is something I argue interventions should aim to replicate. These findings fully supported the situational model of peer influence and this study was the first to use STB data to demonstrate this interaction at the situational level (see further Hardie, 2020).

With concerns about school-based aggression rising, the spotlight has shifted away from individuals and towards the influence of the broader peer group. Yet this research shows we cannot fully understand the influence of peers without recognising how their effects vary between young people. Crucially, strengthening morality and self-control may be more effective for preventing school-based aggression than limiting interactions with aggressive peers. This is good news. Whilst limiting these interactions is often unrealistic, we can protect young people from harmful influences by strengthening their resistance. This approach kills two birds with one stone, as it also reduces the prevalence of aggressive youth in the community.

So, what does this mean for policy and practice? I argue that changing the peer context is worthwhile, but these efforts must be supported by attempts to strengthen young people's morality and ability to exercise self-control. This can be achieved through moral education and cognitive nurturing, which are long-term processes in which schools, families, and communities play important roles. Peers matter, but so does propensity, and it is the latter we should prioritise.

Looking ahead, there are some broad theoretical and methodological implications for future research. First, future research on peer influence and school-based aggression must account for individual differences that moderate peer effects. Second, empirical tests of situational models should prioritise the collection and analysis of real-world situational data. By rethinking how we conceptualise and study peer influence, we can achieve our ambition of making schools safer places for young people.

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## → ESC AWARDS 2024

The 2024 ESC Early Career Award was awarded to Gian Maria Campedelli and the jury who assessed his work considered that “for an early career scholar who is so close to his PhD submission, Dr Campedelli’s track record is extremely impressive and his empirical and conceptual contribution to criminology notable. The jury is thus convinced of Dr Campedelli’s outstanding scientific achievement and is unanimous in its decision to grant him the Early Career Award.”



Gian Maria Campedelli is a research scientist in the Mobile and Social Computing Lab at Fondazione Bruno Kessler, in Trento, Italy. In 2020, he obtained a PhD in Criminology from the Catholic University of Milan, and in 2018 he was a visiting research scholar at the School of Computer Science at Carnegie Mellon University. He worked as a junior researcher at Transcrime (2016–2019), and was a postdoctoral researcher in computational sociology within the Department of Sociology and Social Research at the University of Trento (2020 – 2023). He has collaborated with researchers and scientists exploring intellectual crossovers between criminology, economics, artificial intelligence, and statistics and his work focuses on the development and application of computational and statistical methods for analysing complex criminal phenomena. He has worked and published on a range of topics, including homicides and serial killers, mafias, Mexican cartels, and terrorism.

The ESC European Journal of Criminology Best 2023 Article Award went to Florian Kaiser, Björn Huss, and Marcus Schaerff for their paper titled “Differential updating and morality: Is the way offenders learn from police detection associated with their personal morals?”, published in the issue 20/3 (pp 1061–1080) of the Euro-

pean Journal of Criminology (EJC). The jury felt this paper is “an excellent representation of theory-guided, empirically robust, original research being conducted in the European context and contributing to European criminology, with important theoretical and practical implications for the field beyond the European context”.



Florian Kaiser completed a Bachelor’s degree in sociology at the University of Bremen (2009 – 2012) and then a Master’s degree in sociology with a focus on sociological methods at the University of Bielefeld (2012 – 2015). In 2022 he received his doctorate from Bielefeld University with a thesis on the effects of formal control on adolescent delinquency. Since 2022, he has been working as a postdoc in the Independent Research Group “Space, Contexts, and Crime” at the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Crime, Security and Law in Freiburg. His current research interests focus on the explanation of (criminal) behaviour and the psychosocial consequences of social stressors (e.g., formal control reactions or criminal victimisation), with a particular emphasis on considering how these processes are shaped by social contexts (e.g., neighbourhood conditions).



Björn Huss is a sociologist and political scientist. He works as a senior researcher in the research area Educational Careers and Graduate Employment at the German Centre for Higher Education Research and Science Studies



(DZHW). In 2021, he completed his PhD on the effects of fertility-related life events on subjective well-being at the Leibniz University of Hannover. Björn's research focuses on the quantitative-empirical analysis of key events and transitions in the life course. He also studies the adequacy of academic employment and the effects of juvenile delinquency and victimisation on the life course.



Marcus Schaeff studied law at the University of Münster (1996 – 2002) and then completed his post-graduate judicial service training at the Higher Regional Court of Hamm (2003 – 2005). Afterwards, he worked as a research assistant at the Institute of Criminology of the University of Münster. He received his doctorate from the University of Münster in 2015 with a thesis on the treatment of young offenders in the United States from the colonial era to the present day. Since then, he has worked as a postdoctoral researcher at the University of Münster's Institute of Criminology, where he is project coordinator for the study on the "Effects of juvenile criminal justice interventions in Germany and England", as well as for the long-term study "Crime in the Modern City". His current research interests focus on juvenile delinquency and juvenile (criminal) law, corrections, sanctions and their effects, and social control with a particular emphasis on the possibilities of big data and machine learning in this context.

The 2024 ESC Book Award was offered to Evelyn Svingen in recognition of her book *Evolutionary Criminology*, published in 2023 by Palgrave Macmillan. The jury considered that "Whilst there were several excellent books submitted this year", *Evolutionary Criminology*, based on Evelyn Svingen's PhD work, "represents a bold attempt to understand the contribution that evolutionary theory might make to the study of crime" and that the book "is a strong example of how to contribute to the development of European criminological knowledge: building on strong theoretical arguments to formulate a theoretical framework of sorts, producing testable hypotheses which are then empirically tested out using a novel methodology, the collection of original data, to carefully interpreting the results, and being aware of the limitations."



Evelyn Svingen is an Assistant Professor of Criminology at the University of Birmingham. She earned her PhD in Criminology from the University of Cambridge, where she was awarded the Cambridge International Scholarship. Her research focuses on evolutionary criminology and neurocriminology, particularly the relationships between retribution, reciprocity, and crime. Evelyn Svingen integrates concepts from behavioural economics, neuroscience, and sociology to study criminal behaviour, developing the Retribution and Reciprocity Model (RRM) as a framework for understanding crime through cooperation and punishment. Her research methodologies include the use of game theory experiments to investigate both prosocial and antisocial behaviours.

**Congratulations to all the recipients!**

# Nominations sought!

## The deadline is 31 January.

### ESC European Criminology award

The ESC European Criminology Award is given every year to a European criminologist with a significant life-time contribution to European criminology. Nominations should be forwarded to the Executive Secretary ([marcelo.aebi@unil.ch](mailto:marcelo.aebi@unil.ch)) of the ESC and to the Newsletter Editor ([rfaria@direito.up.pt](mailto:rfaria@direito.up.pt)) by 31 January. They must include: (1) a letter of nomination explaining why the nominee's work warrants recognition, and (2) the nominee's curriculum vitae. The nominees must not be current members of the ESC Board or have been members of such Board during the 3 years preceding the year of the award.

### ESC Young Criminologist Award

The ESC Young Criminologist Award recognises an outstanding article by a European criminologist who was 35-years-old or younger when the article was published. The nominee must be the sole author of an article on a criminological topic published in a peer-reviewed journal in a European language within the three calendar years preceding the year of the proposed award. If the article was published Early Access (for example, as online first), the three-year period begins the year of the online publication.

Nominations should be forwarded to the Executive Secretary ([marcelo.aebi@unil.ch](mailto:marcelo.aebi@unil.ch)) ESC and to the Newsletter Editor ([rfaria@direito.up.pt](mailto:rfaria@direito.up.pt)) by 31 January and include: (1) a letter of nomination explaining why the nominee's work warrants recognition, (2) the nominee's curriculum vitae, (3) a copy of the original article (only one article per nominee can be proposed each year), (4) if the article is published in a language other than English, a translation of the article into English, and (5) a description of the journal in which the article was published, including a description of its peer-review process.

### ESC Early Career Award

The ESC Early Career Award recognises the outstanding scientific achievement of an early career European criminologist. The term 'early career' means less than ten years since the successful PhD's defence, plus any eligible career breaks (such as maternity or paternity leave or the long-term illness of the candidate or a close family member). To demonstrate eligibility, the specific circumstances of a career break need to be properly documented.

The main criterion for recognizing 'outstanding scientific achievement' consists of a series of high-quality publications (such as articles in a peer-reviewed journals or monographs published by an academic publisher), some but not all of which can be co-authored. In addition, the jury can take into consideration the candidate's proven impact on public debates, laws, policy documents or practices.

The nominees must be members of the ESC. They must not be current members of the ESC Board or have been members of such board during the 3 years preceding the year of an award.

Nominations should be forwarded to the Executive Secretary ([marcelo.aebi@unil.ch](mailto:marcelo.aebi@unil.ch)) of the ESC and to the Newsletter Editor ([rfaria@direito.up.pt](mailto:rfaria@direito.up.pt)) by 31 January and include (1) a letter of nomination explaining why the nominee's work warrants recognition, and (2) the nominee's curriculum vitae.

### ESC Book Award

The ESC Book Award recognises the author(s) of a book that represents an outstanding contribution to the further development of European criminology.

## → ESC FELLOWSHIPS

To be eligible for the Award, the monograph or book must have been published by an academic publisher within the three calendar years preceding the year of the proposed award. Anthologies and/or edited volumes will not be considered for this Award. Sole or multi-authored monographs or books may be nominated but only one Award will be given to be shared amongst all authors.

Nominations can only be made by individuals who are members of the European Society of Criminology. They should be forwarded to the Executive Secretary ([marcelo.aebi@unil.ch](mailto:marcelo.aebi@unil.ch)) of the ESC and to the Newsletter Editor ([rfaria@direito.up.pt](mailto:rfaria@direito.up.pt)) by 31 January and include: (1) a letter of nomination explaining why the book warrants recognition, (2) the nominee's curriculum vitae and (3) three hard copies of the book (to be sent to the Executive Secretariat).

## Distinguished Services to the ESC Award

This award recognises outstanding service contributions to the effective functioning of the European Society of Criminology. The nominees must not be current members of the ESC Board or have been members of such Board during the 3 years preceding the year of the award.

Nominations should be forwarded to the Executive Secretary ([marcelo.aebi@unil.ch](mailto:marcelo.aebi@unil.ch)) of the ESC and to the Newsletter Editor ([rfaria@direito.up.pt](mailto:rfaria@direito.up.pt)) by 31 January and include: (1) a letter of nomination explaining why the nominee's work warrants recognition, and (2) the nominee's curriculum vitae.

For all situations, the term 'criminologist' refers to persons currently or formerly 'engaged in research, teaching and/or practice in the field of criminology' and Criminology refers to all scholarly, scientific and professional knowledge concerning the explanation, prevention, control and treatment of crime and delinquency, offenders and victims, including the measurement and detection of crime, legislation and the practice of criminal law, and law enforcement, judicial, and correctional systems'.

More information [here](#).

The European Society of Criminology (ESC) invites researchers in criminology to apply for a fellowship to attend the annual conference of the ESC. Applicants must be based in a country eligible for official development assistance (ODA) according to the list established by the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). The latest DAC list of ODA recipient countries can be found [here](#). Priority will be given to postgraduate or early-stage researchers enrolled in a higher education institution located in one of the countries of that list. Up to five fellowships will be awarded annually to researchers based in *European* countries included in the DAC list of ODA recipients; and up to two fellowships will be awarded to researchers based in *non-European* countries included in that list

Applicants must forward their applications to the Executive Secretariat ([marcelo.aebi@unil.ch](mailto:marcelo.aebi@unil.ch)) of the ESC and to the ESC President ([michele.burman@glasgow.ac.uk](mailto:michele.burman@glasgow.ac.uk)) by midnight 31 January of each year. The application must include:

1. A letter explaining why financial support is needed.
2. A short letter of support from a professor or research supervisor.
3. A detailed proposal (of approximately 1,000 words) of a paper to be presented in the next ESC conference by the candidate as sole author of the presentation.
4. A curriculum vitae.

More information [here](#).

→ **IN MEMORIAM: DAVID P. FARRINGTON**

Friedrich Lösel

# A giant in Criminology and a wonderful man



On 4<sup>th</sup> November, an international conference on developmental and life course Criminology started in Lisbon. Various speakers emphasised the outstanding work of Professor David P. Farrington in this field. Due to serious health problems, he could not attend and one day later he passed away at Cambridge. He also could not get the result of an initiative to honour him with a knighthood in the UK. Although these actions were in vain, David had already been 'knighted' in the thoughts of numerous scholars and in the history of Criminology.

Professor Farrington, born in 1944, was an internationally outstanding scholar. He ranked top in citation analyses in Criminology and was also among the most cited psychologists. He published 136 books and research monographs, 584 journal articles, 341 book chapters, and 164 other articles (1,225 in total). Google Scholar records 144,465 citations, and his h-index of 199 is exceptionally high. However, David's unrivalled productivity should not only be commended in bibliometric terms. Whereas the modern academic world is moving towards narrow specialisation, he showed that a 'giant' in science can address a wide range of topics.

He published on crime prevalence and incidence, risk and protective factors, types of crime, community characteristics, technical and situational crime prevention, labelling processes, offender treatment and rehabilitation, early developmental prevention, cross-national comparison, victimisation, school bullying, crime and gender, psychopathy, biosocial bases of violence, intergenerational transmission of

offending, crime statistics, self-report methodology, benefit-cost analyses, evaluation designs, systematic reviews, criminological theories, and other issues. It is difficult to find a criminological topic to which David had not made a sound contribution. His most important research was the Cambridge Study in Delinquent Development (CSDD) that Donald West started with David in the 1960s. He was the director of this project for decades. It investigated a London sample of boys from age eight up to age 61 and, in addition, their second and third generations of offspring. The CSDD became a landmark study on the origins and pathways of criminal behaviour (including aggravation and desistance). The great importance and success of the CSDD is not only proven by numerous publications, but many young scholars worked on it and later became respected researchers around the world. David also cooperated intensively with Rolf and Magda Loeber in the Pittsburgh Youth Study.

Although David's work addressed Criminology as a science, it occurred not in an 'ivory tower'. For example, he advised policymakers on crime prevention in families and schools. His book *Saving Children from a Life of Crime* had an impact in Britain and elsewhere. As chair of the Steering Group of the Campbell Collaboration on Crime and Justice and President of the Academy of Experimental Criminology, he promoted evidence-based policymaking in many areas. His research and international collaboration strongly contributed to the worldwide reputation of the Cambridge Institute of Criminology (IoC).

It was a logical consequence that his great achievement in research, teaching, supervision and advice resulted in a huge number of honors and awards, for example: the Stockholm Prize in Criminology; all four main awards (Sutherland, Sellin-Glueck, August Vollmer, and Freda Adler) of the American Society of Criminology (ASC); the Joan McCord Award of the Academy of Experimental Criminology; the Beccaria Gold Medal of the Criminological Society of the German-speaking Countries; the Herrmann Mannheim Prize of the International Centre for Comparative Criminology; the Lifetime Award of the European Association of Psychology and Law; the International Juvenile Justice Award from Belgium; the Award for outstanding contributions of the U.S. Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention; the Prize for Distinguished Scholarship from the American Sociological Association; the Senior Award of the Forensic Psychology Division of the British Psychological Society; and the John Paul Scott Award of the International Society for Research on Aggression. He was an OBE, a fellow of the British Academy, the Academy of Medical Sciences, the ASC, an honorary doctor of science at Trinity College Dublin, and an honorary professor at two universities in China. Why is the ESC missing from this list of honours?

David never hesitated to take over important positions as president or chairman, for example, in the British Criminological Society, the British Psychological Society, the European Association of Psychology and Law, the Academy of Experimental Criminology, the U.S. Center for Disease Control, the UK Department of Health, the Campbell Collaboration, the ASC Division of Developmental and Life Course Criminology, and as the only foreign President of the ASC. He had offers of prestigious positions abroad but stayed with his family and at the IoC at Cambridge.

In addition to his stellar role in science, David was also a wonderful man (in my view, a rare combination). He supported numerous young scholars and colleagues. He was very warm-hearted, friendly, sociable, emphatic, and dynamic. His enthusiastic dancing at social events expressed his liveliness. David was born in Ormskirk, Lancashire, and grew up in a poor family. He had always had excellent grades at school and studied psychology at Cambridge. He was hired by Donald West for the CSDD, in particular for statistical analyses. Later, he became a university lecturer, reader,

and full Professor of Psychological Criminology at the IoC. Although he was a cosmopolitan, he was always modest in many aspects of daily life. If you want to learn more about the life and work of David, read his chapter in R. Tremblay (Ed.) (2021), *The Science of Violent Behavior Development and its Prevention: Contributions of the Second World War Generation*, Cambridge University Press.

David suffered from Motor Neurone Disease and was sacrificially nursed at home. He died on 5<sup>th</sup> November 2024 and is survived by his wife Sally, three daughters, and ten grandchildren.

# Call for new Chair

## Expressions of Interest Welcome

The ESC Executive Board announces the search for a new Chair of the ESC's European Criminology Oral History project (ECOH).

Launched in 2015, European Criminology Oral History is the project created by the ESC to narrate the story of the emergence and consolidation of criminology across Europe, which is aimed at developing a visual archive of interviews with scholars playing a pivotal role in the expansion of this academic field. Previously chaired by its founder Rossella Selmini (University of Bologna, 2015-2018; assisted by Marco Calaresu) and José A. Brandariz (University of A Coruna, 2019-2024; assisted successively by Silvia Rodríguez and Ignacio González), the ECOH project has interviewed 44 scholars from 19 countries since its inception.

The Chair of the ECOH project is responsible for the following tasks:

- Preparing the annual list of interviewees by considering the different dimensions of diversity (e.g. geographical, epistemic, methodological) characterising European criminology;
- Assisting the ESC Executive Board in making decisions on the ECOH project by delivering annual reports on the current state, prospects and potential challenges of the project;
- Assisting invited interviewees and interviewers in preparing ECOH interviews;
- Supervising the logistical aspects of the project, in collaboration with the video-making team and the local organisers of the corresponding annual ESC conference;

- Monitoring edition, montage and post-production tasks.

The ESC Executive Board invites expressions of interest **by April 1, 2025**, with the goal of making a final decision on this position during the Executive Board meetings that will take place in Athens in September 2025.

Those interested should send a less than 1000-word bio supported by a letter that outlines their experience and ability to perform this role. All inquiries and expressions of interest should be directed to the Executive Secretary of the ESC: [secretariat@esc-eurocrim.org](mailto:secretariat@esc-eurocrim.org).

## → THE ESC SUMMER SCHOOL

Daniela-Irina Stadniciuc

# My Adventure from Research Insights to Impact and Everything in Between



For most academics, summer offers a well-deserved break, the pressure to complete lingering projects, a mountain of administrative tasks, or the nagging anxiety of launching something new ahead of the autumn term. However, for PhD students or early career researchers, summer can feel unsettling as university departments are empty, leaving them to work in isolation on their life-changing project (as every student dares to believe about their PhD). However, the ESC Summer School could not have been launched at a better time.

While browsing the ESC website for more details about the 2024 conference, I stumbled upon the

advert for the ESC Summer School. The meticulously crafted schedule for five days of training with fellow criminologists and the chance to learn from experts I had only encountered in publications was an opportunity I could not miss. The application process was straightforward, managed by a highly responsive team and required my CV, a motivation letter, and a chapter from my current research. After submitting everything, I waited impatiently for the final decision. With only a few available places, I knew competition would be fierce, and excellence was the standard. I could not have been happier when I received the admission letter.

Situated in the heart of nature with a stunning view over Lake Léman, the University of Lausanne's campus enthusiastically greeted me and my fellow attendees. At this inaugural edition of the ESC Summer School, I experienced for the first time the joy of being part of a European community of criminologists – one that has been carefully built since the European Society of Criminology's inception in 2000. The attendees represented nearly every European country, and some came from as far as South Korea.

The overarching theme of the ESC Summer School was the 'Getting the Grant' workshop, led by Fernando Miró-Llinares. While it proved to be the most challenging task of the school, it provided us with the tools, knowledge, and confidence to approach grant applications following the model of the European Research Council grants. As part of the workshop, we worked in randomly assigned teams, developing new

grant proposals on topics outside our usual areas of expertise. From brainstorming ideas, crafting research designs, practising budgeting, and delivering a final presentation to a critical panel, we were immersed in the real-world scenario of applying for – and hopefully securing – a grant. In the spirit of John Dewey’s educational philosophy, we learned best about grants by working on them with real teams and addressing actual research problems.

Lectures ranged from crime trends in a comparative perspective (Marcelo F. Aebi), to trends in white-collar, organised, and cybercrimes (Michael Levi), to new approaches in victimology (Josep María Tamarit Sumalla), and advanced techniques in NVivo (Lorena Molnar), offering a broad understanding of various criminological areas. While my expertise lies in prison research, each lecture expanded my perspective and challenged me to recognise the interconnected nature of different criminological topics. The workshop by Alberto Chrysoulakis on how to design and write high-impact papers was transformative, shifting my approach to writing. It highlighted how key compo-

nents – identifying critical issues, grounding in theory, empirical robustness, analytical soundness, and ethical considerations – must be carefully planned to ensure that our work can influence scholarship and make an impact beyond academia. Moreover, Letizia Paoli’s session on designing and developing long-term criminological research introduced me to the newly developed Harm Assessment Framework. This prompted me to reconsider my understanding of crime and think more critically about harm in my study. Experiences like these, which engage directly with issues at their core, are essential for advancing thought and developing new lines of inquiry – areas that traditional university departments often lack the time or resources to fully explore.

The time at the Summer School was thoughtfully curated to allow networking with fellow attendees and experts. Every lunch and coffee break buzzed with discussions about research and careers. At the same time, dinners provided space for deeper conversations about the essence of being a criminologist. After watching *The Third Man* – a timely reminder of





post-war Europe – the Summer School invited us to reflect, sparking discussions on warfare, crime, and loyalty. The walks through the terraced vineyards and the picnic by Lake Léman provided relaxing moments where bonds naturally formed. I believe the European Society of Criminology’s investment in us, the young scholars, extends beyond the knowledge and skills we gained during the Summer School. It has also fostered essential support networks for those just entering the field. Over the five days of training, unseen qualities like friendship, trust, and collaboration were nurtured, giving the young academic community greater confidence to pursue research that can make a meaningful impact on European communities. As the African proverb goes, “*If you want to go fast, go alone. If you want to go far, go together.*” Togetherness was vibrant at the ESC Summer School.

The coordinators – Marcelo F. Aebi, Fernando Miró-Llinares, and Lorena Molnar – along with guest speakers such as Josep Maria Tamarit Sumalla, Letizia Paoli, Michael Levi, Alberto Chrysoulakis, and Jakub Drápal, created an inspiring hub for young criminologists at this inaugural edition of the ESC Summer School. Together with my fellow attendees, we planted the seeds of values, principles, and best practices in groundbreaking research that, with patience, will one day bloom. If you are reading this article, the ESC Summer School might be your best opportunity to connect, learn, and become part of the ESC community. If you have already been accepted, make the most of the experience –actively engage in the workshops, connect with your peers, and do not hesitate to share your ideas with the experts. They were once in your shoes, searching for answers, and can offer invaluable advice. Take from Lausanne *Le Savoir Vivant!*

I would like to extend my heartfelt gratitude to the European Society of Criminology for creating this Summer School, to the organising committee for ensuring that each of us had a lovely experience, to the speakers for generously sharing their time, expertise, and insights, to the attendees who made this journey enjoyable. Finally, thanks to the University of Lausanne for hosting us on their beautiful campus.

## → SAVE THE DATE!

**After a first successful edition, the ESC is happy to announce the 2025 ESC Summer School, a one-week course in Lausanne spanning five days. It is designed for doctoral students and early-career researchers in criminology. The curriculum is aligned with the ESC’s broader activities, focusing on nurturing the professional growth of young researchers. This initiative involves inviting previous ESC award-winning scholars to serve as professors, ensuring a continuum of excellence and mentorship. Additionally, the program equips participants with the necessary skills for conducting high-quality, innovative research and provides guidance on securing funding through grants and research projects. The Summer School will take place from 9 to 13 June 2025, and the deadline for applications is February 28. More information will soon be available on the ESC website!**

Marleen Easton &amp; Larissa Engelmann

# Policing Working Group



The Policing Working Group was established at the 8th Annual Conference of the European Society of Criminology in Edinburgh in 2008. Members of the current steering group are:

- Chair & Liaisons: Marleen Easton (Ghent University, Belgium),
- Co-Chair & Early Career Researchers: Larissa Engelmann (University of Leeds, UK),
- Publications & Prizes: Sarah Charman & David Knowles (Portsmouth University, UK),
- Communication: Jasper De Paepe (Leiden University, the Netherlands),
- Pracademics: Paul Betts (Westminster University, UK).

The Policing Working Group has grown exponentially over the past five years. In 2023, we welcomed 150 individual presentation submissions, 14 poster submissions, and an impressive number of 16 pre-arranged panels, six roundtables, and one author meets critics session. In 2024, we scheduled 118 individual presentation submissions arranged into 25 panels, nine poster submissions, and eight pre-arranged panels.

It is by now a tradition that our working group organises a **pre-conference event**. With a pre-conference day on 'policing research methodologies' in 2023, we provided a diverse overview of the topic from different countries and areas of policing research, from visual ethnographies to big data analysis. These presentations underscored the importance of adopting innovative approaches to study the complex and dynamic world of policing. In 2024, we addressed 'European Challenges in (research on) Policing'. Through keynotes and multiple panels, we explored the evolving political, social, and research landscape of policing in Europe. These pre-conference events have become a cornerstone for our members, offering in-depth discussions on policing topics, fostering connections with colleagues from around the world and creating a welcoming space for early career researchers before the main conference. We are also grateful to Elsevier for sponsoring our yearly prize-giving event at the pre-conference events, including the Early Career Researcher Prize, Policing Book Prize and Policing Journal Article Prize, respectively sponsored by Palgrave, Routledge and Eleven.



There are three key priorities within our Policing Working Group:

(1) supporting Early Career Researchers, for which we organised a series of webinars in 2024 titled '**Empowering Early-Career Researchers in Policing**,' addressing the challenges that early-career researchers face, such as gaining access, managing data, and navigating ethical dilemmas. These sessions provided an open, supportive space for researchers to share experiences, discuss dilemmas, and collaboratively explore strategies for addressing the complexities of policing research. We plan to continue this webinar series in 2025 with additional early career support sessions during the pre-conference events.

(2) building a network of policing researchers in Europe through **a group of European liaison researchers** in the spring of 2024. Currently, there are 14 countries represented (England, Scotland, Ireland, the Netherlands, Spain, France, Germany, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Slovenia, Poland, Sweden and Bel-

gium) with 20 delegates, and the group continues to grow. The aim is to strengthen European collaboration in policing research. Liaisons are a point of contact for their country to facilitate access to academics & practitioners in policing. They aim to join forces to stimulate research on, for, and with the police through publications and research projects.

(3) giving voice to **the needs of pracademics** in our field of research. To develop this third priority, Paul Betts, a pracademic himself, has recently joined our Board. This will support a more diverse Policing Working Group and ensure that new and emerging academics with important knowledge and experience within policing can join our discussions and we can learn from one another.

To keep our members up to date, we use social media (WhatsApp, X & LinkedIn), and we circulate newsletters & flyers in relation to our activities. An annual webinar has been designed to invite people to join our vibrant community of policing researchers.

Alessandro Corda

# Working Group on Collateral Consequences of Criminal Records

The Working Group on Collateral Consequences of Criminal Records was established in 2019 and officially launched at the European Society of Criminology annual conference held in Ghent. Co-convened by Elina van 't Zand-Kurtovic and Alessandro Corda, the group now involves around 40 active members drawn from across Europe, North America, Oceania and beyond. The Working Group brings together a diverse range of academics with a shared interest in exploring the often overlooked legal and social barriers faced by individuals who have interacted with the criminal justice system.

The Working Group's focus is primarily concerned with the punitive ramifications and effects of criminal records, which remain largely invisible compared to traditional forms of state punishment such as incarceration, probation or fines. These collateral consequences severely limit access to employment, housing, education, and social integration opportunities for individuals involved in the criminal justice system, leading to lasting social stigma and marginalisation. By providing a dedicated space for the study of these issues, the Working Group seeks to address what has historically represented an important gap in European criminological research, emphasising the enduring impacts of criminal records even after formal penalties have been served.

Since its inception, the Working Group has seen continuous growth, fostering a strong and supportive academic community. Its membership includes scholars at all career stages, from early-career PhD

students to established Professors, making it a vibrant platform for both mentorship and collaboration. Panels organised by the group have become a prominent feature of the annual ESC conferences, reflecting the increasing academic interest in this area. The Working Group is committed to advancing scholarship on the collateral consequences of criminal records and ensuring these issues receive the attention they deserve within the broader European criminological landscape.

In addition to its panels at the ESC conferences, since 2021 the Working Group has been organising a series of Works-in-Progress seminars held online throughout the year. These seminars provide an opportunity for members to present drafts of their ongoing papers, chapters, book projects, and other scholarly endeavours. Participants receive constructive feedback from the working group community, fostering a collaborative environment that encourages academic growth and refinement of ideas.

Members of the Working Group have also contributed to a recent [Special Issue \(Volume 23, Issue 4\)](#) of the journal *Criminology & Criminal Justice*, focusing on Collateral Consequences of Criminal Records from a cross-national perspective, edited by Alessandro Corda, Marti Rovira and Elina van 't Zand-Kurtovic.

If you are interested in joining the Working Group, we warmly invite you to connect with the working group chairs. You can also follow us on Twitter/X at @CCCR\_WG.

## → EDITORIAL NOTES

Rita Faria, Editor-in-Chief of Criminology in Europe

## A throwback to 1999

In 2000, the European Society of Criminology was created by the founding members Hans-Jörg Albrecht, Kauko Aromaa, Catrien Bijleveld, Gerben Bruinsma, Henk van de Bunt, Manuel Eisner, Chris Eliaerts, David Farrington, Uberto Gatti, Katalin Gönczöl, Beata Gruszczynska, Hanns von Hofer, Josine Junger-Tas, Georges Kellens, Hans-Jürgen Kerner, Martin Killias, Britta Kyvsgaard, Mike Levi, Laurent Mucchieli, Cristina Rechea Alberola, Ernesto Savona, Alenka Šelih, Sonja Snacken, Michael Tonry, Per-Olof Wikström (awarded the 2024 ESC European Criminology Award), and Paul Wiles.

The current ESC board is preparing a series of activities to mark the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of a society which keeps on growing and diversifying, and it would be interesting to remember the vibe of the times. How were people feeling 25 years ago to this day, in 1999? Preparing for the new millennium, that was sure! What were they thinking or doing back then, bracing themselves to get used to starting every date with “20” instead of “19”?

In 1999, the media covered the fear of crashing systems due to a computer flaw, the so-called “Millennium Bug,” which led to anxiety and the Y2K (Year 2000) scare. Earlier, on January 1st, 1999, the euro was established as currency, and the European Central Bank fully assumed its powers, which would prove to be a game changer to how most EU members lived and behaved. In March 1999, Hungary, Poland, and the Czech Republic joined NATO, and 39 people were killed in a fire in the Mont Blanc Tunnel. In April, Europe was startled by

the Columbine massacre, eventually the first case of a mass shooting in the USA to hit the news. The Kosovo war would come to an end by June of that year, with thousands of deaths and missing people and a terrible wound left in the European territory. In July, EUROPOL became fully operational, and in September, a violent earthquake in Athens killed 143 and left 50,000 people homeless. With the internet and video games buzzing, 1999 marks the creation of NAPSTER, a music-downloading service that, together with other platforms, would alert for the risks of online piracy. In August, a total solar eclipse is witnessed in Europe and in October, the Armenian prime minister and seven other people are shot in the parliament. In December, there is the handover of Macau from Portugal to China after 442 years of Portuguese rule in the settlement. And the last day of 1999 sees Boris Yeltsin resigning, leaving Vladimir Putin as president of Russia.

Today, 25 years later, many of the main challenges we face were somehow emerging when the ESC was being prepared. The importance of online risks and harms, a war in European territory, the upscaling of European integration, including in its agenda for Justice and Security, the normalisation of autocratic regimes, and so on. Unfortunately, 25 years is also a long time, which means that the generations of criminologists are renovating, and some of the founding members – and friends – of the ESC have also departed during this time, with David Farrington’s passing marking the most recent loss in European Criminology.

The 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Society is being carefully prepared in a way that will allow all members (old and new alike) to participate in such a memorable date. It will provide the perfect opportunity to think about what changed and what remained the same; how the ESC objectives, laid down in its charter, have been accomplished and what is there to pursue for the next 25 years. The passage of time feels sometimes mysterious, so let’s all take the chance to reflect on how Criminology has evolved in Europe and what role the ESC played in it.



**esc**