



Vetenskapsrådet

EVALUATION OF THE SWEDISH RESEARCH COUNCIL'S CRIMINOLOGY PROGRAMME



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A report by

Professors Svein Magnussen, Abby Peterson and Jan Sundin

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PREFACE

The present report is the result of an undertaking that had two interrelated aims.¹

One was to evaluate a programme of research in criminology, launched by the Swedish Council for Research in the Humanities and Social Sciences (HSFR) at the Government's request in 1994, and concluded in 2004. It should be noted that this report does not take in the entire field of criminology, but is limited to the specific outcomes of the programme. The other aim was to test an evaluation model that looks directly at the content and results of research, rather than taking the roundabout route of indirect measures of scientific quality, such as supply or demand indicators of various kinds (e.g. productivity or citations). In the present report, we are doing this for the second time; the first report of this kind was an evaluation of Swedish research in philosophy.²

Other things being equal, our direct evaluation approach is more labour-intensive than an indirect one. Reading a scientific work, of course, takes longer than recording that it has been published or establishing how often it has been cited. For such an approach to be at all practicable, therefore, it must be made as labour-saving as possible, given its basic premises. Our model was designed with this in mind. First, we restricted the task in hand to the following three questions, which the evaluators were requested to ask regarding the projects concerned:

1. What research questions did the project address?
2. What answers did the research provide?
3. What new questions were generated by those answers?

Second, we asked project leaders to submit a maximum of three relevant publications as a basis for the evaluation. In addition, we invited the evaluators to make a separate assessment of the publication channels and the language chosen by the researchers to disseminate their findings. This assessment was to be separate in the sense that choice of publication channel was not to

¹ The evaluators were Professor Svein Magnussen of Oslo University; Professor Abby Peterson, University of Gothenburg; Professor Emeritus Jan Sundin, Linköping University; and Professor Per-Ole Tråskman, Lund University. Swedish Research Council staff taking part in the evaluation work were Professor Arne Jarrick, Secretary General of Humanities and Social Sciences, and analysts Dr Lena Johansson de Château and Mr Sten Söderberg, both of the Department of Research Policy Analysis.

² *Evaluation of Swedish Research in Philosophy*, Vetenskapsrådet, Report series 3:2009.

influence the quality assessment as such. Not content with that, however, we also asked the evaluators to go beyond a review of the individual projects to evaluate features which they had in common, and to conclude their work by making recommendations to strengthen the area of research evaluated. Since we want evaluations to be read and used, and not simply gather dust on bookshelves, we asked the authors to present their findings in no more than some thirty pages.

We are very pleased and grateful that the authors of this report were willing to take the trouble to participate in our project, and feel that they have carried out their brief precisely as intended, in terms of content, method and format. The conclusions drawn are distinct, but also controversial in some respects, and they will no doubt provoke discussion – to which we look forward. Of course, in due course it will be our task at the Swedish Research Council to carefully consider what to make of the clear recommendations of the panel.

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Arne Jarrick". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style with a large initial 'A'.

Arne Jarrick

Secretary General of Humanities and Social Sciences



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INTRODUCTION

The Swedish Research Council's panel appointed to evaluate research funded in the Council's Criminology programme comprised:

- Professor Svein Magnussen, Department of Psychology, University of Oslo
- Professor Abby Peterson, Department of Sociology, University of Gothenburg
- Professor Emeritus Jan Sundin, Department of Medical and Health Sciences, Linköping University
- Professor Per-Ole Träskman, Department of Law, Lund University

This report, written by Professors Peterson, Magnussen and Sundin, was approved by Professor Träskman as well.

Our instructions for this assessment were to directly evaluate the research outputs of the projects supported by the Swedish Research Council's Criminology programme (*Kriminalvetenskapliga programmet*)³. Criminology was defined in its broadest interdisciplinary sense to encourage applications from the various academic disciplines involving crime science research. The Council awarded funding to researchers from such diverse disciplines as psychology, sociology, criminology, history, law, social work, ethnology and theology. The Programme supported 34 research projects and two conferences with funding awarded between 1994/95 and 2003. Besides the two conferences, five research projects were withdrawn from the sample available to us, for various reasons, and the evaluation therefore covered 29 projects. The reports do not represent all results published in this thematic field; rather, the evaluation is confined to the Programme. Since many reports were published ten years or more ago, the evaluation does not reflect recent developments in Swedish criminology.

Our instructions were somewhat contradictory. On the one hand we were asked by the Swedish Research Council to maintain a high level of aggregation in our assessment and not evaluate identifiable projects, researchers or publications. On the other, we were asked to pose the following three questions about each of the projects included:

³ Prior to 2000, the Swedish Research Council for the Humanities and Social Sciences (HSFR).

1. What are the project's principal research questions?
2. What answers were extracted by the questions?
3. What new research questions were generated? (Swedish Research Council 2009: 3)

Like our colleagues who evaluated Swedish philosophy research, we deviated from our initial instructions to keep the assessment at a high level of aggregation (the Swedish Research Council's proposed assessment model; see *Evaluation of Swedish Research in Philosophy*, the Swedish Research Council Report Series 3:2009). First, we argue that the research questions posed are so diverse as to rule out identification at an aggregate level. Second, and most importantly, we argue that our survey of individual projects and publications is a necessary and ethically required *first stage* in the aggregation process. On this empirical analysis we base our subsequent comments and critique of the aggregated results of the Swedish Research Council's Criminology programme. We argue that the analysis on which our evaluation is based must be accounted for, to meet the need of transparency in the evaluation. Our colleagues can then judge whether our conclusions are viable. This is a compulsory stage in good research generally and we see no reason for omitting it in a proper assessment. Consequently, we depart from the Swedish Research Council's intentions in this respect.

The individual projects were assessed on the basis of their three most relevant publications (as selected by the project leaders). Publications for each project were read and evaluated by two to three panel members. We assessed the relevance of questions posed and the quality of findings in the individual projects, in relation to the international field of criminological research, as well as the forms in which results have been disseminated. Projects were classified into various subfields of criminological research, with categories selected from the taxonomy of international criminology, to impact some order to our empirical materials. We concluded the surveys of individual projects within each subfield with a general evaluation of the state of research in the subfield concerned. Our empirical analysis of the individual projects included in the the Swedish Research Council Criminology programme is followed by some final remarks at the aggregate level; in this section of the assessment we address the new questions raised by the projects in the category of 'basic research in criminology of excellent quality'. We end with a list of recommendations based on our assessment.



RESEARCH PROJECTS EVALUATED

General criminological research

The anthology *Brottsbekämpning – mellan effektivitet och integritet* ('Fighting Crime: Between Efficiency and Integrity') is a partial product of the HSFR-funded project 1.4 (which was terminated before completion). In particular, two of the chapters would appear to be results from this project. In one (Ribbing 2000), Ribbing discusses the evolution of Swedish terrorist regulations and how they infringe upon the human and civil rights of foreign nationals residing in Sweden, who are in practice the sole target of these regulations. In the same volume, Flyghed discusses the emergence and development of the Swedish national counterterrorist unit; this, he argues, is in line with developments elsewhere in Europe and a sign of general militarisation of the police, who are committed to not only a 'war on terrorism' but, increasingly, a 'war on crime'. The whole volume, a textbook published in Swedish, and the chapters discussed here give undergraduates an excellent overview of the dilemmas associated with changing policing methods and protection of personal integrity.

Project 1.10 investigated the relationship between the social situation of young people and their self-reported delinquency. Hirschi's classic study from the mid-1960s was replicated and his theory of the influence of social bonding on delinquency tested. Data were collected in a survey of 5500 pupils, later (in 1997) repeated with 5300 pupils. While Ring (1999 and 2001) found the results from the two studies broadly similar – i.e. in that weak social bonds with parents and school tend to lead to peer-group involvement that teaches and reinforces delinquent behaviour – he raised pertinent questions about ambiguous aspects of what the Hirschi model actually measures. As Ring points out, there are difficulties in isolating variables that support the social bonding theory and not others, and which also claim explanatory power in accounting for delinquency. In other words, the correlations found that support social-bonding theory can also be cited in support of other theories of juvenile delinquency. Furthermore, social-bonding theory does not explain why bonds weaken or are missing altogether. The main publication in this project was Ring's doctoral thesis (Ring 1999), published in Swedish. The secondary publication was a chapter in a Swedish textbook on Swedish juvenile delinquency. The research would have warranted an article in English, highlighting the problematic aspects of replicating the

measuring instrument for Hirschi's social-bonding theory and self-reported crime. Van Hofer, Ring and Westfeldt (1998) is an inventory of international crime statistics published in a report from the Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention (*Brottsförebyggande rådet, Brå*).

Project 1.11 examines whether ethnic discrimination exists in the Scandinavian criminal justice systems. Kardell and Carlsson (2009) map conviction data in Denmark, Norway and Sweden, comparing immigrants and their descendants with the ethnic majorities in these three countries. The authors find that, in all three, individuals with foreign backgrounds are overrepresented in relation to the domestic population. In Sweden and Denmark, immigrants' descendants have higher rates of conviction than first-generation immigrants. Given that the study is based on aggregate data, the authors admit that their analysis is descriptive and cannot provide causal insights into the phenomenon. The study was published in Swedish and does not engage with international research on discrimination in the judicial process. The authors report in a footnote that the study was funded by the Scandinavian Research Council for Criminology. How it is related to the Swedish Research Council's Criminology programme is unclear.

Kardell and Bergqvist (2009) examine whether various social groups' differential patterns of treatment may be found in investigations of traditional and economic crimes; whether differential treatment occurs in the handling of investigations by the regular police compared with the Economic Crimes Bureau; and, finally, the authorities' efficiency and whether they issued waivers of prosecution, prosecutors' fines or court indictments. While they found differential treatment in both traditional and economic crimes, they found differences in the patterns of discrimination. The Economic Crimes Bureau took further action against ethnic Swedes and those with high incomes less often, while the regular police took further action against ethnic minorities and those on low and middle incomes less often.

Kardell (2006) is a lengthier chapter, covering his analyses of discrimination of ethnic minorities in the Swedish criminal justice system, included in a Government Official Report (*Statens offentliga utredningar, SOU*). The author reports that the data collection was funded by the Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention (Brå), while the analyses were funded by Riksbankens Jubileumsfond (RJ). Again this publication documents no relationship with the Swedish Research Council's Criminology programme.

Project 1.13 culminated in a doctoral thesis (Pollack 2001) and a number of anthology chapters by the same author, two of which have been submitted for evaluation (Pollack 1995 and 1996). Pollack (1995) examines the 1950s relationship between journalists and the police – two major 'players' in the criminal policy arena. Pollack's point of departure is the vital role that

crime journalism plays in the development of criminal policy. Specifically, her research question is how contacts between police reporters and police officers were maintained during the golden era of the Swedish *folkhem* – the ‘Folk Home’ or ‘People’s Home’, i.e. the welfare state. On the basis of archive materials and ethnographic interviews with a criminal investigator active and a police reporter active during the 1950s, Pollack concludes that the two relatively equal partners pursued a common mission to define order and public morals in Swedish society. Journalists (preferably ‘loyal’) and police officers (preferably forthcoming with information) negotiated their respective interests in the framework of a complex symbiotic relationship. Pollack (1996) poses the question of how the Swedish press depicted and accounted for criminality from 1915 to 1995 and, on the basis of quantitative media analysis, found specific trends. The chapter is fairly sketchy, with weak theoretical analysis.

Pollack (2001), the author’s doctoral thesis, examines the multifaceted interplay between the media and crime and the interaction between journalism and crime policy in the post-war period. By analysing the content of newspaper crime coverage during this period, along with three cross-sectional historical case studies of juvenile crime in the same period, she explores the dramaturgical interplay between the media and the criminal justice system and concludes that these institutions are intimately bound together. The direction and strength of their independence vary over time. While unable to uncover clear-cut trends, she argues that in 1955, media were the voice of the institutions of crime policy; in 1975 media were the voice of critics of the criminal justice system; and in 1995 media had become the voice of a sort of provisional populism, unleashing successive series of moral panics. Pollack’s thesis places the empirical materials in a fruitful dialogue with international research in the field and with the dominant theoretical modes of understanding the role of media in shaping criminal policy and practice. Her research confirms the findings found elsewhere and she concludes by arguing that changes in criminal policy can best be understood through the lens of the institutional context of criminal justice and mass media. Swedish channels of publication were appropriate for the project. The format of Swedish doctoral theses, particularly in the 1990s, does not readily lend itself to commercial publication.

Projects 3.1 and 3.2 make important methodological contributions to sociology generally, and criminology peripherally. Dahlbäck (1998a) engages with the ongoing debate between individualist approaches in sociology and societal approaches – what he calls the ‘individualism–holism antinomy’. On the basis of a sophisticated formalist analysis, he argues that societal phenomena can be wholly explained at the individual level, in principle.

Consequently, he asserts, there are in principle no laws in absolute holistic theories that are unexplainable in terms of individual factors. Dahlbäck places himself in the individualistic camp, but points out that this approach often meets with difficulties if it aims to produce a strictly formulated theory – difficulties due to the complexity of social systems.

Dahlbäck (1998b) investigates the influence of societal factors on municipal theft rates in Sweden, from a rational choice perspective, to illustrate the methodological superiority of his non-linear longitudinal model of analysis over linear models commonly used for independent variables, such as population density. In Dahlbäck (2001) he puts forward further methodological arguments regarding non-linear *versus* linear models in sociological research. In this article he proposes an analytical model with a form that reflects a two-stage structure, i.e. the dependent factor is a product of independent factors that are linear functions of variables, what he calls a ‘function-of-functions’ form. He argues that this model is far superior to linear models: the latter, while technically simpler, do not adequately reflect the causal process where influences are nested in the explanatory chain of interactions.

Dahlbäck (2003) is a further development of his methodological reflections, now in book form. He has chosen appropriate international publication channels for his work. Dahlbäck has made significant methodological contributions to analytical sociology and, specifically, to criminology based on rational choice perspectives. His work is groundbreaking in this regard. His theoretical contribution to criminology, on the other hand is minimal since the societal factors (population density and social bonds) he tested had been established earlier as causal factors in relation to crime opportunities. This, on the other hand, made these factors an appropriate test case for his analytical model.

Project 1.9 appears to be part of a larger research programme on criminal networks in the Nordic countries. The two reports submitted focus on youth criminality, and report the results of a large sample ($n > 22.000$) study carried out in Stockholm, sampling young people under the age of 21 who were registered as criminal suspects in the years 1991 and 1995. This project analyses differences between boys and girls, and factors such as age distribution, type of criminal offence, choice of co-offenders and numbers of co-offenders. Sarnecki (2004) performs a network analysis and studies the size of the criminal networks, differences between girls and boys, and positions of girls and boys in the networks. Not surprisingly, he finds a number of gender differences, not only in the absolute numbers of boys and girls suspected of criminal offences, but in such factors as differences in age composition in

two-gender co-offender relationships and the level of embeddedness in the criminal networks.

In an earlier report, Sarnecki (1999) analyses a sub-sample of the suspected offenders: those who have been placed in special homes or institutions because of earlier criminal activity, self-destructive behaviour or drug problems. The report provides useful statistics on types of offence and the networks involved. Not surprisingly, perhaps, the report concludes that many of the young people placed in special institutions had held central positions in large and extensive criminal networks, and that the knowledge of the young person's position and role in the network may be an important factor in planning treatment. The project is well planned, the analysis well conducted, and the results represent significant contributions to crime prevention. However, the study does not advance existing and extensive international research on criminal networks.

Project 4.1 has submitted one paper in Swedish, in manuscript format (Herlitz, 1996/97). This paper lacks scientific relevance and cannot be evaluated in the present context.

Carrying out an overall assessment of the research included under this section – general criminological research – is difficult. The section became basically a 'catch-all' for projects that could not be assigned to better-defined subfields of criminology, and the heading may be misleading. None of the projects have addressed the broad theoretical questions that have engaged our international colleagues in the field for the past 20 years. Most of the projects have addressed Swedish readers, but only a few have implications for Swedish criminal policy. The single project that addresses international research is peripheral to criminology.

History of crime and criminal justice

The main work referred to in project 1.5 is the third updated edition of Hans von Hofer's (2008) publication of time series for major crimes (particularly homicide and theft) in Sweden from the advent of available statistics on causes of death (1750) via statistics of convictions in court (from the 1830s) to the present day. This work is, of course, highly valuable for historical study of crime in Sweden. Methodological questions about data validity – for instance, how far they reflect the responses of crime control and legal systems, rather than total crimes committed – are carefully discussed. The main conclusions, summarised in von Hofer (2003), are largely in line with comparable historical studies in Sweden. Alcohol is seen, for good reason, as a key factor affecting the incidence of and variations in homicides; the

availability of alcohol, associated with diverse legal restrictions, is one example. Theft is seen as changing from being mostly driven by poverty and destitution in early modern society to a recent increase prompted largely by tempting opportunities in our affluent society.

Otherwise, social change, industrialisation and urbanisation are given little weight in the analysis. This is somewhat premature, given the absence of variables approximating these processes and the major flaw in the project's analyses. A brief example follows. Although alcohol certainly played a role during the peak of homicides, this period was also characterised by dramatic social change, accentuated by proletarianisation, migration to pre-industrial cities and comparatively high male middle-aged mortality. On the other hand, the still relatively high figures for the 1870s are accompanied by industrialisation, urbanisation and rising wages, causing a Klondike-type situation in many urban areas in Sweden. Indications of this include the high mortality rate among urban unmarried men. Similarly, the rising figures after the Second World War – or rather from the 1970s to the 1990s – are equally followed by a mortality peak among unmarried men. This coincides with the last major migration from rural to urban areas in Sweden.

Alcohol availability and consumption are often found to be a triggering factor during periods of migration of unmarried men into urban areas. This may either be caused by 'push' from areas of unemployment or by 'pull' towards centres of economic growth. Gendered variations in the forms and levels of social control would be one factor to be considered in this context, and also in an analysis of the impact of immigration into Sweden and a rising level of female participation in serious crimes over the past few decades. Accordingly, social change can still be a useful factor in the analysis of trends in serious crimes and other vital events, and also enable prejudiced notions of 'ethnicity' rather than social background to be modified.

Kasperson (2002) is a case study of a limited number of homicides, including infanticide, handled by courts in Stockholm in the inter-war period. The documented results illustrate how complex a category as 'homicide' turns out to be when situations, perpetrators and victims are considered. The report also shows how issues of cause and guilt sometimes tend to be genderised and to change over time. This applies, for instance, to insanity in domestic homicide cases.

The literature included in project 1.5 refers almost exclusively to contemporary 'criminology'. A closer look at more 'historical' research, such as the work on violence by Eva Österberg and others, could have enriched the authors' interpretation and understanding of, for example, the influence of cultural changes. Yet the project data and results are undoubtedly indispensable as a starting point for an understanding of temporal influences on

crime rates. Sweden's long time series from 1750 onwards is internationally unique and could be a starting point for comparative research projects.

In project 1.7 Westfelt (1998) compares available statistics regarding trends of homicides, robberies, theft and total numbers of registered crimes in a number of countries in Western Europe after the Second World War. Generally, the findings show that the trends among the countries selected in the research population indicate increase crime rates, particularly in the period 1970–90. No attempt is made to explain these findings. In the conclusions, the continued project is said to deal with the question of whether crime-control policies and strategies can have any impact on these figures.

Tham (1998) takes as his point of departure a 'conservative' argument that the leniency of a welfare state could have a negative effect on crime prevention. Tham compares levels and trends of registered violence and theft in Sweden (as a more elaborated model of the welfare state) with those in the United Kingdom. The results show that the British levels are higher but trends are mostly quite similar. The report concludes that, given the many factors involved, no firm conclusions can be drawn. However, the author claims that there is at least no evidence that more punitive policies (as in Britain) or a more extensive welfare system (as in Sweden) prompt a negative verdict against the welfare state.

von Hofer (1998) describes the development of imprisonment as a penalty in Sweden and the Netherlands after 1950. There was an increase in the number of long-term imprisonments in Sweden up to 1970, whilst the opposite took place in the Netherlands. Thereafter, Swedish figures tended to stagnate while, by the 1990s, the Dutch rise in long sentences brought the prison population up to about the same level per 100,000 inhabitants as in Sweden. One reason for the Dutch policy change is said to have been an increase in drug-related crimes. In both countries, the author finds that public opinion supports severe punishments and is against shortening of prison sentences, irrespective of opinions for or against in the political and scientific debate.

The reports illustrate the many methodological problems of international comparative research regarding trends and levels of criminality. Results are therefore treated with understandable caution, the primary conclusion being that the Swedish post-war trends are quite similar to those in Western Europe. There is thus reason to believe that the dominant trends are not caused by domestically unique factors conditioned by social or political differences. Although far-reaching results and explanations are difficult to provide, these studies have some international value – if for no other reason than to make a clean sweep of unsubstantiated allegations in public debate. However, the three chapters produced in this project were all published in a Swedish textbook for undergraduate students.

Project 1.8 represents a critical approach towards crime policy. Andersson (2002) is a doctoral thesis with three studies of the interaction between perceptions of crime, knowledge derived from scientific expertise and the formulation (and reformulation) of crime policies. Foucault's concept of 'governmentality' is taken as the starting point for a critical examination by means of discourse analysis. The author argues that there is strong evidence for an ambition to legitimise political decisions and policies with reference to 'science'. Until the last decades of the twentieth century this was shown in the predominant, positive view of penal policies as a way of reforming and rehabilitating criminals. Since then, this optimism has been challenged. The concept of 'crime' has been reformulated. Preventing crime instead of reforming criminals and focusing more on the victims' interests are among the characteristics of these changes. Again, however, it was the experts' critique of the old penal ideology that supported this change. In Foucault's spirit, the whole process is described as a redefinition of problems and solutions based on the need for control and power.

Ericson (2005) analyses how men and women are described in parliamentary bills during the last three decades of the twentieth century. The findings are related to three feministic perspectives – 'liberal feminism', 'radical feminism' and 'postmodern feminism' – with the additional intention of seeing whether these perspectives have changed over time. Two studies deal with males and females respectively, and a conclusion follows. The author finds that 'liberal feminism', in particular, discussed women as convicts entitled to more equal rights as prisoners. 'Radical feminism' is found to characterise the 1980s and to 'culminate' in the following decade, when women are usually seen as victims of oppression in a 'male' society. Until the turn of this century, 'postmodernism' left little or no visible traces in parliamentary motions. This may be understandable in practical politics, due to its complicated theoretical foundations and problematic relationships with defined categories and "truth".

Tham (2001) discusses the perceived shift of the political left in Sweden and some other European countries (i.e. primarily the Social Democrats) towards a more controlling, punitive and 'criminalising' policy, starting in the 1980s, as opposed to a more 'liberal' attitude in the preceding decades. The author dismisses rising crime figures as an explanation of this trend. Instead he lists several supposedly contributory factors, including changes in social structure towards increased inequality in the 1990s, a leftist belief in the state's duty (or potential) to solve societal problems and create order, and a tendency towards moralism. Ultimately, the author's main concern is that the public and political spheres seem to have changed, resulting in a shift from Social Democratic crime policy based on expertise and a 'We-

berian' means-end rationality towards a policy 'inspired by populism and a "Durkheimian" problem of order'. The article illustrates a sense of growing discrepancy between a critical, liberal and 'scientific' criminology and the political discourse and agenda at the turn of the 21st century.

In summary, this project represents three different critical approaches to crime policy using contemporary common perspectives and theories. They all address the complicated relationship between science (as an advisor or as a critic) and the rationale of criminal policy. The theoretical background (especially Andersson 2002) may be an obstacle for many policymakers and administrators of crime control and criminal justice. Two of the publications in this project were dissertations (one doctoral and one for a licentiate). The senior member of the research team published his article in an international peer-reviewed journal.

In project 5.1 the early history of the establishment of a modern police force in Stockholm is studied and described with extensive use of printed and unprinted sources. The aims and questions are primarily empirical. The establishment of the Metropolitan Police Force in Britain is well documented, while the development of the police forces in Germany and France is mainly extracted from British academic literature. In comparison, the organisation of the Stockholm police force is found to have similarities with both the Anglo-Saxon and the continental models. Theoretically, the author could have further developed this finding. The strength of Furuhausen's work is that it provides a detailed picture of the organisation and tasks of the Stockholm police. Most of the results are not unexpected, but here, for the first time, they are placed in the context of rapid industrialisation and in-migration. In discussing police recruitment, Tom Ericsson's dissertation on the careers of lower-rank military officers might have been mentioned.⁴ The overall impression is of an empirically competent historical study that adds to and complements similar studies in other countries, and would have justified publication of a journal article available to a wider international readership.

Project 5.2, based on court records from the town of Karlstad, resulted in two articles and one book chapter (all in Swedish). The texts are typical of well-designed, qualitative studies influenced by an interest in everyday mentalities, strategies and formal and informal conflict resolution in early modern Europe. Lindström (2002) relates one event when the defence of social capital (honour) ends in manslaughter. It also shows how the event is

⁴ Tom Ericsson, *I fosterlandets tjänst: en studie i den svenska arméunderbefälskårens fackliga strävanden 1901–1922* ('In the Nation's Service: a Study of Military Unionism among Swedish Non-commissioned Army Officers, 1901–22'), dissertation. Umeå, 1978.

actually a collective affair, where other people present are stakeholders with specific interests. This is an elegant case history with a clear focus. Lindström (2005) is a discussion of cases in which a delay in a court procedure, a royal decision on the town's payment of tax contributions, might not have been an instance of disrespect for authorities but was, rather, a strategy – part of a negotiating game. The conclusions are interesting and balanced, with due respect to the lack of explicit evidence in every interpretive set of circumstances. Lindström (2008) analyses the work of a town magistrate in the early 1700s, almost totally manned and dominated by ordinary representatives of the burghers, who were preoccupied with everyday concerns, including conflict resolution. As time goes on, the town magistrate acquired a new, more demanding role as an intermediary between the central government and fellow townsmen. The results are in accordance with the general picture of the 'judicial revolution' in Europe. In sum, all three articles are well-designed historical studies in line with a major trend in historical sociocultural research. Some results are worth presenting to a wider audience in international journals.

Project 5.3 is a survey of the medical discourse on rape and sexual abuse of children (offenders and victims), legislation and judicial practice, from the mid-19th century to the present day. Bergenheim (2005) deals with the whole period, while Bergenheim (1998) covers the period 1850–1910 and Bergenheim (2010) the last 60 years. The researcher presents herself as a historian of ideas and science, primarily dealing with 'sex, sexuality and power'. These concepts are also central theoretical and analytical instruments in the project. The method is – in a positive sense – a 'classic' example of the way this discipline has been practised in Sweden, supplemented with well-known theories on gender and the 'hidden' exercise of power as portrayed by Michel Foucault et al. This approach is well reasoned in the present context. It illuminates many timeless conflicts concerning the object of study. While not always common in the history of ideas, the analysis of discourse is commendably tested against real court cases. The weakness is that the representativeness of the chosen medical 'corpus' is hard for the outsider to determine. This problem is frequent – and to some extent unavoidable – in historical analyses of ideas and thoughts. One claim made is that the collective body of informed academics will ultimately be the judges. Covering a long period brings in abundant material to be presented. It is sometimes difficult for the reader to see the wood for the trees in the chronological narrative. This could have been compensated for by a more extensive summary in the main conclusions.

Monographs in Swedish and articles in *Lychnos* are the classic modes of publication among Swedish historians of ideas. Here, Bergenheim (2005)

widens the readership to include readers engaged in current problems. Contemporary medical and judicial discourses are placed in their international contexts. However, the project does not deal with comparative perspectives on legislation and practices outside Sweden. An article in English, summarising the findings, would be of interest for an international audience. The results are valuable contributions to our understanding of this persistent phenomenon.

Project 3.4 is a historical case-study analysis of serious violent crimes in 19th-century Sweden, and specifically during the 75-year period from 1826 to 1899 (Drugge and Lindgren 2001). The volume was published in Swedish in a departmental report series, which is appropriate in that the text is in the nature of a working paper. The research questions that have steered Drugge and Lindgren's analyses are not clearly stated, and this is the main problem with this report. Their intention appears, rather, descriptive: there is a focus on various themes that can illuminate the relationship between individual actions and thoughts, in this case serious violent criminal acts such as first-degree and second-degree homicide, and the societal context within which these criminal actions were committed.

In other words, Drugge and Lindgren have used the empirical lens of violent crimes to say something about important aspects of social life in 19th-century rural Sweden, where violent crime – not least in conjunction with alcohol consumption – were a problem. According to the report, this is in contrast to the situation in the cities at that time. As a generalisation, this statement is, however, not in total accordance with available sources and other studies. Empirical detail is rich, since Drugge and Lindgren employ what they call an 'intensive', 'close-to-source' (*källnära*) methodological approach, providing the reader with accounts of the various cases in the study. This may be admirably ambitious, but it caused difficulties in seeing the wood from the trees in the analysis. This in turn makes it hard to evaluate the results. Sweden has internationally unique historical empirical sources and the book, as well as the analyses, would have gained in scientific relevance and analytical stringency if it had engaged with international research on violent crimes in the 19th century and used the unique empirical material to formulate questions in relation to this body of work. In this way, the study could have contributed to international research in the field.

The empirical material is again tapped in two unpublished manuscripts in English (Drugge 1 and 2). Drugge (1) investigates mid-19th-century domestic violence on the basis of a case study of two generations in a family where incest and wife-battering occurred. As Drugge points out, these deviant aspects of family life are seldom available to researchers. They were hidden from view, most often shrouded by 'curtains of conventions'. How-

ever, the church-session protocols give us unusual insights into to the situation of women and girls in rural Sweden at that time, and how local authorities acted to intervene in situations of physical and sexual violence. Nevertheless, the author does not capitalise on this opportunity and the analysis is weak.

Much the same can be said for the second unpublished manuscript (Drugge 2), which discusses four different cases of domestic homicides in which the newly established science of forensic psychiatry was called upon by the courts for expert testimony, adapting medico-legal aspects to the 19th-century penal laws of reasoning. In three of the domestic homicide cases (fathers murdering their children with axes or knives) the perpetrators were found not guilty on account of insanity. In one case, the most spectacular, the relatively wealthy church warden who murdered seven of his eight children and his wife with a hammer was found responsible for his actions and sentenced to death. This last text has the most interesting analysis and sharpening the clarity of the arguments and engaging in relevant international research could make the manuscript publishable. The scientific value of this project is somewhat difficult to assess, since the research questions posed are more or less implicit and the analyses mainly descriptive.

In conclusion, the projects selected in this part of the Criminology programme illustrate that historical evidence can be utilised in a multitude of perspectives and with varying aims. The reports may be seen as examples of two different categories:

1. *'History of crime and criminal justice'* is primarily composed of historical studies of crime and criminal institutions. These use historical sources and historical methods (social and sociocultural history), not entirely excluding social theory. Crime is often just a point of departure in rich sources for the understanding of a historical past. This category includes projects 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3 (history of science and ideas). All three projects represent good historical methodology with well-balanced discussions and conclusions. They illustrate the internationally growing interest in French-inspired *'histoire de la mentalité'* and discourse analysis in the footsteps of Michel Foucault, with legal, scientific and lay perceptions, crime and crime control as its objects. The selected works all address a Swedish-speaking audience. This satisfies an important assignment for humanist studies, i.e. to share the results with a broad national readership. However, instead of just referring to theories and results produced by foreign colleagues, Swedish research in this field should also, to a greater extent, become an active part of the scientific discussion in international anthologies and journals.

2. *'Historical criminology'* is the use of historical sources and evidence to analyse crime and criminal institutions per se. Time is seen, at most, as part of a specific context that can be studied with more extensive use of 'modern' theories. Projects 1.5, 1.7 and 1.8 represent such an approach, with an additional intention of contributing to current scientific and political debate. The production of time series of registered crime is especially challenging in the Swedish case, with data that partially date all the way back to 1750. Results in the analytical parts of these projects are a valuable background to present-day discussions on different topics in crime science and public debate. More interesting research with an international comparative approach can no doubt be produced with the help of these data. Specific knowledge about historical contexts (socioeconomic, political, cultural, judicial etc) is often a necessary tool. To evaluate the validity of data it is, for instance, essential to understand time-dependent meanings of legal concepts and link results to processes of stability or change. More collaboration among representatives of history of criminality and historical criminology could potentially increase the value of both fields.

Forensic research

A series of psychology projects in the programme (projects 2.2–2.5) share a common approach to criminological research: they are all model studies in the investigation of factors affecting eyewitness reliability and eyewitness reports, or factors affecting our judgment of the credibility of witnesses. These are important research issues in the study of psychology and law, to which Swedish researchers have made significant contributions over the past three decades.

Project 2.2 is concerned with the first of these issues, targeting memory of traumatic events. The first of the three papers selected for evaluation (Lindholm, Christianson & Karlsson, 1997) investigates possible own-group biases among police officers and civilians in judging the behaviour of a Swedish or an immigrant perpetrator in a simulated violent robbery shown on television. Somewhat surprisingly, the authors found that police officers perceive the immigrant perpetrator as less violent, with less intent to injure the victim and inflicting less physical damage than the Swedish perpetrator. The civilians' evaluations, on the other hand, showed the opposite pattern. Furthermore, the researchers found that the police officers remembered more critical information than the civilians. It is suggested that police officers may be more aware of the social stereotypes governing judgments of other people, and may compensate for such biases.

Similarly, the second paper selected for evaluation (Safer, Christianson et al., 1998), deals with memory of traumatic events, but here the focus is on the quality of the memory report. Based on Christianson's earlier work the authors predict, and partially confirm, that emotionally charged memories have a relatively narrow focus on crucial information in the situation, which they term 'tunnel memory'. Memories of emotionally neutral situations, on the other hand, have a relatively broad focus. In the third paper (Christianson & Bylin, 1999), the authors ask whether simulated amnesia leads to poorer memory of an event – a relevant criminological question in light of frequent claims by perpetrators of violent crimes (e.g. murder) to be suffering from complete amnesia after the event. The authors investigate this issue by getting participants to role-play the perpetrator of a verbally described violent crime, with one group asked to simulate amnesia; the other group to remember as much as possible in the first interview; and both groups to remember as much as possible in a later interview. The results showed that the 'amnesia' group remembered fewer details in the second session than the control group. It is difficult, however, to draw conclusions from this experiment, which shows an elementary interference effect in memory, about memories of real-life violent crimes. Sometimes model situations are, quite simply, too simple.

One of the puzzling findings in psychology and law literature is the low level of correlation between confidence and the accuracy of witnesses' memory performance in reporting details from events or in picking the culprit in line-ups. This contradicts the general belief among law enforcement officers and judges that subjective confidence is a good predictor of the accuracy of the report. The major contribution of project 2.3 is to show that psychological folklore may be more correct than is recognised in the research literature, and that under at least some circumstances subjective confidence may be a reasonably good indicator of accuracy. In the first paper submitted (Juslin, Olsson & Winman, 1996), a well-known and widely cited paper in the field, the authors list several arguments against the interpretation of low correlations in the literature as implying low confidence–accuracy correlation. One argument is that the studies typically involve a single judgment, thus precluding the variation in performance required for a meaningful correlation. The authors argue for calibration studies in relevant situations. On performing such a calibration study with a large number of subjects in a forensically relevant situation of line-up identification of people committing a theft, they confirm an almost perfect calibration function.

In the second paper (Olsson, Juslin & Winman, 1998) they further show that while this holds for eyewitnesses, it does not hold for ear witnesses. Ear-witness accuracy is poorer, with substantial overconfidence in the judg-

ments – witnesses show high confidence even under conditions of very low performance. In the third paper (Olsson & Juslin, 1999) the authors report that participants' self-reported skill in face recognition was related to accuracy of face recognition, whereas rating on general memory capacity was not. This project makes strong theoretical and methodological points, addressing the research literature rather than the courtroom, and invites further research; but it also suggests that, under some conditions, paying attention to witness confidence may not be such a bad idea.

Detection of deception and lying among witnesses and criminal offenders is a much-studied area in the fields of psychology and law, and the subject of project 2.4. The three papers submitted for review are all classic model studies, where the experimenters' confederate witnesses are instructed to lie or tell the truth while fact-finders – university students – are requested to decide who is lying and who telling the truth. These studies add to the literature by investigating the effect of repeated interrogations, which typically occur in real life but are mostly neglected in the experimental literature. In the first paper submitted (Granhag & Strömwall, 2001), lying and truth-telling witnesses were interviewed three times over a period of 11 days, and evaluated both by the interrogator and by observers watching video recordings of the interviews. The results showed that, in line with a large body of previous research, participants were very poor at discriminating liars from truth-tellers, and that interrogators facing the witnesses were no better than observers. However, watching all three interviews increased the score somewhat, compared with watching just one. Finally, a marked truth bias was observed.

The second study (Granhag & Strömwall, 2002) investigated how the behaviour of liars and truth-tellers changed in the course of repeated interviews. In contrast to widely held beliefs among the legal professions, liars displayed fewer smiles, less self-manipulation and less gaze aversion than truth-tellers and this difference increased across the three interviews. Also in contrast to popular beliefs, the truthful and deceptive statements were equally rich in detail and equally consistent across time. In the third paper submitted (Granhag, Strömwall & Jonsson, 2003) 10 truth-telling pairs (speaking about an event they had participated in) and 10 lying pairs (who fabricated their participation in the event) were interviewed twice. The results showed that members of lying pairs were more consistent than members of truth-telling pairs, and that truth-tellers made more commission errors. The studies are well designed and the results important because they contrast with widely held ideas and beliefs among legal professionals. Obviously, erroneous beliefs about deception and signs of deception are a potential threat to criminal justice.

Project 2.5, like project 2.4, follows the mainstream tradition of model studies of eyewitnesses' judgments, with an added focus on the difference between judgments of own-ethnic group versus other-ethnic group witnesses. These studies were developed in a two-step design. First, witnesses viewed a video clip showing an abduction scene; they were later interviewed about their memories of this incident. These interviews were then shown to a sample of people acting as fact-finders. Participants were ethnic Swedes and the witnesses judged were ethnic Swedes and immigrants (e.g. people born to parents from Asia, Africa or South America). In the first paper submitted (Lindholm, 2005), the credibility of accuracy-matched Swedish and immigrant witnesses was assessed by participants either viewing video-recordings of the statements or reading a transcript of the statements in which the witnesses' ethnicity was revealed by their names. The main findings were that credibility was rated higher in the video situation, with no differences between the immigrant and Swedish witnesses (there was even a slight bias in favour of the immigrant witnesses), but that participants with a high score on racism had a tendency to rate immigrant witnesses lower in the transcript version. However, in the second paper (Lindholm, 2008), ratings of several other factors, such as the accuracy, confidence and truthfulness of the witnesses with low and high scores for memory accuracy, favoured the Swedish witnesses in the high-scoring group but not in the low-scoring group, and participants had difficulties in distinguishing between low- and high-scoring immigrant witnesses. These results are important for judicial systems, both in the context of police investigations and in the judging of witnesses by the courts, and they are made available to a wider Swedish audience by Lindholm and Bergvall (2006).

The overall impression of this part of the Criminology programme is that it has been relatively successful. Most projects targeted central questions in the current (1990–2010) literature and reported well-designed studies that, in most cases, came up with theoretically interesting and practically useful results, taking the field a small step forward. Some of the conclusions should impact police investigations and legal processes.

Research on correctional intervention and penology

Project 7.1 studied how chaplains work among the inmates of Swedish prisons (Ayim-Aboagye 1997). This project resulted in a research report that describes the work of chaplains on the basis of three interviews and ques-

tionnaires (which he calls 'structured interviews') sent to 36 chaplains, together with a limited number of observations. The theoretical framework is diffuse; analysis is consequently more or less absent, and the methodological discussion and empirical materials are weak. Ayim-Aboagye did, however, find that while Swedish inmates appeared to have little need to make contact with chaplains, non-Swedish inmates – even Muslims – were more inclined to seek the counsel of the Christian chaplains. The report is poorly written and the scientific value of this study is negligible.

The time frame of project 9.1 spans from the second half of the 19th century to the 1990s. Svensson (1997) reports the results emanating from interviews with offenders serving long sentences in high-security prisons. It provides massive evidence that many prisoners' self-image as 'ordinary insiders in society' erodes in the institutional context and is replaced by a new image identifying themselves as "criminals" and "inmates", often with strong connotations of masculinity. The analysis refers to Michel Foucault's perspectives on the meaning and effects of institutionalisation. Petersen (2007) also takes us to the second half of the 19th century. His is a case history based on the early use of photographs to identify perceived dangerous criminals, and one chapter among a group of cases (for instance, patients in mental asylums). These cases are analysed within similar theoretical frameworks, dealing with more or less explicit underlying ideological and cultural messages in photographs. The documentation is overwhelmingly convincing in showing how portraits of female prisoners differed significantly from those of male prisoners. 'Masculine' attributes were avoided and many women were dressed in an almost lavish way that, in the late 19th century, stamped the women as depraved. This study is an intriguing and valuable contribution to the history of criminals and criminal institutions.

Svensson (2004) discusses gendered stereotypes of men and women, arising when females crossed the borders between 'normal' male and female roles and behaviour. The author suggests that instead of just becoming victims of marginalisation, women committing 'male' crimes may be seen as insurgents, revolting against and "destabilising" gender stereotypes. Typical male crimes (e.g. violence and theft) may, according to the author, be seen as symbols of masculinity and, as such, less socially degrading than typical female crimes (infanticide, sexual offences, etc). However, it is questionable who conformed to such perceptions. Historical evidence does not support the notion that theft 'upgraded' the perpetrator in the eyes of others – rather the opposite. Theft was seen as a particularly shameful act. As for perceptions of violence, the answer would depend on the timing, context and type of violence. Nevertheless, the discussion, while speculative, is theoretically

interesting, although providing hard evidence is difficult, especially since the people concerned can no longer be interviewed.

The referred works of project 9.1 are the only contributions to the study of penology submitted that are of acceptable scientific quality. All three deal with perceptions of criminals and convicts. The project illustrates the dialectics between perceptions mediated by controlling agencies and the convicts' 'self-images' in a highly 'gendered' context. This is an important topic that can provide valuable knowledge about, among other things, underlying values and impacts of imprisonment for production of 'criminal identities'. The perspective is relevant for the formulation of penal policies and practice.

Research on economic crime

Project 3.3 has developed innovative concepts for the study of economic crime. Engdahl (2009) points out that research has developed a multiple explanations of why individuals commit economic crimes, but the question of *how* these criminal acts are performed remains a 'black box'. The research question he consequently poses is 'What are people trying to do when they commit economic crime?' To answer this question Engdahl constructs a pioneering explanatory model, which he illustrates with what he calls 'a typical case of breach of trust'. Engdahl introduces the notion of 'hiding behaviour' to describe the way a person conceals problems and commits an economic crime. He further introduces the concepts of 'isolation' and 'engulfment' to afford a better understanding of the uncertain nature of social relations in concrete situations, arguing that economic crime typically involves criminals' problems of attachment to their social environment. This suggests why 'other people's money' is used to solve such problems. According to Engdahl, it is this 'money' that gives their crimes its 'economic' character. Money is a symbolically generalised medium through which individuals can solve relationship problems without needing to confront other people.

In Engdahl (2010a), the author continues with his ambition to fill in the 'black boxes' in research on economic crime. He points out that research has hitherto focused on the bearing of social position on the scope for carrying out crime. Answering a neglected question, he explains *how* social positions create opportunities for committing crime. Once again, Engdahl employs an empirical case to illustrate his explanatory model. The theoretical model departs from Goffman's ideas about 'barriers' and 'back regions', and how these strengthen the opportunities to commit crimes. He convincingly

shows how opportunities arise in situations where, by virtue of their positions, people erect barriers that obstruct suspicion and detection.

Engdahl (2010b) is a volume in Swedish – readily accessible to a wider audience of readers – that analyses a vast number of criminal cases in the banking and finance sector. While some of the themes from the two articles referred to above appear in this volume, new elements appear in his social psychological approach. What all these cases have in common, according to Engdahl, is the perpetrators' betrayal of the trust placed in them to manage other people's money. On the basis of his case studies, he argues that the criminal activity they involved was more than mere greed: other people's money is used to hide various problems that the perpetrators were, for various reasons, reluctant to reveal to their social surroundings, or to enlist others' help in solving them. Again, we can detect Goffman's influence on Engdahl's analyses when he shows how the fear of losing face and low confidence in the availability of help for one's life choices may, in specific precarious situations, lead to crime. This happens when this situation is combined with a belief in one's own ability to make use of the technical systems at hand, hide mistakes and manipulate the environment.

Engdahl has an impressive grasp of the international research field on economic crime. This allows him to pinpoint lacunae in the research to which he addresses his research questions. Consequently, his research makes significant and original theoretical contributions to research on economic crime, and his most important research results have been published in major international journals.

Project 1.15 has submitted two dissertations in Swedish (Wästerfors 2004 and Thelander 2006) and one article in English (Jacobsson). Wästerfors's study is based on interviews with Swedish businessmen working in the markets in former socialist states in Europe, while Thelander conducted his interviews with (mainly) Swedish personnel involved in aid programmes in various parts of the world. In both cases, the interviewees ('narrators') have, in their occupational capacities, personally encountered or heard of phenomena they saw as more or less morally doubtful behaviour, tantamount to corruption and bribery.

The primary purpose of the interview analysis is to capture the narrators' understanding of 'bribery' and its definitions, causes, moral and practical implications, and how to handle the situation of being asked for a bribe in their occupational roles. Examples of how these issues have been and can be approached are gleaned from an abundant 'sociological' literature and frequently used to uncover the understanding and meaning that narrators give their stories. Related cases are analysed as more or less conscious attempts by the narrators to 'position' themselves vis-à-vis these phenomena – morally

and practically. This includes their ways of explaining (to the interviewer, and probably to themselves at the same time) their standpoints and actions. They state whether they have taken a firm stance against anything akin to bribery or whether they have assumed a pragmatic acceptance of situations where a 'petty bribe' is obligatory or accepted to secure a prioritised aim (getting permission to start a building project in reasonable time, obtaining customary 'kickbacks' etc).

The stories are well suited to analysis of the rhetoric used in comparison with similar cases in the literature. One result is that defining and demarcating a concept like 'bribery' is sometimes difficult from the narrators' points of view. This becomes more evident when the stakeholders are found in social contexts other than in Sweden. Historical, cultural and economic factors are seen as intervening and 'blurring' moral and practical considerations. As a borderline case 'gifts' are mentioned; these are usually interpreted as a "softer" – or more sophisticated (and hence more excusable?) – means of concealing corruption. The borderline between legitimate small gifts and bribery is the key issue in Jacobsson's article. A lawyer, for example, sent an opera ticket as a gift to a clerk at a Swedish local court, expressing his joy about being given a financially rewarding case. The clerk, hesitant about whether she was allowed to accept the gift, informed her superior. The case, concerning a gift of limited value, finally resulted in a conviction. The three parties (the accused, 'victim' and prosecutor) were interviewed by the researcher. This case was related in fairly similar terms by all three parties. All seemed convinced that the 'offender' acted only in a 'joyful' mood, without reflecting on the potential legal aspects and with no intention to bribe the clerk in return for future benefits. A difference can be seen between a strict legal and a more 'human' way of understanding the case. The researcher analyses narratives provided by the 'offender' and 'victim', finding that a set of fairly classic rhetorical 'strategies' and 'tactics' are used to explain their actions.

In both a Swedish and an international research context, the project is innovative in its choice of questions and methods to describe and understand tales of 'bribery' told in interviews with people involved in or observing dubious situations. A number of cases involving potential conflicts between financial, practical and moral considerations are related. All three contributions are good examples of research using narrative analysis to uncover meanings and standpoints. They seek neither to quantify the bribery, if any, nor to uncover its legal attributes. Rather than giving a concise definition of the concept, they illustrate its vague contours. Nor do they try to prescribe strategies to combat its incidence.

The project aims to create an ‘understanding’ of one aspect of potential corruption with neither accusations nor excuses. The results are compared with theories and empirical findings in international literature. Yet little is documented as having been written for international readers. The presentations give the impression of primarily addressing a Swedish audience. The question is whether Wästerfors’s and Thelander’s results would have been presented in slightly different ways, with different key targets and modes of explanation, if they had addressed audiences in the geographical areas of study. If also presented in a less ‘academic’ form, they would have been valuable in prompting reflections by institutions and individuals faced with problems of bribery and corruption, and the potential conflicts involved.

Research on economic crime has made distinctive departures from the pioneering programme that Edwin Sutherland developed in the early 1940s. Contemporary criminologists have recognised the need to extend the tools available in criminology to include perspectives and concepts from macro and meso political economics, organisational analysis, political sociology, macroeconomics etc. in order to analyse and explain present-day white-collar crime. In short, the discipline of criminology was found to be ill equipped to take on the challenges of understanding economic crime in the post-war context of changing economic, political and social conditions. Nevertheless, researchers have not abandoned all of the elements contained in the Sutherland framework. The economic crime research supported by the Swedish Research Council in its Criminology programme has extended and combined the classic symbolic interactionist perspective on motivation in a theory of opportunity structure that, in a pioneering sense, fruitfully brings a microsociological understanding of economic crime to bear in the context of the new century.

Research on victimology and crime prevention

Project 1.1 investigates changes in strategies for controlling the sale and use of narcotics. Lenke and Olsson (1998) describe and evaluate the programme that prescribed amphetamines and opiates to drug users in Stockholm between 1965 and 1967. They point out that implementation of the programme was not scientific or controlled; accordingly, experience from it is of little practical value. Nevertheless, they argue that the short-lived programme fuelled the absolutist position in the drug-policy debate that ensued, and became a symbol in Sweden’s moral crusade against narcotics and rejection of the harm-reduction policies that have emerged elsewhere in Europe.

Lenke and Olsson (2002) examine the consequences of the shift in the Swedish drug control model in the 1980s away from its emphasis on prevention and treatment to police-enforced zero tolerance. They argue that the change in focus generated no discernible reduction in drug use; instead, drug use increased significantly during the 1990s. Lenke and Olsson (2003) sort out the differences among the various types of statistical series currently used to track drug-related fatalities, showing why political conflicts arise in connection with these differences. They argue that using statistical series that restrict the cause of death to drug overdose, while ignoring fatalities where narcotics was a contributory cause of the individual's death, means that rises in drug users' mortality rates remain unnoticed and consequently unaddressed. A reformist drug policy with such measures as methadone treatment and needle-exchange programmes falls on deaf ears. The authors place the 'blame' for the rejection of reformist policies, which they argue, could reduce drug-related fatalities, heavily on the shoulders of the Swedish temperance movement's absolutist position, which they maintain even sets the agenda for Swedish drug-control policy. While the texts submitted would have gained in scientific weight with more carefully accounted-for analyses, they are relatively sophisticated arguments for a more liberal, reformist drug-control policy in Sweden. Consequently, we regard the texts as contributions to the somewhat infected ongoing political debate, rather than to basic research in the field of drug control.

Project 2.1 comprises a set of longitudinal studies linking aspects of early personality and behaviour, especially hyperactivity, to later personality and behavioural problems. Although criminal behaviour is one criterion in their sample selection, the studies focus on the relationships between early and late personality factors. In the first paper submitted (Eklund & af Klinteberg, 2003) the authors show that aspects of childhood hyperactive behaviour are risk factors for developing criminal behaviour, in terms of drinking offences and violent offences, in adulthood. They also show that the factor contributing most to this relationship is the attention difficulty of the hyperactivity syndrome. In the second paper (Freidenfelt & af Klinteberg, 2007), the focus is on the personality development of delinquent boys who are hyperactive in childhood, rather than on their criminal behaviour. In the third paper (af Klinteberg, Johansson, Gacono & Alm, 2008), where the participants consisted of people with an early criminal record and a control sample, the focus is again on personality. While these results may be of interest in the context of forensic psychiatry, they are peripheral to the study of criminology.

Project 2.6, on the other hand, would appear to be at the core of criminology. This is a set of large-scale, large-sample longitudinal studies of risk

factors in the development of antisocial behaviour. These studies are distinguished by the timescale covered, with follow-up periods of up to 20 years, and the combination of subject variables and environmental variables measured. In the first paper (Stattin, Romelsjö & Stenbacka, 1997), a large sample ($n > 7000$) of Swedish conscripts were followed in official registers from age 18 to 36, with the number of convictions as the outcome variable. Not unexpectedly, behavioural risk factors (contact with the police, drug abuse, special educational needs) and home background risks at age 18 predicted later criminal behaviour. Importantly, however, for participants in the high behavioural-risk group, strong personal resources appeared to be a protective factor against later criminality.

In a later paper, Mahoney and Stattin (2000) compared the level of antisocial behaviour among 14-year-olds who participated in unstructured (youth recreation centres) versus structured social activities (e.g. sports, music, scouting and politics). They observed a regular pattern of the level of antisocial behaviour. The lowest rate of antisocial behaviour was found among the boys and girls who participated in the structured activities. These were followed by those who did not participate in any organised social activity and then those who participated in both structured and unstructured activities. The boys and girls who participated in unstructured activity only topped the list. The pattern of results was similar for boys and girls. The difference between those who did not participate in any social activity and those who attended the youth recreation centres is a little alarming, since the purpose of these centres is to prevent precisely such behaviour. However, recruitment to the youth recreation centres may not be random. This was confirmed in the third paper submitted (Mahoney, Stattin & Magnusson, 2001), in which a large number of boys ($n \approx 500$) were followed from age 10 to 30. The results of this study showed that the group of boys regularly taking part in activities at the youth recreation centres exhibited a higher level of criminal activity at age 13, and a much higher level of criminal activity in adulthood, than the boys who participated periodically or not at all. However, the difference between the groups also persisted when personal competence factors and family background factors prior to centre participation were controlled for. These studies are important, since they have both theoretical and practical implications; they are well designed; and the size of the samples makes their conclusions strong.

Pilot project 1.6, on fear of crime, resulted in one publication: the doctoral thesis *Var rädd om dig! Rädsla för brott enligt forskning, intervjupersoner och dagspress* ('Take Care! Fear of Crime according to Research, Interviewees and the Daily Press', Heber 2007; work on the thesis was not funded by the

Swedish Research Council). Heber poses the following questions. How is fear of crime understood in Anglo-Saxon and Nordic research? How do her interview subjects describe fear? And how is fear of crime depicted in the Stockholm daily press? In the research literature, fear of crime is viewed mainly as an individual problem linked neither to direct exposure to crime nor to the risk of being so exposed. Rather, other factors, such as the vulnerability of the individual, must be taken into account. Fear of crime has consequently increased among specific groups in society, such as women, the elderly and young people, and also among ethnic minorities, this (as Heber points out) having seldom been studied. The findings from her interview study of 28 theoretically selected individuals show that they do not think about crime in the context of their everyday lives. Rather, they may experience fear in specific situations, in certain locations and in relation to people they do not know – situations characterised by a perceived lack of control. Fear of crime is an issue widely reported in the press, where the absence and incompetence of the police are often described as being among the factors that cause fear of crime. This, of course, has political implications for the criminal justice system.

Heber concludes by stating that:

... risk appears to be perceived as being separate from fear. A reduction in the crime rate would therefore be likely to lead to a reduction in the risk of exposure to crime, but not in fear of crime. Instead, fear of crime can probably be reduced by measures that increase people's sense of control (Heber 2007: 248).

The thesis is a capable piece of scholarship and provides an excellent overview of the literature for future research. However, it brings little original thought to the subject. Since the 1970s, as the author points out, there has been an enormous increase in interest – among researchers and the mass media – in fear of crime. While this interest is dwindling in the Anglo-Saxon world, the question has only recently begun to capture the interest of Nordic researchers. However, in the Swedish press fear of crime has garnered an increased interest since the early 1990s. This has had political implications, which are mentioned only briefly in the thesis, primarily in terms of media analysis and various politicians' calls for more police and more resources for the police. The research question about the implications of the recent construction of fear of crime as a major societal problem, if posed, would have made a more original contribution to the literature and increased our understanding of how this discourse is shaping policy-making and criminal justice practices.

Two projects under the victimology heading focus on the young and the elderly respectively. The three papers submitted by project 1.3 are two book chapters in Swedish and a recent paper in a journal with an international circulation. Karlsson's (2003) chapter is a conceptual analysis of the role of gender norms for sexual harassment between men, an academic exercise of little interest to an international audience. The paper by Tiby (2009) is basically an English version of an earlier chapter (Tiby, 2006), reporting a qualitative study of young boys' and girls' accounts of their fears of sexual abuse. A questionnaire distributed to a total of more than 4,000 pupils and young students contained both specific questions and free accounts of the respondents' fears. This paper examines the accounts that dealt with fears of sexual abuse, and it is concluded that such free accounts are an important supplement to the results of more specific questions, providing a wider view of these fears. While the survey from which these data were extracted might yield useful results, the selected papers are minor contributions to crime research and of little relevance in a more practical context.

The project on the elderly (project 1.14), on the other hand, has both theoretical and practical implications. The first of the papers submitted (Åkerström, 2002) focuses on elderly as perpetrators rather than the more conventional perspective of elderly people as victims. An interview study of nursing-home staff reveals both that patients are frequently violent and that such acts are not considered violent and aggressive by the staff but, rather, explained away. Older people's violence is thus placed outside the boundary of violence as defined in contexts outside nursing homes. Jönson and Åkerström (2004) analyse the feminist literature on abuse of women. They note that elderly women are almost absent from these studies, which normally cover an adult age range up to about 65 years, and ask whether feminist literature represents 'ageism'. They further point out that the statistics available show elderly males and females as fairly equally represented in studies of abuse as both victims and offenders, which creates problems for the feminist perspective that dominates Scandinavian literature. The final study submitted (Jönson, 2003) analyses a Swedish crime prevention campaign addressing the elderly, and demonstrated a number of paradoxical and conflicting messages in the campaign films and written material. For example, warnings to look out for strangers asking for help (potential offenders) contradict the information that older people are least likely to be victims of crimes in the Scandinavian societies.

This section of the programme comprises a set of diverse projects of varying quality, scientific interest and relevance to the applied aspects of crime science. A couple of the projects are peripheral to the field; some of the contributions are fairly diffuse with respect to the purpose of the research,

why the research question is interesting and what theoretical or practical implications may be drawn from the results. Others are incisive in these respects. The project on violence and the elderly contributes new perspectives that are particularly useful from a practical viewpoint. The large-scale study of risk factors in the development of criminal behaviour contributes results that are both of great value to policymakers and of high theoretical relevance, and have also had considerable international impact.



GENERAL EVALUATION

The research field of criminology is notoriously broad. It interfaces with such diverse disciplines as psychology, sociology, law, social work and history. Internationally as well as in Sweden we find, for example, psychologists conducting research connected with crime prevention, victimology, and forensics; sociologists carrying out studies questioning the activities involved in the provision of security and/or the maintenance of the social-economic order in contemporary societies; academics from the discipline of law analysing penal developments; and historians struggling to place contemporary trends in crime control and criminal justice in broader sociohistorical contexts. Characterising such a widespread field of research in simple diagnostic terms is more easily said than done. Nevertheless, we shall venture to give our overall assessment of the research supported by the Swedish Research Council's Criminology programme as a partial failure and, by the same token, a partial success. All in all, little of the research funded engaged with the international field of criminological research, relating both the questions posed and the results found to the vast body of existing research. Several of the projects funded referred to and used internationally current theories and concepts, but very few made theoretical contributions to the ongoing development of criminological perspectives or posed new questions on social control and criminal justice. Internationally, comparative approaches – albeit not always an imperative – were few. And few of the projects challenged the empirical findings in the work of fellow researchers in the international arena.

This lack of engagement in international research is reflected in the preferred modes of publication. The research funded by the Swedish Research Council's Criminology programme was overwhelmingly published in Swedish dissertations, reports, books, and journals or, when in English, in an English-language Nordic periodical with a relatively marginal impact factor (even if this is a rough and relatively unstable indicator of international research dissemination). Furthermore, this lack of international engagement in the field is also reflected in the near-absence of international collaboration, which one would have expected in projects targeted for funding by the Swedish Research Council. Those that included international collaboration were all criminology projects within the discipline of psychology.

The general diagnostic characterisation of one of the two categories of research funded by the Criminology programme that we deem to be less successful – *applied criminology research* – may be summarised as yielding

studies that are parochial but may, however, make valuable contributions to practitioners in the field. Despite the importance of sound applied research in criminology, the express intention of the Swedish Research Council's Criminology programme was to initiate and promote basic research, thereby going beyond the applied research conducted by the Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention (Brå). Consequently, in terms of the intentions of the Criminology programme, a significant majority of research projects funded failed to live up to these objectives. This category included, for example, all of the projects funded that were hosted by the Department of Criminology at Stockholm University. The second category included research we judged to be basic in nature. This maintained, at best, a good national level of competence. This category includes a hodgepodge of projects funded from all of the disciplines represented.

On the other hand, our evaluation of the projects funded in the Swedish Research Council's Criminology programme revealed innovative and groundbreaking research that has had significant international impact—our third category of funded research. While limited in relation to the overall body of research funded by the programme, these projects were nevertheless highly successful in terms of the Swedish Research Council's intention of advancing basic research in criminology. This category of research – *basic criminological research* – which we characterise as excellent, was clustered in the subfields of forensic research and research on economic crime, as well as two projects in the subfield of victimology and crime prevention. These projects investigated the factors influencing the reliability of eyewitness reports and affecting our judgments of the credibility of eyewitnesses; what individuals are trying to do when they commit economic crimes; how people talk about and give meaning to 'bribery'; the risk factors that can lead to criminality and the factors that can protect against it; and the elderly as both perpetrators and victims of violent abuse. These questions were posed to fill in lacunae in the international field of research and the results consequently push forward the cumulative effort of criminological research in general.

The research included in the above category not only generated new research questions; a couple of the contributions also provided brilliant answers. In particular, the research on the confidence–accuracy relationship in human decision-making represents cutting-edge research, solving a long-standing paradox in the research literature, and has earned a well-deserved place in the international literature. Equally important and up-to-date are the model studies of 'tunnel memories' of traumatic events, an important field in international psycholegal research, that support an influential Swedish theory in the literature of eyewitness memory.

Sometimes research excellence is defined not by the originality of the research questions, but by the quality of the answers. The results of the large-sample longitudinal studies on risk factors in the development of antisocial behaviour are distinguished by the time-scale covered, the size of the samples studied, and the combination of subject variables and environmental variables that were measured. These studies are important in both theoretical and applied contexts.

Work in the subcategory of research on economic crime raised the questions of what social mechanisms, in a given context, define 'gifts' as 'bribes'; under what circumstances are bribes accountable; whether the bribe-giver's moral position is always easier than the bribe-taker's; whether a cross-cultural perspective could shed new light on a study of corruption; and whether corruption is something more than a system of bribes. New questions were also raised about possible diffusion processes in connection with economic crime. How, for example, do individual crimes become collective economic crime cultures? It is argued that little is known about the actual effectiveness of informal control measures to discourage economic crimes. Within the subfield of victimology and crime prevention, questions were raised about the ethnic status of elderly-care clients and how this can influence vulnerability to criminal acts; the importance of self-definition as belonging to the 'elderly' category and fear of becoming a victim of violence; how the police inform the elderly about issues related to criminality, and whether they in fact contribute to elderly people's fear of crime.

In this category, we found excellent basic research work that was published in high-impact international journals, which further distinguished these funded projects from the former category of applied research. Finally, we wish to point out that solid basic research does not preclude societal relevance. On the contrary, basic research of excellence generally leads to valuable insights for both criminal policy and practice in the field, as do the findings of the studies in this category. The disciplinary domiciles of the researchers in this category were psychology and sociology, and this is well in line with contemporary international trends of perspectives in criminological research.

It is difficult to determine whether the Swedish Research Council's Criminology programme stimulated existing research environments. Its projects obviously illustrate the use of theoretical and methodological approaches, in a multitude of disciplines, to scientific studies of society and their relation to crime, criminal justice and institutions. A more explicit use of the contextual and methodological skills of several disciplines – maintaining each discipline's scientific standards – would sometimes produce new, innovative results. The unique Swedish historical sources are, for instance, highly suit-

able for the study of determinants of long-term changes in crime and criminal institutions. Here, joint research efforts by specialists in social science and history can result in profound insights and contribute to international research.

We are convinced that the projects funded in what we designate as 'excellent basic research' would have most probably been awarded funding in the 'open call', and were not dependent on the earmarked criminology funding. The more solid research conducted within the category we designated as 'applied research' would probably have been funded by the Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention. The considerable number of weak projects that were funded by the programme received 'lucky draws' in the research-funding merry-go-round.

On the question of whether the programme led to the formation of new research directions and new research environments we can, once again, only speculate. The research supported on economic crime, which opened up a new theoretical focus on symbolic interactionism and constructionism, developed new contacts and avenues of cooperation between the sociology departments at the Universities of Lund and Gothenburg, which can be regarded as a new research environment. However, whether this research or this research environment was dependent on support from the earmarked funding source is difficult to establish. Again, we can only speculate that these two projects would have been strong contenders in the 'open call'.



RECOMMENDATIONS

In line with the position of our colleagues in philosophy who evaluated Swedish research in philosophy for the Swedish Research Council (*Report of the International Panel for the Evaluation of Swedish Research in Philosophy to the Swedish Research Council*, 2009), we too argue that the Swedish Research Council-supported research projects should strive to make their results accessible to the international research community. Just as in the case of philosophy, the appropriate audience for excellent research in criminology is an international one, 'and standards of excellence in such research are set by the international community' (p. 24). The national standards for high quality applied research differ from the international standards for basic research of excellent quality. *If* the Swedish Research Council's intention is to support basic research in criminology, these international standards must be met. Our opinions on this matter prompt the following more concrete recommendations.

1. While we believe that criminological research in Sweden is currently advancing in both scope and quality, much basic research still lags behind the international sphere of criminology. To stimulate basic research in Sweden, we would recommend consolidating funding resources in criminology to permit awards for a limited number of research programmes. Programme applications should be internationally assessed both directly and indirectly. First, this would require the application text to be in English and the assessment to be carried out by international authorities in the field. Second (while a promising research programme combines senior and junior researchers), as an indirect indicator of the potential to conduct basic research of excellence, the principal applicant and the senior members of the research team should be able to document a convincing collective track record of excellent research in criminology, in terms of previous publications in high-impact international refereed journals and internationally published books and anthologies.
2. The assessment should be rigorous and allow the option of not awarding programme funding if no applications meet the assessment criteria by a substantial margin. In such a case the targeted funds could be set aside and accumulated for the following year's 'call'. Generally, targeted funding needs to be more strictly monitored, to eliminate its use in relatively unpromising projects by relatively unqualified researchers. The option of accumulating funding from year to year would allow assessors scope for

- evaluating more critically the potential of individual research proposals, rather than merely picking out the best.
3. Consolidating research funding within larger programmes and/or projects that would meet the criteria set poses a risk of causing stagnation in the field, in the sense of restricting opportunities for junior researchers and hence not optimising the potential for a revitalisation of the research field with new research perspectives and questions. To counteract this latent drawback in giving priority to internationally 'tried and tested' researchers, we recommend that earmarked funding be set aside for postdoctoral fellowships for promising junior researchers. These could be awarded in conjunction with more or less lengthier sojourns in criminology departments abroad.
 4. Research proposals in criminology that have international ties should be given priority. This could take one or more of three forms. First, the research proposal could be a joint collaboration with one or more colleagues in another country. Second, we have international networks of researchers that are constructed to address a specific research problem or set of research questions; the proposed project could be an intended contribution to these concerted research efforts. The weakest form of international tie would be the support of an international advisory board for a proposed research project or programme. Prior demands concerning international research ties should have the spin-off effect of enhancing the potential for international publication, consequently making Swedish researchers in criminology more active partners in the research dialogues that are under way in the international criminological research community.

Lastly, we wish to second the recommendation of our colleagues who evaluated philosophy on behalf of t

The Swedish Research Council. Documentation of outputs from the research projects funded should be more systematic and complete. The problems encountered by the Swedish Research Council in collecting the publications for our assessment indicate that this is a serious shortcoming in the Swedish Research Council's follow-up of the research it funds. After completion of the research in each project, besides a final report, the Swedish Research Council should demand that copies of the project's major publications be sent to the Swedish Research Council (with the encouragement that subsequent publications will be added to the collected output materials). In this way the Swedish Research Council would have on file complete documentation of the output from all the research it has funded.

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LIST OF EVALUATED RESEARCH PROJECTS

<i>Project Number</i>	<i>Project Title</i>	<i>Project Leader</i>
1.1	Analyses of drug abuse and control strategies in a Europe in flux	Senior Lecturer Leif Lenke, Stockholm University
1.3	Exposure+C25 to and fear of crime among children, adolescents and adults in Tyresö	Dr Eva Tiby, Stockholm University
1.4	Political terrorism or terrorist politics? Implications of Swedish counter-terrorism	Dr Janne Flyghed, Stockholm University
1.5	Swedish crime and crime policy in the interwar period (1920–39)	Professor Hanns von Hofer, Stockholm University
1.6	Fear of crime: what are its determinants in Sweden?	Professor Hanns von Hofer, Stockholm University
1.7	Swedish crime and crime policy in a European perspective	Professor Henrik Tham, Stockholm University
1.8	Swedish crime policy, 1950–2000: a criminological analysis	Professor Henrik Tham, Stockholm University
1.9	Criminal networks in Stockholm	Professor Jerzy Sarnecki, Stockholm University
1.10	The role of measuring instruments in studies of self-declared criminality	Professor Jerzy Sarnecki, Stockholm University
1.11	Discrimination in the legal system	Professor Jerzy Sarnecki, Stockholm University
1.13	Journalism and crime policy	Professor Jerzy Sarnecki, Stockholm University (originally Professor Kjell Nowak)
1.14	Pensioners and violence	Professor Malin Åkerström, Lund University
1.15	Bribery and morality	Professor Malin Åkerström, Lund University
2.1	Dimensional and individually oriented studies of adult personality, social adaptation and psychopathy in relation to early psychological and psychiatric vulnerability factors: a follow-up study of young offenders	Professor Britt af Klintberg, Stockholm University

<i>Project Number</i>	<i>Project Title</i>	<i>Project Leader</i>
2.2	Violent crimes and witness statements: perceptions and memories of victims, witnesses and perpetrators	Professor Sven-Åke Christianson, Stockholm University
2.3	Reliability of perceived certainty in eyewitness descriptions and witness confrontations	Dr Peter Juslin, Uppsala University
2.4	Distinguishing fabricated witness statements from authentic ones: human beings' abilities and strategies	Dr Pär Granhagen, Stockholm University
2.5	Group affiliation and believability assessments	Senior Lecturer Torun Lindholm, Stockholm University
2.6	Protective factors from childhood to adulthood	Professor Håkan Stattin, Örebro University
3.1	Societal changes and crime: a study of Swedish municipalities, 1970–90	Senior Lecturer Olof Dahlbäck, Stockholm University
3.2	Rational crime: theoretical and methodological foundation for a new approach	Senior Lecturer Olof Dahlbäck, Stockholm University
3.3	Financial intermediaries and economic crime	Professor Sven-Åke Lindgren, University of Gothenburg
3.4	Criminals and society: towards an order of discourse?	Professor Ulf Drugge, Umeå University
4.1	Swedish complicity law in the light of NJA 1992, p. 474 (translator's note: Swedish Supreme Court case judgments are published in the first part of Nytt Juridiskt Arkiv [NJA], while the second part contains information about new legislation and preparatory work)	Dr Carl Erik Herlitz, Uppsala University
5.1	The police and the emergence of industrial society in Stockholm, 1850–1925	Senior Lecturer Björn Furuhausen, Stockholm University
5.2	Action norms and disciplinary processes in Swedish towns, 1550–1750	Professor Dag Lindström, Uppsala University
5.3	Crime victims and perpetrators: Swedish discourse about sexual assault and police investigators	Professor Åsa Bergenheim, Umeå University
7.1	The chaplain in the criminal community: culture and religion in Swedish prisons	Professor Owe Wikström, Uppsala University
9.1	A hundred years of incarceration: prison life and criminal identity. An ethnological study of treatment ideology and perpetrators	Professor Birgitta Svensson, Lund University



SVENSK SAMMANFATTNING

Utvärderingsrapport rörande Vetenskapsrådets kriminalvetenskapliga program

Introduktion

Vetenskapsrådet utsåg följande fyra medlemmar att utvärdera de projekt som finansierades av rådets och dess föregångares (HSFR) kriminalvetenskapliga program:

Professor Svein Magnussen, psykologiska institutionen, Oslo Universitet
Professor Abby Peterson, sociologiska institutionen, Göteborgs Universitet
Professor emeritus Jan Sundin, Hälsa och samhälle, IMH, Linköpings universitet

Professor Per-Ole Träskman, juridiska institutionen, Lunds universitet

Rapporten har skrivits av professorerna Peterson, Magnussen och Sundin och har godkänts av alla fyra medlemmar av utvärderingsgruppen.

Rådet gav bidrag till forskningsprojekt inom ett stort antal discipliner såsom psykologi, sociologi, kriminologi, historia, juridik, socialt arbete, etnologi och teologi. Utvärderingsunderlaget var 36 projekt, finansierade mellan 1994 och 2003. Av dessa drogs sju projekt tillbaka från utvärderingen av olika anledningar. Utvärderingen berör endast de återstående 29 projekten. Dessa representerar inte alla publicerade rapporter av svenska forskare inom detta tematiska område och tidsrymd. Då många projektrapporter är tio år eller äldre, återspeglar de inte heller den senaste utvecklingen inom svensk kriminalvetenskap.

Utvärderingen har skett i två steg. Först har varje enskilt projekt behandlats med avseende på frågornas relevans och resultatens kvalitet i relation till det internationella forskningsläget och formen för publicering. Därefter har en sammanvägning gjorts av hela programsatsningen i enlighet med rådets önskemål. Följande sammanfattning redogör för sammanvägningen och därav följande slutsatser.

Sammanfattande utvärdering

Det kriminalvetenskapliga fältet är mycket brett, med anknytning till så olika discipliner som psykologi, sociologi, juridik, socialt arbete och historia. Internationellt, och även i Sverige, finner vi till exempel psykologer som forskar om brottförebyggande, brottsoffer och rättsmedicinska frågor. Sociologer studerar säkerhetsaspekter och upprätthållandet av socio-ekonomiska system i nutida samhällen. Jurister analyserar straffens utveckling och historiker strävar efter att sätta nutida trender i brottskontrollen i relation till bredare socio-ekonomiska sammanhang. Att definiera ett så vitt fält med enkla diagnostiska begrepp är lättare sagt än gjort. Trots detta dristar vi oss att sammanfatta den forskning som finansierades av rådets kriminalvetenskapliga program som delvis ett misslyckande, delvis en framgång.

Endast en liten del av den finansierade forskningen relaterade sig till det internationella kriminalvetenskapliga fältet, vare sig det gäller forskningsfrågorna eller att ställa resultaten i relation till den omfattande forskning som fanns. Flera projekt refererade till och använde internationellt aktuella teorier och begrepp men få gav egna teoretiska bidrag till utvecklingen av kriminalvetenskapliga perspektiv, eller ställde nya frågor om social kontroll och kriminalrättsliga förhållanden. Internationella, jämförande tillnärmelsesätt – om än inte alltid ett krav – var få. Likaså var det få resultat som utmanade internationella kollegors empiriska fynd. Denna svaga anknytning till det internationella forskningsfältet avspeglas i de valda publiceringskanalerna. Resultaten återfinns till den absolut största delen i avhandlingar, rapporter, böcker och tidskrifter skrivna på svenska eller, när språket var engelska, i en nordisk tidskrift med en relativt marginell internationell "impact factor" (även om detta är ett grovt och relativt osäkert mått på internationell spridning av forskningsresultat). Denna brist på deltagande i den internationella debatten avspeglas också i den nästan totala frånvaron av internationella forskningssamarbeten, vilket man borde kunna förvänta sig av projekt finansierade av Vetenskapsrådet. De projekt som avvek i detta avseende (med etablerat internationellt samarbete) låg alla inom det psykologiska området.

Av de två forskningsområden, finansierat av programmet, som vi bedömde vara mindre framgångsrika karakteriserade vi ett som *tillämpad kriminologisk forskning*. Det producerade geografiskt begränsade studier, som kan ge värdefulla bidrag till kriminalvetenskapens avnämare – praktikerna. Det kriminalvetenskapliga programmets uttalade syfte var dock att initiera och stödja grundforskning, att gå utanför de tillämpade studier som bedrevs av Brottsförebyggande Rådet (BRÅ). I detta avseende var det en majoritet av de finansierade projekten som inte kom att leva upp till syftet. Denna kategori innefattar till exempel alla projekt vid Kriminologiska institutionen vid

Stockholms universitet. Den andra gruppen av projekt som vi ansåg mindre lyckosamma bedömdes som *grundforskning, som i bästa fall höll god nationell standard*. Denna senare kategori omfattar en brokig skara projekt från alla representerade discipliner.

Å andra sidan fanns en tredje kategori – projekt som vi bedömde som *nydanande och banbrytande forskning med tydligt internationellt genomslag*. Även om de utgjorde en mindre del av samtliga finansierade projekt, var de i hög grad framgångsrika utifrån Vetenskapsrådets intention att främja avancerad kriminalvetenskaplig grundforskning. Dessa projekt, som vi bedömde som "framstående"⁵, återfanns inom områdena 'rättspsykologi', 'ekonomisk brottslighet', samt två forskningsprojekt om 'brottsoffer' och 'brottsförebyggande'. Ämnen för dessas projekt var: faktorer som påverkar pålitligheten hos ögonvittnen; faktorer som påverkar våra bedömningar av ögonvittnens trovärdighet; drivkrafter hos ekonomiska brottslingar; hur man talar om och ger mening åt mutor; faktorer som kan öka eller minska risken att utsättas för brott; och äldre som både förövare av och offer för våld. Dessa frågor fyllde lakuner i internationell forskning och resultat och förde även i allmänna termer den kumulativa forskningsprocessen framåt.

Forskningen inom denna kategori ställde inte bara nya frågor. Ett par bidrag gav också eleganta svar. Studier av tillförlitlighet och exakthet i relation till mänskligt beslutsfattande ligger i forskningens framkant. Den löser upp en länge begrundad paradox i den vetenskapliga diskussionen och intar en välförtjänt plats inom internationell litteratur. Likaså är modellstudierna av "tunnelminnen" av traumatiska händelser betydelsefulla och banbrytande inom internationell rättspsykologisk forskning. Den ger stöd åt en inflytelserik svensk teori om ögonvittnens minnen. Ibland definieras inte framstående forskning utifrån frågornas originalitet utan på grund av svarens kvalitet. Resultaten från longitudinella studier av riskfaktorer för sociala avvikelser utmärktes av en längre tidsrymd, en stor urvalspopulation och kombinationen av individuella och strukturella faktorer. Dessa studier är viktiga, såväl i teoretiska som i tillämpade sammanhang.

Projekt om ekonomisk brottslighet behandlade de sociala mekanismer som inom viss given kontext definierar 'gåvor' som 'mutor', under vilka omständigheter mutor är försvarbara; om den moraliska ståndpunkten hos den som ger mutor alltid är lättare att försvara än den som tar mutor; kan ett flerkulturellt perspektiv kasta nytt ljus på korrupsionsstudier; och är korrupsion något mer än ett system av mutor? Nya frågor restes också om hur ekonomisk brottslighet sprids; hur blir individuella brott del av en kollektiv,

⁵ I denna svenska sammanfattning används konsekvent ordet "framstående" för det i engelsk versionen använda "excellent".

ekonomisk brottskultur? Det hävdas att vi vet litet om hur effektiva informella kontrollåtgärder kan avskräcka från ekonomisk brottslighet. Inom forskningen om brottsoffer och brottsförebyggande ställdes frågor om de äldres, vårdtagarnas etnicitet och huruvida detta kan påverka sårbarheten för brott; betydelsen av att definiera sig själv som äldre och fruktan för att bli ett våldsoffer; hur polisen informerar äldre om brott och frågor relaterade till kriminalitet; bidrar polisen i själva verket till de äldres fruktan för att utsättas för brott?

Inom kategorin *framstående grundforskning* återfanns verk publicerade i internationella tidskrifter med hög internationell spridningseffekt, vilket ytterligare skilde denna grupp från den förra kategorin av tillämpad forskning. Slutligen vill vi understryka att solid grundforskning inte hindrar dess samhällliga värde och relevans. Tvärtom leder framstående grundforskning i allmänhet till värdefulla insikter både för kriminalpolitiken och för fältets praktiker – vilket gäller de studier vi refererat till. Ämnesmässigt var dessa forskare psykologer och sociologer, vilket är i linje med internationella strömningar inom kriminalvetenskaplig forskning.

Det är svårt att avgöra om Vetenskapsrådets kriminalvetenskapliga program stimulerade existerande forskningsmiljöer. De finansierade projekten illustrerar uppenbarligen användandet av teoretiska och metodologiska tillnärmelsesätt av en mångfald discipliner i studiet av samhället och dess relation till brottslighet, kriminalrätt och institutioner. Ett mer uttalat bruk av kontextuella och metodologiska färdigheter utifrån flera discipliner – var och en vidmakthållande sina vetenskapliga standardkrav – skulle ibland kunna generera nya, innovativa resultat. De unika svenska historiska källorna är, till exempel, väl ämnade för att studera determinanter som påverkar brottens och den institutionella brottskontrollens långsiktiga utveckling. Här skulle förenade forskningsinsatser av samhällsvetenskapliga och historiska specialister resultera i en djupare förståelse och bidra till den internationella forskningen.

De projekt vi betecknat som 'framstående grundforskning' skulle troligtvis ha fått anslag inom ramen för andra, 'öppna' utlysningar. Alltså skulle de inte ha varit beroende av den öronmärkta satsningen. De mer solida projekten bland dem vi betecknat som tillämpad forskning skulle troligen ha finansierats av Brottsförebyggande Rådet. Det icke oansenliga antalet "svaga" projekt som fick anslag av programmet drog en vinstlott ur forskningsanslagens tombola. Vi kan bara spekulera i frågan huruvida programmet bidrog till att skapa nya forskningsinriktningar och nya forskningsmiljöer. Det stöd som gavs till studier av ekonomisk brottslighet använde sig av nya teoretiska infallsvinklar om symbolisk interaktionism och konstruktivism och dokumenterade nya kontakter och vägar till samarbete mellan de sociolo-

giska institutionerna i Lund och Göteborg, vilket kan ses som uppkomsten av en ny forskningsmiljö. Däremot är det svårt att avgöra om detta berodde på stöd från programmet eller ej. Troligen skulle de två aktuella projekten också ha varit starka konkurrenter om 'öppna' medel.

Rekommendationer

I likhet med de kollegor som för Vetenskapsrådets räkning utvärderade svensk filosofisk forskning (*Report of the International Panel for the Evaluation of Swedish Research in Philosophy to the Swedish Research Council, 2009*), menar vi att projekt som stöds av Vetenskapsrådet skall sträva att göra sina resultat tillgängliga för det internationella vetenskapssamhället. Liksom i filosofi, är den mest relevanta läsekretsen för framstående kriminalvetenskaplig forskning internationell "and standards of excellence in such research are set by the international community" (p. 24). Den nationella måttstocken för tillämpad forskning av hög kvalitet skiljer sig från måttstocken för framstående grundforskning. Om avsikten är att Vetenskapsrådet skall stödja kriminalvetenskaplig grundforskning, bör denna internationella måttstock gälla. Den ståndpunkten för oss till mer konkreta rekommendationer.

1. Svensk kriminalvetenskaplig forskning gör idag framsteg, både i omfattning och i kvalitet, men stora delar av grundforskningen ligger fortfarande i kölvattnet av sin internationella motsvarighet. För att stimulera grundforskningen i Sverige rekommenderar vi att finansieringsresurserna konsolideras för att stödja ett begränsat antal forskningsprogram. Ansökningar om medel skall utvärderas både direkt och indirekt. För det första kräver detta att ansökningarna skrivs på engelska och att bedömningarna görs av internationella auktoriteter inom området. För det andra: lovande forskningsprogram bör befolkas av både mer meriterade och yngre forskare för att vara en potential för den framtida framstående grundforskningen. Dock skall huvudsökande och äldre medlemmar av forskargruppen kunna dokumentera övertygande kriminalvetenskapliga meriter, baserade på tidigare förhandsgranskade artiklar i internationella tidskrifter med hög 'impact', samt på internationellt publicerade böcker och bidrag i antologier.
2. Bedömningen av ansökningar skall vara sträng. Riktade anslag bör granskas noggrant för att undvika att de ges till mindre lovande projekt med mindre kvalificerade forskare. Man ska kunna avstå från att utnyttja finansieringsutrymmet om inte tillräckligt många ansökningar fyller ovanstående krav. Om så sker skall återstående tillgängliga medel kunna

reserveras och ackumuleras för följande års utlysning. Detta uppmunt-
rar granskarna att utvärdera varje forskningsansökan med höga krav och
undvika att enbart välja ut "de bästa i högen".

3. Att enbart finansiera större program eller projekt som möter kraven ovan
kan medföra att forskningsfältet stagnerar då möjligheterna för yngre
forskare begränsas. Då optimeras inte möjligheterna till förnyelse, nya
perspektiv och nya frågor. För att förebygga detta rekommenderas en
öronmärkt finansiering av post-doktorala tjänster för lovande yngre fors-
kare. Dessa kan gärna kombineras med mer eller mindre långa vistelser
vid utländska kriminalvetenskapliga miljöer.
4. Forskningsansökningar med internationell anknytning bör prioriteras.
Detta kan ta en eller flera av tre olika former. För det första kan ansök-
ningen avse samarbete med en eller flera kollegor i ett annat land. För det
andra kan man verka inom internationella nätverk av forskare som bil-
dats för att studera ett eller flera forskningsproblem/frågor. Ansökan kan
ha en uttalad avsikt att bidra till nätverkets gemensamma insatser. Den
tredje, svagaste, formen av internationell anknytning skulle bestå i att en
ansökan stöds av ett internationellt 'advisory board'. Medveten interna-
tionell anknytning skulle underlätta internationell publicering. Svenska
forskare blir följaktligen mer aktiva deltagare i det internationella, krimi-
nalvetenskapliga forskarsamhällets fortlöpande dialog.

Slutligen ansluter vi oss till en rekommendation som gavs av kollegor som
utvärderade svensk filosofisk forskning. Dokumentationen av de finansie-
rade projektens resultat och produkter skall vara mer systematisk och hel-
täckande. Rådets svårigheter att samla in publikationerna för vår utvärde-
ring tyder på att detta är en problematisk länk i dess aktiva uppföljning
av beviljade medel. Förutom en slutrapport skall Vetenskapsrådet kräva att
projektets viktigaste skrifter skall sändas till rådet när projektet avslutats
(med löftet att följande skrifter läggs till samlingen av projektets arbeten).
Därmed skulle rådet förfoga över en komplett dokumentation av sin forsk-
ningsfinansiering.

The present report is the result of an undertaking with two interrelated aims. One has been to evaluate a programme of research in criminology, launched by the Swedish Council for Research in the Humanities and Social Sciences (HSFR) at the Government's request in 1994, and concluded in 2004. The other aim has been to try out an evaluation model that looks directly at the content and results of research. The evaluation concerns 29 projects, covering not all research in the field but only the projects funded by the programme.

The evaluation has been carried out by Professor Svein Magnussen, Department of Psychology, University of Oslo, Professor Abby Peterson, Department of Sociology, University of Gothenburg, Professor Emeritus Jan Sundin, Department of Medical and Health Sciences, Linköping University and Professor Per-Ole Tråskman, Department of Law, Lund University.



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