




The David P Farrington Memorial Symposium

Friday 23 May 2025



**UNIVERSITY OF
CAMBRIDGE**
Institute of Criminology





Welcome and Introductions

Manuel Eisner, Director, Institute of Criminology

Alice Farrington, David Farrington's daughter

Cambridge Study of Delinquent Development

A New Digital Archive



A safe storage of all data and infrastructure for future research.

A Special Issue...

Celebrating 10 years of the Journal of Developmental and Life-Course Criminology and the contributions of David P. Farrington



- Innovative theoretical, methodological, or empirical directions of Developmental and Life-Course Criminology.
- How can we improve the practical relevance of developmental life-course criminological research for Public Health, Prevention and Justice Policy?
- Short papers of 3-4000 words. Please get in touch with Darrick or myself.

The David Farrington Memorial Fund

In memory of David's exceptional contributions to criminology worldwide, and especially his life-long commitment to supporting students and fostering the next generation of criminologists.

The David Farrington Memorial Fund aims to provide financial support to PhD and Master's students and to support research at the Institute of Criminology through full and partial scholarships.





Advancing the Scientific Bases for Criminology

Chair: Manuel Eisner, University of Cambridge

Daniel Nagin

Carnegie Mellon University

Lawrence Sherman

University of Cambridge

The Farrington Curve:



*Precise Priorities For
a “Stacking” Strategy at the*



by

Lawrence W. Sherman

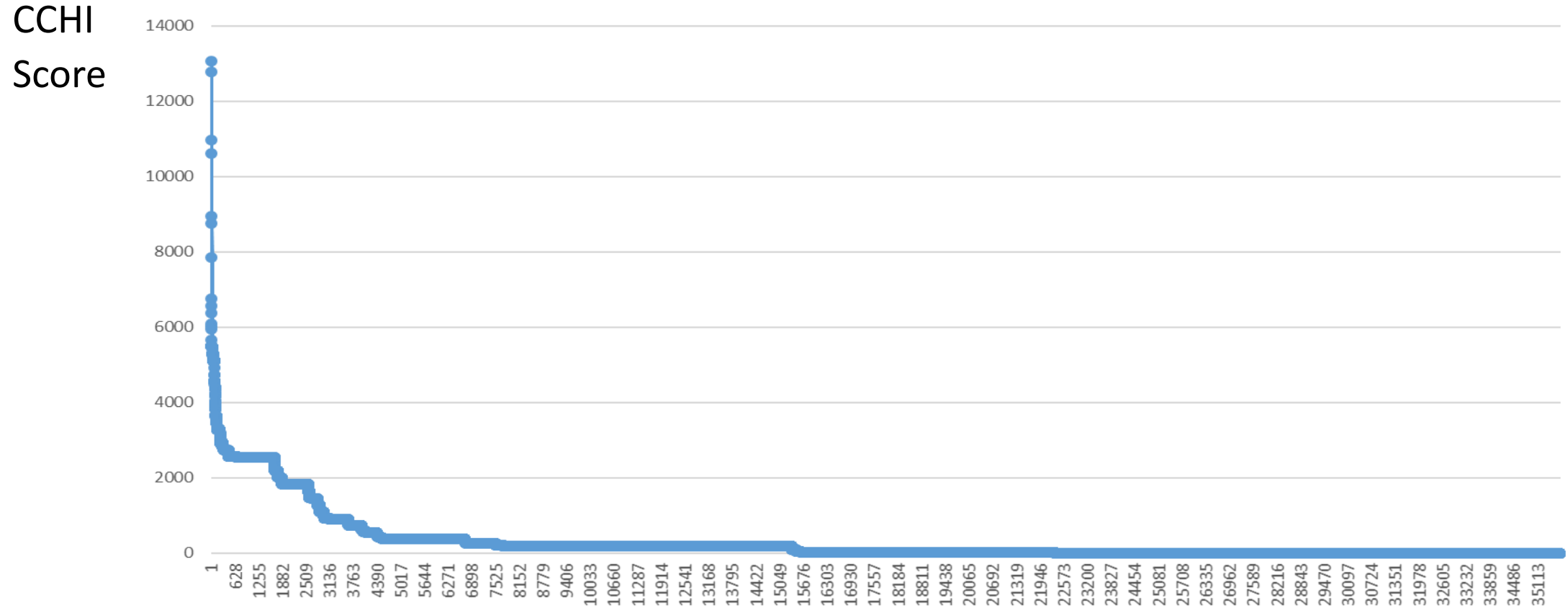


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The Farrington Curve

How Steep it Is! (Not cumulative)



Rank Order Position 1 to 35,113: First London VAWG 100 STACK of 365 days CCHI weight

The Three Farrington Foundations

1. Differentiating dimensions of crime (CSDD): onset, frequency, severity

2. Adapting Severity Scale

Wolfgang, Marvin E., Robert M. Figlio, Paul E. Tracy, and Simon I. Singer

1985 The National Survey of Crime Severity. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

3. Applying total harm levels across individuals (Pittsburgh study)

CRIMINOLOGY 1996

SELF-REPORTED DELINQUENCY AND A COMBINED DELINQUENCY SERIOUSNES SCALE BASED ON BOYS, MOTHERS, AND TEACHERS: CONCURRENT AND PREDICTIVE VALIDITY FOR AFRICAN- AMERICANS AND CAUCASIANS*

DAVID P. FARRINGTON
University of Cambridge

ROLF LOEBER
MAGDA STOUTHAMER-LOEBER
WELMOET B. VAN KAMMEN
LAURA SCHMIDT
University of Pittsburgh

Farrington's Seriousness Scale: Pittsburgh

Each boy was classified into one of four categories of seriousness of self-reported delinquency, according to the most serious offense he had ever committed. The seriousness classification was based on ratings published by Wolfgang et al. (1985). The categories were as follows: No delinquency (including minor theft or vandalism in the home); minor delinquency (e.g., stealing an item worth less than \$5 or vandalism outside the home, shoplifting, minor fraud such as not paying for a bus ride); moderate delinquency (e.g., stealing an item worth \$5 or more, joyriding, carrying a weapon, gang fighting); and serious delinquency (e.g., breaking and entering, stealing a car, strongarming, attacking to seriously hurt or kill someone, selling drugs, forcing sex).³

2013 Stockholm Prize in Criminology



2016 Cambridge Crime Harm Index:
From the Farrington Eco-System

The Cambridge Crime Harm Index:
Measuring Total Harm from Crime Based
on Sentencing Guidelines

Lawrence Sherman*, Peter William Neyroud** and Eleanor Neyroud***

OUP
POLICING
111,610 Views
May 2025

2016 Cambridge Crime Harm Index

- Sentencing guidelines for almost 800 offence categories
 - Starting Point—no mitigation or aggravation
 - Different but similar to ONS Crime Severity Scores—actual sentences
- <https://academic.oup.com/policing/article/10/3/171/1753592?login=false>
- Also 18,000 reads of Cambridge Consensus: How To Count Crime
 - <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s41887-020-00043-2>

Ready for Answering the Right Question

“Who are the 100
most dangerous men
in London--

Today?????”

Commissioner Sir Mark Rowley
MA (Cantab)



A *Different* Question from “Hot Spots”:

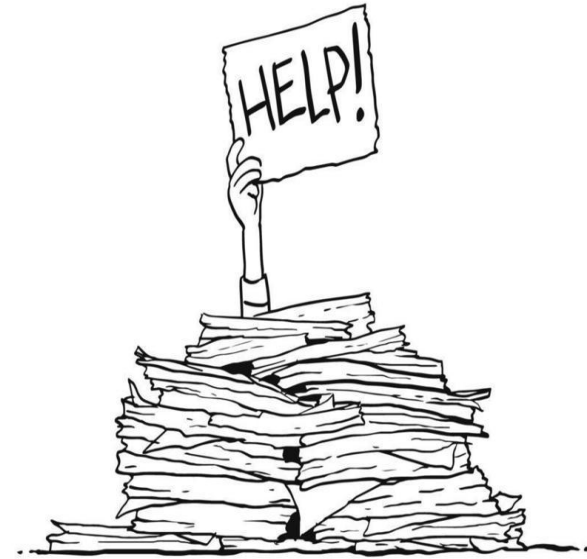
Not the same as

- “Power Few”
- Pareto Curve
- High/medium/low risk

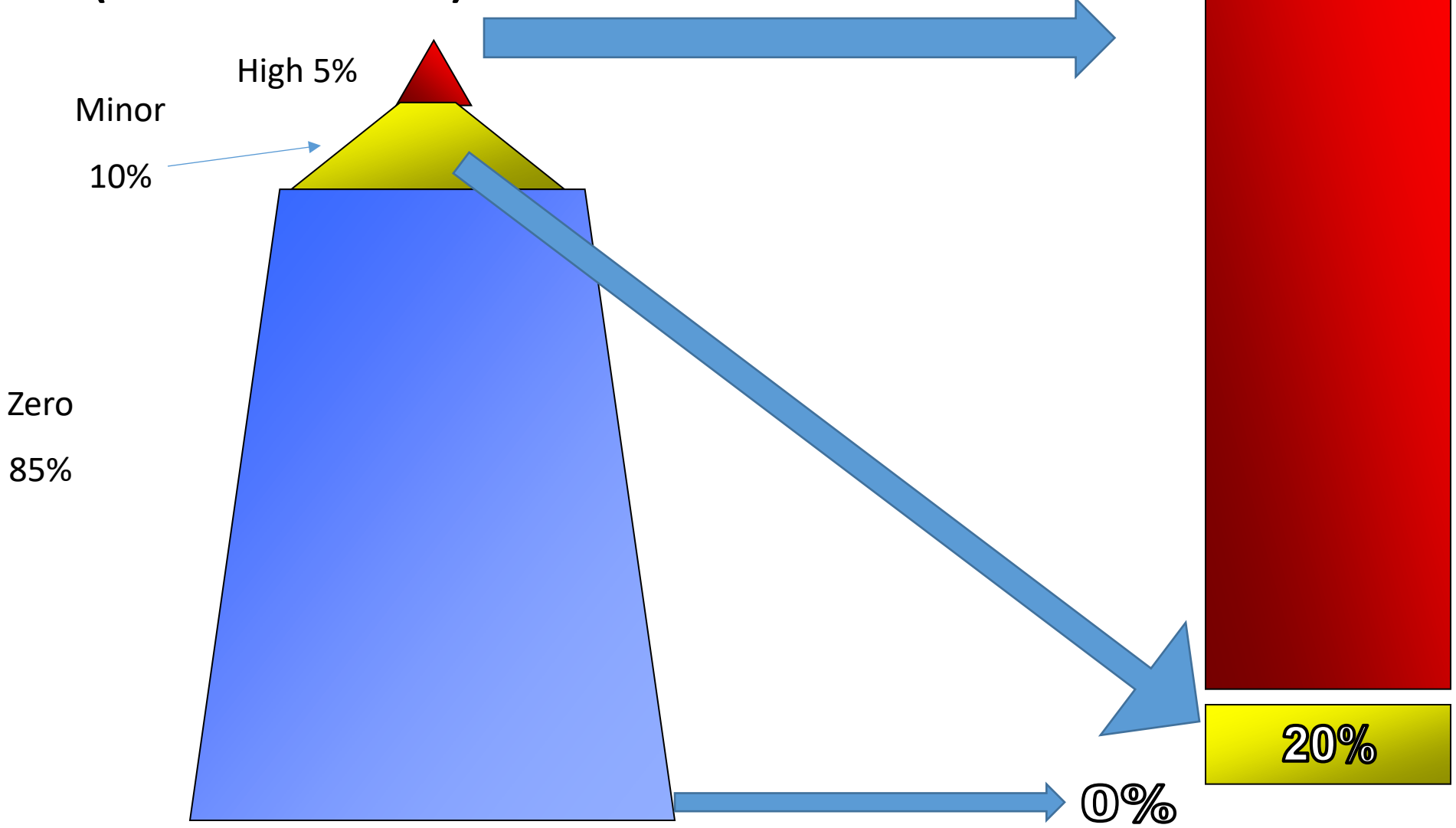
Stacking from Highest to Lowest

- Power few depends on it
- But where do you stop?
- And why?
Not logic---but....

RESOURCES!!



**A Power Few Concentration:
Murder in Philadelphia
(G.C. Barnes 2007)**



Pareto Curve: A Starting Point

(Dorset data; Dudfield 2017)

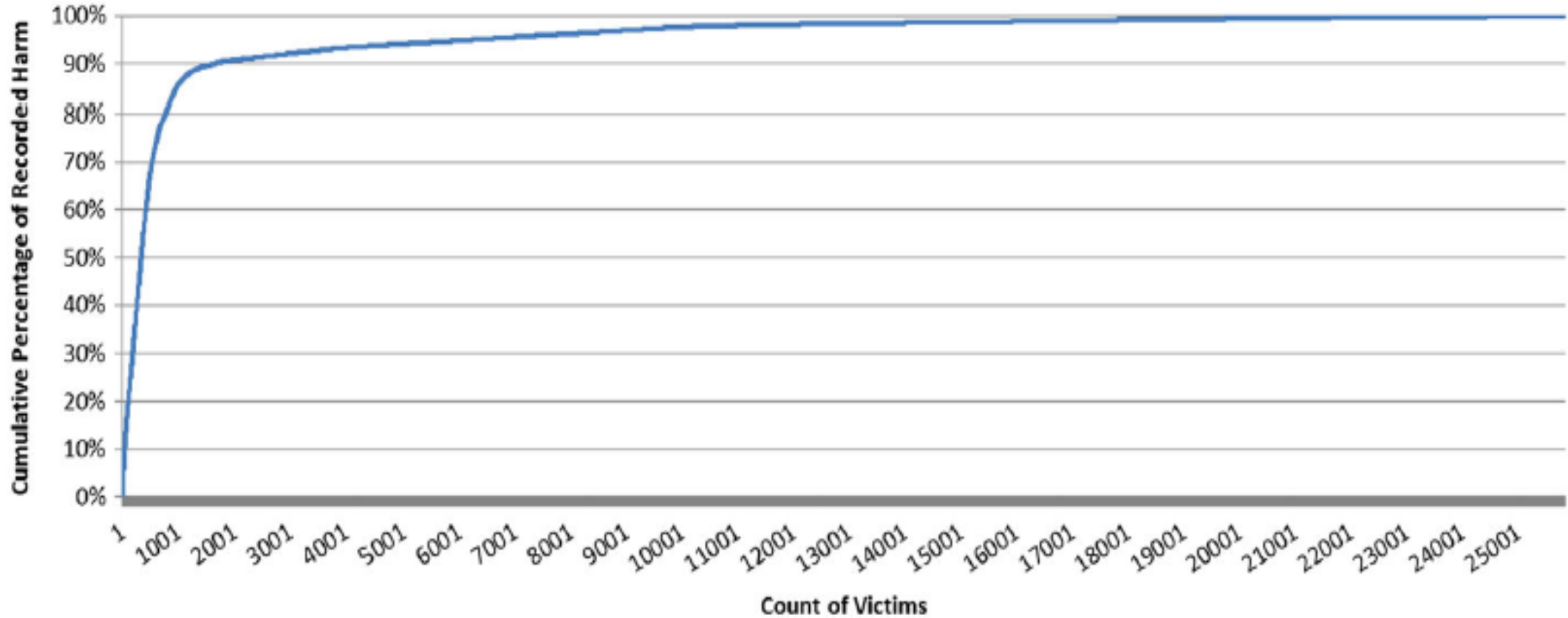


Fig. 5 Cumulative distribution of crime harm against the cumulative count of victims

Pie Chart Version

Per cent of all victims



Per cent of all harm

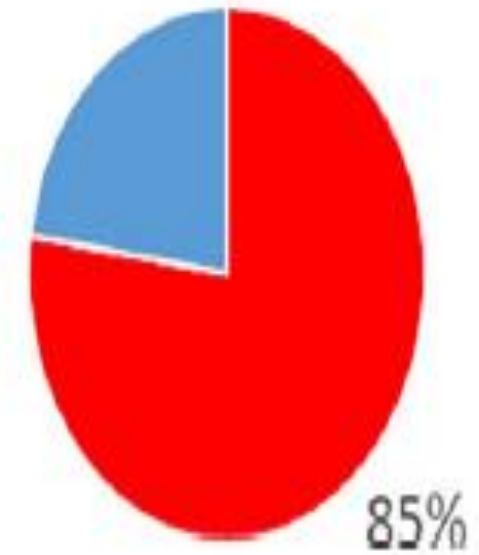


Fig. 6 Percent of victims vs. percent of total CHI harm, Dorset 2015–2016

Stacking Version (Dudfield et al 2017)

Table 1 Extract from Microsoft Excel Spreadsheet used to demonstrate cumulative percentage of harm suffered by victims

Victim (highest harm to lowest harm)	Individual CHI score	Summing of CHI score	Cumulative percentage of the total CHI score
1	5,476	5,476	0.39%
2	5,475	10,951	0.78%
3	5,475	1,642	1.18%
—	—	—	—
13	3,675	56,966	4.08%
14	366.75	60,635.75	4.34%
15	3,660	64,295.75	4.60%
—	—	—	—
25,831	1	1,396,650.25	100.00%

Cumulative vs. Absolute Harm (or Frequency)

- No unit of analysis has a cumulative harm level including others
- Targeting a power few must include everyone
- But where do you begin?
- Each unit CAN have multiple offences
- Each unit CAN have a SUM of harm across ALL offences in Period
- A Pareto curve *sums* across units
- But a ***STACKING*** curve displays
differences between units

Cumulative vs. Absolute Harm (or Frequency)

- No unit of analysis has a cumulative harm level including others
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- Each unit CAN have a SUM of harm across ALL offences in Period
- Pareto curve *sums* across units
- STACKING curve displays *differences* between units

Not THIS...

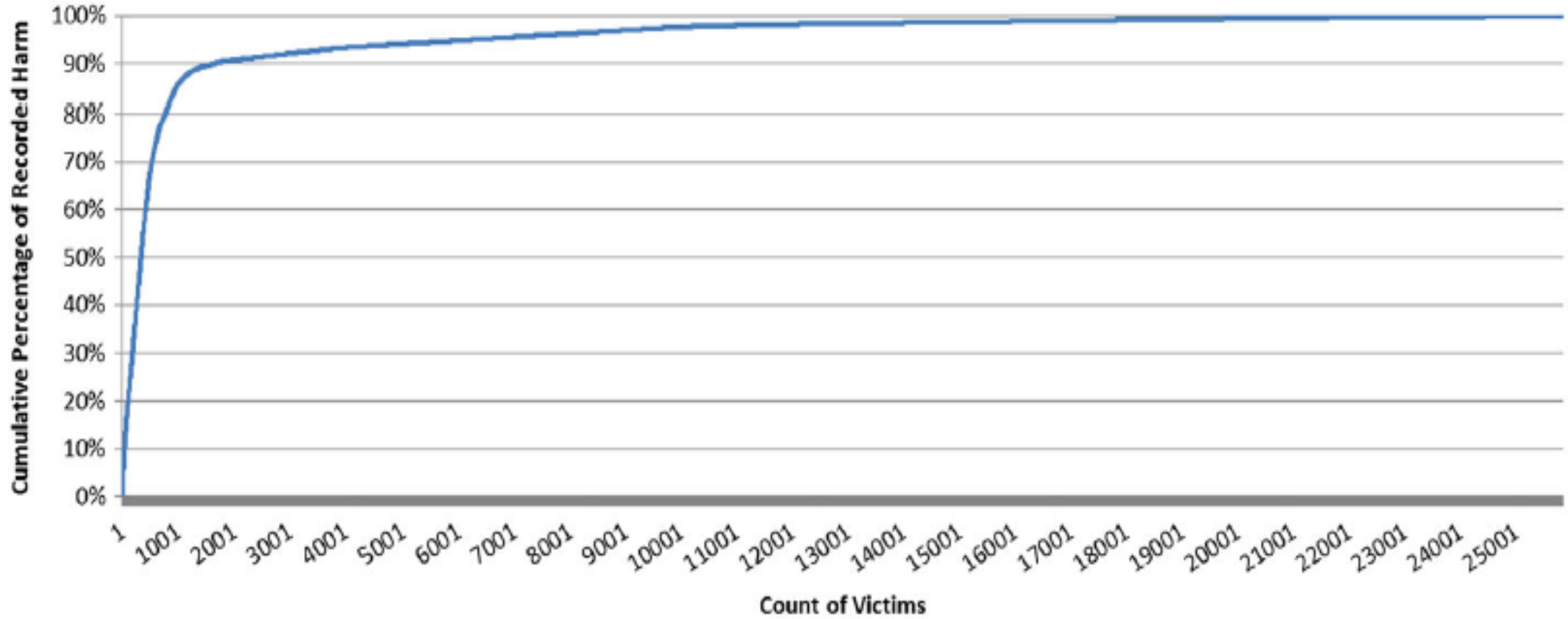
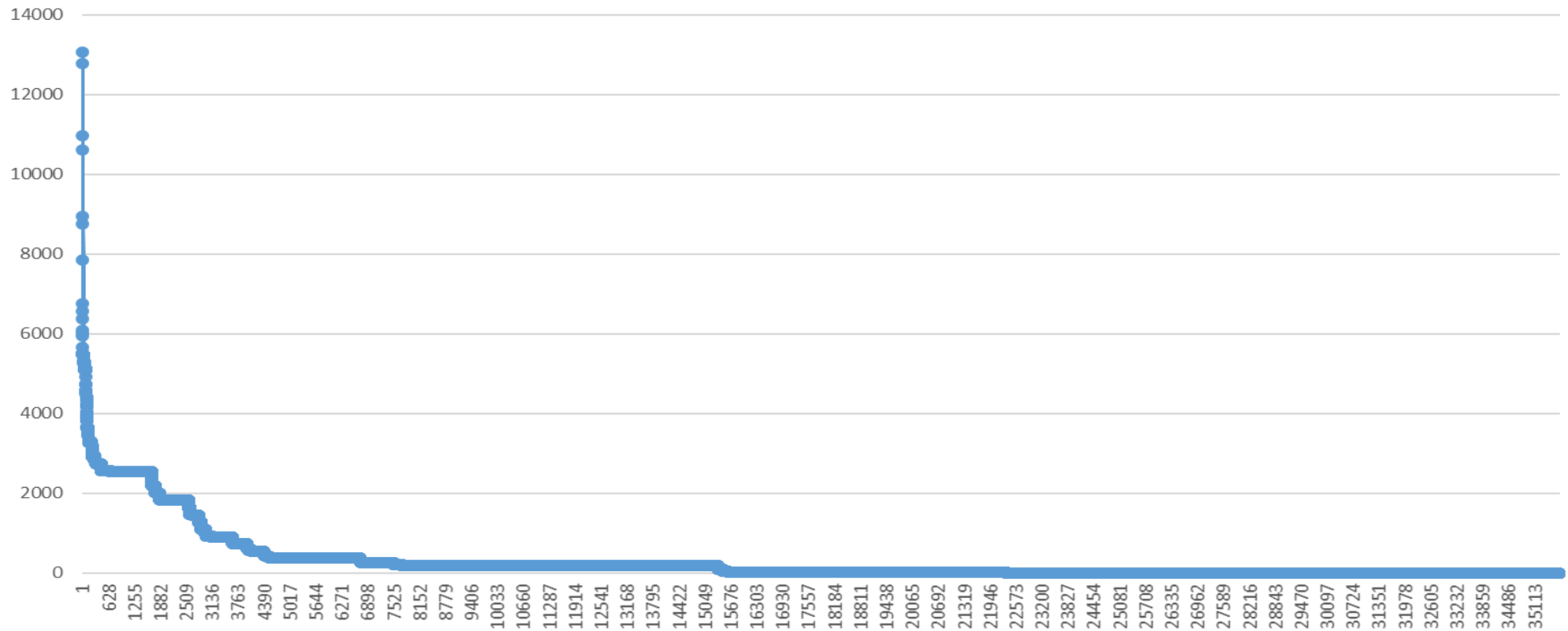


Fig. 5 Cumulative distribution of crime harm against the cumulative count of victims

But THIS: VAWG100 Stacking Curve

CCHI
Score



Rank Order Position 1 to 35,113: The STACK

How Did We Do This?

- 365 day sweep
- All VAWG Offences (as defined by NPCC) with victims age 10 or older
- All suspects over 18 named (by victims, their relatives & associates)
- Take each offence
- Multiply by CCHI score
- Sum all CCHI scores for each suspect
- Arrange all sums from largest to smallest
- Cut off at 100—due to resources

Imagine the Shard—73 stories tall

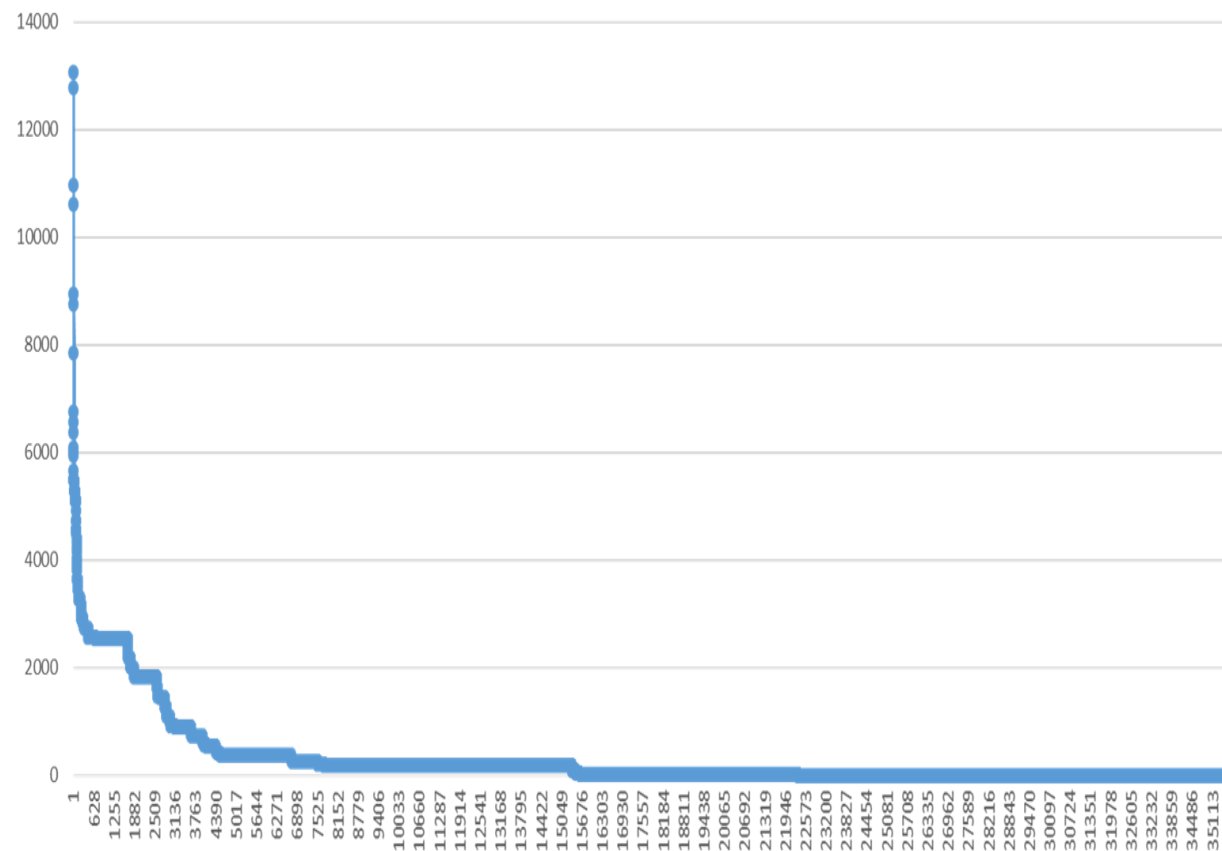
- 73 Stories Tall
- 73 X 1 story building
- VAWG Ten
- 14 times higher than
Shard (relative)



What Else Should We Stack?

- Victims by Harm Levels
- *All* suspects by total crime harm reported
- Traffic crashes by drivers (repeat killers)
- High Harm Spots in Public Places

Just Call them all: A “Farrington Curve”



Barbara Cooke
Keiser University

Rigorous, Replicable, and Relevant: A Farrington-Inspired Blueprint for the Future of Research in Criminology

Barbara Cooke, Keiser University



A Legacy of Research in Criminology

- David Farrington did not just study crime—he transformed how we study it.
- His work laid three pillars for empirically sound research in criminology
 - I. Longitudinal Rigor
 - II. Evidence-Based Policy
 - III. Cumulative Science





The Credibility Challenge

Criminological research faces notable obstacles

1. **Replication Gaps**
(e.g., Farrington et al., 2019)
2. **Policy Consequences**
(e.g., Farrington & Welsh, 2005)
3. **Systemic Barriers**
(e.g., Farrington, 2003)

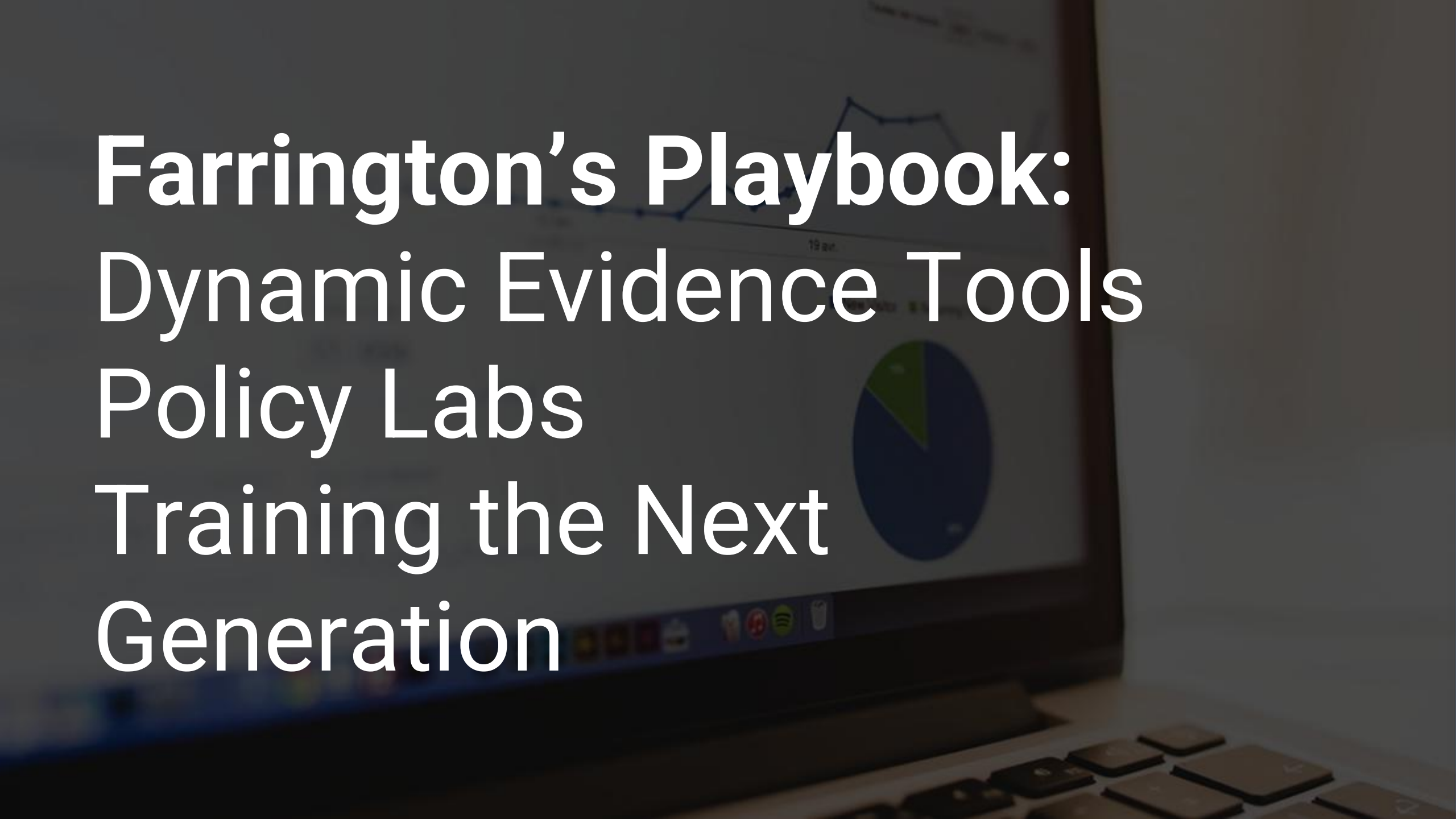
Strengthening the Pillars

There are avenues in place that can be strengthened to improve the scientific bases for criminological research and extend Farrington's contributions into the future.

Transparency

Collaboration

Accessibility



Farrington's Playbook:
Dynamic Evidence Tools
Policy Labs
Training the Next
Generation

Concluding Thoughts

Farrington's legacy demands that we:

- **Do science that lasts (replicable, transparent)**
- **Do science that matters (policy-ready, equitable)**

The future of criminology depends on making replication routine and impact intentional.

Darrick Jolliffe

Royal Holloway University
of London

Advancing the Scientific Bases for Criminology

Tribute to David P. Farrington

Professor Darrick Jolliffe

Royal Holloway, University of London

Hannah Gaffney

University of Greenwich

Manuel Eisner

Cambridge University

Ian Brunton-Smith

University of Surrey



UCL Department of Security and Crime Science

The UCL Department of Security and Crime Science is dedicated to equipping current and future professionals working in the crime and security field with the knowledge and skills they will need to meet the challenges of the 21st century.

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Extension 1: David's Work on Empathy

- #3 (2435 citations) #7 (1666 citations) #21 (1047) in David's current count according to google scholar
- Also, the BES was administered to all the children of the CSDD (G3) sample and is part of the age 70 interview of the original sample (G2).
- Lower levels of empathy may be related to later offending behaviour, but....

Low Resting Heart Rate (LRHR)

- Low resting heart rate an established risk factor for offending and violence.
- Farrington (2020) examined the interaction between RHR, childhood risk factors and later convictions and levels of antisocial personality.
- Having a depressed mother, harsh discipline, high troublesomeness and being difficult to discipline were related to later convictions, but only amongst those with low RHR.
- Highly cited systematic review on this topic with Jill Portnoy.

LRHR, Empathy and Behaviour

- Galen et al (2017)
 - Amongst those with lower levels of RHR, lower empathy (age 12) predicted increased violent behaviour (juvenile arrests for violent offenses, peer-reported violent behaviour at age 17, and self-reported violent behaviour at age 20).
- Oskarsson (and Adrian!) et al (2024)
 - Resting Heart Rate, Interpersonal Reactivity Index (boo!) and adult self-reported externalising behaviour, trouble with the police
 - Amongst those with lower empathy (PT and EC) higher RHR decreased the risk of externalising behaviour.

LRHR, Empathy and Offending in the G3

- Data exists to compare the BES (cognitive and affective empathy) and resting heart rate to self-reported and official offending
- Results not yet available

Innovation 1

- Basic Empathy Scale (Jolliffe & Farrington, 2006) – but on tablet computer.
- Items presented and read to research participants (can vary the voice reading these items).
- Keeps track of the speed of item completion (reverse items take longer to complete).
- Records a video of the testing session (for attention assessment, and....)



Contactless Vital Signs Monitoring From Videos Recorded With Digital Cameras: An Overview

Nunzia Molinaro¹, Emiliano Schena¹, Sergio Silvestri¹, Fabrizio Bonotti², Damiano Aguzzi², Erika Viola², Fabio Buccolini² and Carlo Massaroni^{1*}

¹Unit of Measurements and Biomedical Instrumentation, Departmental Faculty of Engineering, Università Campus Bio-Medico di Roma, Rome, Italy, ²BHOHB – Biometrical Holistic of Human Body S.r.l., Rome, Italy

The measurement of physiological parameters is fundamental to assess the health status

HR: 53 bpm
SNR: -0.34 dB

O2: Unreliable

BR: Unreliable
SNR: -13.00 dB

117.5 ms, 1280x720 / 69370



Extension 2: The CSDD Archive

14+ job profs.
Sub aspirations
14+ leaving school

TEACHER'S RATINGS
8+, 10+,
12+, 14+

MOTHER'S HEALTH AND
PARENTAL EPI
ATTITUDES

FDS
Maturity P.I.

16+

18+

Professor David Farrington
Institute of Criminology, University of Cambridge
CAMBRIDGE STUDY
Teacher ratings (8+, 10+, 12+, 14+)

Professor David Farrington
Institute of Criminology, University of Cambridge
CAMBRIDGE STUDY
Mother's health questionnaire
Parental attitudes
2007-2010

Professor David Farrington
Institute of Criminology, University of Cambridge
CAMBRIDGE STUDY
Maturity P.I.
2007-2010



389-411
Primator
Pioneer
Niche
184
CODE 73097
PRIMATOR Laser
20 x 0,5 l

↑ THIS WAY UP ↑
18+
+21 INTERVIEWS
225
FRAGILE

RETURN
CABINETS
SCANNING

18+
145-239

18+
240-274

18+
285-324

18+
325-362

18+
01-50

18+
51-98

18+
99-146

18+
147-194

Archiving the CSDD

The “data house”

Problem: Longevity,
security, access

Newton Fund

Hannah Gaffney and
Manuel Eisner



Archiving the CSDD

16 filing cabinets in total

Each filing cabinet had different tests or data

Sorted by participant ID – some in folders per participant, others single pages

Meticulously organised



Archiving the CSDD

- Process of removing the physical records from the data house and having them electronically scanned
- Created an inventory and a process for quality assurance
- All were scanned by trained professionals using high-tech machines
- High-resolution scans; helps with reading handwritten notes/comments on original documents
- Stored securely in the Institute of Criminology

Past Uses of These Records

- Previous work with the physical records has used narrative transcripts of CSDD data (Tara R. McGee)
- Analyses used to explore aspects of criminological theory
 - e.g., long-term antisocial potential and short-term antisocial potential in a case study of violent fights
- Similarly, Zara and Farrington (2015) produced rich life-histories for some of the participants.

Innovation Two – Use AI to Examine CSDD Archive

- Large Language Models (LLM) could be used to search the archive for specific issues such as victimisation, fights, or relationships.
- LLMs are primarily used for sifting through large volumes of text quickly and extracting/classifying relevant material.
- There is still then space for the human (expert) to examine the text and interpret this

Proof of Concept

- Brunton-Smith & Sturgis (2025) used LLMs to code large volumes of journal articles for their methodological content.
- Compared the LLM to human coders for 1451 articles.
- Human coders: 7 people, 330 hours over 3 months and about £10,000
- LLM – 10 hours
- Generally, high levels of agreements on most codes.
- Importantly, ‘mistakes’ were not always those of LLM

Use AI to Examine CSDD Archive

1. You can achieve pretty good results (at least as good as human) for complex text extraction and classification using off the shelf LLM with no fine tuning.
2. These can be run locally and off-line so no danger of any information being uploaded to the Internet.
3. There are low-cost solutions to running LLMs locally. About 3-4k per machine, plus relevant software.
4. May not be able to read all text (handwriting), but the time saving will mean that this will not be so arduous.

Catch up on the latest news in AI and accelerated computing from the NVIDIA keynote at COMPUTEX 2025.

Watch Replay



Workstations

Overview

Products ▾

Tools & Resources ▾

NVIDIA DGX Spark

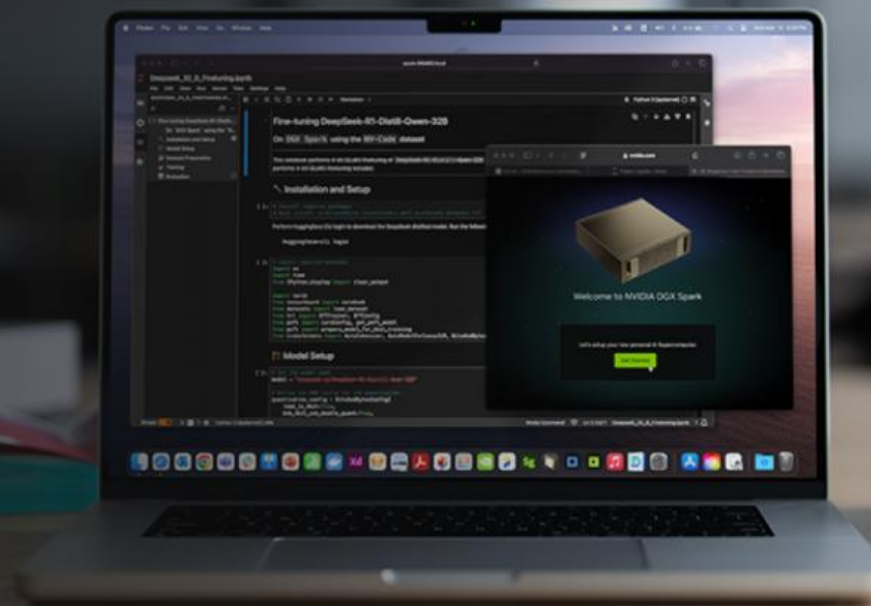
A Grace Blackwell AI supercomputer on your desk.

Where to Buy

Find the best purchase option for you on the NVIDIA Marketplace.

Reserve Now

[Datasheet](#) | [Specifications](#)



Previously Project DIGITS

Overview

Features

Workload

Specifications

Reserve Now

Conclusions

- I was honoured to work with David and be the recipient of his time, thought and research efforts
- There is scope to push forward the boundaries of knowledge in the study of empathy, particularly in relation to heart rate.
- The CSDD Archive is an incredible resource and LLMs may be the key to unlocking its potential



Hugo Gomes

University of Porto



LABORATORY
FOR INTEGRATIVE
AND TRANSLATIONAL
RESEARCH
IN POPULATION
HEALTH



Fundação
para a Ciência
e a Tecnologia



UNIVERSITY OF
CAMBRIDGE
Institute of Criminology

The David P. Farrington Memorial Symposium

Advancing the Scientific Bases for Criminology

Advancing knowledge about causes of delinquent behavior:

Within-individual and quasi-experimental evidence for the influence of delinquent peers using multiple cohort studies

Hugo S. Gomes
hugo.santos.gomes@gmail.com

What causes crime?

- The risk factor framework has produced a large body of knowledge that is of great worth for effective interventions.
- *For example, childhood risk factors for the onset of persistent crime are well known (Farrington, 2015):*

Family Factors

- Poor supervision
- Low income
- harsh discipline

Individual Factors

- Impulsivity
- Low self-control
- Low IQ

School/peer Factors

- Academic failure
- Bullying
- Delinquent peers

Socioeconomic Factors

- Poverty
- Neighborhood disadvantage

What causes crime?

- However, most research on risk factors uses correlational and between-individual designs, which are not convincing in establishing causal relationships.
- Intervention programs must target causes of offending, making it crucial to distinguish causal risk factors from 'mere markers'.
- *“A major problem with the risk factor paradigm is to determine which risk factors are causes and which are merely markers or correlated with causes”*

Farrington (2000, p. 7)

RISK FACTORS



CAUSES

What causes crime?

- The study of causal inferences requires **three basic elements**:
 - the cause precedes the effect;
 - the cause covaries with the effect;
 - all alternative explanations are rendered implausible.

(Shadish et al., 2002)

- **Lab experiments** are strong methods for testing causal hypotheses.

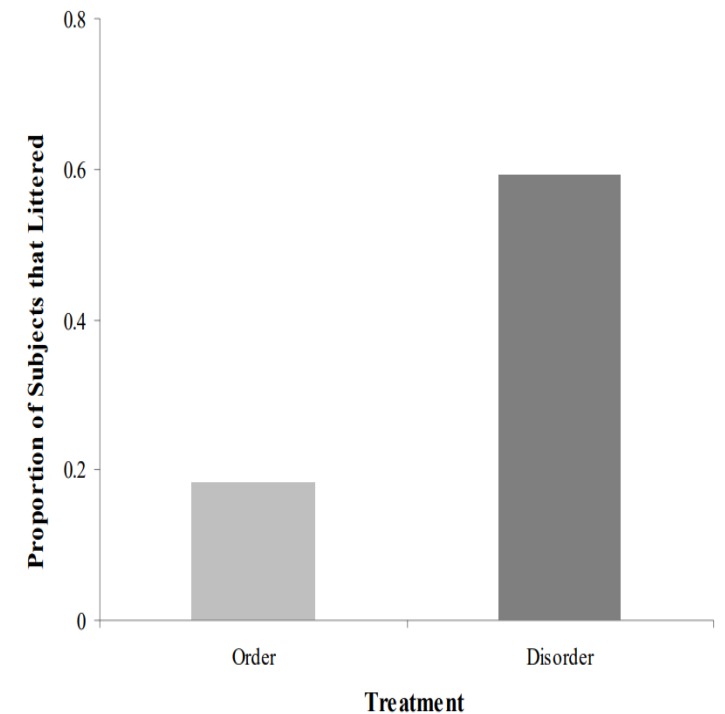
Ability to control parasitic variables and manipulate the independent variable.

*Maximize control – Internal validity;
Artificial environment – External validity.*



What causes crime?

- **Field experiments**, especially in the real world with unsuspecting participants, would be ideal to test the causes of delinquency.
 - Observational techniques give us the most valid information.
 - When applied in field experiments, observation methods allow testing cause and effect relationships, without people knowing that their behavior is being evaluated.
 - Field experiments combine the benefits of experimental design with the external validity of real-world hypothesis testing.



Field experiments


[Home](#) > [Journal of Experimental Criminology](#) > [Article](#)

Field experiments on dishonesty and stealing: what have we learned in the last 40 years?

Published: 27 February 2021

Volume 18, pages 607–637, (2022) [Cite this article](#)



[Hugo S. Gomes](#) , [David P. Farrington](#), [Ivy N. Defoe](#) & [Ângela Maia](#)

- What are the main field experimental methods applied to the study the development of deviance and monetary dishonesty?

Field experiments

Gomes et al. (2022)

- Pooled a total of 60 field experiments (106 samples from 44 different countries).

- These experiments were grouped into:
 1. Fraud/dishonest behavior ($k = 21$),
 2. Theft ($k = 16$),
 3. Keeping money ($k = 9$), and
 4. Shoplifting ($k = 14$).

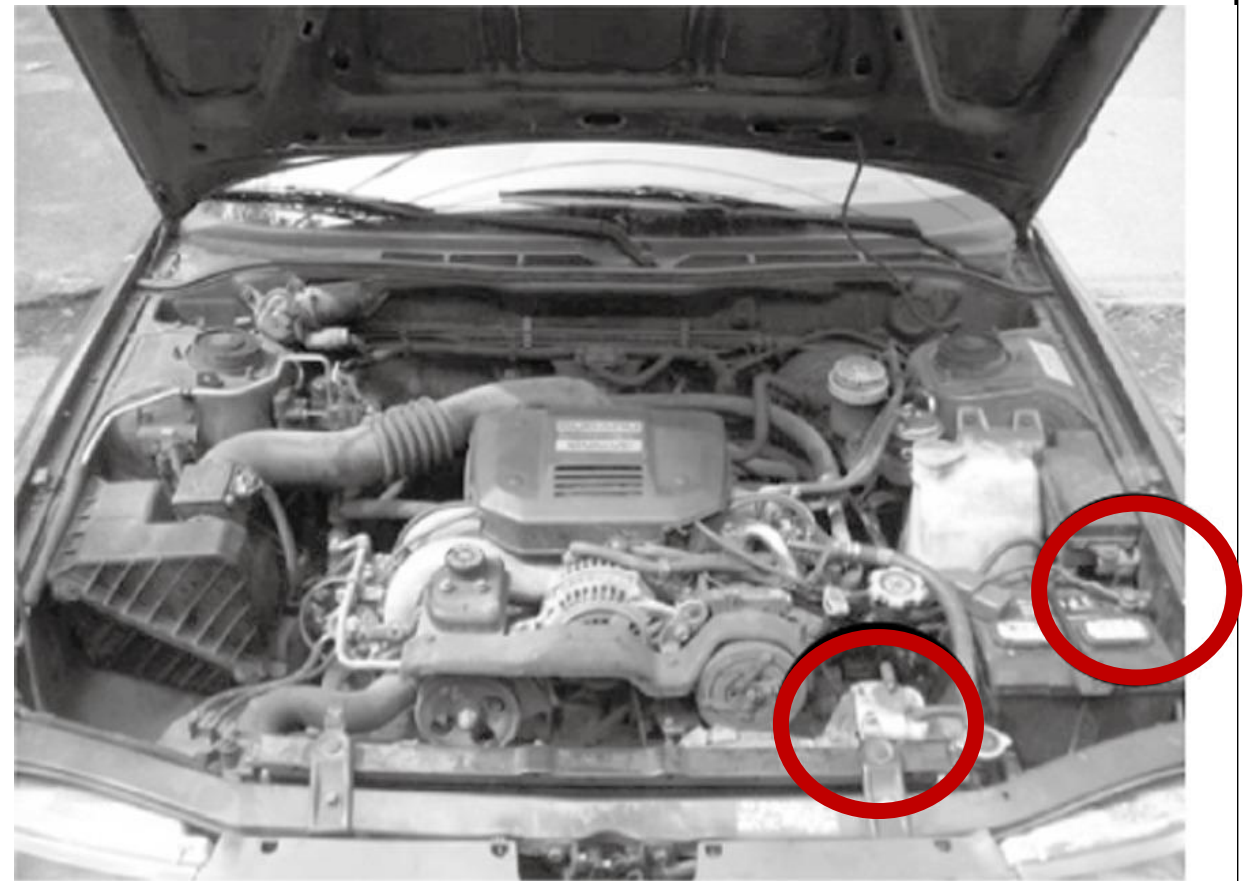
Field experiments to study the causes of delinquent behavior

1. Fraud/dishonest behavior (k = 21)

- Overcharging;
- Fraud (insurance, repairs);
- Dishonesty.

For example, Schneider (2012)

- Researchers submitted a car to a mechanic with predetermined defects;
- Unnecessary repairs by 33%;
- Overcharge for one-time business (\$59.75) was greater than possible repeated business (\$37.70).



Field experiments to study the causes of delinquent behavior

2. Theft

- Theft of coins, pens, newspapers, etc.;
- “Lost” letters/wallets.

For example, Keuschnigg and Wolbring (2015)

- Envelope visibly containing money left in front of a mailbox;
- Condition disorder increased theft.



Figure 5. “Lost” letter with incentive to steal; disorder condition at a mail box.

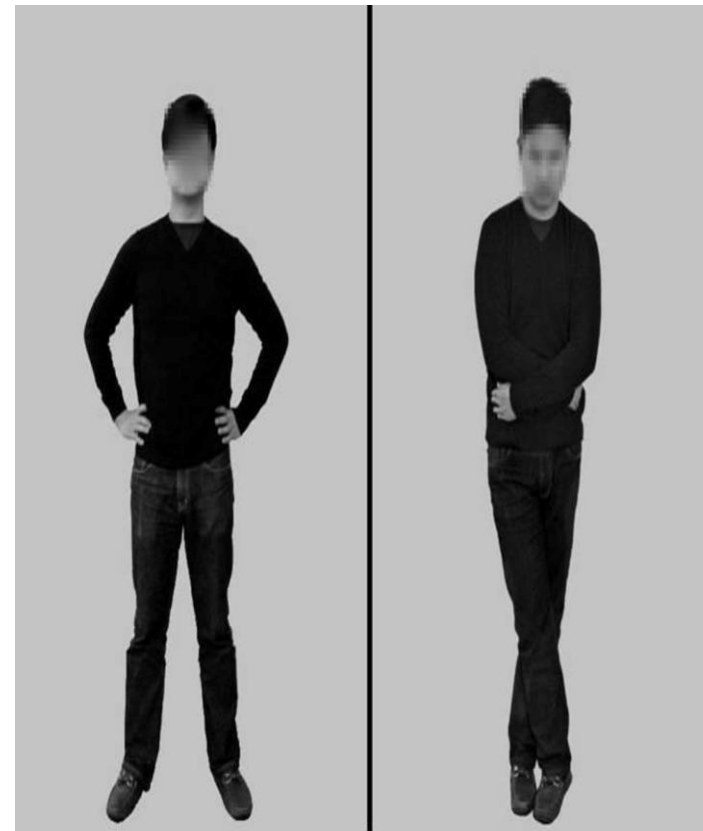
Field experiments to study the causes of delinquent behavior

3. Keeping money

- Dishonestly keep money (cell phone, change);
- Acceptance of bribes;
- “Lost” money.

For example, Yap et al. (2013)

- Participants recruited into a study in exchange for \$4.
- They “accidentally” receive \$8.
- Maintaining an expansive position increased dishonesty.



Expansive
Pose

Contractive
Pose



Field experiments to study the causes of delinquent behavior

4. Shoplifting

- Customers or employees;
- Deterrence interventions

For example, Hayes et al. (2011).

- Randomized Controlled Trial
- Anti-shoplifting interventions: Control vs. Keeper/safer box.
- Keeper/safer boxes reduced shoplifting.



Field experiments to study the causes of delinquent behavior

- Advantages:
 - Direct and rigorous assessments of offending and deviant behaviors;
 - In the real world without participants' awareness that their behavior is being assessed;
 - Test cause-and-effect relationships within naturalistic field experiments.
- Disadvantages:
 - Observation of offending behavior can be very challenging;
 - Tap only a small, less serious proportion of the offending phenomenon;
 - Costly, difficult to implement, and rarely used in the study of offending behavior.

What causes crime?

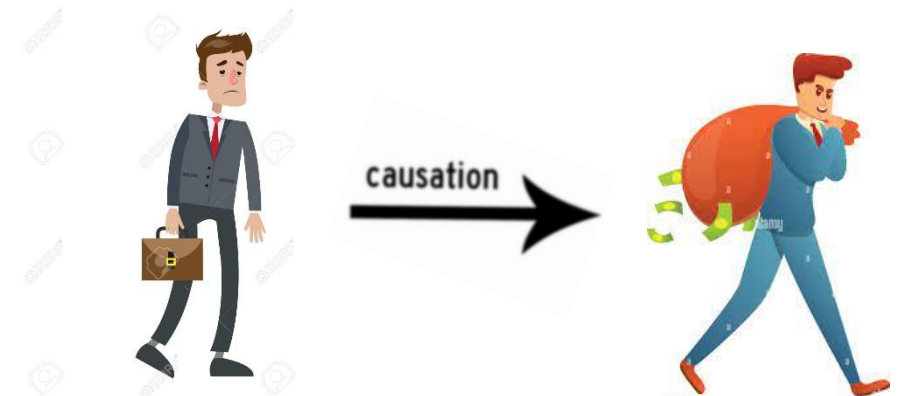
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 - all alternative explanations are rendered implausible.



(Shadish et al., 2002)

➤ Correlational/between-individual

- Researchers try to statistically control the effect of confounders
- It is impossible to control all these effects
- Temporal biases
- Measurement biases...



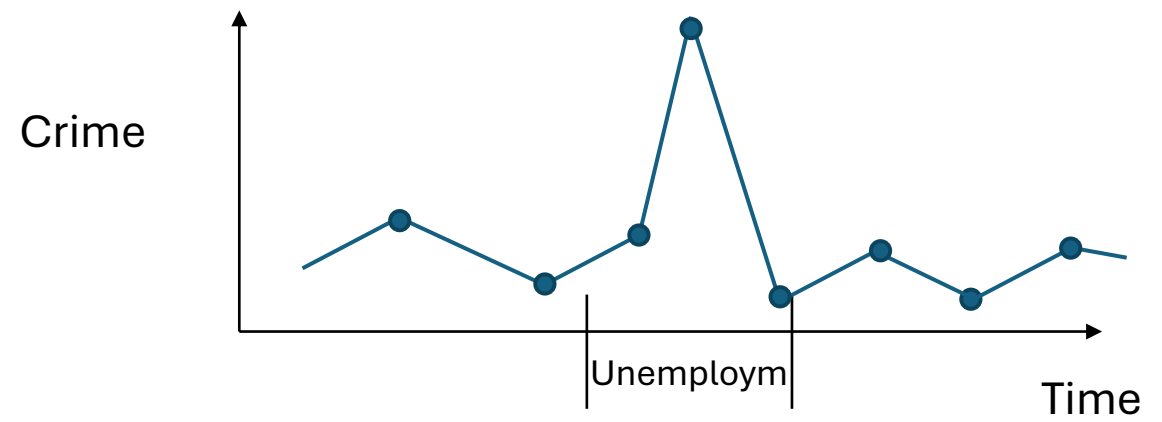
What causes crime?

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(Shadish et al., 2002)

➤ Longitudinal/within-individual

- Analysis of behavioral changes over time;
- Participants are their own controls



Longitudinal/within-individual




- The influence of peer groups as a cause of criminal behavior.
- One of the most studied topics in the last century.
 - However, even after decades of research, the question about the role of peer groups in the origin of delinquent behavior remains open.
- Most of this research uses between-subjects methods, leaving doubts about the spurious nature of this relationship.
- Longitudinal studies offer more robust analytical designs.

Longitudinal/within-individual

CBMH CRIMINAL BEHAVIOUR
AND MENTAL HEALTH

Special Issue

Are within-individual causes of delinquency the same as between-individual causes?

David P. Farrington PhD , Rolf Loeber, Yanming Yin, Stewart J. Anderson

Volume 12, Issue 1

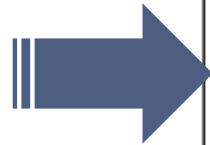
March 2002

Pages 53-68

What causes crime?

Table 3: Lagged correlations with delinquency

Variables	Variables predicting delinquency				Delinquency predicting variables			
	Between		Within		Between		Within	
	<i>r</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>p</i>
HIA problems	0.212	0.001						
Low achievement	0.145	0.001						
Depressed mood	0.125	0.002						
Poor supervision	0.222	0.001						
Low reinforcement	0.115	0.001						
Poor communication	0.193	0.001						
Low involvement	0.214	0.001						
Low SES	0.097	0.004						
Poor housing	0.125	0.007						
Peer delinquency	0.393	0.001						
Mean	0.184	0.001						

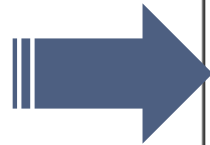


Notes: *r* = Spearman correlation; averaged over six comparisons of wave (*n*) and wave (*n* + 1); ns = not significant.

What causes crime?

Table 3: Lagged correlations with delinquency

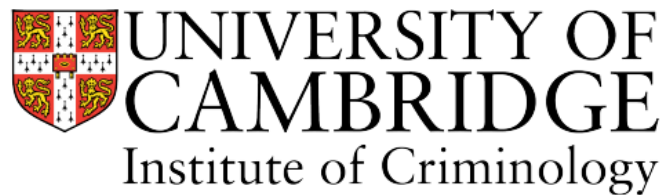
Variables	Variables predicting delinquency				Delinquency predicting variables			
	Between		Within		Between		Within	
	<i>r</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>p</i>
HIA problems	0.212	0.001	-0.002	ns	0.190	0.001	-0.007	ns
Low achievement	0.145	0.001	0.044	ns	0.125	0.001	0.020	ns
Depressed mood	0.125	0.002	-0.013	ns	0.144	0.001	-0.065	0.023
Poor supervision	0.222	0.001	0.081	0.005	0.230	0.001	0.044	ns
Low reinforcement	0.115	0.001	0.070	0.019	0.093	0.006	0.023	ns
Poor communication	0.193	0.001	0.041	ns	0.178	0.001	0.012	ns
Low involvement	0.214	0.001	0.121	0.001	0.215	0.001	0.035	ns
Low SES	0.097	0.004	0.013	ns	0.089	0.011	0.006	ns
Poor housing	0.125	0.007	0.024	ns	0.134	0.002	0.039	ns
Peer delinquency	0.393	0.001	0.044	ns	0.104	0.001	0.042	ns
Mean	0.184	0.001	0.042	0.009	0.150	0.001	0.015	ns



Notes: *r* = Spearman correlation; averaged over six comparisons of wave (*n*) and wave (*n* + 1); ns = not significant.

What causes crime?

- Farrington et al. (2002) compared several risk factors for delinquent behavior based on between- and within-individual methods.
- Changes in peer delinquency levels did not predict changes in the same individual's delinquency from one wave of data collection to another.
- In the same study, parental factors (e.g., parental supervision, low involvement in family activities) were predictors of between- and within-individual delinquent behavior.
- In this example:
 - Parental factors can be considered as potential causes of delinquency;
 - The peer influence factors do not meet the criteria to be considered cause of delinquency.



Current Project



FCT - CEEC Researcher:

- *Advancing knowledge about causes of delinquent behavior: Within-individual and quasi-experimental evidence for the influence of delinquent peers using multiple cohort studies*



Advancing knowledge about causes of delinquent behavior

- What are the main within-individual risk and protection factors for delinquency?
- Are within-individual risk/protection factors the same as between-individual factors?
 - STUDY 1 – Systematic Review and Meta-analysis of studies comparing between- and within-individual associations with delinquency
 - STUDY 2 – Comparison of between- and within- factors for delinquency in the Pittsburgh Youth Study (PYS).
 - The PYS includes three cohorts, the youngest (N=503), the middle (N=508), the oldest (N=506).

Advancing knowledge about causes of delinquent behavior

- STUDY 3 – Comparison of between- and within- factors for delinquency in the z-proso.
 - The Zurich Project on the Social Development from Childhood to Adulthood (z-proso) started in 2004.
- STUDY 4 – Childhood predictors of self-reported delinquency: Results from the Generation XXI Portuguese birth cohort.
 - In G21, peer delinquency and participants' delinquent behavior will only be assessed at age ~18.

Advancing knowledge about causes of delinquent behavior

- Generation XXI (G21)
 - A Portuguese birth cohort launched in 2005 in Porto.
 - Follows 8,647 children and their families.
 - Assessment at birth, 6, 15 and 24 months, and at 4, 7, 10, 13, and 18 years of age.



Conclusion: How can we advance the knowledge about the causes of criminal behavior?

- **(Field) experimental studies**

“It is to be hoped that psychologists will have the ingenuity, determination, and social responsibility to meet the challenge of experiments on deviance.”

(Farrington, 1979, p. 242)

- **Developmental Criminology: Coming of Age Through Collaboration**
 - Developmental criminology has matured through the integration of longitudinal research.
 - Collaborations between research groups allow for replication of within-individual findings across diverse contexts.
 - This collective effort strengthens evidence on causal processes and informs more precise interventions.



LABORATORY
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AND TRANSLATIONAL
RESEARCH
IN POPULATION
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THANK YOU!

Hugo S. Gomes
hugo.santos.gomes@gmail.com

The David P. Farrington Memorial Symposium

Advancing the Scientific Bases for Criminology



Refreshments
1045 - 1115



Pushing the Boundaries of Knowledge on Human Development and Crime

Chair: Kyle Treiber, University of Cambridge

Terrie Moffitt

Duke University and

King's College London







In David's early 1980's conference paper, he focused on individual trajectories of delinquent behavior. "Delinquency and Crime as a Product of the Individual"

He showed how the stability of criminal behaviors can be linked to individual factors rather than simply environmental factors.

But what kinds of individual factors?

- **Consider the individual factor of how people perceive the risks of doing crime.**
- **Deterrence in the Twenty-First Century, Dan Nagin 2025**
- The evidence in support of the deterrent effect of the certainty of punishment is far more consistent than that for the severity of punishment. However, there are major research gaps.
- One major gap involves the individual-level factor of sanction-risk perceptions.

From Nagin et al.

“We specify a model of criminal behavior in which an offender’s decision to victimize a target depends on **the offender’s attendant perceptions of the likelihood of being caught, and of being sanctioned.**”

$$G - p_a p_{s|a} S - C > K$$

where $p_{s|a}$ is the probability of sanction given apprehension, S is perceived total informal and formal sanction cost, and C measures all other perceived costs that are unrelated to sanction risk. Equation 1 is described as measuring the expected “profit” from victimizing

Where do these risk perceptions come from? What affects them?

- We thought about perceptions through a developmental lens, as David Farrington would do...
 - Are perceptions of risk stable or changing over the offender's life course or crime career?
 - Are perceptions of risk different for specific crimes? Or generalized across crimes?
 - Are perceptions formed rationally, influenced by experience?

Using Risk of Crime Detection to Study Change in Mechanisms of Decision Making

J. C. Barnes¹, Terrie E. Moffitt^{2, 3, 4, 5}, Peter T. Tanksley⁶, Shahin Tasharrofi⁷,
Richie Poulton⁸, and Avshalom Caspi^{2, 3, 4, 5}

¹ School of Criminal Justice, University of Cincinnati

² Department of Psychology and Neuroscience, Duke University

³ Department of Psychiatry and Behavioral Sciences, Duke University School of Medicine

⁴ PROMENTA, University of Oslo

⁵ Social, Genetic, and Developmental Psychiatry Research Centre, Institute of Psychiatry,
Psychology, and Neuroscience, King's College London

⁶ Population Research Center, University of Texas at Austin

⁷ Criminal Justice Program, Lenoir-Rhyne University

⁸ Dunedin Multidisciplinary Health and Development Research Unit, Department of Psychology, University of Otago

Perceptions of crime detection risk (e.g., risk of arrest) play an integral role in the criminal decision-making process. Yet, the sources of variation in those perceptions are not well understood. Do individuals respond to changes in legal policy or is perception of detection risk shaped like other perceptions—by experience, heuristics, and with biases? We applied a developmental perspective to study self-reported perception of detection risk. We test four hypotheses against data from the Dunedin Longitudinal Study (analytic sample of $N = 985$ New Zealanders), a study that spans 20 years of development (Ages 18–38, years 1990–2011). We reach four conclusions: (1) people form their perception of detection risk early in the life course; (2) perception of detection risk may be general rather than unique to each crime type; (3) population-level perceptions are stable between adolescence and adulthood; but (4) people update their perceptions when their life circumstances change. The importance of these findings for future theoretical and policy work is considered.

Keywords: perception of risk, deterrence, rational choice, developmental, stability



The Dunedin Longitudinal Study

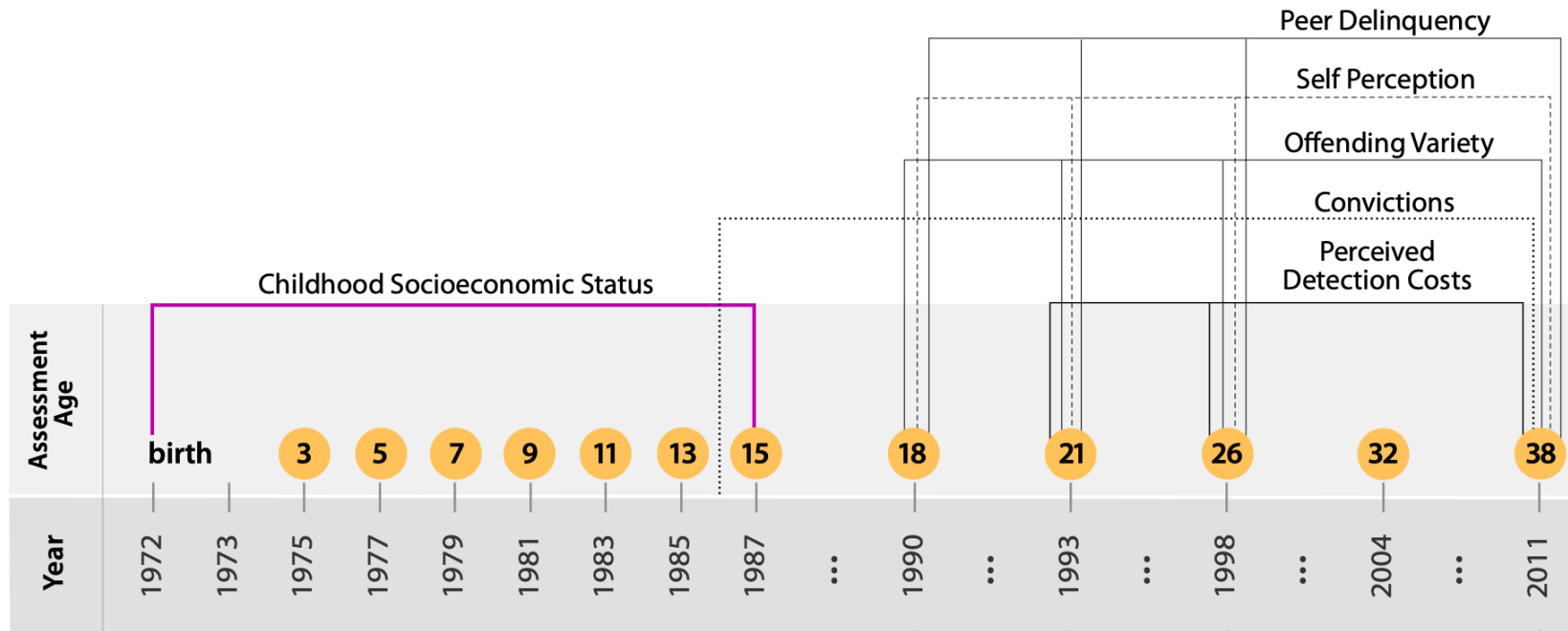


Dunedin Study Design

Age	Year	Number	Percent*
Birth	1972-73		
3	1975-76	1037	100%
5	1977-78	991	96
7	1979-80	954	92
9	1981-82	955	92
11	1983-84	925	90
13	1985-86	850	82
15	1987-88	976	95
18	1990-91	993	97
21	1993-94	992	97
26	1998-99	980	96
32	2004-05	972	96
38	2010-12	961	95
45	2017-2019	938	94%
52	2024-2026	??	??

* Percent assessed, of those who were alive at each age.

Dunedin Longitudinal Study



Collecting data on perceptions since 1990 >

Perceived Detection Risk

Interview about perceived risk of detection

“Now I will ask you about the chances of getting caught for some activities.”

“If you {do crime X} on 10 different days, how many times do you think that you would get caught for {crime X}”?

Participants were then shown a card with the numbers:

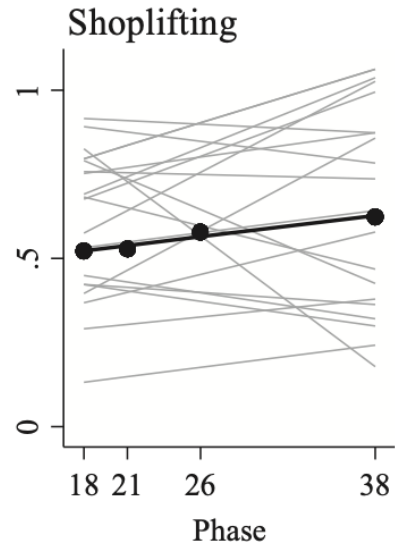
"0 times, never" 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 "10 times, every time I do it".

8 crimes: “shoplifted”, “stole a car”, “committed burglary”,
“used a stolen bank card”, “used marijuana”, “hit someone else in a fight”,
“drove while drunk”, and “beat your partner”.

Interview, not a self-complete. Number of days, not percent of times.

Figure 2

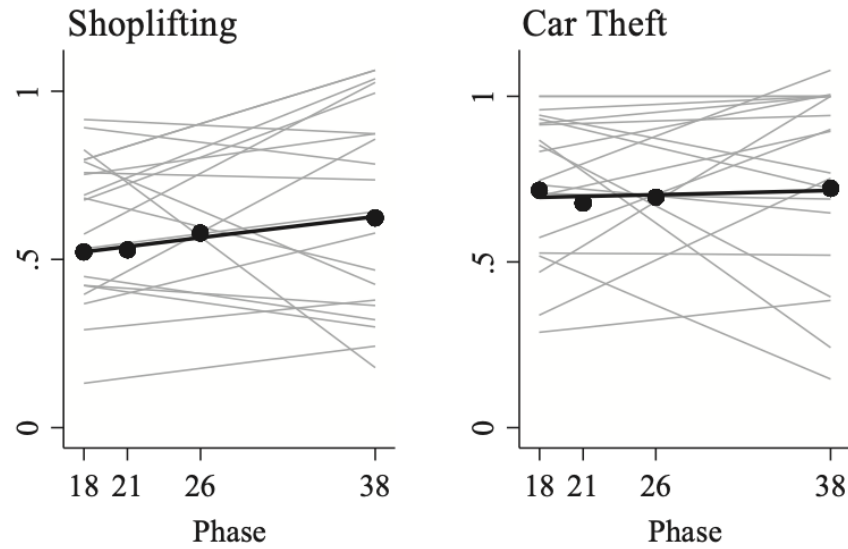
Line Plots for Each Perceived Detection Risk Measure



Note. The black dots indicate the mean values for each phase and the bolded black line is the line of best fit for those values (i.e., a trend line). The light-grey lines in the background represent the trend lines for 20 randomly drawn cases from the Dunedin participants. DUI = driving under the influence of alcohol or drugs.

Figure 2

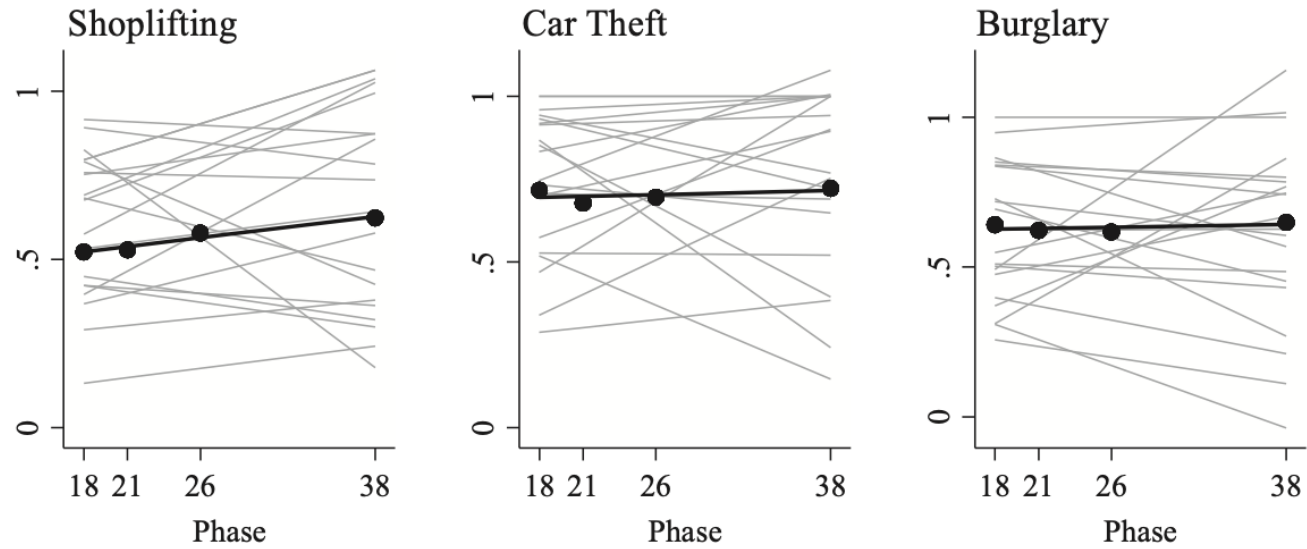
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Figure 2

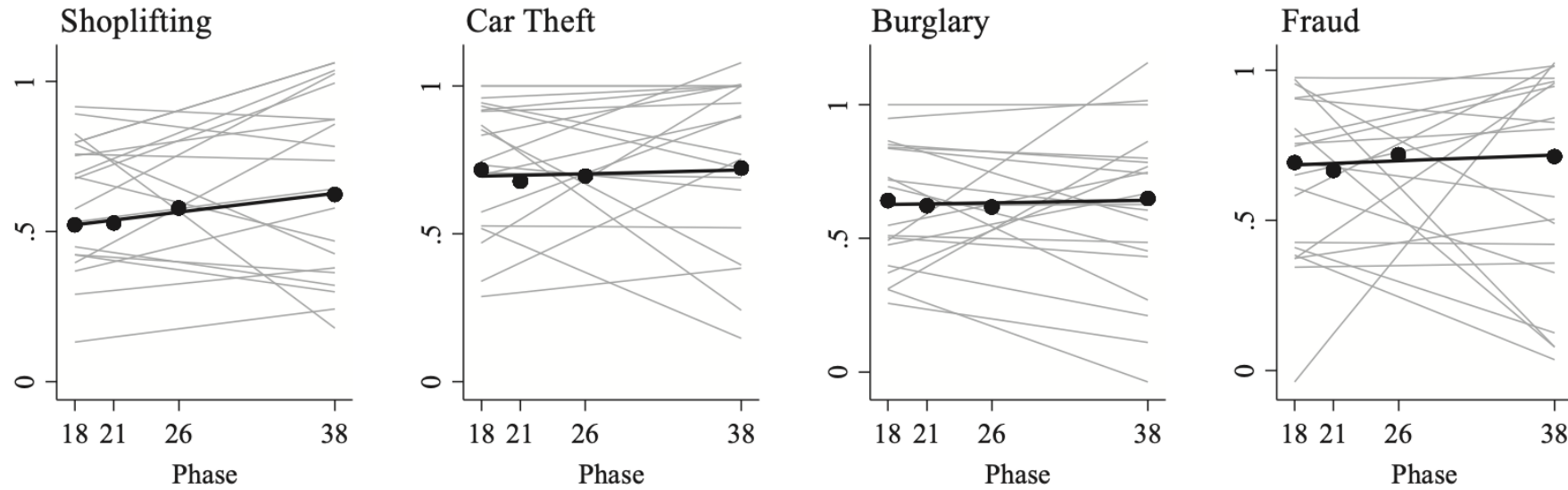
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Figure 2

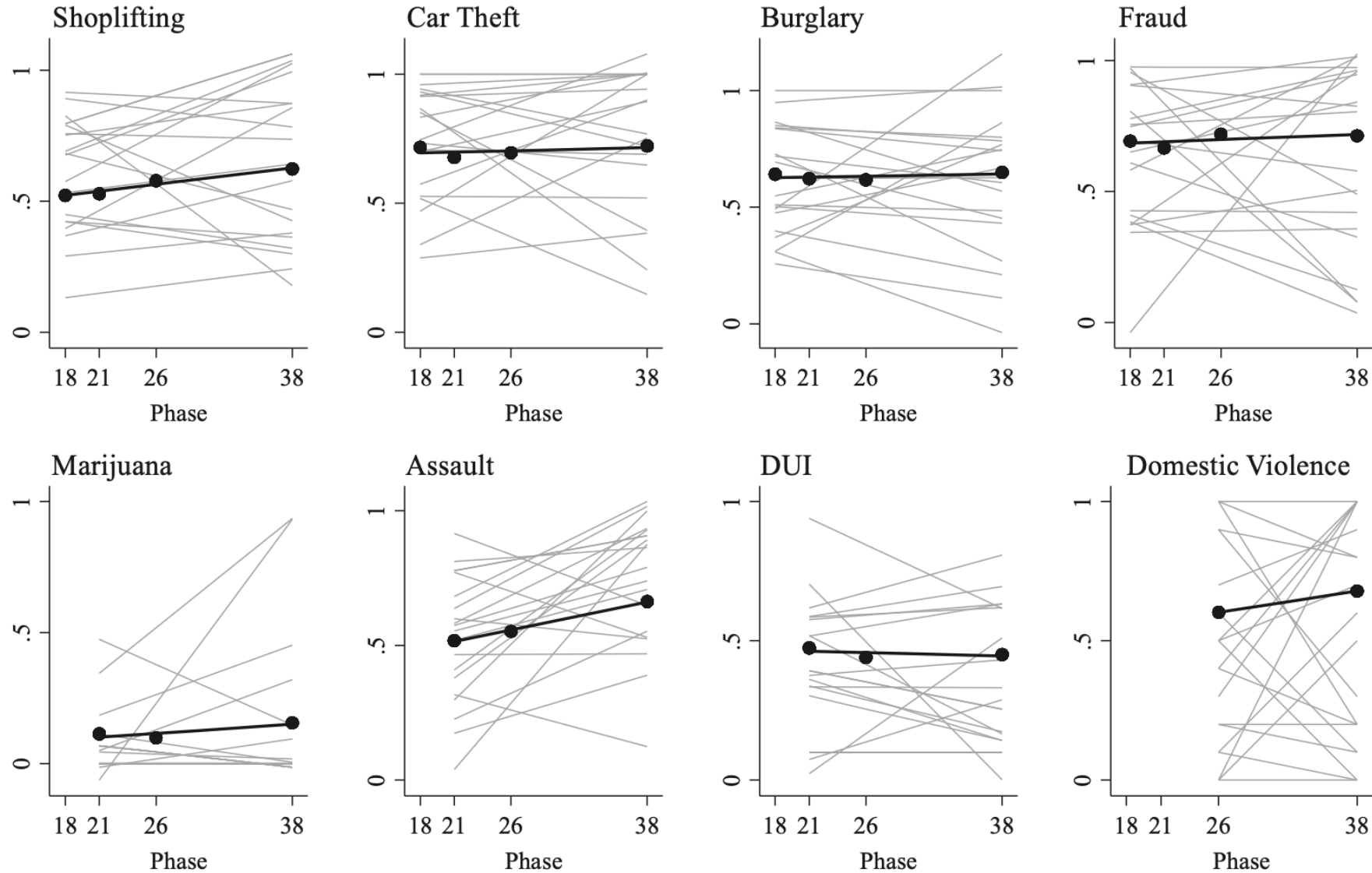
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Figure 2

Line Plots for Each Perceived Detection Risk Measure



Note. The black dots indicate the mean values for each phase and the bolded black line is the line of best fit for those values (i.e., a trend line). The light-grey lines in the background represent the trend lines for 20 randomly drawn cases from the Dunedin participants. DUI = driving under the influence of alcohol or drugs.

Table 5

Multilevel Models Predicting Global Perceived Detection Risk With Time-Stable and Time-Varying Covariates (N = 985)

Parameter	Model 1 <i>b</i> (<i>SE</i>)
Intercept	0.633* (0.006)
Time	0.002* (0.000)
Time-stable (grand-mean centered)	
Perceived costs, friends	
Perceived costs, family	
Conviction = 1	
Offending variety	
Self-perception	
Peer delinquency	
Childhood SES	
Male = 1	
Time-varying (person-mean centered)	
Perceived costs, friends	
Perceived costs, family	
Conviction = 1	
Offending variety	
Self-perception	
Peer delinquency	
Person-Years	3,754

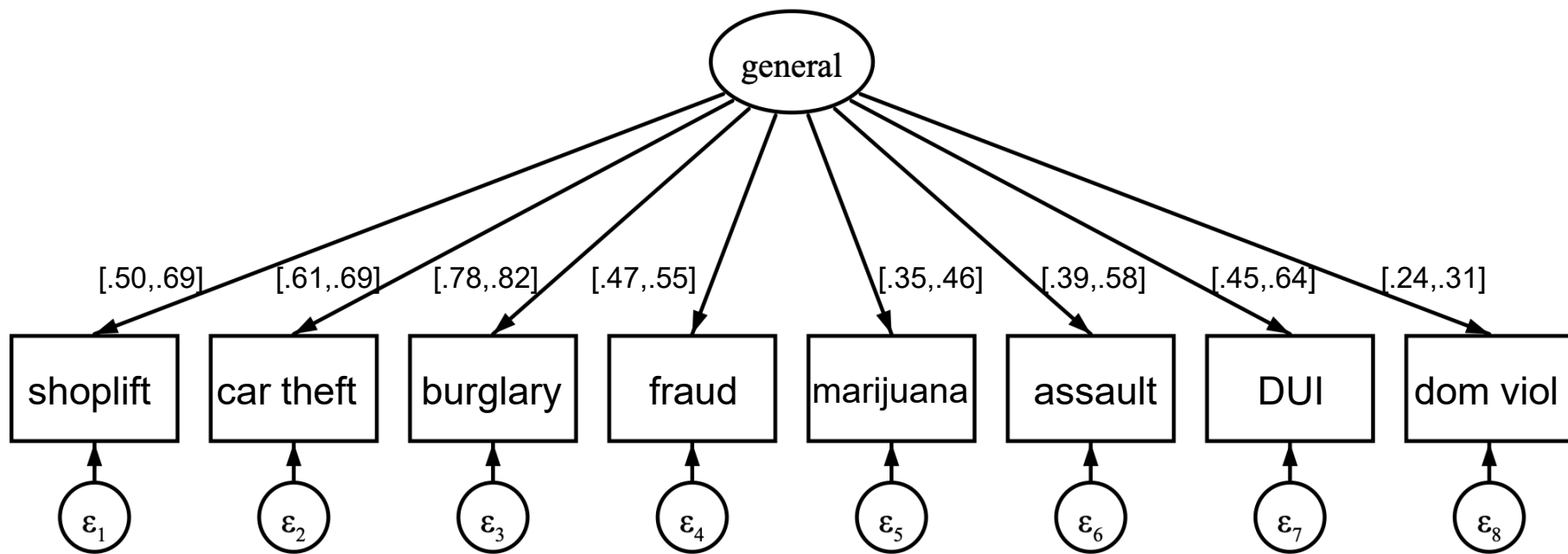
**0.3% increase per year in risk of detection,
totaling ~4% over 20 years on average**

Note. *b* = unstandardized coefficient; *SE* = standard error; SES = socioeconomic status.

* *p* < .01 (two-tailed).

Where do these perceptions of sanction risk come from? What affects them?

- Are perceptions stable or changing over the offender's life course? ***Fairly stable from age 18 to 38, with only a slight increase in perception of sanction risk.***
- Are perceptions different for specific crimes? Or generalized across crimes?
- Are perceptions formed rationally?



Where do these perceptions of detection and sanction risk come from? What affects them?

- Perceptions of detection risk were fairly stable from 18 to 38, with a slight increase in perception of sanction risk.
- Are perceptions different for specific crimes? Or generalized across crimes? ***People reported a strong general perception of overall detection risk that tended to apply to most crimes.***
- Are perceptions formed rationally?

Measures of Perceived Detection Costs from Social Bonds to friends and family

“Would you lose the respect and good opinion of your close friends if they knew you had done {crime X}...”.

“Would you lose the respect and good opinion of your family if they knew you had done {crime X}...”.

8 crimes: “shoplifted”, “stole a car”, “committed burglary”, “used a stolen bank card”, “used marijuana”, “hit someone else in a fight”, “drove while drunk”, and “beat your partner”.

Conviction measures

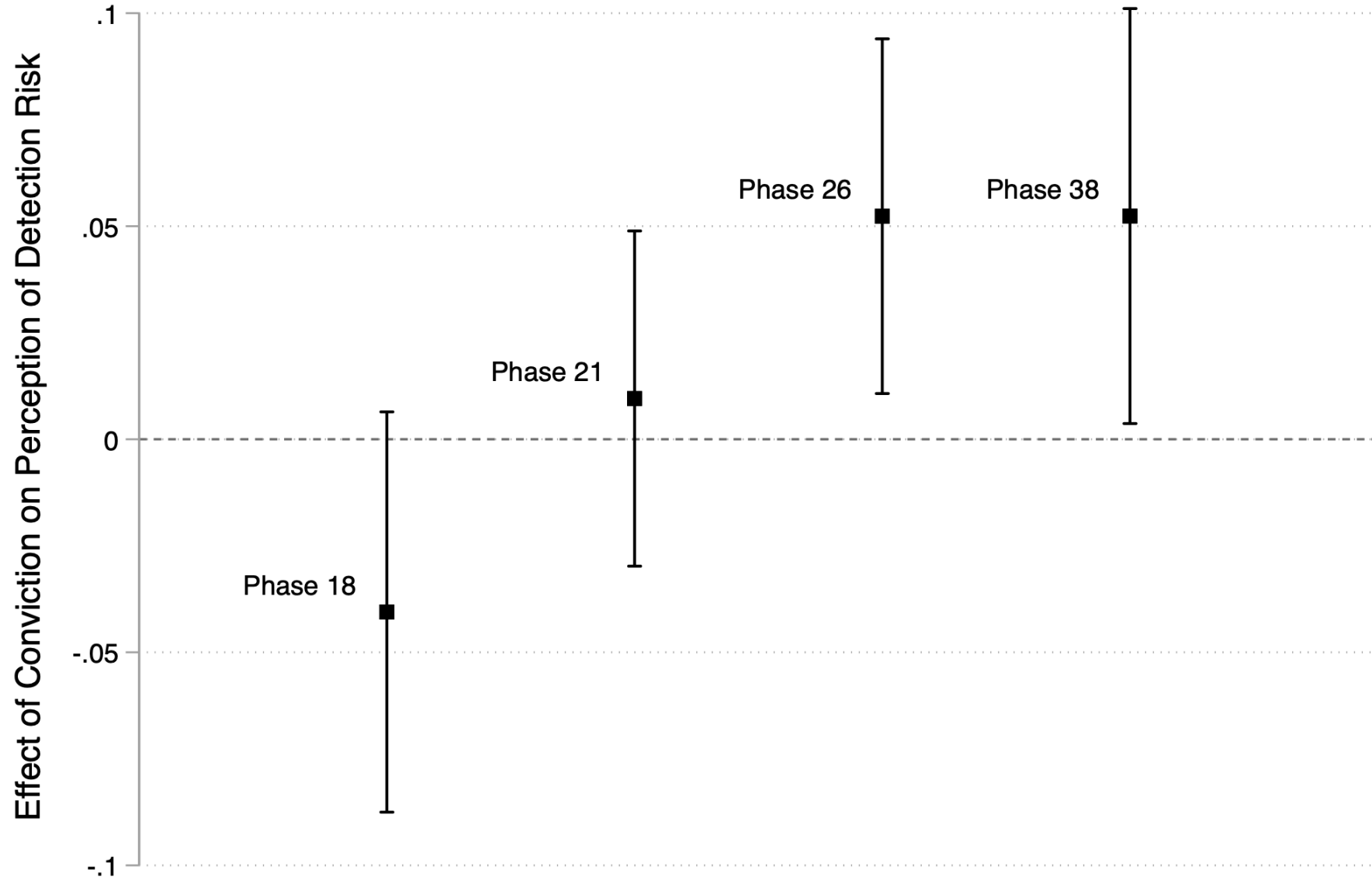
Central computer system of the New Zealand police, details of all NZ and Australian convictions communicated to the NZ police.

Searches for all convictions from age 14 were repeated at ages 21, 26, and 38 years (completed in 2013).

Where do these perceptions of detection and sanction risk come from? What affects them?

- Perceptions were fairly stable from 18 to 38, with a slight increase in perception of sanction risk.
- People tended to hold a strong general perception of similar detection risk that applies to most crimes, except cannabis use, and assault.
- **Are perceptions formed rationally? *People with more social bonds (who perceived more costs of crime to relationships with friends and family) perceived greater risks of crime detection, greater informal sanctions.***
- ***We found that people who got caught for a crime and convicted tended to “update” their perceptions the next time we interviewed them.***

People who got convicted tended to “update” their perceptions the next time we interviewed them.



What We Don't Know

- There was already a lot of variation between people by age 18. Where did their perceptions of crime risk come from in the first place?
- We are now looking at what early-childhood factors best predict perceptions of detection risk and sanction risk.
- This is just the kind of question that David would have worked on!

Alex Piquero

University of Miami

UNIVERSITY
OF MIAMI



Civility, Human Development, & Crime

Alex R. Piquero, PhD

University of Miami

Chair, Department of Sociology &
Criminology and Arts & Sciences
Distinguished Scholar

Civility, we know it when we see it

- Many definitions, but in general:
 - behavior or speech appropriate to civil interactions; politeness, courtesy, consideration.
 - polite behaviors that maintain social harmony or demonstrate respect for the humanity of an individual.
 - Yet, any aspects of today’s rapidly changing world—including influence of media, pervasiveness of technology, weakening of families, mobility, focus on the individual, and glorification of violence—contribute to incivility.

Where do people learn civility?

- Family
- School
- Religion
- Friends
- Media
 - All of these influence one's notion of civility in different periods of the life course and in different ways.

Civility and Crime

- Civility can be both an individual characteristic as well as an aggregate, societal characteristic.
- For purposes of today's talk, we will focus on civility, human development, and its potential implications for crime.

Civility and Crime (cont.)

- Civility has been shown to promote strong interpersonal relationships, effective workplace cultures, and school safety.
- Civil people can negotiate down potentially adverse situations (crime prevention).
- Civil people care about following the rules and obeying them.
- Civil people treat each other with respect.

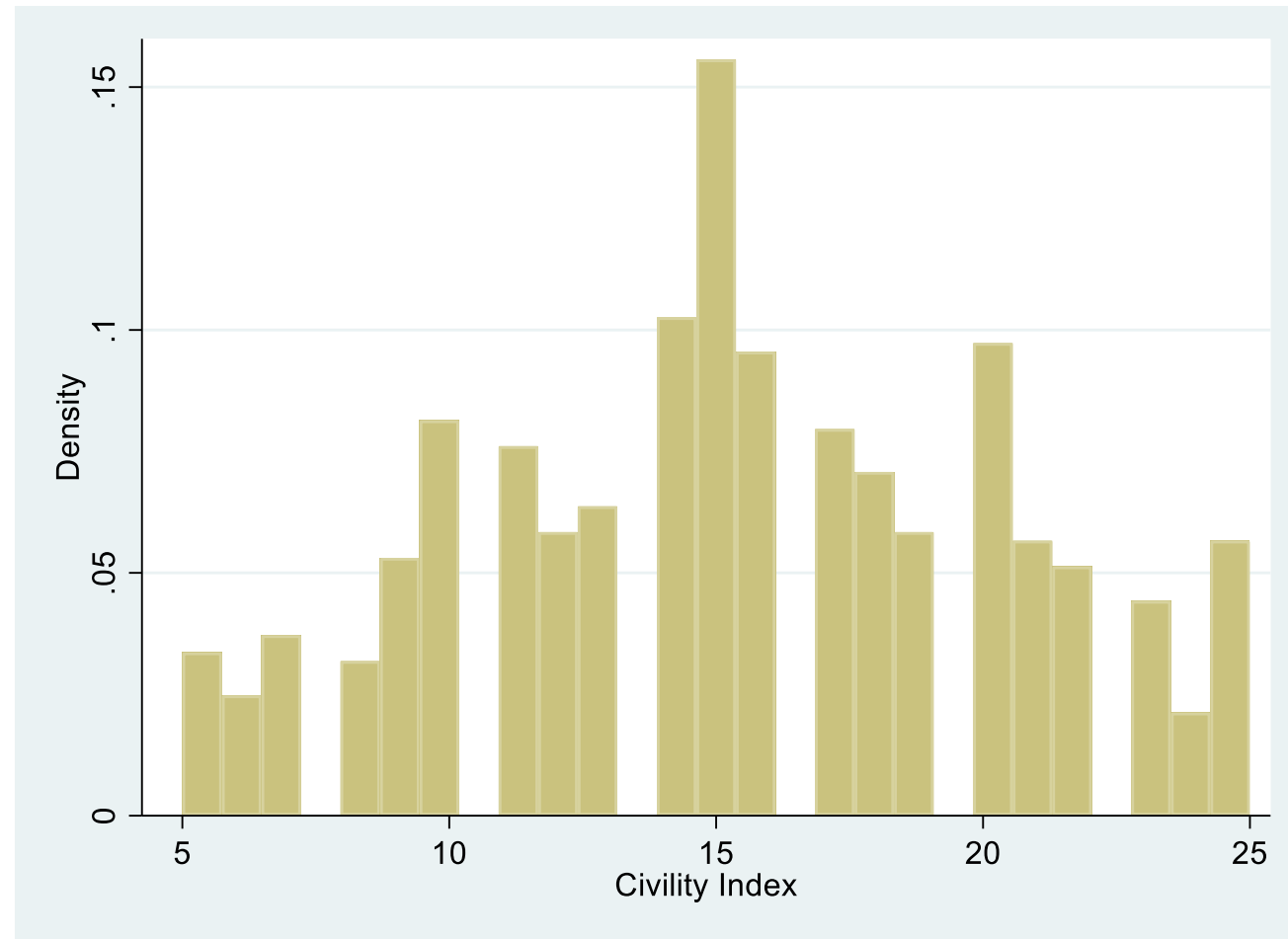
Civility and Human Development

- DLC is rooted in the development of humans over the life course, for which influences range from biological, sociology, psychological, environmental, and situational factors.
- These factors may have unique effects in an age-graded way.
- Civility develops much like social bonds and self-control, but it is a much more general orientation of people, situations, and the world.

Data & Methods

- Sample of 766 persons ages 18-74 in South Florida responded to a larger survey that also included a five-item civility measure from the CREW Civility index.
- Respect: People treat each other with respect in society.
- Cooperation: A spirit of cooperation and teamwork exists throughout society.
- Conflict Resolution: Disputes or conflicts are resolved fairly in society.
- Antidiscrimination: Society does not tolerate discrimination.
- Value Differences: Differences among individuals are respected and valued in society.

Civility Index



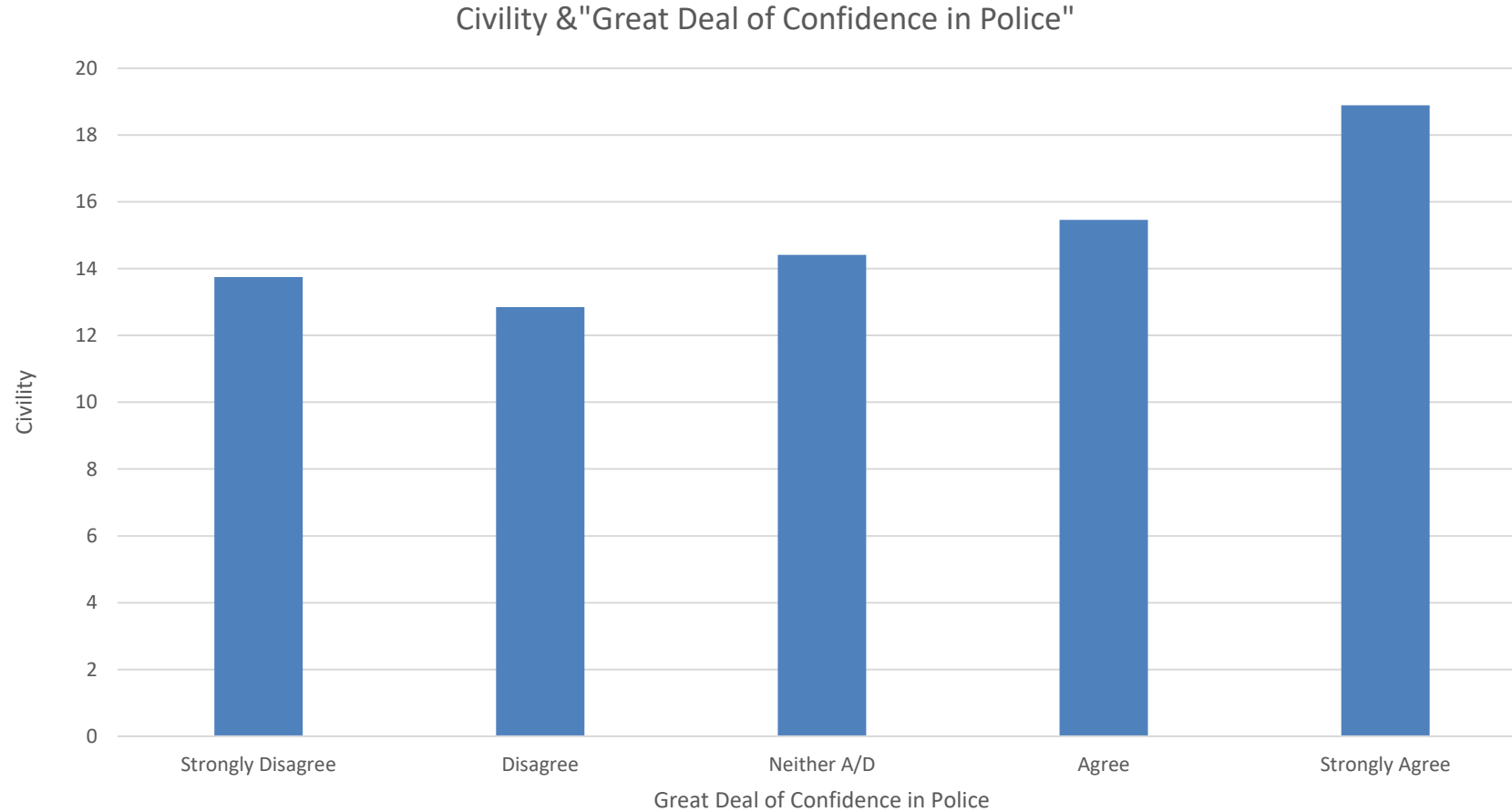
Predicting Civility

civility	Coef.	Std. Err.	t	P>|t|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
female	-2.200844	.3587158	-6.14	0.000	-2.905055	-1.496633
married	2.105248	.3702108	5.69	0.000	1.378471	2.832026
age2	.0519579	.0110051	4.72	0.000	.0303534	.0735625
white	.6572608	.3743343	1.76	0.080	-.0776116	1.392133
_cons	14.35444	1.003292	14.31	0.000	12.38483	16.32405

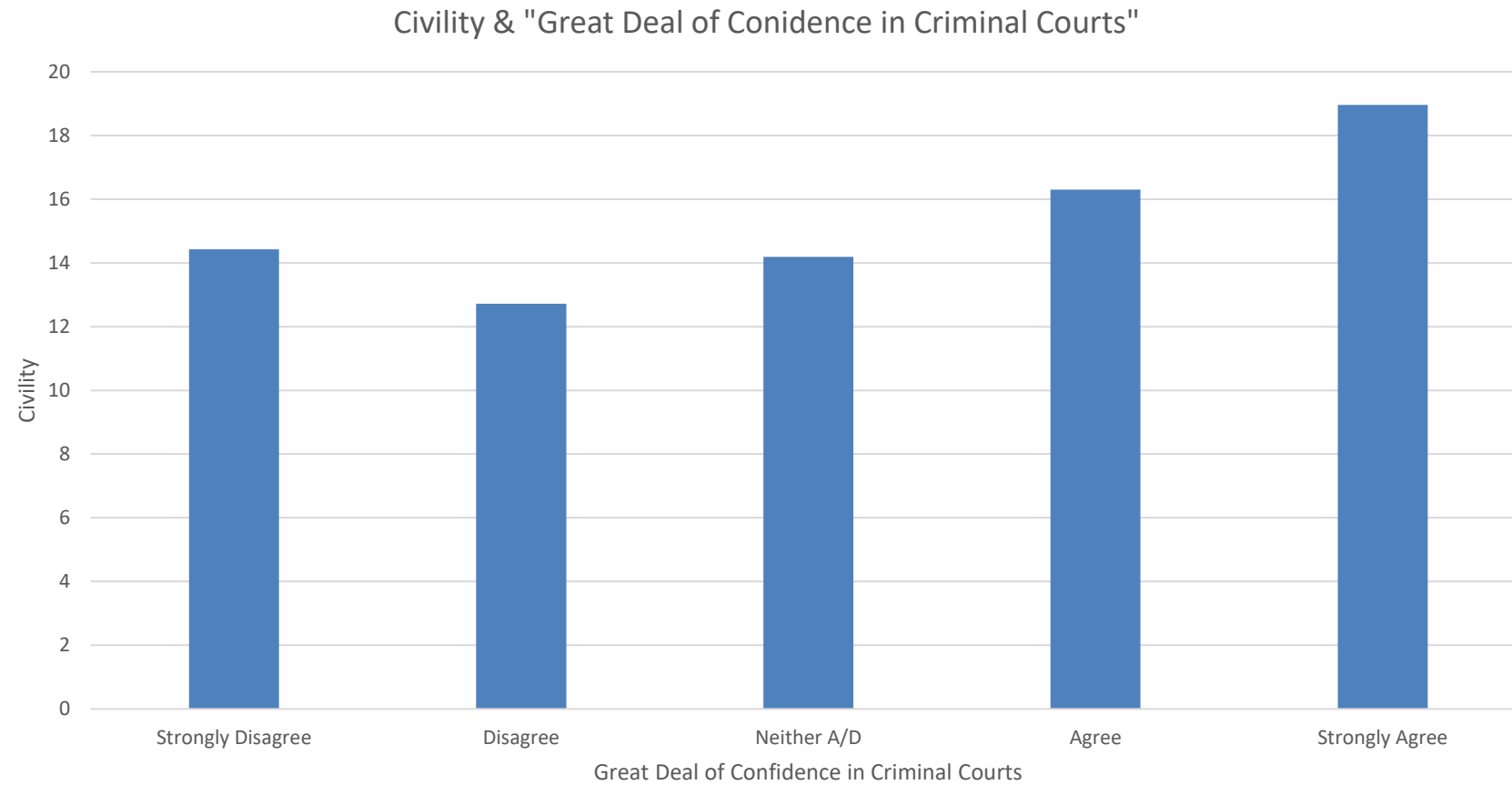
More Civility = More Confidence in CJ (great confidence in police and courts)

	civility	cjconf~e
civility	1.0000	
cjconfidence	0.3483	1.0000

Civility and Confidence in Police



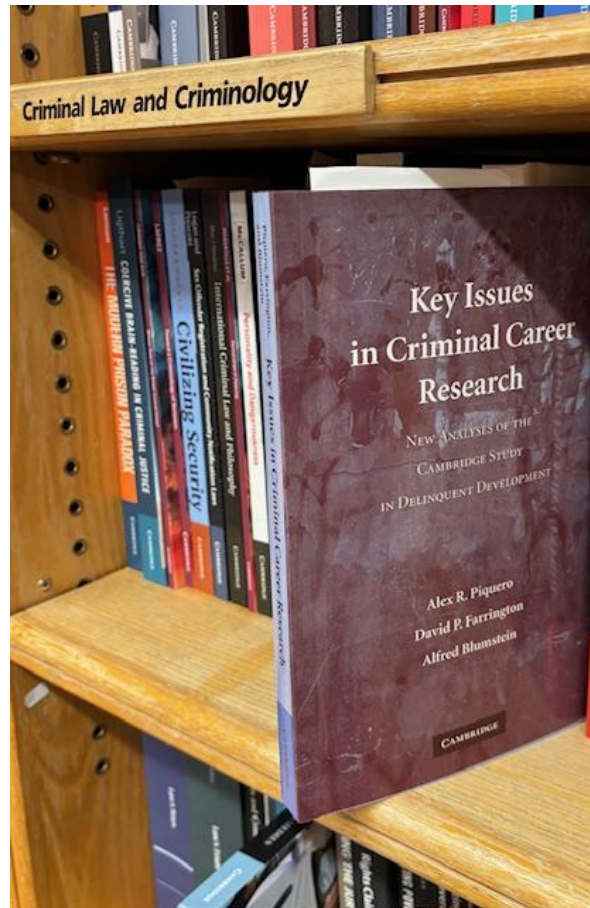
Civility and Confidence in Criminal Courts



Future Directions

- Develop age-appropriate measures of civility.
- Develop age-graded correlates of civility.
- Link civility to antisocial behavior (over and covert), delinquency, and criminal activity over the life-course.
- Assess within-person changes in civility over the life-course

Spotted at CUP Book Store



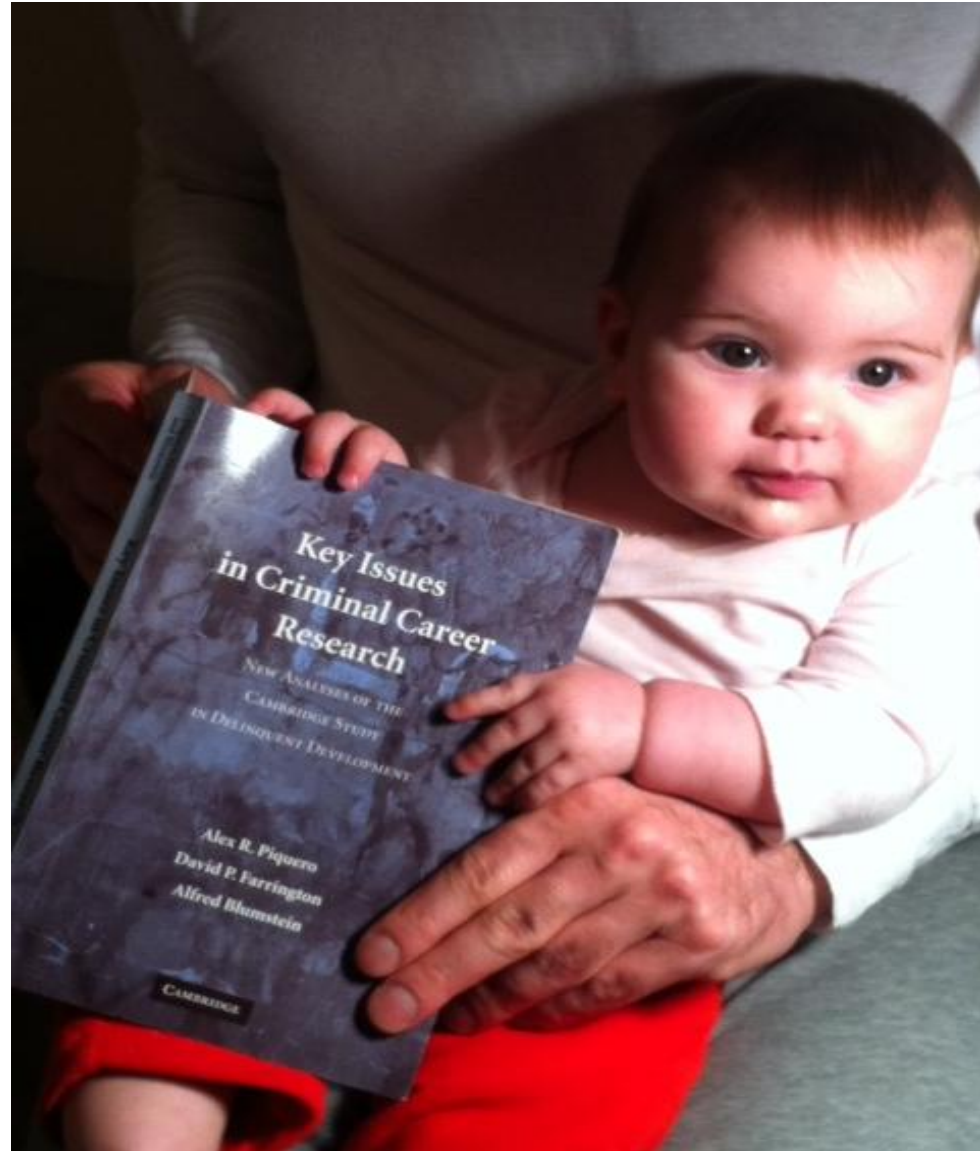
David P. Farrington's Work

- Pioneering researcher on criminal careers
- Pioneering researcher on theory and policy issues
- Pioneering criminologist, plain and simple
- A civil person, enjoyed collaboration and the spirit of working together and not putting others down.

What does it mean to be an O.B.E.?

- Officer of the British Empire
- Played a distinguished role in any field in their region or county and whose achievements are recognized nationally.
- What do these people look like?





Adrian Raine

University of Pennsylvania



David Farrington and Successful Criminals



Adrian Raine
Departments of Criminology, Psychiatry, and Psychology
University of Pennsylvania

Institute of Criminology, University of Cambridge,
23 May 2025.

Childhood predictors of successful self-reported delinquents

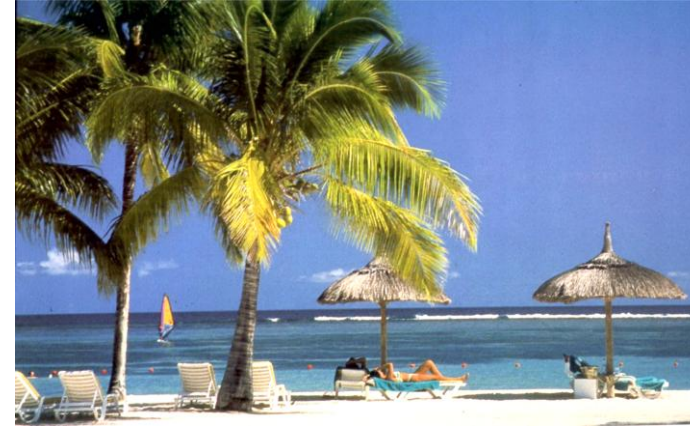
David Farrington ^a, Henriette Bergström ^b and Darrick Jolliffe ^c

^aInstitute of Criminology, Cambridge University, Cambridge, UK; ^bSchool of Psychology, University of Derby, Derby, UK; ^cSchool of Law and Criminology, Old Royal Navy College, University of Greenwich, London, UK

ABSTRACT

The main aim of this research is to investigate the childhood predictors of successful self-reported delinquents, defined as those who were not convicted. In the Cambridge Study in Delinquent Development (CSDD), 411 London males have been followed up from age 8 to age 61. Self-reported offending was measured for the whole sample for ages 10–14, 15–18, 27–32, and 42–47, for five crimes: burglary, theft of a vehicle, theft from a vehicle, shoplifting, and vandalism. The prevalence of self-reported offending was 64% at ages 10–18 and 11% at ages 27–47, compared with the prevalence of convictions of 23% and 8% respectively. Successful self-reported delinquents were defined as those who offended between ages 10 and 18 but were not convicted up to age 26; 126 successful delinquents were compared with 120 convicted delinquents. Sixteen childhood factors, including attainment, self-control, socioeconomic, parental, family and behavioural factors, predicted successful self-reported delinquents. The most important independent predictors were committing less serious and fewer offences as well as high school attainment, unconvicted parents, low risk-taking, and unseparated families.

Fear Conditioning and Successful / Unsuccessful Offending



- 975 participants at age 39
- 45% female; 72.6% Indian, 27.4% Creole
- **Controls** (N = 521): no self-report crime at age 39, no convictions at age 23
- **Unsuccessfuls** (N = 209): self-reported crime and apprehended at 39, or court conviction at age 23
- **Successfuls** (N = 233): self-reported crime (but not apprehended) at 39, no court convictions at age 23.

Classical Conditioning Theory of Crime

**Conditional
Stimulus**

**Unconditional
Stimulus**

**Unconditional
Response**

CS → UCS → UCR



Steal cookie



Punishment



Hurt - Upset

After several trials (repetitions)...

**Conditioned
Response**

good conditioning

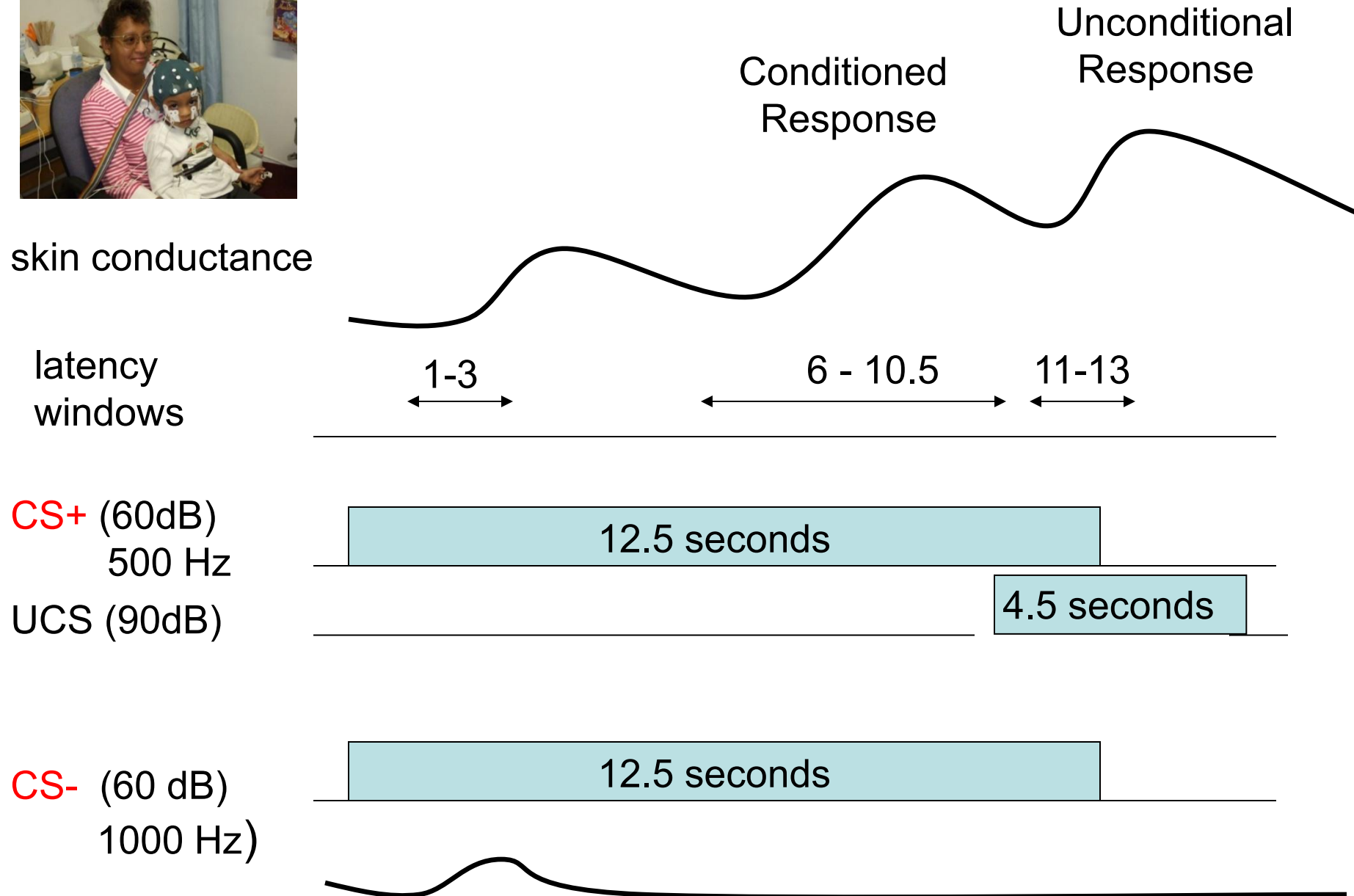
CS → CR

thought of
stealing cookie

discomfort /
guilt

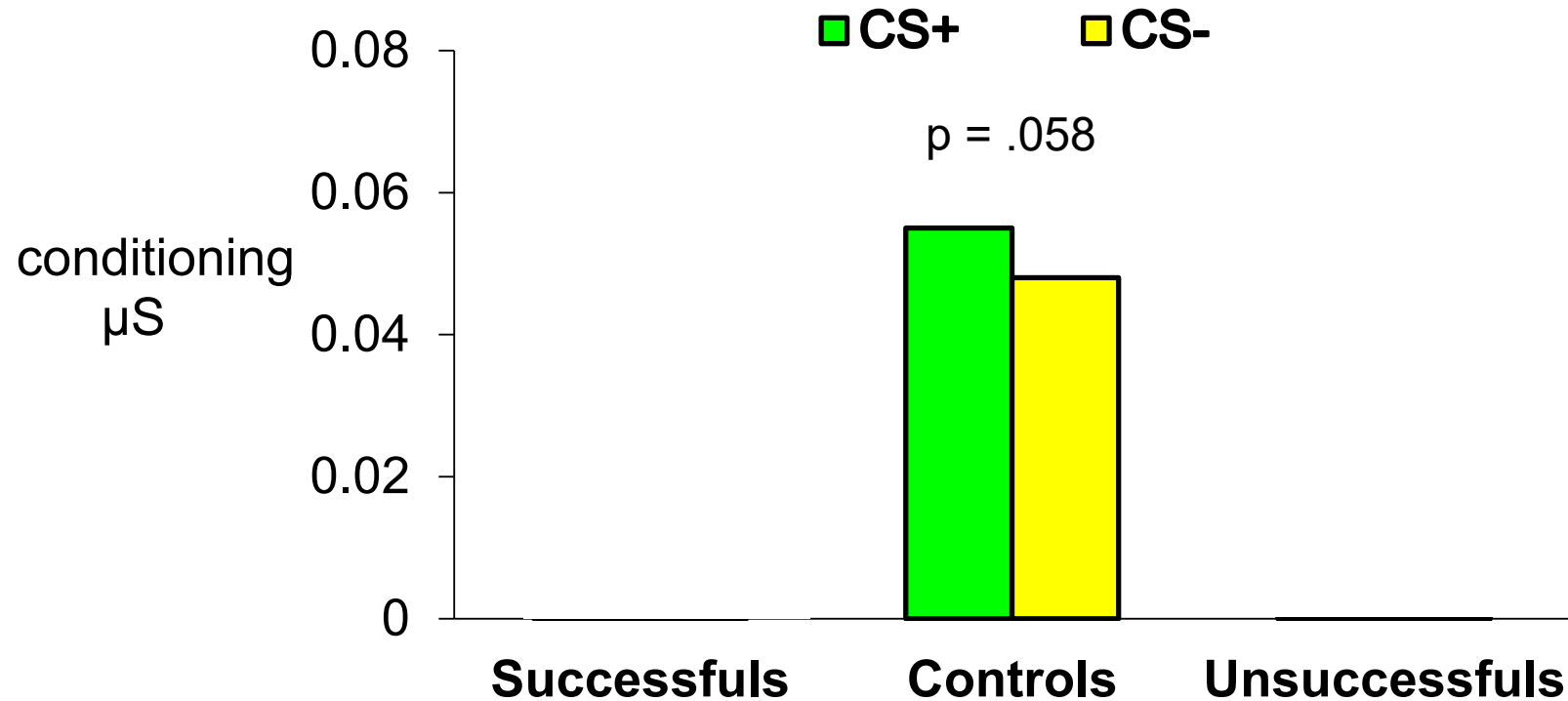
avoid
cookie

Electrodermal Fear Conditioning



Fear Conditioning and Successful – Unsuccessful Crime

Group x Stimulus interaction, $F(1,934) = 4.00, p = .019$

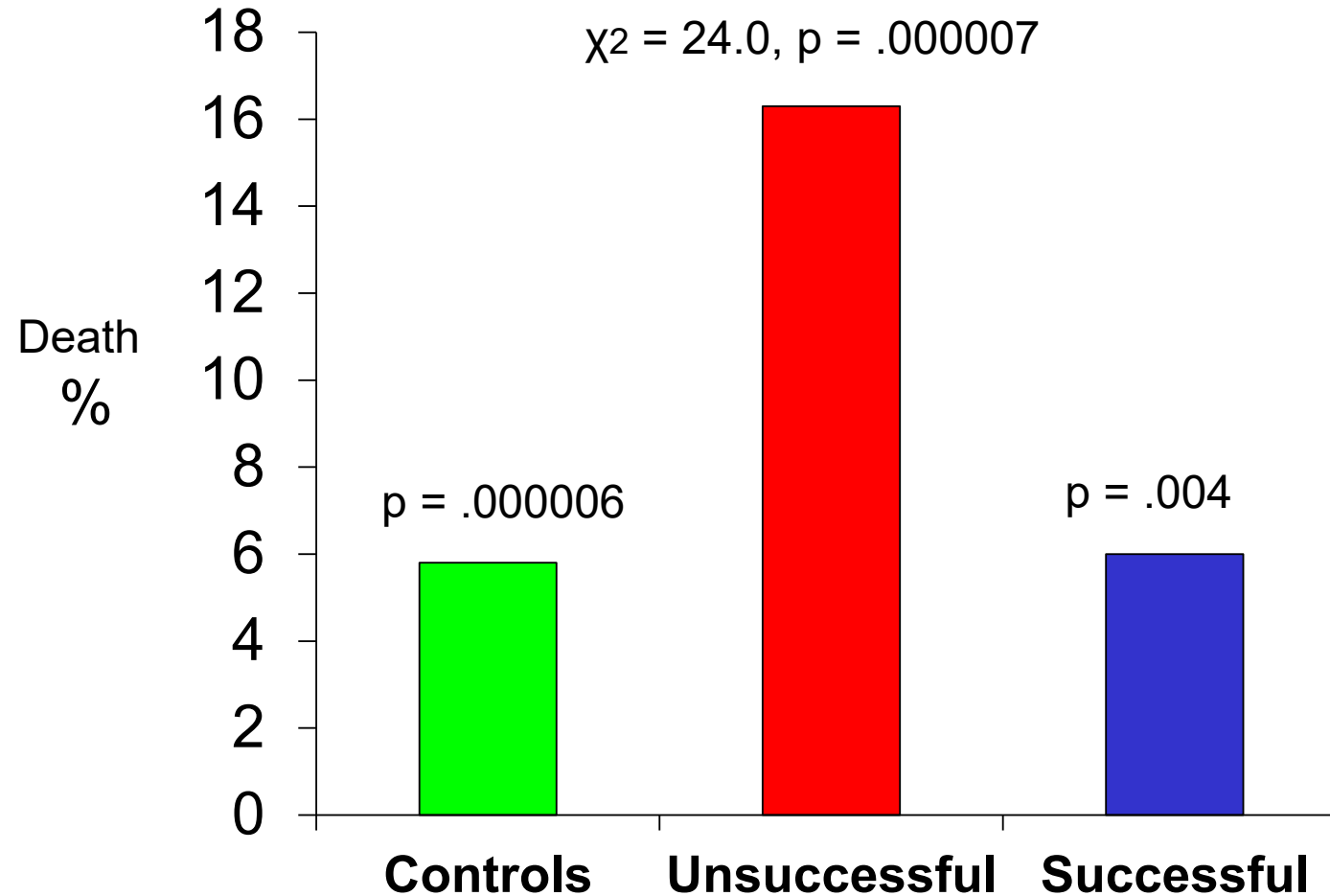


Controlling for gender, ethnicity, early social adversity, IQ: $F(2,717) = 4.49, p = .012$

Why do successful criminals show superior fear conditioning?

- more sensitive to cues forewarn detection / threat?
- heightened anticipatory fear deters “risky” crimes?

Premature Death in Unsuccessful Criminals



- Controlling for social adversity Wald $\chi^2 = 18.29, p = .00002$
- Controlling for gender and race Wald $\chi^2 = 14.20, p = .0008$
- Controlling for offending Wald $\chi^2 = 13.85, p = .0009$

Malnutrition and Successful / Unsuccessful Crime

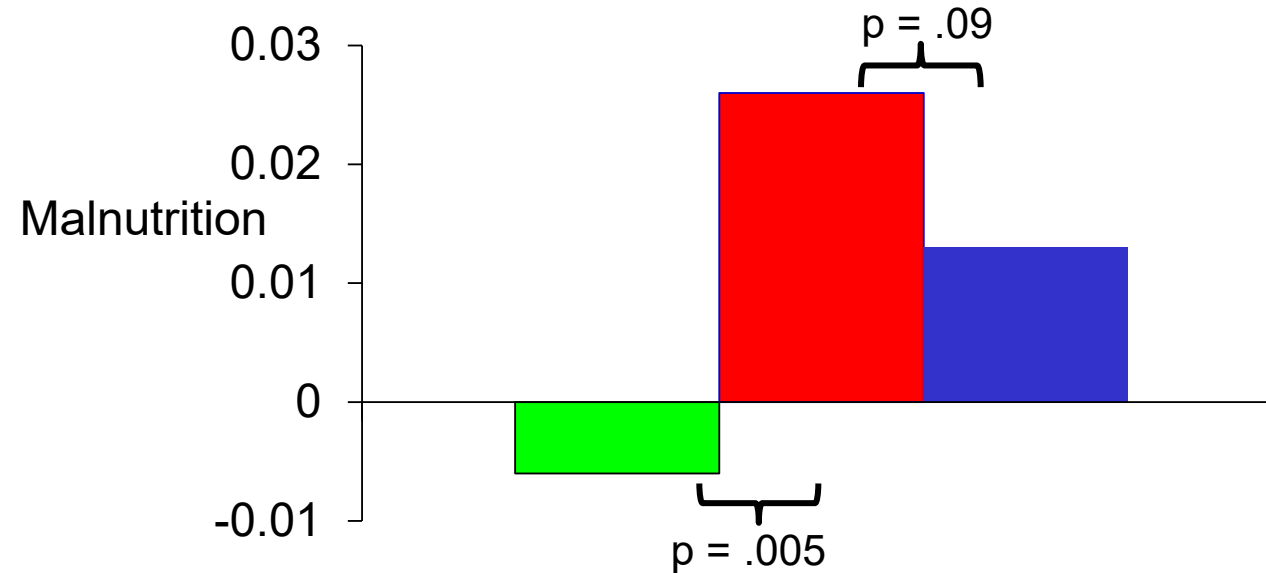
$F = 4.27, p = .014$

■ Controls ■ Unsuccessful ■ Successful

3-year-olds

- low hemoglobin
- angular stomatitis
- kwashiorkor
- sparse, thin hair
- hair easily pulled

$N = 862$ at 39y



- Controlling for social adversity $F = 4.22, p = .015$
- Controlling for social adversity, gender, ethnicity, crime, age $F = 5.54, p = .004$

SUMMARY

1. Superior fear conditioning in successful criminals deters them from risky crimes
2. Successful criminals escape premature death, giving added value to their success
3. Poor nutrition a possible risk factor for crime in successful criminals



Thank You David!

Georgia Zara

University of Turin



The David P. Farrington Memorial Symposium (including The Nigel Walker Lecture)

Thursday, 22 - Friday, 23 May 2025

Faculty of Law, University of Cambridge Sidgwick Site, Cambridge, CB3 9DZ

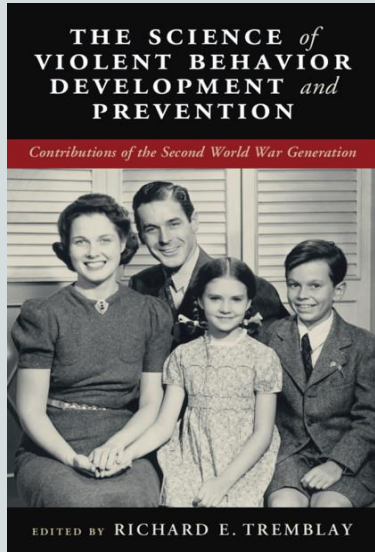
Pushing the Boundaries of Knowledge on Human Development and Crime

Georgia Zara, Ph.D
Department of Law
University of Turin (Italy)

PRIN (Grant 2020 Prot. 2020888HBY)

Outline

- WHO: the human and scientific identity of criminological psychology.
- WHAT: research findings on human development and crime.



Early years

6 From Boy to Man From Delinquent Development to Old Age Crime

David P. Farrington

David P. Farrington was born in Ormskirk, England, on March 7, 1944. He received his PhD in psychology from the University of Cambridge (England) in 1969. His first faculty appointment (1974) was in Criminology at the University of Cambridge, where he is now Emeritus Professor of Psychological Criminology. Among numerous prestigious awards, he has received the 2013 Stockholm Prize in Criminology, the 2018 John Paul Scott Award for lifetime contributions to research on aggression from the International Society for Research on Aggression (ISRA), and the Joan McCord Prize from the Academy of Experimental Criminology in 2005.

- «When I was 16, I had our local library order many of Freud's books [...]. Public libraries were great! [...]. However, Cambridge University focused [...] on experimental psychology [...], and so I was soon taught that these idols had feet of clay».

Farrington, 2021, p. 125.

Sensitivity for human development

- «As I was coming to the end of my PhD in 1969, I was becoming disillusioned with experimental psychology. Much of it seemed rather irrelevant to real life [...]».

Farrington, 2021, pp. 126-127.

The ability of transforming an opportunity into a
life commitment

- «[...] I saw an advertisement [...] to work on a longitudinal study of delinquency, based in Cambridge [...]. I was offered a job by Donald West in 1969. [...] I knew nothing of criminology at the time»

«Criminology was an alien environment».

Farrington, 2021, p. 127.

Being trained in evidence-based research means «never accepting positive results uncritically ...».



- «What is the evidence for that?»

«Without data, you're just another person with an opinion» - *W. Edward Deming*

David Farrington's scientific legacy on Developmental Criminology

Criminological Psychology in the 21st century: «the study of criminal behaviour by individuals» (Farrington, 2004, p. 152).

A person-focused approach:

Why do people become offenders?

Temporal distribution



Onset

Continuity

Escalation

Aggravation

Early childhood

Middle childhood

Adolescence

Adulthood

Criminal career is the life course criminal development

Journal of Criminal Justice 53 (2017) 34–45

Contents lists available at ScienceDirect



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Journal of Criminal Justice

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A little early risk goes a long bad way: Adverse childhood experiences and life-course offending in the Cambridge study



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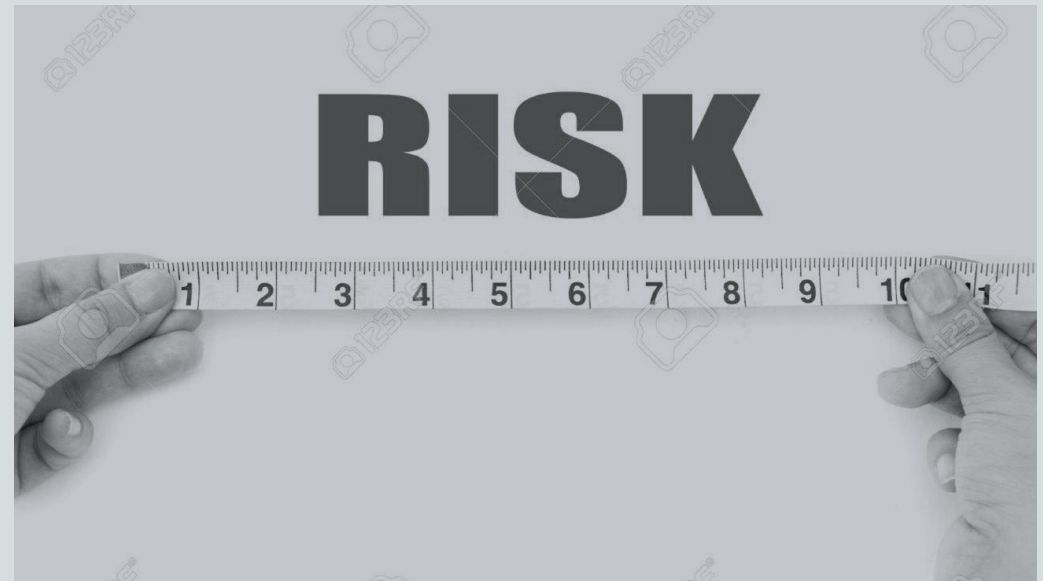
Early risk goes a long bad way, why?

If we were asked ...

- «to turn a child into a bully or into a sex offender, or into a persistent offender, unfortunately many of us would have some ideas of how to achieve this distasteful venture»

Felitti, 2010, p. xiii

Where does one look for evidence?



Variance in assessing the risk

- Because all offenders are not alike (Farrington, 1987, 2007; Farrington et al., 2008).

- Some factors could have a protective impact even though not being desirable (Zara & Farrington, 2009, 2010).

- Offending is not always the worst expression of maladjustment (Bergstrøm, Farrington et al., 2024; Farrington, 1988, 1997; Zara & Farrington, 2016).

Risk assessment **IS** ...

- A scientific method and «not an end» (Zara & Farrington, 2016, p. 151).

- A method to inform, anticipate and guide interventions, but «not an answer to antisocial and criminal behaviour» (Zara, 2016, p. 85).



Thinking fast or slow ...

Crime control
Custodial sentences



Punishment

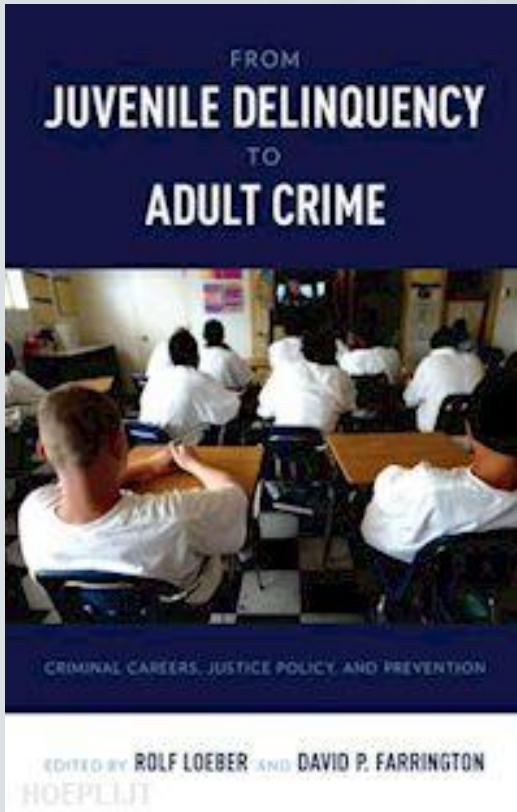


Risk-assessment
Treatment

Rehabilitation

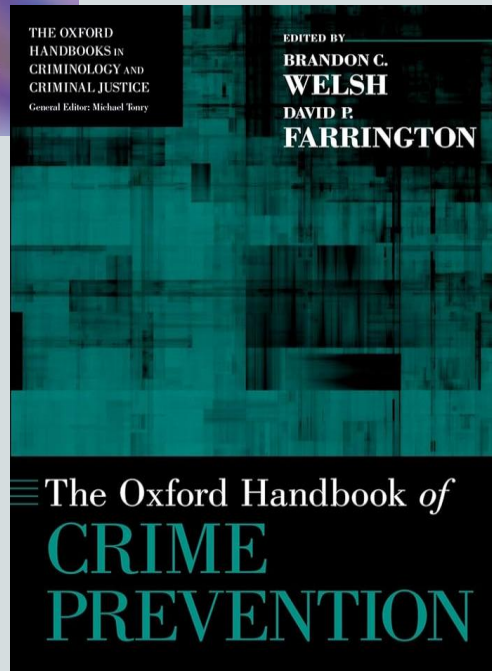
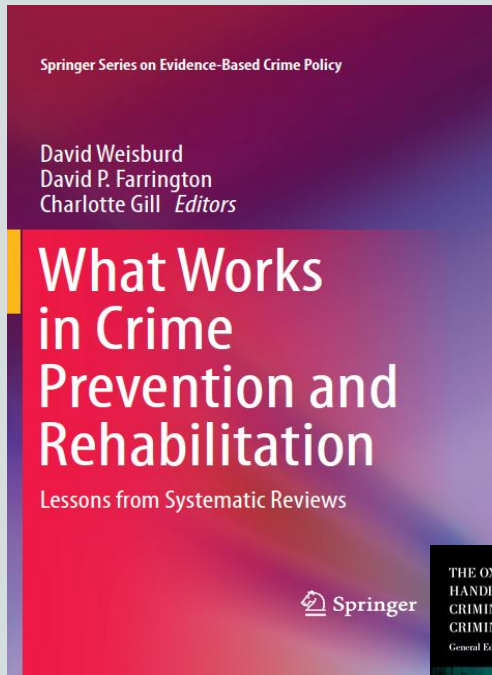
(de Vel-Palumbo & Berryessa, 2022; Farrington, 2019; Farrington & Welsh, 2008; Kolstad, 1996; Weisburd et al., 2016; Welsh & Farrington, 2012).

The critical gap ...



«Risk assessment is rarely used to inform sentencing [...], because of the punitive [...] approach of the adult criminal court, even when the probability of recidivism is low [...]».

Loeber, Farrington, et al., 2012, p. 342.



What next?

- If the offenders are responsible for what happened THEN, WE ARE, however, **responsible** for what happens from NOW ON.

Crime prevention, today

- The *Farrington Curve* shows how to set priorities on the most harmful offenders (Sherman, 2025).
- The *Farrington Legacy* with the CSDD continues to inspire criminological research (Jolliffe et al., 2025) to put itself at the service of humanity (Zara, 2025).

See also Farrington & Welsh, 2007, 2023; Koegl & Farrington, 2019; Koegl, Farrington, et al., 2021.



«And it is much fun when you are convinced that you are really pushing back (or forward!) the frontiers of knowledge».

Farrington, 2021, p. 144.




«Science does not make excuses».

Say no, even if it hurts ... and concentrate on research!

«I can no other answer make, but thanks, And thanks; and ever thanks».

William Shakespeare - *Twelfth Night, or What You Will* – Act III, Scene 3

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Lunch
1230 - 1330



Generating Knowledge for Prevention and Intervention

Chair: Charles Lanfear, University of Cambridge

Friedrich Löesel

University of Cambridge



Institute of Criminology
University of Cambridge



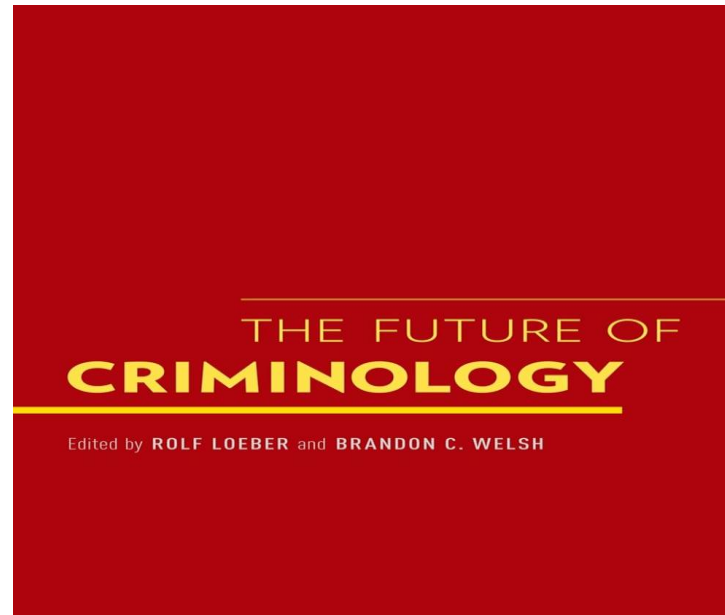
Institute of Psychology
Friedrich-Alexander-University
Erlangen-Nuremberg

**David Farrington:
A tireless missionary of science-based and humane
prevention & intervention in criminology**

Friedrich Lösel

David P. Farrington Memorial Symposium,
Cambridge (UK), Institute of Criminology, 23rd May 2025,

David's Retirement in 2011



→ IN MEMORIAM: DAVID P. FARRINGTON

Friedrich Lösel

A giant in Criminology and a wonderful man



On 4th November, an international conference on developmental and life course Criminology started in Lisbon. Various speakers emphasised the outstanding work of Professor David P. Farrington in this field. Due to serious health problems, he could not attend and one day later he passed away at Cambridge. He also could not get the result of an initiative to honour him with a knighthood in the UK. Although these actions were in vain, David had already been 'knighted' in the thoughts of numerous scholars and in the history of Criminology.

Professor Farrington, born in 1944, was an internationally outstanding scholar. He ranked top in citation analyses in Criminology and was also among the most cited psychologists. He published 136 books and research monographs, 584 journal articles, 341 book chapters, and 164 other articles (1,225 in total). Google Scholar records 144,465 citations, and his h-index of 199 is exceptionally high. However, David's unrivalled productivity should not only be commended in bibliometric terms. Whereas the modern academic world is moving towards narrow specialisation, he showed that a 'giant' in science can address a wide range of topics.

He published on crime prevalence and incidence, risk and protective factors, types of crime, community characteristics, technical and situational crime prevention, labelling processes, offender treatment and rehabilitation, early developmental prevention, cross-national comparison, victimisation, school bullying, crime and gender, psychopathy, biosocial bases of violence, intergenerational transmission of

offending, crime statistics, self-report methodology, benefit-cost analyses, evaluation designs, systematic reviews, criminological theories, and other issues. It is difficult to find a criminological topic to which David had not made a sound contribution. His most important research was the Cambridge Study in Delinquent Development (CSDD) that Donald West started with David in the 1960s. He was the director of this project for decades. It investigated a London sample of boys from age eight up to age 61 and, in addition, their second and third generations of offspring. The CSDD became a landmark study on the origins and pathways of criminal behaviour (including aggravation and desistance). The great importance and success of the CSDD is not only proven by numerous publications, but many young scholars worked on it and later became respected researchers around the world. David also cooperated intensively with Rolf and Magda Loeber in the Pittsburgh Youth Study.

Although David's work addressed Criminology as a science, it occurred not in an 'ivory tower'. For example, he advised policymakers on crime prevention in families and schools. His book *Saving Children from a Life of Crime* had an impact in Britain and elsewhere. As chair of the Steering Group of the Campbell Collaboration on Crime and Justice and President of the Academy of Experimental Criminology, he promoted evidence-based policymaking in many areas. His research and international collaboration strongly contributed to the worldwide reputation of the Cambridge Institute of Criminology (IoC).

It was a logical consequence that his great achievement in research, teaching, supervision and advice resulted in a huge number of honors and awards, for example: the Stockholm Prize in Criminology; all four main awards (Sutherland, Sellin-Glueck, August Vollmer, and Freda Adler) of the American Society of Criminology (ASC); the Joan McCord Award of the Academy of Experimental Criminology; the Beccaria Gold Medal of the Criminological Society of the German-speaking Countries; the Herrmann Mannheim Prize of the International Centre for Comparative Criminology; the Lifetime Award of the European Association of Psychology and Law; the International Juvenile Justice Award from Belgium; the Award for outstanding contributions of the U.S. Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention; the Prize for Distinguished Scholarship from the American Sociological Association; the Senior Award of the Forensic Psychology Division of the British Psychological Society; and the John Paul Scott Award of the International Society for Research on Aggression. He was an OBE, a fellow of the British Academy, the Academy of Medical Sciences, the ASC, an honorary doctor of science at Trinity College Dublin, and an honorary professor at two universities in China. Why is the ESC missing from this list of honours?

David never hesitated to take over important positions as president or chairman, for example, in the British Criminological Society, the British Psychological Society, the European Association of Psychology and Law, the Academy of Experimental Criminology, the U.S. Center for Disease Control, the UK Department of Health, the Campbell Collaboration, the ASC Division of Developmental and Life Course Criminology, and as the only foreign President of the ASC. He had offers of prestigious positions abroad but stayed with his family and at the IoC at Cambridge.

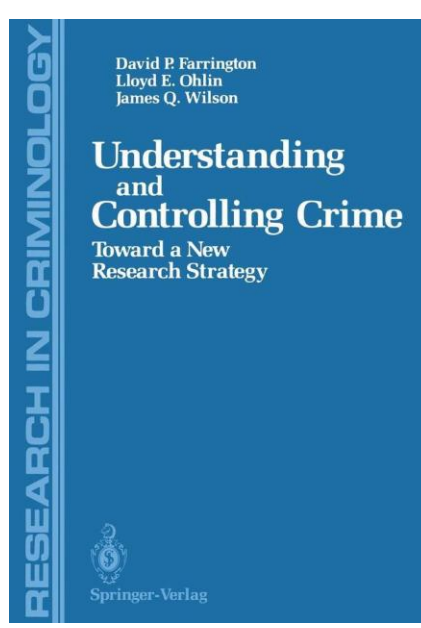
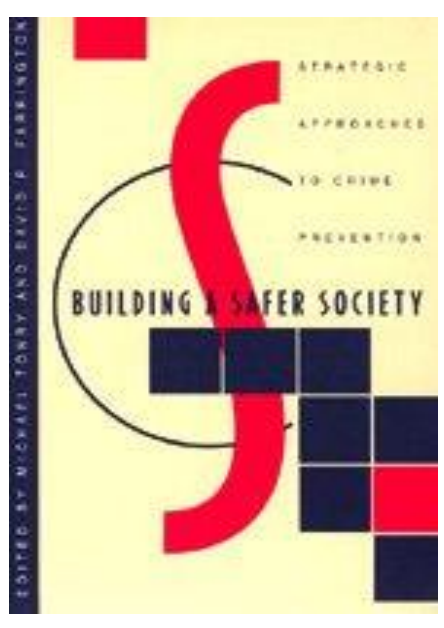
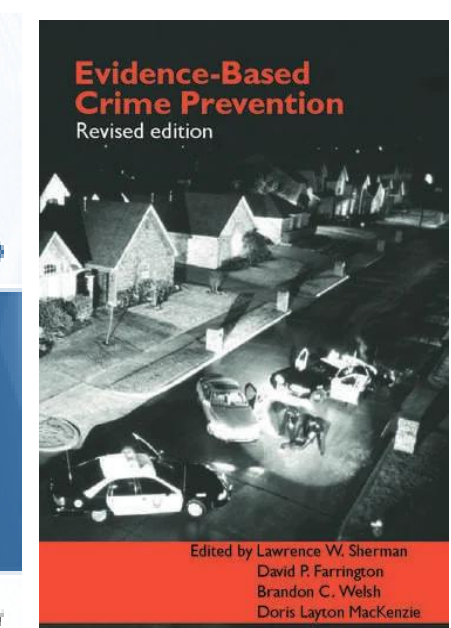
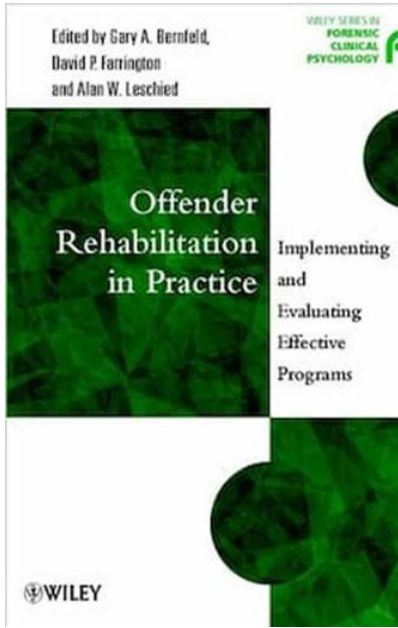
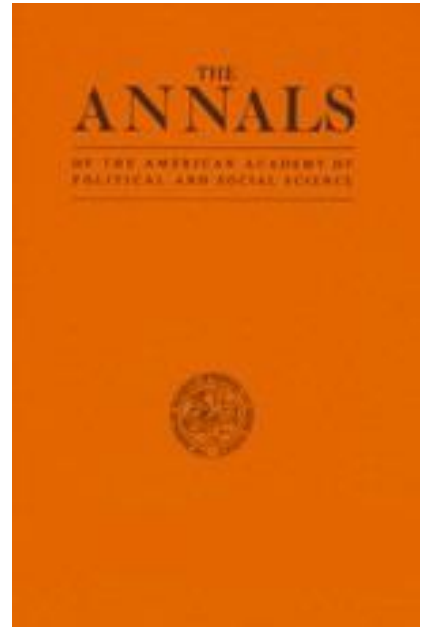
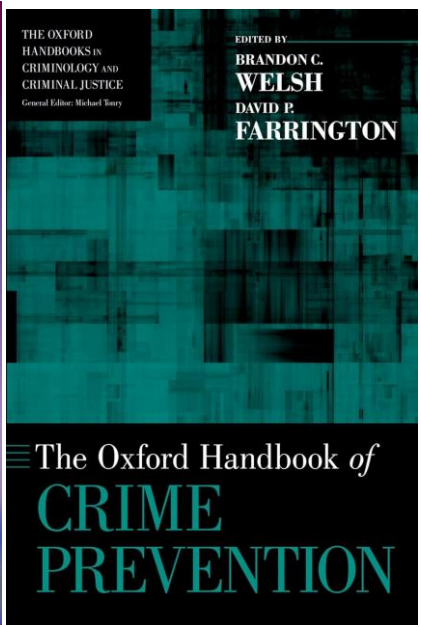
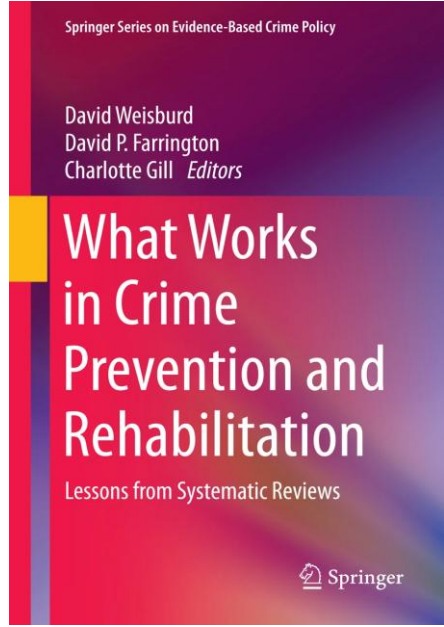
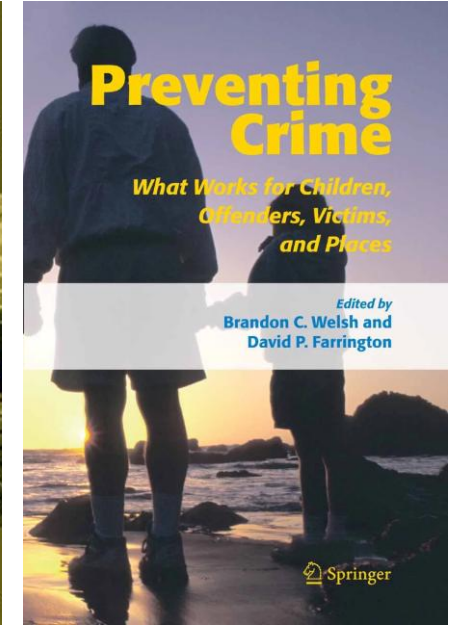
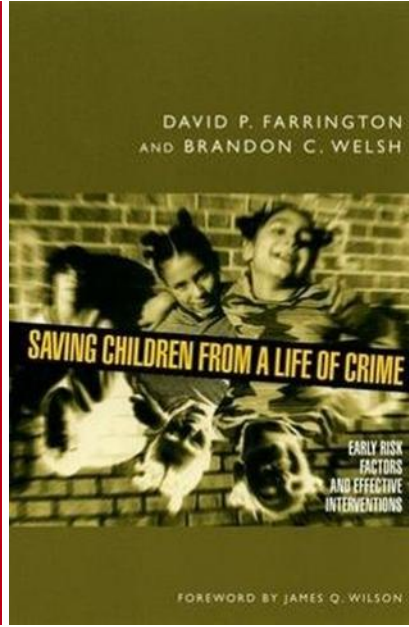
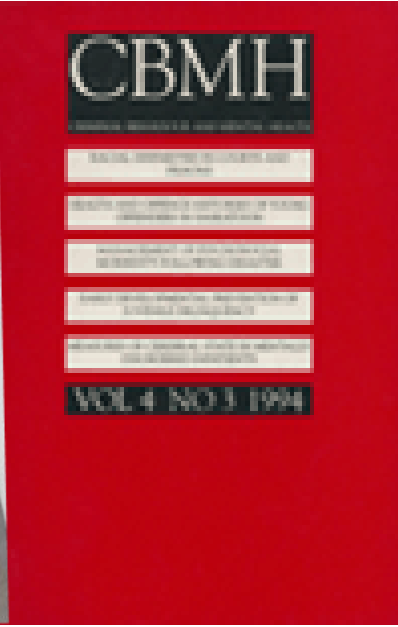
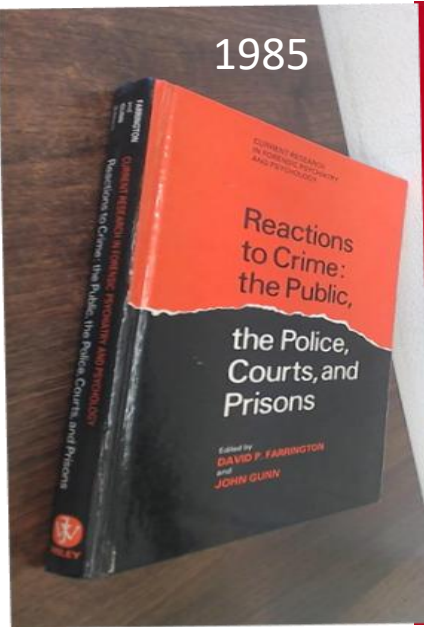
In addition to his stellar role in science, David was also a wonderful man (in my view, a rare combination). He supported numerous young scholars and colleagues. He was very warm-hearted, friendly, sociable, emphatic, and dynamic. His enthusiastic dancing at social events expressed his liveliness. David was born in Ormskirk, Lancashire, and grew up in a poor family. He had always had excellent grades at school and studied psychology at Cambridge. He was hired by Donald West for the CSDD, in particular for statistical analyses. Later, he became a university lecturer, reader,

and full Professor of Psychological Criminology at the IoC. Although he was a cosmopolitan, he was always modest in many aspects of daily life. If you want to learn more about the life and work of David, read his chapter in R. Tremblay (Ed.) (2021), *The Science of Violent Behavior Development and its Prevention: Contributions of the Second World War Generation*, Cambridge University Press.

David suffered from Motor Neurone Disease and was sacrificially nursed at home. He died on 5th November 2024 and is survived by his wife Sally, three daughters, and ten grandchildren.

- His outstanding productivity
- 136 books
- 584 journal articles
- 341 chapters
- 164 other texts
- **1.225 publications**
- **144,465 citations**
- **h-index = 199**
- Beyond bibliometrics, I most admire his **extremely broad range of themes**
- In addition to numerous basic criminological topics **many on prevention & intervention**

1985



COMMUNITIES THAT CARE

Building Community Engagement and Capacity to Prevent Youth Behavior Problems



ABIGAIL A. FAGAN • J. DAVID HAWKINS
RICHARD F. CATALANO • DAVID P. FARRINGTON

Cambridge Studies in Criminology

Early Prevention of Adult Antisocial Behaviour

Edited by
David P. Farrington and
Jeremy W. Coid

Reducing Crime

The Effectiveness of Criminal Justice Interventions



WILEY

Amanda Perry, Cynthia McDougall
and David Farrington

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CRIME AND SECURITY
CYBER



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EXPLANATION, PREDICTION AND PREVENTION

GEORGIA ZARA AND DAVID P. FARRINGTON

COSTS AND BENEFITS OF PREVENTING CRIME

Brandon C. Welsh
David P. Farrington
Lawrence W. Sherman

Crime & Society

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BEHAVIORAL CRIMINOLOGY

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Protecting Children Against Bullying and Its Consequences

Springer

EFFECTS OF PARENTAL INCARCERATION ON CHILDREN

CROSS-NATIONAL COMPARATIVE STUDIES

JOSEPH MURRAY, CATRIONA J. H. DALEVELD,
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MAKING PUBLIC PLACES

SAFER

Surveillance and Crime Prevention



Brandon C. Welsh and David P. Farrington

YOUNG ADULT OFFENDERS

LOST IN TRANSITION?

EDITED BY FRIEDRICH LÖSEL,
ANTHONY BOTTOMS AND DAVID P. FARRINGTON

Longitudinal Research in the Social and Behavioral Sciences:
An Interdisciplinary Series

Rolf Loeber
David P. Farrington

Young Homicide Offenders and Victims

Risk Factors, Prediction, and
Prevention from Childhood

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SpringerBriefs in Criminology
Marian Suarez-Villa and David P. Farrington



Understanding and Preventing Recidivism of Young Offenders in Argentina

Springer

David on prevention and intervention (P & I)

- The books are only a small part of his work on P & I
- I counted about 100 journal articles on P & I in his last publication list
- Already in the 1970s and 80s he advocated evidence-based and humane P & I
- He was outstanding in research, but also aimed for a transfer into practice
- He convinced the former UK PM Tony Blair to invest in developmental prevention
- *Sure Start* was implemented with moderate success, but like *Head Start* in the U.S. too many different implementations without sound quality assurance and evaluation
- I guess that the program would have been more successful with David as leader
- David's general articles on developmental prevention were rather concrete missionary statements

Long before „Translational Criminology“ became a hot topic:
David proposed an **action plan** for policy & practice (2001)



To address the centenary slogan 'Bringing psychology to society' The Psychologist is pleased to introduce a series of articles taking the form of practical advice on how to tackle major societal problems.

*In the first of these 'action plans' **DAVID P. FARRINGTON** proposes ways in which psychology can contribute to the reduction of crime.*

THE PLAN IN BRIEF

- A national agency to foster and fund the early prevention of offending
- Local agencies to organise the early prevention of offending
- Government-funded reviews of the evaluation literature on the effectiveness of criminological intervention
- New prospective longitudinal surveys to identify early risk factors for offending
- High-quality evaluations of the effectiveness of prevention programmes, including cost-benefit analyses
- Research on the cost-effectiveness of early risk-focused prevention in comparison with other general crime reduction strategies

His studies

- On programs for specific groups, e.g., families, young delinquents, violent offenders
- Contexts, e.g. schools, neighborhoods
- Situations, e.g., street lighting, CCTV
- Methods, e.g., robust evaluation designs, replication, length of follow-up
- Finances, e.g., costs of crime & criminal development, benefit-cost-ratios of programs
- Many systematic reviews and meta-analyses (MAs) that should underpin his general mission
- I cannot address adequately his numerous findings
- Many younger scholars were co-authors and several are here

A few perhaps not so well-known examples

- CBT “*Reasoning and Rehabilitation*” (2008; with Tong); small positive effect; no better effects in more recent studies; more rigorous evaluation designs; similar findings in other fields (e.g., sex offender treatment)
- *Boot camps* (2014, 2021; with Ditchfield et al.; Gaffney & White); no positive results of boot-camps without educational elements; similar as in U.S. (MacKenzie); David’s research also found relevant implementation problems, e.g. of sites far away from home and a lack of aftercare
- *Mentoring programs* and reoffending (2008; with Joliffe); the MA showed no follow-up effect of mentoring as a stand-alone approach; more promising when mentoring was connected with other programs like employment and education
- *Denial in sex offender treatment* (2020, with Zara et al.); heterogeneous and specialized sex offenders pose different risks and these are relevant for treatment regardless of their level of denial.
- *International qualitative survey* on early developmental prevention in 7 countries (2007, with M. Junger et al.), experiences in all countries were very similar; e.g., no long-term policies, lack of sound quality evaluations

Developmental prevention

- He developed theoretical and empirical relations between correlational longitudinal findings (e.g., in his CSDD and ICAP theory) and their transformation into programs of developmental prevention
- He strongly emphasized the positive results of famous demonstration projects like the *Nurse-Family Home Visiting Project* (Olds et al.), *HighScope Perry Preschool Project* (Schweinhart & Weikhart), *Communities that Care* (Hawkins et al.), and *Montréal Prevention Project* (Tremblay et al.),
- But he also referred to mixed results as in *Fast Track*, (CPPRG) or failures as in the *Cambridge-Somerville Study* (McCord)
- He was optimistic, but rightly emphasized deficits like the often very short follow-up times, lack of replications, and problems in routine practice
- I sometimes felt that he was more optimistic in his communication to policy makers and the broader audience than in personal communications (with me)
- In his missionary role and action plans he aimed for broad validation

Systematic reviews of the effectiveness of developmental prevention programs in reducing delinquency, aggression, and bullying

David P. Farrington *, Hannah Gaffney, Friedrich Lösel, Maria M. Ttofi (2017)



- Meta-evaluation (“umbrella review”) of 50 systematic reviews
- Nearly all mean effects in 33 quantitative syntheses significant
- Mean effects varied widely, e.g. $OR = 1.08$ to $OR = 3.19$ in MAs of school programs
- Median effect sizes: Individual programs $OR = 1.52$, Family programs: $OR = 1.79$, School programs: $OR = 1.22$
- **Total effect: Mdn $OR = 1.46$**
- According to Cohen: small effect; $d = 0.21$, $r = 0.10$
- But realistic as most correlations between early risk factors (causes?) and later delinquency are low (Hawkins et al. 1998; Lösel 2002; Murray et al., 2010).
- An OR of 1.46 may indicate a reduced prevalence from 20% to 15%
- What show more recent MAs?

MA on child social skills training

Beelmann & Lösel (2021; JDLC)



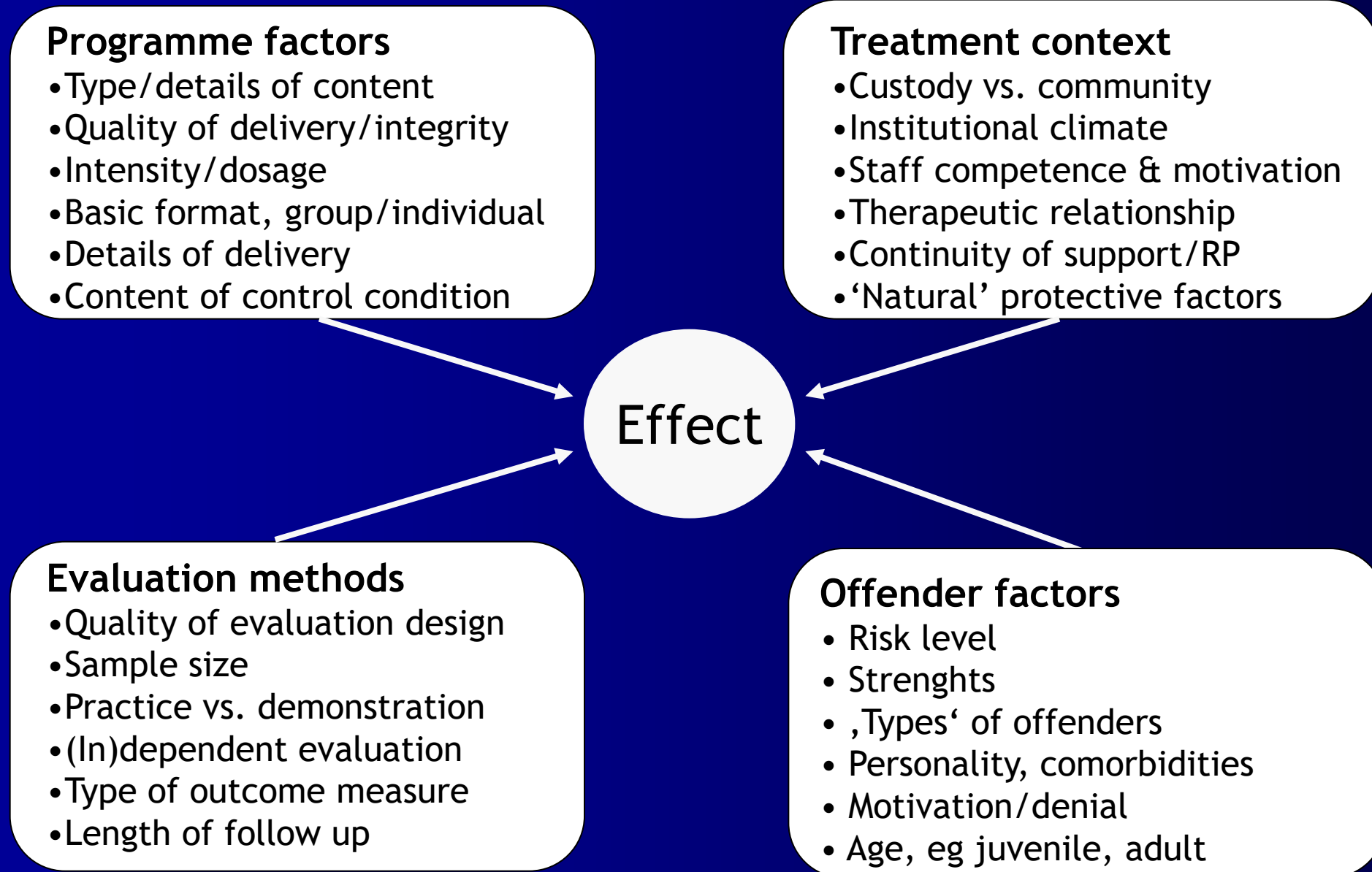
- 130 randomised evaluations
- Outcomes: Aggression, delinquency & antisocial behavior
- Mean effect $d = 0.24$
- Most studies measured outcomes within 3 months
- Only 14 studies with a follow-up of at least one year
- Large heterogeneity of results
- Larger effects of indicated vs. universal prevention and in smaller samples
- Findings fully support David: More more long-term evaluations needed

MA on family-oriented prevention programs (Weiss, Schmucker & Lösel, 2022, IJDS)

- 88 TG vs. CG comparisons
- Only 32% studies with clearly equivalent TG and CG (incl. RCTs)
- Mean effect: $d = 0.31$ for parent measures, $d = .20$ for child measures
- Only 9% with a follow-up > 1 year
- Large heterogeneity of results
- Larger effects in selective vs. universal prevention and in smaller samples
- Findings fully support David': More well-controlled long-term evaluations needed



David always recognized the complexity of P & I Replication & differentiation are needed (Lösel, 2018)



Conclusions

- As in other criminological fields, David was ahead of time in his work on P & I
- He transferred his research into concrete action plans for policy and practice
- We see improvement in these fields, but some problems seem to be similar to what David diagnosed many years ago
- Successful demonstration projects must be transformed into large-scale practice and policy change
- Like David, scholars need to be evidence-oriented and should not mix inappropriately scientific and political roles
- I am confident that many of his younger colleagues follow David as a role model, beware and continue his legacy

Thank you!

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Farrington et al. (2017): Meta-evaluation (continued)

- Median effect sizes:
- Individual programs: OR = 1.52
- Family programs: OR = 1.79
- School programs: OR = 1.22
- **Total effect: Mdn OR = 1.46**
- According to Cohen: small effect; $d = 0.21$, $r = 0.10$
- But realistic as most correlations between early risk factors (causes?) and later delinquency are low (Hawkins et al. 1998; Lösel 2002; Murray et al., 2010).
- OR = 1.46 practically relevant
- Reduction of problem's prevalence from 20% to 15% (Wilson & Lipsey, 2007)

Bryanna Fox

University of South Florida

DAVID P. FARRINGTON



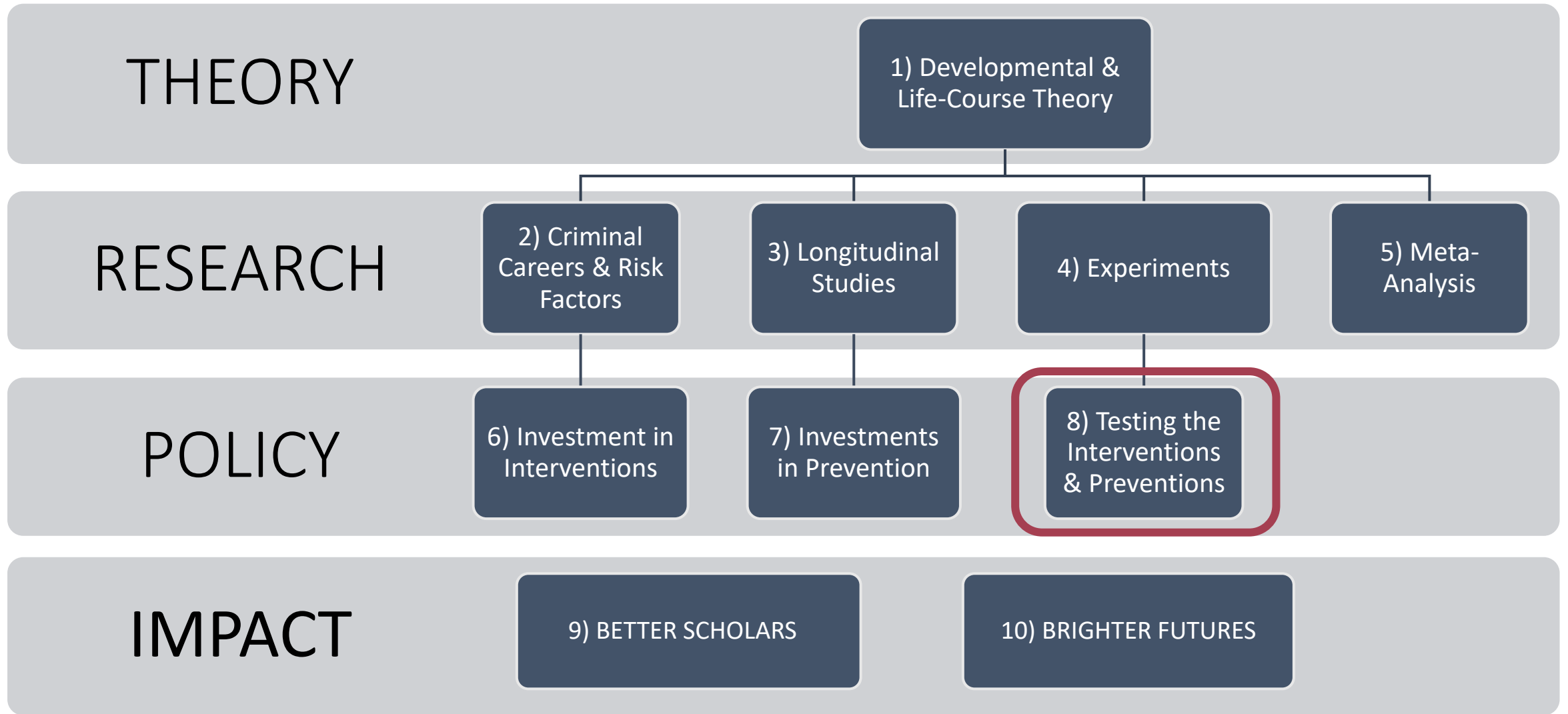
Generator of Knowledge for Prevention and Intervention in Criminology:
Evidence in the Numbers

Bryanna Fox
PhD Student (2009-2013), Collaborator, and Friend

QUITE THE TURNOUT FOR QUITE THE INCREDIBLE PERSON & SCHOLAR



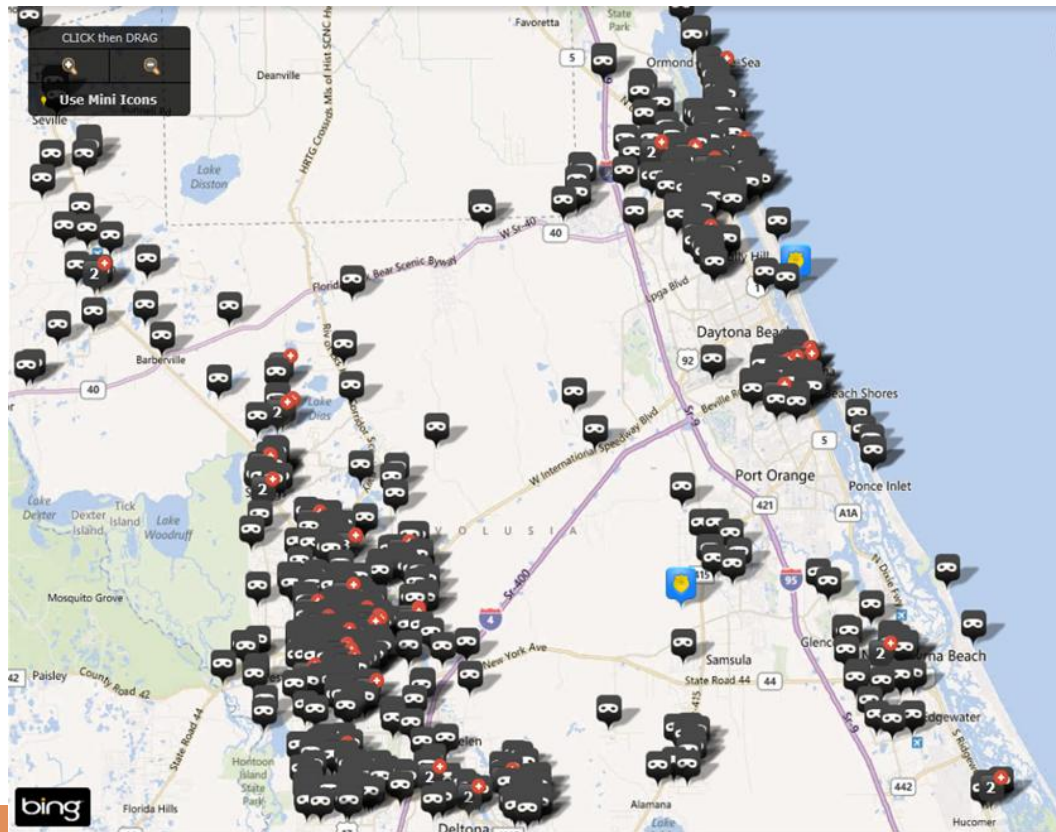
TOP 10 OF DAVID'S CONTRIBUTIONS IN 10 MINS



TESTING INTERVENTIONS &
PREVENTION EFFORTS:
EVALUATING EVIDENCE-BASED PROFILES
ABILITY TO SOLVE AND PREVENT
BURGLARY

BURGLARY: A SERIOUS (BUT NEGLECTED) CRIME PROBLEM

- Burglary: most common Part 1 offense
 - 2.5 million in the US per year
- BUT it is also the least solved offense
 - ~12% solved per year!!



Common crime of burglary most difficult to solve

By ANDY YAMAGUCHI
Spokane-Review staff writer

Burglary, the second most common crime in Spokane, is also the most difficult to solve, according to Spokane Police Department statistics.

Through Oct. 31 of this year, 2,388 burglaries were committed in the city and police solved just 275 for a 12 percent solution rate, well below the 75 percent for murder or 48 percent for rape.

In fact, burglary had the lowest solution rate for any of the seven categories of major crime.

Why?
Detective Lt. Fred W. Fait said that in almost ev-

"If he's smart, nobody will see him," Fait said. "It's not like when somebody gets beat up in a tavern with a pool cue and half a dozen people see it."

Police crime prevention officers have suggested a number of ways homeowners and businessmen can combat burglars. Two of the most common are the use of dead bolt locks and porch lighting, they said.

Fourteen percent of reported burglaries in Spokane were solved by police last year. Nationally, 16 percent of all burglaries were solved in 1977, according to FBI statistics.

crime has steadily decreased since Expo ended, but, Panther suggested, that trend may be finally reversing itself.

Motor vehicle theft showed the sharpest increase this year, up 31 percent over 1977. Also increasing in 1978 were robbery (24 percent), aggravated assault (17 percent) and larceny (5 percent).

Larceny is by far the most common crime in Spokane, accounting for 6,000 of the 10,380 reported major crimes.

Rape dropped 32 percent, from 59 reported in 1977 to 40 this year.

The number of murders — eight — is the same for both

+ DAVID'S PIONEERING WORK ON PROFILING

Psychology, Crime & Law (1994) Vol. 1, pp 107-116
Reprints available directly from the publisher
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Printed in the United States of America

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN BURGLARS AND VIOLENT OFFENDERS

DAVID P. FARRINGTON* and SANDRA LAMBERT

*Institute of Criminology, University of Cambridge,
7 West Road, Cambridge CB3 9DT, UK*

Information was extracted from police files in Nottinghamshire about 345 burglars and 310 violent offenders involved in cases where nobody (victim, witness or police) knew their identity at the time of the offence. Burglars tended to be unemployed or at school, and overwhelmingly committed their offences for material gain. Violent offenders tended to be under the influence of alcohol and commonly committed their offences because of anger or provocation. While there was a great deal of versatility in offending, there was also some specialization, since the burglars had a previous conviction for burglary, and half of the violent offenders had a previous conviction for violence. Overall, 90% of burglars and 80% of violent offenders had a previous conviction of some kind.

Key words: burglary; violence; offender profiling; police records; types of offenders.

BURGLARS AND VIOLENT OFFENDERS

The main focus of this paper is on types of offenders, and particularly on differences between burglars and violent offenders. When we use the term "burglar" or "robber" to describe an offender, based on the type of offence he has committed, we are usually making two implicit assumptions. We are assuming that offenders tend to be consistent in their behaviour over time, and that offenders tend to specialize in their types of offences committed. (In the interests of simplicity of exposition, since most burglars and violent offenders are male, we use the masculine pronoun in this paper.)

If we describe someone as a "burglar", we assume that he will tend to continue burglar over time, just as if we describe someone as a "golfer" we assume that he will continue golfing over time. In other words, we assume that these terms have some predictive value in regard to future behaviour. Furthermore, the terms imply some degree of specialization. The usefulness of the term "burglar" would be diminished if a person who committed burglary also committed robbery, assault, rape, shoplifting and vandalism. In this case, why do we call him a burglar rather than a robber, an assaulter, a rapist, a shoplifter or a vandal?

Criminological research shows that offenders tend to be significantly consistent over time in their offending. For example, in his prospective longitudinal survey of 400 London males, Farrington (1989) showed that those who committed a given offence in one age range significantly tended also to commit the same offence type in a later age range. This was true both of official convictions and self-reported offending. For example, one-third of males convicted of burglary between ages 10 and 18 were also convicted of burglary between ages 32 and 39, whereas only 4% of males not convicted of burglary between 10 and 18 were convicted of burglary between 32 and 39.

CREATING BURGLARY PROFILES USING LATENT CLASS ANALYSIS A New Approach to Offender Profiling

BRYANNA HAHN FOX
DAVID P. FARRINGTON
University of Cambridge

This research creates a new criminal profile for burglars based on their criminal history, behavior, and crime scene features. Utilizing latent class analysis, the relationship between offense characteristics, the relationship between offense types, and offender types is established. These offense-offender profiles may be derived from a crime scene alone. Based on a sample of 1000 burglars, four offender types, and four offense styles among the offense styles and offender trait types, a study serves both theoretical and practical purposes for law enforcement alike.

Keywords: burglary; offender profiling; latent class analysis

Burglary is one of the most common crimes in the United States (UN Survey of Crime Trends, 2002). In the United States, 2.5 million burglaries occurred in 2002 (Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI], 2003). Burglary is a crime with a victim and a total social cost estimated at \$10 billion annually (Economic consequences to this prevalence).

Although research has been conducted on the use of offender profiles to aid police in closing unsolved cases, witness, forensic evidence, or prior records (Bennell & Canter, 2002). As a result, offenders are free to reoffend.

AUTHORS' NOTE: We would like to thank the police records and data that made this entire project possible and editor for their thoughtful and beneficial comments. The FBI's Behavioral Science Unit for their support and give special acknowledgment to the Cambridge Police for the financial assistance to undertake this project. Addressed to: Bryanna Hahn Fox, University of Cambridge, CB3 9DA, United Kingdom; e-mail: bhfox@usf.edu.

CRIMINAL JUSTICE AND BEHAVIOR, Vol. 39, No. 1, pp. 1-10
DOI: 10.1177/0093854812457921
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AN EXPERIMENTAL EVALUATION ON THE UTILITY OF BURGLARY PROFILES APPLIED IN ACTIVE POLICE INVESTIGATIONS

BRYANNA HAHN FOX
University of South Florida
DAVID P. FARRINGTON
University of Cambridge



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0033-2909/18\$12.00

Psychological Bulletin

2018, Vol. 144, No. 12, 1247-1274
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/bul0000170>

What Have We Learned From Offender Profiling? A Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis of 40 Years of Research

Bryanna Fox
University of South Florida

David P. Farrington
University of Cambridge

In the 4 decades since offender profiling (OP) was established, hundreds of journal articles, books, book chapters, reports, and magazine articles have been published on the topic, and the technique has been used by countless law enforcement agencies around the globe. However, despite the popularity and extensive literature published on OP, very little is known about its evolution, current state, or findings of the field to date. Therefore, this study presents a systematic review and meta-analysis of 426 publications on OP from 1976 through 2016. Results of this systematic review suggest that there have been considerable improvements in the scientific rigor and self-assessment being conducted in the discipline, although in total, few studies have used a strong empirical approach to develop new profiles. Even fewer evaluations of the effectiveness of OP have been conducted. The first summary of offender profiles proposed for major crimes in OP literature is also presented, with results indicating some recurrent themes in profiles, but wide variations in the number, name, and description of the profiles often found. A meta-analysis of case linkage analysis research indicates that this area is statistically sophisticated, and has yielded moderate to strong accuracy rates for linking crimes to a single offender. Finally, the first analysis of the most prolific authors, researchers, departments, and outlets for OP research, and the methods, approach, and most cited publications in OP are identified. Suggestions for future research on OP and the potential impact that this may have on policy and practice are also discussed.

Public Significance Statement

This systematic review and meta-analysis indicates that the field of offender profiling has made considerable improvement in the scientific rigor of its research, with case linkage analysis studies showing moderate to strong accuracy in its ability to link crimes to a single offender. Although recurring themes in profiles can be found in the meta-analysis of offender profiling research, there is also considerable variability in the number, name, and description of the profiles. Despite being applied often in active police investigations, very few evaluations of the profiles' accuracy or effectiveness have taken place. This lack of scientific evidence on the validity and impact of profiling, despite the technique's widespread use, seriously questions its efficacy in real world investigations, as it currently stands.

Keywords: offender profiling, case linkage analysis, systematic review, meta-analysis

statistically derived behavioral profile was conducted where one did not. Burglary arrest rates were higher for the treated age group than for the control group, even after controlling for age and other factors. The effect was not statistically significant, but it was in the expected direction. The results suggest that the use of offender profiles in active police investigations may have a positive impact on the effectiveness of law enforcement agencies.

Keywords: profiling; burglary

defined flying objects (UFO) sightings. The study received such attention as a result of its evaluation conducted in the field (Dowden, Bennell, & Farrington, 2007) and extra-sensory perception (ESP) and other issues related to the topic (Dowden et al., 2007). I

coverage of the practice of offender profiling, though most of the research and other issues related to the topic (Dowden et al., 2007). I

enforcement agencies particularly in the use and addition of offender profiles. Dr. Bryanna Hahn Fox and David P. Farrington, University of South Florida, USA. Email: bhfox@usf.edu.

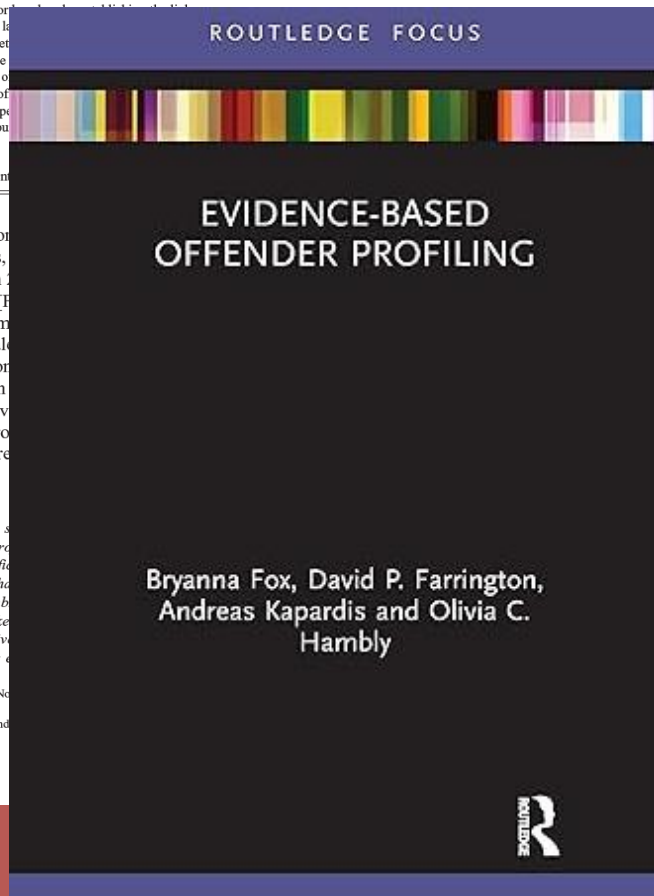
The basic idea of profiling is very simple. Its aim is to predict characteristics of the undetected offender(s) from characteristics of the offense(s) and the victim(s). However, this simple aim leads to many complex and unanswered questions.

—David Farrington (2007, p. 486)

Offender profiling (OP) is an investigative tool used primarily by law enforcement, psychologists, academics, and consultants to help identify the major personality, behavioral, and demographic characteristics of an offender based upon an analysis of the crime scene behaviors (Douglas & Burgess, 1986; Fox & Farrington, 2015; Ormerod, 1996a). This tool can be used to generate or narrow down the range of possible suspects based upon the established links between the type of crime committed, and the characteristics of offenders who commit those types of crimes. Although the basic concept of OP is straightforward, determining the numerous backgrounds, methods, terminology, and findings in the field has been anything but clear.

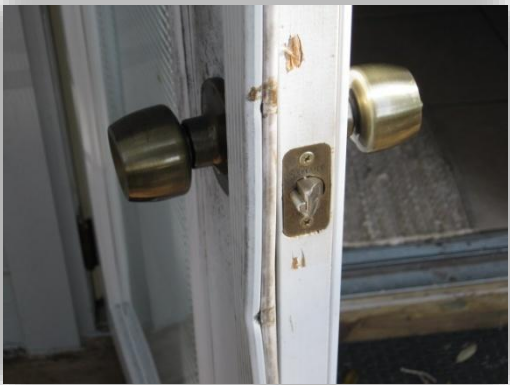
In the first article on OP, published by Colin Campbell in *Psychology Today* in 1976, researchers were called upon to prove that profilers are "better than bartenders" at predicting traits and

Bryanna Fox, Department of Criminology, University of South Florida;
David P. Farrington, Institute of Criminology, University of Cambridge.



= FIRST DATA-DRIVEN PROFILING METHODOLOGY

- Latent sub-types identified with LCA using data on crime behaviors
- Used to identify crime patterns, tailor specific **intervention/prevention efforts**, pool evidence across linked offenses, to solve and reduce crime



- Organized*
- Disorganized*
- Opportunistic*
- Interpersonal*



HOW WELL DO THESE PROFILES WORK IN REALITY?

- First evaluation of behavioral profiles in the field
 - Treated group solved 200+% more burglaries than control conditions

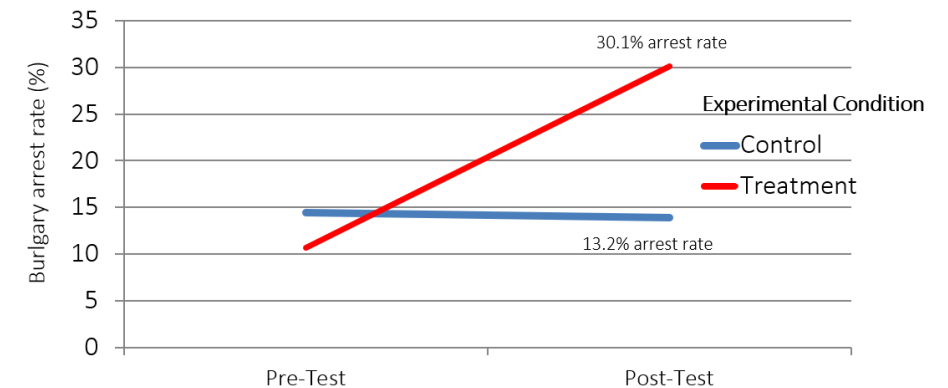


TABLE 4: Burglary Arrest Rate by Experimental Condition and Testing Status

Condition	Testing status	M	SE	n
Control	Pre	15.89	1.20	24
	Post	10.89	2.15	6
Treatment	Pre	11.29	2.09	8
	Post	30.06	4.00	2

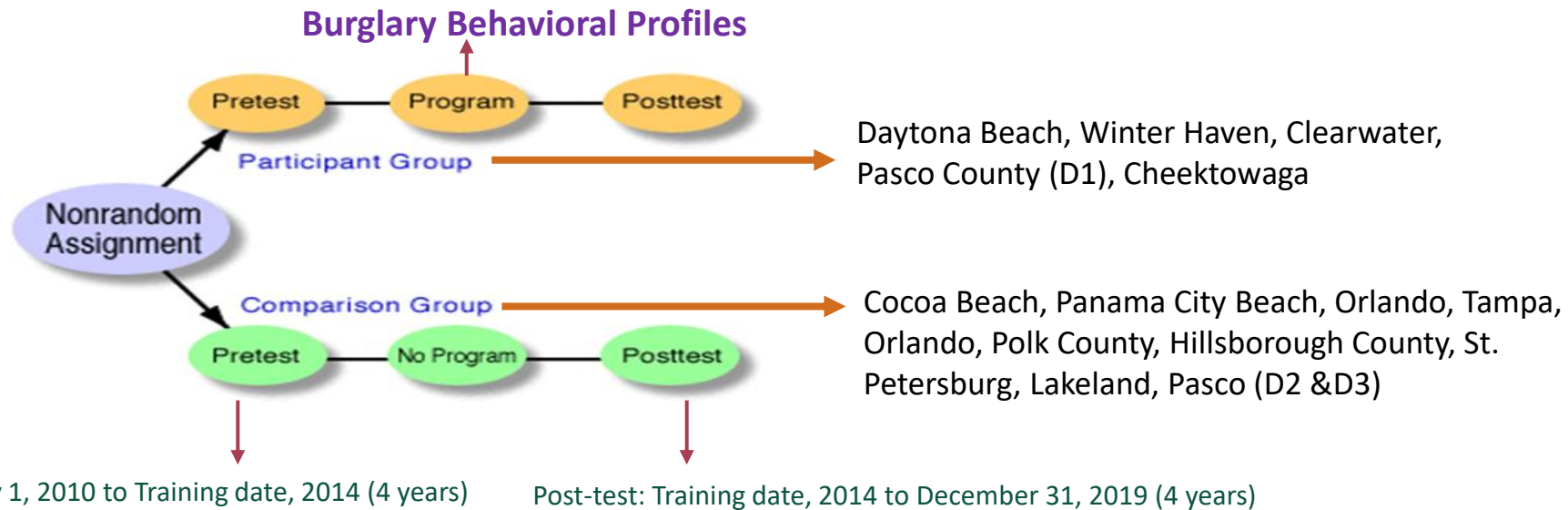


DAVID INSPIRED:

NEW MULTI-SITE EXPERIMENTAL EVALUATION

- Non-randomized pre/post test multi-site experiment with long-term follow-up
 - 5 independent experiments at police departments across the United States
 - Control groups selected based upon similarity to treated groups
 - Fixed effects models with difference-in-difference estimates

$$Y_{it} = \alpha Post + \delta Treat_{it} + \beta(Treat + Post_{it}) + \delta_i + \epsilon_{it}$$



RESULTS: EFFECT ON OFFENSE COMMISSION (PREVENTION)

Condition	Testing Status	Mean	SE	n
Control	Pre	1819.16	233.22	50
	Post	1092.32	141.39	30
Treatment	Pre	888.77	199.79	50
	Post	482.87	98.42	30

→ 39.9% reduction

→ 45.7% reduction

	Coefficient	SE	p	95% CI
Post	831.15	177.93	.000	479.41 – 1182.89
Treat	-726.84	104.19	.000	-932.80 – -520.88
Treat x Post	320.94	170.14	.061	-15.39 – 657.27
F (test for agency fixed effects)	48.89		.000	

N= 160, groups= 16, R2 within= .289, overall= .919

Treated Group:

Ex) Winter Haven Police Dept.

$E(Y|pre) = 70$, $E(Y|post) = 23 = -47$

Control Group:

Ex) Lakeland Police Dept.

$E(Y|pre) = 113$, $E(Y|post) = 14 = -99$

RESULTS: EFFECT ON ARRESTS (INTERVENTION)

Condition	Testing Status	Mean	SE	n	
Control	Pre	278.02	39.76	50	→ 35.7% fewer arrests
	Post	178.74	25.96	30	
Treatment	Pre	169.07	35.98	50	→ 22.4% fewer arrests
	Post	131.17	20.55	30	

Tx Condition's arrest rates decreased
since implementing the
Burglary Profiles.
But less so than the control groups.
They are not mass arresting their way to
lower crime rates.

	Coefficient	SE	p	95% CI
Post	223.85	26.80	.000	170.88 – 276.82
Treat	-99.28	15.69	.000	-130.30 - -68.26
Treat x Post	51.38	25.62	.047	.729 – 102.03
F (test for agency fixed effects)	68.95		.000	

N= 160, groups= 16, R2 within= .243, overall= .936

THE DPF FINISHING MOVE:

COST-BENEFIT ANALYSIS

# Burglaries Pre	# Burglaries Post	Original Annual Cost	Estimated New Annual Cost	Estimated Annual Savings	% Savings
888	482	\$2,604,060	\$1,413,465	\$1,190,595	45.7%

Cost estimated using # of crimes x ave. # of hours worked per burglary case (97.75), x \$30/hour.

Based upon the observed decrease in burglaries due to **intervention and prevention**, the five treated police departments are estimated to have saved **\$1,190,595** in 1 year.

More importantly, **406** burglaries and victimizations were PREVENTED.



MEASURING DAVID'S
CONTRIBUTIONS

WITHOUT DAVID, WE WOULD NEVER HAVE:

- **MONEY MONEY MONEY: \$\$\$ funding for longitudinal studies by OJJDP:**
 - Denver Youth Study, Rochester Youth Development Study, Pittsburgh Youth Study
- **I HAVE A DREAM: Founder of...**
 - ASC Division of Developmental & Life Course Criminology
 - ASC Division of Biopsychosocial Criminology
 - ASC Division of Experimental Criminology
 - ASC Division of Sentencing & Corrections
 - Campbell Collab- Crime and Justice Group
 - European Association of Psychology & Law
 - Academy of Experimental Criminology
 - Journal of Developmental & Life-Course Criminology
 - Journal of Experimental Criminology
- **TAKE A CHANCE ON ME**
 - Our only non-American President of ASC!
 - Courses on experimental design part of crim curriculum
 - The **150,487** studies/people David influenced
 - ASC Abba after parties!!! 



DAVID'S IMPACT:

- Harm reduction analysis of David-inspired interventions, as inspired by David's own work

Table 2

Variation of the relative reduction in juvenile delinquency depending on various estimates.

	Hartnett et al., (2017) OR = 2.39 <i>experimental group versus no- treatment control</i>	Hartnett et al., (2017) OR = 1.89 <i>experimental group versus alternative- treatment control</i>	van der Stouwe et al. (2014) OR = 1.44 <i>juvenile delinquency</i>	van der Stouwe et al. (2014) OR = 1.23 <i>violent delinquency</i>
Assumed prevalence	Relative reduction			
10%	55.6%	44.5%	28.4%	17.1%
25%	51.04%	40.04%	24.84%	14.72%
40%	45.48%	34.8%	20.88%	12.13%

LOTS OF LOVE AND
GRATITUDE, DAVID



Brandon Welsh

Northeastern University



Northeastern

Building a Safer Society Begins with Early Developmental Crime Prevention

Brandon C. Welsh
Northeastern University

Appreciation/Personal Reflections

David P. Farrington (1944-2024)

Beloved scholar, colleague, friend

Sorely missed

His brilliance and enthusiasm radiate still

Aims

- Expand on 2 themes:
 - (a) Are central to improving practical relevance of DLC research for crime prevention policy
 - (b) Were a major part of David's life-work to help build a safer society
- Set out some ideas to elevate the communication of science
- Celebrate David

Background: Developmental CP

- “Interventions designed to prevent the development of criminal potential in individuals, especially those targeting risk and protective factors discovered in studies of human development” (Farrington 1995)
- Developmental focus: early experiences influence later behavior

Developmental CP (cont'd)

- Commitment to prevention in the first instance
- Special focus on early years of the life-course
- Improving life-chances of children and families, extending well beyond offending
 - Promoting healthy child development
 - Improving parenting capacity, confidence, skills
 - Improving child education, social skills

Developmental CP (cont'd)

Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study

“To see that Joe did *not* steal that bike was, of course, one of our aims, but we could not stop there for there very likely would be other bikes to be stolen. We realized early in the Study that fundamentally we were interested in Joe, as Joe. We wanted him to become a good citizen—not to be, in a negative sense, a mere ‘nondelinquent.’ We became interested in Joe’s family, his friends, his success in meeting the daily problems of life. Our objectives, stated in terms of ‘delinquency prevention,’ were recast into the broader concepts of ‘character development,’ or building ‘constructive personalities.’”
(Powers 1950)

Developmental CP (cont'd)

Perry Preschool Project

“... good preschool programs can help children in poverty make a better start in their transition from home to community and thereby set more of them on paths to becoming economically self-sufficient, socially responsible adults.” (Schweinhart et al. 1993)

Advancing Policy: Theme 1

- The need to link:
 - Explanation and prevention
 - Fundamental and applied research
 - Scholars, policy-makers, and practitioners
- Describes risk-focused prevention, based on public health model
- Farrington: early DCP was foundational to advancing CP policy

Advancing Policy: Theme 1 (cont'd)

- Farrington: research on early DCP—especially for connecting to policy-makers and politicians—demanded greater attention to:
 - Risk-focused, evidence-based programs
 - Economic analyses
 - Public opinion surveys

Advancing Policy: Theme 2

- The need to:
 - Marshal the full body of research evidence
 - Not cherry-pick studies to support a conclusion
 - Interrogate research evidence using the highest scientific standards
 - For both primary and secondary studies
- Farrington: at the forefront of this effort
 - Writings on theory/practice of RCTs and conducting dozens of systematic reviews

Risk-Focused, EB Programs

- Two important developments in the science of early DCP
 1. Much is known about most important early risk factors for delinquency/later offending
 - Less known about protective factors
 2. Growing body of high-quality research on effectiveness of early intervention programs designed to tackle these risk factors
 - Long-term follow-ups of trials, reviews

Risk-Focused, EB Programs (cont'd)

- Effective early DCP modalities
 - Enriched preschool education
 - Social skills training
 - Behavioral parent training
 - Parent education via home visitation
- Interrogating the research evidence
 - Efficacy vs effectiveness trials
 - Differential attrition
 - Descriptive validity

Economic Return

- The need for economic evaluation research
 - High crime costs do not themselves suggest a policy solution
- Benefit-cost analyses of early DCP programs
 - Growing evidence of economic returns: \$1.4-\$11 (Koegl et al. 2023)
 - Montréal Longitudinal-Experimental Study
 - Savings from reduced delinquency and later offending account for largest share of benefits
 - Other benefits: increased tax revenue, reduced social service usage, lower health care use

Economic Return (cont'd)

- Comparative BCAs: early DCP vs prison, other
 - Washington State (WSIPP)
 - “Allocating resources among prisons and preschool” (Donohue & Siegelman 2025)
- Interrogating the research evidence
 - Limit to programs evaluated with experimental or strong quasi-experimental designs
 - Sensitivity analyses of assumptions (e.g., discount rate, intangible victim costs)
 - Full accounting of financial costs (capital and operating) and potential benefits

Public Support

- Longstanding, widespread public support for CP interventions vs CJ responses, esp. punitive (Roberts & Hastings 2014)
- Longstanding, widespread public support in US for early DCP interventions vs punishment
 - Conventional polls (Cullen et al. 2007)
 - Contingent valuation (Nagin et al. 2006)
 - PA households willing to pay additional taxes to prevent delinquency: nurse home visits (\$126), offender treatment (\$98), longer sentences (\$81)

Public Support (cont'd)

- Longstanding support from civic leaders for early DCP interventions vs punishment
 - US mayors (National League of Cities)
 - US police chiefs (Fight Crime: Invest in Kids)
- Interrogating the research evidence
 - Full complement of approaches
 - Representative samples
 - Independence of polling firms/researchers

Early DCP Does Not Speak for Itself

- Communication of science: “Science does not speak for itself” (Shonkoff & Bales 2011)
- Objective: translation of science into policy and practice
- Need to go beyond aggregation/translation and brokering (NASEM 2017)
 - Development of a “core story”
 - Partnership model: “sustained interaction with members of the policy system and the practitioner community”
 - Teaching not preaching

Communication of Science (cont'd)

- Does not need to be a solo endeavor
- DLC working group or sub-committee
- Guided by the emerging science of the communication of science (NASEM 2017)

Conclusions

- Opportunity to continue and expand upon David's life-work
- Let's get on with it!

“Life's wealth is to do; its loss—to dream and wait”
(Sassoon 1945)

Maria Ttofi

University of Cambridge

«My father has given me life
(ζην), my teacher has given
me dignity of life (ευ ζην)»
(Alexander the Great for his teacher Aristotle)

Structure

Personal journey working with David

- Attention to theory (AB, 2008)
- Attention to crime prevention policies (JEC, 2011; JSP 2021)
- Collaboration with policy makers and practitioners (white papers; MOEC, Cyprus)
- Attention to research scrutiny ('reviews of SR')
- Positive attitude and feisty spirit (don't ask for permission, ask for forgiveness)
- Double SI of CBMH on 'Mental health and crime in honour of David'

Attention to theory

Integrative Cognitive Antisocial Potential theory

- Antisocial Attitudes (AA) scale was originally developed by West & Farrington(1977)
 - Farrington & McGee (2019)
 - Gomes et al. (2025)

AGGRESSIVE BEHAVIOR
Volume 34, pages 352-368 (2008)

Reintegrative Shaming Theory, Moral Emotions and Bullying

Maria M. Ttofi and David P. Farrington*

Institute of Criminology, University of Cambridge, Cambridge, United Kingdom

.....

Mentorship and support around publication processes

The main work that I have done has been advancing knowledge about risk and protective factors for offending, and about the development of offending and antisocial behaviour, and also the effect of life events on the course of development of offending. I've tried to draw practical implications for the early prevention of offending, and I've advocated consistently for early prevention with policy makers, so if I'm remembered at all, I hope it's for that.

(A. Farrington and Farrington 2016, 765)

Bullying prevention

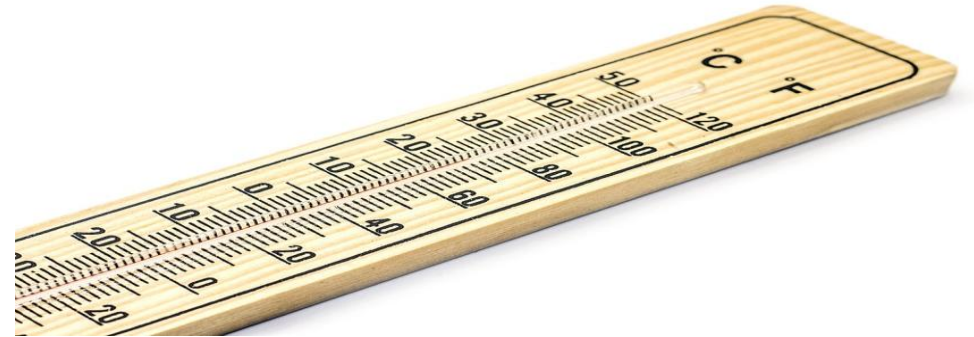
- Ttofi & Farrington, JEC, 2011;
Gaffney, Ttofi & Farrington, 2021
- *'Always a way forward'*
(effective elements of anti-bullying programmes)
- *'You better go for it, Maria!'*
(Early Career Award of the Alberti Center for Bullying Abuse Prevention at the University at Buffalo, State University of New York)
- *'Put it in your CV, ladies!'*
(2021 best paper award of the JSP)

‘Science, Politics and Crime Prevention’ – balanced approach

David’s humble attitude

“I had quite a bit of contact with the Home Office in the 1990s, and *I think I may have influenced successive Green Papers and White Papers*, which included ideas about early intervention. In 2006 I was very much involved with (PM name removed) on his action plan on social exclusion, which was a very good plan in my opinion. It included various programmes” (A. Farrington & Farrington, 2016, p. 764)

- 2017 Lead Scientific Advisor for the MOEC of the Republic of Cyprus for the nation-wide strategy against bullying and violence in Cyprus primary education; *‘Go for it Maria, but...’*



A new crime prevention policy should include features ensuring that the highest quality scientific research is at centre stage in the policy-making process; overcoming the *“short-termism” politics of the day*; and striking a greater balance between crime prevention and crime control.

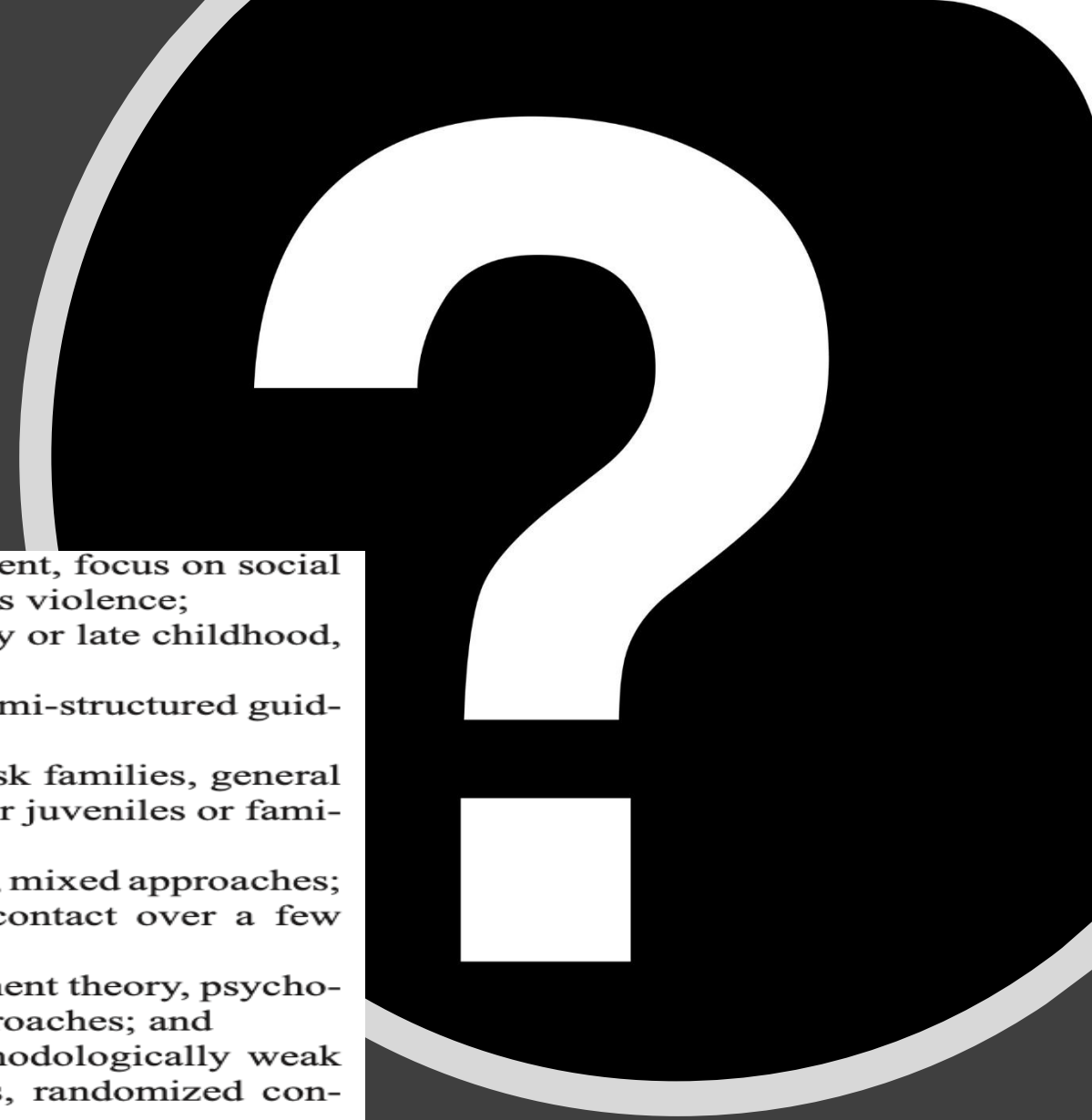
Welsh & Farrington, 2012

Variability in findings across reviews*

- Chapter 2 (Developmental and Social Prevention); Farrington, Ttofi, & Losel, 2016)

- **Breadth of targets, e.g. general promotion of child development, focus on social behavior, or prevention of specific behavior problems such as violence;**
- **Children's age at intervention, e.g. pregnancy/postnatal, early or late childhood, and adolescence;**
- **Degree of program structure, e.g. unstructured counseling, semi-structured guidance, or detailed manuals for training in skills;**
- **Recruitment of participants, e.g. proactive contact with at-risk families, general offers to schools and families, and mandatory intervention for juveniles or families at risk;**
- **Format of delivery, e.g. individual counseling, group teaching, mixed approaches;**
- **Intensity and dosage, e.g. a handful of sessions, regular contact over a few months, long-lasting implementation over several years;**
- **Theoretical foundation, e.g. based on social learning, attachment theory, psychodynamic concepts, or an eclectic integration of different approaches; and**
- **Evaluation, e.g. no systematic evaluation at all, some methodologically weak process and/or outcome data, controlled evaluation studies, randomized controlled trials, and multiple replications.**


*Weisburd et al., 2016; What works in crime prevention and rehabilitation: Lessons from systematic reviews. Springer.



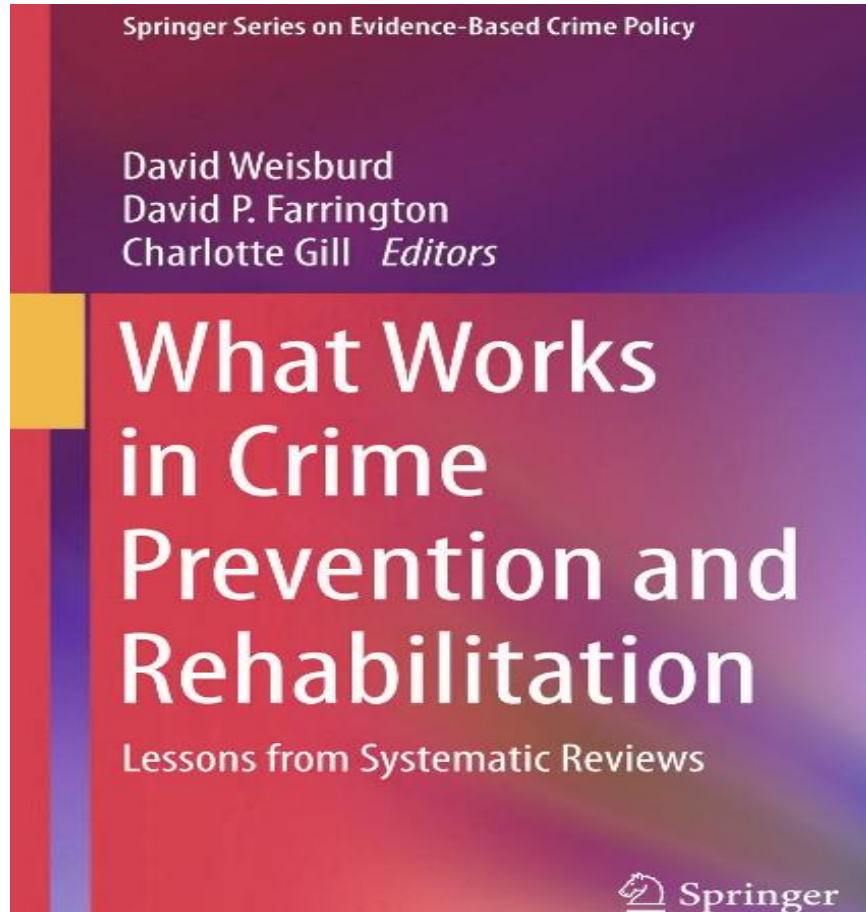


Don't ask for permission ask for forgiveness!

David's focus on rigorous research ethics... but also a feisty spirit!



Gaslighting among intimate partners: Methodological quality of reviews



- Rapid Evidence Assessment with 12 studies on gaslighting and IPV (Dickson et al., 2023)
- Interdisciplinary narrative review of gaslighting (Darke et al., 2024); narrative review without explicit criteria for online searches
- Systematic review of 17 studies on gaslighting and IPV (qualitative and quantitative) by Akdeniz & Cihan (2024)
- ***Yang & Ttofi;
Current SR of gaslighting
among IPV with 68 studies
(14 quantitative)***

EDITORIAL

Antisocial Behaviour, Mental Health and Crime Across the Life Span: Honouring David P. Farrington's Lifetime of Contribution to Knowledge (II)

Maria M. Ttofi¹ | Adrian Grounds¹ | Keri Ka-Yee Wong²

¹Institute of Criminology, University of Cambridge, Cambridge, UK | ²Department of Psychology and Human Development, University College London, London, UK

EDITORIAL

Anti-Social Behaviour, Mental Health and Crime Across the Life-Span: Honouring David P. Farrington's Lifetime of Contribution to Knowledge

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relationships with many people, who like to continue working with me, and I learn a lot. Every time I collaborate with someone, I learn something new.


(A. Farrington and Farrington 2016, 764).




Thank you!

Maria M. Ttofi

mt394@cam.ac.uk



Refreshments
1430 - 1500



Globalising Criminology

Chair: Justice Tankebe, University of Cambridge

Joseph Murray

Federal University of Pelotas

A watercolor illustration of the Earth from space, showing the continents and oceans in various shades of blue, green, and yellow. The background is a textured, dark blue-purple wash.

GLOBALISING DEVELOPMENTAL CRIMINOLOGY

Joseph Murray



Programa de
Pós-Graduação
em Epidemiologia
PPGE|UFPEL



Human Development
and Violence
Research Centre



UFPEL

Painting by
Elena Mozhvilo (2020) Unsplashed



WHAT DID DAVID ASK?



**Are CRIMINAL CAREERS
similar across time and place?**

**Are RISK FACTORS
similar across time and place?**

EXPLAINING AND PREVENTING CRIME:
THE GLOBALIZATION OF KNOWLEDGE—
THE AMERICAN SOCIETY
OF CRIMINOLOGY
1999 PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS*

DAVID P. FARRINGTON
Institute of Criminology
University of Cambridge

**What might EXPLAIN DIFFERENCES
across time and place?**

CROSS-NATIONAL COMPARISONS



Risk Factors^a for Juvenile Crime

	CAMBRIDGE STUDY England Odds Ratio	PITTSBURGH STUDY U.S.A. Odds Ratio
High impulsivity	2.3*	1.9*
Low school achievement	2.6*	2.2*
Shy/withdrawn	0.8	1.2
Poor supervision	2.2*	2.0*
Harsh discipline	3.3*	1.2
Parental conflict	2.6*	2.3*
Separated from parent	2.4*	3.5*
Large family size	2.5*	2.1*
Low family income	2.6*	3.2*

^a Selected Risk Factors. Names from Cambridge Study

* $p < 0.05$

CROSS-NATIONAL COMPARISONS



Risk Factors^a

CAMBRIDGE STUDY

PITTSBURGH STUDY

The similarities between London and Pittsburgh in risk factors were quite surprising, in light of the many differences over time and place.

Low school achievement

2.8

2.2

Shy/withdrawn

0.8

1.2

Poor supervision

2.2*

2.0*

Harsh discipline

3.3*

1.2

Parental conflict

2.6*

2.3*

Separated from parent

2.4*

3.5*

Large family size

2.5*

2.1*

Low family income

2.6*

3.2*

EFFECTS OF PARENTAL IMPRISONMENT ON CHILDREN



ENGLAND
(Cambridge Study)



SWEDEN
(Project Metropolitan)



Ph.D. 2002-6

EFFECTS OF PARENTAL IMPRISONMENT ON CHILDREN



Ph.D. 2002-6



ENGLAND
(Cambridge Study)



SWEDEN
(Project Metropolitan)



NETHERLANDS
(Transfive)



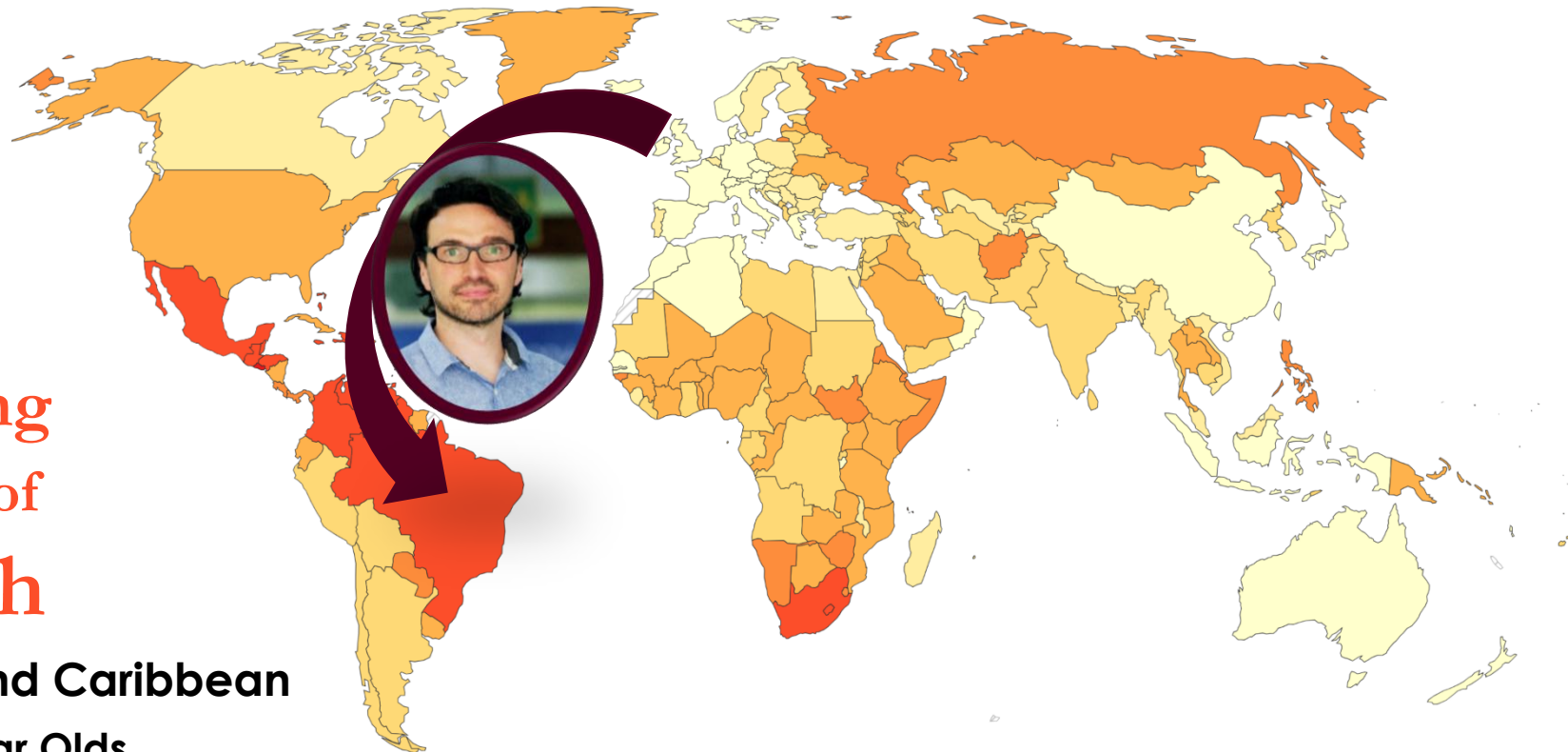
UNITED STATES
(Transfive)

Different Social and Penal Contexts

HOMICIDE RATES ACROSS THE GLOBE

**Leading
Cause of
Death**

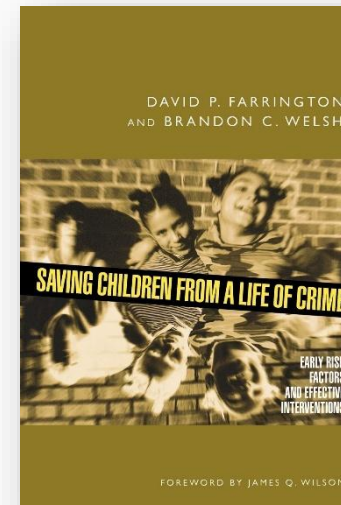
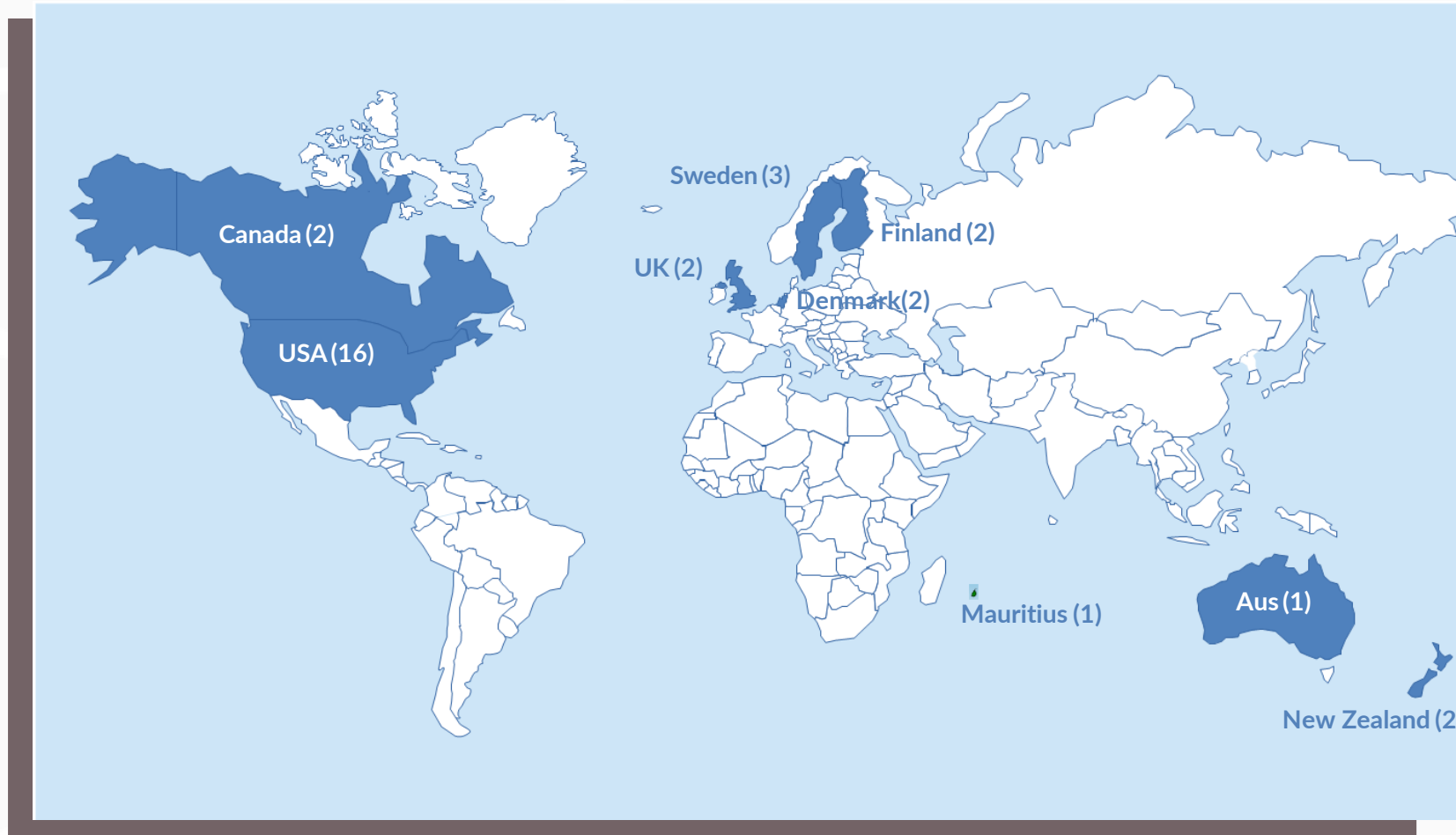
**Latin America and Caribbean
15-49 Year Olds**



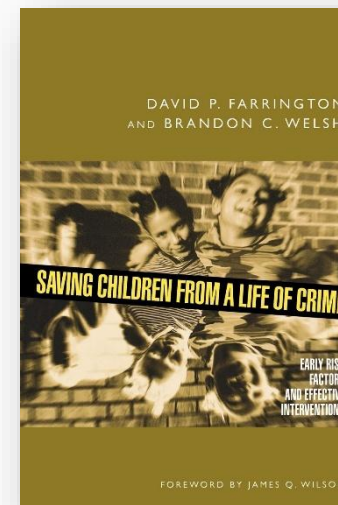
Rate per 100,000



MAJOR LONGITUDINAL STUDIES OF CRIME



MAJOR LONGITUDINAL STUDIES OF CRIME



PELOTAS CITY

POPULATION 340,000

RELATIVELY POOR CITY
IN SOUTH BRAZIL





1982

1993

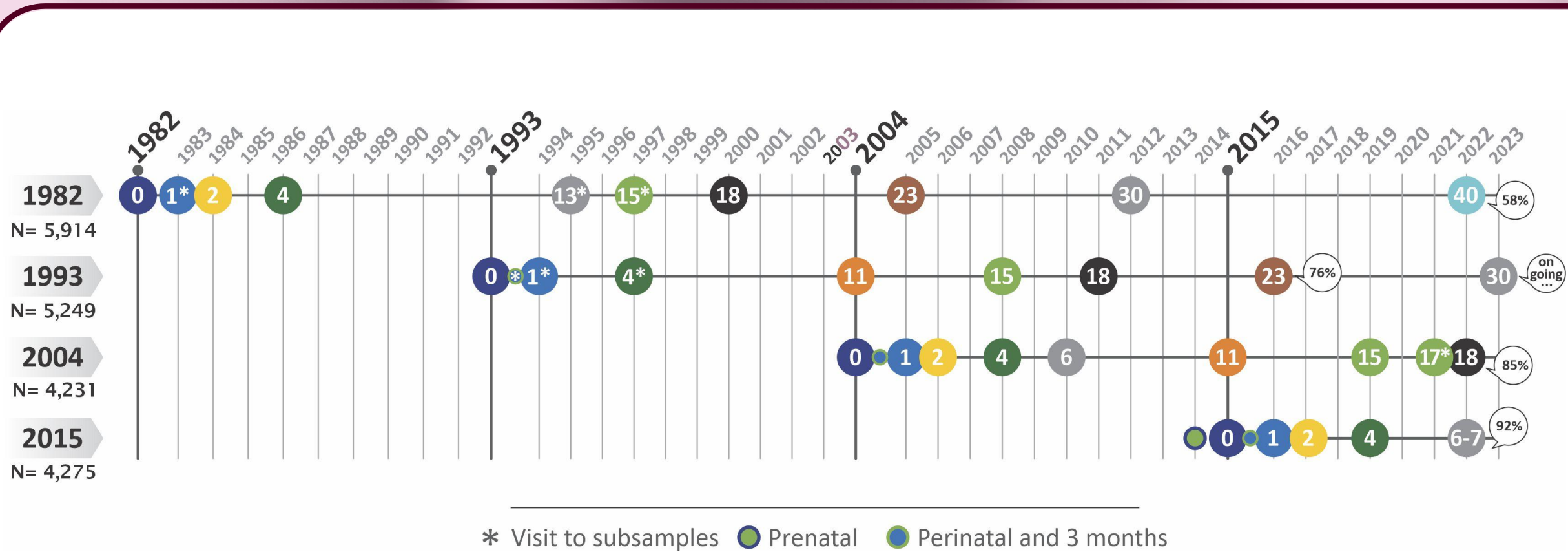
2004

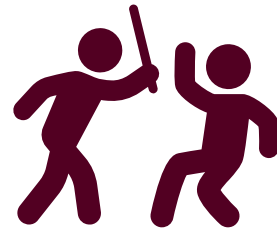
2015

PELOTAS BIRTH COHORT STUDIES



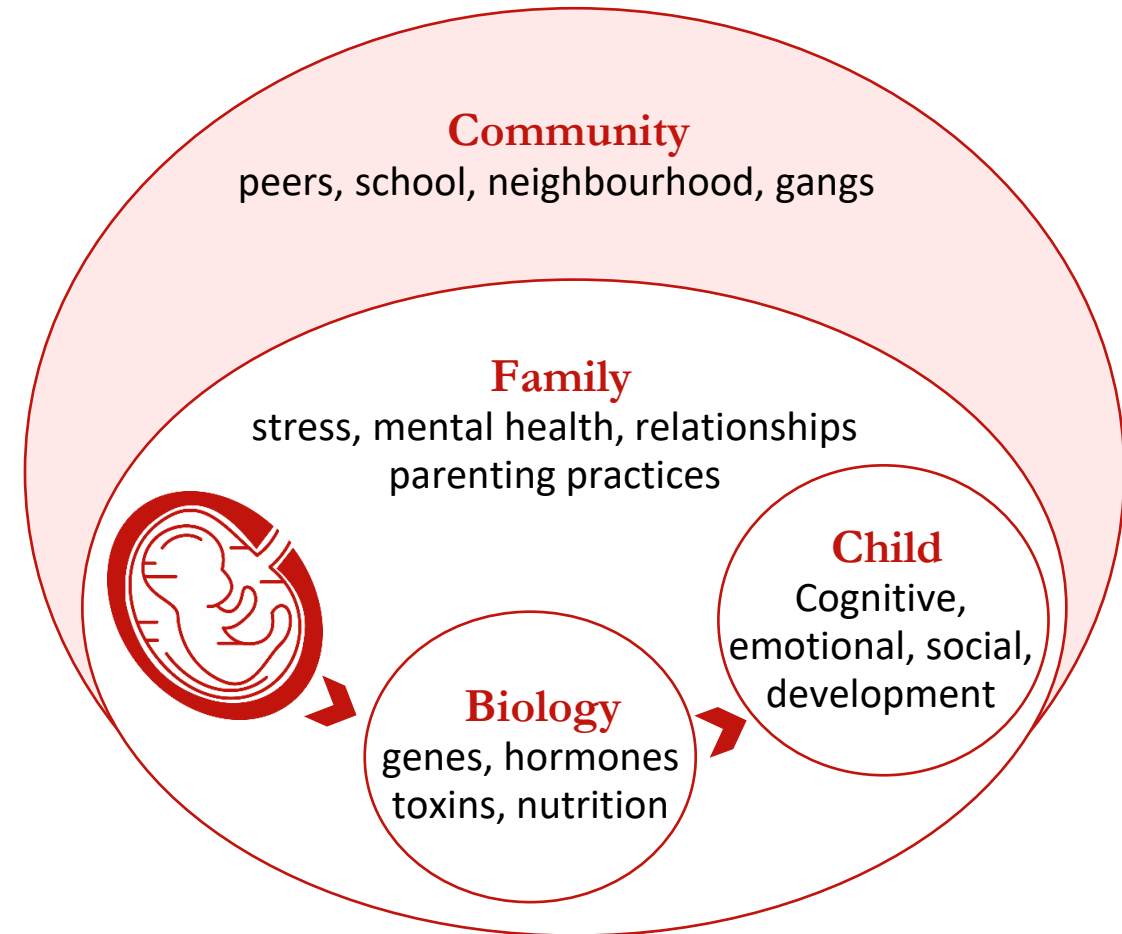
20,000 FAMILIES





Human Development
and Violence
Research Centre

- Self-reports
- Parent Reports
- Psychological testing
- Filmed interactions
 - Physical exams
 - Biological samples
- Official crime records
- Geocoded data



CHILDHOOD RISK FACTORS FOR VIOLENCE IN PELOTAS, BRAZIL

Early Health Factors

Weak associations

Murray et al., 2015, *J Child Psych Psychiatry*

Child Behaviour Problems

Strong associations

Murray et al., 2015, *Social Psychiatry Psychiatr Epidemiol.*

Hammerton et al., 2019, *J Dev Life-Course Crim*

Harsh Parenting

Very strong associations

Martins-Silva et al. (2023) *European Child and Adolescent Psych*

Adverse Childhood Experiences

Very strong associations

Bauer et al. (2024) *Psychiatry Research*

Poor Educational Performance

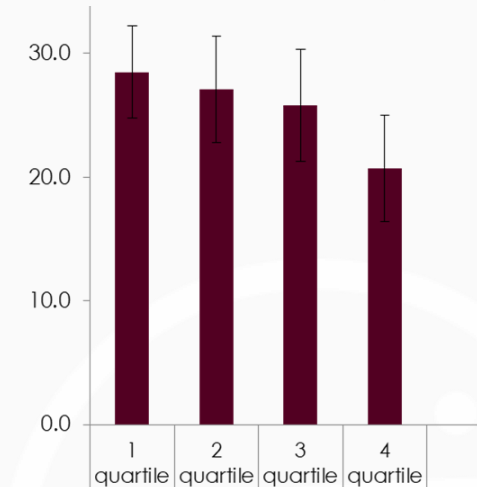
Strong association

Martins et al. (2022) *J Dev Life-Course Crim*




Low Resting Heart Rate

Strong association for males

Murray et al. (2015) *Int J Epidemiol*



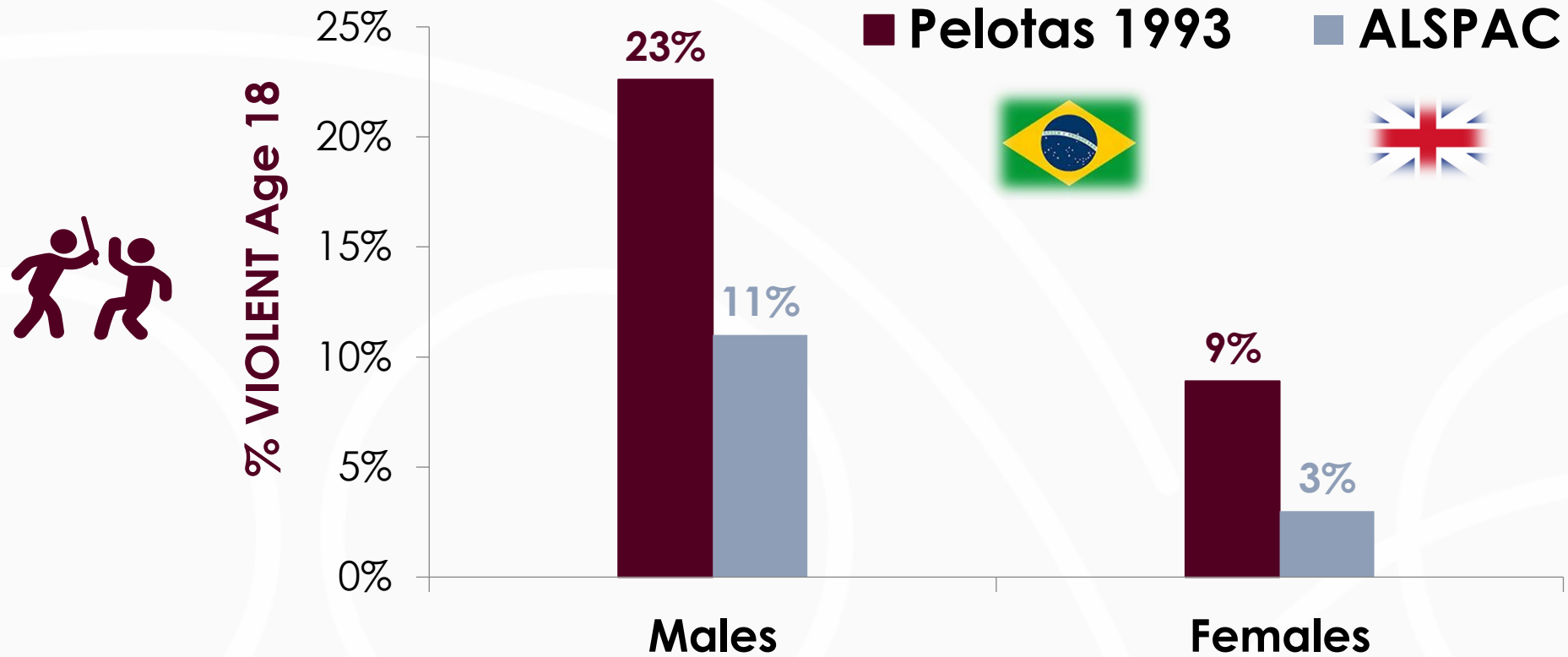
CROSS-NATIONAL COMPARISONS: BRAZIL & ENGLAND

	1993 PELOTAS COHORT 	ALSPAC (1991-92) 
EARLY CHILDHOOD FACTORS	N = 5,249 Social & Health Factors	N = 14,541 Social & Health Factors
CHILD BEHAVIOR (Age 11)	Conduct Problems	Conduct problems
VIOLENCE (Age 18) 	Self-reported Crime	Self-reported Crime

Child Behaviour: Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire
 Crime : Edinburgh Study of Youth Transitions and Crime Questionnaire

1993 PELOTAS COHORT & ALSPAC

SELF-REPORTED VIOLENCE AGE 18 YEARS

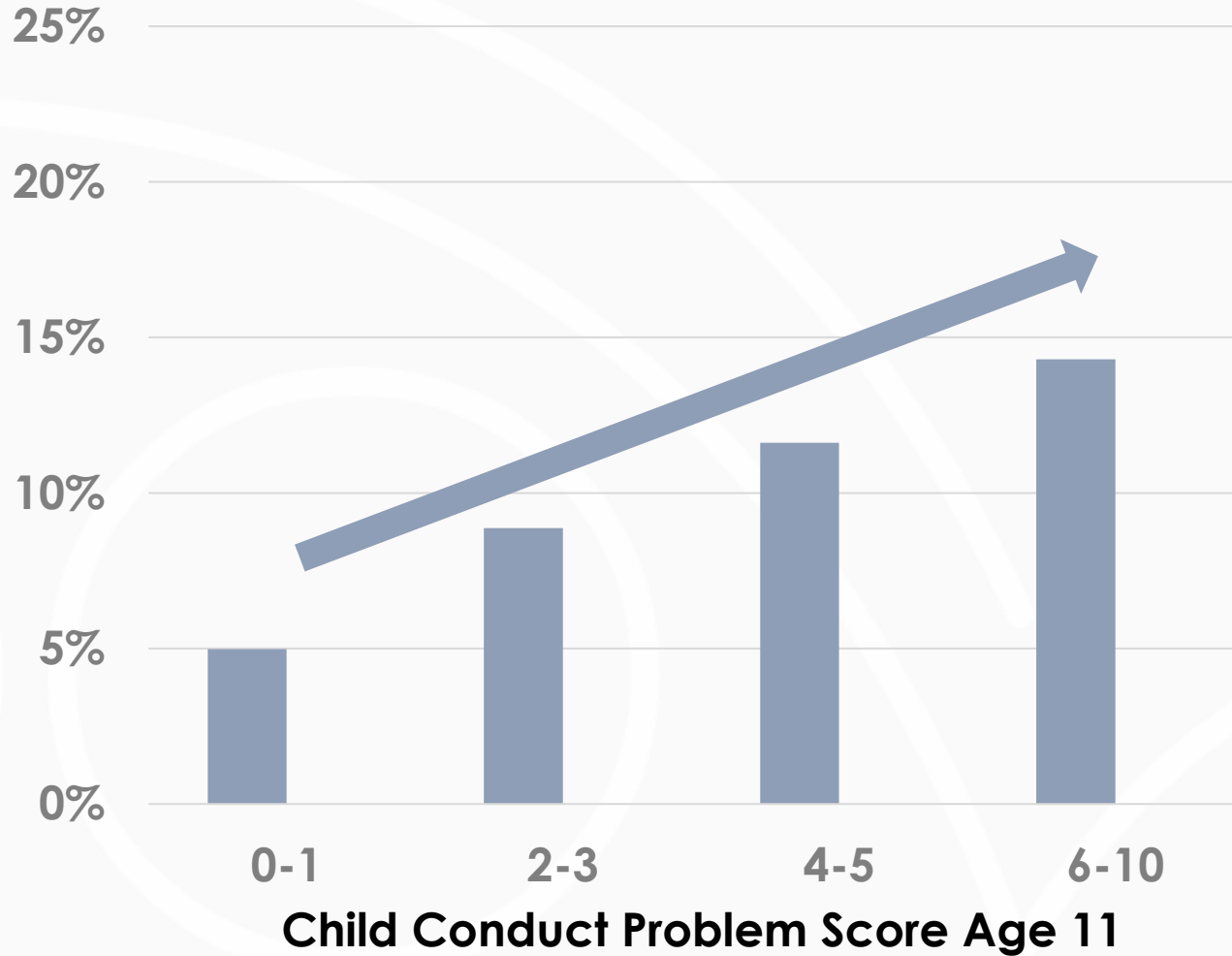


1993 PELOTAS COHORT & ALSPAC

CONDUCT PROBLEMS → VIOLENCE



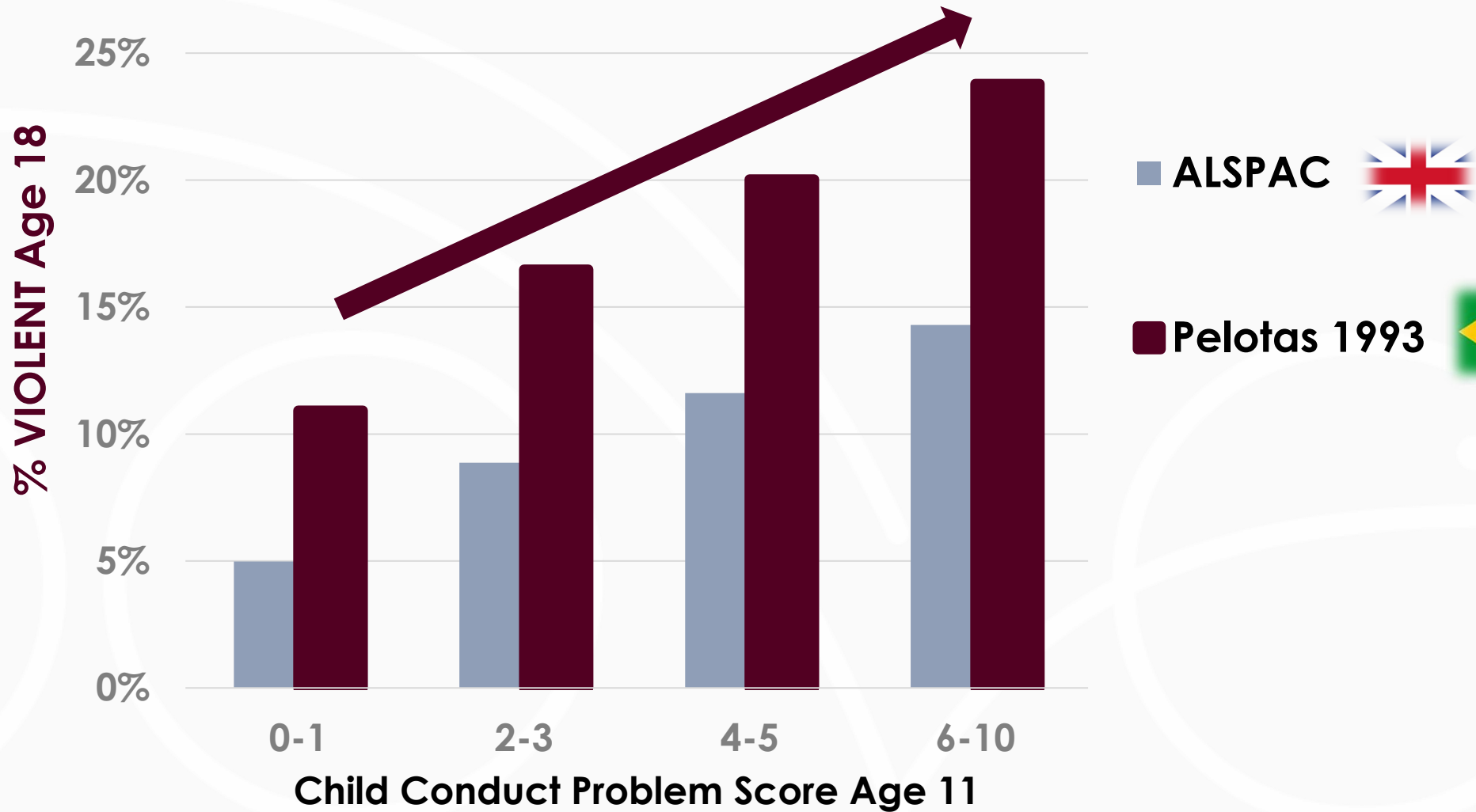
% VIOLENT Age 18



■ ALSPAC 

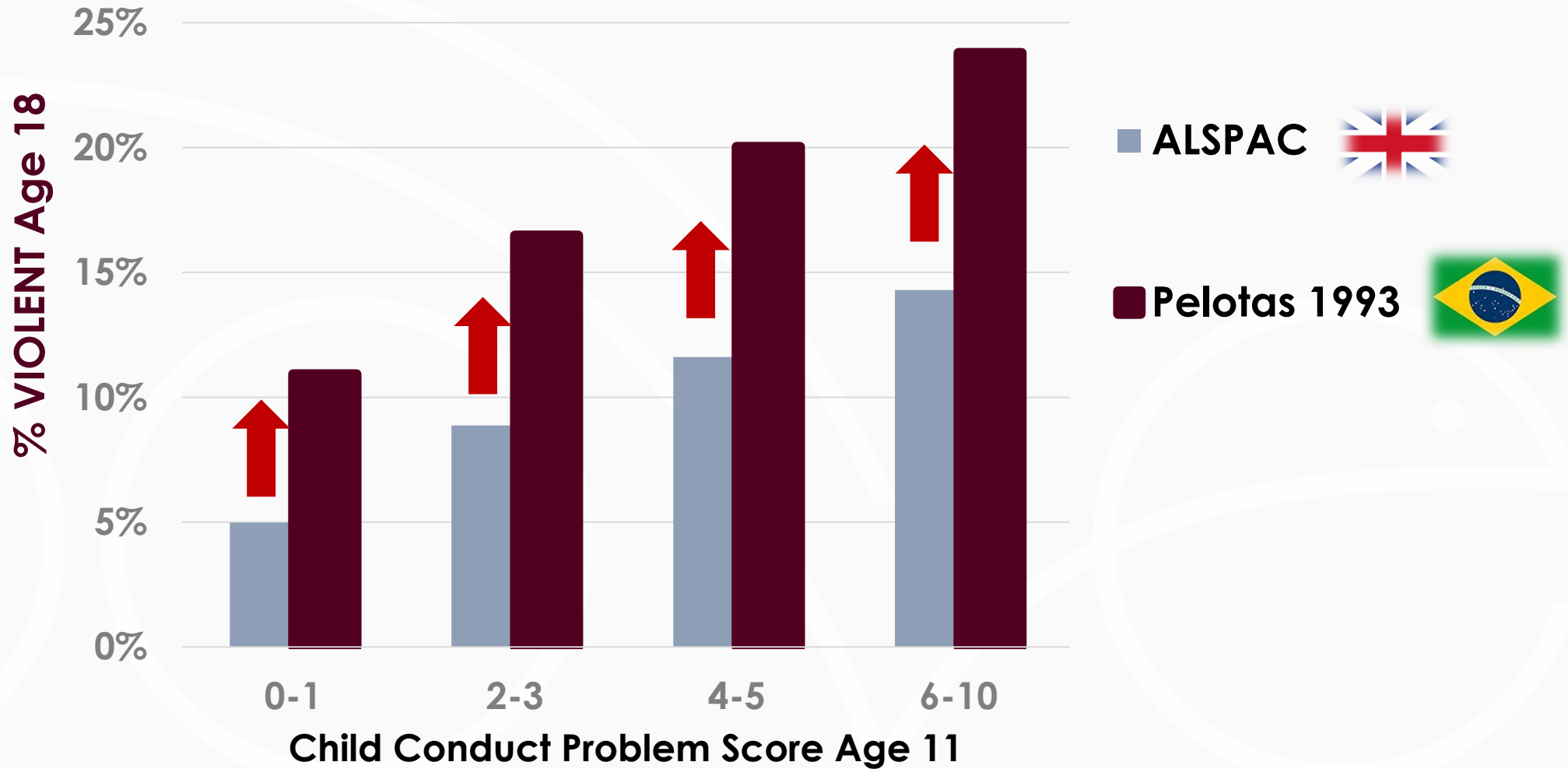
1993 PELOTAS COHORT & ALSPAC

CONDUCT PROBLEMS → VIOLENCE



1993 PELOTAS COHORT & ALSPAC

CONDUCT PROBLEMS → VIOLENCE



MACRO SOCIAL CONTEXT



GINI Index 53.4



Gangs & Drugs Trafficking



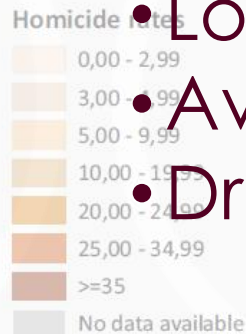
5,084 police killings, 2019



**744,000 Prisoners
29% Pretrial**

MACRO CORRELATES OF HIGH RATES OF HOMICIDE

- High inequality
- Low democracy
- Low state legitimacy
- Ineffective-corrupt police & justice
- Low social trust
- Low investment in health & social welfare
- Low human development index
- Availability of firearms
- Drug trade



2004 PELOTAS COHORT: PERCEIVED ILLEGITIMACY



Andreas Bauer

Perceived Illegitimacy
(age 15)

Odds Ratio
Adjusted* (95% CI)

Violence
(age 15)

Social System



Police



Law



*Adjusted for: child sex, child externalising problems, child IQ, maternal age at birth, maternal smoking, maternal alcohol consumption, maternal education, maternal depression, absence of any father figure, family income, harsh parenting, and neighbourhood violence

2004 PELOTAS COHORT: PERCEIVED ILLEGITIMACY



Andreas Bauer

Perceived Illegitimacy
(age 15)

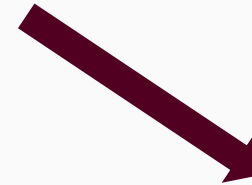
Odds Ratio
Adjusted* (95% CI)

Violence
(age 15)

Social System



1.39
(1.11-1.75)



Police



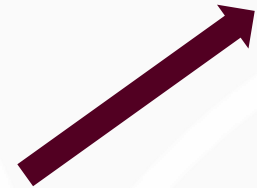
1.64
(1.36-1.98)



Law

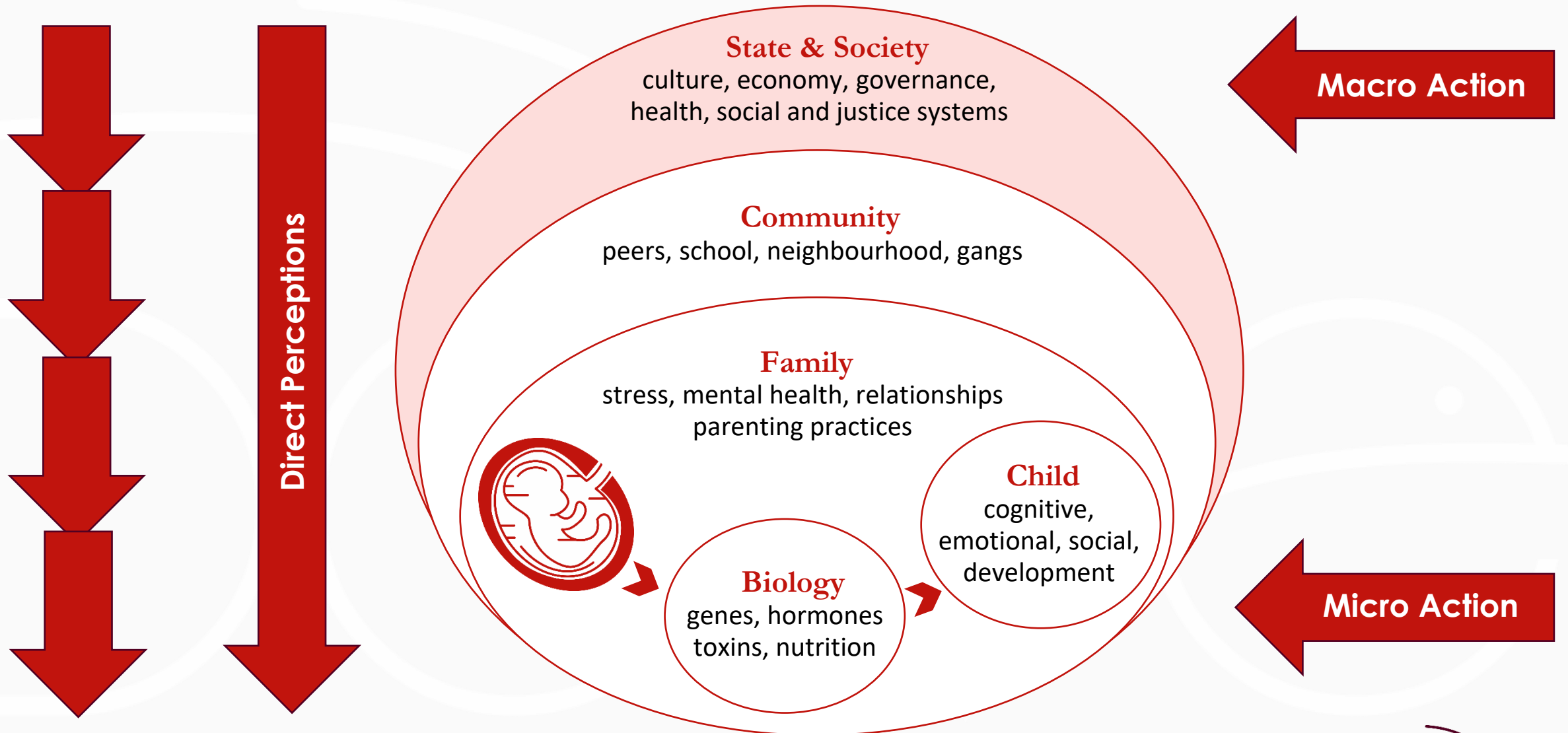


1.43
(1.15-1.77)



*Adjusted for: child sex, child externalising problems, child IQ, maternal age at birth, maternal smoking, maternal alcohol consumption, maternal education, maternal depression, absence of any father figure, family income, harsh parenting, and neighbourhood violence

GLOBALISING DEVELOPMENTAL CRIMINOLOGY: CONCLUSION



THANK YOU!

j.murray@doveresearch.org



foundation
BOTNAR



Laura Bui

University of Manchester

Generalising DPF's Scholarly Contributions

Laura Bui

David Farrington Memorial Symposium

23 May 2025

1. A Larger Syndrome of Examining Generalisability

‘It seems that offending is often part of a larger syndrome of antisocial behaviour that arises in childhood and tends to persist into adulthood’

-West and Farrington (1977)

Key Points:

- Main conclusion in Bui and Farrington (2019): more high-quality research is needed.
- Main conclusion (and reminder) to me: examining generalisability is hard.
- Generalisability (more or less) is: To what extent do our findings and theories apply to different times and places? And what are the conditions in which they are inapplicable?
- Book was one element of David’s larger syndrome of examining and establishing generalisability.

2. Delights and Troubles of Cross-national Comparisons

'Cross-national comparisons of crimes, crime rates or offending are not easy to carry out, because of differences between countries in laws, legal processes, criminal justice systems, and other conditions'

-Farrington (2015)

Key Points:

- David had conducted comparisons of risk factors for offending between Western contexts.
- I was interested in culture. (Hence, troubles.)
- Led to increased thinking about the influence of the broader social context in which the researcher operated on the scientific research process.

3. High Quality Research!

'They would also need resources and technical assistance to measure risk and protective factors, to choose effective intervention methods, and to carry out high quality evaluations of the effectiveness of programmes in reducing crime and disorder'

-Farrington (2007)

Key Points:

- David's interest in generalisability and emphasis on high quality research is about thinking more carefully about the 'constraints' of conducting research.
- Constraints of broader social context influence what concepts are used and what topics to pursue and in what way.
- Commitment to high quality research meant commitment to knowing the constraints and trying to address them (see Figure 1).

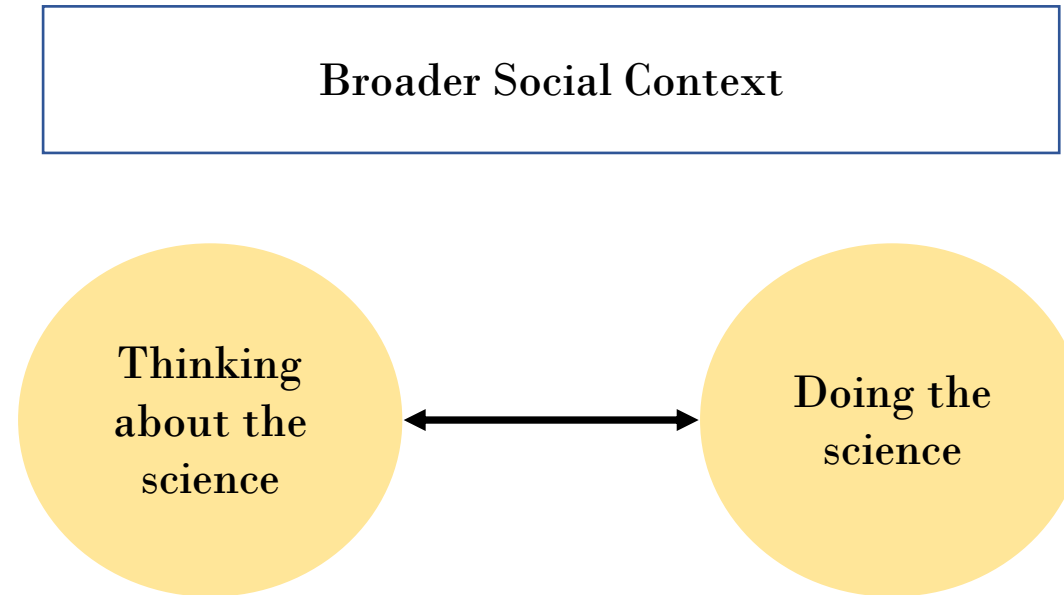


Figure 1. Simple illustration of where constraints of conducting scientific research are located.

(Hint: everywhere!)

4. Increased Risk for International Collaborations

‘Children with two criminal parents have an increased risk to show anti-social behaviour; they experience a double whammy effect’

-Besemer, Farrington, and Bijleveld (2013)

Key Points:

- David’s persistent emphasis on high quality research is one of his understated contributions.
- David’s direct and indirect comparisons of different longitudinal studies from different countries is also about collaborations.
- International collaborations will further advance knowledge to which David had substantially contributed.

5. A Criminology Giant (with Northern [English] humour that was firmly intact)

'I am not sure that I have seen a little further than anyone else (probably not!) but I have certainly "stood on the shoulders of giants," metaphorically speaking of course'

-Farrington (2012)

Key Points:


- More than once, David has referred to the quote 'If I have seen further than others, it is by standing upon the shoulders of giants' to express his appreciation towards those he learned from and were mentored by.
- Globalising criminology is about the future; David's legacy reflects that.

Kofi Boakye

University of Leicester

Globalising Criminology

Reflections on criminological research in Africa and the majority world



Kofi E. Boakye, PhD
Associate Professor of Criminology
University of Leicester

The David P. Farrington Memorial Symposium
LG18, Faculty of Law, University of Cambridge
22 May 2025



Outline

- Encounter with David Farrington
- Beyond the West: Extending criminological research
 - Sexual violence
 - Cross-national research on juvenile offending
- Challenges and opportunities



Encounter with David P. Farrington

2001 Reading about David in Ghana

MPhil/PhD Supervisor

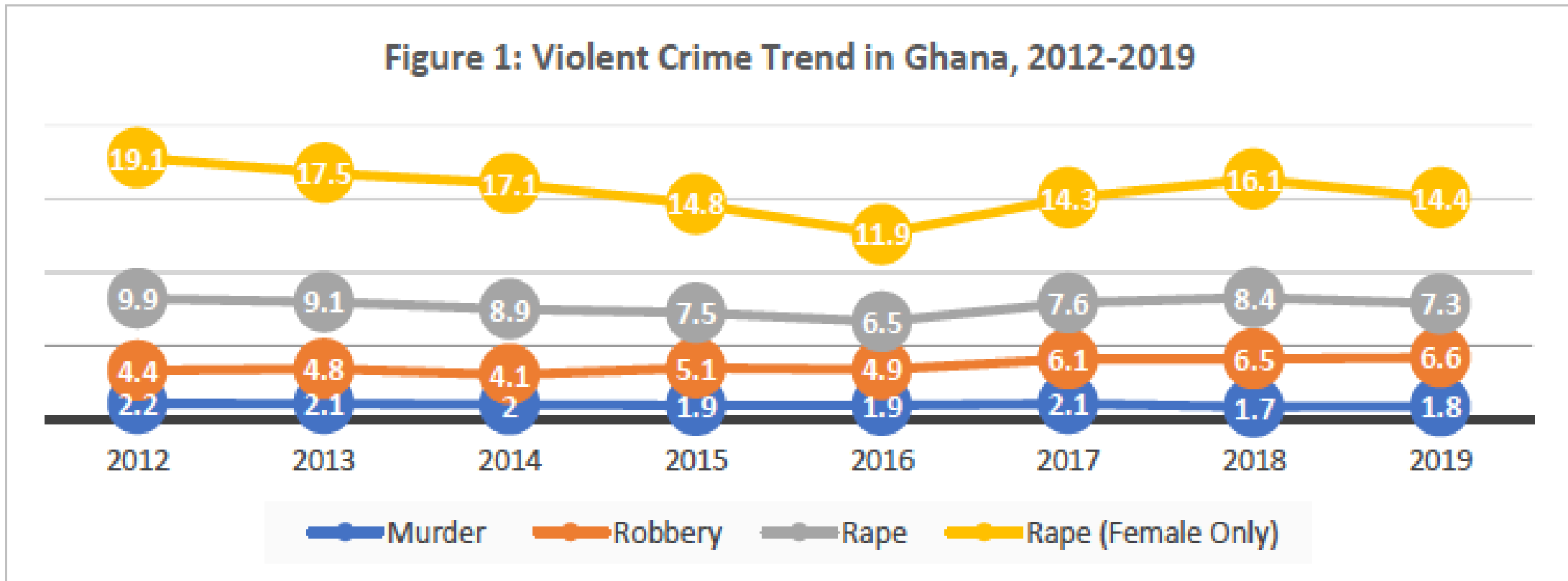
- 2005 MPhil: Attitudes toward Rape and Victims of Rape in Ghana
- 2006 PhD: Juvenile Delinquency in Ghana: A Cross-Cultural Comparative Study of Offenders and Non-Offenders



MPhil Graduation Ceremony July 2007



From Victims to Perpetrators of Sexual Violence





Juvenile sex offending

Table 3
Risk factors for juvenile sexual violence.

Variables	% engaged in sexual offense		OR	[95 % CI]
	% sexual offenders (n)	% nonoffenders (n)		
Individual				
Academic problems	24.6 (57)	16.0 (188)	1.72	[.94-3.13]
Repeat grade	22.3 (94)	14.7 (150)	1.67	[.96-2.92]
Impulsiveness	13.7 (51)	17.5 (200)	.75	[.36-1.57]
Lack empathy	24.4 (41)	15.0 (220)	1.83	[.93-3.59]
Lacks guilt	15.9 (63)	15.2 (191)	1.05	[.55-2.22]
Low religiosity	16.7 (36)	16.4 (219)	1.02	[.54-2.28]
Childrearing				
Poor supervision	16.0 (50)	14.6 (178)	1.11	[.54-2.31]
Physical punishment	24.0 (25)	16.0 (238)	1.66	[.73-3.79]
Inconsistent punishment	20.0 (100)	15.2 (158)	1.40	[.81-2.42]
Lacks parental warmth	20.8 (53)	14.8 (209)	1.50	[.79-2.85]
Poor parental communication	19.3 (57)	12.1 (190)	1.74	[1.01-3.37]
Parental neglect	34.6 (52)	10.4 (192)	4.55**	[2.46-9.44]
Parental abuse	28.6 (63)	12.1 (198)	2.90*	[1.63-5.19]
Parental/family background				
Parental conflict	34.6 (52)	10.6 (160)	4.45**	[2.35-8.44]
Alcoholic parents	30.6 (49)	12.6 (207)	3.07*	[1.66-5.69]
Parental arrest	18.2 (22)	15.8 (234)	1.18	[.46-3.08]
Broken family (divorce)	17.9 (78)	16.5 (121)	1.11	[.59-2.08]
Large family size (6+)	13.0 (77)	14.5 (152)	.88	[.45-1.73]
Delinquent siblings	25.0 (20)	15.1 (238)	1.87	[.76-4.60]
Low SES	14.3 (35)	15.5 (213)	.91	[.39-2.13]
Severe economic deprivation	27.9 (61)	12.8 (196)	2.64*	[1.47-4.75]

Note: OR = Odds ratio; * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .05$, one-tailed.



Cross-national comparative research

‘the main justification for cross-national comparisons is to establish the generalisability of theories and results and the boundary conditions under which they hold or do not hold’ (Farrington, 2015, p.387).



Cross-national comparative research

Competing theoretical perspectives

- General Theory of Crime

VS.

- Criminal Careers and the birth of Developmental and Life-Course (DLC) Theories

(Hirschi & Gottfredson, 1983; 1990; Farrington, 1986)

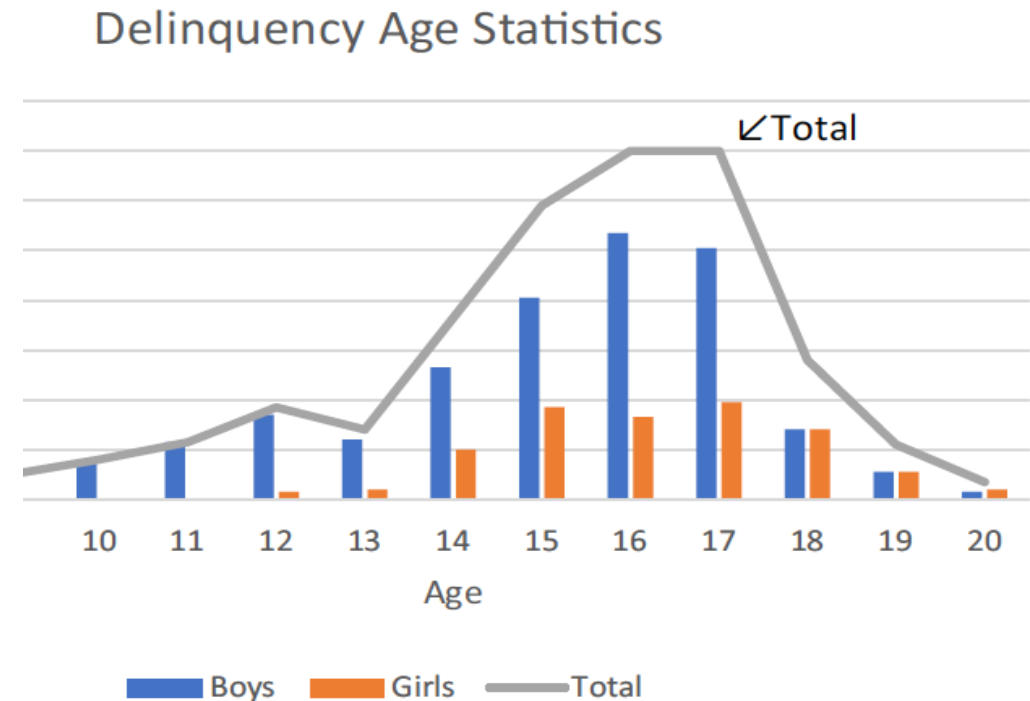


Fig. 1. Delinquency age statistics.

Piquero (2023, p.2)



Cross-national comparative research

Competing theoretical perspectives

‘Age is correlated with important events thought to be related to crime, such as leaving school, marriage, and gainful employment, but its effects on crime do not appear to depend on these events. Age affects crime whether or not these events occur’ (Hirschi & Gottfredson, 1993, p. 589)

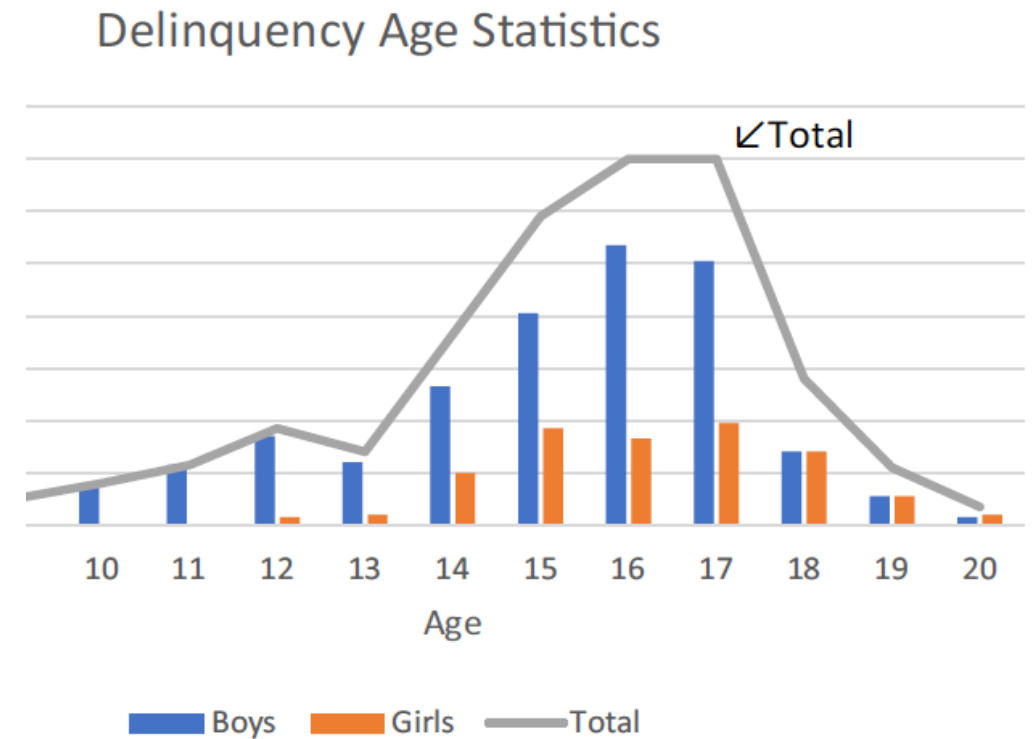
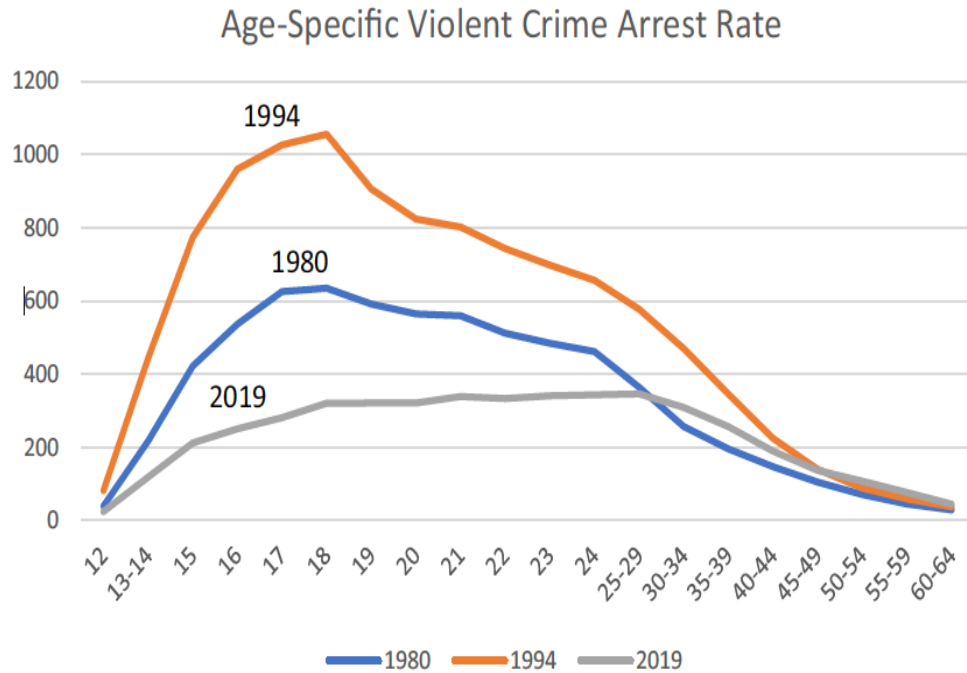


Fig. 1. Delinquency age statistics.



Cross-national comparative research

Recent evidence on the Age crime curve across context



Piquero (2023, p.9)

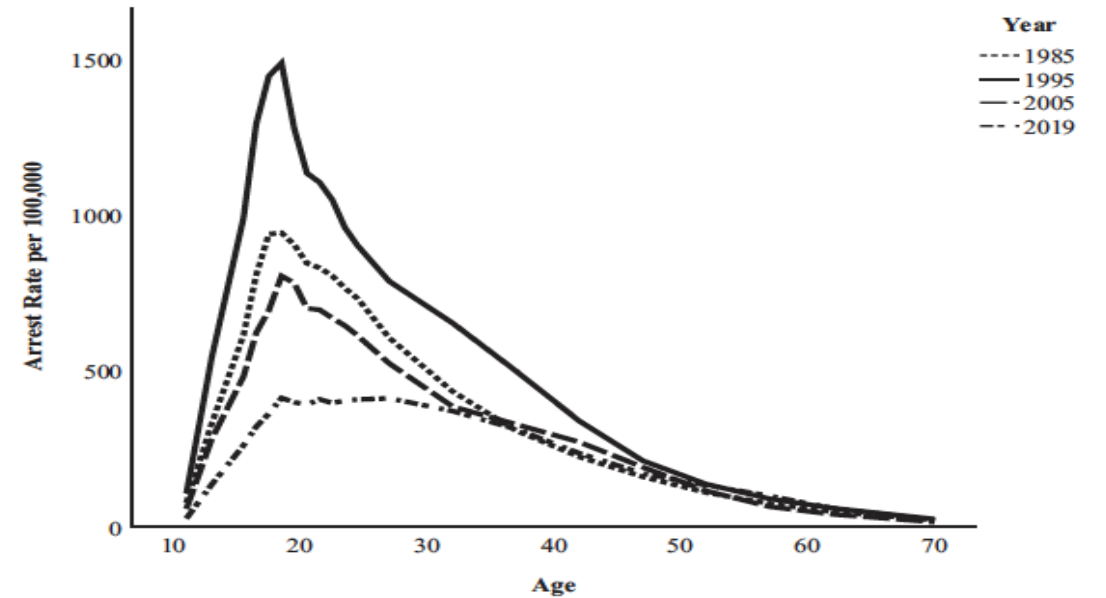


Fig. 2 Male age-crime curves for violent crime: 1985, 1995, 2005 and 2019

Tuttle (2024, p.646)



Cross-national comparative research

Recent evidence on the Age crime curve across context

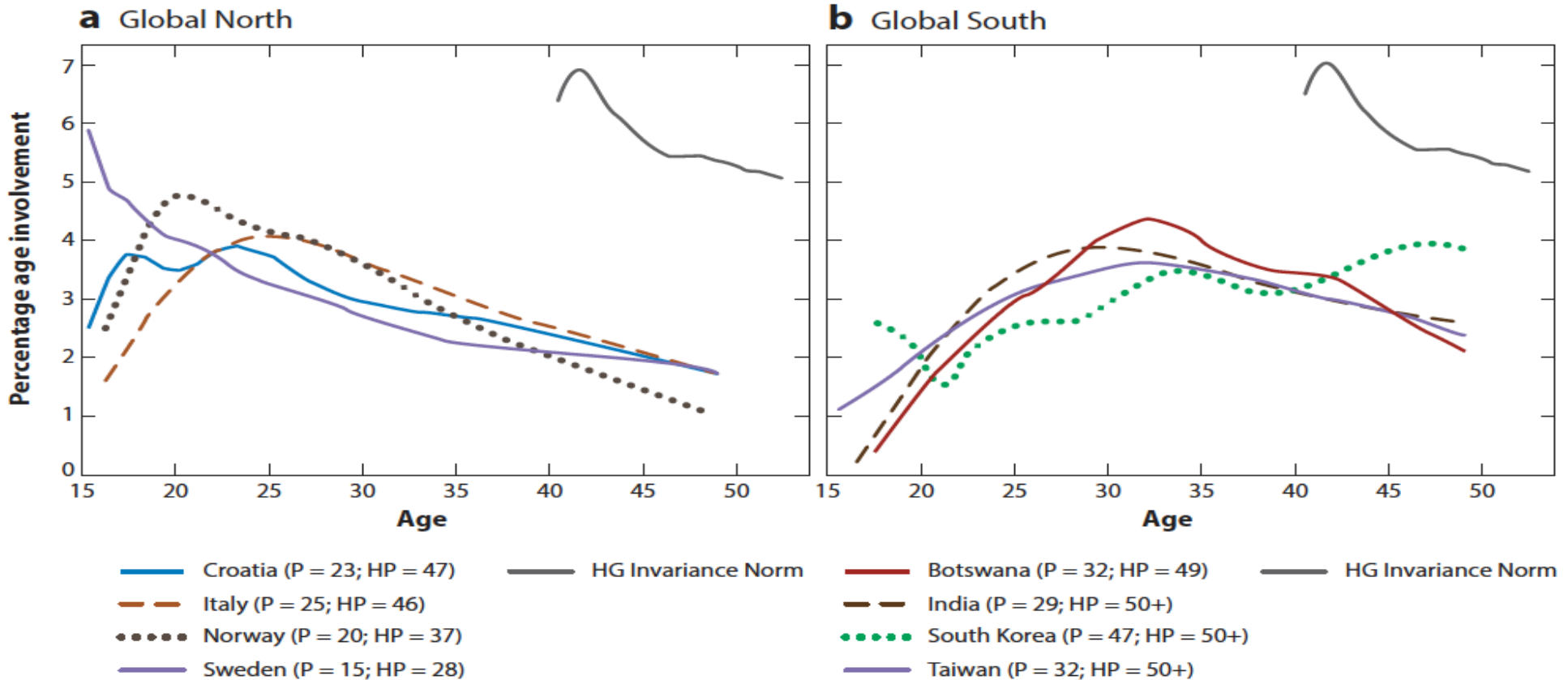


Figure 5



Cross-national comparative research

Challenges and Opportunities

- Recent evidence demands critical reflection on criminological theories and knowledge
- Calls attention to contextual dynamics (culture, history etc) in understanding and explaining crime
- Problems with data sources and data quality



Cross-national comparative research

Challenges and Opportunities

- Few studies directly compare risk factors across context
- The few studies are largely based on longitudinal data from western countries
- Mainly concerned with generalisation than context effect (culture, social, history etc)



Cross-national comparative research

Challenges and Opportunities

- Low achievement/academic problems
- Hyperactivity/impulsiveness
- Broken family
- Parental conflict
- Parental criminality

Variable	<i>Ghana</i>		<i>London</i>		<i>Pittsburgh</i>	
	Official	SRV	Court	SRV	Court	SRV
<i>Individual</i>						
Low achievement/academic difficulties	5.3*	4.6*	2.6*	1.3	2.2*	3.2*
HIA problems	6.6*	2.2*	2.3*	1.4	1.9*	2.1*
High daring	2.2*	4.0*	4.2*	2.2*	...	...
Low guilt	1.7*	2.9*	...	...	3.8*	3.3*
Religious/church attendance ^a	6.0*	3.0*	0.7	...	1.0	...
<i>Child-rearing</i>						
Poor supervision	0.6	0.8	2.2*	1.5	2.0*	1.1
Physical punishment	1.1	1.1	...	...	1.2	1.6*
Harsh discipline	3.4*	2.3*	3.3*	2.8*	...	...
Inconsistent discipline	0.3	0.8	...	...	1.3	2.1*
Poor parental warmth/low reinforcement	0.6	1.0	1.4	1.8	1.5*	1.1
Poor communication	1.2	0.9	...	...	1.5*	1.9*
<i>Socioeconomic</i>						
Low (SES)	2.0*	1.5	1.5	1.5	2.5*	2.2*
Low income/deprived family	0.8	1.3	2.6*	2.0*	3.2*	2.0*
Broken home	4.4*	2.4*	2.9*	1.3	3.4*	3.1*
<i>Parental</i>						
Parental criminality/behaviour problems	4.9*	1.6	4.0*	1.8*	1.9*	...
Parental conflict/Unhappy parents	1.4	5.0*	2.6*	...	2.3*	...
Large family size	0.8	1.6	2.5*	2.4*	2.1*	1.4
<i>Neighbourhood</i>						
Poor and disorganised neighbourhood	2.8*	2.4*	...	...	1.8*	2.3*

Note: * $p < .05$ (one-tailed, based on confidence interval); ... = not available. SRD = Self-Reported Delinquency; SRV = violence. HIA = hyperactivity-impulsivity-attention deficit problems; SES = socio-economic status.



Cross-national comparative research

Challenges and Opportunities

- 39 longitudinal studies in LMIC
- Only 5 in Africa and all 5 in South Africa
- Only one birth cohort study (The Birth to 30 study)
- Some evidence of similarity but also notable difference - *inconclusive*

Comparison of Average Risk Factor Associations for Antisocial Behavior in Low- and Middle-Income Countries (LMICs) and High-Income Countries (HICs)

Risk Factor	Strength of Association in LMICs: This Review	Strength of Association in HICs: Prior Reviews
Individual-level risk factors:		
Prior aggression	Large for aggression	Large for aggression ¹
Prior conduct problems	Large for conduct problems	Large for conduct problems ²
	Medium for violence	Medium for violence ³
Hyperactivity	Negligible for crime	Small for crime ⁴
Poor educational performance	Negligible for intimate partner violence	Small for violence ³
Drug use	Large for violence	Large for violence ³
Early life health risk factors:		
Low birth weight	Negligible for conduct problems	Negligible for conduct problems ⁵
Premature birth	Negligible for conduct problems	Negligible for conduct problems ⁵
Child rearing practices:		
Maternal authoritarian parenting	Medium for conduct problems & aggression	Medium for conduct problems ²
Maternal warmth	Small for conduct problems & aggression	Medium for conduct problems ²
Maternal authoritative parenting	Medium for conduct problems & aggression	Medium for conduct problems ²
Family sociodemographic factors:		
Poor family during childhood	Small for conduct problems	Medium for conduct problems ²
	Small for violence	Small for violence ³
Low maternal education	Small for conduct problems	Large for conduct problems ²
Young mother at birth	Small for conduct problems	Small for conduct problems ²
	Small for violence	Negligible for violence ²
Many siblings	Negligible for violence	Medium for violence ²

NOTE.—Associations are bivariate correlations. The strength of association is described as follows (see Sec. II): negligible, $d < 0.10$; small, $d = 0.10$; medium, $d = 0.25$; large, $d = 0.50$. References for prior reviews in HICs: ¹Olweus (1979); ²Derzon (2010); ³Lipsey and Derzon (1998); ⁴Tanner-Smith, Wilson, and Lipsey (2013); ⁵Aarnoudse-Moens et al. (2009). For some risk factors in the current review, described later in the essay, no prior, comparable review was located for studies in HICs.



Globalising Criminology: Thinking Seriously about Context Effect

Cultural, Social, Historical Events

Entire cohorts of children have come of age in such different historical contexts that typical markers of a crime-prone character, such as being a chronic offender or having an arrest record, are as much a function of societal change as of an individual's early life propensities or background characteristics, including classic risk factors emphasized in criminology. When (*and where*) we are thus matters as much as, and perhaps more than, who we are—despite law, practice, and theory privileging the latter. Because crime over the life course is shaped by changing sociohistorical conditions, it must be studied as such (Sampson & Smith, 2021, p.13).



Beyond the West: Extending Criminological Research

- Special issue: Bui & Boakye (forthcoming, 2025), *Journal of Criminal Justice*
- *International Self-Reported Delinquency Study (ISR4) – School based survey of over 2000 grade 9-10 students in Ghana and over 40 countries –December 2024*
- *A cross-national comparison of prospective longitudinal studies in London and Johannesburg*



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End
Thank you



Working with David Farrington: Ideas, mentoring and collaboration

Chair: Manuel Eisner, University of Cambridge

Alfred Blumstein

Carnegie Mellon University

Henriette Bergstrøm
University of Derby

David P. Farrington as a mentor and life-changer

Working with David Farrington: Ideas,
mentoring, and collaboration

Dr. Henriette Bergstrøm

University of Derby



In memory

What is mentorship?

- «The activity of giving a younger or less experienced person help and advice over a period of time, especially at work or school»
(Cambridge Dictionary;
<https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/mentorship>)



In David's own words



- *«I am very happy to foster the development of younger scholars. Initially they don't know how to publish and think that a revise and resubmit is bad news! They soon develop into high quality independent scholars, and I am happy to have supervised and helped the second generation of students of former students.» - David P. Farrington*

Lessons from David

- *“At various points in our lives, we all identify and seek to learn from, and often emulate, our mentors.” (Tait, 2003, p. 758).*



**«Do not
hide your
light under
a bushel»**

*«The main aim of my
mentoring is to help
younger people publish
articles» - David P.
Farrington*





«It is not necessarily the so-called «smartest» who become the most successful, it is those who do not give up who succeed»

- *«[...] if we get revise and resubmit, I help the person to address the referees' comments point by point. There might be several iterations of this as well, until the article is published» - David P. Farrington*

THE DELINQUENT WAY OF LIFE

D. J. WEST and
D. P. FARRINGTON

«Avoid administrative
work/positions at all
cost! Focus on the
research!»



SAVING CHILDREN FROM A LIFE OF CRIME

EARLY RISK
FACTORS
AND EFFECTIVE
INTERVENTIONS

**«Collaborate
with nice
people.... And go
to the ASC»**



«Have fun, and dance to ABBA»





**Thank you,
David!**

Andreas Kapardis
University of Cyprus

The background features abstract, overlapping green geometric shapes in various shades, creating a modern and dynamic visual effect. The shapes are primarily triangles and polygons, some with thin white outlines, set against a white background.

IN HONOUR OF PROF. DAVID FARRINGTON

Andreas Kapardis
Emeritus professor
University of Cyprus

THEME: GENERATING KNOWLEDGE FOR PREVENTION AND INTERVENTION

- ▶ As a teacher in the late 1970's David was inspirational and as a Ph.D supervisor he led by example: committed to scholarship, always humble, ready to guide and to support in a positive, constructive way.
- ▶ Later on, a great Ph.D supervisor at a pub in Granchester or later a fantastic mentor to share teaching and publications.
- ▶ David did not hand over fish on a plate but taught me how best to fish.
- ▶ Above all, it has been a challenge and an honour to try emulate some of his achievements

PREVENTION AND INTERVENTION

- ▶ Prevention and intervention he taught me starts with the individual criminologist being a polymath and drawing on all criminal sciences: criminology, forensic psychology, criminal justice and penology.
- ▶ David best epitomized such a polymath and the world was his oyster, his impact evident in north America, in Australia, and continental Europe where he pioneered the establishment of EAPL
- ▶ In my own country Cyprus he was instrumental in the very successful implementation in schools of the effective delinquency intervention programme
- ▶ *Communities That Care.*

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- ▶ In my own country Cyprus he was instrumental in the very successful implementation in schools of the juvenile delinquency intervention programme *Communities Thar Care*.

IN CONCLUSION

I always recall David with
gratitude
and
cannot imagine criminology
without him.

TELOS

▶ THANK YOU



—

Thank you
for your
contributions
today
