

CRIMINOLOGY AND THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

CRIMINOLOGY AND THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

A Historical and Transatlantic
Introduction

Cyrille FIJNAUT



intersentia

Cambridge – Antwerp – Portland

Intersentia Ltd
Sheraton House | Castle Park
Cambridge | CB3 0AX | United Kingdom
Tel.: +44 1223 370 170 | Fax: +44 1223 370 169
Email: mail@intersentia.co.uk
www.intersentia.com | www.intersentia.co.uk

Distribution for the UK and Ireland:

NBN International
Airport Business Centre, 10 Thornbury Road
Plymouth, PL6 7 PP
United Kingdom
Tel.: +44 1752 202 301 | Fax: +44 1752 202 331
Email: orders@nbninternational.com

Distribution for Europe and all other countries:

Intersentia Publishing nv
Groenstraat 31
2640 Mortsel
Belgium
Tel.: +32 3 680 15 50 | Fax: +32 3 658 71 21
Email: mail@intersentia.be

Distribution for the USA and Canada:

International Specialized Book Services
920 NE 58th Ave. Suite 300
Portland, OR 97213
USA
Tel.: +1 800 944 6190 (toll free) | Fax: +1 503 280 8832
Email: info@isbs.com

Criminology and the Criminal Justice System. A Historical and Transatlantic Introduction

© Cyrille Fijnaut 2017

The author has asserted the right under the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988, to be identified as author of this work.

No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form, or by any means, without prior written permission from Intersentia, or as expressly permitted by law or under the terms agreed with the appropriate reprographic rights organisation. Enquiries concerning reproduction which may not be covered by the above should be addressed to Intersentia at the address above.

ISBN 978-1-78068-506-9
D/2017/7849/90
NUR 821/824

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data. A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

PREFACE

In the 1989–90 academic year, it was my pleasure to take over the course on *General Criminology* from the late Prof. Steven de Batselier, a course that had been taught for decades as part of the special programme in criminology at KU Leuven's Faculty of Law. It was my intention from the very start to write an introduction to general criminology for the many students taking the course – both criminology undergraduates and faculty of law graduates – that would facilitate both absorbing the course material and studying it independently. At the same time, I wished to take the opportunity afforded by writing such an introduction not only to make the course suitable for the many law students but also to align it with the ideas that I had about how such an introduction should be structured.

For me, that meant two things. On the one hand, it seemed desirable for various reasons to devote considerable attention to the long history of criminology, in the West in general and in Belgium and the Netherlands in particular. The main reason was and is, however, that without thorough knowledge of that history it is difficult to understand the contemporary developments in theory, research, and practice. On the other hand, I considered it necessary to write not merely a kind of “history of ideas” in criminology but also to show how closely that history has been associated – right up to the present day – with the evolution of criminal law and the administration of criminal justice, and more generally with the combatting of crime in all its forms and varieties.

But actually writing such an introduction proved to be no simple matter. At that time, for instance, because of the absence of systematic and thorough research it was virtually impossible to write a historical introduction to criminology and criminal justice that would, at the very least, properly represent the history of criminology in Belgium and the Netherlands, and its influence on the organisation and operation of the criminal justice systems in those countries. Carrying out that plan was not easy, however, because I did not have access – either directly or indirectly – to the countless foreign publications that I needed in order to analyse, in sufficient depth, the interaction between European and American criminology since the end of the nineteenth century, even though a proper knowledge of that interaction is also necessary for a good understanding of the development of criminology in Belgium and the Netherlands since the 1960s.

These observations led, inter alia, to my starting, in the early 1990s, to collect publications, in both Europe and the United States, that could shed light on the

history of criminology in the West and its entanglement with the international history of criminal law and criminal justice. By the mid-1990s, I had reached the stage that I could begin drafting an initial version of the introductory work that I had in mind. But then the time factor proved to be a major problem. All kinds of large-scale research projects – in particular my time-consuming duties on five official committees of inquiry in Belgium and the Netherlands – meant that it was simply impossible from a practical perspective to write this book.

I did, however, find time for two activities. First, I continued through all those years to collect antiquarian and new books on criminology and criminal justice in Europe and America that I thought I would need for the introduction that I envisaged. Second, in the light of the literature that I had collected, I wrote a number of contributions to collections and periodicals that were well suited to inclusion in the present book. The pleasing result was that by 2010 I had gradually progressed to Chapter 5. However, in all that time, I had still not been able to write about the important episodes in the history of criminology since the beginning of the twentieth century. But in 2012 and 2013, I was finally able to carry out my intention and to finish off the book.

The original Dutch edition of this work – *Criminologie en strafrechtsbedeling; een historische en transatlantische inleiding* (Antwerp, Intersentia, 2014) – comes to 924 pages, including the table of contents, bibliography, index of persons, and the numerous illustrations. This English edition has 644 pages and is therefore a significantly abridged version of the original book. A number of chapters have been shortened considerably, namely Chapters 2 (on the medieval origins of the criminal justice system), 3 (on the restructuring of that system during the Enlightenment and the French Period), and 7 (about the early development of criminology in Belgium and the Netherlands). Chapter 8 (on the role of associations and conferences in the internationalisation of criminology) has been completely omitted from this English edition. Chapters 10 (on the reception of European criminology in the United States) and 11 (on the transatlantic integration of criminology) have been retained virtually without excisions. In Chapter 11, those sections have been deleted that relate to the current development of criminology in Belgium and the Netherlands.

The reason for all the various excisions was that the deleted passages are of less relevance for an international readership. The number of illustrations was naturally also reduced, and their selection was tailored to this abridged version of the book. The bibliography has not been adapted to this English edition, however, for the simple reason that in its unabbreviated form it retains its value as a research resource. The index of persons has of course been brought into line with the English edition.

A historical and transatlantic introduction to criminology and the criminal justice system is a work that one writes alone, but not without the help of others. I would therefore like to thank, in the first place, the many booksellers in Belgium, the Netherlands, and elsewhere who have assisted me in the past 25 years in

building up my private library, and have thus obviated the need for me to do a great deal of searching in libraries when writing the book. Second, I naturally wish to thank the various librarians who have helped me so effectively during this period, in particular those at KU Leuven's Faculty of Law, the New York University School of Law, the Max Planck Institute for Foreign and International Criminal Law, and the Law Faculty at Tilburg University.

Finally, I consider myself fortunate in the publisher who has guided this abridged edition of the book, Kris Moeremans of Intersentia (Antwerp) and the editors of Intersentia (Cambridge), Rebecca Moffat and Rebecca Bryan, who have been very helpful with the correction of the manuscript. Finally, I also wish to thank the translators at Balance Texts & Translations for producing the translation within a relatively short time.

Tilburg, Spring 2017

CONTENTS

<i>Preface</i>	v
Chapter 1. General Introduction	1
1.1. Basic Principles of this Work	1
1.2. Architecture of this Book	3
Chapter 2. Origin of the Present-Day Criminal Justice System	9
2.1. Introduction	9
2.2. Transition from Accusatory to Inquisitorial Criminal Proceedings	10
2.3. <i>Boeventucht</i> by Dirk Volckertszoon Coornhert	13
2.4. Renewal of the Prison System	16
2.5. Modernisation of the Police System	21
2.6. Conclusion	24
Chapter 3. Restructuring of the Criminal Justice System During the Enlightenment and the French Period	27
3.1. Introduction	28
3.2. The Spirit of the Age: Charles-Louis de Secondat, Baron de la Brède et de Montesquieu and Jean-Jacques Rousseau	28
3.2.1. Montesquieu: <i>De l'esprit des lois</i>	28
3.2.2. Rousseau: <i>Du contrat social</i>	30
3.3. Cesare Beccaria's Manifesto <i>Dei delitti e delle pene</i>	31
3.3.1. Basic Principles of the Manifesto and their General Consequences	32
3.3.2. Purposes of Punishment and their Implementation	34
3.3.3. Categories of Crimes and Types of Punishments	35
3.3.4. A Staunch Defender of Freedom and a Militant Opponent of Criminals	37
3.3.5. Various Random Thoughts on Crime Prevention	37
3.4. Reception of Beccaria's Manifesto within Europe	38
3.4.1. A Mixed Reception in Italy, Germany, Russia, Scandinavia, and France	38
3.4.2. An Unqualified Success in Britain: Jeremy Bentham	40

3.4.3.	A Lukewarm Response in the Austrian Netherlands: Goswin de Fierlant.	42
3.4.4.	Divided Opinions in the Northern Netherlands: Henricus Calkoen	43
3.5.	Initial Steps Towards a Different View of <i>homo criminalis</i>	46
3.6.	Further Renewal of the Prison System	49
3.6.1.	Reorganisation of the House of Correction in Ghent: Jean Vilain XIII.	51
3.6.2.	Analysis of Europe's Prison Systems: John Howard	55
3.6.3.	The Prison as a Panopticon: Jeremy Bentham Once More.	59
3.7.	Further Modernisation of the Police System	62
3.7.1.	Reorganisation of the Police in Vienna and London	63
3.7.2.	Reorganisation of the Police in the Austrian Netherlands	66
3.8.	Developments in the French Period	68
3.8.1.	The French Revolution and the Criminal Justice System	68
3.8.2.	Strengthening of the Criminal Justice System in the Napoleonic Era	70
3.9.	Conclusion	71
 Chapter 4. Emergence of the Scientific Study of Crime, Criminals, and the Combatting of Crime		 75
4.1.	Introduction	76
4.2.	Battle about the Future of the Prison System.	77
4.2.1.	Gap between Idea and Reality	77
4.2.2.	Development of a Penitentiary System in the United States	79
4.2.3.	Reform of the Prison System in Britain and France	83
4.2.3.1.	From Elizabeth Fry to Mary Carpenter	83
4.2.3.2.	From François La Rochefoucauld to Alexis de Tocqueville	85
4.2.4.	Reform of the Prison System in the Netherlands and Belgium	88
4.2.4.1.	Policy in the United Kingdom of the Netherlands.	88
4.2.4.2.	Continuation of the Policy in the Netherlands: From Louis Bauricius to Anthony Modderman	91
4.2.4.3.	Continuation of the Policy in Belgium: From Édouard Ducpétiaux to Édouard Ducpétiaux.	93
4.3.	Development of the Modern Policing System	99
4.3.1.	Further Development of the Policing System in France and Germany	100
4.3.1.1.	Developments in France	100
4.3.1.2.	Developments in Germany	102
4.3.2.	Modernisation of the Police in the United Kingdom	103

4.3.3.	Further Development of the Policing System in the Netherlands and Belgium	105
4.3.3.1.	Developments in the Netherlands	105
4.3.3.2.	Developments in Belgium	106
4.4.	Three Contrasting Scientific Approaches to Crime and the Criminal	107
4.4.1.	Biological Approach: The Phrenology of Franz Gall.	108
4.4.2.	Psychiatric Approach: The Monomania Doctrine of Jean-Étienne Esquirol	110
4.4.3.	Sociological Approach: The Social Physics of Adolphe Quetelet	112
4.4.3.1.	Quetelet's Life and Ideas.	113
4.4.3.2.	Quetelet's Principles for Studying Crime and the Criminal.	115
4.4.3.3.	Quetelet's Explanations of the Nature, Extent, and Development of Crime	118
4.5.	Evolutionary and Revolutionary Thinkers on Crime, Criminals, and the Combatting of Crime	120
4.5.1.	Two Evolutionary Thinkers: Bénédict Morel and Charles Darwin.	121
4.5.1.1.	Morel's Degeneration Thesis	121
4.5.1.2.	Darwin's Theory of Natural Selection.	122
4.5.2.	Two Revolutionary Thinkers: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels.	124
4.6.	Conclusion	127
 Chapter 5. Establishment of Criminology in Italy and France		131
5.1.	Introduction	131
5.2.	Italian School: Cesare Lombroso, Enrico Ferri, and Raffaele Garofalo.	133
5.2.1.	Lombroso's New Paradigm: The Atavistic Criminal	134
5.2.2.	Typological and Differential Elaboration on the Paradigm	139
5.2.2.1.	Development of a General Typology of Criminals.	139
5.2.2.2.	Differential Application of the Paradigm to Female Criminals and Political Criminals	142
5.2.3.	Scientific Revolution at an Impasse: The Diverging of Opinions	146
5.2.4.	Lombroso's Views on Criminal Law, the Criminal Justice System, and the Combatting of Crime	148
5.2.5.	Ferri and Garofalo, Lombroso's Associates in the Italian School	150
5.2.5.1.	The Sociology of Enrico Ferri	150
5.2.5.2.	The Criminology of Raffaele Garofalo	155

5.2.6. Criminology becomes a University-Level Field of Study 160

5.3. Opposition from France: Alexandre Lacassagne, Gabriel Tarde,
and Émile Durkheim. 162

5.3.1. Schisms between the Italian and French Schools 162

5.3.2. Alexandre Lacassagne: Lombroso's Polar Opposite 165

5.3.3. Gabriel Tarde: Originator of the Imitation Theory 168

5.3.4. Émile Durkheim, a Sociologist in Criminology 172

5.3.5. Application of Criminology in Policy and Practice. 178

5.3.5.1. Role of Academic Criminology in Criminal Policy . . . 178

5.3.5.2. Practical Application of Criminology: Anthropometry,
Dactyloscopy, and Scientific Police 183

5.4. Conclusion 189

**Chapter 6. Development of Criminology in German-Speaking Europe
and the United Kingdom 193**

6.1. Introduction 194

6.2. Development of Criminology in German-Speaking Europe. 196

6.2.1. The Pioneer of Criminology: Franz von Liszt 196

6.2.2. From Criminal Anthropology to Criminal Biology 200

6.2.2.1. Hans Kurella: Tireless Champion of Lombroso 200

6.2.2.2. Gustav Aschaffenburg: The German Counterpart
of Lombroso and Lacassagne 202

6.2.2.3. Return to the Roots: The Rise of *Kriminalbiologie* . . . 206

6.2.3. Flourishing of Modern Criminal Psychology 212

6.2.3.1. Criminal Psychology from a Reformist Perspective. . . 213

6.2.3.1.1. The Starting Point: The *Kriminalpsychologie*
of Hans Gross 213

6.2.3.1.2. Criminal Psychology as the Psychology
of Crime and the Criminal: Gustav
Aschaffenburg, Max Kaufmann, and Erich
Wulffen. 216

6.2.3.1.3. Criminal Psychology as the Psychology
of Testimony, Confession, and Interrogation:
Adolf Stöhr, Albert Hellwig, and Otto
Mönkemöller. 218

6.2.3.1.4. Criminal Psychology as the Psychology
of Criminal Law and the Criminal Justice
System. 220

6.2.3.2. Criminal Psychology from an Abolitionist
Perspective. 221

6.2.3.2.1.	Criminal Psychology as the Psychoanalysis of Crime and the Criminal: August Aichhorn, Franz Alexander, and Hugo Staub	222
6.2.3.2.2.	Criminal Psychology as the Psychoanalysis of Testimony, Confession, and Interrogation: Theodor Reik.	223
6.2.3.2.3.	Criminal Psychology as the Psychology of the Criminal Law and the Criminal Justice System: Paul Reiwald	225
6.2.4.	Academic, Policy, and Practical Consequences of Criminology	226
6.2.4.1.	Denial of Criminology at the Universities.	226
6.2.4.2.	Application of Criminology in Policy	227
6.2.4.3.	Hans Gross, <i>Kriminalistik</i> and <i>Bertillonage</i>	228
6.2.4.4.	The <i>Kriminalpolizei</i> under the Spell of <i>Kriminalbiologie</i>	233
6.3.	Development of Criminology in the United Kingdom	235
6.3.1.	Mixed Responses to Italian Bio-Anthropology	236
6.3.2.	Charles Goring and <i>The English Convict: A Litmus Test</i> for Lombrosian Ideas?	242
6.3.3.	Bio-Psycho-Sociologisation of the Criminal between the Wars.	248
6.3.4.	“Continental” Starting Point of Modern Criminology.	253
6.4.	Conclusion	256
 Chapter 7. Establishment of Criminology in the Netherlands and Belgium		259
7.1.	Introduction	260
7.2.	Establishment of Criminology in the Netherlands	261
7.2.1.	Driving Forces behind Criminology: Gerard van Hamel, Arnold Aletrino, and Willem Bonger	261
7.2.1.1.	Messenger of Criminology: Gerard van Hamel	261
7.2.1.2.	Champion of Criminal Bio-Anthropology: Arnold Aletrino.	264
7.2.1.3.	Proponent of a Marxist Criminology: Willem Bonger	266
7.2.2.	Proponents and Opponents of the New Direction	273
7.2.2.1.	Proponents of the New Direction.	273
7.2.2.2.	Opponents of the New Direction	276
7.2.3.	Impact of the New Direction in the Criminal Justice System . . .	278

7.2.3.1.	First Example: The Treatment of Dangerous Criminals	279
7.2.3.2.	Second Example: The Elimination of Cellular Confinement	282
7.2.3.3.	Third Example: The Scientification of Criminal Investigation	284
7.2.4.	Establishment of Three University Institutes	285
7.2.4.1.	Leiden Institute	286
7.2.4.2.	Utrecht Institute	288
7.2.4.3.	Groningen Institute	291
7.3.	Establishment of Criminology in Belgium.	293
7.3.1.	Forerunners of Criminology: Paul Heger and Adolphe Prins	293
7.3.1.1.	Bio-Anthropological Insights of Paul Heger and Jules Dallemagne	294
7.3.1.2.	Development of the Criminal-Political Programme of Adolphe Prins	296
7.3.2.	Opponents in the Parliamentary, Academic, and Judicial World	301
7.3.3.	Criminal Justice Policies of Jules Lejeune, Henri Carton de Wiart, and Emile Vandervelde	303
7.3.3.1.	Introduction of the Suspended Sentence and Release on Probation	305
7.3.3.2.	Introduction of Child Protection Legislation	306
7.3.3.3.	Professionalisation of Criminal Investigation and Prosecution	307
7.3.4.	Establishment of Four University Schools	310
7.3.4.1.	Leuven School	311
7.3.4.2.	Brussels School	317
7.3.4.3.	Ghent School	319
7.3.4.4.	Liège School	320
7.4.	Conclusion	321

Chapter 8. Ideologisation of Criminology in the Third Reich and the Soviet Union 325

8.1.	Introduction	325
8.2.	Nazification of Criminology in the Third Reich	326
8.2.1.	National Socialist Hijacking of Discussion in the Weimar Republic.	326
8.2.2.	Radicalisation of Nazi Criminal Policy After 1936	328
8.2.3.	Nazi Criminology and Criminal Policy: Edmund Mezger, Franz Exner, Wilhelm Sauer, and Hans Schneickert	332

8.2.4.	Disappearance of <i>Kriminalbiologie</i> After the Fall of the Third Reich	339
8.3.	Bolshevisation of Criminology in the Soviet Union.....	342
8.3.1.	Blossoming of Criminology in the 1920s	343
8.3.2.	Elimination of Criminology in the 1930s and 1940s	345
8.3.3.	Revival of Criminology in the 1950s.....	349
8.4.	Conclusion	352
 Chapter 9. Reception of European Criminology in the United States.		355
9.1.	Introduction	357
9.2.	Criminal Anthropology Crosses the Atlantic	359
9.2.1.	Richard Dugdale and other Precursors of Cesare Lombroso. . .	359
9.2.2.	Actual Transmission of Criminal Bio-Anthropology	363
9.2.2.1.	Pace and the Overall Content of the Message.	364
9.2.2.2.	Thomas Wilson: Curator at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington	365
9.2.2.3.	Arthur MacDonald: A Transatlantic Missionary for Criminal Bio-Anthropology	366
9.2.2.4.	August Drähms: The Idiosyncratic Follower of Lombroso.....	367
9.2.2.5.	Henry Boies: The Criminal Justice System as the Defence of Society	369
9.2.2.6.	Charles Henderson: Criminal Sociology along the Lines of Enrico Ferri	371
9.2.2.7.	Maurice Parmelee: The Advocate of the Integration of Criminology and Criminal Science	373
9.3.	A Ground-Breaking Conference on Criminal Law and Criminology: Chicago 1909	376
9.3.1.	Background and Outcome of the Conference	376
9.3.2.	Fruits of the Conference: Translations, a Journal, and Laboratories.	378
9.3.3.	Transformation of Ideas into Empirical Research: William Healy and Augusta Bronner	381
9.4.	Revival of Bio-Anthropological Criminology at Harvard University.....	385
9.4.1.	Ernest Hooton: The Bio-Anthropology of the American Criminal	386
9.4.2.	Sheldon and Eleonora Glueck: Preventing and Combatting Juvenile Delinquency.	389
9.4.3.	James Wilson: The Revival of Biologically Oriented Criminology	394

9.5.	Theoretical, Methodological, and Thematic Innovation in Sociologically Oriented Criminology	395
9.5.1.	Social Geography and Biography/Autobiography of Juvenile Delinquency at the University of Chicago	397
9.5.1.1.	The Founders: Robert Park, Ernest Burgess, Georg Mead, and William Thomas.	397
9.5.1.2.	Surviving in the Wilderness: Frederic Thrasher's 1,313 Gangs	398
9.5.1.3.	Disorganisation, Conflict, and Inequality: Clifford Shaw, Henry McKay, and their Associates.	401
9.5.1.3.1.	<i>The Juvenile Delinquent: The Personification of Social Disorganisation</i>	402
9.5.1.3.2.	<i>Delinquency Areas: "Nature Reserves" with a Different Culture</i>	404
9.5.1.3.3.	Juvenile Delinquency: A Tradition in Unequal Social Circumstances.	407
9.5.1.4.	Biographical/Autobiographical Studies of Clifford Shaw and Associates and Edwin Sutherland: <i>The Jack-Roller, Brothers in Crime</i> and <i>The Professional Thief</i>	408
9.5.2.	Differential Association Theory, the Anomie Theory, and the Culture Conflict Theory	414
9.5.2.1.	Edwin Sutherland: The Differential Association Theory.	414
9.5.2.2.	Robert Merton: The Anomie Theory	420
9.5.2.3.	Thorsten Sellin: The Culture Conflict Theory.	422
9.5.3.	Impact of the "Golden Years" of 1927–49 in Criminological Research.	424
9.5.4.	Sociology of Organised Crime: Frederic Thrasher and John Landesco.	427
9.5.4.1.	Frederic Thrasher's <i>The Gang: The Eye-Opener</i>	428
9.5.4.2.	John Landesco: Chicago in the Grip of Organised Crime	429
9.5.4.3.	Congressional Investigations: Estes Kefauver, John McClellan, and Robert Kennedy	435
9.5.5.	Edwin Sutherland: <i>White Collar Crime</i> or the Redefinition of Criminology.	438
9.6.	Influence of Criminology on the Criminal Justice System	442
9.6.1.	Transformation of the Prison System	442
9.6.1.1.	Elmira: The Demise of a Puritanical Ideal.	444
9.6.1.2.	General Fiasco of the Prison System	447
9.6.2.	Professionalisation of the Police.	450
9.6.2.1.	An Arduous Task in Two Stages	450

9.6.2.2.	Criminology as a Means of Police Reform	452
9.6.2.3.	August Vollmer: Founder of the School of Criminology in Berkeley	454
9.6.3.	Development of Interrogation and Testimony Psychology	456
9.7.	Conclusion	459
 Chapter 10. Transatlantic Integration of Criminology		463
10.1.	Introduction	464
10.2.	Turmoil in the United States	465
10.2.1.	Unrest in the Country and the Breakthrough of Police Research	465
10.2.2.	Rise of Marxist Criminology	468
10.2.3.	Flourishing of Interactionist Criminology	471
10.2.4.	Rise of Neo-Classical Criminology	476
10.3.	Turmoil in Europe	485
10.3.1.	Further Europeanisation of Criminology in Europe	485
10.3.2.	Americanisation of British Criminology	488
10.3.2.1.	Americanisation of Research	488
10.3.2.2.	Rise and Fall of Marxist Criminology	492
10.3.3.	Tradition, Conflict, and Reconciliation in German Criminology	499
10.3.3.1.	Continuation of Pre-War Criminology	499
10.3.3.2.	Fritz Sack: Critical Criminology and Criminal Science	501
10.3.3.3.	Günther Kaiser: The Max Planck Institute and Empirical Criminology	505
10.3.3.4.	Freiburg Memorandum: A Communal Cry of Distress	509
10.3.4.	Tradition, Innovation, and Conflict in French Criminology	512
10.3.4.1.	Divided Continuation of a Criminological Tradition	512
10.3.4.2.	Renewal of Criminology by Philippe Robert	517
10.3.4.3.	University Institutes Up in Arms about the “Bauer Gang”	521
10.3.5.	Development of Criminology in Belgium	523
10.3.5.1.	Pioneering Research at the Catholic University of Leuven	524
10.3.5.2.	General Innovation in Research	530
10.3.6.	Development of Criminology in the Netherlands	533
10.3.6.1.	Multifaceted but Turbulent Changing of the Guard	534

10.3.6.2. Expansion of Criminological Research in the 1990s . . .	540
10.4. Conclusion	542
Chapter 11. General Conclusion	545
11.1. From the Past to the Present	545
11.1.1. The Volatile History of Criminology	546
11.1.2. Ties between Criminology, the Criminal Justice System, and Combatting Crime	548
11.1.3. Decisive Factors in the Development of Criminology	549
11.2. From the Present to the Future	550
11.2.1. Future Development of Criminology	551
11.2.2. The Global Need for Criminology	553
11.2.3. Will Fragmentation Lead to the Demise of Criminology?	554
<i>Bibliography</i>	557
<i>Register of Names</i>	639