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✓ THE CO-ORDINATION OF RESEARCH
AND THE APPLICATION OF ITS FINDINGS
IN THE FIELD OF CRIMINAL POLICY

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The co-ordination of research and the application
of its findings in the field of criminal policy

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Introduction

In 1975, the Division of Crime Problems of the Council of Europe decided, following a suggestion of the Criminological Scientific Council, to commission to an expert consultant the preparation of a report on the following subject:

"The organisation and functioning of, and results obtained by, bodies and procedures, existing at national level, for the co-ordination of research and the application of its findings in the field of criminal policy".

The report was expected to include: "drawing up conclusions on the results of the various systems and, if appropriate, recommendations regarding the creation or expansion of bodies or procedures for the co-ordination of research and the application of its findings in the member states of the Council of Europe".

After repeated consultations between the expert and the Secretariat, a list of persons and institutions potentially in a position to provide relevant information was prepared. A brief questionnaire was sent to each of them. This was as follows:

"QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Does there exist in your country a body responsible for the co-ordination of research and application of its findings in the field of criminal policy?
2. If so, when was it created?
3. What are its main activities? (Please give examples).
4. Where are its headquarters?
5. Give details of its structure and personnel (number, grades, qualifications). Does this body employ outside experts?
6. What is its budget?
7. Does this body work for one or more ministries? If so, which? Does it work for parliament?
8. Are any of its reports or publications available? How can they be obtained?

9. In your opinion, how effective is this body? Would you allow the expert consultant to refer to your opinion?
10. What are the possible alternatives to the above structure?"

It was also decided to include some major non-member countries, in cases where the development of research in the specific country made such inclusion desirable.

The First Criminological Colloquium, held by the Council of Europe on "Methods of Evaluation and Planning in the Field of Crime" (November 28-30 1973) had provided the background for the proposed report. Reports by B Alpsten (Sweden), on evaluation and planning of police work, by R V G Clarke and I Sinclair (United Kingdom) on treatment evaluation and, in a broader perspective, by J Verin (France), as General Rapporteur, had demonstrated the need for an overall assessment of the field. Of special interest are some of the closing remarks of Verin's final report:

"In this connection, though, much was said at this colloquium (as at earlier gatherings) about the gap separating research workers and practitioners, what seemed new on this occasion was the constructive nature of the suggestions made to narrow the gap between the two sides and a certain optimism which was evident from the discussion.

It was noted that the importance of such factors as lack of comprehension between research workers and users must not be exaggerated as the latter are increasingly interested in research and ready to accept guidance about what should be done.

Favourable action on the part of legislators, administrators and practitioners on the one hand, a more flexible research strategy, better suited to their needs on the other, are not, however, enough to guarantee that research findings are properly exploited. It is one of the greatest merits of the report by MM Clarke and Sinclair that it brings out the need to take action also on the institutional organisation by setting up, at central government level, a planning and development unit to deal with such problems as the application of research which neither administrators nor researchers have time to deal with; the report also states the need to devote to the application of research to practical action, efforts and funds at least commensurate with those allocated to research itself".

It must be noted, at this introductory stage, that a report on this topic must concentrate on specific aspects. The broad field of criminological research is too large and too inclusive, and too many conceptual and practical problems exist at present, for the report to hope to achieve completeness. Several basic issues have to be avoided, or discussed only in passim. National differences enhance the difficulties, and existing structures often become outdated, as governments and administrations revise or change them.

In accordance with the Secretariat, the following guidelines were adopted and followed in the preparation of the present report.

1. Responses from individual correspondents were collected and analysed. A search of relevant literature was undertaken, with no aim of completeness, in view of the vast amount of indirect material. The bibliography at the end is the result of much search. Most of the items included in the bibliography have been quoted in the text of the report. Where this is not the case, the item has been used as general background.
2. No attempt has been made to discuss in depth the terms "research" and "policy", although some working definitions of both terms have been adopted. Both terms mean various things to various persons and institutions, and many types of "research" and "policy" exist, or can be envisaged. The report has been conceived as a concise survey of the European situation, with some reference to major non-European countries, and as a source for further analysis by interested parties.
3. Basic issues, such as, for example, practical v. applied research, radical v. classical criminology, the interaction between policy and planning, the locus of criminal policy, or human rights aspects of criminological research, have been alluded at, when appropriate and indispensable, but no attempts to an exhaustive analysis have been made.
4. In the long time spent in assembling the material and preparing the report, its content has been discussed with many colleagues in various countries, by mail and personally. Many persons have contributed ideas and criticism which are now embodied in the following text. They are too many to be thanked individually, but the report would have been meaningless without their help. Of course a special gratitude must be expressed to the colleagues who have taken time from busy schedules to answer the questionnaire, and to Mr Erik Harremoes and Miss Aglaia Tsitsoura whose patient and informed assistance has sustained the consultant's work unfailingly for a long time.

The interest of the Council of Europe in criminal policy, and the importance and timeliness of the topic have received further support by the "Conference in Criminal Policy", convened in Strásbourg on March 24-26 1975. The reports by Mr J Léauté (France), on the role of penal law in the social context, by Mr M Moriarty (United Kingdom) on the criminal justice system, by Mr H H Brydenscholt (Denmark) on the development of sanction, the general report by M. J Dupréel (Belgium), and particularly the background paper by Mr M Ancel on the contribution of research to the framing of a criminal policy, are an essential prerequisite to the following pages. It is because of these reports that discussion of basic issues can be avoided as repetitious and unnecessary. In essence, the following report is an appendix to the conference proceeding, and it has drawn heavily on the contributions of the authors mentioned above. Particularly, the basic definitions provided by Mr Ancel have been adopted by the consultant in the preparation of this report.

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Criminal policy

In a report prepared for the 1970 International Congress of Criminology (Madrid), Prof. Katjia Vodopivec defined criminal policy in the following way: "Criminal policy covers all measures taken and actions carried out by social institutions or government bodies on the basis of a given concept of how to combat crime with a view to reducing the number and gravity of violations of the existing penal code in its widest sense". Such definition, based on the operational aspects of criminal policy, is probably a widely acceptable statement. Prof. Vodopivec has contributed a very lucid analysis of the issue of scientific research and criminal policy, assembling and analysing responses from a large number of correspondents around the world. She discusses briefly the fact that, as pointed out by several authors, policy in general, and consequently criminal policy, cannot be independent of the political system in which it is pursued. Although this is obviously true, international comparison is still useful. Other authors (quoted by Prof. Vodopivec) underline the fact that elimination of crime, being an impossible goal, should not be the aim of criminal policy. Criminal policy should be concerned with allocation of costs and resources. For others, criminal policy goes beyond the limits of the criminal justice field, and is not only concerned with criminal and antisocial behaviours. It includes all facets of the social and economic life of a country, that may have a bearing on criminal matters.

For Marc Ancel, criminal policy is the "coherent and rational organisation of society's reaction to crime". This simple and clear formulation will be followed in this report. The term "criminal policy" has been more familiar to continental criminologists, because of its historical roots.

From its early positivistic roots, criminal policy has been envisaged as: "the activity carried out by the State to the aim of preventing and controlling crimes" (Grispigni 1947), or as "the systematic complex of principles according to which the State must conduct its fight against crime, through penalties and related measures" (Listz). The definitions of criminal policy are many, but they all stress the practical, pragmatic aspects of a decision-making process carried out by the State and its organs, to prevent and control undesirable behaviours and events defined as crimes. It is action oriented (Grispigni, 1928), and it has close ties with criminal sociology, in a Ferrian sense. This coincidence makes its autonomy as a discipline questionable, a fact made more relevant by its practical, applied nature. For Ferri (quoted by Belloni, 1943) it corresponds to applied criminal sociology. For Listz Kriminalpolitik must be distinguished from Strafwissenschaft.

or the technical-juridical and dogmatic aspects of criminal law. Criminal policy directs the legislator, and criticises his action. Criminology, in its various sub-disciplines, is a meta-discipline to criminal policy, and provides the know-how on which criminal policy is built. Ferri denied discipline status to criminal policy, considering it an art. Public policy (including criminal policy) is very much in the foreground of current debates. Various specialised journals have emerged, such as, for example, Science and Public Policy, published by the Science Policy Foundation, or Policy and Politics (Sage Publications, Inc.). In the crime field, The International Review of Criminal Policy, the time-honoured United Nations Publication, and the more recent Contemporary Crises, Crime, Law and Social Policy, and the Archives de politique criminelle, published by the Centre de Recherches de Politique Criminelle in Paris, are widely known.

Various scientific disciplines have accepted the challenge of contributing to policy making, by its very nature an interdisciplinary field. Even an anthropology of public policy, concerned with the involvement, strategies and modus operandi of social sciences in public policy, has been postulated (Belshaw, 1976).

Both "hard" disciplines (such as chemistry, engineering, physics) and the "softer" social sciences have been called on the carpet of public policy formulation. The complexity of modern life, and the exponential progress of science and technology in the last century have forced the politician to rely more and more on external know-how.

Already in 1967 the Committee on Government Operations of the US House of Representatives prepared a four volume study on the use of social sciences in federal domestic programmes. Volume II of this important source contains a detailed analysis of federally financed research, and its impact on crime and law enforcement (other problem areas are: education, poverty, medicine and health, social welfare, urban problems; fittingly, crime is the first of the six areas). More recently (1974, published in 1975), the Committee on Public Works of the US House of Representatives has charged a Science Advisory Panel with the task of answering the following questions for the legislators and policy makers: "How do we assure ourselves of securing the best possible scientific and technical guidance in the development of long-term policies which will give direction to present and future legislative activities? And what kind of mechanism can we create which will foster a continuous and ongoing communication process between the Congress and the scientific/academic community in the development of these politics?"

Answers are not easy and not uniform. Various problems pose various challenges, and national and political systems differences make existing solutions non-transferable. Even the definition of what is a social issue, requiring a public policy decision, is questionable. For Rappaport and Kren (1975), quoting Wilson (1973), it is any matter involving controversy or uncertainty over the well-being of substantial numbers of people. Most certainly, crime and delinquency qualify as a major social issue, but many others exist and interact, with different levels of public awareness and concern, and at various levels of relevant technical know-how re causes, phenomenology and possible solutions.

Recently, economic and political events have forced some new areas into the public policy arena. Ecology (Coates, 1976), and energy (Noll, 1976; and Carver, 1976) are two good cases in point.

On a more philosophical level, Michel Foucault has recently (1977) made the point that each society has its own régime of truth (including, by definition, scientific truth); consequently, each society has its own "general policy" of truth. "Truth" is linked to scientific institutions, and is the object of continuous economic and political pressures. It is, also, the object of an enormous consumption, by various customers, in various social bodies. The ties between truth and power exist in each political system, from Marxist to capitalist.

In democratic systems the making of public policy, to quote Gilbert (1976), might be construed as the public shaping of policy. Various tendencies help shape policy, and public opinion and formal and informal policy-making bodies interact continuously, in a changing pattern of reciprocal influences. Thus, information, and its channels, become vital, not only for policy makers, but for the public at large.

The challenge created by the mushrooming of information, and its fast "ageing" has determined the establishment of a variety of structures, at various governmental levels. No inventory of these structures is possible for policy making in general, and a few examples will be mentioned only to highlight possible approaches.

In the United States, in addition to the well-known "Office of Science and Technology Policy" (recently 1976, re-established, at the federal level, in the White House) some state structures exist. One is functioning at the Illinois Legislative Council, since 1973, and another at the Assembly California Legislature, as Assembly Office of Research, also since 1973.

At the National Research Council - National Academy of Science level, at the Assembly of Behavioural and Social Sciences, the committee on the Study Project on R and D. commissioned a report, from Prof. Henry David (1976), on aspects of social, economic and science policy. This important and carefully researched paper outlines trends, policies and priorities, in an historical perspective that describes the radical changes which have taken place in the American public funding of social issues.

In the United Kingdom, a 1972 study presented in parliament by the Lord Privy Seal, on "A Framework for Government Research and Development" deals with similar issues. The area of government sponsored research has generated endless debates. Questions of funding, priorities, freedom of inquiry, relationship with universities, have been debated at length. De Cesare (1970) has analysed the organisational and budgetary problems of public research in Italy and in several countries. Co-ordination and priority selection remain the main problem areas. The need for public funding in research is, of course, beyond dispute. In areas such as crime and delinquency, only public funds can supply the vast amount of needed resources. This is particularly true in most European countries.

Within general social policy, criminal policy is an important area of concern. It is not, however, easy to separate criminal policy from other areas of social policy. This is amply accepted when social policy is conceived in terms of social planning. The United Nations have devoted a number of meetings to the topic of planning for social defence and to related research. (See, for example: Issue 28 of the International Review of Criminal Policy, and particularly the articles by Di Gennaro, by Pinatel and by Wilkins; the publication: A Policy Approach to Social Defence, 1972, ST/SOA/114; Research Approaches in Social Planning, and Some Approaches to Planning for Social Defence, UNSDRI 1969, the proceedings of the UN meeting on research in criminology, Denmark, 1965, and particularly the paper by K Waaben: Relation of Research to Administration and Policy Development). Two field studies, in the Netherlands and in Finland, have been carried out by UNSDRI on Criminological Research and Decision Making. Both countries provide interesting case studies of the decision process and of the channels of communication. A recent volume by Wickwar (1977) on the place of criminal justice in developmental planning, explores the area with special reference to developing countries.

In general, planning must include broad constructs and introduce criminal policy, related to the entire criminal justice system, in larger matrixes of operations. In Italy, criminal justice planning has been studied by Di Gennaro and Marbach, on the basis of an analysis of needed indicators.

Criminal justice policy research and planning, specifically, has been the object of many articles and monographs. Some of the most relevant are by Glaser (1971), Szabo and Leblanc (1971), Glaser (1975), Frank and Faust (1975), Den'ers (1976). The aspects more directly related to criminal justice administration, including the working of the courts have been discussed, among others, by Williams (1961), Mueller (1969), Elliff (1971), Schubert (1974), Gottfredson (1975).

The increasing interest for criminal policy is shown by the number of papers devoted to this topic in a recent collection of writing, such as, for example, Politics and Crime, edited by S F Sylvester and E Sogarin (1974) and the volume in honour of W H Nagel: Criminology Between the Rule of Law and the Outlaws, edited by Jasperse, von Leeuwen - Burow and Tocrvliet (1976); about half of the paper in this latter volume are devoted to criminal policy.

The special problems of consulting work in criminal policy have been analysed by Brodsky (1977), who has examined the practical difficulties and conflicts, and the pitfalls of this expanding activity.

For the purpose of this report, a discussion of the various definitions of criminal policy is superfluous, since the Ancel definition will be followed. The amount of available literature bears witness to the relevance of the area.

An important question is, of course, who makes policy. For Gusfield (1975) public policy has at least two different meanings. It can indicate a collective attribute, a goal, and the related actions, of an agency, in reference to the interest of a (or the) total group. In this sense, we speak of "national" public policy. However, the term may mean also the opposite of "private", meaning "conducted in public", under everybody's observation. At the agency level, policy is a statement of a general and deliberate direction or intent; at the act level, it is the outcome of a multiplicity of acts, and refers to the general pattern created by the carrying out, in the field, of the agency-level statements. A policeman on a street corner, deciding not to stop and search a marijuana smoker, makes policy. Consequently, policy is made by: (1) governments and legislators, and by agency executives, normally within the framework of general socio-economic politically determined plans, and through enactment of legislation, (2) policy is also made by courts, normally interpreting laws; and (3) policy is made by field operators,

exercising this discretionary power. Policy on a controversial issue may differ greatly between the three levels. For research to be effective, it must be brought to the attention of all individuals at the various levels. Of course, in this context, we will be referring primarily to the 1st and 2nd level. The 3rd level is primarily a matter of distribution of valid and objective information. However, what can be brought to the attention of policy makers, and how, remain the object of much discussion. Objectivity, fairness, relevance, clearing up technical jargon, solving controversial issues, neutrality, are all needed qualities of the data that must reach the policy maker. Information-getting conflicts with busy schedules, and information neutrality may conflict with established party or political lines.

At the individual level, some researchers are (or have been) policy makers, and some policy makers consider themselves researchers. Worse still, for some policy makers research is a tool for political goals. The selection of information from research (or even research topics to be funded) can be politically motivated. The need for guidelines and controls is obvious.

Criminological research

The many issues of criminological research cannot, of course, be discussed here. Only those points which are indispensable will be alluded to. Thus, the problems of fundamental v. applied research, descriptive v. explanatory studies, action or evaluative research, spontaneous v. commissioned research projects will not be discussed in any depth. Many recent writings (for example, Viano, 1975) analyse the changing scene of criminological research, and the increasing demands pressed upon the researchers by the public and by the research consumers. Changes in theory go along with changes in research (Friday, 1977), and research is shifting from cause approach to policy content.

A widely accepted tenet is that which advocates interdisciplinary research (Wolfgang and Ferracuti, 1967). Yet interdisciplinarity, integration of disciplines in a common task, is still more a goal than a reality.

The following types of integration are possible:

1. integration of disciplines in initiating and conducting research;
2. integration of scientific theory and data within and between disciplines;

3. integration of scientific theory and practice in social policy and in remedial and preventive action.

Efforts towards integration are part of the middle-range approach, and particularly in the early stages of a research, emphasis should be placed on the first two types mentioned above. The strategy and practical elements of interdisciplinary collaboration are, of course, of paramount importance.

In 1951-52 several behavioural science conferences on interdisciplinary team research methods and problems met under the auspices of the National Training Laboratories of the National Education Association. The patterns of collaboration which were discussed and described by the delegates included the following:

1. Fusion. In this approach, disciplinary loyalties are discarded and all researchers subscribe to an overall theoretical system within which an attempt is made to handle all problems that are undertaken.
2. Multivariate Approach, with a common focus. Members of a research team "work together on the same central problem, but use their own methods and stay essentially within their own theoretical framework".
3. Formal Integration, within which the separateness of disciplines is maintained.
4. Division of problem into sub-inquiries with interdisciplinary collaboration.
5. Collation. This is the loosest kind of collaboration; a type of interdisciplinary research in which members of different disciplines, each with different theories, work in the same general problem area without any specific provisions for integration. They exchange information and data, but essentially each uses his own techniques to work on his own part of the research.

It should be obvious from the previous discussion that fusion should be favoured in reference to interdisciplinary research. The initial stages of research may also accept the multivariate approach as a necessary intermediate step towards fusion. Also, it does not appear necessary to discard "disciplinary loyalty" in the sense that one abandons intellectual attachment to concepts, theories and findings if these have been fruitful in producing operational hypotheses and useful data. What should be discarded in fusion and in the multivariate approach is a unidimensional perspective on the problems under investigation, for each team member must expand and accept the injection of concepts, theories, and findings into his own set of ideas so that meaningful integration can be achieved.

A guideline for problem selection, design planning and research direction, could be sketched as follows:

A. From the standpoint of the research problem

1. Focus on a single set of clearly defined problems.
2. Problem definition determined by demands of problem rather than by disciplinary or individual interests.
3. Formulation of the research problem in such a way that all participants can contribute to its solution.
4. Existence of collaborative potential as a result of previous work on the problem by more than one discipline.

B. From the standpoint of theory

1. Acceptance of a unified overall theory, when available.
2. Acceptance of a common set of hypotheses and assumptions.
3. Agreement on definition of common concepts.
4. Agreement on operational definitions.

C. From the standpoint of methodology

1. Utilisation of resources of all relevant disciplines in exploring possible methodologies.
2. Team agreement on most appropriate methodology, including research procedures, relevant variables to be measured or controlled, and methods to be used.

D. From the standpoint of group functioning

1. Selection of team members on basis of their ability to contribute to research objectives.
2. Approximate parity of influence exerted by the representatives of one discipline or another.
3. Acceptance of leadership regardless of disciplines from which leader and researchers come.

4. Flexibility of roles.
5. Development and use of a common language.
6. Free communication among all team members.
7. Free interchange of information about the research, with mechanics for facilitating such interchange when necessary.
8. Sharing of suggestions, ideas, and data among members from different disciplines.
9. Participation of all team members in joint planning of each step of the research.
10. Reciprocal teaching and learning among team members, a continuous learning process.
11. Problem-centred rather than discipline - or individual-centred team activity.
12. Minimum influence on research plans and operations exerted from outside the research team.
13. Willingness of participants to subordinate their own methods and interest to achieve project aims.
14. Publication of research reports by the group as a whole rather than by individual members.

Research may range from mere acquisition of statistical data, to high-level theory testing. The last two decades have witnessed the mushrooming of research centres at the national and at the international level (see Vodopivec, 1974, for a list of recently established centres). Data acquisition, storage and processing has become increasingly more sophisticated (Tufts, 1974). The amount of available information has substantially increased (Lejins, 1975). New social indicators sources tend to include criminal justice system data. The interrelation between criminal problems and other social problem is reflected in repeated analyses of macrosocial characteristics (see, for example, Bloembergen, Hauber, Jasperse, Toornvliet and Willemse, 1976).

Of specific interest for policy making is the so-called "evaluation research". This is a rapidly developing field, where many basic sources exist (Struening and Guttentag, 1975) including specific periodicals, volumes such as Evaluation Studies Review Annual, by Sage. The first of these volumes, edited by G V Glass, has a lengthy section on "Crime and Justice" ranging from evaluation of firearm laws to traffic regulation. Validity issues in evaluation research have been discussed by Bernstein (1975).

A large national conference has been devoted to criminal justice evaluation, in February 1977, in Washington. At the time of writing this report, its proceedings are not yet available. UNSDRI has published (1976) an important collection of papers on evaluation, preparatory to the fifth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders. Several authors discuss in this document the pitfalls and difficulties of evaluative research, its methodology and its "impact" and issues of type of available data, qualitative evaluation, etc. The major problem in evaluative studies is, of course, what are to be considered valid indicators. In the absence of clearly specified goals for criminal policy, this is a difficult question to answer. Also criminal phenomena may change for reasons that bear little relation to existing criminal policy or action programmes (White, 1975) - making evaluation impossible - yet, currently few action programmes obtain viability unless they provide for an evaluation ongoing component.

More recently, important critical analyses of criminological research vis-à-vis criminal policy have been published (Wolfgang, 1976). To these reference will be made later on.

The emergence of new areas, or the increasing importance of new areas, may shift the focus of existing policy oriented research. Examples of this are victimology (Waller, 1976), corruption (Schultz and Methvin, 1974), economic crime (LEAA), drugs (Gusfield, 1975).

Co-ordination of research and its application to policy

In this section the information obtained from the various respondents will be discussed. Several points must be underlined for an understanding of the limits of the following data.

1. Various countries within member States are missing. In some cases, no reply was received although repeated attempts were made to contact reliable respondents. In other cases, the reply consisted of a note saying that no organisation existed which could fit the description given in our request.
2. The information was obtained in the course of the second part of 1975 and the first part of 1976. The changes which have affected LEAA will be discussed later, as of October 1977. This information has been updated in the course of the second part of 1978.
3. Responses varied in length, ranging from a one page letter to voluminous comprehensive reports. Whenever possible, a direct search of relevant literature was undertaken - to supplement what was given by the respondents. No claim, however, is made of completeness.
4. For countries outside the member States, a decision had to be made concerning what could and should be included. The United States of America were an obvious choice, in view of the size of the relevant literature, and in consideration of the large amount of public funding and of government sponsored or originated research. Other countries were included for similar reasons.
5. In the case of the United States, another problem arose concerning what to include, in view of the multiplicity of existing bodies. Also, State-level organisations abound. Essentially, responses were obtained and material sought from LEAA, the NIMH Centre for Studies of Crime and Delinquency, and one State-level centre, taken as an example, although probably not a representative one. The Programme for the Study of Crime and Delinquency of the Ohio State University.
6. The report includes responses from the following countries: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Israel, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Sweden, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States of America.

The variety of existing structures is wide. Obviously no complete account is possible, or perhaps even necessary.

The available responses will be summarised on a country by country basis, following the format of the specific questions. After this, a question by question analysis will be done, to achieve some degree of comparability.

Country Analysis

Australia

An organism, established in 1971, has the purpose of co-ordinating research. The Australian Institute of Criminology, in Canberra, initiated its activities in 1973, and conducts comparative research and programmes of professional education. It has a staff of 65 persons, and outside experts are invited for specific projects. The institute works for all the Commonwealth States, with a budget which, for the year 1975-76 has been of 1,227,000 Australian dollars. Publications are available from the institute. The structure of the institute appears to be very efficient, also at the international level.

Belgium

An official organisation for the co-ordination of research does not exist, but there is a certain degree of collaboration, mostly at the inter-personal level, carried out by the administrative board of the Centre for the Study of Juvenile Delinquency in Brussels, which includes university representatives and staff from the Ministry of Justice. The Belgian Society of Criminology carries out unofficially a co-ordination role for research.

Finally, within the framework of the Penal Administration, there is a scientific committee organised at the Ministry of Justice as part of the co-operation instituted between the Administration and Belgian universities. It co-ordinates and supervises research on prisons by the people involved in this co-operation. The committee was set up in 1969. It comprises 6 members of the Penal Administration and 6 representatives of the universities and is chaired by the Director General of Prisons. It is financed by the Department of Justice and the National Fund for Collective Basic Research and mainly works for the Penal Administration. At present, the committee possesses minutes of meetings, which are not generally circulated, and reports on the work carried out by university teams in the framework of this co-operation.

Canada

The Solicitor General Office, within the Ministry of Justice, has a research unit, established in 1965. This unit is charged with promoting and co-ordinating research in the field of criminal justice. No data are available on budget, staff and structure. Various publications have been distributed. No information is available as to its effectiveness.

The International Centre for Comparative Criminology was established on 1 June 1969 by agreement between the International Society of Criminology and the Université de Montréal. It is attached to the Executive Committee of the university, is completely autonomous and collaborates very closely with the School of Criminology of the said university.

The aims of the Centre are the following:

- a. to promote inter-university research in Quebec, throughout Canada and in other countries; to analyse these studies in a comparative perspective with the help of invited specialists;
- b. to organise regional seminars and symposia with the participation of Canadian and foreign universities;
- c. to train research personnel, civil servants and administrators and co-operate with foreign universities upon request, in the development of criminological teaching and research;
- d. to collect, at the documentation service, material from Quebec, Canada and other countries concerning criminological research and to prepare bibliographies on selected topics.

Research undertaken at the ICCC from 1970 to 1977 covers five main areas:

1. social prevention
2. the study of criminal justice system
3. the sociology of law and criminal policy
4. clinical criminology
5. analysis of the cultural areas.

All research is followed by the publication of a report. The works are published either in book form by "Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal" or other publishers, or as xeroxed reports available on request at the documentation service of the Centre.

Since its foundation, the Centre has been concerned with research problems as they relate to decision-makers and these have been among the subjects of its research. Partially financed by the Department of the Solicitor General of Canada, particular attention has been devoted to the manner in which research influences the criminal policies of the Government. Furthermore, the School of Criminology of the Université de Montréal, founded in 1960, receives an extended grant from the federal government to encourage the training of research personnel at the doctoral level. These specialists are destined to work in the field of research in planning and development.

Denmark

In 1972 the Danish Department of Prison and Probation organised a committee for the co-ordination of research. It was reorganised in 1975. It is now presided over by the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Justice, and the task of the committee has been extended to cover all parts of the criminal justice system. It is composed of staff from the University of Copenhagen and other universities, from juridical and medical bodies. Also the personnel organisations are represented. The committee is charged with the task of collecting information to plan and co-ordinate research, and it has also consultative functions in the planning of specific research projects. It does not have a separate budget, but it uses funds from the Department of Prison and Probation, which has a total budget of 280,000 Danish crowns for research projects.

The projects already published can be obtained from the department. The effectiveness of the committee has been satisfactory.

Finland

Since 1974, a Research Institute of Legal Policy exists, charged with co-ordinating research relevant to the drafting of legislation, with consultation for planning research projects, and with the collection of information for ongoing research. This institute is located in Helsinki; and includes two sections, a criminological one (staffed by three sociologists, one lawyer and one statistician) and a general one (staffed by one sociologist and two lawyers). Four secretaries and a full-time director, normally a university professor on leave, complete the staff. Experts from outside are rarely invited. The prospected budget for 1976 was equivalent to 200,000 dollars. A special article of the law establishing the institute guarantees its independence, even though it works primarily for the Ministry of Justice. Publications are available, at no charge, by direct request. They are in Finnish, usually with English summaries. The effectiveness of the institute has been greater in the field of criminal policy, for lack of adequate funds. The institute has been semi-independently established after discarding other possibilities, such as that of an agency operating within the Ministry of Justice, or that of a central research structure, connected with the various universities.

France

In France, everything concerning "the co-ordination of (criminological) research and the application of its findings in the field of criminal policy" is dealt with by the Ministry of Justice.

In 1978 a Research Co-ordination Department was set up mainly to manage contracted-out research, ie work that the Ministry does not have done by its own research centres.

In fact these contracts, worth 2,000,000 FF a year, deal mainly with non-criminal justice but also, in a small way, with criminal policy.

Reports are available on request from the Research Co-ordination Department or are published by "Documentation Française".

However, the bulk of criminological research falls outside this framework.

It is primarily the affair of the Ministry of Justice's own research centres, mainly the Training and Research Centre for Correctional Education (30 research workers, 5,000,000 FF per year) as regards minors, the Penal and Criminological Research Unit (15 research workers, 1,000,000 FF a year) as regards criminal sociology, and the National Centre for Penitentiary Research (4 research workers, 800,000 FF a year).

The main centres, the first two, account for a very large fraction of the French scientific potential in criminology, doing both basic and applied research. They follow a diversified policy of publication, depending on the recipients (scientific community, decision-makers and experts). They play a large part in training and retraining criminal justice personnel. Finally, each deals outside the Ministry of Justice with the linkage research, use made of it and value accorded to it.

In addition, in 1968 a Co-ordinating Committee on Criminological Research was set up, comprising about 40 members (judges, scientists, civil servants). Its secretariat is provided by the Penal and Criminological Research Unit. The committee furthers the development and diversification of French criminological research. Its efforts cover 4 branches: training (especially permanent training of criminologists); taking a census of teaching, documentation and research units in criminology, and of research in progress; international

scientific relationships; assisting research. Each year the committee selects research subjects to be financed from amongst those freely submitted to it (annual budget: 500,000 FF per year); it has the completed research evaluated by outside experts. The reports are available from the Penal and Criminological Research Unit.

Since 1970, this system has led to a very considerable regeneration of French criminological research. There has also been a marked improvement in the links between research and its use, including a sizeable increase in recourse to scientific research. Finally, the system has made it possible for the basic aspects and the more "operational" branches of criminological research to be developed side by side.

Federal Republic of Germany

In the Federal Republic of Germany, departments of the Federal Ministry of Justice are responsible for criminological and socio-legal research. Co-ordination of research in these fields is achieved by means of documentation on relevant research projects in progress or just completed which was published by the Federal Ministry of Justice for the first time in 1974. The second, much enlarged edition has just come out (Hartwig and Bundesministerium der Justiz, Rechtstaatsachenforschung und Kriminologie, 2nd edition, Bonn 1978). In some cases, the Federal Minister of Justice may release funds for specific research work. Other federal ministries and the corresponding ministries of the Länder are sometimes able to do the same.

Moreover, the task of encouraging criminological research falls particularly to the German Society for Research (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, DFG). This is an institution under the control of the German universities, which decides where and how to grant the funds allocated to it for research work. As regards criminology, the Society has in the last four years favoured, inter alia, research of a sociological nature. It has just adopted (in 1978) a research programme on the punishment and treatment of offenders.

Israel

In 1950, commissions were established to study the problem of prevention of juvenile delinquency. Subsequently three committees were created to study the reform of criminal law, of criminal procedure, and of types of punishment. They propose solutions for specific problems, but only rarely they undertake or commission specific empiric research. The committees are based in the Ministry of Justice, are presided over by a Supreme Court judge, and are composed of jurists, criminologists, doctors and police officers. No data are available on budget and publications. Results are made available to the Ministry.

In addition, research is undertaken by:

- the department of research of prisons and police headquarters (Ministry of the Interior) on questions of crime policy;
- the research department of the Ministry of Labour and Welfare on questions concerning the prevention of crime;
- the Israeli Council of Research and Development (questions relating to drug addiction, mental health and deviance).

Italy

A Study and Research Office of the Ministry of Justice has been established, within the ministry, in 1970. It maintains contacts with universities and other qualified institutions for eventual researches and for the application of their results. Both theoretical and empirical studies are carried out, with a permanent small staff of experts from the fields of law and of social science. For specific research projects, outside experts may be called in. The budget varies on a yearly request, and availability basis. Research findings are primarily made available to the ministry, but are also used by the parliament or by other ministries. The publications are available at the Ministry of Justice, or in the State bookstore. The effectiveness of the office on criminal policy varies according to the various director generals, and to the changing political situation. A separate office, independent from the penitentiary administration would be desirable, with a board composed of experts in various research fields.

Japan

In 1948 a Research and Legislative Reference Department was established, as part of the National Diet Library. This organ collects objective data from ongoing research, and information in the legislative field, with the aim to provide material to members of parliament for the formulation of crime policy. It is based in Tokyo, and it has a staff of 154 members, including 16 senior and 9 junior specialists. It is divided into 13 research services and 14 sections. A monthly "Reference" journal is published, together with other regular publications and research findings. No data on budget and on publications are available.

In addition, there are two other Institutes of Research and Documentation in the field of criminology and crime policy - the Research Institute of the Ministry of Justice and the Research Institute of Police Headquarters. Both carry out research which is published in their annual reports. The Research Institute of the Ministry of Justice also publishes - since 1960 - white papers on criminality in Japan.

The Netherlands

The General Research Consultant of the Ministry of Justice co-ordinates the research in the domain of the ministry as far as this research is subsidised by the Minister of Justice, either directly or indirectly. Directly by distributing grants over university and other qualified research institutes, indirectly by charging with research its own Research and Documentation Centre (RDC). This consultant also attends to the implementation of the research results.

The RDC has a budget of \$500,000 and consists of several departments such as: documentation, criminological, penal, and legislative research. The staff includes 25 persons. The majority of the activities are carried out for the ministry itself, although occasionally research is done on request of parliament or organisations in the field of the administration of justice. During the last years the impact of research activities on the policy making is increasing.

There is no co-ordination between subsidised and non-subsidised research. However, by editing a "Onderzoek Bulletin" (Research Bulletin), covering the subsidised research and the research carried out by the RDC itself, and by giving once a year an overview of the current research in the field of the ministry (subsidised as well as non-subsidised) in its periodical "Justitiële Verkenningen", the RDC in this way actually exerts a considerable influence on the attuning of related research projects.

The yearly overview is translated into English every two years and is called "Research Issue". In 1978 this publication has for the first time been brought into circulation. Also the "Onderzoek Bulletin" is published in English, called "Research Bulletin". It presents completed research in the judicial field in a more comprehensive form. The RDC research reports, some of which are translated into English, can be ordered from the Government Printing Office, PO Box 20014, 2500 EA The Hague, The Netherlands.

Sweden

The National Swedish Council for Crime Prevention, created in 1973, includes two sections: one devoted to research and development, and one charged with co-ordination, evaluation and planning of research in the field of criminal policy. The Council has also the task of applying the results of treatment of offenders, to communicate the research findings to politicians and social planners, to make available information on criminal statistics and to distribute funds for research in the field. The Council is located in Stockholm and consists of a 16 member board (politicians, ministerial under-secretaries, heads of unions, representatives of insurance companies, etc). A "scientific group", composed of specialists from various fields, is in charge of specific scientific problems. Attached to the Council is a group of six persons who can be consulted on different issues - namely the Attorney General and the Heads of the National Police Board, the National Prison and Probation Administration, the National Board of Health and Welfare, the National Board of Education, and the National Courts Administration. The Agency proper has a fairly small permanent staff (19 approximately). In addition, approximately 16 persons are employed either on a full-time or part-time basis on different projects and in working groups.

For 1977-78 the budget has been 6,100,000 Swedish crowns, to be spent on administration, research on drug problems, on information and on evaluation. The Council is independent and cannot accept directives from parliament or from ministries, even though in effect there is a close relationship between these bodies and the Council, because the board includes representatives of the political parties and ministerial under-secretaries. Up to now 19 reports have been published in Swedish and 3 reports in English which can be obtained through "Liber Distribution". The Council is still considered to be experimental; it is therefore difficult to express a final opinion on its functioning. A ministerial body, with researchers employed as full-time civil service staff would, perhaps, be more suitable, in the opinion of some persons.

There are also other research councils in Sweden supporting research within and attached to criminal policy, eg the Swedish Council for Social Science Research, the Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Fund, etc. The National Prison and Probation Administration has its own research and development section headed by Mr Norman Bishop. To a certain extent the Council supports financially their research and evaluation projects.

Turkey

No organism exists for the co-ordination of research and criminal policy.

United Kingdom

The Home Office is responsible for the co-ordination of research and the application of its findings to criminal policy in England and Wales. A Unit, established in 1957, provides a comprehensive service of research and professional advice in the social sciences, including criminology. It initiates and carries out research for administrative purposes or for the formulation of policy. It provides information to the Home Office about research in the social sciences, encourages and assists such research by universities and other organisations, and makes grants for these purposes.

The Research Unit, which is located at the Home Office in London, has a staff of some 50 professional research workers drawn from a variety of disciplines. Close contact is maintained with the policy divisions of the Home Office (in particular with the planning organisation); with other government departments; with the courts, police, probation and after-care, and prison services; and with research workers in universities. The annual budget is approximately one million pounds sterling, of which about a third is paid out in grants in support of research in universities.

The results of the Unit's research are published in the Home Office Research Studies series, in periodicals and learned journals, and in the Unit's own Bulletin; the latter, together with the Unit's account of its programme of work, is distributed free of charge. The findings of research supported by grants paid from official funds to universities are published commercially.

There are slightly different arrangements in Scotland, where a central research unit carries out and commissions (eg from universities) research on behalf of the several interests of the Scottish Office in the economic and social fields. Part of the unit works with the Scottish Home and Health Department, which exercises functions relating to criminal justice similar to those of the Home Office in England and thus has a small research capability at its disposal.

United States of America

Many federal, State and private research organisms exist in the US, and in the following section only a very cursory analysis is possible. Also, the American situation is undergoing continuous changes, in part linked to the administrative reorganisation following new White House directives. Consequently, existing descriptions of governmental organisms may be outdated quickly.

The control and prevention of crime is a major political issue in the States, and the public concern is greater than elsewhere. This fact, together with the availability of larger means, and together with a tradition of informed pragmatism in policy formulation, has sponsored the creation of a variety of programmes and activities. Various trends are detectable, historically and locally. A full account of this complex development is beyond the purpose of the present report, and it has been done elsewhere. It must be said that, in spite of the enormous amount of funds spent on the prevention and control of crime, only recently some visible results have been shown expressed in reduction of crime rates. The last 12 October 1977 FBI UCR reads as follows: "Crime in the United States, as measured by the crime index offences, decreased 7 per cent during the first six months of 1977 compared to the same period in 1976. Violent crimes, as a group, showed no change. Robbery declined 5 per cent and murder 2 per cent. Aggravated assault increased 4 per cent and forcible rape rose 8 per cent. The property crimes of burglary, larceny-theft, and motor vehicle theft decreased 7 per cent as a group. Burglary decreased 5 per cent, larceny-theft decreased 9 per cent, and motor vehicle theft decreased 2 per cent. This decrease in reported crime was experienced by all population groups ranging from a 4 per cent decrease in the rural areas to a 7 per cent decrease in the cities and a 6 per cent decrease in the suburban areas.

Geographically, the North Central States reported an 11 per cent decline with the North Eastern States down 8 per cent, the Southern States down 5 per cent, and the Western States down 3 per cent.

During the second quarter of 1977, crime index offences decreased 5 per cent when compared with the same period of 1976." It is not clear, so far, if these decreases of the crime rate are the result of improved services, or a "better" criminal policy, or simply the side effect of demographic changes in the population, which decrease the amount of young adults "at risk", or a combination of all these factors. All that can be done, in the text of this report, is a brief bird's eye view account.

LEAA

For the last nine years, the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, in the Department of Justice, has been the most important agency in crime prevention and control. Established by the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968, it has mushroomed into a gigantic set of various operations, centrally and regionally administered, which has spent a grand total of approximately 5 billion dollars.

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US operations are undergoing continuous criticism, and currently a revision is under way (see for example, the reports published by M S Serril 1976). In some instances, and in the opinion of some experts, the practice to decentralise operations to State agencies has not insured maximum utilisation of available funds.

In the first half of 1977, a special task force within the US Department of Justice has studied LEAA, recommending major structural changes, in eight policy areas, including research and development.

A study group, under the chairmanship of Walter Fiedorowicz, is currently studying proposed changes, which will eventually undergo Congress scrutiny and modification. It has even been advocated (P A Nejelski) abolishing the agency altogether. (1) In a more general perspective, America has a century old tradition of utilising science in the formulation of governmental policy. The National Academy of Science was established in 1863 to fulfill this function. The Congressional mandate required the NAS to act "whenever called upon by any department of the government to investigate, examine, experiment and report upon any subject of science or art". However, social sciences were recognised as "scientific" only about a decade ago by the NAS (less than 10% of the academy members are social scientists). The National Research Centre (established in 1916) has taken a more active role. Recent restructuring has created the Assembly of Behavioural and Social Sciences within the NRC. It is possible that these changes will affect profoundly the current policy-oriented research also for the areas of crime and delinquency.

Many agencies interact in the field, and many crime-oriented projects are sponsored by other agencies, not directly related with the criminal justice system.

LEAA remains, however the major active agency for the last nine years, regardless of its uncertain future. It is therefore interesting to look at its research structure.

(1) Evaluation of NILECJ by a NRC committee.

The National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice (NILECJ) is the research arm of LEAA. Established within the LEAA in the already mentioned 1968 Congress Law, it has the purpose of sponsoring and encouraging research in the criminal justice field, and to co-ordinate it nationally. In the early years, the institute had limited staff (four) and budget (2.9 million dollars), but it has since been greatly enlarged reaching, in 1975, a budget of 34 million dollars, and a staff of 85. In April 1977, NAS issued a very critical report of NILECJ's activities, defining as "mediocre" the scientific aspect of NILECJ's work, and finding the evaluative process of approved programmes ineffective or non-existing. LEAA influence on its institute (see below) has also been found to be negative.

The institute staff does not carry out direct research but it is, instead, concerned with programming and funding research in three major areas: crime prevention and control, correctional system operations, application of advanced technology to the needs of criminal justice agencies. The goals of the institute are threefold: (1) development of research (in the above-mentioned three areas); (2) evaluation of LEAA assisted programmes, and of local agency capabilities and resources, including the development of new methodologies and techniques of evaluation; (3) technology transfer into application of research findings, and selection of more effective techniques and practices.

The institute is based in Washington. Its 86 person staff is composed, for two-thirds, by professionals. Funds are distributed to universities, or to other outside bodies. Outside experts are called upon for brief periods to examine and assess research proposals, or to carry out site visits to proposed or ongoing projects. The institute publications are available, generally free, through a fully computerised National Criminal Justice Reference Service, which prints the reports through the GPO, and which provides comprehensive reference assistance to any interested party, nationally and internationally. The volume of available publications (mostly action oriented) is staggering. The efficacy of the institute is difficult to assess, in the three possible areas: improving the effectiveness of criminal justice agencies, improving the functioning of the administration of justice, and decreasing the cost of crime.

Better integration of the institute's research activities into criminal policy formulation and in criminal justice planning is advocated.

Centre for studies in crime and delinquency, National Institute of Mental Health, US Department of Health, Education and Welfare

Also Washington-based, and organised around 1968, this is the "focal point and co-ordinator for NIMH activities in the areas of crime and delinquency, related law and mental health

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interactions and individual violent behaviour". The centre provides also consultation and technical assistance in areas of concern to the state and local authorities. From the beginning, the centre has had a close link with the academic research community. The annual budget is small (5 million dollars) and the impact is relatively modest. Lists of ongoing projects and of available publications can be obtained upon request. An attempt is made to conceptualise deviance problems within a broader social problems context. A major concern of the centre has been with the dissemination, diffusion and utilisation of research findings to influence relevant public policies and practices. (see, eg Shah 1973-1975).

Other governmental and private organisations

Many science information centres exist at the federal level. Worth mentioning is the Smithsonian Science Information Exchange. They are available to scholars and policy makers. Their impact on policy, in view of their variety and occasional overlapping, is difficult to assess. Many projects are carried out by various sections of HEW, the Bureau of Correction, the Department of Labour, the Office of Education etc. The GPO makes most of the reports easily and cheaply available. A recently established National Technical Information Service, in the US Department of Commerce keeps track (and can provide on request) of all the governmental publications by category, thus permitting a complete scanning of the enormous amount of material which is printed each year.

Private foundations have been very active in the field of crime. The leadership role of the Ford Foundation (for example) in this field is well known. Recently, however, with the increasing availability of government funding, their interest has decreased. However, their role in sponsoring critical and basic research cannot be discarded and their impact on the community of scholars remains notable.

At the State level, several attempts have been made to establish "science" offices to assist policy makers. For example, two such attempts, in California (1973) and in Illinois (1974) have resulted in permanent organisms whose usefulness appears confirmed.

University centres

LEAA sponsorship of training programmes, and the renewed public interest for crime control, and students' interest in law-enforcement careers, have generated many educational programmes in criminal justice in several universities across the country (664 such programmes were counted in the academic year 1974-75). A recent conference held in 1976 at the Institute of Criminal Justice and Criminology of the University of Maryland, under the direction of P P Lejins, a well known scholar who has shown a life-long interest in criminal policy, has analysed doctoral-level education in criminal justice and criminology in the US and abroad. Repeated pleas were made by various participants for improving and enlarging research activities.

A survey of all university based research programmes would be impossible. They range from pure theory to applied research and, in size, from minute to major, and no evaluation of their academic quality and policy impact can realistically be carried out.

The Ohio Programme was established in 1971, at the School of Public Administration. It involves, however, staff from many departments in the university, in an interdisciplinary frame of reference. It is an action oriented agency, which conducts projects in applied research, consultations, testing and evaluation of different sections of the criminal justice system, in close contact, but not limited to, State authorities, with particular reference to criminal behaviour and its societal control. Once a problem is focused, and selected for intervention, the programme staff brings in its experience from various disciplines. Projects can be agency originated or programme originated, and the implementation of projects is carried out in close consultation with the agencies. Practically all projects are policy oriented, at various levels. A long list of publications is available. The scope is limited only by available funds.

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It is evident that no summing-up is possible of the US scene. It is also evident that the size of ongoing research and policy activities dwarfs parallel European efforts. Much of what is going on in the US is non-transferable, but information on across the Atlantic developments appear essential to European criminal justice system researchers, planners and policy makers.

The LEAA sponsored National Advisory Committee on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, in 1976 published a Report of the Task Force on Criminal Justice Research and Development. This important publication is addressed primarily to policy makers, and seeks to illustrate ways and means to improve communication, co-ordination, utilisation of findings, evaluation and assessment. A code of conduct in the difficult relationships between agencies, policy makers and researchers is also discussed, and various recommendations are presented. Scholars and policy makers should acquaint themselves with this rather complex set of guidelines.

Question by question analysis!

Question 1: Does there exist in your country a body responsible for the co-ordination of research and application of its findings in the field of criminal policy?

The answer to this question is affirmative for the majority of the systems which have been examined. Occasionally, other bodies and organisms fulfill a similar function. Governmental interest (and need) for this type of activity is obvious and general. Existing centres and structures exhibit a wide variety of different solutions, although some recurring aspects are evident.

Question 2: If so, when was it created?

The oldest formal structure is probably the Home Office Research Unit in the United Kingdom, established in 1956. The majority were established in the late sixties and early seventies.

Question 3: What are its main activities?

Co-ordination, funding, sponsoring and monitoring action oriented projects and evaluations describe the activities of most centres. In a few cases direct consultation and direct carrying out of researches is included, but this seems not to be the prevailing trend. Criminal policy, and occasionally general social policy, are the content of research projects. Notably, theoretical, basic research, and education and training are not included.

Question 4: Where are its headquarters?

In the majority of the cases the existing bodies are located within the Ministries of Justice. Exceptions range from bodies based in other ministries (the Home Office in the UK) to outside based centres (Finland, the National Council in Sweden), in an attempt to maximise independence from government bureaucracies. No fully satisfactory solution has emerged and the case of a ministry or a criminal justice agency evaluating and advising itself, without external support, control and advice remains a major problem area of the field.

Question 5: Give details of its structure and personnel. Does this body employ outside experts?

Structure and personnel vary widely, and change frequently. No major trends are detectable, except for a stated attempt to an interdisciplinarian approach. Legal scholars and magistrates prevail, followed by social scientists. Outside experts are almost universally used, although the links with the academic community remain, almost without exception (Finland being one) at the discretion of the governmental body. A board is often envisaged, and it has the functions of control and of fostering outside relations.

Question 6: What is its budget?

Budgets vary widely, from 228,000 Danish crowns to 1,000,000 British pounds, to 6,100,000 Swedish crowns. These figures are of little interest, because it would be necessary to compare them with other funding sources in the various countries and with the country's size and impact of the criminal problem.

Question 7: Does this body work for one or more ministries? If so, which? Does it work for parliament?

The organisms in Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, and LEAA in the US, work primarily for the Ministry of Justice, or one of its departments. In the other countries, other ministries or departments are recipient of the organism's work. Directly or indirectly, most organisms work for parliament. Obviously the closeness of the communication channels with parliament depends on the specific national structure of the legislative process.

In some cases (UK, Finland, Italy) an already existing, or proposed, independence from the Ministry of Justice is evident. Particularly for evaluative research, independence from justice, which is, after all, the ministry whose work effectiveness is being evaluated, would clearly be desirable.

Question 8: Are the reports and publications available? How can they be obtained?

Except for Belgium and Italy, publications are normally available writing to the various organisms. In England the HMSO, and in the US the GPO, sell individual copies. The NCJRS of LEAA provides an excellent distribution service. Most relevant addresses are available in Appendix A.

Question 8-9: In your opinion, how effective is this body?

Question 9: What are the possible alternatives to the above structure?

Answers to these two questions can be analysed together. In some cases the respondents omitted them, and an overall summary can only be very general.

The various available responses are listed below, country by country. Where a country is omitted, no reply was available:

- The Australia Institute is judged to be efficient, and no alternatives are advocated.
- In Belgium the effectiveness is considered relative, but no alternatives are envisaged.

- For Denmark, the organism is viewed as satisfactory, and a better co-ordination between the various components of the criminal justice system is considered desirable.
- In Finland, the existing institute is estimated to be effective in the field of criminal policy, and less effective, for lack of funds, in juridical policy. The possibilities of an agency within the Ministry of Justice or of an independent unit, or of a parliament controlled organism had been considered and discarded.
- For France no estimate is made of effectiveness. A reorganisation is under way, to simplify and unify existing structures.
- In Italy the effectiveness is unquestionable, but variable according to varying bureaucratic and political situations.
- For the Netherlands, the influence of the organism is increasing, although its impact is still modest.
- In Sweden, effectiveness is difficult to assess, in consideration of the brief "life" of the organism; the alternative of establishing a ministerial body, with a full time staff has been explored.
- For the US, the information provided above illustrates the situation: the effectiveness of the major organisms is evident, but their policies are questioned, and alternatives are being sought.

Conclusions and recommendations

As stated in the introduction, this report was concerned with a description and analysis of organisation, functions and results of bodies and procedures, in member States (and in selected non-member States) charged with the co-ordination of research and the application of its findings in the field of criminal policy. This has been done, to the extent that available information permitted, in the preceding pages.

A second task of the report was to "draw up conclusions on the results of the various systems and make recommendations regarding the creation or expansion of bodies or procedures in the member States".

This second task is obviously much more difficult, as it involves value judgements which are not really justified in view of the limitations of the available information and in view in some cases of the brief "life history" of existing organisms. Nevertheless, some considerations can be made, by way of preliminary and limited comments and recommendations.

a. Research is a multiform activity, which may range from sophisticated data gathering and analysis and scientific hypotheses testing, to assembling and scanning of existing studies.

The organisms which have been examined are primarily concerned with applied, action oriented or policy oriented research. Even though "pure", "basic" research is often included in "applied" studies, obviously this means that available funds are limited, for basic research, or that this is left largely to universities and to private bodies. This fact, together with the general disappointment with "etioloical" research, and the emergence of socio-political conceptions of crime, has severely limited "basic" research in criminology.

b. Wider and stronger interest in social planning is needed. The CJS is part of the social planning process. Economic planning without social planning is futile and perhaps morally wrong, yet, the links between research and planning are not satisfactory.

c. The criminal justice system must be considered as a global entity, with a continuous flow from police to courts, to correction, to diversion alternatives, to after-care. Goals and responsibilities, or credits, must be shared equally by the different components. This is not the case at present. Police is less studied in Europe, and after-care is not really being evaluated.

d. Prevention must be included, both in planning and in research, yet, prevention overflows the limits of the criminal justice system and includes education, health, labour, migration, welfare etc, not excluding public opinion and mass media. In view of the admitted failure of our control and treatment techniques, obviously prevention is the area of the future. Yet, most existing centres operate within or for Ministries of Justice only, and contacts with parliament and with other ministries are not satisfactory.

e. Identification and storage of existing research at home and abroad, utilisation of foreign research when transferable, and comparative studies seem to be deficient in member countries. Lists of ongoing research are regularly published by the council, but little follow-up on findings is available, and non-European research is not included.

f. Funds do not appear to be adequate, particularly in some countries, and cross communication, from country to country within Europe, is limited.

The Council of Europe, through the annual Conferences of Directors of Research Institutes, has been carrying out an invaluable work of cross information and fertilisation. Yet, much more is needed in this field. The Council of Europe activities in the area of crime problems cover a time span of over 20 years. It is perhaps desirable for the ECCP to consider ways of improving European co-operation in utilisation of research for policy formulation and testing, including, where possible, collection of information, critical analysis and perhaps even direct research and evaluation. A unified European penal law presupposes a unified European criminal policy, and equal access and utilisation, by member States, of available and relevant research.

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It is self-evident that the major problem in the field is that of existing channels of communication between research and policy making. Several attempts have been made to explore this problem, by UNSDRI (1975) and by other bodies (listed in the bibliography). The impact of criminological research on decision making is difficult, if not impossible, to evaluate, and much research, probably, is not utilised or not even brought to the attention of the concerned bodies or persons. The papers by Brydensholt (1975) and by S Shah (1975), (included in Appendix B) exemplify difficulties and problems in two different national contexts. An interesting analysis of research utilisation for the Federal Republic of Germany has been done in 1972 by Kaiser (1).

Conflicts and problems between researchers and administrators and policy makers are many. As Perrier (1975) quoting Horowitz (2) states: "Administrators want social scientists to work within the framework of established policy, social scientists want to challenge an agency's ideological premises".

What can be done to maximise channels of communication and utilisation.

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- (1) Kaiser G. The relationship between scientific research and criminal policy, in Criminological Research Trends in Western Germany, Kaiser G and Wurtenberger Th (Eds), Springer, Berlin 1972.
 - (2) Horowitz Irwing, 1969. The academy and the inter-action between scientists and federal administrators, Journal of Applied Behavioural Science, 5: 309-35.

Problems and misunderstandings exist on the side of the policy makers and on the side of researchers. A brief list of such problems is presented, as an example.

1. At the legislative level, policy makers have a short horizon, with a 4 to 6 year span, until the next election rounds or legislative change. Social problems cover generations and change at a different tempo. Researchers have a longer time span, and do not understand or sympathise with the political needs of policy makers and legislators.
2. Once a policy has been devised, its evaluation is often of limited political interest. The danger of negative evaluations loom large, unless it can be credited to previous, opposite political entities. For a politician, to admit error is suicidal.
3. With few exceptions, policy makers control funds, chose goals, and, more important, sometimes control data and accessibility to subjects. This "power" is irresistible. For a researcher, the need to be free is inalienable. If he is not free, he becomes a sycophant of the system and soon loses validity and credibility as researcher.

From the point of view of researchers, faults and misgivings also operate. To quote a few:

1. Each scientist has a deeply set habit of clinging to his discipline and to his methodology. Interdisciplinarity is the exception, and the rule is ivory tower insensitivity to other disciplines and to public demand. Often, expressions of interest in areas of pressing social needs are only lip-service paid to money granting agencies.
2. Scientists are more interested in formulating theories than in validating and checking them. Replication, the only means of verification, is considered menial, uninteresting and unrewarding.

In a recent analysis of criminological literature from 1945 to 1972, Marvin E Wolfgang (1976) has found that less than 50% of published work offers any data-based evidence for the theoretical statements which are made and proposed as basic for policy. Statements on efficiency, and cost-oriented neo-classical "control" approaches are replacing etiological and "grand theory" statements. However, the bulk of evaluative studies has negative results. We know things do not work, but we do not know what to do instead. Often, what we propose, as researchers, has no solid grounding on facts.

3. Scientists can rarely resist the power ingrained in administrative functions. Thus they sometimes switch roles with policy makers. However, when this happens, it is not beneficial unless the scientist in question can see outside of the inevitable blinders of his own discipline and his own parochial interests, often limited to testing one's own limited theories.

4. Scientists have a believer's faith in their own single cause or single theory findings, and tend to ignore the political realities of national and cultural structures, and the individuality of responses to pressures. The gap between the crisp, air-conditioned, neat, computers-filled office of the scientist, and the crowded, ugly and dirty working field of the policy officer, the judge and the prison warden, can indeed be a quantum jump! To "dirty one's own hands" in human realities is considered unnecessary and even undignified by some scholars in the field.

Yet, everybody wants something from research. The researcher wants his own livelihood, and the satisfaction of his own interests; the clinician, the practitioner, want guidance for individual cases, the policy maker honestly wants information or, less honestly, a sharing of responsibility where courses of action are doubtful and controversial, the public wants less crime, or, at least, less individual and public cost of crime.

The fact that crime is intimately and undistinguishably interwoven with the very fabric of institution and values in a society is accepted by everybody. Yet, research continues to be modelled on a "they v us" criminal versus non-criminal, criminals as national categories, identifiable, predictable and changeable, philosophy.

This does not mean that research should subscribe to the romantic and nihilistic tenets of radical criminology, according to whom all criminology is useless and doomed, unless society as a whole is changed, preferably along neo-marxist lines. Their euristic value is, so far, minimal, and nothing of value, policy-wise has emerged from the highly verbal and provocative statements of radical criminologists.

What has been said so far is certainly not new to any practitioner, researcher or policy maker in the field and should not be interpreted as a nihilistic criticism of existing structures. It is a basic need for science, pure or applied, to sit back, take stock, and try to assess deficits, mistakes and successes, if any.

The most interesting area is that of channels of communication between researchers and policy makers. Different countries, as the preceding review shows, have developed different solutions to the problem of how to bridge the cognitive and sometimes the terminological gap between the producers and the potential consumers of criminological research. They vary in effectiveness, and in degree of functionality. Some guidelines, which can probably be accepted by most interested parties are presented as:

1. Freedom of research
2. Interdisciplinarity
3. Access to planning boards, parliaments, and to various ministries, not only the criminal justice systems
4. Access to developmental planning
5. Long-range planning, particularly for prevention
6. Continuous testing of new laws and policies
7. Modern, up to date, data gathering, including public opinion, to maximise public participation to new policies
8. Analysis of variation of the concept of deviance
9. Use of forecasting models, including socio-economic indicators
10. Maximalised international co-operation, and transferability of results.

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