

Criminal Careers, Auto-dynamics and Contextual Influences

- Selected Results from the
Tübingen Longitudinal Studies -

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- General Topic = „Assessing the Role of Individual Differences and the Environment in Crime Causation“
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- The Author Owes Special Thanks to Klaus Boers (regarding the TCBDS), and Wolfgang Stelly and Jürgen Thomas (regarding the TCBDS and the TYODS)

Slighly Corrected Version of November 2014.

First Study =
The Tübingen Criminal Behaviour
Development Study:

200 Young Prisoners in the
Rottenburg Prison near Tübingen.

Age Range = 20 to 30 Years.

Average Age 24.5 Years.

200 Young Men (comparison
sample) out of the Normal
Population. Age Range = 20 to 30
Years. Average Age = 26 Years

TCBDS 1965-1970 (1986)

- Initial Study Phase = 1965 – 1970:
 - Qualitative Part = Detailed Life Histories (large amount of information gained from a host of private and official of sources via documents or interviews)
 - Quantitative Part = Very Detailed Questionnaires, Schemata, Day Calendars etc.
- Principal Researcher = Hans Göppinger
- Research Team Composed of Social Workers, Jurists, Psychologists, Psychiatrists, Sociologists, and Research Aides
- Intermediate Phase = 1971 – 1985:
 - * Holding Constant Contacts with all Subjects that Could be Reached.
 - * Collecting as much Recent Information as Possible, also (when Possible and Appropriate) from the subjects' Wives, Partners or Relatives , and
 - * Adding all Pieces of Information to the Relevant Life History Files.
 - * In Addition: Repeated Drawings of the Subjects' "rap sheets" from the Central State Criminal History Registry.

TCBDS 1987-1995 (2004)

- Second Study Phase = 1987 – 1995.
- Aim: Full Follow-Up of all of the Original 400 Subjects that could still be reached.
- Qualitative Part (Semi-Structured Interviews) and
- Quantitative Part (Restricted to Criminal History = National CH Registry, and Related Criminal Court Files (Including Sometimes, when Attached, also Other Documents)).

TCBDS 1987-1995 (2004)

- Principal Researchers: Hans-Jürgen Kerner and Klaus Boers (now at Münster University, State of Northrhine-Westfalia)
- Research Team Composed of Criminologists, Jurists, Social Workers, Sociologists, Psychologists, IT-Managers, and Research Aides.
- From 1996 on: Holding Contact with Subjects

TCBDS 1987-1995 (2004)

- Reached in the event, contacted, interviewed and questionnaires administered: 240 Subjects
- From the 240: 122 Ex-Prisoners, and 118 Comparison Group Subjects.
- Among the remainders: 40 died, the others had emigrated or had been expelled, or had „got lost“ or objected to a new detailed interview respectively data search.

TCBDS: Attrition in the Long Range

Example of Detailed Official Criminal History Data

- 200 (Ex-)Prisoners and 200 Comparison Group Subjects up to the Age of 32.
- [Note: High-Plateau of Convictions between 19 and 26. Sharp Drop of Convictions between 27 and 30. Modified Age-Crime Curve].
- 176 (Ex-)Prisoners up to the Age of 39.
- 61 (Ex-)Prisoners up to the Age of 46.
- Some Case Histories up to the Age of 65.
- The Possible Future: Last Comprehensive or at least Criminal History Follow-Up in 2007-2008 (??).

Differences TCBDs \leftrightarrow Glueck/Glueck Study (Sampson/Laub)

- N o t Offenders (Borstal Boys) vs. Non-Offenders (Matched Non-Delinquent Boys)
- B u t Prisoners vs. Standard Populations Males
- Deliberate Consequence: Certain Percentage of Convicted Men (actually some 23 %, usually with 1-3 Convictions)
- Further Consequence: Reasonable Socio-Economic Variation

Differences TCBDS \leftrightarrow Glueck/Glueck Study (Sampson/Laub)

- N o t strictly individually matched
- B u t socio-geographically matched = persons living in the same boroughs as the young prisoners, and stemming from the same age group.
- Representative Sample (less 2 Ex-Convicts)

Differences TCBDs <—>

Cambridge Study (West/Farrington)

- Rural sample (3 countryside boroughs) vs. big city sample (1 London neighbourhood).
- Comparative approach instead of cohort approach.
- Standard population pertaining in principle to all socio-economic strata, instead of rather homogeneous working class population.
- Mixed retrospective / prospective approach instead of mainly prospective approach.

Considering the „Shape“ of Problems Among the TCBDS Subjects:

Checking the question whether or not the sample of young males drawn from the standard normal population would exhibit at least those core personal or socio-biographic elements as making them substantially comparable to the young prisoner group.

Approaching the Question in Different Ways, e.g.:

- Splitting up the 2 samples into sub-groups
- Leading idea: taking into account the amount of deviancy and delinquent behaviour, respectively the „history“ of informal intervention and – later on – official sanctions.
- This brings us to 5 sub-groups, 2 among the comparison sample and 3 among the young prisoners sample.
- Looking then for a kind of “problem continuum”.

Description of the 5 Sub-Groups (at the Age of around 25 = the Starting Point of the TCBDS)

- CG 1 (comparison sample, sub-group 1) = Subjects without any entry in the official criminal history registry
- CG 2 (comparison sample, sub-group 2) = 1 to 3 entries, but no imprisonment term
- YPG 1 (young adult prisoner sample, sub-group 1) = Subjects with 1-2 entries, including logically at least 1 imprisonment term.
- YPG 2 (young adult prisoner sample, sub-group 2) = Subjects with 3-4 entries, including logically at least 1 and, in the possible extreme, 4 imprisonment terms.
- YPG 3 (young adult prisoner sample, sub-group 3) = Subjects with 5 or more entries, including 1 to “x” imprisonment terms.

Is there Actually a Kind of Problem „Continuum“ among the Sub-groups?

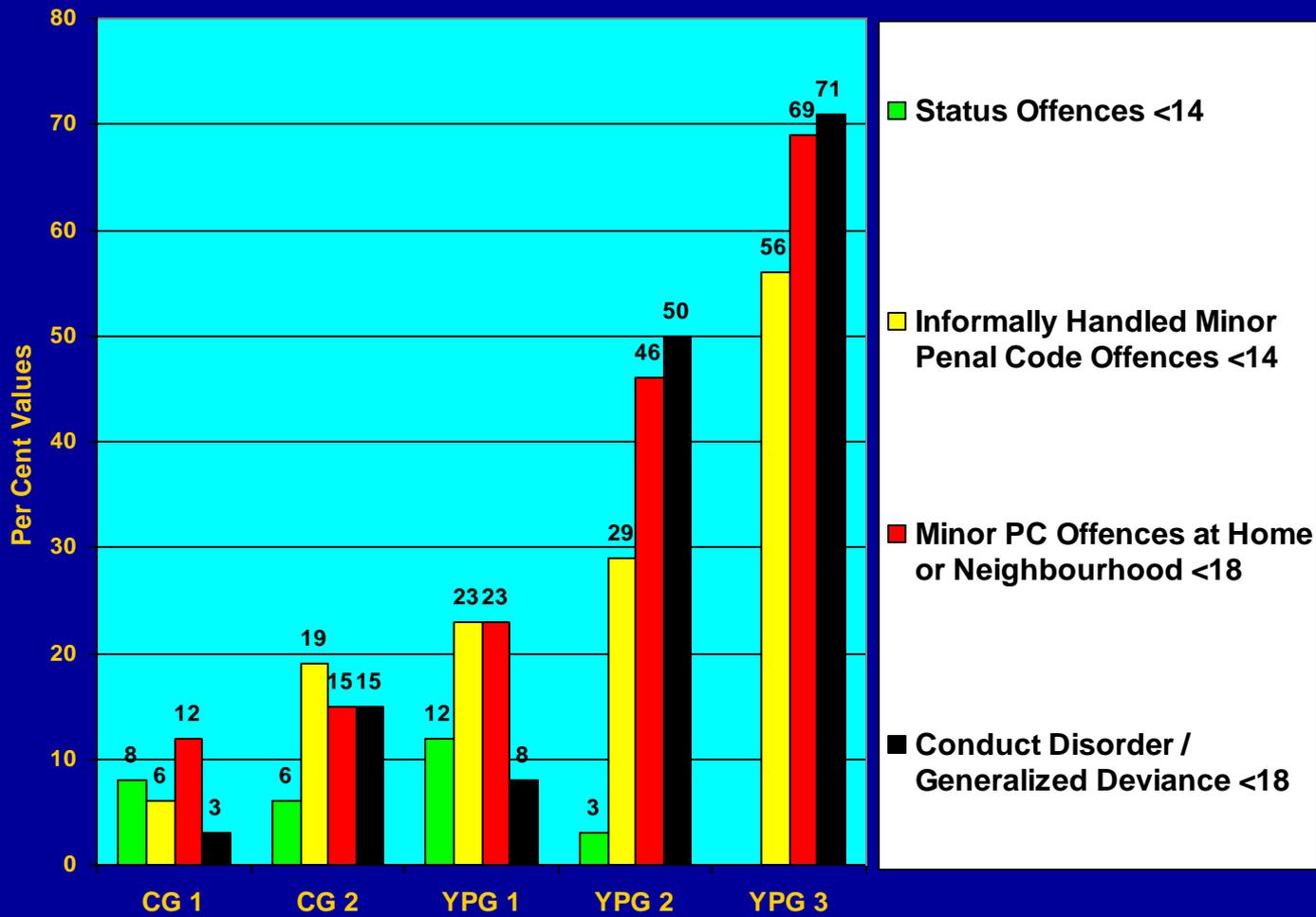
- Testing the Question with a Couple of “Areas” of Personality, Close Environment, and Measures taken by Authorities.
- Here: Selected Examples of
 - Offence History
 - Leisure Time Structure
 - Peer Group Contacts
 - School, Vocational Education, and Work
 - Family Situation

General Picture:

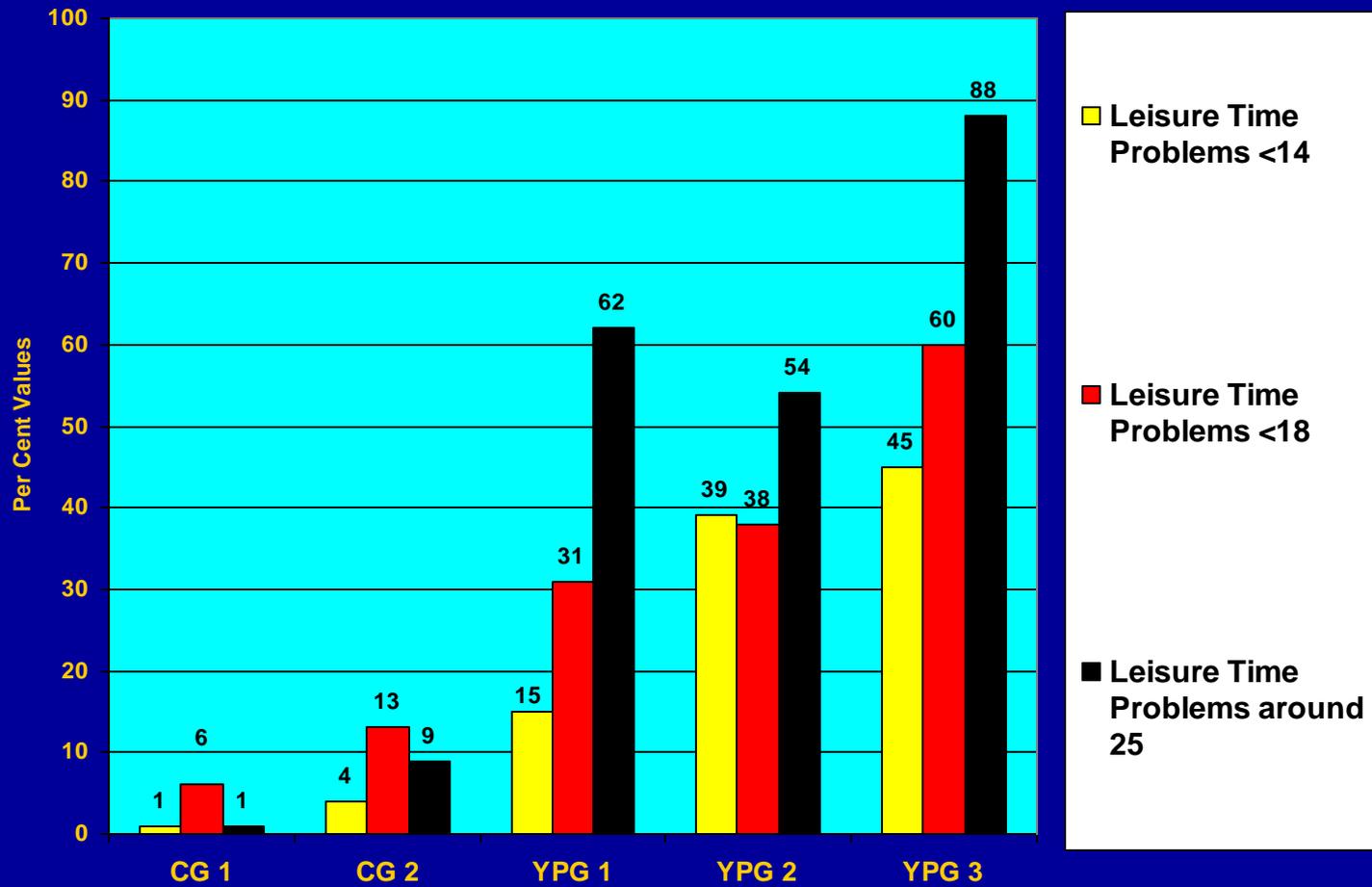
(see next 5 slides)

- There is no linear development in the strict methodological sense of the term. But:
- On the one hand: The CG 2 Sub-group seems to be located quite “near” to the YPG 1 Sub-group in many respects.
- On the other hand: The Subjects in the YPG 1 Sub-Group seem to “differentiate” more strongly from the Standard Male Population when reaching early adulthood, except early conduct disorder respectively minor offending.
- At or around 25, the YPG 1 subjects seem to have eventually drifted towards a “Crime Prone Life Style” or related “Behaviour Patterns” as typical for repeat prisoners.

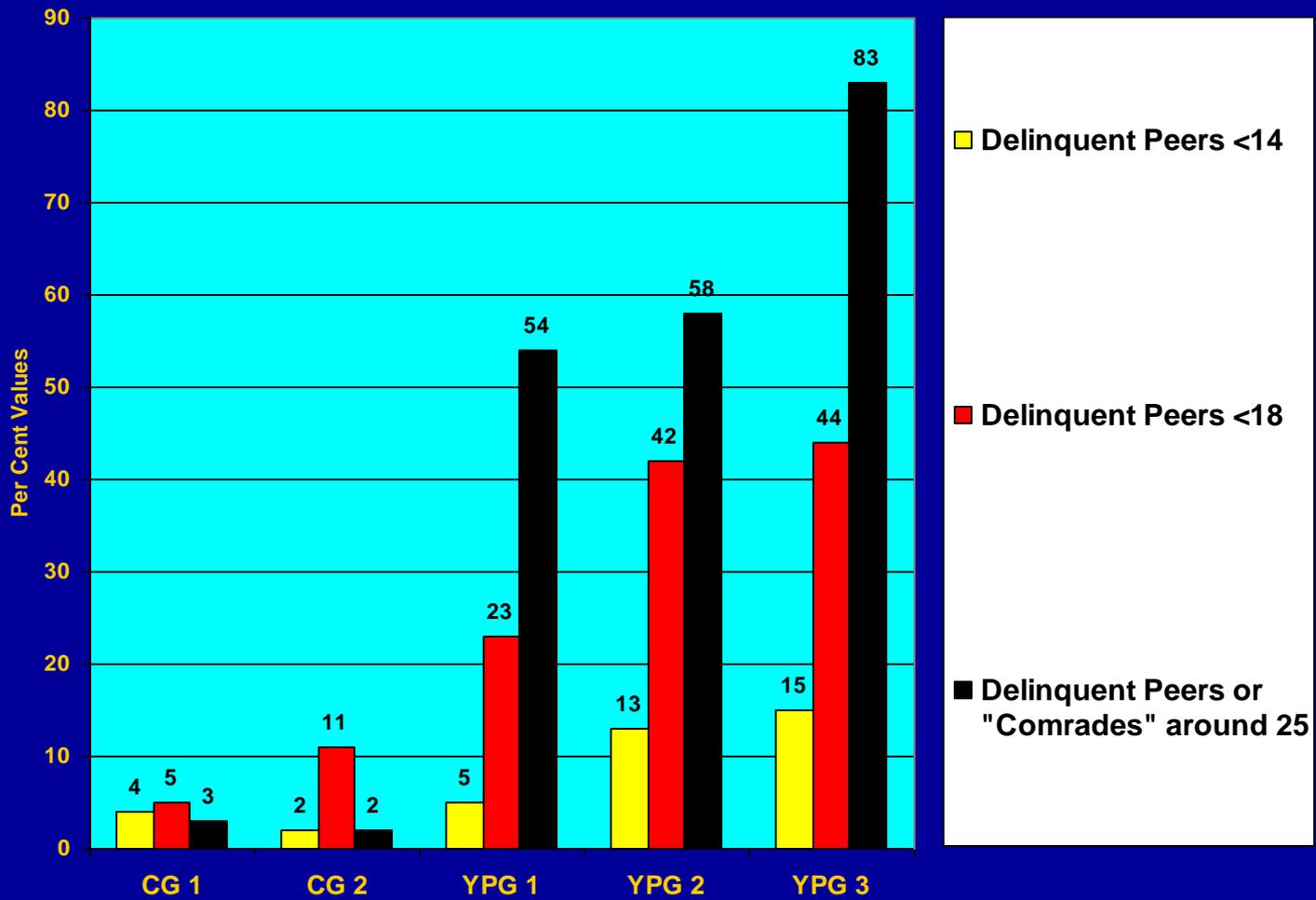
Early Offending and Conduct Problems Among the TCBDS



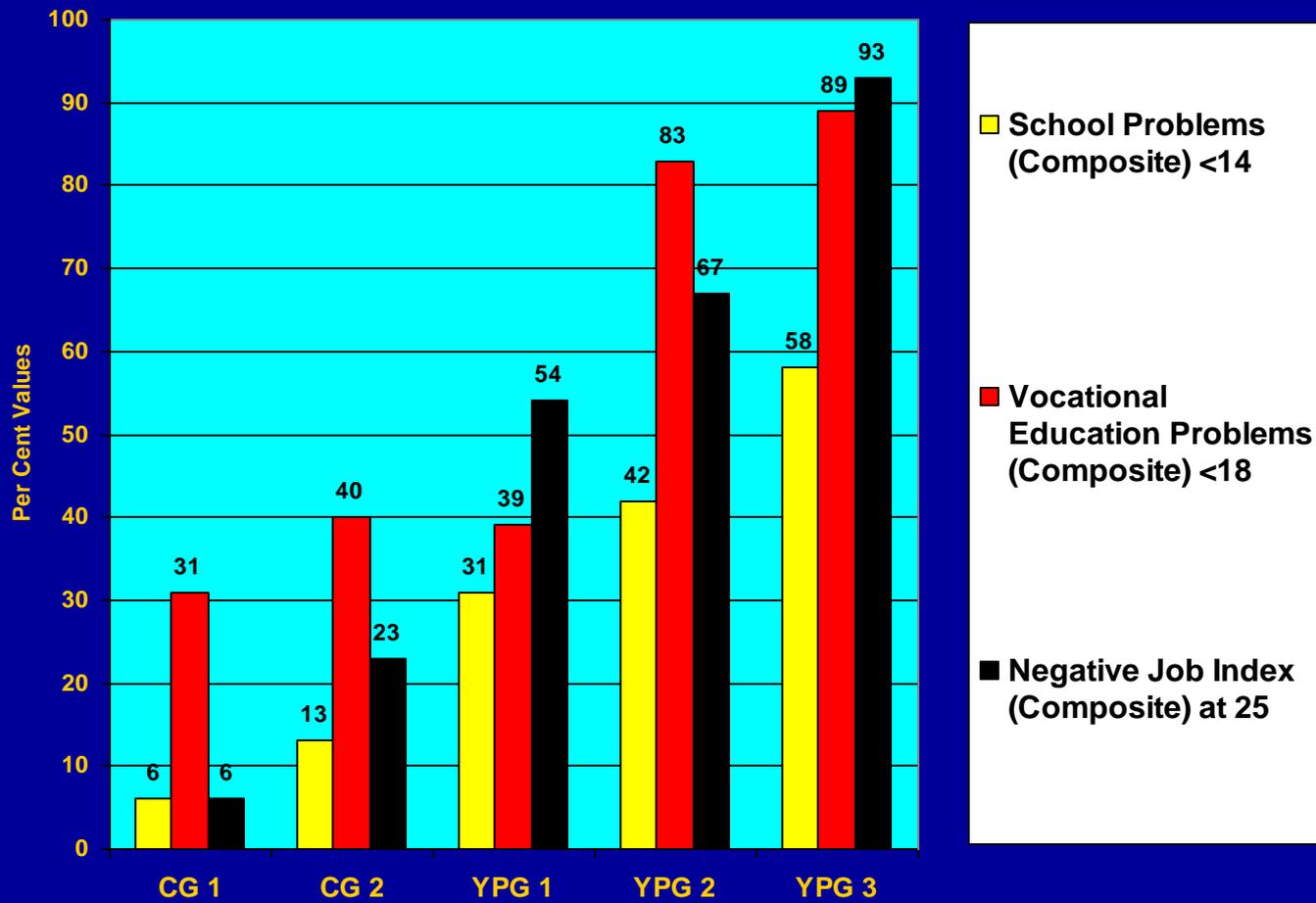
Problematic Leisure Time Activities / Unstructured or "Open-End" Sequences Among the TCBDS Subjects



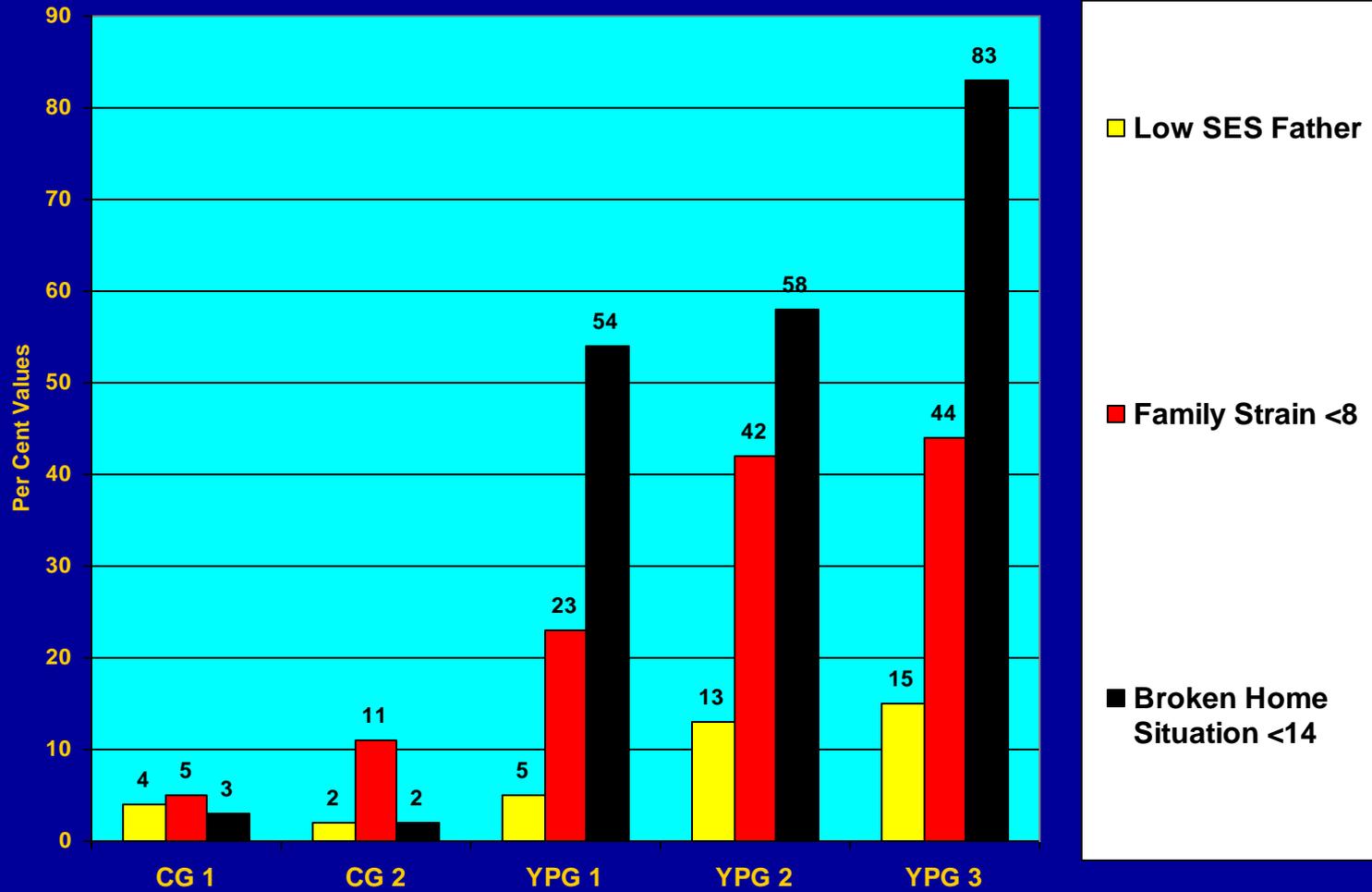
Delinquent Peers Among the TCBDS Subjects



Problems at School, Vocational Education and at Work Among the TCBDS Subjects



Family Situation Among the TCBDS Subjects



Selected Analytic Results of the TCBDS

Retrospective part: From birth to around 18
years of age.

Questions e.g.:

- The possible influence of the family of origin
on juvenile delinquency and crime
- Structural family conditions vs. family
dynamics

Selected Analytic Results of the TCBDS

First perspective of differentiation =
comparing the sub-group of
non-delinquent boys (N = 92)
with the sub-group of
petty delinquent boys (N = 199)

TCBDS Table 1
Family Factors and Petty Juvenile Delinquency
(Bivariate Correlations)

Factor	N	Kendall's Tau
(Large) Family Size	287	.03
(Absent) Working Mother	291	.04
(Structurally Broken) Home	290	.07
(Frequent Change of) Place of Living	291	.15*
(Low) Socio-Economic Status	284	.13*
(Poor / Inadequate) Living Conditions	290	.16*
(Deviant / Criminal) Parents	289	.16*
(Lacking / Low) Emotional Family Bonds	226	.16*
(Authoritarian or Erratic) Parental Style of Education	251	.20**
(Lacking / Minimal) Monitoring	272	.22**

* p < .05

** p < .001

TCBDS Table 2
Family Factors and Petty Juvenile Delinquency
(Multivariate Correlations)

Factor	Logistic Regression	Linear Regression
(Large) Family Size	.00	-.02
(Absent) Working Mother	.02	.05
(Structurally Broken) Home	.00	.01
(Frequent Change of) Place of Living	.00	.08
(Low) Socio-Economic Status	.03	.10
(Poor / Inadequate) Living Conditions	.00	.07
(Deviant / Criminal) Parents	.00	.05
(Lacking / Low) Emotional Family Bonds	.00	.10
(Authoritarian or Erratic) Parental Style of Education	.13*	.13
(Lacking / Minimal) Monitoring	.00	.10
	P² = .13	R² = .11

* p < .05 ** p < .001

Dependent Variable = Petty juvenile delinquency (N = 199) vs. no delinquency (N = 92)

Family Factors and Petty Juvenile Delinquency

General Result:
Petty delinquency = Strongly Context
Dependent

- Ubiquity of minor delinquent / criminal acts
- Situational temptations
- Group dynamics
- Adventure seeking (late childhood)
- Risk taking (puberty)
- Experimenting with „adult roles“

Selected Results TCBDS

Second perspective of differentiation =
comparing the sub-group of
non-delinquent boys (N = 92)
with the sub-group of
seriously delinquent boys (N = 109)

TCBDS Table 3
Family Factors and Serious Juvenile Delinquency
(Bivariate Correlations)

Factor	N	Kendall τ 's Tau
(Large) Family Size	306	.05
(Absent) Working Mother	308	.12*
(Structurally Broken) Home	307	.16*
(Frequent Change of) Place of Living	308	.21**
(Low) Socio-Economic Status	303	.26**
(Poor / Inadequate) Living Conditions	306	.32**
(Deviant / Criminal) Parents	307	.38**
(Lacking / Low) Emotional Family Bonds	246	.40**
(Authoritarian or Erratic) Parental Style of Education	267	.43**
(Lacking / Minimal) Monitoring	285	.63**

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .001$

Dependent Variable = None vs. serious delinquency /criminality

TCBDS Table 4
Correlation Matrix of Family Factors
With Regard to Serious Juvenile Delinquency
(Inter-correlation of structural and dynamic factors)

Factor	Monitoring	Educational Style	Emotional Family Bonds
(Large) Family Size	.16*	.04	.10
(Absent) Working Mother	.04	.07	.11
(Structurally Broken) Home	.13*	.03	.18*
(Frequent Change of) Place of Living	.16*	.15*	.12*
(Low) Socio-Economic Status	.31**	.16**	.22*
(Poor / Inadequate) Living or Housing Conditions	.33**	.20**	.21**
(Deviant / Criminal) Parents	.36**	.25**	.37**

* p < .05 ** p < .001 Correlation Coefficients = Kendall's Tau
Dependent Variable =
Serious juvenile delinquency (N = 109) vs. no delinquency (N = 92)

TCBDS Table 5
Family Factors and Serious Juvenile Delinquency
(Multivariate Correlations)

Factor	Logistic Regression	Linear Regression
(Large) Family Size	.00	-.07
(Absent) Working Mother	.08	.04
(Structurally Broken) Home	.00	.03
(Frequent Change of) Place of Living	.00	.02
(Low) Socio-Economic Status	.00	.10
(Poor / Inadequate) Living Conditions	.00	.07
(Deviant / Criminal) Parents	.09*	.09
(Lacking / Low) Emotional Family Bonds	.12*	.13*
(Authoritarian or Erratic) Parental Style of Education	.19**	.22**
(Lacking / Minimal) Monitoring	.27**	.39**
	P² = .37	R² = .46

* p < .05 ** p < .001

Dependent Variable =

Serious juvenile delinquency (N = 109) vs. no delinquency (N = 92)

Determinants of Family Factors in the Case of Serious Juvenile Delinquency / Criminality:

- All structural „factors“ become insignificant, when controlled for intervening variables.
- Their regression coefficients tend towards Zero
- Structural factors do only have an indirect effect insofar as they influence dynamic family factors.
- Dominant are here: Parental educational style and type of parental monitoring of the whereabouts, friends, behavioural patterns (and the like) of their children.

TCBDS Table 6
Petty Juvenile Delinquency: Extended Model
(Multivariate Correlations)

<u>Dynamic Family Factors</u>	Logistic Regression	Linear Regression
(Lacking / Low) Emotional Family Bonds	.00	.00
(Lacking / Minimal) Monitoring	.00	.06
(Authoritarian or Erratic) Parental Style of Education	.19**	.12
<u>Personal / Behavioural Factors</u>		
Early Childhood Restlessness	.03	.13
Aggressiveness / Defiance / Incurability	.00	.01
Close Connections to Delinquent Peers	.07	.10
(Lack of) Commitment to School	.18*	.23**
	$P^2 = .17$	$R^2 = .16$

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .001$

Dependent Variable =

Petty juvenile delinquency (N = 199) vs. no delinquency (N = 92)

TCBDS Table 7
Serious Juvenile Delinquency: Extended Model
(Multivariate Correlations)

<u>Dynamic Family Factors</u>	Logistic Regression	Linear Regression
(Lacking / Low) Emotional Family Bonds	.15*	.12*
(Lacking / Minimal) Monitoring	.12*	.23**
(Authoritarian or Erratic) Parental Style of Education	.17*	.16**
<u>Personal / Behavioural Factors</u>		
Early Childhood Restlessness	.00	.13*
Aggressiveness/Defiance / Incurability	.00	.10*
Close Connections to Delinquent Peers	.12*	.09*
(Lack of) Commitment to School	.25*	.37*
	$P^2 = .60$	$R^2 = .61$

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .001$

Dependent Variable =

Serious juvenile delinquency (N = 109) vs. no delinquency (N = 92)

Before the High-Crime Phase

- Different Pathways into Crime:

Sub-Group: 121 Serious Repeaters at the time of the first study phase (19-25 Years of Age)

= Young Adult Prisoners with 3 or **more** convictions in the high-crime phase, and at least 1 count of serving an imprisonment term Situation till 18 Years of Age:

48 % First-time Offenders
(52 % others)

24 % with only 1 earlier Conviction

28 % with 2 or more earlier Convictions

Serious Repeaters After the High-Crime Phase
Development from 26 to 39 Years of Age
Different Pathways out of Crime:
Sub-Group = 121 Young Adult Prisoners

- In Particular: Development from 26 to 32 years of age
 - 12 % = Without new convictions
(88 % others)
 - 33 % = only 1-2 further convictions
 - 55 % = 3 or more further convictions**

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Serious Repeaters After the High-Crime Phase

Development from 26 to 39 Years of Age

Different Pathways out of Crime:

Sub-Group = 121 Young Adult Prisoners

- In Particular: Development from 33 to 39 years of age

36 % = Without new convictions

(64 % others)

32 % = only 1-2 further convictions

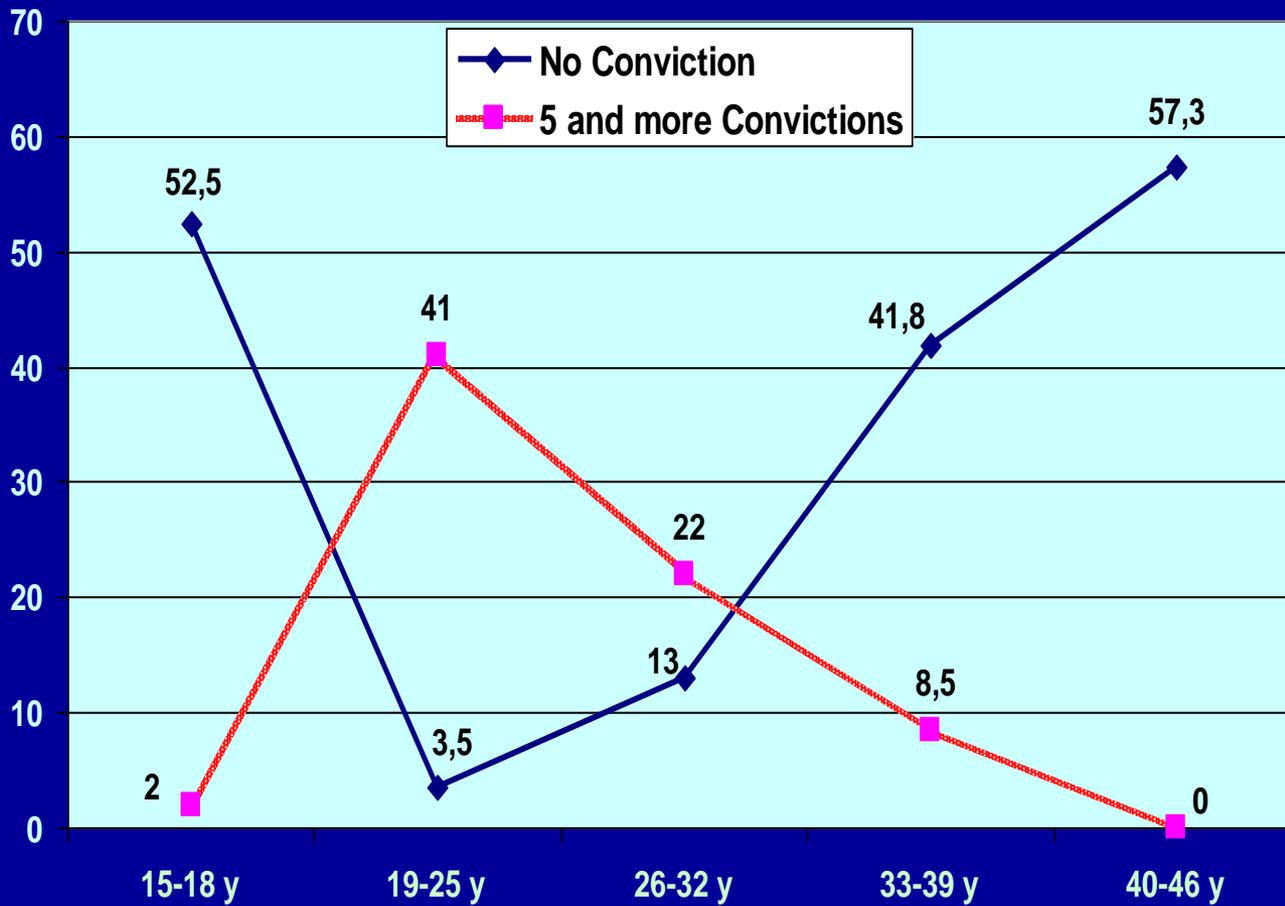
32 % = 3 or more further convictions

TCBDS: Table 8

**Distribution resp. Developments of Convictions Among the (later) Prisoner Sub-Group
between 15 and 46 Years of Age**

<i># Convictions</i>	<i>15-18 y</i>	<i>19-25 y</i>	<i>26-32 y</i>	<i>33-39 y</i>	<i>40-46 y</i>
0	<u>52.5 %</u>	3.5 %	13 %	<u>41.8 %</u>	<u>57.3 %</u>
1-2	<u>33 %</u>	24 %	<u>37 %</u>	<u>30.9 %</u>	<u>29.5 %</u>
3-4	12.5 %	<u>31.5 %</u>	<u>28 %</u>	19.3 %	13.1 %
5+	<u>2 %</u>	<u>41 %</u>	22 %	8.5 %	<u>0</u>
N	200	200	200	176	61

Number of Convictions Among the (Ex-) Prisoner Group at Different Periods of Life



112 (Ex-)Prisoners
around 35 years of Age
(Multiple Regressions)

Checking the potential accumulating amount of variance by stepwise including in the model the following variables:

- * Extent of early childhood conduct disorders
- * Type of social control experienced as juveniles
- * Extent of juvenile delinquency
- * Amount of convictions 19-25
- * Amount of convictions 26-32

Regression on the amount of Alcohol Abuse: Explained Variance (Cumul.)

Early conduct disorder + type of experienced
social control = 4 %

Plus: extent of juvenile delinquency = 4 %

Plus: convictions between 19 and 25 years = 5 %

Plus:

convictions between 26 and 32 years = 20 %

Regression on the intensity of Milieu Contacts: Explained Variance (Cumul.)

Early conduct disorder + type of experienced
social control = 13 %

Plus: extent of juvenile delinquency = 14 %

Plus: convictions between 19 and 25 years = 21 %

Plus:

convictions between 26 and 32 years = 32 %

Regression on the intensity of Week Working Habits: Explained Variance (Cumul.)

Early conduct disorder + type of experienced
social control = 15 %

Plus: extent of juvenile delinquency = 18 %

Plus: convictions between 19 and 25 years = 27 %

Plus:

convictions between 26 and 32 years = 38 %

Regression on the position at a composite Social Deviancy Index at 35: Explained Variance (Cumul.)

Early conduct disorder + type of experienced
social control = 18 %

Plus: extent of juvenile delinquency = 22 %

Plus: convictions between 19 and 25 years = 28 %

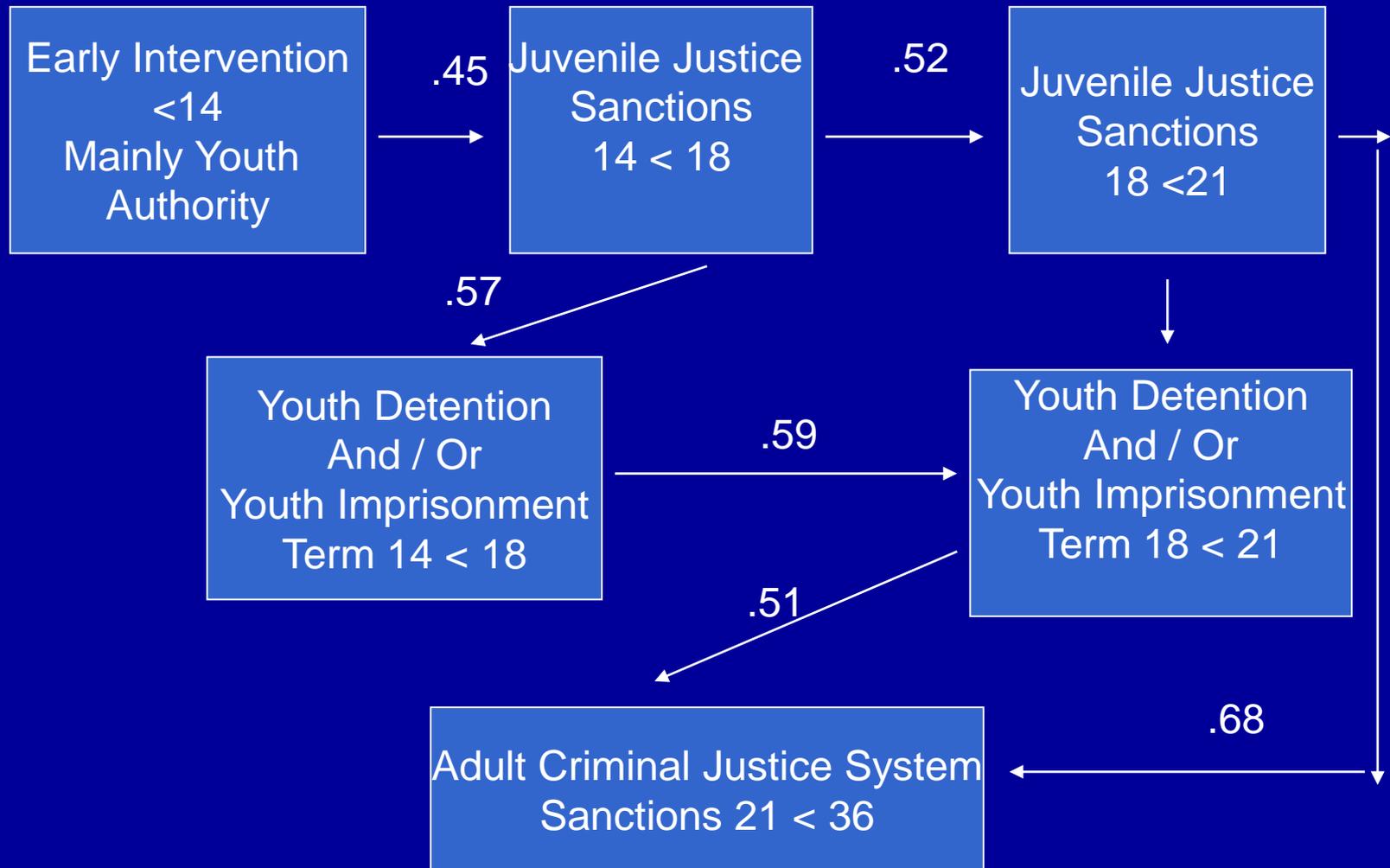
Plus:

convictions between 26 and 32 years = 47 %

The (relative) Auto-Dynamics of Criminal Careers Among those Subjects that Keep Staying in the Career

- * Pathways from Personal Problems to Recidivism.
- * Pathways from Social Disadvantage Problems to Recidivism.
- * Pathways from Intervention / Sanctions to Recidivism (see, just exemplary, the next slide).

The Path of Intervention / Sanctions (Basic Model Only)



Results of Complex Path Model Calculations:

When entering

- (1) (a) personal/personality problems, (b) social handicap factors, and (c) delinquency and criminal history related interventions/sanctions stepwise
- (2) at different age periods = (d) up to 6, (e) 7-13, (f) 14-17, (g) 18-21 and (h) 21-24, the basic result comes like this: From age period to age period the „Path of Intervention“ becomes more dominant, whereas the path coefficients of the personality links and the social handicap links become weaker, if not insignificant at all.
- (3) To put that picture in substantial terms: the criminal career seemingly gets auto-dynamic in so far as acts of offence and criminal justice system responses seem to feed (feedback) each other in loops becoming progressively independent of the „background factors“.
- (4) However: Around 25 a „turn“ starts to develop which works so to speak as an antidote to the negative spiral. New dynamics/processes occur / emerge favouring or „inducing“ desistance. See next slide on the start of “Pathways out of Crime”.

Pathways out of Crime Between 25 and 35

Dominant Spheres

of Reorientation, of Re-Shaping of Relationships, of Changes of Behavioural Styles, Modes of Thinking etc.:

- Getting and upholding a meaningful job.
- Entering an emotionally rewarding and stable partnership (marriage).
- Breaking with the past, in particular with delinquent peers and the downtown „milieu“ (sometimes even with the “detrimental” family of origin).
- Reducing alcohol abuse or heavy drinking patterns. [Note: The study subjects belong to a generation basically not substantially confronted with at a large scale, respectively tempted by, illegal drugs like heroin, cocaine, speed or marihuana/hashish].

A Central Result:

When selecting a group out of the sample of (former) young prisoners which exhibited or suffered from roughly the same amount and structure of behavioural and life problems around 25, and splitting them up in the sub-groups of “desisters” on the one hand, “persisters” on the other hand, considering their development up to 35 years of age:

we find the following central tendency = Desisters improve remarkably fast and stringent in a couple of central fields of everyday living, they shift toward the “Normals”

The following processes and interactions seem to be involved:

- Personal decision,
- support by “significant others”, and
- contextual experiences.

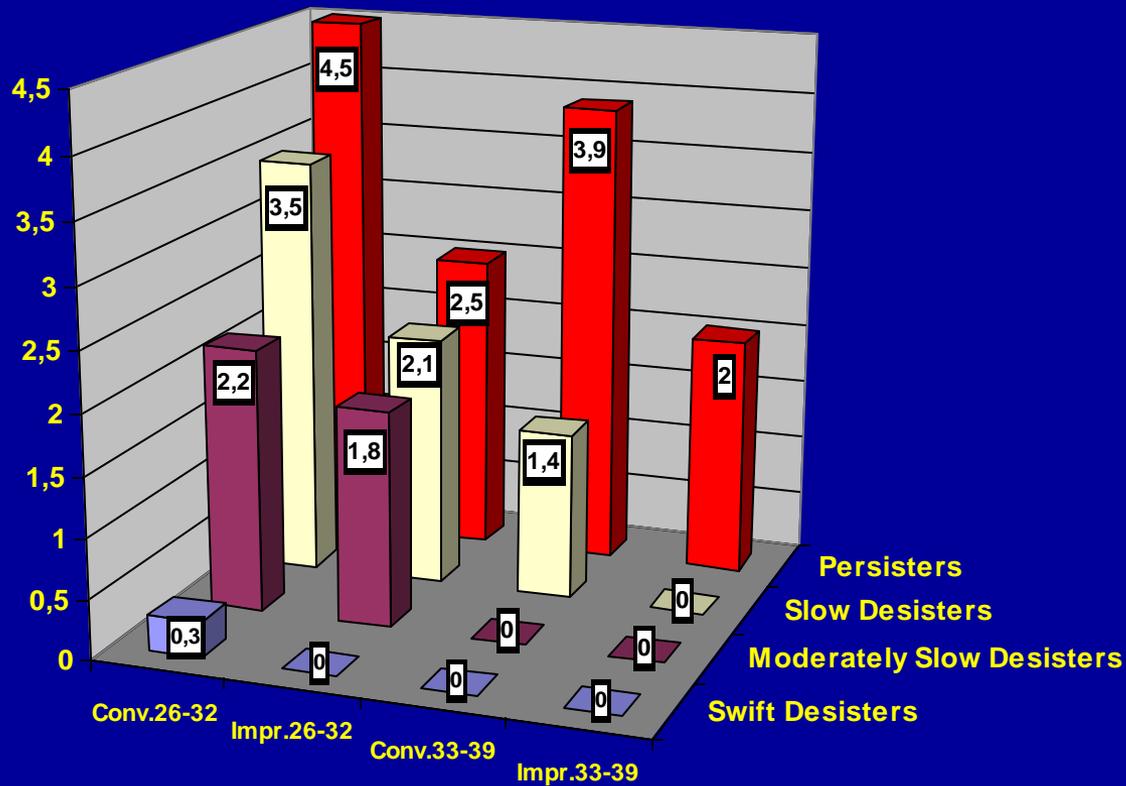
Putting it in Perspective:

- Taking together the effects of those processes and interactions: They appear to
 - “lead” or even to “induce” the (later) Desisters eventually into a state of cognitive reorientation
 - followed by a motion toward a comprehensive behavioural reorganisation of the diverse “fields” of their life world.
- This looks as if they were about to develop what one could call with Bourdieu a new „Habitus“.

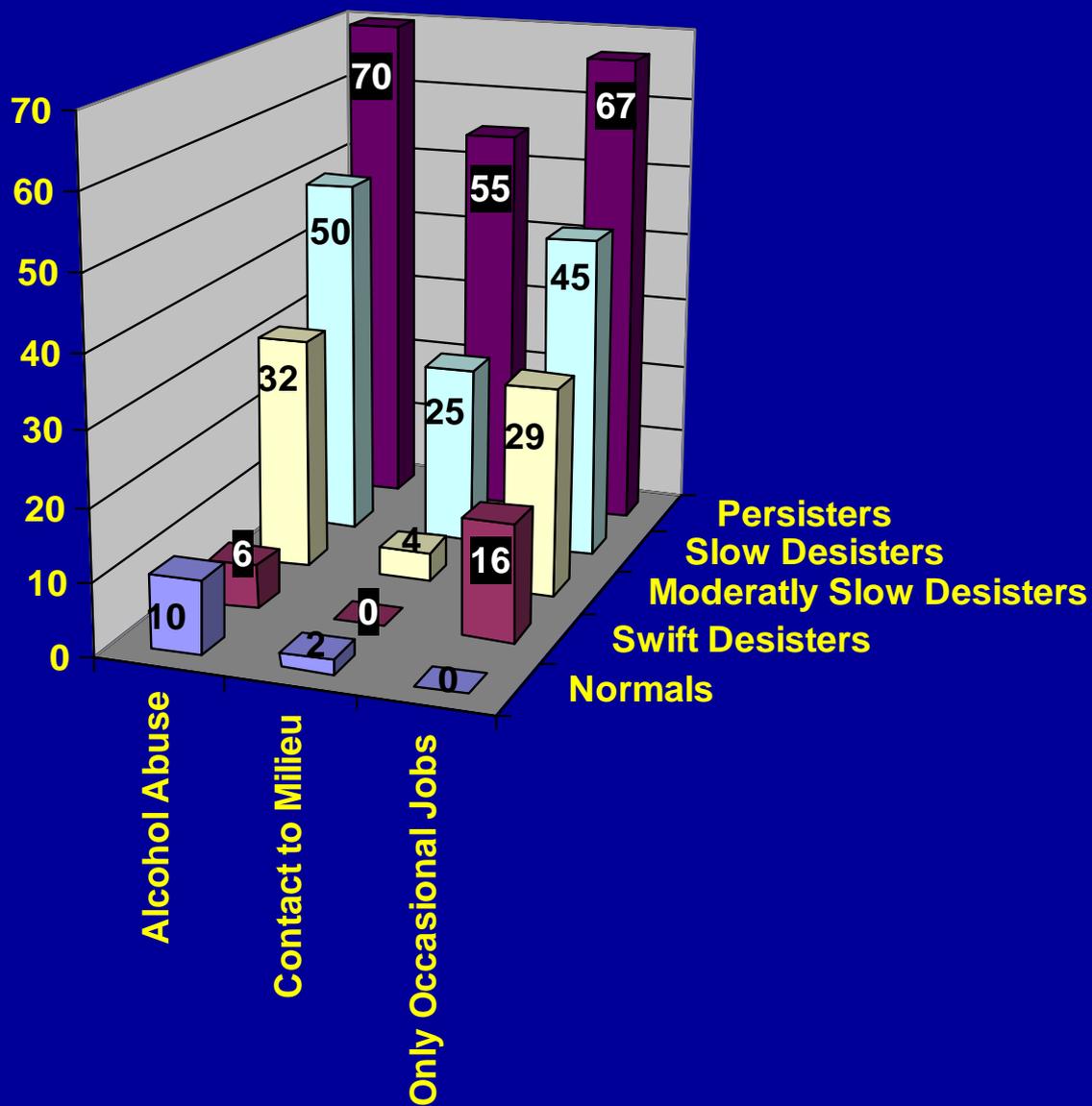
Examples of Desistance Development. Diminishing:

- The amount and the kind of offences leading to convictions and imprisonment
- The extent and intensity of alcohol misuse
- The involvement in “downtown milieu” activities
- The predominant making his living from occasional jobs
- The amount of unsteady work
- The seemingly sex driven contact/dating with predominantly “exchangeable” partners, and the avoiding of emotionally rewarding stable relationships.

TCBDS- Figure 1: Different Speed of Desisting vs. Persisting:
 Comparing 4 Sub-Groups of (Ex-)Prisoners after 25 till 40 years of age: Average
 yearly number of convictions and terms of imprisonment



Problem Behaviour around 35 among different Sub-Groups regarding their development up to 40

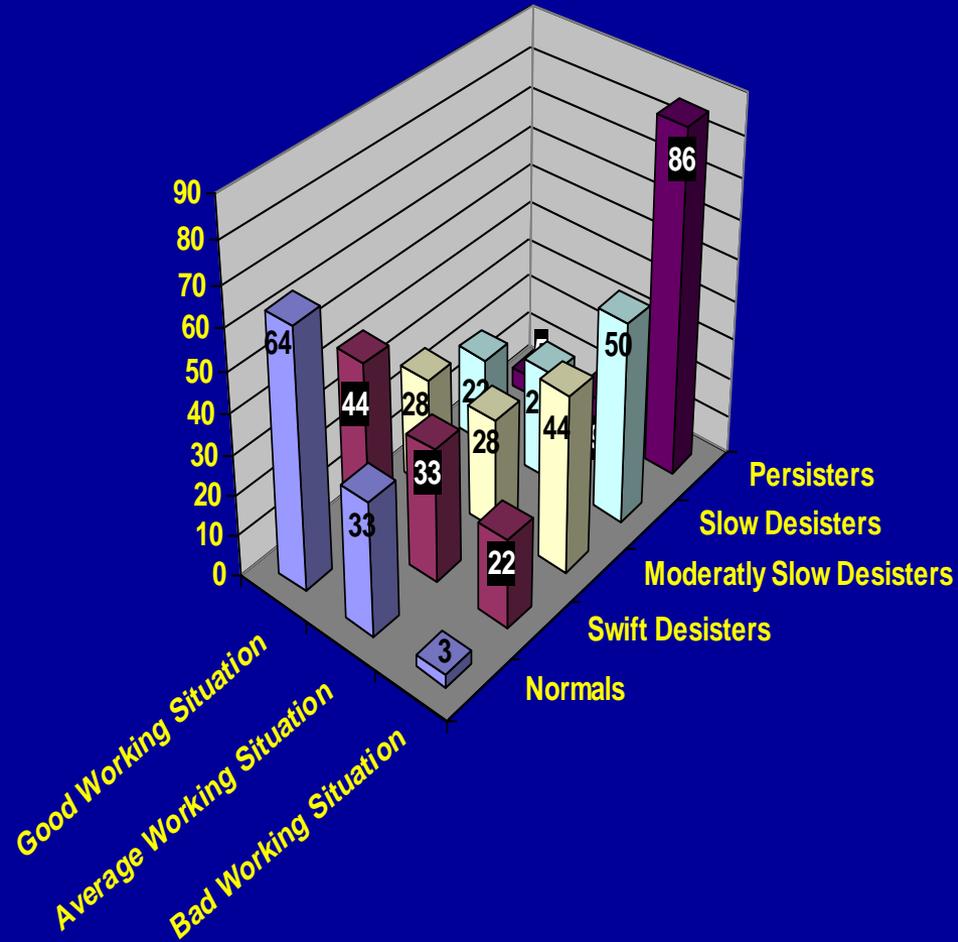


TCBDS: Table 9

**Type of commitment to work respectively engagement in a
meaningful job around 35 (even low paid),
 and new convictions up to 40
(Ex-)Prisoners**

<i>Type of Work</i>	No further Conviction	1 Conviction	2+ Convictions
Good / satisfying	87 %	9 %	4 %
“Functioning”	77 %	15 %	8 %
Bad / unsatisfying	39 %	16 %	46 %

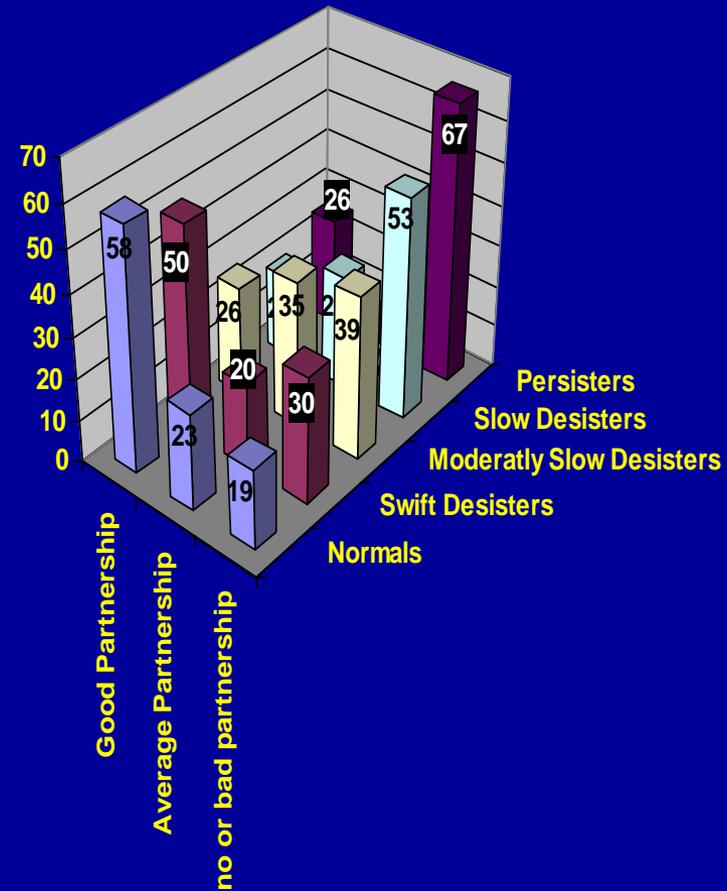
Working situation around 35 among different Sub-Groups regarding their development up to 40



TCBDS: Table 10
Type of partnership / marriage around 35,
and new convictions up to 40
(Ex-)Prisoners

<i>Type of Partnership</i>	No further Conviction	1 Conviction	2+ Convictions
Good/stable	76 %	6 %	18 %
“Functioning”	70 %	10 %	20 %
No Partnership	53 %	16 %	31 %
Bad/instable	33 %	25 %	42 %

Partnership situation around 35 among different Sub-Groups regarding their development up to 40



The long term resiliency effect

of entering into a

meaningful and stable job

as well into a

stable and emotionally rewarding partnership:

Considering those 69 ex-prisoners who

developed positively between 25 and 35

and who

exhibited stable patterns at 35

TCBDS: Table 11

**Resiliency Effects of Work and Partnership up to 40
(Multivariate Analyses: Stepwise Linear Regression.
Dependent Variable = Number of Convictions from
36 to 40 Years of Age)**

Meaningful job at 35 y	-.43**	-.41**	-.43**	-.22*	-.29*	-.37**
Rewarding partnership at 35 y	-.19*	-.18*	-.18*	-.18*	-.18*	-.19*
Juvenile delinquency up to 18 y	---	.08	---	---	---	---
Social deviance up to 18	---	---	.03	---	---	---
# of Convictions 15-34 y	---	---	---	.50**	---	---
# of Imprisonment Terms 15-34 y	---	---	---	---	.37**	---
Accumulated Length of imprisonment 15-34 y	---	---	---	---	---	.16*
R²	.28	.28	.28	.48	.39	.30

* p < .10 ** p < .005. Only subjects with fully valid information on stable partnership and stable work relations

New Focus on Desistance

The Tübingen Young Offenders Desistance Study

TYODS:

A Qualitative Longitudinal Study

- 1997 till present -

Principal Researchers:

Hans-Jürgen Kerner / Wolfgang Stelly /
Jürgen Thomas

Subjects of the TYODS: Original Aim = 60 Young Adults

- First contact, with semi-structured interview =1998.
- Retrospective analysis: Development from early childhood till the end of (legal) juvenile status
- Successfully contacted and interviewed eventually:
N = 56
- Age Range = 17-22 Years

Seriousness of Delinquency respectively Criminality among the TYODS Subjects

- Original idea of selection: They should have got at least 1 youth imprisonment term of 2 years (unconditional or conditional with probation order)
- Field experience = All too few were to be found in the Stuttgart Appeal Court jurisdictional area. So: Reduced selection approach: at least one imprisonment term of at least 10 months duration.
- However, in the event: Actual average extent of deprivation of liberty sentences among the 56 subjects: 2 years (including conditional ones).
- 2/3 of them did actually serve one or more Youth Imprisonment terms.
- More than 1/3 served more than 6 months, which is rather high for young offenders coming into contact with the juvenile justice system in Germany.

Note:

- The German Youth Courts jurisdiction pertains to young offenders in the age range from 14-21 years.
- From the age of 18 to the age of less than 21, however, the Youth Court may impose on the young defendant, within this jurisdiction, penalties and/or remedial or security “measures” along the rules of the adult Penal Code.
- Special short sentence available for youthful offenders: “Youth Detention” (either 1-2 weekends or 1 week or, more intense, up to 4 weeks duration).
- Youth imprisonment penalty: Standard range = 6 months to 5 years, exceptionally 10 years. No formal distinction between misdemeanours and felonies.
- Adult imprisonment penalty, if not being a life sentence (mostly for first degree murder): Standard range = 1 months to 5 years with misdemeanours, 1 year to 15 years with felonies.

Pathways into Crime among the TYODS Subjects

Structural similarity with the TCBDS: we found quite different pathways, namely the following distinct sub-groups:

- „Early starters“ (showing severe conduct disorder already at early childhood stage)
- „Early drifters“ (starting with some conduct disorders at late childhood / early juvenile stage)
- „Adolescent starters“ (not exhibiting childhood problems, but experiencing stressful life events during puberty/early maturation)
- „Leisure time warriors“
 - living a kind of “double life” = integration in family, school, vocational education, and work during the week,
 - but exhibiting extended delinquency (mainly property and/or violent offences) at weekend or holidays

Pathways into Crime among the TYODS Subjects

Important type of pathway into crime:

General concept = „Leistungsbereich“

**= Sphere of dutiful endeavours and
engagement in everyday life
situations/obligations**

**Meaning the interrelated fields of commitment to, and
involvement in e.g.:**

- * familial duties,**
- * homework at school,**
- * assignments at vocational education, and**
- * constant/steady work on the job.**

Pathways into Crime among the TYODS Subjects, Related to the Sphere of Dutiful Endeavours:

- „Early starters“: Early deviancy and delinquency are being strongly related to comprehensive deficits in this sphere
- „Early drifters“: Early deviancy and delinquency are being moderately related to extended deficits in this sphere
- „Adolescent starters“: Problems in this sphere are being intricately related to the consequences of delinquent acts: Stigmatisation effects
- „Leisure time warriors“: No deficits in this sphere at all (at least in the beginning stages of leisure time offending sequences)

General Background of Early and Serious Delinquency among the TYODS Subjects:

Early and serious delinquency seems over-proportionally concentrated among socially marginalized young people.

It is being co-determined particularly by

- Ethnic origin,
- Socio-economic status,
- Family living conditions, and
- Type of Schooling.

TYODS: High-Criminality Stage at 17-22

Criminal behaviour in that phase of life is being integrated into a distinct life style, characterized by:

- Orientation towards „having fun“
- Constantly seeking „action“ or „thrill“
- Impulsivity
- Short-sighted actions
- Pursuing, if at all, mostly „non-realistic“ plans
- Intense peer-group orientation / bonding to “pals” instead of supportive and reliable friends
- Unstructured leisure time = hanging around with a „steady potential of open development“, depending in its shape mostly not on at least short-time rational considerations, but on spontaneous “ideas” out of the spur of the moment.

TYODS: High-Criminality Stage at 17-22

Central motives of acting, with regard to the before mentioned distinct lifestyle, are the following:

- Gaining „respect“ from others
- Preserving „autonomy“
- Getting and preserving „status“

Pathways out of Crime among the TYODS Subjects

- * Follow-up time: 6 years.
- * Semi-structured intense interviews in 2000 and 2003/2004.
- * Additional interviews with the subjects' probation officers.
- Iterated analyses of the transcripts by
 - (a) rating the texts individually and then
 - (b) administering AQUAD-search runs for further specifying the results.
- Interpretation along an approach contrasting pivotal elements of the
 - “age-graded social control theory” (Sampson/Laub) with the
 - “general theory of crime” (Gottfredson/Hirschi) .

Apart from particular insights on specific issues:

Resulting Overarching Construct =

Three-Phase Model

of the

Desistance Process:

Phase 1: Decision

Phase 2: Avoidance and Trial

Phase 3: Stabilisation

Desistance: Phase 1 = Decision

Decision as a (sometimes oscillating)
Process rather than
a single Act:

- Weighing costs and benefits of deviant behaviour
- Weighing costs and benefits of conforming / law abiding behaviour
- Eventually: Cognitive reorientation

Desistance: Phase 1 = Decision

In particular:

Reorientation

- Changes in the motivation that hitherto had been inducive to deviant behaviour:
 - e. g. breaking up with neutralisation techniques / patterns
- Changes in the evaluation of the hitherto preferred or factually „ingrained“ life style

Weighing Costs 1

Realizing that the „costs of deviance and crime“ are rising due to:

- Increasing and more severe terms of imprisonment
- Increasing danger to get expelled from the country
- Rising debts (also fines and costs of law enforcement and adjudication)
- Missed opportunities (school, vocational education)
- Speeding-up of marginalisation dynamics
- Emotional hazards, e.g. negative experiences with peers, and intensified dissociation from the family of origin (experiencing more intense disapproval).

Weighing Costs 2

The ambivalent experience of youth imprisonment

- Deprivation of liberty tends in general to hamper the reintegration of (young) offenders
- However: Many young offenders report subjective experiences of „beneficial direct effects“: Those can be labelled, condensing their personal remarks into a single catchword, as an unwanted but in the event nevertheless useful phase of „Time Out“ for thinking about oneself, ones biography, missed chances, menacing future, possible ways out of the strain and the more intensely felt structural life misery

Desistance: Phase 1

Benefits 1

Shrinking benefit of the old life style due to

- Gradual loss of significance and meaning of the peer group
- Gradual fading of the „kick“ of actions
- Rising phases of „boredom“

Desistance: Phase 1

Benefits 2

Growing benefit of the (envisaged and/or already in part actually lived) new life style due to experiencing:

- Improving possibilities to gain positive status out of work and partnership
- Increasing possibilities to earn legal money
- Happiness and rewards of emotional bonds/ties with a partner and his personal-social near environment

Desistance: Phase 2

Avoidance and Trial: The Tasks of:

- „Cutting off“ endangering contacts and relationships
- „Breaking off“ with engrained habits and “wiping out” problematic behavioural patterns
- Entering into/creating new positive relationships, and taking constant care of new bonds respectively social networks. By doing so:
- Assembling new or reactivating old elements of „social capital“

Elements / Spheres of Avoidance and Trial = A Complex Web of Changes Related to:

- Self-Concept
- Peers
- School
- Vocational Education
- Leisure Time Structuring and Patterns
- Financial Situation
- Living conditions / Place of Abode
- Family of Origin
- Partnership / Family of his own

Elements / Spheres of Avoidance and Trial

The importance /significance of
„criminality management“:

- Reducing conduct problems
- Stopping offences or diminishing at least their frequency and severity, in order to get them at a level that, if detected, seems „tolerable“ to law enforcement and adjudication authorities
- Theoretical Note: Considering petty or „occasional“ recidivism not as a real failure, but rather as an somehow unavoidable part of the game or, to put it in a more dynamically oriented conception, as a „momentum of improvement“

Trial Phase: Particular Challenge of Finding a New Balance of/at Dutiful Work

- Stigma management
- Handling sudden unemployment at insecure jobs
- Finding a niche in the so-called second labour market
- Overcoming individual handicaps
- Regulation the debts
- Developing motivation to work even at not (yet) very rewarding jobs

The positive auto-dynamics of accepting, finding, and holding „any“ job, including the necessity to manage the task of:

Conscious withstanding the old habit to „withdraw“ from the challenge respectively to „opt for the flight“ out of difficulties.

The Meaning of a Job for the Enhancement of Desisting:

- Acknowledgment by significant others
- Self-Assurance, Self-Gratification
- Legitimate status among new acquaintances and positive peers
- Chances to fulfil the role of the „responsible male“ (partner, father, provider of living resources, caregiver)
- Demonstration of the capacity to „nourish“ a family.

Desistance: Phase 3

Stabilization

- Interactive causal processes of strengthened or self-reinforcing *social ties* in the fields/spheres of stable and emotionally satisfying/rewarding
- Life in Partnership or even a full Family,
- Labour/Work Arrangements, and
- Leisure Time Activities.

Desistance: Phase 3

Elements of Bonding / Improving Ties

- Development of new and stable self-control
- Belief in conventional values
- Abiding by social/legal norms
- Time and energy consuming involvement in partnership, neighbourhood exchanges, leisure time groups, associations or clubs etc.
- Increased material resources: giving help and support to others (followed e.g. by feelings of pride)
- Increased social capital: getting support by relatives, friends or acquaintances (followed e.g. by feelings of being accepted by “significant others”)

Desistance in Sum: The “Threefold Cognitive Turn”

- (1) It starts with a (sometimes more “emerging” than explicitly and suddenly taken) decision to change.
- (2) It continues with a cognitive reorientation encompassing or infiltrating consecutively all „spheres“ of living.
- (3) It stabilizes with a cognitively self-monitored
 - re-vitalization of old relationships (if still available),
 - a re-activation of hitherto “forgotten” skills, and
 - the (additional) establishment of a new web of relationships, and a new set of useful skills.

Central Elements of the “Whole” of Cognitive Resozialisation:

- Durable Change of life style
- Durable Change of values and focal concerns
- Suitable activation of what we call the „latent threshold“ of resozialisation endeavours in earlier life phases = Harvesting lagged long term benefits of coaching efforts made by others that originally seemed to be nothing but failures in the short run
- Cognitive re-orientation on what we call „latent role models“ having been confronted with in earlier life phases = Harvesting lagged long term benefits of concrete experiences with trust, care, respect etc. as shown (also) by agents of formal social control, which originally seemed to be just completely futile in the short run

The Theoretical Challenge at the End: Objective Causality and/or Human Agency?

The necessity to develop/make use of complex and dynamically oriented models of causality: Patterns of *aggregates* of Persons, Groups, Acts, Interactions, Transitions and Trajectories.

Designing conceptual frames enabling us to put individuals in a coherent developmental and prospective perspective. [overcoming narrowly defined schemes of “Predictors”]

Developing a deeper understanding of “Cognitive Resozialisation” among *individuals* as an emerging end-result of sequences of particularly:

- Decision(s) to change,
- Working on the realization of such decisions,
- Willful human interaction with the aim to enhance velocity and quality of processes of change,
- Feedback dynamics of endeavours to and of actual forms of „exchanges“ with the personal, social and objective „environments“ of an individual,
- Auto-dynamic processes of accumulation/improvement of beneficial experiences, leading eventually to
- new capabilities and habits. [Methodological aspect = Prognosis] [Theoretical aspect = fluid „Configurations“ (Norbert Elias) ocuring/emerging in an interactive ecological habitat with repeated changes and challenges over time]

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