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Havelund, J, Illum, J, Jensen, M et al. (3 more authors) (2011) Event Policing - Dialogue in the policing of mass events in Denmark. CEPOL European Police Science and Research Bulletin (4). 3 - 7 (5). ISSN 1831-1857

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EUROPEAN POLICE SCIENCE AND RESEARCH BULLETIN



**ISSUE 4
WINTER
2010/2011**



Contributing to European Police Cooperation through Learning

ISSN 1831-1857

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Published Online: www.cepola.eu

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EVENT POLICING – DIALOGUE IN THE POLICING OF MASS EVENTS IN DENMARK



By

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Abstract

This article describes a training programme for the 'Event Police' developed through cooperation between researchers at Aarhus University and East Jutland Police, Denmark. The Event Police and the associated training programme is a research-based initiative. It is designed to enhance the policing of major events and is an approach developed from the latest knowledge on the social psychology of crowds and police good practice.

Background

Since the mid 1990s, the police in Denmark have mainly used variations of the 'Mobile Concept' in the policing of crowds. The concept is integrated on a national level and uses police vehicles and squads of police officers with protective equipment to achieve strategic objectives through police capability for rapid mobility and the use of force. The concept has proved to be effective on many occasions including high-risk football matches and demonstrations, whilst also ensuring that police officers feel safe within the highly stressful contexts of disorderly and threatening crowds. However, some unforeseen consequences have become apparent because the approach does not promote dialogue between the police and those in the crowd. This lack of capability for dialogue, in turn, undermines a) the ongoing gathering and validation of information about potential risks to public order during an event; b) police capability to achieve negotiated solutions to unexpected incidents (Rasmussen, Havelund & Tranegaard 2009, Rasmussen & Havelund 2010). This limitation, therefore, inadvertently increases risks and increases the potential for police use of force against the crowd, which can lead to an unnecessary escalation of a situation (e.g. Stott & Drury 2000) instead of a peaceful de-escalation.

Research in intergroup dynamics

The Elaborated Social Identity Model of crowd behavior (ESIM) developed by Stephen Reicher, John Drury and Clifford Stott working in the UK is now the dominant theoretical model of crowd psychology available in the scientific literature. According to this model, individuals act collectively in a crowd on the basis of a shared psychological group affiliation or social identity. This social identity, therefore, determines how a crowd will behave. The key issue is that the nature of the social identity, and hence collective action, in a

crowd can change rapidly as a consequence of police action. In particular, studies show that otherwise peaceful crowd members become collectively 'violent' where they find the actions of the police illegitimate (Reicher et al. 2007, Stott & Reicher 1998).

Correspondingly, a series of studies of the management of high-risk football crowds have shown that there is an increased likelihood of perceptions of police illegitimacy emerging among crowds in situations where the police have not been capable of conducting ongoing and dynamic risk assessments. The absence of this 'real-time' information can then lead the police to take an unnecessarily confrontational and undifferentiated stance towards a high-risk crowd in a context where there is no or low actual risk to public order. This imbalance between police tactical profile and risk creates the conditions for 'riots' to emerge. On the other hand, when the police are more capable of such real-time dynamic risk assessments they can and do respond more appropriately. In particular, police are more capable of being differentiated in the use of force and, therefore, of avoiding the kinds of interactions known to be associated with the escalation of disorder. This latter form of policing appears to be effective because it promotes perceptions of police legitimacy and increases the level of self-policing – or 'self-regulation' – among those within the crowd (see Stott & Pearson 2007 for an overview).

Recent research on developments in public order policing in Sweden suggests that if the police have a thorough knowledge of the persons they are dealing with and are in constant dialogue with them before, during and after a crowd event, the probability that widespread 'disorder' will emerge decreases (e.g. Holgerson 2010). Correspondingly, research conducted by the Aarhus University, Denmark suggested that the extent to which police can achieve the proportionate use of force and maintain

perceptions of police legitimacy among crowds is increased through dialogue and communication. This research also observed that football spectators defused potential 'flash points' themselves because dialogue between the supporters and the police had increased perception of police legitimacy even among high-risk elements of the crowd (Rasmussen & Havelund 2010).

The Event Police training programme

This body of research and theory constitutes the conceptual foundation of the Event Police and their associated training programme in Denmark. The strategic aim of the unit is to apply the above-mentioned research and theory to the policing of crowds in Denmark. To support this operational development it was at first necessary to explore the viability of this concept through the development of a specific unit within the East Jutland Police dedicated to creating and maintaining dialogue throughout high-risk crowd events. The Event Police officers represent in many ways the police force in Denmark, although they might be more experienced than average. Most of them were part of the Mobile Concept some years ago and most of them have experience in community policing.

The role of Aarhus University was to evaluate these units and support the East Jutland Police in developing and delivering a training course for these units, the first of which took place during the spring of 2010. This training course combined lectures, group work, operational planning, deployment and field-based observation. The curriculum was based on published scientific research on ESIM and the role of the theory in supporting the development of successful approaches to the handling of crowds such as Euro 2004 in Portugal and the Swedish Dialogue police (Stott & Pearson 2007). On the first two days a series of lectures was provided outlining ESIM. In workshops during the introductory classes, time was taken to discuss the opportunities

and barriers for the police to implement an approach focused on dialogue in practice.

On day three, a process was introduced that aims to integrate the theory with operational practice as this relates to the policing of a high-risk crowd event. This was achieved by giving the group responsibility for planning their own tactical deployment rather than having this deployment determined for them by the senior tactical commander. On this occasion, the Event Police were, therefore, granted more influence than was normal, which among other things broke the normal hierarchical structure of the mobile concept outlined above. At the same time this 'delegation of responsibility' was designed to provide the Event Police officers with a sense of ownership of the concept, which subsequently appeared to be an important factor for its success. The task on day four was actual operational deployment throughout a high-risk match in the Danish football Premier Division ("Superliga"). The last day of the training then took place approximately one week after the event. This session was spent critically analyzing and evaluating their operational deployment on match day and relating this back to their pre-event learning. On this occasion, the critical self-evaluation is enhanced by research conducted during the event by the research team from Aarhus (which includes interviews with football fans as well as semi-structured field observations) and supplemented with relevant video material being used as necessary. The central aim of this final day is to identify good practice and feed this back into an adjustment and improvement of the overall concept.

Conclusion

The experiences from the first round of the training programme are very positive. The training led to a high degree of reflection among the Event Police officers about their own role in policing crowds. The discussions moved from an initial focus on the use

of force and the mobile concept for controlling crowds through to a more focused and nuanced view of dialogue as a stand-alone tactical concept effective for managing crowd dynamics. Additionally, officers were able to articulate sophisticated ways of integrating dialogue successfully with the mobile concept. The evidence also suggests that supporters responded very positively to the Event Police officers and, most importantly, the high-risk match was policed without any significant problems emerging. The Police Force of East Jutland, under the jurisdiction of the Danish National Police, has, as a consequence of these successful outcomes, been given the go-ahead to continue educating Event Police officers in partnership with Aarhus University. Meanwhile, the Danish National Police are working on implementing a variant of the training programme at a national level. The training programme and the concept itself are continuously under development, but it is evident already that it has implications for other policing functions. As such, attempts are being made to integrate ideas from the event policing training programme into other areas of operational practice and training.

The aims of this training programme are to develop an approach based on scientific theory and dialogue, but the intention is to reduce the number of situations involving increased risk to public order and, therefore, to decrease the demand such events make on police resources. Ultimately, the East Jutland Police Force hopes that by using an 'evidence and theory' based approach it may be able to save on resources over the longer term.

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POLICE VERSUS CIVILIANS - GROWING TENSIONS IN THE DUTCH PUBLIC DOMAIN 1985–2005



By

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Abstract

In the Netherlands many people are complaining that the social climate has been hardening in recent years. This may be illustrated by the increasing number of conflicts between civilians and police officers. Using the archives of the Dutch National Ombudsman, we are trying to establish the extent to which such a tendency actually exists. These archives form an important source of information, as the Ombudsman is charged with addressing complaints from civilians about the behaviour of the police. Our investigation of more than 50 dossiers from the last 25 years suggests that tension between the police and the public is indeed growing. The discrepancy between the behaviours of civilians and those of police officers has made it difficult for either party to understand the other. As a result, escalation has become more likely. The central question of this paper is, therefore: is it possible to establish a pattern of change in relations between police and civilians over the last twenty-five years in the Netherlands? If so, which factors have contributed to these changes? Are civilians becoming increasingly aggressive, having lost respect for the police? Alternatively, are the police increasingly expecting that civilians will behave themselves, and are they becoming less tolerant of contradiction?

Keywords

Policing, conflict, civilians, modern lifestyle, Netherlands

1. Sources and methodology

To answer these questions, we delved into the archives of the National Ombudsman of the Netherlands. Disputes between police officers and civilians form a standard component of the work of the Ombudsman. The archive maintains an extensive dossier for each complaint that is filed, thereby allowing detailed examination of the circumstances leading up to each complaint.

The cases that we investigated were chosen through a process of careful selection. First, we considered their geographic distribution throughout the Netherlands. Second, we considered the setting of the conflict. The cases we selected involve public encounters between the police and the public. In reading the cases we paid attention to the behaviours of both the police and civilians. The following questions were important in the examination of each case:

- How did the parties approach each other?
- How did the parties react to conflict?
- Was cursing or other harsh language involved?
- Was force applied?
- Were weapons involved?
- Did the police call for reinforcement?
- How did the situation end?

The material that we searched provides insight only into cases in which citizens decided to file formal complaints. Regardless of their limitations, these sources could reveal possible trends that have emerged in recent decades.

If the hypothesis concerning the emergence of a more assertive lifestyle holds, we are likely to encounter evidence of such developments in the archives of the Ombudsman. Such evidence could also suggest avenues for further research. Finally, the dossiers might provide information about mechanisms that could play a role in such processes, as they offer insight into how aggressive behaviours on the part of the police and citizens can reinforce each other.

2. Changes in behaviour

In general, officers have two options for reacting in their contacts with civilians. First, they can adopt a dominant stance, leaving no room for discussion. A second way of responding would be to explain to civilians why they are being stopped, allowing them to tell their side of the story.

The police are not the only ones who have changed. Civilian behaviours appear to have changed as well. They are currently displaying a greater sense of self-esteem; they have become more assertive over the years and they are quicker to stand up for themselves,

even when they are approached by the police. How can this change be explained? Why does assertiveness transform into aggression?

Earlier publications have sketched the emergence of an assertive lifestyle (Brink 2001: 55–87; Brink 2002: 30–40). We limit this discussion to mentioning several changes in the areas of education and politics. One important point is that family composition has changed over the years. Parents are having children at later ages, and they are having fewer children. Further, de-pillarisation (i.e. the dismantling of structures of confessional segregation) has contributed to a tendency for civilians to develop themselves, and it has created space within which they can demand their own choices. All of these developments have caused civilians to become more outspoken. The preferences of individuals are being expressed more freely in public as well as in private settings. Most civilians are well aware of their social and political rights.

This process, however, has another side. Increases in the sense of self-esteem are accompanied by a growing chance of conflict. People have almost come to demand mutual respect from each other (Brink 2001: 99–103). People must watch themselves carefully and develop the self-knowledge that is necessary to avoid causing unpleasant situations. Even the slightest error can lead to a disturbance in the public domain (Vuijsje and Wouters 1999).

The chance of conflict has increased along with the advance of the assertive lifestyle and the highly developed sense of self-worth. It appears that civilians are setting increasingly high demands, which they are subsequently unable to meet (Brink 2001:

113–121).

In reaction, the police feel it necessary to take action sooner (Stokkom 2005: 147–150).

4. Changes over time

Both civilian and police behaviours have undergone changes. As civilians began to react more frequently with violence, the police responded with physical force. They used handcuffs, nightsticks, dogs or firearms without hesitation. Civilians did not tolerate this type of behaviour. Two inter-related factors were at play. On the one hand, civilians perceived police intervention as an assault on their self-esteem. On the other hand, civilians were showing less respect for the police, which could be manifest in a verbally and physically aggressive attitude (Stokkom 2005: 108). The feeling of being attacked thus generates an attacking stance.

The police countered these developments by adapting their behaviour to that of civilians. These public servants began to take harsher action, and they no longer allowed room for discussion (Stokkom 2005: 21–23). The police began to approach civilians in a more distant manner, and they became less likely to exercise restraint. Citations were issued mercilessly, and civilians were more likely to be stopped. The use of verbal and physical force during arrest became increasingly common. The underlying assumption was that situations should be handled as quickly as possible, thereby preventing further escalation (Stokkom 2005: 19–20). In many cases, however, the opposite seemed to occur. The quicker and harsher actions of the police apparently caused civilians to behave even more aggressively (Stokkom 2005: 148).

The changes in police conduct were not entirely due to civilian reactions. Changes in governmental policy and general hardening of the social climate also took their toll. The Netherlands has been following a trend that has been observed in all Western countries, a trend characterised by increased control, discipline or moralisation (Garland 2001). It would be illogical for such tendencies to have no implications for the police, particularly given the preference for holding the police corps accountable for their 'performance'. The hardening of the social climate plays a role as well.

5. Future of the public space

Analytically speaking, the findings of our research appear clear. We must conclude that the behaviour of the police and that of civilians have grown increasingly further apart in the past twenty-five years. Each party has a different perception of what constitutes proper behaviour. Civilians expect a cooperative stance from the police. They do not tolerate officers who immediately proceed to issue citations, make arrests or take similar actions. When such situations do occur, they are increasingly leading to irritation, which causes assertive civilians to resort to verbal and physical aggression. For their part, the police expect civilians to respect their authority and abide by the standards that are specified in the law. They attempt to demand respect through decisive action. In addition, they have become quick to adopt an authoritarian or dominant attitude. They are quicker to use verbal and physical force against civilians who do not conform, although this often causes civilians to become even angrier.

Each of the parties is faced with a normative task. Civilians can be expected to be

conscious of the special position of police officers. An officer who makes an arrest or issues a citation is more than an ordinary person who is encroaching on the freedom of private civilians. At the moment of arrest or citation, the officer is representing governmental authority and may thus apply force or violence. Proper citizenship requires recognising this authority and voicing any objections to the actions of the police in an appropriate manner (Ten Berge 2007: 33–40). The pursuit of proper citizenship is also consistent with the 'civilisation offensive' that has been sketched in earlier publications (Brink 2004: 97–155).

The police are also faced with a normative task, although it is of a different sort. They should consider the prevention or reduction of unnecessary escalation as a component of their professionalism (Stokkom 2005: 129). The powerful and consistent maintenance of public order is unavoidable, but that does not mean that officers must act mindlessly or in a provoking manner towards civilians. We expect the police to resist the temptation to engage in intimidating, dominant or authoritarian behaviour. We also expect them to provide civilians with concise explanations regarding their actions. In other words, propriety can be demanded from the police in both respects (behaviour and explanation), particularly to the extent that they wish to account for their actions as professionals.

We think that these two forms of propriety can reinforce each other. A police force that acts clearly but correctly will instil a greater sense of their authority among civilians, and civilians who respect police authority will give less cause for using means of force.

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Wittebrood, K. (2006) *Slachtoffers van criminaliteit. Feiten en achtergronden*. Den Haag: SCP.

The reports analysed below are located in the archives of the National Ombudsman of the Netherlands in The Hague.

1982	1987
Statement EL 82.00004 014	Report 1987/0073
Statement YB 82.01348 020	Report 1987/0264
Statement 81.0041 020	Report 1987/0404
Statement EL 81.00439 025	Report 1987/0546
Statement EL 81.00436 020	Report 1987/0577
Statement YB 82.00267 051	Report 1987/0674
Statement WJ 82.01307 013	Report 1987/0734
	Report 1987/0796
	Report 1987/0871
	Report 1987/0936
1992	1997
Report 92/259	Report 1997/094
Report 92/360	Report 1997/106
Report 92/382	Report 1997/147
Report 92/517	Report 1997/161
Report 92/545	Report 1997/261
Report 92/668	Report 1997/273
Report 92/682	Report 1997/348
Report 92/724	Report 1997/409
Report 92/920	Report 1997/424
Report 92/965	
2002	2006/2007
Report 2002/012	Report 2006/068
Report 2002/042	Report 2006/109
Report 2002/048	Report 2006/125
Report 2002/089	Report 2006/165
Report 2002/243	Report 2006/207
Report 2002/244	Report 2006/316
Report 2002/250	Report 2006/367
Report 2002/378	Report 2007/004
Report 2002/392	Report 2007/013

Annex: Investigated reports

KNOWLEDGE FROM EXPERIENCE OF A POLICE OFFICER: A GROUNDED STUDY



By

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Abstract

This research develops the theme of the knowledge gathered by police officers from their experience. Assuming that social research must be pragmatically significant and rooted in the problematic nature of the present, we choose to frame the topic in the professional context of police officers, which we consider particularly relevant to the developments that the research in this field can offer. The introduction investigates the relationship between experience and reflection and concludes with an argumentation that supports the importance of a disposition towards reflectivity, as the main cognitive tool for the construction of experiential knowledge in the practice. The empirical part, implemented with a grounded method, introduces the results of the interviews carried out with the agents of a patrolling squad. Finally, we elaborate a project to submit the outcomes of the empirical investigation to institutional educational planning.

Keywords

Experiential knowledge, Reflective practice, Informal knowledge, Grounded theory.

Aims of the study

The object of this research is to highlight the experiential knowledge of police officers serving in the patrolling squad. The study was generated by the following questions: what knowledge comes from the experience of a patroller? What are its features? How to enhance the experiential knowledge within the institution?

The everyday experience of a police officer is imbued with grey areas and with excellent, albeit concealed, knowledge. Within this experience we can spot a «tacit» (Polanyi 1958; 1967), subliminal or implicit presence of forms and elements of knowledge that operate at the same speed of the gesture that embodies them, or the gaze that carries them, or the word that speaks of them. However, all the knowledge built up by the hard work of police officers is often lacking adequate testimony and visibility (Mortari 2003: 20).

In order to single out this experience and make it the object of a rational investigation, as pointed out by other authors (Dewey 1925; Schön 1983; Jedlowski 1994; Mortari 2003) it is necessary to take the experienced present as an object of reflection: we ought to put ourselves in a thoughtful listening mode towards our cognitive and emotional lives. The knowledge from experience emerges when the ideas and the strategies that structure it underlie the form of a reflective practice around one's life experience. If life is the flow of things happening to each of us, experience exists wherever life is accompanied by thought.

Methods

With regards to the way to bring forward the knowledge that constitutes the participants' experience, the following methods have been suggested the *Grounded Theory* (Glaser, Strauss 1967; Charmaz 2006) and the narrative interview technique (Atkinson 1998), based on the reflective model suggested by Johns (2000). The narrative interview facilitates the access to the participant's world, through the narration of what has occurred during a specific experience. The GT promotes a distancing from it, helps the researcher to codify and conceptualize what happening in the data line-by-line, word-by-word, consequently, allowing to recognise the tacit knowledge contained in it.

Results

The analysis of data involved 31 cases and was carried out through the GTR method, by coding the data on three levels (initial, selective and axial), up to the discovery of seven categories of interpretation, which constitute the core of the answer to the research questions.

The emerging categories in hierarchical form are grouped in 625 codes that conceptualize about 2697 text quotations considered meaningful to the objects of the research.

Chart 1 - *Frequency of codes and quotations*

Type of categories	Frequency	
	Codes	Quotations
Acting in unexpected and sudden situations	28	244
Following operative procedures and acting according to institutionalised principles	191	772
Expressing common sense opinions	2	24
Keeping an open attitude towards problematic situations	274	335
Maintaining a constant observation	274	1010
Expressing metaphorical knowledge	21	23
Expressing common sense and proverbial knowledge	2	24
Need of practical training	8	97
Learning formal skills	13	66
Learning informal skills	73	288
Learning from experience and transferring to similar cases	13	149
Total	625	2697

Firstly, a background category of interpretation emerged, which detects the peculiarities of the action context, as perceived and experienced by the participants. It is the category of «Acting in unexpected and sudden situations». The context is perceived by the participants as characterised by unique interventions, different from each other, impossible to anticipate and hardly repeatable in identical forms. The outcome of their intervention is never granted.

Secondly, the analysis has shown two strong components of knowledge, which originate two emerging profiles, which are the intertwining synthesis of elements of *rigour* and *pertinence*.

The first profile is made of elements of knowledge that express the «*formal rigour*» of knowledge and is symbolized by the interpretative category «Following operative procedures and acting according to institutionalized principles». This category conceptualizes elements of knowledge of a prescriptive, technical and procedural nature and is made-up of elements of knowledge that reflect into the experience the institutional regularity, the bureaucratic ritualism and their trust in the institution. This category is most evident in situations of repression, where the operator captures the thieves, robbers or swindlers.

The second profile is characterised by a «*pertinence to the situation*» symbolized by the data in the category «Keeping an open attitude towards problematic situations». This interpretative category comprises a few sub-categories of knowledge, which are not mentioned in procedures and manuals, but are present in everyday experience. The identified sub-categories are:

- Maintaining a constant observation: the importance of seeing with the “corner of one’s eyes”
- Having decisional leeway: the value of “intentionality”
- Reaching beyond the surface: the value of “promising tracks”

- Breaking a procedural rule and abandoning one’s role: the value of “explorative experimentation”
- Creating a repertoire of situations: the value of experience as a “stock”

The quotations of some codes of this profile are more pronounced in situations of prevention, where the operators are engaged in the prevention of crime, mediation of conflicts and consolidation of disputes.

The discovery of this interpretative category allows us to assume that the codes of technical knowledge, although necessary, are not sufficient to account for the processes of creation and implementation of experiential knowledge.

During the investigation, it was widely shown that the operators must face on a daily basis open problematic situations, characterised by risk, danger and unpredictability. Every intervention, in these cases, requires the activation of a specific process of investigation, characterised by a degree of leeway and the ability to reach beyond the surface, starting from directly observable data, not necessarily applying the given rules, but relying on a repertoire of similar personal past experiences and, to an extent, on elements of contextual pertinence, as suggested by the situation, rather than by operative manuals.

Third, the results have shown how the training context and some knowledge conveyed in professional refresher courses, are apparently perceived and felt by the interviewed operators as «detached» from their context and their daily work routine. A further comparison of data between the category symbolizing the perception of formal knowledge and the category symbolizing the learning from experience, introduces the idea of a «separate training», departing from the operator’s work context, at least at refresher courses. The knowledge conveyed at this stage, as we can read in several extracts, is felt by the participants as theoretical, smothering and too often de-

tached from the need of knowledge emerging from the practice.

Conclusions

The results of this research lead us to believe that experience acts in this particular sector of public security as a true “master of life” for many participants. The discovery of a “repertoire of situations” and the rich experiential gain, which many participants relate that they rely on, can be considered the evidence of experiential knowledge in practice.

The practice of control over the territory appears to be not only a ground for the implementation of knowledge for a police officer, but also a source of knowledge where any formal or informal, common sense or metaphorical element plays an important role in their grip of reality.

In order to operationalise the viability of the research within the institution, a training project has been elaborated with the aim to enhance and document the (un)expressed legacy of experiential knowledge, for a better police practice. The training course is based on the use of the «retrospective reflection» method, used and introduced by Schön (1983). The implementation of knowledge and forms of experience is embedded in the practice of patrolling. However, some meaningful aspects, unexpected results and other qualitative aspects can escape our awareness and thus our knowledge, even if the effectiveness and outcome of the action are directly determined by them. Hence the necessity, through a moment of «radiological» (Mortari 2003: 20) reflection on practical cases, to analyse the situation, in order to stimulate the operators to question the reasons behind the events and their outcomes, digging up their cognitive and emotional implications.

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PROBLEMS IN GLOBAL CRIME RESEARCH: LOOKING BACKWARD, LOOKING FORWARD



By

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We have a tendency to believe that, owing to technological, political and cultural developments in recent years, we are the first generation to experience crime as a global problem. But crime as an international issue has a significant provenance and we can better understand our current situation by appreciating its historical context.

Nearly a century ago, the League of Nations commissioned one of the first crime surveys of global reach. The *Report of the Special Body of Experts on the Traffic in Women*, released in 1927, encompassed research in 112 cities in 28 countries. The researchers collated reports from governments, collected material from international voluntary organisations, and interviewed some 6500 persons, including ‘underworld’ figures engaged in the traffic. Although the political tensions, cultural outlook and moral anxieties of the interwar period cannot be projected onto the present, there are some lessons that can be drawn about carrying out research into global crime problems.

The survey took place under the auspices of the Advisory Committee on the Traffic in Women, established by the League of Nations in 1921. The proposal for the research came from the American delegate, Grace Abbott, who regarded the men on the Advisory Committee as apologists for a disgusting European system of ‘licensed houses’. A worldwide survey, she hoped, would embarrass authorities in countries with this system into action leading to its abolition. The survey was sponsored by the American Bureau of Social Hygiene in New York, one of several entities in various countries interested in seeing the issue of human trafficking on the international public agenda. The International Bureau for Suppression of the Traffic in Women welcomed the survey, as did the International Women’s Organisation, the Jewish Association for the Protection of Girls and Women, and a number of others. Each of these entities had their reasons for doing so, which brings up an important point. Then, as now, the findings of any report into international crime will be interpreted and diffused with reference to pre-existing agendas.

Findings inconsistent with previous agendas will be ignored or dismissed, meaning that the organisations and governments most likely to benefit from following recommendations based on them may be the least likely to acknowledge them. When the human trafficking survey appeared, Mussolini’s government in Italy resisted Abbott’s message. The Italians objected to being categorised among ‘anti-abolitionist countries’ and insisted their system occupied a place somewhere between ‘authorisation’ and ‘toleration’. In other words, because the report had misunderstood their position, the recommendations

did not apply.

Further, it is likely the findings will be used to support causes altogether different from those the researchers and their sponsors had in mind. The League of Nations had its own agenda. It had been established in the aftermath of the First World War with the idea of averting a second. Activities centred on problems left over from the collapse of pre-war empires; problems of drawing national borders and settling displaced minorities. The social agenda – the work of the advisory committee on trafficking in women – was relatively minor. But by the 1930s, when the League had lost all credibility as a political institution, the social agenda became its primary justification. As late as 1939, the League of Nations Union issued a small booklet, *The League and Human Welfare*, to promote its activities concerning the traffic (in drugs as well as women) as its most positive achievement. The League of Nations amplified the threat of human trafficking because it needed a problem as big as the solution.

In any research project that aspires to stretch across national borders, choices will have to be made. In planning their research strategy, the special body of experts decided to focus on what was thought to be the ‘centre of the traffic’ between Europe and South America. It was not an unreasonable choice given the scale and scope of the problem to be grasped, but invited criticism later on. When the report appeared, sceptics wondered why such a massive effort had gone into confirming ‘what everybody already knew’. A year later, English novelist Evelyn Waugh produced a comic satire, *Decline and Fall*, which turned the white slave trade, Britain’s anti-trafficking effort and the League of Nations, into a grand joke. For other critics, the survey was worse than a waste of time. In focusing their efforts in this way, critics such as feminist pioneer Paola Luisi from Uruguay, alleged the researchers had repeated press stereotypes and cultural pre-

judices. The report ‘whitewashed’ the Anglo-American contribution to the evil of the white slave trade while blackening the reputation of Latin nations.

Drawing global conclusions from local sources is hampered by the unavoidable overlap between the two sources. In statistical modelling, this problem is known as collinearity. In terms of human trafficking during the interwar period, it can be seen with reference to Malta. In 1926, Joseph Semini, an inspector with the Malta Police, published a book about crime on the island. He discussed youth crime, counterfeiting, prostitution and other local concerns with reference to Italian criminology. This raises a dilemma. In discussing prostitution, Semini refers to women falling victim to ‘white slave traffickers’. But how is this to be interpreted? Does the use of this phrase by a local police authority constitute evidence of this new global problem having reached the Mediterranean? Or, is Semini, in his effort to demonstrate his cosmopolitan knowledge of developments abroad, merely applying the new internationalist vocabulary to a problem at least as old as sailors, ships and port cities in the Mediterranean? Contemporary researchers will need to be cautious, because even when reports from several cities and countries refer to the same crime problem it may have more to do with the decision on the part of local authorities to use international language rather than reflecting a cross-border reality.

The decision of the special body of experts to interview underworld figures brought its own liabilities. The experts decided that rather than rely on official statements from governments, or even the observations of the international voluntary organisations, they needed to find out ‘what was really going on’. As a means of triangulation, interviewing persons engaged in the traffic was worthwhile, and talking to perpetrators as well as victims could have been considered an innovative approach to crimino-

logical research. But the experts failed to scrutinise the information they received. Their narrative reproduced claims from alleged traffickers, souteneurs and the like with little effort to understand how such persons knew what they claimed to know, and why they were willing to share it with researchers. It is unlikely that criminals are *more* honest than politicians. Notwithstanding the regimes of Hitler and Mussolini, statements by those engaged in criminal activities should be met with at least the same degree of scepticism as that of politicians and government officials.

Finally, it is easy to see how criminal events can have severe political consequences. Murders, bombings and so on can trigger conflicts between countries, even wars. It is also true that research into criminal activities contributes to such tensions as well. The *Report of the Special Body of Experts* avoided reference to religious, ethnic or racial identity of persons in various countries or regions, except for those referred to as Jews. The report gives the impression of Jewish over-involvement in trafficking, a characterisation that coincided with claims that the National Socialists made about 'international Jewry' as directors of the worldwide white slave trade. In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler said it had been the sight of Jewish prostitutes polluting Vienna that had made him an anti-Semite. In the 1930s, Jewish organisations published material refuting such claims, including those made in the League of Nations survey.

One conclusion that can be reached from this is that research into trans-national crime problems has political and moral implications of significant dimension, and inferences about who is to blame, for what, and how others should respond, are inescapable. Researchers who pursue an understanding of global crime, and their sponsors, are advised to be prepared.

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PROJECT RE- PORT AVICRI – ATTENTION FOR VICTIMS OF CRIME



BY

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Description of the project

The AViCri (Attention for Victims of Crime) Project is part of the European Daphne II Programme aimed at victims of crime and the prevention of secondary victimization. (This programme is the second phase of the Daphne programme.

The European Council (with the Framework Decision of 15 March 2001) has established victims' needs for contact with workers who are trained to assess the particular situation of a victim, which is characterized by specific requisites, needs and precautions. This is one of the rights accorded to victims.

The organization heading the project was the Faculty of Psychology 2, of the "Sapienza" University of Rome, represented by the Project Leader Prof. Anna Maria Giannini.

The partners in Italy were: Ministry of Interior – Department of Public Security – Central Directorate of Criminal Police, Latium Region, Regional Directorate of Social Services, Italian Inter-University Centre for the Study and Research on the Origins and Development of Pro-social and Anti-social Motivations and the two NGOs "Differenza Donna" and "Telefono Rosa".

The Project is also being carried out in Europe by international partners such as the Ministry of Home Affairs and Sport of Lower Saxony (Germany), Devon and Cornwall Police and the Metropolitan Police of London (UK).

The aim of the project

The main target of the AViCri project was to create a training package both versatile enough to be used among police forces around Europe and sufficiently specific to tackle a subject such as that of the victims of crime. The result, available as a standard training programme, a CD-ROM and a manual on the theory and practice, aims to stimulate personal skills and awareness, and put forward qualified scientific knowledge, hence professionalising work procedures.

Methods

Two steps – the gathering of quantitative and qualitative data in Italy and Europe on the phenomenon of victimization, and the structuring and provision of a specially designed training package – have allowed AViCri to achieve the desired results within the intended timeframe of two years, and to present these in the best manner and means possible (conventions, magazines, press releases and websites).

As part of the research, questionnaires were devised and put to, respectively: people who have been victims of crime, people who have never been involved in criminal charges, Italian law enforcement officers (the Carabinieri Corps, Italian National Police and Guardia di Finanza Corps) and trainers at European Police Academies. The purpose was to determine how to bring operators in contact with users, in terms of means for approaching victims: how to respond in contact with the user, and the strategies for networking with centres in the area. Semi-structured interviews, over 3,000 questionnaires and a survey on work procedures and training models in 27 European countries have given an overall idea of the structure and network of convergences/divergences, harmony and discrepancies between people and operators, and determined the methods used around Europe for helping victims, the applicable regulatory frameworks and varying awareness of the issue in question.

The research carried out in Italy on such a vast, significant and mixed sample of people, together with research in Europe, offers an impressively broad view of the approach to victims of crime.

The results of the research served to devise a standardized work procedure for application in all of Europe.

Various pilot courses were carried out during the development phase at the Italian Interagency College of Advanced Studies for Law Enforcement Officials. These courses were intended for future trainers who will have the task of teaching in several courses based on a standard training package designed according to the information gleaned from the research. The courses, based on the principle of maximum interaction between distinct professionalisms and maximum operability, aim to improve the theoretical knowledge and practical skills required to approach victims of crime, preventing secondary victimization and improving the quality of testimony.

The course programmes, based on the approach of the Italian Police can, on account of their targets, be considered a means in their own right for cultural change. Italy plays an active role in this change, offering – as in the case of the AViCri project – a theoretical-practical framework for victimology based on a range of disciplines spanning criminology and law, psychology, sociology, legal medicine and communication techniques.

On an international level, the Italian courses are the keystone to developing standard training programmes for police forces to be mainstreamed, rooted in the subject of victimology and focusing in particular on women aged 18 to 70 years old.

In brief, the final results of the project are: a standard procedure for assessing the requisites involved in the approach to victims, and a tested training model with a manual and CD-ROM featuring multimedia educational aids to be used in courses targeted to law enforcement officials and operators. This package is **an example of good practice** that can be applied in the various countries of the European Union.

FROM NATIONAL TO INTERNATIONAL EXPERIENCE – THE EUROPEAN CRIME PREVENTION NETWORK (EUCPN)



By

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More than ever, a fruitful crime prevention strategy is playing a major role in the European criminal justice systems. Increasing demands for more effective measures against crime and delinquency, with a focus on new developments in the social and economic context, have not only identified several key crime areas but also new crime prevention fields to address. The prevention of youth or drug crime, antisocial behaviour, burglary, theft and money laundering as well as cybercrime, child pornography or the implementation of neighbourhood watch programmes have been transformed into result-oriented plans on a national level. In addition, they have an essential link to other countries with the same or different experiences or with an associated cross-border activity.

1. Tasks of the Network

One of the main targets of the European Council is to increase the cooperation to protect citizens from crime with a coherent and rational crime policy, based on respect for human rights and the rule of law and directed towards crime prevention¹. In addition to this philosophy is the requirement of Article 29 of the Treaty of Amsterdam² as well as Article 61(3) TFEU (Lisbon)³ “to provide citizens with a high level of safety within an area of freedom, security and justice by preventing and combating crime”.

For this purpose, the European Crime Prevention Network (EUCPN) was set up in May 2001 by an EU Council Decision⁴ to promote more effective crime prevention activity and best practices in the Member States across the EU, and to provide a means for sharing good practice in crime prevention experience and knowledge gained by Member States. As a framework, EUCPN uses various means to exchange information and maintains close contacts with all relevant stakeholders such as crime prevention bodies, authorities and civil society.

By definition in the Council Decision, the following main aims⁵ of the EUCPN are to:

- Identify good practices in crime prevention and to share knowledge and experience gained between member countries;
- Collect, accumulate and evaluate information on crime prevention activities;
- Improve the exchange of ideas and information within the Network;
- Develop and implement a work programme that addresses relevant crime threats;
- Develop contacts and facilitate cooperation between Member States;
- Contribute to developing local and national strategies on crime prevention;

- Provide expertise to the European institutions;
- Promote crime prevention activities and results of relevant EU funded projects (by organizing meetings, seminars and conferences);
- Cooperate with other bodies involved in crime prevention if appropriate.

The Network reports annually to the Council and the Commission on its activities, through the Board and the competent working bodies. The Council is invited to endorse the report and forward it to the European Parliament.

On 30 November 2009 the founding legislation of 2001 was repealed and replaced by a new Council Decision⁶. This was because of “an external evaluation of the European Crime Prevention Network which was conducted in 2008-2009.

It identified opportunities for strengthening the Network which were accepted by the EUCPN Board and which make it necessary to repeal Decision 2001/427/JHA and to replace it by a new Council Decision concerning the Network. (...) The evaluation⁷ identified the need for more engagement in the activities of the Network by the national representatives and a number of changes are required to strengthen the Network which includes amendments to the provisions dealing with contact points, the Secretariat, the structure of the Board and its tasks, including the appointment of the Chair.”

2. Structure

The EUCPN and its activities are financed by the EU countries and consist of a Board of National Representatives, Substitutes and Contact Points in the Member States. The Board is supported by a Research Officer and a Website Management Team. The position of the Board Chair rotates, and since 1 July 2010 the Chair is Mr. Philip Willekens (eucpn@ibz.eu) of the Belgium Presidency of the Council of the European Union. With the agreement of the outgoing

and incoming Presidency partners, Spain and Hungary, “*A secure home in a safe community, through prevention, community policing and restoration*” has also been chosen as the theme of this presidency. Based on the new Council Decision, and subject to EU funding, Belgium will also manage the implementation of a new administration (secretariat) service provider who will professionally support the Board in 2011.

The EUCPN Board comprises an Executive Committee, voting members and non-voting observers. The Board meets at least twice a year. The voting members of the Board are responsible for decision making.

- The Executive Committee is responsible for developing the Network’s strategic approach for consideration by the full board and for developing and managing delivery of the EUCPN Work Programme. It comprises eight members – the previous Presidency, the current Presidency, representatives of the next five incoming Presidencies and a representative of the Commission.
- Each Member State provides the voting members who are represented on the Board by National Representatives and their substitutes. Each Member State has one vote and decision making will be on the basis of majority as set out in Article 11 of the EUCPN Rules of Procedure.
- Observers may participate in the business of the EUCPN Board, but do not have a vote. They are invited onto the Board by decision of the board members.

The Research Function is provided by a dedicated Research Officer who is the main contact point from whom Network members may seek support and advice on criminological research matters. The part-time Research Officer, funded by the Network, proved to be a success with the collection (good practice projects, library entries and important contacts) and preparation of relevant research information (summaries of systema-

tic reviews, research overviews of specific themes) and high levels of support to network members.

3. Work Programme

The Network is required to decide on an annual programme of work. The development of the work programme is the responsibility of the EUCPN Executive Committee, which works in collaboration with Member States in order to summarize and underline the EUCPN priorities and projects of the coming year. The programme has no defined start or finish: projects will be removed upon their completion and new projects added. In this way the programme is continual. The current work programme is the result of adopting a more strategic approach towards identifying the current position of crime prevention activity within various crime areas. It recognizes the need to undertake an assessment of the subject area to both identify knowledge gaps, which might be filled by commissioning research activity, and to prevent duplication of activity⁸.

The work programme has been developed taking into account three underpinning principles, which are that it:

- Should be involved only with the identification (and ultimate dissemination) of good practice derived from literature and other research activity. It does not involve the development of crime prevention initiatives or the evaluation of such initiatives on the ground.
- Should comprise projects that are of interest to the majority of Member States, in terms of the subject matter and the proposed outcomes.
- Should only contain projects or activities which have clearly defined outcomes based on a conventional project managed approach to ensure that the outputs will be delivered on target and to agreed quality standards.

The Network currently relies on three funding sources:

- EU financial programmes managed by the Commission;
- Member States who fund their own projects;
- Work Programme Fund (WPF) – an internal fund built up by voluntary contributions from Network members.

Seven 'headline' themes have been agreed for the current Work Programme:

- Crime proofing of legislation;
- Making goods less vulnerable to crime;
- Common methodology to evaluate best practices;
- Inventory of good practices;
- Monitoring Member State crime prevention policies;
- Focus on specific and well-defined types of crime (juvenile, urban, drugs);
- Professionalising and strengthening the EUCPN.

Following completion of earlier projects, the programme currently contains the following projects under the themes above referred:

- Developing the European Crime Prevention Award (Finland);
- Restorative justice in the criminal procedure (Hungary);
- Crime prevention in school, "Everybody else does it" (Slovakia and Denmark);
- Developing estimates of the economic costs of crime (Hungary);
- Inventory of good practices based on the ISRD-2 international latency research (Hungary);
- Domestic violence tackled in partnership (Belgium);
- Professionalising and strengthening the EUCPN/Setting-up the EUCPN Secretariat (Belgium);
- Presidency theme – "A secure home in a safe community through prevention, community policing and restoration". Crime prevention in the habitation. Towards a European secure home (Belgium).

4. Website (<http://www.eucpn.org>)

Here you will find a delivery platform that provides access to discipline-specific research findings on crime prevention. It contains summaries of systematic reviews of the effects of crime prevention measures, details of ongoing research projects and international sources of references of journal articles, scientific extracts or links to full text journals from leading scientists or practitioners. The website also contains strategy papers of the Member States, a diary page with upcoming events and actual news that might be of interest in the crime prevention landscape. The introduction site is available in all EU languages.

5. European Crime Prevention Award (ECPA)

EUCPN also rewards the best European crime prevention project each year, by a jury. Participation in the ECPA is open to any project, initiative or package of measures. An objective of the project must be to reduce crime and the fear of crime within the specified theme. Entries can originate from, for example, local authorities, the police, educational institutions, community groups, sports clubs, youth organizations, business community, probation service, neighbourhood watch schemes, parish councils, public transport operators, voluntary organizations/groups.

It is up to each participating country to decide how to select projects for consideration under the scheme. There are some binding criteria:

- The project shall focus on prevention and/or reduction of everyday crime and fear of crime within the specified theme;
- The project shall have been evaluated and have achieved most or all of its objectives;
- The project shall, as far as possible, be innovative, involving new methods or new approaches;
- The project shall be based on cooperation between partners, where possible;
- The project shall be capable of replication by organisations and groups in other Member States.

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CENTRE DE RECHERCHES SOCIOLOGIQUES SUR LE DROIT ET LES INSTITUTIONS PÉNALES (CESDIP)



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CESDIP – the Centre for sociological research on Law and Criminal Justice Institutions is the major venue for the study of criminal justice and deviance in France, and one of the leading research organizations dedicated to the study of crime in Europe. A division of the French Ministry of Justice as well as an affiliate of the *Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique* (CNRS) and the *Université de Versailles Saint-Quentin*, the Centre is in a unique position to connect academics, fostering policy and research. Since its creation in 1976, CESDIP has worked to provide practitioners, policy-makers and students with a scientific approach to criminal justice.

Issues

A multidisciplinary centre with representatives of all the social sciences (sociology, political science, law, economics, demography and statistics), CESDIP is a diverse community comprising more than 30 research fellows, 11 PhD students, 3 research engineers and a large technical and administrative staff. CESDIP researchers work on a wide range of topics including: victimization and fear of crime; juvenile delinquency and prevention; history of crime, criminal justice, and the sciences of deviance; criminal statistics; police organizations, policing and security policies ; professions within the penal field and prison.

International network

This vibrant intellectual community is a key player in the international development of criminal sociology. The *Groupe européen de recherches sur les normativités* (GERN), a subdivision of CESDIP, is in charge of fostering the Centre's international network. Since 1985, GERN has coordinated about 60 research organizations across Europe. GERN also maintains strong partnerships with major research centres in Brazil, India and Canada. GERN has recently carried out a cross-national research programme, *Assessing Deviance, Crime and Prevention in Europe* (CRIMPREV), within the European Union's 6th Framework Programme for Research and Technological Development (2006–09). CRIMPREV brought together 31 research organizations in 10 EU Member States and more than 500 researchers. Since 2002, our Centre is also part of a Joint European Laboratory with the *Max Planck Institut of Freiburg* and the *Centre Lillois d'Etudes et de Recherches Economiques et Sociologiques*.

Police studies

Police studies are one of the Centre's principal areas of expertise. CESDIP researchers have largely contributed to the scientific literature on: urban riots, the feminization of police forces, New Public Management and the production of police statistics, the history of colonial policing, police and discrimination, Contempt of Police charges, police-community relationships, cooperation between police forces and other criminal justice institutions, and merger plans of local police forces in France. New lines of research also include: police unions, police management, and alternative security initiatives such as the creation of night correspondents in the *banlieues* or the development of closed-circuit television (CCTV) systems.

Victimization surveys

CESDIP regularly conducts major national and cross-national surveys, and plays a central role in Europe in the quantitative research on crime, victimization and insecurity. We ushered victimization surveys in France in the 1980s, by conducting its first nationwide survey on self-reported crime victimization, and by supervising a series of regional victimization surveys in the 1990s and the 2000s. Since the 1990s we have worked in close collaboration with the *French National Institute for Statistics and Economic Studies* (INSEE) to promote and analyze the annual national victimization survey, now an official, state-sponsored investigation. This effort has brought French victimization surveys to the same level of scientific excellence that can be found in the UK and in the US. From 2007 to 2011 CESDIP, within the framework of an ANR (*Agence Nationale de la Recherche*) project, is carrying out the secondary analysis of all existing victimization surveys in France. CESDIP is also the depositary of the statistical archives of the French Ministry of justice. Known as the Davido database, after André Davidovitch, a pioneer in French criminal sociology, this unique collection serializes the *Compte général de la justice cri-*

minelle from 1831 to 1981. A leader in quantitative sociology, CESDIP is now taking an active part in the development of LabEx 6S at Saclay, a ambitious scientific project aiming at bringing together representatives of the exact sciences and the social sciences.

Publications

We are dedicated to making scientific expertise available to the general public, in a format easily accessible to non-specialists. *Penal Issues*, a quarterly publication in the form of a four-page bulletin, provides an overview of the most recent investigations completed by CESDIP researchers. *Penal Issues* is simultaneously made available online, in French and English. The Centre's editorial activities naturally extend to scientific publications. No less than four international, peer-reviewed scientific journals are published by CESDIP. Besides *Déviance et Société*, the Centre's historic publication since 1977, CESDIP also supports *Crime, History & Societies* (a publication of the *International Association for the History of Crime and Criminal Justice*, a scientific forum cofounded by CESDIP), the *Revue d'Histoire des Sciences Humaines*, and *Champ penal*.

CESDIP houses the largest specialized library on crime and justice in France, with more than 16,500 titles, 80 scientific journals, 900 electronic resources and a database of 30,000 bibliographical references. An online catalogue and rich intranet contents are provided by the Centre. This collection is one of the most important in Europe, along with the Centre for Criminology at Oxford University and the Max-Planck-Institut für Strafrecht in Freiburg.

Research and education

CESDIP is involved in several research projects, educational missions and collaborative committees with the Ministry of Justice and at UVSQ. CESDIP researchers are active in the education of magistrates and other personnel of the Ministry at ENM (*Ecole Nationale de la Magistrature*)

and ENPJJ (Ecole nationale de protection judiciaire de la jeunesse). Our members also offer professional and research courses in two masters programs at UVSQ. Finally, CESDIP holds two-monthly research seminars, alternately at the Centre in Guyancourt and at the *Ecole Normale Supérieure* in Paris.

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The Stockholm Criminology Symposium "Recognising Knowledge to Reduce Crime and Injustice"

Date: 13-15, June 2011

Place: Stockholm Sweden

2011 CEPOL Police Research and Science Conference - Topic in preparation -

Date: 20-22, June 2011

Place: Spain (restricted access)

The 20th Annual Meeting of the International Police Executive Symposium "Policing Violence, Crime, Disorder, & Discontent: International Perspectives"

Date: June 26-30, 2011

Place: Buenos Aires, Argentina

11th Conference of the European Society of Criminology (ESC) "Rethinking Crime and Punishment in Europe"

Dates: 21-24, September 2011

Place: Vilnius, Lithuania

EUROPEAN POLICE RESEARCH AND SCIENCE BULLETIN
ISSUE 4 - Winter 2010/2011

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