
THE DLC CRIMINOLOGIST

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Welcome from David Farrington

Welcome to the first Newsletter of 2016! As before, we are very grateful to Tom Arnold for putting it together, and to Rolf Loeber for soliciting some leading articles that we hope will be of interest. Rebecca Stallings has provided some thought-provoking ideas about “the people behind the numbers” in the Pittsburgh Youth Study, and Rolf Loeber and I have written an article about the impact of research on policy regarding young adult offenders. Also, Tom Arnold has provided a new approach to theory development that some readers might find interesting. Please consider contributing a leading article to our next Newsletter!

Our membership is in quite good shape. We had over 300 members at the end of 2015, and about 250 have joined so far in 2016. Please encourage past members to rejoin and new members to join the DLC! I am sure that Arjan Blokland would be very happy to receive suggestions about how to increase the DLC membership. We are very grateful to him for chairing the Membership Committee.

Based on a proposal at the last ASC, we now have an Outreach Committee, chaired by Darrick Jolliffe, that has set up a Facebook page and a Twitter account for the DLC. There is more information about this in the present Newsletter. Please communicate with us using these modern methods! We also have a new logo, first unveiled at the last ASC, and this is also reproduced in this Newsletter.

Our journal, the *Journal of Developmental and Life-Course Criminology*, is now in its second year, and I hope that you are enjoying and learning from the articles! We continue to be extremely grateful to Tara McGee and Paul Mazerolle for their enormous efforts in editing this journal, and to all editorial board members and referees. We are also very grateful to Springer and to Katie Chabalko for publishing our journal and for all their help and support. Please submit your papers to our journal!

We are all now looking forward to the next ASC meeting in the exciting city of New Orleans. As usual, we will have an Open Meeting on the Thursday afternoon (November 17), and we hope that as many DLC members as possible will attend it. At this Meeting, I hope that DLC members will put their names forward to serve on our Committees in 2016-2017. This Meeting is also your opportunity to make suggestions about activities that the DLC should engage in to advance developmental and life-course criminology and criminal

career research. We are very grateful to Elaine Doherty, Bianca Bersani, and the DLC program committee for organizing ASC panels. We will list relevant DLC panels in the next Newsletter, which will be sent out before the ASC.

At the next ASC, we will again have a Division Table, and we will need volunteers to sit at this table for some time period and give information about the DLC. If you are willing to do this, please email our Secretary/Treasurer Tara McGee. Many thanks to all those who sat at our table in Washington DC!

Our ASC social event at the Jack Rose Dining Saloon last year was very successful, and we are very grateful to Darrick Jolliffe for organizing this. As a reward (?), we have asked Darrick to organize another DLC social event on the Thursday night in New Orleans. All paid-up DLC members are invited and will receive information in due course about how to download their admission ticket. Please put 6.30-8.00 pm on the Thursday night (November 17) in your calendar!

Following a proposal by Evan McCuish, the DLC Executive Board decided to establish a fourth DLC Award in 2016, for the most outstanding book or article on developmental or life-course criminology in the previous two years by a student. More information about this Award is provided in this Newsletter. Please note the Call for Nominations for the four DLC Awards: the Life-Time Achievement Award, the Early Career Award, the Outstanding Contribution Award and the Outstanding Student Contribution Award.

Please also note the Call for Nominations for the 2016 Election Slate of Officers. At the ASC in November, I will step down as chair of the DLC and pass the baton to a new chair. Similarly, Rolf Loeber will step down as vice-chair and a new vice-chair will be introduced. I hope very much that this “changing of the guard” will reinvigorate the DLC and take it to new heights!

We encourage all DLC members to submit news items to Tom Arnold for publication in the next Newsletter. Please tell us about your recent (2015-16) publications, grants, awards (etc.), and any other information of interest to DLC members (e.g. upcoming conferences).

In conclusion, I would like to thank all Executive Board members for their altruistic support. As always, the Executive Board would very much welcome suggestions from DLC members about what activities the DLC should engage in to advance developmental and life-course criminology and criminal career research. Existing suggestions include that the DLC should organize a pre-ASC workshop or should have its own conference, and that the DLC should try to obtain organizational/institutional members who would help to sponsor DLC events such as a breakfast. We look forward to seeing you in New Orleans if not before!

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Spread the Word!

Please send this newsletter to any of your colleagues who have an interest in developmental and life-course criminology. We would like to increase our membership so that we can build a larger DLC community of scholars.

Visit our web site at <http://www.dlccrim.org>



Executive Board Members

Chair:

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Rolf Loeber - loeberr@upmc.edu

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Beth Huebner – huebnerb@umsl.edu

Graduate Student Representative:

Evan McCuish - evan_mccuish@sfu.ca



Joining the ASC Division of Developmental and Life-Course Criminology (DLC)

If you would like to join the American Society of Criminology (ASC) Division of Developmental and Life-Course Criminology (DLC), you first need to be a member of the ASC. When you join the ASC, be sure to check the box that says “Division of Developmental and Life-Course Criminology.”

To learn more about the ASC, visit

<http://asc41.com/index.htm>

To join the ASC and DLC division visit

<http://asc41.com/appform1.html>



Tara Renae McGee
Secretary / Treasurer
tr.mcgee@griffith.edu.au

Secretary/ Treasurer's Report

The Division of Developmental and Life-Course Criminology has continued to grow since our last meeting in Washington DC. As you read about in Arjan Blokland's Membership Committee report, we are maintaining strong membership numbers. We encourage all of the Division members to renew their membership of the Division if you haven't already done so. This will ensure you receive your electronic subscription to the Journal of Developmental and Life-Course Criminology next year when free public access finishes.

Please also continue to encourage your developmental and life-course criminology colleagues who have not already done so, to join the Division. Here is the link for ASC membership: <http://www.asc41.com/appform1.html>

If they're already ASC members, they can download the membership form and just complete the Division section and submit that to the ASC office.

Financially the Division is doing well and we now have the financial resources to engage in some activities for members. Our expenditures this year have been:

- website hosting fees < <http://www.dlccrim.org>>
- awards
- social function at ASC conference in Washington DC
- promotional materials
- JDLCC membership subscriptions

Full financial details for the Division will be provided at our annual meeting in New Orleans and can also be obtained by sending me an email request.

DLC Committees

Awards Committee – Chair: David Farrington

Leena Augimeri
Henrik Elonheimo
Beth Huebner
Wes Jennings
Jill Portnoy
Gary Sweeten

Membership Committee – Chair: Arjan Blokland

Danielle Boisvert
Shaun Gann
Kelly Knight
Sonja Siennick
Stacy Tzoumakis
Jamie Vaske

Newsletter Committee – Chair: Rolf Loeber

Lia Ahonen
Tom Arnold
Julie Marie Baldwin
Molly Buchanan
Chris Gibson
Marvin Krohn
Jeffrey Mathesius

Nominations Committee – Chair: Jesse Cale

Anna Baldry
Sarah Bennett
Henriette Bergstrom
Jeff Mathesius
Jamie Newsome
Helene White

Program Committee – Chair: Elaine Doherty

Amber Beckley
Bianca Bersani
Leana Bouffard
Lisa Broidy
Evan McCuish
Kimberley Meyer
Michael Rocque
Gary Sweeten

Outreach Committee - Darrick Jolliffe

Amber Beckley
Henriette Bergstrom
Barbara Cooke
Jason Payne
Michael Rocque
Irvin Waller



Nominations Committee Report

Jesse Cale

j.cale@unsw.edu.au

Chair of the DLC Nominations Committee

Call for Committee Nominations

The DLC Nominations Committee is currently seeking nominations for the positions of Chair, Vice-Chair and one Executive Counsellor who will chair the DLC program committee (each for a two-year term, from November 2016 to November 2018).

This year, David Farrington (Chair) and Rolf Loeber (Vice Chair) are no longer eligible for re-election as they have served two consecutive terms in their respective positions. Elaine Doherty is eligible for re-election as an Executive Counsellor chairing the Program Committee.

Nominees must be current members (including student members) in good standing of the DLC. Self-nominations are accepted. Please send the names of nominees, the position for which they are being nominated, and a brief bio via email to Jesse Cale, Chair, Nominations Committee at j.cale@unsw.edu.au.

Nominations must be received by June 30, 2016 in order to be considered by the committee. All nominators should include a statement that the nominee is willing to serve if elected.



Outreach Committee Report

Darrick Jolliffe

d.jolliffe@gre.ac.uk

Chair of the DLC Outreach Committee

The newly formed DLC Outreach Committee is focusing on raising awareness of the DLC division, increasing the membership of the DLC and generally promoting DLC activities.

The committee members are Amber Beckley, Henriette Bergstrom, Barbara Cooke, Jason Payne, Michael Rocque, Irvin Waller and Darrick Jolliffe.

We have a Facebook page and a Twitter account both of which are in desperate need of material. If you have some DLC relevant material (e.g., new publication) or ideas that you think would help promote the division please let us know.

The contacts for Facebook are:

Henriette Bergstrom (h.bergstrom@derby.ac.uk)

Barbara Cooke (Barbara.Cooke@tamuk.edu)

The contacts for Twitter are:

Jason Payne (jason.payne@anu.edu.au)

Michael Rocque (mrocque@bates.edu)

DLC Social Event

Thursday, November 17th 6:30 – 8pm.

The DLC will be holding its annual Social Event at the ASC in 2016 in New Orleans. This will be on Thursday November the 17th at 6:30 until 8pm. The venue for this event is pending, but we will communicate this to you in the next Newsletter and through our Facebook page and Twitter feed.



Awards Committee Report

David Farrington

dpf1@cam.ac.uk

Chair of the DLC Awards Committee

Call for Award Nominations

The DLC Executive Board has established four awards: The Life-Time Achievement Award, the Early Career Award, the Outstanding Contribution Award, and the Outstanding Student Contribution Award (see information about this latest award in the current Newsletter). Nominations are now invited for the 2016 Awards.

- The Life-time Achievement Award recognizes an individual who has a record of sustained and outstanding contributions to scholarly knowledge on developmental and life-course criminology.
- The Early Career Award recognizes an individual (within 4 years after receiving the Ph.D. degree or a similar graduate degree) who has made a significant contribution to scholarly knowledge on developmental and life-course criminology in their early career.
- The Outstanding Contribution Award and
- The Outstanding Student Contribution Award recognize an outstanding DLC book, article, or book chapter published in the previous two years (2014-2015).

Developmental and life-course criminology includes criminal career research. Nominees do not need to be DLC members. For the Life-Time Achievement and Early Career Awards, nominators should send an email specifying the contributions of the nominee to developmental and life-course criminology plus a vita of the nominee. For the Outstanding Contribution Awards, nominators should submit a copy of the work and a one page summary of its significance. Send materials to David Farrington (dpf1@cam.ac.uk), Chair of the DLC Awards Committee, by June 30, 2016. Recipients will receive their awards at the ASC meeting in November in New Orleans.

2015 Award Recipients



Friedrich Lösel Receiving the
DLC Life-time Achievement Award



David C. Pyrooz Receiving the
DLC Early Career Award



Gary Sweeten Receiving the
DLC Outstanding Contribution Award on Behalf of
Himself, Alex Piquero, and Laurence Steinberg



The Outstanding Student Contribution Award

Evan McCuish
evan_mccuish@sfu.ca

The DLC has established the ‘Outstanding Student Contribution Award’. The award will be given annually to an undergraduate or graduate student lead author of a journal article, book, or book chapter. The work should contribute to the first aim of the DLC Division, which is “To advance developmental and life-course criminology and the study of criminal careers”. The winner of the student contribution award will be chosen by the DLC Awards Committee, which will consist of seven members in good standing of the Division. The award is intended to be a companion to the “Outstanding Contribution Award” and as such nominations should be judged on similar criteria. Specific award criteria/requirements shall include:

A. Nominators and nominees do not need to be DLC members

B. Nominators must submit a nomination package, including a copy of the work in its published form along with a summary of the work’s contribution to developmental life-course criminology and/or the study of criminal careers. This summary will be a maximum of one page in length, double spaced. Other documents included in the nomination package will not be considered

C. The nomination package will be sent to the Chair of the DLC Awards Committee

D. Nominations must be received by June 30 of the year the award is granted

E. The work must have been submitted while the award winner was an undergraduate or graduate student (Masters or PhD)

F. The award winner need not be an undergraduate or graduate student at the time the award is granted

G. The work must be published (either on-line or in-print) during the two calendar years previous to the year the award is given. For example, works eligible for an award in 2016 are only those works published in 2015 or 2014

H. No member of the DLC Executive Board or of the DLC Awards Committee in any given year can receive the student contribution award in that same year.

I. No member of the DLC Executive Board or of the DLC Awards Committee can be a co-author of the work that wins the student contribution award

J. Members of the DLC Awards Committee must abstain from voting if they are the senior supervisor of the undergraduate or graduate student nominee. In the event of a tie vote due to this abstention, the Chair of the DLC Awards Committee has the deciding vote. If the Chair of the DLC Awards Committee is a senior supervisor, the deciding vote will be cast by the DLC Chair, unless the DLC Chair is also Chair of the DLC Awards Committee, in which case the DLC Vice-Chair will have the deciding vote.

Journal of Developmental and Life-Course Criminology



Tara Renae McGee
Co-editor-in-chief
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Paul Mazerolle
Co-editor-in-chief
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The first issue special issue of the Division's Journal of Developmental and Life-Course Criminology was published in March 2016. The topic is: Methodological Innovations in Developmental and Life-Course Criminology Research. The articles from this issue (listed below) are available online at <http://link.springer.com/journal/40865/2/1/page/1>

- **Criminal Careers: Discrete or Continuous?**
David F. Greenberg
- **Unpacking the Complexity of Life Events and Desistance: An Application of Conjunctive Analysis of Case Configurations to Developmental and Life Course Criminology** Elaine Eggleston Doherty, Jaclyn M. Cwick
- **Examining Behaviors Using Respondents' Cell Phones and a Burst Design: Drinking and Activities Across the First Year of College Among Transitioning Freshmen** Amy L. Anderson, Samantha S. Clinkinbeard, Timothy C. Barnum, Rita J. Augustyn
- **Handling Complex Meta-analytic Data Structures Using Robust Variance Estimates: a Tutorial in R** Emily E. Tanner-Smith, Elizabeth Tipton, Joshua R. Polanin
- **Smoothing Group-Based Trajectory Models Through B-Splines** Brian Francis, Amy Elliott, Mat Weldon

There are also new articles being added regularly to online first, so be sure to check out the latest papers at <http://link.springer.com/journal/40865>

The next issue will be published in June with many of the papers already in online first. A further special issue on gendered pathways into crime will be published later in 2016.



The Journal of Developmental and Life-Course Criminology seeks to advance knowledge and understanding of developmental dimensions of offending across the life-course. Research that examines current theories, debates, and knowledge gaps within Developmental and Life-Course Criminology is encouraged. The journal welcomes theoretical papers, empirical papers, and papers that explore the translation of developmental and life-course research into policy and/or practice. Papers that present original research or explore new directions for examination are also encouraged. The journal also welcomes all rigorous methodological approaches and orientations. The Journal of Developmental and Life-course Criminology encourages submissions from a broad array of cognate disciplines including but not limited to psychology, statistics, sociology, psychiatry, neuroscience, geography, political science, history, social work, epidemiology, public health, and economics.

The Journal's co-editors-in-chief are Tara Renae McGee and Paul Mazerolle of Griffith University, Australia. The Associate Editors are Alex Piquero, USA; Ray Corrado, Canada; Georgia Zara, Europe; and Darrick Jolliffe, UK. The Editorial Manager of the Journal is Fiona Saunders and the journal is hosted by Griffith University. Further information about the journal can be found on the journal's website <http://www.springer.com/40865> and any queries can be directed to Tara, Paul, or Fiona at jdccc@griffith.edu.au.

We welcome your submissions!

Tara Renae McGee and Paul Mazerolle
Co-editors-in-chief
Journal of Developmental and
Life-Course Criminology

Possible DLC Conference

Dustin Pardini is interested in organizing a Developmental and Life-course Conference in Phoenix, Arizona. However, this depends on how many members are willing to attend the Conference. If you would be interested in attending this new conference, please email Dustin.Pardini@asu.edu.



Arjan Blokland
ablokland@nscr.nl

As of March this year the division once again has 241 registered members. Members originate from 16 countries all over the globe, with most members coming from the US and Australia.

Give or take the few member that have still to renew their membership for this year, the division is therefore back at its zenith regarding membership numbers.

We would like to thank all volunteers who helped to promote the division via the very first division table during the 2015 annual ASC meeting! We feel that - in addition to the division's journal of course - being present with a division table greatly increased the division's visibility in the criminology community, contributing to the latest rise in membership numbers.

Plans for the 2016 meeting in New Orleans are already being made, so look for the new logo when you walk the halls of the conference hotel!

While the division is slowly becoming an established entity in the hearts and minds of criminologists, the division will continue to think of creative ways it can best serve its member's needs. Suggestions from its members are welcome and highly appreciated, so please do not hesitate to share your plans and wishes with us. We are open to any ideas, no matter how wild.

Membership Committee Report



2016 ASC Highlighted Panel

Elaine Doherty
dohertye@umsl.edu

Mapping the “Life Course” of Developmental and Life Course Theory: A Discussion-Based Session Reflecting on the Past and Charting Pathways for the Future

The growing maturity of developmental and life course criminology is represented by the recent creation of the ASC Division of Developmental and Life Course Criminology. Similar to how human beings mature and grow with time, so does criminological research and theory. The goal of this panel is to take stock of developmental and life course criminology as it has matured over time. In this session, each panelist represents the developmental stages of life course criminology: its infancy (up to the 1980s), childhood (1990s/2000s), and adolescence (2000s/2010s). Drawing on the insights from the developmental and life course panelists who represent these multiple generations of thought, this discussion-based panel will reflect upon the field's past and identify the most pressing challenges that face us today. The session will conclude with a moderated discussion involving the panelists and audience members regarding the potential future trajectories for the field of developmental and life course criminology as it approaches adulthood.

Panelists:

David P. Farrington, Cambridge University
Peggy C. Giordano, Bowling Green State University
Lisa Broidy, Griffith University and
University of New Mexico
Stacey Bosick, University of Colorado Denver

Moderator:

Bianca E. Bersani, University of Massachusetts, Boston

Recent DLC Publications

- Aguilar Cárceles, M. and Morillas Fernández, D. (2015) Criminal Liability in ADHD Subjects under the Spanish Criminal Law. *Beijing Law Review*, 6, 232-271. doi: 10.4236/blr.2015.64023.
- Allard, T., Chrzanowski, A., & Stewart, A. (2015). Integrating criminal careers and ecological research: The importance of geographic location for targeting interventions towards chronic and costly offenders. *Crime & Delinquency*. DOI: 10.1177/0011128714568187
- Auty, K. M., Farrington, D. P. & Coid, J. W. (2015). The Intergenerational Transmission of Criminal Offending: Exploring Gender-Specific Mechanisms. *British Journal of Criminology*, In Press.
- Auty, K., Cope, A., Liebling, A. (2015) A Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis of Yoga and Mindfulness Meditation in Prison. Effects on psychological Well-Being and Behavioural Functioning. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*. DOI: 10.1177/0306624x15602514
- Auty, K. M., Farrington, D. P., & Coid, J. W. (2015). Intergenerational transmission of psychopathy and mediation via psychosocial risk factors. *The British Journal of Psychiatry*, 206(1), 26-31. DOI: 10.1192/bjp.bp.114.151050
- Auty, K. M., Farrington, D. P., & Coid, J. W. (2015). The Validity of Self-Reported Convictions in a Community Sample: Findings from the Cambridge Study in Delinquent Development. *European Journal of Criminology*, 12(5), 562-580. DOI: 10.1177/1477370815578198
- Auty, K., Farrington, D. P. & Coid, J. W. (2015). Intergenerational Transmission of Psychopathy - Author's reply. *The British Journal of Psychiatry*, 206(4), 343. DOI: 10.1192/bjp.206.4.343a
- Broidy, L., Stewart, A., Thompson, C.M., Chrzanowski, A., Allard, T., & Dennison, S. (2015). Life Course Offending Pathways Across Gender and Race/Ethnicity. *Journal of Developmental and Life-Course Criminology*.
- Fundack, Ashley (2016). Sexual homicide: A theoretical examination. *Sexual Assault Report*, 19(3): 39-43.

- Johnson, W. L., Giordano, P. C., Manning, W. D., & Longmore, M. A. (2015). The Age-IPV Curve: Changes in the Perpetration of Intimate Partner Violence During Adolescence and Young Adulthood. *Journal of youth and adolescence*, 44(3), 708-726.
- <http://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s10964-014-0158-z#page-1>
- Johnson, W. L., Manning, W. D., Giordano, P. C., & Longmore, M. A. (2015). Relationship Context and Intimate Partner Violence From Adolescence to Young Adulthood. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 57(6), 631-636.
- <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S1054139X15003377>
- Larson, M., Sweeten, G., & Piquero, A. R. (Forthcoming). With or without you? Contextualizing the impact of romantic relationship breakup on crime among serious adolescent offenders. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 1-19, DOI 10.1007/s10964-015-0318-9.
- Liebling, A., Schmidt, B., Crewe, B., Auty, K., Armstrong, R., Akoensi, T., Kant, D., Ludlow, A., & Ievins, A. (2015). Birmingham prison: the transition from public to private sector and its impact on staff and prisoner quality of life – a three-year study. *National Offender Management Service Analytical Summary 2015*. Ministry of Justice: London.
- Lyngstad T.H. and T. Skardhamar (2015) "Family formation and crime: What role for the family network?", *Advances in life course research*, available online 28. Oct. 2015
DOI:10.1016/j.alcr.2015.09.007
- McNeeley, Susan. (2015). Lifestyle-routine activities and crime events. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice* 31 (1): 30-52.
- McNeeley, Susan & Jessica Warner. (2015). Replication in criminology: A necessary practice. *European Journal of Criminology* 12 (5): 581-597.
- McNeeley, Susan & Pamela Wilcox. (2015). Street codes, routine activities, neighbourhood context and victimization. *British Journal of Criminology* 55 (5): 921-943.
- McNeeley, Susan & Pamela Wilcox. (2015). The code of the street and violent versus property crime victimization. *Violence and Victims* 30(6): 1049-1067.
- Skardhamar, T., J. Savolainen, K.N. Aase, T.H. Lyngstad (2015) "Does marriage reduce crime?", *Crime and Justice A review of Research*, vol 44, p385-446
- Stewart, A., Dennison, S., Allard, T., Thompson, C., & Chrzanowski, A. (2015). Administrative data linkage as a tool for developmental and life-course criminology: The Queensland linkage project. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology (Special Issue)*.
- Weerman, Frank M., Peter J. Lovegrove & Terence Thornberry (2015). Gang membership transitions and its consequences: Exploring changes related to joining and leaving gangs in two countries. *European Journal of Criminology*, 12: 70-91.
- Yang, X. Y., Kelly, B. C., & Yang, T. (2015). Together we have fun: native-place networks and sexual risk behaviours among Chinese male rural-urban migrants. *Sociology of Health & Illness*, n/a-n/a. doi:10.1111/1467-9566.12380
- Yuan, Yue & Susan McNeeley. (2015). Reactions to crime: A multilevel analysis of fear of crime and defensive and participatory behavior. *Journal of Crime and Justice*. doi: 10.1080/0735648X.
- Yuan, Yue & Susan McNeeley. (2015). Social ties, collective efficacy, and crime-specific fear in Seattle neighborhoods. *Victims & Offenders*. doi: 10.1080/15564886.2015.1006799.

Submit Your Article

If you have one or more recent publications that might be of interest to Developmental and Life-Course scholars, please send the citation(s) to Tom Arnold, and the citation will be listed in the next DLC Criminologist.

The E-Mail address is arnoldtk@mail.uc.edu.



The People Behind the Numbers in the Pittsburgh Youth Study

Rebecca Stallings
stallingsr@upmc.edu

Data Manager
Pittsburgh Youth Study
Western Psychiatric Institute
UPMC Health System

Rebecca Stallings worked in data management for the Pittsburgh Youth Study during the last 17 years of the 29-year longitudinal study of

Pittsburgh's at-risk boys, beginning in an entry-level position and becoming lead data coordinator. She was responsible for the final archiving of most of the data set in the National Archive of Criminal

Justice Data at the University of Michigan. In her spare time, Rebecca writes at <http://articles.earthlingshandbook.org>, where a version of this essay was originally published.

This article is not in any way an official statement by the Pittsburgh Youth Study or any of its funding entities. This is a statement of personal opinions and feelings. For information about the Pittsburgh Youth Study, see <http://www.lifehistorystudies.pitt.edu>.

On late-winter days when the sky is so heavy with clouds that we never glimpse the sun, and the wind is cold and damp, and it seems like winter will never end . . . I think of Eminem.

I guess I don't mean the rapper himself so much as the character he played in *8 Mile*, a film I saw when it came out in 2002 mostly because I was so impressed with the rap "Lose Yourself". It very strikingly captures a young man's desperation to escape the life he's always known by seizing a fleeting chance to express himself in a way that will be heard and magnified to bring his family a better future. *8 Mile* is about a young man nicknamed Rabbit, who (like Eminem) is poor but white in the mostly-black culture of Detroit. His factory job isn't making ends meet, so he's had to move back in with

his mother in a trailer park, and he'll soon become a father but has been rejected by the baby's mother and can't afford to support his child, though he wishes he could. He tries to use his talent for rapping to pull himself out of the dead-end hopelessness and earn some money. The film amazed me with its very consistent, insistent pull, bringing me right into Rabbit's story that he was not only telling me but making me see and feel. I left the theater and had to walk around in the cold drizzle for a long time letting him speak to me some more.

And I thought, I work for that guy. I work for 1,517 guys, a lot of whom are a lot like that.

Now, most people would say that I "work for" the principal investigators of the study, or that I "work for" a psychiatric hospital that is part of a corporate health-care system, or that I "work for" a research study that is funded by federal grants. Yes, those are the ways my work is organized and paid. But who have I been working for in my 17 years of data management and analysis of a longitudinal study of Pittsburgh's at-risk boys? I'm working for them. I'm doing what I can to help us as a society to understand why some boys break laws and hurt people and often wind up dead at a young age, while others somehow find their way to a stable and responsible adult life.

Thanks to my mother, I've always been aware of the ways in which society has conspired against women. It wasn't until I started this job that I began to understand how much conventional gender roles harm men, too, especially men who are trying to figure out how to be men without knowing their fathers or having any other stable male role models. It's because men are supposed to be tough and strong, and because they're discouraged from talking about their feelings, that they so often express themselves through violence. Pittsburgh Youth Study participants were teenagers at the peak of gang activity in the early 1990s, and about one-fifth of them joined a gang at some point.

As a society, we want to fight against gangs and punish gang members for what they've done—and we should—but we also need to understand why people join gangs and try to figure out what else we can do to meet their needs in a way that doesn't lead to violence.

The gang peak was hardest on our middle sample, the guys who were in fourth grade at the beginning of the study, because they were old enough

to join gangs in the most dangerous era but too young to get into the more powerful positions. They were the boys standing at the edges of the gang on the street corner, the drug mules, the errand boys, the kids hanging around wearing gang colors hoping the big boys would notice them . . . and the ones most likely to get gunned down in a drive-by shooting intended to waste some dude from that gang.

Waste. That's the idea that gets to me the most. One out of twenty of those fourth-grade boys was dead before age 35. Overall, 70 of the 1,517 participants are dead now, and 45 of them were murdered.

FORTY-FIVE. WHAT A WASTE OF PEOPLE!

Their parents fed them, clothed them, loved them (to some extent, if not always as much as they needed) and we as a society gave them education, social services, health care—and in an instant, when the other gang spotted them or when an argument went wrong, suddenly they were just piles of meat on the asphalt. Yes, I know they were wrong to get mixed up in that shit, but each one of them was a person, a real person with feelings and dreams and a life, and suddenly it was all over. Every one of them was somebody's little boy.

That last fact really hit me one day when I was in the file room looking up information on the homicide victims. It happens that three of them had consecutive ID numbers, so their files were right next to each other in the cabinet, three in a row, dead. And then I opened one of the files to the consent form signed by the boy before his very first interview, and I saw that at six years old he hadn't understood that your signature is your full name in cursive but had printed, "Mike B." in careful, childish writing. Little Mike B., with all his plans for what he would do when he grew up—gunned down on a street corner at 14.

We wrote an entire book about homicide [Young Homicide Offenders and Victims, 2011, Springer]. In addition to 45 participants who were killed, we have 38 who were convicted of killing someone. We compared them, looking at what factors predict who will kill and who will be killed. The results surprised me. Looking at the information I'd collected from newspapers and police reports, my impression was that there was some type of dispute, everybody had a gun, and one or more unlucky people got killed—it looked sort of random. If there were any differences

between killers and victims, well, it seemed logical that anyone willing to kill another human being must be a morally twisted sort of individual, whereas a victim might be a relatively innocent person who was just in the wrong place at the wrong time.

In fact, what we found was that killers did not score unusually high on psychopathic traits, and among the strongest predictors of homicide offending were living in a high-crime neighborhood, having a mother who was a teenager when her first child was born, and living in a family with frequent unemployment. Meanwhile, a boy of whom parents and teachers had said, "He doesn't feel guilty after doing something he shouldn't," was five times as likely to get killed as a boy with a typical guilt score, and guys who routinely carried guns were more likely to be killed than to kill someone. In other words, victims were better predicted by their individual traits and behavioral choices, while killers were better predicted by demographic factors outside their control. I still feel sad for the victims, but now I also feel empathy for the killers: They were crippled from the starting line and got into a situation where they couldn't think what to do but shoot, and they will pay for it with decades in prison.

Something else I came across in the file room was a letter from a murderer. He had written with instructions about how to arrange his next interview, which would have to be conducted in prison. He was serving a 35-year sentence that had started when he was 16 years old.

He wrote, "Thank you for the birthday card. Yours is the only one I got." Well, we sent birthday cards just to keep track of the guys (if they had moved, we would get a change-of-address notice) and they were cheap and generic—but if you're locked up and your family has washed their hands of you, think what it would mean to you that anyone wished you a happy birthday! I'm glad we could do that for him.

Because there is no handy way of getting notified when a participant is killed, arrested, or otherwise in the news, for the past 14 years (since beginning the homicide investigation) I have read the Region section of my newspaper looking for males of about the right age, and when I find one I clip the article and bring it to work to check against the list of names. In the process of finding news about our guys, I've read many more news stories about other guys. The 1,517 enrolled in our study are

representative of a much larger demographic trying to “formulate a plot before they end up in jail or shot”—and although I’m quoting Eminem, who is white, about half of the Pittsburgh Youth Study guys are black, and I am well aware that the deck is stacked against them even more than the white guys.

There are only two men I’ve met in real life who identified themselves to me as participants in the Pittsburgh Youth Study. (I’m the data manager; I don’t do the interviews myself.) But with 1,517 of these guys walking around in a city of 300,000, the odds are that I’ve encountered some of them from time to time. They were in first, fourth, or seventh grade when the Pittsburgh Youth Study began; I was in eighth grade then. Any guy a little younger than me might be one of them. He could be “working at Burger King, spitting in my onion rings,” or sitting next to me on the bus, thigh to thigh. I don’t know him, yet if he told me his ID number, I would know all about him.

So this is what I want to say, as my work on the Pittsburgh Youth Study draws to a close: You guys are important. Your stories are making a difference. Even those of you who have died were not wasted, after all, because the stories of your lives are helping people to understand how urban violence works and how to prevent it. Those of you who never did anything “interesting”—weren’t criminals, didn’t use drugs, didn’t get a mental illness—you’re important, too, because you help us to see what factors support young men in avoiding trouble. We’ve published 3 books and nearly 200 journal articles about you so that people making public policy can be informed about what really makes a difference in young men’s lives.

Thank you for sitting through a two-hour interview every six months for four years, then every year for ten years, then every few years whenever we got another grant, answering all those nosy questions! I want you to know that every one of your answers has received my careful attention.

I have looked at every data file, some of them many times, making sure that the information you gave us is clearly coded and labeled, checking on everything that seems implausible, comparing your answers across time to get every detail correct, because I want to make sure that we have your story just right. I’ve seen your criminal records and your school achievement-test scores. If you died before 2003, I’ve read your autopsy report. (And I’m sorry

the coroner wrote, in every single one of them, “The penis is unremarkable.” Dude, I’m sure it was great.) I’ve got data from the Census on every neighborhood where you lived since 1987. I’ve searched your name on Lexis-Nexis to find every time you ever made the papers; I know about that play you were in, your high school basketball career, and the time you saved a drowning child, and I’ve got that information coded. Everything you told us and everything we found out about you was turned into numbers in the computer—and sometimes I’ve had to expand the range of numbers we use for responses to a question, to account for possibilities we didn’t think of when we were writing the questionnaire, because you told us how it really was.

Thank you for sticking with the Pittsburgh Youth Study, year after year. It’s ending now because you’re not youth anymore and we’ve gone far beyond the original focus on juvenile delinquency. My full-time job is wrapping up at the end of March, followed by a few more months part-time. Thank you for giving me such interesting work for so many years!

Your legacy doesn’t end here, though, and neither does mine. I’ve been archiving almost all of our interview data with the University of Michigan. Soon they’ll be making it available to researchers all over the world who want to know your stories, to see what predicts what, to compare you to people from other places or earlier or later generations, to learn more and more about the effects of parental stress or being left back a grade or getting spanked or any of the many, many things you told us over the years. My carefully organized numbers will keep being used for decades to come, as your stories inform the lawmakers and parenting experts and drug-rehabilitation counselors of the future.

I’m proud to have been a part of the Pittsburgh Youth Study, and I hope you are, too. If we meet each other someday, you can tell me that you were in the study—but please, even then, don’t tell me your ID number! Your confidentiality is important and will be protected forever.

Thank you, also, to the American taxpayers for funding most of our research via grants from the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency

Prevention, National Institutes on Drug Abuse, and other federal agencies. I’ve done my best to use your money wisely toward making our country safer and happier, without wasting supplies. I really appreciate

that you fed my family, paid my awesome babysitter, and bought me coffee so that I could do this work.

I'm still thinking of 8 Mile and its vivid images of the heavy gray sky, the heavy gray buildings, and a young man wearing several layers of heavy clothing trying to feel just a little warmth, hoping for the moment when he can seize his destiny and "own it and never let it go."

Pittsburgh is not Detroit. As a city, we've recovered much better from the loss of an industrial economy, and we now have many positive developments adding to the solid architecture and fine institutions of our history. But for the people brushed out of the gentrifying neighborhoods or stuck in the decaying ones, working too hard for not enough money, trudging along the cracked sidewalks in the freezing wet wind, this city can be a tough place. I've tried to help it get better.



The New DLC Logo

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As you may have noticed, as of the end of last year the division sails under a new flag. The new logo intends to capture many important features for developmental and life-course criminology in a single picture.

Without becoming too philosophical about it, the new logo depicts development across the life span from infancy to old age, thus representing the breadth of DLC both in terms of the ages studied, as well as age-graded risk and protective factors. Overall, with a bit of good will, the new logo represents DLC's 'brute fact': the age crime curve. The smaller persons; the baby on the left, and the person with the cane on the far right indicate the effects of age on crime at the extremes of the life course. The 'married' couple with child on the right hand side is of course a giveaway. Yet, women are not only of interest to DLC as spouses of criminal men, gender specific pathways deserve attention in their own right, as is symbolized by the girl on the left hand side of the figure.

During last year's ASC meeting shoulder bags and bloc notes with the new logo were available to those interested, so keep an eye out for like-minded researchers next time you visit a conference!

Upcoming events and announcements

The newsletter committee encourage members to inform about upcoming meetings, conferences, courses and other interesting events relating to the division.

Please let us know if you have published something new this next year and we will try to get it into the next newsletter.



The Impact of Criminological Research on the Treatment of Juvenile and Young Adult Offenders



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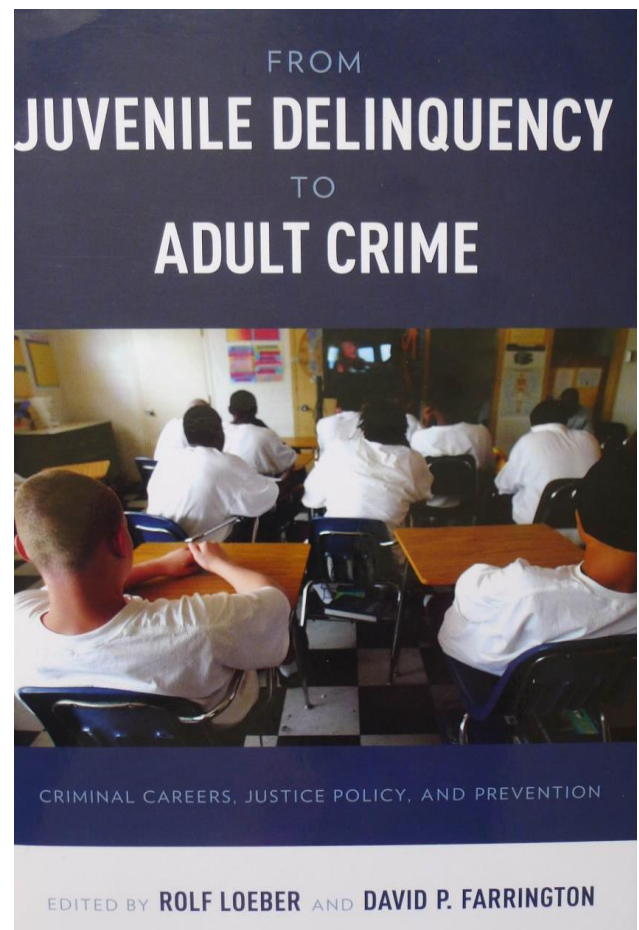
Of all the juncture points in the justice system, juvenile delinquents' transition from the juvenile court to the adult court certainly is one of the major, decisive boundaries. In most states in the U.S., the 18th birthday (and less frequently at ages 16 or 17) is the watershed which determines young people's introduction to a host of negative consequences in the adult justice systems: longer sentences, lower availability of rehabilitative programs, and exposure to and victimization by adult offenders. In addition, after release from incarceration in the adult justice system, these young people are faced with the non-erasure of their offense record, limiting access to many jobs. It is well known that, unlike the juvenile justice system, the adult offender system is more directed to just deserts, retribution, and deterrence as the main tools used to reduce offenders' recidivism, with usually little to show for it. This brief report summarizes key aspects of two study groups, one in North America, the other in Europe, and highlights good and bad news in recent legislative advances in the U.S. and Europe to extend the jurisdiction of the juvenile court into early adulthood.

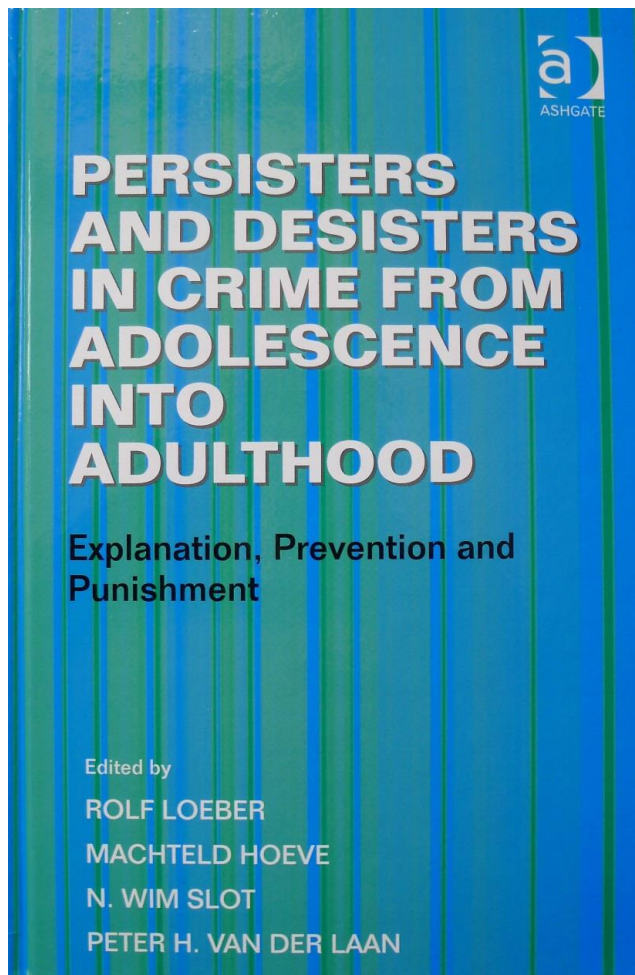
The far-reaching changes between the juvenile and the adult justice systems occur in the absence of evidence that young adult offenders (defined as those who offend between ages 18 and 24) are qualitatively different from juvenile offenders (i.e., those offending before age 18). The following text is based on the reports of two study groups: (a) the US National Institute of Justice Study Group on Transitions from Juvenile Delinquency to Adult Crime (Loeber and Farrington, 2012), and (b) a

parallel study group on the same topic in Europe (Loeber, Hoeve, Slot, & van der Laan, 2012). In addition, the present article is based on a previous summary of the findings (Farrington, Loeber & Howell, 2012) and several bulletins written for the National Institute of Justice (see e.g., www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/242931.pdf). The major advantages of the two parallel study groups included the identification of different practices on both sides of the Atlantic.

The study groups

Each of the two study groups consisted of about 30 multi-disciplinary scholars, who over a period of two years regularly met face-to-face, narrowed down key questions, addressed these in the literature, and undertook secondary data analyses where needed. Thus, the study groups summarized existing knowledge and produced new knowledge pertaining to the transition between juvenile delinquency and adult crime and the transition between the juvenile and adult justice systems.





1. Early individual differences in self-control.
2. Brain maturation.
3. Cognitive changes (e.g., decision making to change behavior).
4. Behavioural risk factors (disruptive behaviour and delinquency) and behavioural protective factors (nervousness and social isolation).
5. Social risk and protective factors (family, peers, school).
6. Mental illnesses and substance use/abuse.
7. Life circumstances (e.g., getting married; becoming employed).
8. The situational context of specific criminal events, including crime places and routine activities.
9. Neighbourhood (e.g., living in a disadvantaged neighbourhood, and the concentration of impulsive and delinquent individuals in disadvantaged neighbourhoods).
10. Justice responses (e.g., transfer to adult court, longer sentences).

The processes are somewhat age-graded in that some occur early in life (e.g., nos. 1-4), and others later (e.g., no. 7). The interested reader is referred to the two study report volumes detailing the research findings for each of these processes.

Lag between physical and mental maturation.

There is another important way to look at the transition between adolescence and adulthood. Physical maturity in early adulthood often coincides with psychological immaturity. Although there are exceptions, research shows that many adolescents, including those who have reached their 18th birthday, lack attributes associated with adulthood, such as appreciation of risk, appraisal of short and long term consequences, self-control, and susceptibility to negative peer influences (Scott & Steinberg, 2008). Outside of the justice system, this has not been a secret and, for example, is shown in much lower car insurance rates for young men and women in their mid-twenties, compared to adolescents.

Recommendations.

The U.S. study group on the transition between juvenile delinquency and adult crime made the following policy recommendations (some of which are alternatives):

The downturn of the age-crime curve

The well-known age-crime curve does not show a downturn of the curve at age 18. Instead, desistance from juvenile offending tends to continue after age 18. Stouthamer-Loeber (2010), on the basis of best-estimates from self-report and official records in the Pittsburgh Youth Study (PYS), reported that 52% to 57% of juvenile delinquents continued to offend during early adulthood (ages 20-25), but that this dropped by two-thirds to 16% to 19% in the next five years. Thus, delinquency in early adulthood can be seen as a continuation of juvenile delinquency, and then it substantially decreases in the second half of the twenties.

Multiple causes of offending.

The study groups examined ten putative causal processes that are often assumed to explain differences in offending between adolescence and early adulthood:

1. Changes in legislation should be considered to deal with large numbers of juvenile offenders becoming adult criminals. One possibility is to raise the minimum age for referral of young people to the adult court to age 21 or 24 so that fewer young offenders are dealt with in the adult criminal justice system. There are several advantages: fewer young offenders will be incarcerated, fewer of them will be exposed to the criminogenic influences of incarceration, more of them can receive alternative, noncustodial sanctions, and more can participate in alternative, positive skill-building programs. We expect that, consequently, the number of adult prisoners will be decreased and considerable savings for taxpayers will accrue. We recommend cost-benefit analyses in the U.S. to quantify the benefits of legally raising the age of juvenile jurisdiction to age 21 or 24. Such cost-benefit analyses have been executed abroad (in the U.K.) but not yet in the U.S.

2. Alternatively, special courts for young adult offenders aged 18-24 could be established on an experimental basis in a small number of areas (building on the experience of the U.K. Transition to Adulthood initiative: see www.t2a.org.uk). Three reasons support creating special courts for young adult offenders: (i) to prevent excessive punishment of young people who land in the adult justice system; (ii) youthfulness as a mitigating factor; and (iii) the developmental needs of young people. Along that line, several European countries (e.g., Sweden, Germany and Austria) have long had separate young adult sentencing options and separate institutions for offenders aged 18-21. The focus should be on rehabilitation rather than retribution. Since juveniles who are transferred to adult courts in the U.S. tend to receive more severe sentences and tend to have higher recidivism rates than those in juvenile courts, we expect that these special courts would decrease recidivism and decrease incarceration, and consequently save taxpayers money. In addition, they should be designed to have fewer ongoing stigmatizing effects than the adult criminal courts.

3. Most research shows that there is no evidence that either longer sentences or lengthening the period of incarceration, common for adult offenders, provide practical benefits in terms of reducing the recidivism of serious offenders. For that reason, we suggest a third option to set up special correctional facilities for young adult offenders and include programs such as cognitive-behavioral therapy, drug treatment, restorative justice, mentoring, education and

vocational training, and work release. Special facilities for young adults already exist in some states (e.g., Pennsylvania).

4. There could be an 'immaturity discount' for young adult offenders: a decrease in the severity of penalties that takes into account young persons' lesser maturity, culpability and diminished responsibility. Along that line, death sentences and life without parole sentences should be abolished for young adult offenders.

5. There should be risk/needs assessments and screening of young adult offenders to guide the selection of appropriate disposals and interventions. This screening should assess known risk factors such as low intelligence. Young adult offenders with substance use problems should be diverted to drug courts, and those with mental health problems should be dealt with by mental health professionals.

6. There should be evidence-based programs for young adult offenders in the community and after release, including multisystemic therapy, cognitive-behavioral therapy, drug treatment, restorative justice, mentoring, educational and vocational training programs, and programs such as Communities That Care. Employment and relationship programs should be offered to encourage desistance, as well as other programs aimed at reducing disorderly transitions such as not graduating from high school and single teenage parenthood. Other useful programs are those aiming to reduce opportunities for offending, such as 'hot spots policing' and situational crime prevention, and reducing gang membership and drug dealing (especially targeted on high-crime neighborhoods). In addition, in light of the long-term desirable effects of early nurse home visiting, parent training, and family-based programs, these also should be more widely implemented and followed up to assess their effects on young adult offending.

All of these initiatives should be rigorously evaluated and cost-benefit analyses should be carried out. Age, gender, and racial/ethnic differences in the effectiveness of programs should be studied.

Legislative changes. Legislative change in the U.S. in response to the Study Group report has been slow in coming. However, in 2015, the State Legislature of Illinois significantly scaled back the 'automatic transfer' of youth for trial and sentencing as adults. The new law also expanded judicial discretion in transfer decisions for 16-17 year olds,

except for those charged for several serious forms of delinquency. Further, proposed age changes for juvenile offenders are under way in Louisiana (from 16 to 17; New York Times, May 8, 2016) and are proposed for Iowa (<https://csgjusticecenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/Transitional-Age-Brief.pdf>). Also, the U.S. Assistant Attorney General has expressed interest in special courts for young adult offenders age 18-24; see the U.S. National Institute of Justice report by Schiraldi, Western and Bradner, entitled "New Thinking on Community Corrections", which was released in September 2015.

In contrast, several European countries have spearheaded positive changes for adolescents and young adults. One of the major movers in England has been the organization called Transition to Adulthood. They summarized changes in Europe (Transition to Adulthood, 2015):

- Special rules for young adults providing for the application of specific (juvenile law) sanctions:
 - 21 out of 35 countries (e.g., Austria, Belgium, Czech Republic, Denmark, England/Wales, Finland, France, Italy, Netherlands, Sweden).
- Specific rules for young adults implying sentence mitigation:
 - 17 out of 35 counties (e.g., Austria, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, England/Wales, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, Sweden).
- Age range for youth detention/custody or some forms of deprivation of liberty. Some examples:
 - Austria (14-27), Denmark (15-23), Netherlands (12-24), Sweden (15-21).

Whereas some of these improvements were in situ prior to the preparation of the study group reports, in one illustrative example, the Dutch study group report clearly influenced the Department of Justice in the Netherlands. That department then proposed legislative change, which subsequently was approved by the Dutch parliament in 2013:

- New legislation has been passed to legally recognize a period of young adulthood (up to age 23) with special justice treatment distinct from the treatment of adult offenders.
- Decisions in court regarding young adult offenders are now based on a risk and needs assessment.

- Vulnerable individuals identified through an assessment are dealt with differently in the justice system and not referred to adult court.
- A government-sponsored evaluation of these legislative changes.

In conclusion, the Dutch study group had an immediate impact on legislation for young adult offenders, while there are signs that the U.S. study group is finally having a delayed impact. We would argue that this topic is a good example of the impact of criminological research on criminal justice policy.

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The Criminological Puzzle



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Introduction

I have been working on a project called “the criminological puzzle.” It is somewhat challenging to place this work into a particular category. Probably the best descriptor would be a “general model of crime.” I would hesitate to call this model a “general theory,” because it encompasses many theories, methods, and practices. The overall goal is to try to incorporate these theories, methods, and practices into an integrated general model that explains the statistical regularities of crime, crime rates, and criminal behavior.

One set of theoretical models that may be of particular interest to the readers of this newsletter is an attempt to provide a coherent explanation for the age crime curve. It will be suggested that the solution to the age crime curve requires integration of three non-linear dynamic processes. The first nonlinear dynamic is a sigmoid crime rate model that provides an attempt to define the mathematical relationship between criminal propensity as a normally distributed trait and societal sanctioning as an asymmetric selection process. The sigmoid nature of the crime rate function suggests that the age crime curve must be transformed using a quantile transformation into an “age propensity curve” in order to trace the level of propensity over the life-course. The second nonlinear dynamic process is the growth and decline in strength and mental capacity over the life course. It can be demonstrated empirically that the age propensity curve is a function of a lag between the development of strength and mental capacity over the life course. The inclusion of strength in a crime rate model necessitates an examination

of the nature of crime as harm, and the development of a “capacity” theory of crime. The third nonlinear dynamic process involves the multivariate dynamics of brain function which creates complexity in the trajectory of criminal propensity over the life course. The difficulties in the analysis of these complex trajectories are discussed and suggestions for methods for conducting analyses of dynamic human characteristics are made. A concept called “consistency” is explored and shown to vary over the life course in a sample of criminal offenders.

The set of nonlinear models developed to explain the age crime curve have other interesting applications. For example, a nonlinear model of crime rates explains why recent increases in incarceration appear to have had little effect on the crime rate. If crime rates are sigmoid, incarceration rates above 100 offenders per 100,000 will be much less efficient than incarceration levels below that rate. Because the incapacitation process is working with a normally distributed trait, continued increases in incarceration levels will be like trying to “swallow a funnel.”

This set of models may seem to be highly complex and overly complicated at first. Many separate theories have been incorporated into this model, using both theoretical integration and theoretical aggregation, in order to build a general model that seems to explain many of the features of crime, crime rates, and criminal behavior. However, it is suggested that a careful examination will reveal that each of these theories and methods are necessary. While it is understood that theories need to be as simple as possible, they also need to be complex enough to explain the phenomenon that is being examined. The concept of Lombroso’s paradox will be introduced to frame the discussions around theory complexity and theory simplicity.

This is a work in progress. It is by no means complete and I have hesitated to put this out in its present form. However, I feel a need to get this work into the literature somehow. I have been working on this project for several years,

writing and rewriting the same material, over and over again. Each time I rewrite, I see new connections and issues that should be addressed. I have amassed a mountain of information on these topics, and collating all of this material is going to take a considerable amount of time. Several of these ideas would appear to provide significant contributions to the criminological literature in their present form, and this would seem to be an opportune time to present them to a wider audience. These ideas won't do anyone any good if they stay in my head or are hidden on my personal hard drive.

This is an effort at self-publication, and time will tell if this is a viable option. The project is housed in a web site called "The Criminological Puzzle" at <http://www.thecriminologicalpuzzle.com>.

There are a number of reasons for using the web based approach. The first reason is that the work is incomplete and is not ready for formal publication. The second reason is that I wanted to provide a multi-media experience. The web site provides various descriptions of the model, pictorial animations of key concepts, and tools that you can use to try some of the solutions that have been developed using real and imagined data. I have a partially written a version of the criminological puzzle in book form for those that would like to have this work collated into one location. The Book and my working papers may be redistributed as long as the content is not modified in any way and the source is identified. The third reason for online publication is that this seems more comfortable for me. I tend to think in hypertext, and this seems to be the way to present this material. I create mind maps of the literature and outlines so that I can make sense of the volumes of information. Samples of these mind maps are provided.

The Criminological Puzzle Book

The following provides a brief overview of "The Criminological Puzzle" book. See

<http://thecriminologicalpuzzle.com/working-papers/>

The book has an introduction and sections on theory, method, and practice.

Section 1: Introduction

The first section consists of three chapters. These include an introduction, a chapter describing some of the pressing issues in criminology, and a chapter on thinking differently about the criminological puzzle.

Chapter 1: Introduction

The first chapter lays out the general concept of the criminological puzzle. It is suggested that there are many pieces that must be fit together. The reason for the puzzle approach is explained. The pieces of the criminological puzzle span several theoretical disciplines and the process of assembly requires a disciplined approach. It helps to start at top and work downwards. Many of the shapes are nonlinear, and it helps to try flipping the pieces around.

It is suggested that there are three current theoretical practices in criminology that are particularly problematic. These are 1) trying to turn risk factors into general theories, 2) the career criminal model, and 3) the criminal career model. Each of these models is based upon a set of false premises. It is suggested that new models should be developed.

Chapter 2: Taking Stock

The second chapter provides a brief description of some of the statistical regularities that have emerged from the study of crime and criminal behavior. I want to apologize for the lack of citations. This is something that will have to be remedied in future revisions. I can provide the mind maps that went into the process of developing these theories. There are literally thousands of citations spanning 20-30 disciplines.

I tried to introduce the concept of transition pieces. These are seemingly contradictory pieces of information. For example, criminal behavior is stable and dynamic at the same time. To understand the concept of transition pieces, it may help if you imagine a puzzle piece with two different colors on the same piece. This "transition piece" can help define the transition between one section of the puzzle and another.

Chapter 3: Thinking Differently

In the next chapter, it is suggested that criminological scholars will need to think differently in order to explain these statistical regularities. Several analogies with assembling a puzzle are presented. Solving a puzzle typically begins with a top down approach, and much of the work in criminology has been focused on a bottom up approach. For example, thousands of articles and books have been written on low self-control, strain, and social learning aspects of criminal propensity while only about 10 works are available that discuss criminal propensity as a normally distributed latent trait. The focus on the bottom up approach seems to be out of balance.

It is suggested that if criminological scholars want to deal with pressing problems such as missing heritability, the practice of null hypothesis significance testing may need to be replaced with some other methods of theory testing. Single genes do not tend to be significant predictors of crime, but the entire genome can predict 50% of the variation in between individual criminal propensity. There is a need to think differently about these problems.

Section 2: Theory

The second section is focused on theory. The introductory part of section 2 provides a rational for considering crime to be a function of the propensity of individuals to harm others or themselves, and the societal reaction to harms. This is followed by two subsections. Subsection 2A contains a rational for considering criminal propensity to be massively multivariate, complex, and normal (MMCaN). Subsection 2B provides an examination of the asymmetric nature of sanctioning and how this creates sigmoid crime rates. These topics are presented pictorially as a set of theoretical propositions as shown below.

Chapter 5: Crimes **The Individual vs. Society**
have Two Parts:
Action (Harm) and
Reaction (Sanction)



In this chapter, I wanted to emphasize the point that crimes have two components, individual actions (some type of harm) and societal reactions (legal sanctions). Criminological scholars tend to ignore societal sanctioning as irrelevant to discussions of criminal propensity. Ignoring sanctioning only makes sense if there is a linear relationship between criminal propensity, sanctioning, and crime rates. If the relationship between criminal propensity, societal sanctioning, and crime rates is nonlinear, both the propensity for harmful actions and the propensity of societies to sanction the harmful actions have to be considered. Therefore, crime is defined as “individual actions that are perceived by society to be harmful enough to warrant legal sanctions.” This chapter sets up the idea that crime rates are a function of both the propensity to harm and the societal propensity to sanction harmful behavior.

$$\text{Crime Rates} = f[\text{Propensity, Sanctioning}]$$

Criminal Propensity is Massively Multivariate, Complex, and Normal (MMCaN)

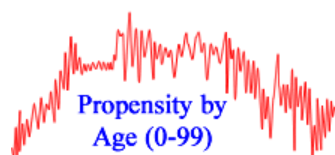
The next three chapters cover the nature of criminal propensity. In some ways, this is a general theory of human traits. Many human traits are massively multivariate, complex, and normal (MMCaN). This is true for intelligence, weight, height, or the propensity for criminal behavior.

Chapter 6: The Propensity for Crime is Massively Multivariate



The first proposition is that there are a limitless number of independent variables that affect the level of criminal propensity. The factors that impact propensity include biological, psychological, sociological, environmental, ecological, and societal factors. The factors can affect both between and within individual levels of the propensity for criminal behavior. There are both risk and protective factors and propensity varies depending upon the number of risk and protective factors present.

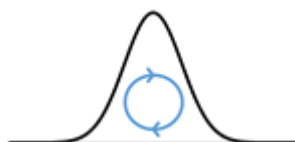
Chapter 7: The Propensity for Crime has Complex Dynamics



The second proposition is that the propensity for crime has complex and chaotic dynamics. This is a relatively new area of study, but one that I think deserves more attention. An observation of criminal offender risk scores over time indicates that criminal propensity fluctuates over time. This fluctuation is often called inter-individual variability. The complex dynamics in behavior would seem to be affected by both developmental factors and brain function. There appears to be both continuity and limitless variability in the propensity for crime. I provide an overview of some work by Quetelet (1833) on a developmental lag model of the age crime curve.

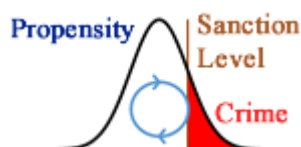
Chapter 8: The Propensity for Crime is Normally Distributed

The MMCaN Model



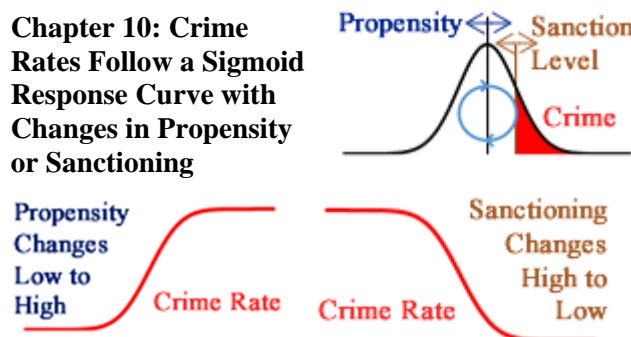
In this chapter I make the case that criminal propensity is normally distributed. I have not seen a lot of discussion about this, but if criminal propensity has limitless causes and complex dynamics, the central limit theorem suggests that limiting processes will ensure that criminal propensity must be normally distributed. Imagine the hundreds of stable and dynamic factors, including genetic, physical, psychological, sociological, and environmental factors that affect whether a person commits a crime. If you add all of these random effects together, the level of criminal propensity must be normal. Since a normal distribution often implies static differences, the levels of individual variation are represented by a normal distribution with a mixing process. I call this the massively multivariate, complex, and normal (MMCaN) model.

Chapter 9: Societal Sanctioning is an Asymmetric Selection Process



The next proposition may seem trivial, but it is extremely important. Societies sanction only a small fraction of the population for criminal behavior. The fraction of the population that is sanctioned tends to be comprised of individuals who are found on one side of the criminal propensity distribution. The process of sanctioning can be called an asymmetric selection process. The importance of asymmetric selection becomes apparent when one looks at the creation of crime rates.

Chapter 10: Crime Rates Follow a Sigmoid Response Curve with Changes in Propensity or Sanctioning



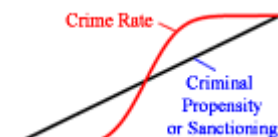
In this chapter, I tie the previous chapters together. If propensity is normal and sanctioning is asymmetric, crime rates will follow a sigmoid response when propensity or sanctioning changes. This mathematical fact does not seem to have received the attention it deserves. I have placed some moving gifs on the criminological puzzle web site so that you can envision the process. In essence, a crime rate is a cumulative distribution function (CDF). If the probability density function (PDF) of criminal propensity is normal, and sanctioning is an asymmetric selection process, then the crime rate CDF is a sigmoid curve. In other words, the “dynamics” or “patterns of change” followed by crime rates are nonlinear. This means that propensity and sanctioning must both be considered when examining crime rates.

Section 3: Method

The third section focuses on methodological issues. If criminal propensity is massively multivariate, complex, and normally distributed, sanctioning is asymmetric, and crime rates are sigmoid, there will need to be methods for analyzing sigmoid crime rates and complex individual trajectories.

Chapter 11: The Quantile (Probit) of the Crime Rate Returns the Propensity or Sanctioning Level

Crime Rates vs. Probits



Sigmoid curves are difficult to interpret. The process of interpretation can be simplified by using the quantile function (Φ^{-1}). You might think of quantiles as Z-scores, or standard deviation units. The quantile of a normal sigmoid response curve is a straight line Z-score plot. The quantile plus 5 creates a “probit.” Transforming crime rates into probits using the quantile function provides a method for determining the underlying nature of changes in propensity or sanctioning.

This may all seem confusing at first. The way that I learned how to work with these functions was by playing with models in Excel. A crime rate can be thought of as the probability of crime. In the criminal career model, this was called lambda (λ), and was calculated by dividing the number of crimes by the number of criminals. The problem with lambda is that it follows a nonlinear (sigmoid) CDF with changes in propensity or sanctioning. In order to understand the underlying changes in propensity needed to create a change in lambda, you need to use a quantile transformation. The Excel function to create quantile transformations is the NORMSINV() function. This function calculates the quantile (Z-Score) for a particular probability. Quantiles can be converted back to probabilities by using the NORMSDIST() function. Quantiles, typically range from -5 to +5, so you can add 5 and create “probits,” which are easier to plot.

Chapter 12: There are Four Cases to Consider

Case	Sanctioning	Propensity
1	—	—
2	~	—
3	—	~
4	~	~

The mathematical models used in assessing crime rates will depend upon whether propensity or sanctioning are constant or varying. There are four cases, 1) both are constant, 2) sanctioning varies and propensity is constant, 3) sanctioning is

constant and propensity varies, and 4) both vary. The issues with assessing the four cases are discussed.

Chapter 13: Working with Dynamic Phenomena

Propensity by Age



Human behavior is complex and chaotic. Over the life course, behavior is impacted by developmental factors. Over shorter periods, recent experience, long term factors, current environment, and brain state all have an effect on individual trajectories. Methods for analyzing these nonlinear trajectories are discussed.

This topic is one that I have spent a lot of time working on, and I have two working papers on this topic.

<http://thecriminologicalpuzzle.com/working-papers/>

In the first paper (Arnold, 2008), I examine risk change scores and make some attempts to create individual growth curves. In the second paper (Arnold, 2012), I examine the consistency of criminal propensity over time. This is a fairly novel approach to working with fluctuation. One of the more interesting findings is that the level of fluctuation in risk levels varied with age in a manner that is similar to the age crime curve. Another finding was that the level of consistency seemed to predict the direction of changes in criminal propensity over time. This is all highly preliminary, but rather fascinating.

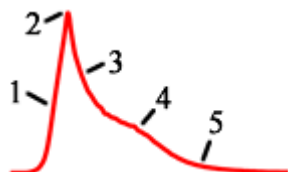
Section 4: Practice

The fourth section provides examples of putting the theories and methods into practice. The solution to the age crime curve becomes a practical matter. The first step is to realize that the age crime curve is a set of crime rates. Crime rates have a sigmoid relationship with propensity, so a quantile transformation needs to occur if we want to observe the “age propensity curve.” Then, a new method for modeling the effects of sanctioning can be developed to model strength and mental capacity over the life course. This

model provides “proof of concept” that the age crime curve is the result of a developmental lag between strength and mental capacity. Issues related to the assessment of consistency are explored as well as a method for analyzing the population dynamics of incarceration.

Chapter 14: The Age Crime Curve

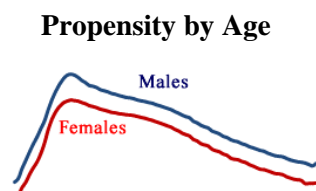
The Problem: The Age Crime Curve has Five Distinct Features that Require Explanation



The five distinct features of the age crime curve

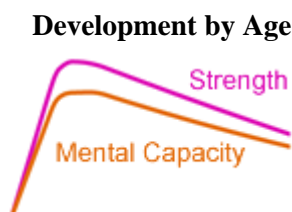
1. In the period from ages 0-18 there is a sharply rising curve.
2. At about age 18 (16 for females) there is a sharp reversal.
3. There is a curved descent from ages 18-34.
4. Crime picks back up slightly from ages 35-40
5. There is a gradual curved decline from about age 40 onward.

If Crime Rates are Sigmoid the Quantile Function will Provide the Age Propensity Curve



If crime rates are sigmoid, the “age propensity curve” can be calculated from the age crime curve by using the quantile function. The curves shown above represent the quantile transformations of the age crime curves for males and females. Note that the shapes are similar, but the heights are offset.

From Quetelet: The Development of Mental Capacity Lags the Development of Strength



Quetelet proposed that there was a lag between the development of peak strength and peak mental capacity. If strength provides the capacity for crime and mental capacity provides the ability to control ones behavior, then the lag between the development of

strength and mental capacity could cause the age propensity curve.

Solving Puzzles: Flip the Pieces

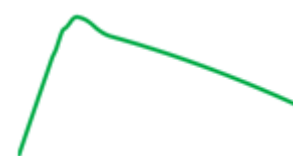
Impact on Crime by Age



Strength and mental capacity have opposite effects on the crime rate. In order to determine how the trajectories of strength and mental capacity interact to create the age propensity curve, the trajectory for mental capacity must be flipped and subtracted from the strength trajectory. Based upon this model, one would expect young children and older adults to have the highest frequencies of rule breaking behavior, but the least likelihood of creating serious harm to others.

Merging Variables: The Age Propensity Curve

Propensity by Age



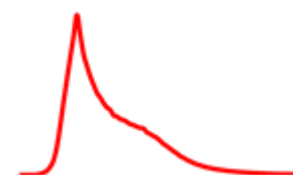
The curve shown above represents the age propensity curve when strength and mental capacity are merged.

Propensity_(Age) =

$$c + b_1 * \text{Strength}_{(\text{Age})} - b_2 * \text{Mental Capacity}_{(\text{Age})}$$

Note that the propensity for crime increases linearly and then transcribes a gradual curve before decreasing linearly over time. This shape is consistent with a developmental process.

Transforming the Age Propensity Curve into the Age Crime Curve CDF



The transformation process is bi-directional. Age propensity curves can be transformed into age crime curves by treating the age propensity values as Z-Scores and using the normal CDF to calculate the rate of crime at each age (the age crime curve).

A developmental lag model with a sigmoid transformation explains all five of the age crime curve features.

Try It Yourself

This is a rather difficult process to envision in such a short space. You may want to refer to the chapter in *The Criminological Puzzle* for a more detailed version. If you want to try this yourself, I have two Excel spreadsheet models and a Python curve fitter at

<http://thecriminologicalpuzzle.com/try-it-yourself/>

The last model provides an Excel spreadsheet with two hypothetical developmental curves. These curves are combined to create a propensity plot and an age crime plot. The hypothetical plots are then compared with the actual age crime data from NIBRS. The explained variances for both propensity and crime are calculated.

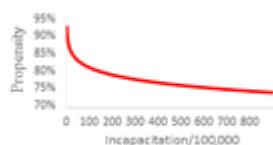
There are sliders for the linear and additive increases and decreases for strength and mental capacity. You can also play with the transitions from growth to decline. With a lot of perseverance, I was able to find a fit that explained 99% of the variance in propensity and 99.5% of the variance in the age crime curve.

At present, any increase in the age propensity model fit causes a decrease in the age crime model fit and vice versa. You can make large changes to the shape of one developmental curve and find the corresponding shape of the other curve that makes the best fit to the age propensity curves and the age crime curves. This indicates that there is much more to learn from this process. The model does provide “proof of concept.” In theory, two developmental curves could cause the age crime curve.

Chapter 15: The Effects of Increases in Incarceration

Proposition 1:
Incapacitation
Should Rapidly
become Less
Effective

Maximum Propensity by
Incarceration Level



The sigmoid crime model has other uses. If one plots the maximum level of propensity of the people who could be expected to be incarcerated at various incarceration rates, it appears that, as the incarceration level rises beyond 100 offenders per 100,000, the expected utility of increased incarceration should drop rapidly. This model provides predictions consistent with recent findings.

Proposition 2:
Incarceration Rates
Should Increase
Nonlinearly with
Increases in
Sanctioning

Incapacitation in the US
1930 - 2010



The recent increases in the incarceration level in the past few decades provide an example of how asymmetric sanctioning interacts with the propensity distribution. The incarceration levels have experienced a nonlinear increase.

Chapter 16: Societal Crime Rates are a Function of Capacity and Control

Crime rates declined
more than suggested
by the age crime
curve alone.

Crime in the US
1970-2010



Crime rates have declined more in recent years than simple applications of the age crime curve would seem to predict. Therefore, it does not seem that the age structure of society has much of an impact on the crime rate. One reason for this finding could be that criminological scholars are focusing on the changes in crime rates due to changing proportions of young people in the population. It could be that large numbers of older people in the community may also be having an effect on crime rates through social control. It appears that the ratio between the numbers of older people in society versus the number of younger people in society could be helping to reduce crime rates.

Conclusion

The concept of a criminological puzzle was used to describe this work. The puzzle analogy was used in several ways. 1) There are many pieces that seem to be inter-related. 2) The key to fitting the pieces together is to use a top down approach and look for transition pieces. 3) The fitting process involves bivariate interactions that create nonlinear dynamics. 4) Sometimes, it helps to flip the pieces.

The goal was to build a general model that explains the various statistical regularities found by criminological scholars. This model provides a laundry list of theoretical proposition that criminological scholars may want to consider. These include the following set

of theoretical, methodological, and practical propositions.

Theoretical, Methodological, and Practical Propositions

1. Crime rates are a function of propensity and sanctioning.
2. Criminal Propensity is MMCaN
 - a. **Massively Multivariate**
 - b. **Complex, and**
 - c. **Normally Distributed**
3. Sanctioning is Asymmetric
4. Crime Rates are Sigmoid CDFs
5. Quantile (Probit) Transforms are Useful
6. The Four Cases Should be Considered
7. Methods for Dealing with Complex Individual Nonlinear Dynamics are Needed
8. The Concept of Intra-Individual Consistency Should be Explored
9. Strength Provides Capacity for Crime
10. Mental Capacity Provides Control
11. The Age Propensity Curve is Caused by a Developmental Lag between the Strength and Mental Capacity Trajectories
12. When the Age Propensity Curve Undergoes a Sigmoid Crime Rate Transformation, the Age Crime Curve Emerges
13. Incapacitation has a Nonlinear Relationship with Crime Rates (Beyond a Certain Point, Further Increases in Incarceration will have Very Little Effect)
14. The Age Structure of Society has an Effect on Crime Rates through both Increased Capacity and Social Control Caused by the Ratio of Old to Young

The models developed as part of the solution to the criminological puzzle explain why small numbers of people commit many crimes. The people with high crime rates are several standard deviations from the mean. The model explains the ubiquity of the age crime curve, since the age related changes in criminal propensity are a function of a maturity gap in human development. The age propensity/sigmoid crime model explains why a normal sigmoid curve explains 99.995% of the variance in the age crime curve from 0-18 and from 45-98. The sigmoid crime model explains the reason that initial increases in incarceration seemed to have an effect on the crime rate while later increases did not. The model explains why criminal behavior is so hard to predict. The list of accurate predictions goes on.

This model suggests that low self-control, strain, social learning, neighborhood effects, etc. are risk factors for crime, and should not be considered general theories of crime. It is suggested that criminological scholars should start using theoretical aggregation to pull all of the risk factors into general models, rather than trying to find a single general explanation for a massively multivariate and complex phenomenon.

I am hoping that some of this may make some sense to someone else besides myself. These facts seem to all fit together in my mind. The concept of a criminological puzzle was used to help the reader make sense of the complex nature of these interactions. If this is helpful, or not, please let me know. Can you see the solution to the criminological puzzle, or are you simply “puzzled?”

Tom Arnold
arnoldtk@mail.uc.edu



A Note from the Editor

Tom Arnold
arnoldtk@mail.uc.edu

This newsletter is number seven in the series. I am very grateful to Professor Loeber and Professor Farrington for allowing me to contribute to this newsletter. I have been working on the pieces to the criminological puzzle for several years and it is gratifying to get something into print.

This newsletter is designed to promote DLC scholarship. If you would like to place something in the next newsletter, please send me your proposal.

Please remember that the DLC web site is available at <http://www.dlccrim.org>. Ideas for improving the DLC web site are welcome. I am behind in updates, but will try to catch up soon.

I wish you the best.

Tom Arnold

CALL FOR PAPERS

Longitudinal and Life Course Studies: International Journal

Theme: Adult outcomes of children raised in care

Janna Verbruggen
Lead Journal Guest Editor
verbruggenj@cardiff.ac.uk

We are planning a special issue of Longitudinal and Life Course Studies: International Journal focused on the adult outcomes of children who were raised (for part of their childhood) in care. Care denotes any setting where a child is not raised by its biological parents, whether that is in foster care, kinship care or institutions. Children raised in care are a vulnerable group, at risk of experiencing difficulties when making the transition to adulthood. To begin with, children raised in care tend to have limited social and economic resources at their disposal to help them adapt to adult life domains. Furthermore, they have often experienced victimization and may suffer from mental health problems, making adjustment to adult life domains more difficult. In addition, the stigma resulting from their involvement in care arrangements or institutionalization might limit their opportunities in adulthood. Moreover, state support and care arrangements usually end when children reach adulthood, abruptly leaving looked after children to fend for themselves when transitioning into adulthood.

Children raised in care may thus experience a multitude of problems which can hinder a successful transition into adulthood, resulting in poorer adult outcomes in comparison to children not raised in care. These adverse outcomes can manifest in multiple life domains, including the domains of health, substance use, schooling, employment, relationship formation, parenting experiences, happiness, life satisfaction, and contact with the criminal justice system. However, the extent to which children raised in care indeed show adverse outcomes in adulthood has received

limited attention. Research using longitudinal, prospectively collected data, covering an appropriate follow-up period, are needed to fill this gap in the literature. A first aim of the proposed special issue is therefore to focus upon research that sheds light on the adult outcomes of children raised in care on a variety of life domains.

A second aim of this special issue is to address the question to what kind of factors the poorer outcomes of children raised in care are attributable. Are they due to pre-existing vulnerabilities such as childhood victimization or mental health problems? To what extent did the fact that children were raised apart from their biological and social parents add to that risk? Did placement in care mitigate risks? And to what extent did the nature of the care arrangements influence adult outcomes?

The final aim of the special issue is to bring together research which examines adult outcomes of children raised in care from a variety of countries. Comparing different countries characterized by different arrangements of care would help to gain insight into systemic factors impacting adult outcomes of looked after children. In order to account for macro-variation, the editors will ask the contributors to describe in sufficient detail the circumstances and nature of the care arrangements, as well as the backgrounds of children (and their families) placed in such care.

All in all, the proposed special issue hopes to address the aforementioned gap in the extant literature by describing adult outcomes of children raised in care, analysing factors associated with poorer outcomes, as well as shedding light on potentially cross-national differences. A more substantial insight into adult outcomes of looked after children could aid our understanding of how to promote wellbeing and positive outcomes for this vulnerable group.

Continued on Next Page

Call for Papers (Continued)

Submit a proposal

We are inviting academics who are interested in contributing to the special issue to submit a proposal to Longitudinal and Life Course Studies: International Journal. The proposal should not exceed 1 page A4 and should include:

- Author(s) information and affiliation,
- The research question(s) that will be addressed,
- The longitudinal evidence that will be used, including particularly longitudinal survey data sources,
- Information about the type of care the proposal is focussing on. Please note that for this special issue, care denotes any setting where a child is not raised by its biological parents for part of their childhood. This can include foster care, kinship care, children's homes, and young offender institutions, for example. Please also provide some information about how this type of care is arranged in the country in which the data were collected (e.g., is it a form of statutory care or run by voluntary agencies, under what circumstances would a child be placed in this form of care).

The deadline for submitting a proposal is: Friday 8th July 2016. Please submit your proposal via email to Janna Verbruggen: verbruggenj@cardiff.ac.uk.

Procedure

The guest editors will select those proposals with the highest quality and best fit with the topic and aim of the special issue. We aim to inform all authors of our decision in July 2016, after which authors of selected proposals are invited to submit a first draft of their paper in November 2016. Please note that all papers will go through a double blind peer review process which is managed by the section editor of the journal. This means that we cannot guarantee that selected papers will be accepted for publication. The aim is to publish the special issue in October 2017 the latest.

Guest editors

Dr Janna Verbruggen (Cardiff University, UK)
(lead guest editor)

Dr Victor van der Geest (Netherlands Institute for the Study of Crime and Law Enforcement / VU University Amsterdam, the Netherlands)

Professor Catrien Bijleveld (Netherlands Institute for the Study of Crime and Law Enforcement / VU University Amsterdam, the Netherlands)