

## **History, life course criminology and digital methods: new directions for conceptualizing juvenile justice in Europe**

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### **Back to the future? Histories of the present**

In 1816, shortly after the close of the Napoleonic wars, the ‘Committee for Investigating the Causes of the Alarming Increase of Juvenile Delinquency in the Metropolis’ concluded that the main ‘causes’ of juvenile crime in England were the ‘want of education’, the ‘want of suitable employment’, ‘the violation of the Sabbath’ and ‘the improper conduct of parents’. The Report continued: ‘the first circumstances, which are allowed to operate in the formation of character, flow from the exercise, or neglect, of parental authority’. In addition ‘the errors of parents have done much to encourage the criminal propensities of their children... [such parents being] regardless of the welfare of their children’ (Committee for Investigating the Causes of the Alarming Increase of Juvenile Delinquency in the Metropolis’ 1816: 10- 11).

The reform of juvenile justice across much of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries ‘embodied an implicit critique of the working-class family arrangements and child rearing practices’ (Clarke, 2002: 134). By the middle of the nineteenth century legislation providing for Industrial and Reformatory Schools represented the institutionalised manifestation of these concerns. The Industrial Schools Act 1861, for example, allowed for children (under the age of 14 years) to be removed from their families and detained if their parents were deemed to be unable to control them. Similarly, section 11 of the Elementary Education Act 1876 authorised School Boards to place any ‘child [who] is found habitually wandering or not under proper control, or in the company of rogues, vagabonds, disorderly persons, or reputed criminals’ in a Certified Industrial School or a Certified Day Industrial School. Notions of parental ‘deficit’ were pivotal (Goldson and Jamieson, 2002) and, as Peter King (2006: 106) observes:

Juvenile offenders, as powerful representatives of the shape of the future and as potential mirrors of the broader state of social order, were especially likely to be seized upon as particularly dangerous manifestations of these broader social problems, as symbols of the nascent insubordination, idleness and family degeneration of many sections of the burgeoning urban working class.

An obsession with the ‘malfunctioning’ urban working class family underpinned aetiological constructions of juvenile crime and the report of the Committee into Juvenile Delinquency (1816) was part of a ‘much wider explosion in public debate’ which marked ‘the first hesitant (and

methodologically naïve) attempts to investigate the roots of criminal behavior, the ages and backgrounds of offenders and the effects of various judicial policies upon them' (King, 2006: 105).

Two hundred years later and many of the same questions persist across Europe and beyond. Why do some children, who may share the same familial background, peer networks, and neighbourhoods offend whereas others do not? What are the causes of juvenile crime? Why do some young people desist from offending when others engage a life of recidivism? How can criminal justice agencies, policymakers and researchers prevent juvenile crime? What factors obstruct desistance and what processes contribute to desistance? Similar questions also frame research undertaken by crime historians who adopt life course approaches to 'recover' 'criminal lives' from the eighteenth, nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and, in doing so, add a crucial historical dimension to contemporary criminological concerns (Godfrey et al, 2007, 2010, 2017).

The digitization of historical record sets is increasingly enabling researchers to compile and compare offending trajectories and life course histories.<sup>1</sup> The relatively recent digitization of genealogical sources including the census, birth, marriage and death records, crime registers and newspapers means that crime historians are able to 'unlock' the biographies of young offenders and chart significant life course events, processes and transitions including admission to, experience in and release from penal institutions, alongside their subsequent education, employment, housing, geographical (re)location, (re)marriage, parenthood, military conscription, re-offending, desistance and, ultimately, death. Using a combination of biographical and multivariate analysis, such research can draw upon 'cradle to grave' data to examine how juvenile justice interventions that took place over the course of the nineteenth century - including placements in Reformatory and Industrial Schools, imprisonment and transportation - was experienced by juvenile offenders and their families and the effects that such experiences imposed.

Crime historians who adopt life course approaches typically adopt retrospective analyses of offending. As Godfrey et al (2017: 4) explain: 'life course criminological studies fall into two groups: prospective and retrospective. Prospective studies follow a cohort of people, usually defined by their birth year, at intervals over their lives whereas retrospective studies collate past or historic data on a given cohort'. Both retrospective and prospective studies draw upon large cohorts to create multi-variate datasets to explore patterns in offending and life transitions that can help to explain the onset, continuity and/or desistance from offending. Juvenile crime historians and life course criminologists, then, centre their research around two broad but inter-related questions: first, why do some children offend when others

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<sup>1</sup> See, for example, the Digital Panopticon (<https://www.digitalpanopticon.org/>) and Old Bailey Online (<https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/>)

do not, and second, what ‘pathways’ lead to either persistence or desistance from crime as children and young people transition into adulthood?

Arjan Blockland and Paul Nieuwebeerta (2010: 84) have encouraged historians and life course criminologists to shape future research that involves ‘comparisons between countries and historical periods’. Whilst recent comparative criminology – including research in the juvenile/youth justice sphere – has tended to privilege contemporary inter-jurisdictional analyses, comparative *histories* of juvenile justice which cross nation state borders remain largely underdeveloped. To date, historical transnational comparative research on youth and the life course across, and between, European countries is, at best, embryonic.

This chapter aims to encourage historians and criminologists to synthesize historical and contemporary datasets to examine juvenile justice and punishment across both time and space. Gathering life histories from across Europe can provide a lens through which to examine the effects of historical, cultural, social, economic and political change upon juvenile offenders. Life course criminology has already demonstrated the value of embedding biographies within their temporal and spatial contexts and to examine the impact of social-structural change on ‘delinquent’ youth. Some researchers have examined the impacts of small-scale social shifts within micro-historical contexts such as the Nilsson et al (2013) study of young offenders in Sweden. Others, have explored the effects of macro-level processes of social change including, for example, Elder’s study of the impact on a cohort of young people of the Great Depression in the 1930s as the economic crisis shattered employment opportunities and produced negative legacies that extended well into adulthood (Elder, 1998). Given that swathes of Europe are currently beset by conditions of austerity, collaboration amongst European crime historians and criminologists is especially timely.

Longitudinal surveys, developmental and intergenerational analysis, life history and historical demography share a common desire to use the life course to understand change at both the personal and the collective level (Godfrey et al, 2017). As Carlsson and Samecki (2016: 5) note, ‘human development is dependent on social and historical conditions and processes: where and when we live impacts on how we live and how our life course unfolds’. The chapter is presented in three sections: first, we outline the contours of life course criminological approaches, second, we review how historians have utilized the digital environment to examine criminal lives on a transnational scale and, third, finally we posit potential future directions for historians and criminologists of European juvenile justice.

### **Life course criminology**

Life course criminologies examine the relationship between criminal offending and life course trajectories and transitions including education, marriage, family formation, employment and so on as a means to explain the causes and effects of criminal activity. Broadly, these studies explore the lives of ‘individuals as they move through time and place, and how criminal offending changes and continues with these movements’ (Carlsson and Sanecki, 2016: 2). Life course criminologists adopt a longitudinal approach which involves the creation of individual biographies of offenders as a way of exploring the relationships between patterns of offending and life course events, processes and transitions for example: forming adult relationships, getting married, entering, leaving or being excluded from employment, entering or leaving military service and so on. Moreover, by situating individual lives within their historical, social, political, economic and cultural contexts, historians and criminologists are able to assess the ways in which life transitions impact on crime, offending and desistance.

An early and influential example of life course criminology was Eleanor and Sheldon Glueck’s study of 500 delinquent boys committed to reform schools in Massachusetts, USA in the 1930s. The study compared the offending cohort with a control group of 500 non-offending boys and explored the factors that appeared to contribute to the boys’ patterns of offending or desistance (Glueck and Glueck, 1930; 1934; 1950; 1968). The Glueck’s datasets – alongside those generated by the Cambridge Somerville Youth Study, first established in 1939 and also in Massachusetts, USA- provided a foundation for further longitudinal research which followed these cohorts into old age (McCord, 1977). Several later studies drew upon much larger samples. Two American studies, the Rochester Youth Development Study followed 1000 children from New York public schools (Thornberry et al, 1998) and the Pittsburgh Youth Study followed 1,500 males up to the age of 35 (Jennings et al, 2016), whilst the Dunedin Longitudinal Study traced 1000 people born in early 1970s in New Zealand (Silva, 1996). These studies, and others that followed, have demonstrated the contributions that large-scale life course and longitudinal research can make (Wolfgang et al, 1972; Elder, 1998; Sampson and Laub, 1993, 1997, 2003, 2006; Farrington et al, 2013). The capacity to identify the relationships between offending and key events, patterns, processes and transitions across multiple offenders’ lives reveals the myriad of personal, structural and legal phenomena that can impinge upon, or contribute towards, repeat offending and/or desistance.

Life course researchers commonly apply multi-variate analysis to large cohorts to understand offending at both the personal/individual and the collective level. Quantitative methods are commonly applied in life course research, but the combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches enables more nuanced analyses of individual agency. Adopting a mixed methods approach Sampson and Laub (2003) followed-up the Glueck’s (1950) famous *Unravelling Juvenile Delinquency* study by applying quantitative analysis to explore generic patterns in young offenders’ criminal careers and qualitative methods to closely analyse the individual life histories of 52 of the juveniles who featured in the

Gluecks' original sample. In doing so, Sampson and Laub highlighted the vital importance of human agency: 'indeed, they go so far as to term it the missing link in understanding both persistence and desistance, and as such human agency provides a crucial piece of the puzzle of continuity and change in crime across the life course' (Carlsson and Sarnecki, 2016: 4).

While a substantial volume of life course research has emerged out of the USA and Australasia, a significant number of studies have also been conducted in Europe (Kvavilashvili, 1998; Savolein, 2009; Skardhamar, 2010). The *Cambridge Study in Delinquent Development* followed the lives of 400 young male offenders from South London, England and charted their lives from primary school to late middle age, examining the impact of variables including education, peer networks, familial life, leisure patterns and socio-economic conditions against their offending patterns (Farrington et al, 2006; 2013). Taking a longer historical timeframe, the *TransFive* project conducted in the Netherlands followed 198 young offenders who had been incarcerated in a Dutch Reform School in the 1910s (Bijleveld and Wijkman, 2009; van de Weijer, Bijleveld, Blokland, 2014), while engaging an even longer timeframe, a Swedish study tracked the lives of 320 young offenders arrested in a single town and its surrounding parishes between 1840 and 1880 (Vikström, 2011). Other Swedish studies have focused more specifically on the influence of youth gangs on pathways into crime (see, for example, Sveri, 1960). These longitudinal studies have conventionally drawn cohorts from within specific and singular geographical contexts (towns, cities, countries), but so far little has been done to collate these datasets and contribute to a transnational comparative approach. Work in this area is emerging, however, through Arjan Blokland's and Victor van der Geest's *European Development and Life Course Criminology Group* (EDLC) under the auspices of the European Society of Criminology.<sup>2</sup>

The life course approach has been developed and extended by a series of crime historians based in England over the past decade. Godfrey, Cox and Farrall (2007; 2010) combined archival and digital resources to reconstruct the lives of persistent offenders who were sentenced at Crewe magistrates courts, Cheshire, England in the nineteenth century. The two key studies *Criminal Lives* (Godfrey et al, 2007) and *Serious Offenders* (Godfrey et al, 2010) navigated historical evidence to explore the impact of Victorian criminal justice initiatives that had been introduced by legislation (including the Habitual Criminals Act 1869) to address repeat offending. Consistent with the findings of Sampson and Laub (2003; 2006), Godfrey et al (2007; 2010) have argued that it is the informal social controls offered by personal networks, marriage, employment and relocation, rather than specific criminal justice interventions, that appeared to have the greatest effect on positively addressing recidivism. As Godfrey (2016: 146) contends, the life course approach 'forces historians to see periods of offending as unusual and secondary in the lives of most offenders' (Godfrey, 2016: 146).

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<sup>2</sup> See: <http://www.esc-eurocrim.org/index.php/activities/working-groups/41-edlc>

## Digitising history

Digitisation of historical datasets - including criminal registers, census returns, schooling and military records, alongside birth, marriage and death registers - enables crime historians to piece together the social, personal and legal dimensions of nineteenth-century offenders' lives.<sup>3</sup> This data facilitates the reconstruction of linked lives by collating key transition points and processes including marriage, family formation, divorce, military service, employment and housing entry and departure points, alongside records of offending, intervention, sentencing and punishment. These sources, then, make it possible to unlock the lives, family formations, and neighbourhoods of Victorian offenders and contribute to an understanding of how personal biographical events situated within socio-economic contexts and framed by social and criminal justice policies, shape(d) the (often complex) lives of individuals.

Digitised historical datasets - including court reports, prison licences and records held by penal institutions - provide researchers with rich data. For the specific purposes of juvenile justice research, historians and criminologists are able to retrieve and examine sources from Victorian young offenders' institutions available (with some conditions and restrictions) via the National Archives in the UK.<sup>4</sup> The histories of young people's lived experiences within and beyond penal institutions remains largely uncovered, but historians are increasingly utilising previously untapped archives in Britain and Australia to reveal the means by which children and young people negotiated institutions including prisons, juvenile reform homes, and borstals (Rogers, 2012; Smaal, 2013; Shore and Johnston, forthcoming, 2018).

Of course, for some time criminologists and sociologists have gathered information relating to the biographies of offenders, but the ability to create longitudinal life histories across decades, and even centuries, means that this largely untapped data can offer a crucial historical 'long-view' dimension to criminological research. As Godfrey (2016: 50) reflects: 'that this data "recovers" and pieces together the lives of the most dispossessed and criminalised in society is remarkable'. The *Criminal Lives* (2007) and *Serious Offenders* (2010) projects have inspired other crime historians to apply life course approaches to different 'types' of offenders including women (Turner, 2011; Williams, 2016) and children and young people (Rogers, 2014; Kilday and Nash, 2017; Godfrey, Cox, Shore, and Alker, 2017). More recently, the *Young Criminal Lives* project (Godfrey et al, 2017) examined the life courses of children and young people admitted to four Industrial and Reformatory Schools in northwest England

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<sup>3</sup> Website such as *Ancestry.co.uk* and *FindMyPast.co.uk* can be used for this purpose.

<sup>4</sup> See: <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/>

between 1850 and 1920. The Project, funded by the Leverhulme Trust, gathered data on 500 individuals using a range of digitised and archival resources including: institutional records (covering their admission and discharge); census records; birth, marriage and death records; military documents; crime registers and newspapers.

In this way, the *Young Criminal Lives* study has unlocked the direct experiences of the first generations of children and young people to pass through the early juvenile justice system in England. The specific focus on childhood and youth has meant that the study has been able to address the onset of offending more directly and systematically than previous historical research. One of the major findings of the Project has been that the traceable reconviction rate among the *Young Criminal Lives* subjects was just over twenty per cent, implying that young offenders in the late nineteenth century were significantly less likely to reoffend than children and young people in conflict with the law today (Godfrey et al, 2017). Efforts to discover ‘what works’ or, perhaps more significantly, ‘what matters’ in juvenile justice continue to dominate debates amongst researchers, policy makers, juvenile justice professionals and agencies across Europe, but the ‘evidence-based’ emphasis rarely takes account of historical data and the lessons that history can teach. The *Young Criminal Lives* researchers explain that the lower reoffending rates uncovered by the Project can be attributed, in large part, to the impact of post-release apprenticeships and employment opportunities and have argued, in line with other historical life course studies, that the key to desistance from crime primarily lies outside of the juvenile justice system and, rather, is rooted more in informal and ‘natural’ processes and stabilising ‘social controls’ including employment, transitioning into adult family formations/responsibilities, community engagement and reintegration and settled domiciliary arrangements (Godfrey et al, 2017).

Principally such studies have adopted a ‘case study’ approach and have focussed on specific towns and cities (Godfrey et al, 2007, 2010, 2017; Rogers, 2015; Turner, 2009; Williams and Godfrey, 2015). While the *Young Criminal Lives* project provided a *national* focus by sampling young offenders from towns located within the northwest of England, Derbyshire and London, historical researchers are increasingly turning to examine crime and punishment on an *international* scale. The University of Leicester’s *Carceral Archipelago* project, for example, led by Professor Clare Anderson, is attempting to provide ‘the first global history of penal colonies’ by mapping convict flows across colonial powers including the European Empires, Russia, Latin America and Japan from circa 1415 to the 1960s.<sup>5</sup> With its broad temporal and spatial reach, the study is examining penalty within a historical context of global expansion and the relationships between convict labour, migration and confinement across the Imperial powers engaged in transportation and colonialisation. In doing so, the study is also shifting the history

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<sup>5</sup> See: <http://convictvoyages.org/about>

of transportation beyond the immediate lens of crime and punishment to examine the broader impacts of penal colonies upon culture, economy, society and identity.

Arguably the most ambitious study for charting the life course across nations, however, is the *Digital Panopticon*, a collaboration between the Universities of Liverpool, Sheffield, Tasmania, Oxford and Sussex, with funding from the UK based Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC).<sup>6</sup> The researchers are employing digital technologies to draw together existing and new genealogical, biometric and criminal justice datasets held by different organisations in the UK and Australia. The project is exploring the impact of different types of penal interventions and punishments on the lives of 90,000 people sentenced at the Old Bailey in London between 1790 and 1925 and is aiming to create a searchable website which will be free to use and available to the public. The research is weaving together hitherto disparate fragments of ‘convict lives’ and by doing so it follows individual biographical journeys from the cradle to the grave across Britain and Australia. Ultimately the resource will: allow users to search for individuals across multiple datasets; examine and compare the lives of convicts sentenced to imprisonment and transportation; investigate the effectiveness of such punishments in reducing or exacerbating offending and; interrogate and develop new research questions for understanding and exploring vast and complex bodies of social, personal and criminal justice data. The resource will provide ‘biographical research on an industrial scale’ (Godfrey, 2016: 150).

Early findings from the study reveal important insights for the transnational study of juvenile justice. Many children and young people were brought before the courts for behaviour typically criminalised in nineteenth-century Britain including playing pitch and toss, gambling, breaking windows, petty larceny and throwing stones. Even in its early stages, the Project’s web-site offers a lens to the complex dynamics of childhood, youth and urban street life in the nineteenth century. Framed within a context of poverty and overcrowding in industrial towns and cities across England, working class young people lived out their lives in increasingly ‘public’ ways and became more visible on the streets of rapidly growing urban centres. The Courts’ willingness to criminalise and prosecute minor transgressions - such as throwing stones or playing pitch and toss - highlight the moral sensibilities and concerns over young people’s public presence that were consolidating across much of Europe at the time. The Project exposes the practical effects of over-zealous forms of intervention and excessive penalty. Alfred Harris, for example, was convicted of stealing ‘37 hooks, 15 horn whistles and 2 whip mounts’ from his ‘master’ for which he was sentenced to 12 months imprisonment. Born in 1847, Alfred’s first conviction was at age 16 years but he was later placed on the Register of Habitual Criminals having committed a further four offences. He never married, had no children and was engaged in manual, casual and insecure labour. Seemingly the criminal justice system worked to reproduce, rather than curtail,

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<sup>6</sup> See: <https://www.digitalpanopticon.org/>



Alfred's criminal behaviour. Earlier research undertaken by Godfrey et al (2007; 2010) demonstrates how, for repeat (even if low-level) offenders like Alfred, the stigmatisation brought about by spells of imprisonment almost inevitably impacted negatively through the transition into adulthood and obstructed any capacity to desist from crime.

In the main, histories of juvenile justice have, from distance, focused largely upon the fears of, and policy responses to, urban youth (Shore, 1999; King, 1998; Cox, 2003; Nunn, 2015). However the Digital Panopticon engages directly with the lived-experiences of children and young people and, by synthesizing records from the UK and Australia, the Project allows researchers to chart offenders' paths from the town or city to the courtroom and, often, to the colonies. Such narratives reveal the forces of Empire at its most unforgiving. Watkins' (forthcoming, 2018) research traces the lives of 118 children and young people who were sentenced at the Old Bailey in London in the early nineteenth century and subsequently transported to the Australian colonies; swept up in a nascent system of labour exchange, migration and punishment. Through the meticulous documentation of life narratives the work reveals young people's experiences of both micro and macro processes of historical change including family life, education, leisure, poverty, employment, industrialization, urbanization, Empire, colonialization, migration, enforced labour, punishment and incarceration (often in the hulks of prison ships). One such case, for example, was Richard Young, born in 1827. Through nominally linking his Old Bailey records with Home Office Criminal Registers and his transportation records we can establish that he had four brothers but seems to have been orphaned. He was just fourteen years-of-age when he was sentenced to seven years' transportation at the Old Bailey for stealing four pairs of shoes. Richard was transported directly to the Point Puer juvenile penal settlement in Port Arthur, Tasmania in 1841.

Initially such juvenile 'convicts' were assigned to adult free settlers and exposed to forced labour (Jordan, 1985: 1092). Even at the height of the demand for convict labour (1820-1830), however, children and young people were considered to have fewer skills than adult convicts and were seen to be less able to undertake strenuous physical work (Jackson, 2001: 6-7). Consequently, they were often difficult to assign and were simply kept idle in prisoner barracks. With an increasing number of juveniles financially burdening the colonial government, therefore, a solution was sought and Point Puer was established in 1833 (Slee, 2003: 5). It was the first prison of its kind in the British Empire – a separate penal institution purely for boys between the ages of 9-18 years – and it meant that juvenile convicts were physically separated from adults. Between 1834 and 1849 some 3000 boys were detained at Point Puer and although the establishment of the institution was principally driven by pragmatic concerns, it also coincided with emerging 'ideals' in Europe in respect of obtaining juvenile rehabilitation through institutionally based retraining (Reformatory and Industrial Schools in Britain and their equivalents in many other parts of Europe) (Jackson, 2001: 7).

While Richard's case is interesting, it means little in isolation. It is through collecting and collating a series of life-narratives that can be compared and contrasted that the detail of children's and young people's biographies appear and the nature of their offending and offending trajectories emerge. Indeed, by combining life-courses on a large scale it is also possible to create an understanding of common social phenomena, for example, on skills and employment (Nicholas, 1988; Oxley, 1996); family-life (Maxwell-Stewart *et al*; 2015) or health (Kippen and McCalman; 2015) and how the same phenomena might impact upon recidivism or desistance. Furthermore, collating 'big data' in this way exposes the cruel and inhuman treatment and conditions to which children and young people were typically exposed and both humanizes juvenile offenders and centres the lives of the vulnerable (McGarry and Alker, 2017: 6). As Godfrey (2016: 146) contends, the life course approach, with its focus on the personal as well as legal experiences of offenders, 'forces historians to see periods of offending as unusual and secondary in the lives of most offenders... it emphasizes the humanity of the subject under study... and encourages a sympathetic and empathetic response'.

### **New directions for researching the origins and outcomes of juvenile justice in Europe**

Histories of juvenile justice in Europe are few and far between which is curious given the similar trajectories of reform that characterized many countries across the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Cox and Shore, 2002). Such similarities are particularly evident with regard to the development of specialist institutions for the detention of children and young people. The establishment of the agricultural Reform School in 1839 at Mettray in France formed, in many respects, a model for developments in juvenile institutions elsewhere in Europe (Radzinowicz and Hood, 1990; Trepanier, 1999; Christiaens, 2002; Cox and Shore, 2002; Dekker, 2005; Johnston, 2015). This chapter has attempted to outline some of the ways that the historical contextualization of life course criminology and, perhaps especially, the digitization of historical data, can signal new directions and open up a range of possibilities for researching the origins and outcomes of juvenile justice in Europe. In doing so, we have responded, at least in part, to Blokland and Nieuwbeerta's (2010: 84) call for criminologists and historians - who engage in life course approaches - to collate their data and compare patterns across Europe: 'given [its] dependence on historical time and place, comparisons between countries or historical periods should become part of future efforts in life course criminology... to capitalize on the unique data position of many European countries - especially the Netherlands and the Scandinavian countries - in which detailed, individual-level life course data are available from official registers'. A more ambitious and extensive utilization of digitized historical records can facilitate the extension of comparative life course (youth) criminology along both its temporal and spatial dimensions.

The *Young Criminal Lives* and the *Digital Panopticon* projects provide a strong foundation upon which to build greater understanding of the origins and outcomes of juvenile justice in Europe. Tracing the

pathways that children and young people followed into, through and out of specialist institutions is especially important. By extending life course approaches and making best use of digitized data, the emerging research exposes the severe punishments and the (often inhumane) conditions and treatment endured by children and young people. It also extends aetiological accounts beyond individualized and reductionist moral discourses and places them instead within an appreciative context that integrates individual agency and complex material, social-structural, cultural, economic and political conditions. Finally, for present purposes at least, it enables an understanding of the complex intersecting relationships between the onset, continuity and/or desistance into and out of juvenile offending and key life events, patterns, processes and transitions. In this way the research implies that informal methods of social control that derive from personal and familial networks, education, training and employment opportunities, housing stability and ‘normal’ maturational processes are more likely to produce positive outcomes than institutional interventions and punitive impositions.

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