

Festschrift für Hans-Jürgen Kerner





Hans-Jürgen Werner

Kriminologie – Kriminalpolitik – Strafrecht

*Festschrift für Hans-Jürgen Kerner
zum 70. Geburtstag*

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ISBN 978-3-16-152216-1

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliographie; detaillierte bibliographische Daten sind im Internet über <http://dnb.dnb.de> abrufbar.

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Das Buch wurde von Computersatz Staiger in Rottenburg a.N. gesetzt, von Gulde-Druck in Tübingen auf alterungsbeständiges Werkdruckpapier gedruckt und von der Buchbinderei Spinner in Ottersweier gebunden.

Vorwort

Hans-Jürgen Kerner feiert am 8. Dezember 2013 seinen 70. Geburtstag. Versucht man, Werk und Wirken *Hans-Jürgen Kerners* zusammenfassend zu würdigen, so lassen sich die Stichworte Praxisbezug, Anwendungsbezogenheit, Interdisziplinarität und Kriminalpolitik wohl als übergreifende Termini finden – wobei allein schon die Tatsache, dass das schriftliche Werk des Jubilars fast 700 einzelne Positionen umfasst, darunter 40 Monographien, 34 Sammel- bzw. Herausgeberwerke und fast 350 Aufsätze in Zeitschriften oder Sammelwerken, eine solche Zusammenfassung eigentlich verbietet.

Diese Festschrift erscheint zu einem Zeitpunkt, zu dem sich die deutsche Kriminologie (oder zumindest Teile dieser Wissenschaft) nach langer Zeit erstmals wieder intensiver mit ihrer eigenen Geschichte und ihrer (kriminalpolitischen) Bedeutung beschäftigt. So waren „Lage und Zukunft der deutschen Kriminologie“ im Juni 2012 Thema eines Symposiums am Max-Planck-Institut in Freiburg. Die Diskussionen dort, an denen sich der Jubilar wie immer intensiv, aber dennoch zurückhaltend und überaus sachlich beteiligte, führten u.a. zur Verabschiedung des „Freiburger Memorandums“¹.

Der wohl letzte Versuch, die Bedeutung der Kriminologie durch die Vereinigung der unterschiedlichen „Lager“ zu stärken, scheiterte in den 1980er Jahren und führte zum „Schisma in kritische und andere Kriminologie“, wie dies einer der Anfang 2013 befragten Kriminologen bezeichnete. Die gegenwärtige Situation ist dadurch gekennzeichnet, dass es immer mehr Kolleginnen und Kollegen gibt, die die Bezeichnung „Kriminologie“ zwar in ihrer Lehrstuhlbezeichnung führen, aber sie inhaltlich aufgrund von Lehr- und Prüfungsbelastungen im Strafrecht nur ungenügend ausfüllen können. Diese Entwicklung ist auch deshalb zu bedauern, da *Hans-Jürgen Kerner*, der in der deutschen Kriminologie besondere Achtung genießt, die Entwicklung der deutschen wie auch der internationalen Kriminologie von Anfang an ganz besonders am Herzen lag. Seine Versuche, die Kluft zwischen „kritischer“ und „anderer“ Kriminologie zu überbrücken, um damit die Durchsetzungskraft kriminologischer Forschung und ihre finanzielle und personelle Basis zu verbessern sowie die Kriminologie in der deutschen Wissenschaftslandschaft dominanter zu verankern, sind allgemein bekannt. Dabei wurde sein persönliches wie fachlich-wissenschaft-

¹ Siehe Monatsschrift für Kriminologie und Strafrechtsreform 2012, S. 385–391 sowie 2013, Heft 2/3.

liches Engagement immer von allen Seiten anerkannt. Er ist einer der wenigen „Grenzgänger“ zwischen den sich so unterschiedlich fühlenden Lagern der deutschen Kriminologie – mit all den Schwierigkeiten und Nöten, Anforderungen und Ansprüchen, die eine solche Position mit sich bringt.

Sein anerkanntes Engagement für die internationale Kriminologie wird neben den umfangreichen Aktivitäten, die noch zu erwähnen sein werden, u.a. dadurch deutlich, dass er sowohl zum Präsidenten der International Society of Criminology (1990–1994) als auch zum Präsidenten der European Society of Criminology (2004–2007) gewählt wurde. Im Jahre 1999 wurde *Hans-Jürgen Kerner* zudem mit dem „Thorsten Sellin & Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck Award“ der American Society of Criminology für seine herausragenden wissenschaftlichen Verdienste um die Kriminologie geehrt. Auf nationaler Ebene hat ihm die Kriminologische Gesellschaft in diesem Jahr die Beccaria-Medaille in Gold verliehen. Im Folgenden sollen zuerst einige Stationen des bisherigen Schaffens des Jubilars nachgezeichnet werden, bevor auf sein wissenschaftliches Wirken eingegangen wird.

Hans-Jürgen Kerner wurde am 8. Dezember 1943 in Herxheim bei Landau/Pfalz geboren. Nach der Grundschule dort besuchte der Jubilar das Altsprachliche Gymnasium in Landau. Dem Abitur schloss sich das Jura-Studium an den Universitäten München, Berlin und Tübingen von 1963 bis 1967 an. Während des Studiums war er u.a. in der kommunalen Jugendarbeit sowie als Sozialarbeiter in Teilzeit in der Nichtsesshaftenbetreuung in Stuttgart tätig. Diese und weitere Praxiserfahrungen prägten ihn und finden sich in seinen Schwerpunkten in der Forschung und Lehre wieder.

Nach dem Ersten Juristischen Staatsexamen in Tübingen war *Hans-Jürgen Kerner* von 1968 bis 1975 in verschiedenen Konstellationen als Wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter und zuletzt als Akademischer Rat am Institut für Kriminologie der Universität Tübingen unter der Leitung von *Hans Göppinger* (1919–1996) tätig. In dieser Zeit absolvierte er auch den Referendardienst und das Zweite Juristische Staatsexamen in Stuttgart (1972) sowie die Promotion zum Dr. jur. an der Universität Tübingen (1973). Bereits zuvor, von 1969 bis 1972, war *Kerner* Mitglied einer Forschungsgruppe beim European Council on Crime Problems des Europarats in Straßburg über Fragen des professionellen und organisierten Verbrechens in Europa.

Schließlich folgte im Oktober 1975 die Habilitation in Tübingen und die Ernennung zum Privatdozenten mit der *Venia Legendi* für Kriminologie, Jugendstrafrecht, Strafvollzug, Strafprozessrecht und schon zwei Monate danach die Ernennung zum Wissenschaftlichen Rat und Professor für Kriminologie an der Fakultät für Rechtswissenschaft der Universität Bielefeld. Im April 1977 wechselte *Hans-Jürgen Kerner* auf die Professur für Kriminologie, Jugendrecht und Strafvollzug am Fachbereich Rechtswissenschaft I der Universität Hamburg und wurde dort geschäftsführender Direktor des Seminars für Jugendrecht

und Jugendhilfe (Nachfolge von *Horst Schüler-Springorum*). In dieser Zeit und bis zu seinem Wechsel 1980 nach Heidelberg fungierte er zugleich als Richter am Hanseatischen Oberlandesgericht in Hamburg. Danach war der Jubilar bis September 1986 Professor für Kriminologie an der Juristischen Fakultät der Universität Heidelberg und Direktor des Instituts für Kriminologie, bevor er die gleiche Position an der Juristischen Fakultät der Universität Tübingen übernahm und Direktor des dortigen Instituts für Kriminologie wurde. Nach seiner Emeritierung im Herbst 2011 ist er dort weiterhin als Seniorprofessor tätig.

Hans-Jürgen Kerner war u.a. Gastprofessor an der Peking-Universität (Beida), Distinguished Visiting Professor an der University of Southampton (UK) und an der University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia/PA, USA, Distinguished Visiting Fellow an der University of Melbourne sowie International Visiting Fellow an der University of Cambridge (UK). Zu seinen umfangreichen Mitgliedschaften oder Funktionen in wissenschaftsnahen Tätigkeitsfeldern gehören und gehörten die Mitgliedschaft im Conseil de Direction der Société Internationale de Criminologie (SIC) Paris, wo er Sekretär (1980–1985), Vizepräsident (1985–1990) und Präsident (1990–1994) der Wissenschaftlichen Kommission war. In diesen Zeitraum fiel auch die Planung und Mitveranstaltung der Internationalen Kriminologischen Kongresse 1983 in Wien, 1988 in Hamburg und 1993 in Budapest, bevor er von 1995 bis 1999 zum Präsidenten der Société gewählt wurde, deren Ehrenpräsident er seit 1999 ist. Von 2004 bis 2007 war der Jubilar President-Elect, President und Past-President der European Society of Criminology (ESC).

Dem Jubilar oblag und obliegt darüber hinaus die wissenschaftliche Leitung des Bibliotheksschwerpunkts bzw. Sondersammelgebiets Kriminologie der Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen und die Leitung des bibliographischen Dokumentationssystems KrimDok. Beides macht seine besonderen Bemühungen um die Dokumentation und Bestandswahrung der (nicht nur) deutschsprachigen kriminologischen Literatur deutlich. *Hans-Jürgen Kerner* leitet bis heute die Geschäftsstelle der Kriminologischen Gesellschaft (KrimG, zuvor bis 2007 Neue Kriminologische Gesellschaft), deren Gründungspräsident er von 1988 bis 1990 war. Zuvor bekleidete er bereits von 1986 bis 1988 das Amt des Vorsitzenden der Gesellschaft für die gesamte Kriminologie. In dieser Zeit hatten viele die Hoffnung, dass es ihm gelingen könnte, die beiden kriminologischen Lager zu vereinen. Wenn überhaupt, so glaubte man, könne dies nur der Jubilar schaffen. Dass dieser Versuch am Ende doch gescheitert ist, dürfte die Konsequenz aus unterschiedlich intensiven Verhärtungen gewesen sein, die nicht unerheblich zur gegenwärtigen Situation der deutschen Kriminologie beigetragen haben.

Hans-Jürgen Kerners Praxisbezug verdeutlicht eine Fülle weiterer Tätigkeiten und Ehrenämter. So ist er Mitgründer und Vorsitzender der Deutschen Stiftung für Verbrechenverhütung und Straffälligenhilfe (DVS), Mitglied der Forschungsgruppe Täter-Opfer-Ausgleich der Universitäten Bielefeld, Bremen, Heidelberg, Konstanz, Marburg und Tübingen und korrespondieren-

des Mitglied der Kriminologischen Zentralstelle des Bundes und der Länder (KrimZ), deren Beiratsvorsitzender er von 1986 bis 1995 war. Er ist Mitglied im Forschungsbeirat des Kriminalistischen Instituts des Bundeskriminalamts und in der internationalen Forschungsgruppe EUROGANG (Youth Groups and Gangs in Europe and the Americas).

Zu den ehemaligen Mitgliedschaften und abgeschlossenen Aufgaben des Jubilars gehörten u.a. von 1998 bis 2003 sowie von 2008 bis 2011 die Tätigkeit in der Fachgruppe Recht (späteres Fachkollegium Rechtswissenschaft) der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft (u.a. als gewählter Hauptgutachter für Förderanträge aus dem Bereich der Kriminologie). Er war Mitgründer und Mitglied des Kriminologischen Forschungsinstituts Niedersachsen e.V., Nationalkorrespondent für die Vereinten Nationen, Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Branch und langjähriger Präsident des DBH-Fachverbandes für Soziale Arbeit, Strafrecht und Kriminalpolitik (ehemals: Deutsche Bewährungs-, Gerichts- und Straffälligenhilfe e.V.).

Hans-Jürgen Kerner war (als Vertreter der Bundesrepublik Deutschland) Mitglied im Criminological Scientific Council beim European Committee on Crime Problems des Europarats und Vizepräsident des Conseil de Direction de Centre International de Criminologie Clinique in Montreal. Von 1987 bis 1989 gehörte er zudem der Gewaltkommission der Bundesregierung an und war zugleich als Koordinator der Unterkommission Kriminologie tätig. Hervorzuheben sind *Hans-Jürgen Kerners* maßgebliche Beteiligung an den beiden Periodischen Sicherheitsberichten der Bundesregierung (2001 und 2006), wobei er sich – zusammen mit den anderen Kolleginnen und Kollegen – vehement, aber leider bisher erfolglos, für eine Fortsetzung dieser für Kriminologie und Kriminalpolitik so wichtigen Berichte einsetzte. Seit 1995 ist er Mitveranstalter und zuletzt Kongresspräsident der Deutschen Präventionstage.

Unter den zahlreichen Ehrungen, welche ihm zuteil wurden, ist das Verdienstkreuz am Bande des Verdienstordens der Bundesrepublik Deutschland zu erwähnen. Es wurde ihm 1990 für seinen langjährigen Einsatz in der Sozialen Strafrechtspflege, Bewährungshilfe und freien Straffälligenhilfe verliehen. 1993 erhielt *Hans-Jürgen Kerner* Ehrenurkunde und Gedenkmedaille der Republik Ungarn aus Anlass der erfolgreichen Kooperation zur Durchführung des 11. Internationalen Kriminologischen Kongresses in Budapest. 2002 wurde ihm der „Outstanding Contribution Award in International Scholarly Exchange“ durch die [All-] China Society of Juvenile Delinquency Research verliehen, verbunden mit der Ehrenmitgliedschaft. 2008 schließlich erhielt er den „Prix Émile Durkheim“ der International Society for Criminology (SIC/ISC) für sein wissenschaftliches Lebenswerk sowie speziell für die Fortentwicklung des sozialwissenschaftlichen Verständnisses von Kriminalität und Kriminologie, und im gleichen Jahr ehrte ihn die American Society of Criminology (ASC) mit dem „Distinguished International Scholar Award“ für Verdienste um die

internationale Kooperation der Kriminologie in Forschung, Lehre und Wissenschaftsorganisation.

Dass der Jubilar bei all den Tätigkeiten die Lehre nicht vernachlässigte, wissen all diejenigen, die das Vergnügen und die Freude hatten, bei ihm studieren oder einen Vortrag anhören zu dürfen. Entsprechend wurde er 2006 von Studierenden im bundesweiten Wettbewerb für die Auszeichnung „Professor des Jahres“ vorgeschlagen. Dabei nahm er nicht nur seine Lehrverpflichtungen in der Kriminologie und den Schwerpunktfächern Jugendstrafrecht und Strafvollzug sehr ernst, sondern er unterstützte auch die Lehre im Straf- und vor allem im Strafprozessrecht. Die Übernahme zahlreicher Prüfungslasten der so genannten Nebenfächler aus den Sozial- und Verhaltenswissenschaften sicherte ihm eine hohe Anerkennung auch der Nicht-Kriminologen an all seinen Wirkungsstätten.

Betrachtet man die zahlreichen und teilweise über viele Jahre hinweg reichenden Forschungsprojekte, die der Jubilar selbst oder gemeinsam mit anderen in den letzten 40 Jahren selbst durchgeführt, geleitet oder auch angeregt hat, so werden Schwerpunkte deutlich, die sein wissenschaftliches Werk geprägt haben und nach wie vor prägen. Sicherlich an erster Stelle steht dabei das Interesse an dem Verlauf krimineller Karrieren und der Frage, wie man das immer stärkere Abgleiten in Kriminalität erfolgreich verhindern kann. Dieses Interesse dürfte durch seine „erste Tübinger Zeit“ unter *Hans Göppinger* und der damals begonnenen und später vom Jubilar selbst fortgeführten „Tübinger Jungtäter-Vergleichsuntersuchung“ begründet worden sein. *Hans-Jürgen Kerner* hat sich zudem intensiv (u.a. in der Mehrfach- und Intensivtäterforschung) mit der Frage beschäftigt, wie sich Kriminalität verhindern lässt und wie (staatliche) Reaktionen so ausgestaltet sein können, damit sie zumindest den Rückfall nicht begünstigen, möglichst sogar zur Resozialisierung von Straffälligen beitragen. Solche Rückfalluntersuchungen oder Begleitforschungen von Interventionsprojekten verschiedenster Art prägen die Aktivitäten des Jubilars ebenso wie die Suche nach und die Erklärung von Verlaufsmustern und Wendepunkten in der Lebensgeschichte, Wegen aus schwerer Jugendkriminalität oder dem Abbruch krimineller Karrieren – wohlwissend, dass kriminologische Erkenntnisse hierzu von besonderer wissenschaftlicher Relevanz sind, oftmals aber nur schwer politisch umgesetzt werden können. Dabei spielte die Idee des Täter-Opfer-Ausgleiches ebenso eine wichtige Rolle wie die personelle und inhaltliche Ausgestaltung der Bewährungs- und Straffälligenhilfe und Alternativen zu herkömmlichen Strafen wie z.B. gemeinnützige Arbeit.

Weitere Themenbereiche, die durch seine Forschungsprojekte erschlossen und dann auch in Publikationen aufgearbeitet wurden, waren z.B. unmittelbar nach der Wende die Auswirkungen des sozialen Umbruchs auf die Kriminalität in Ost und West. Aktuelle Themen sind Gewalt gegen Polizeibeamte, Milius von Migrant*innen, Mobbing in Schule und Beruf, Täter-Opfer-Identität, die

Einführung von Friedenszirkeln in Europa, Sicherheit und Sicherheitsgefühl an Hochschulen sowie der „Gefahrenraum Internet“. Hinzu kamen vor allem in den letzten Jahren verschiedene, besonders interdisziplinär angelegte Projekte, die sich mit dem Thema der Religiosität und den Wertorientierungen von Jugendlichen und den Auswirkungen auf ihr Verhalten beschäftigten.

Den Bezug zur Praxis hat *Hans-Jürgen Kerner* seit seiner Arbeit mit Nichtsesshaften Ende der 1960er Jahre nicht zuletzt aufgrund seiner Tätigkeit für die Deutsche Bewährungshilfe und die Deutsche Stiftung für Verbrechensverhütung und Straffälligenhilfe nie verloren, im Gegenteil. So war er in den 1980er Jahren für ein Lehr-Programm „Soziales Training in der Haft“ verantwortlich, das Studierende aus verschiedenen Fachgebieten wöchentlich in die Justizvollzugsanstalten in Heidelberg und Mannheim und dort in Kontakt mit der Lebenswelt der Gefangenen brachte (mit all den Risiken und Nebenwirkungen, die eine solche Arbeit mit sich bringt) und gleichzeitig Lehre mit Praxisforschung verknüpfte. Als „Kriminologische Haftgruppe“ (früher und dem damaligen Zeitgeist entsprechend „Knastgruppe“ genannt) existiert das Projekt nach wie vor in Heidelberg und seit 2004 bzw. 2010 auch in Bochum und Münster.

Die sieben Jahre in Tübingen in den „Nach-68ern“ und die persönlichen Erfahrungen mit seinem akademischen Lehrmeister haben *Hans-Jürgen Kerner* vielleicht deutlicher als er dies selbst bemerkt hat, geprägt bzw. sensibilisiert, vor allem für den Umgang mit seinen Mitarbeiterinnen und Mitarbeitern in Bielefeld, Hamburg, Heidelberg und Tübingen. Er hatte immer nicht nur ein offenes Ohr für ihre Sorgen und Nöte, sondern wurde auch ganz unpräntentös selbst tätig (z.B. durch Formulierungshilfen und Änderungs- oder Ergänzungsvorschläge), wenn es darum ging, Qualifikationsarbeiten zu unterstützen.

Mit der Festschrift, die *Hans-Jürgen Kerner* zu seinem 70. Geburtstag überreicht bekommt, ehren 75 Kolleginnen und Kollegen aus dem In- und Ausland die Person und das Werk eines Menschen, der häufig sein eigenes Interesse hinter das der anderen zurück stellte, gleich ob es sich dabei um Studierende, Mitarbeiterinnen oder Mitarbeiter, Kolleginnen oder Kollegen oder um Gefangene handelte. Dabei nützten ihm besonders seine Kooperations-, Kommunikations- und Mediationsfähigkeiten.

Die Herausgeber wünschen dem Jubilar alles Gute, auf dass er weiterhin die Kriminologie als Wissenschaft vorantreiben und mit seinen Gedanken befruchten möge. Er sollte aber auch das Zitat von *Jean-Jacques Rousseau* ernst nehmen: „*Die Freiheit des Menschen liegt nicht darin, dass er tun kann, was er will, sondern dass er nicht tun muss, was er nicht will.*“

Bochum, Cambridge, Erlangen, Freiburg,
Münster und Tübingen im Herbst 2013.

Die Herausgeber

Foreword

On December 8, 2013, *Hans-Jürgen Kerner* will celebrate his 70th birthday. If one were to summarize *Hans-Jürgen Kerner's* work and impact, keywords such as practical orientation, application in practice, interdisciplinarity and criminal policy would be appropriate terms. The fact, however, that his oeuvre comprises almost 700 individual positions, including 40 monographs, 34 edited volumes and nearly 350 articles in journals or edited volumes, makes such a summary inappropriate.

This Festschrift appears at a time when German criminology (or at least parts of this discipline), for the first time in many years, has become intensely concerned with its own history and significance, both criminological and political. Thus, the theme of a June 2012 symposium at the Max-Planck-Institute in Freiburg was the “State and Future of German Criminology.” The debates at that symposium, in which *Kerner* participated intensively (as usual) – but also with reservation and clarity – led to passage of the “Freiburger Memorandum”¹. The last apparent attempt to strengthen the significance of criminology failed in the 1980s. Instead of uniting the different perspectives within our field, that effort led to the “schism between critical and other criminology.” In the wake of this failure, more and more scholars who list the term “criminology” in the denomination of their chairs have no time to actually pursue the subject. Instead, their work load is consumed by teaching and exams in penal law.

This development has been a challenge to the life's work of *Hans-Jürgen Kerner*, whose strong reputation in German criminology has been matched by his development of international criminology. In both arenas, his attempts to bridge the gap between “critical” and “other” criminology are well known. His clear goal has been to improve the effectiveness of criminological research, as well as its financial basis and staffing. All this was aimed to better establish criminology in the German research landscape. In this context, his personal as well as scientific commitment has always been recognized by all sides. He is one of the few travellers between the very different positions in German criminology – with all the difficulties and requirements such a position entails.

¹ Facing a remarkable loss of academic positions in German criminology within the last ten years, this Memorandum emphasises the importance of criminological research and teaching for gaining and delivering knowledge about crime causation and crime development, the effects of social control and crime prevention strategies, and for the professional training of practitioners from all areas of the criminal justice system.

Aside from other extensive activities that shall be mentioned later, *Kerner's* recognized leadership of international criminology is reflected by his having been elected as President of the International Society of Criminology (1990–1994) as well as President of the European Society of Criminology (2004–2007). In 1999, *Hans-Jürgen Kerner* was furthermore honoured with the “Thorsten Sellin & Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck Award” of the American Society of Criminology for his outstanding scientific contributions to criminology. On the national level, the Kriminologische Gesellschaft (the association of German speaking criminologists) has awarded him the Beccaria Medaille in Gold this year. The following discussion outlines first of all, a few stages of *Kerner's* work, followed by a discussion of his scientific impact.

Hans-Jürgen Kerner was born in Herxheim near Landau in the Palatinate on December 8, 1943. After elementary school, he attended the Altsprachliche Gymnasium in Landau. Following graduation, he studied law at universities in Munich, Berlin and Tübingen from 1963 to 1967. During this time he also was involved in municipal youth work as well as a part-time social worker in assisting the homeless in Stuttgart. These and other work experiences in the following years had great impact on him and are reflected in his later research and teaching.

After passing his first state examination in law in Tübingen, from 1968 to 1975, *Hans-Jürgen Kerner* worked as research fellow in different constellations. He was then appointed assistant professor at the Institute of Criminology at Tübingen University, headed at that time by *Hans Göppinger* (1919–1996). During this time he also completed his legal clerkship and the second law examination in Stuttgart (1972) and received his doctoral degree in law at Tübingen University (1973). Earlier, from 1969 to 1972, *Kerner* was member of a research group at the European Council on Crime Problems of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg on questions regarding professional and organized crime in Europe.

In October 1975, he qualified for becoming professor in Tübingen (Habilitation) and was appointed private lecturer with the *Venia Legendi* for criminology, juvenile penal law, corrections, and criminal procedure law. Already two months later, he was appointed associate professor for criminology at the faculty of law at Bielefeld University. In April 1977, *Hans-Jürgen Kerner* became professor for criminology, juvenile law and corrections at the faculty of law of Hamburg University. There he also became director of the Seminar für Jugendrecht und Jugendhilfe (juvenile law and youth services), as the successor of *Horst Schüler-Springorum*. During this time and up to his move to Heidelberg in 1980, he simultaneously acted as judge at the Hanseatische Oberlandesgericht (Hanseatic supreme court) in Hamburg. Until 1986, *Kerner* was professor for criminology at the faculty of law at Heidelberg University and director of the Institute of Criminology before he took on the same positions at the faculty of law at Tübingen University. Since his retirement in the fall of 2011 he continues to act as senior professor at Tübingen.

Hans-Jürgen Kerner was Visiting Professor at the University of Beijing (Beida), Distinguished Visiting Professor at the University of Southampton (UK) and the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia/PA, USA, Distinguished Visiting Fellow at the University of Melbourne as well as International Visiting Fellow at the University of Cambridge (UK). Among his numerous memberships or functions in areas close to academia are the membership in the Conseil de Direction of the Société Internationale de Criminologie (SIC) Paris, where he acted as secretary (1980-1985), Vice President (1985-1990) and President (1990-1994) of the scientific commission. During this time he also planned and co-organized the International Criminological Congresses 1983 in Vienna, 1988 in Hamburg and 1993 in Budapest before he was elected President of the Société from 1995 to 1999, of which he is honorary president since 1999. From 2004 to 2007, *Kerner* was President-Elect, President and Past-President of the European Society of Criminology (ESC).

Hans-Jürgen Kerner, furthermore, heads the library research area Criminology of the library of Tübingen University as well as the bibliographical documentation system KrimDok. This clearly shows his special dedication to document and preserve the (not only) German literature on criminology. *Hans-Jürgen Kerner* remains head of the office of Kriminologische Gesellschaft (until 2007 the Neue Kriminologische Gesellschaft) of which he was the founding president from 1988 to 1990. Before that he was Chairman of the Gesellschaft für die gesamte Kriminologie 1986 to 1988. During this time many had the hope that he could unite the two perspectives existing in criminology. It was widely assumed that *Kerner* was the only person who could achieve this. That this attempt failed in the end is presumably the result of the hardening of positions which have had a significant effect on the current situation of German criminology.

Numerous other activities and honorary appointments reflect *Hans-Jürgen Kerner's* practical orientation. He is co-founder and chairman of the Deutsche Stiftung für Verbrechenverhütung und Straffälligenhilfe (German foundation for crime prevention and offender assistance), member of the research group on victim-offender-reconciliation of the universities of Bielefeld, Bremen, Heidelberg, Konstanz, Marburg and Tübingen and a corresponding member of the Kriminologische Zentralstelle des Bundes und der Länder (criminological research institute of the federal government and the state governments), of which he was head of the advisory board from 1986 to 1995. He is also member of the advisory board of the Kriminalistisches Institut des Bundeskriminalamts (criminological research institute at the federal bureau of criminal police) and of the international research group EUROGANG (Youth Groups and Gangs in Europe and the Americas).

Former memberships and work include, among others, the law branch of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (German research foundation) from 1998

to 2003 as well as from 2008 to 2011 (among others as elected main reviewer of funding proposals in the field of criminology). He was also co-founder and member of the Kriminologische Forschungsinstitut Niedersachsen (criminological research institute of Lower Saxony) in Hannover, national correspondent for the United Nations, Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Branch and long-term President of the DBH-Fachverband für Soziale Arbeit, Strafrecht und Kriminalpolitik (German professional association for probation and social work in the criminal justice system).

Hans-Jürgen Kerner was (as representative of Germany) member of the Criminological Scientific Council in the European Committee on Crime Problems of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg and Vice President of the Conseil de Direction de Centre International de Criminologie Clinique in Montreal. From 1987 to 1989 he was also a member of the German Federal Government's commission on violence as well as coordinator of its sub-committee on criminology. Noteworthy are *Hans-Jürgen Kerner's* special involvement in the two reports on security of the German government (2001 and 2006) where he – along with other colleagues – vehemently, but unfortunately unsuccessfully, advocated a continuation of these reports, which are so important for criminology and criminal policy. Since 1995, he has been a co-organizer and president of the Deutsche Präventionstag (the annual German congress on crime prevention).

Among the numerous honours he has received, the Bundesverdienstorden (Order of Merit of the Federal Republic of Germany) is especially worth pointing out. It was given to him for his long-standing involvement in probation, social work and offender assistance. Other honours include the following: In 1993, *Hans-Jürgen Kerner* received the Certificate of Honour and commemorative medal from the Republic of Hungary for the success of the 11th International Criminological Congress in Budapest. In 2002 he was awarded the Outstanding Contribution Award in International Scholarly Exchange by the [All-] China Society of Juvenile Delinquency Research and became its honorary member. In 2008, *Kerner* received the “Prix Émile Durkheim” of the International Society for Criminology (SIC/ISC) for his scientific lifetime achievements as well as for contributing to the social science understanding of crime and criminology. In the same year, the American Society of Criminology (ASC) honoured him with the Distinguished International Scholar Award for his contributions in the international cooperation of criminology in research, teaching and organisation of science.

Those who have had the pleasure of being his students or attending one of his talks know that, despite all these other activities, *Kerner* never lost sight of teaching. Thus, he was nominated by students in the national competition for the award of “Professor of the year” in 2006. *Kerner* not only took seriously his own teaching obligations in criminology, juvenile penal law and corrections, but also supported teaching in penal law and particularly criminal procedure

law. Examining numerous “minors” from the social and behavioural sciences earned him high recognition among non-criminologists wherever he taught.

His forty years of research have contributed to several key areas in our field. First and foremost is his interest in criminal careers, especially how a more severe drifting into delinquency can be prevented. This interest is most likely the result of his early time at the Institute of Criminology in Tübingen under *Hans Göppinger*, when the Tübinger Jungtäter-Vergleichsuntersuchung (developmental study on young offenders) was launched and later continued under his leadership. In related research on multiple offending, he dealt with the question of how delinquency can be prevented. This included the crucial problem of how official means of intervention can be designed in a way that they at least do not promote recidivism, and, if possible, contribute to the rehabilitation of offenders. Such studies on recidivism or evaluation research on intervention effects characterise *Kerner's* activities as much as the quest for and explanations of behavioural patterns and turning points in the life-course, pathways out of severe juvenile delinquency or desistance from criminal careers. He was always well aware that criminological findings on these issues are not only of particular scientific relevance but often difficult to implement within the political discourse. His work on victim-offender-reconciliation played just as important a role as the development of probation and offender assistance with regard to personnel and content as well as alternatives to punishment (e.g. like community service).

As his career progressed, *Kerner* added several other highly relevant themes of the day. Shortly after the German reunification, *Kerner* began to study the effects of social transition on crime in the East and the West. His current research covers violence against police officers, milieus of immigrants, “mobbing” at school and at work, offender-victim identity, the introduction of peace circles in Europe, security and feelings of security at universities as well as the “danger zone” of the internet. More recently, *Kerner* has worked on several different interdisciplinary projects which dealt with religion and value orientations of youths and the effects on their behaviour.

Since his work with homeless people in the 1960s, *Kerner* never lost his practical orientation. Quite the contrary. In the 1980s, he was responsible for a teaching programme “Social Training in Prison” in which students from different fields paid weekly visits to prisons in Heidelberg and Mannheim and came into contact with the everyday life of prisoners (with all the risks and side-effects such work entails). Thus, the programme combined teaching and research in practice. The project still exists in Heidelberg and since 2004, resp. 2010, also in Bochum and Münster.

His seven years in Tübingen in the wake of the events of 1968 and the personal experiences with his academic mentor may have molded *Hans-Jürgen Kerner* more than he knows, especially in his dealing with his collaborators in

Bielefeld, Hamburg, Heidelberg and Tübingen. He not only always had an open ear for their worries or needs, but he also became unpretentiously active himself (e.g. through suggestions for improvement) when it came to supporting younger scholars' efforts to complete their academic theses.

With this Festschrift, which will be presented to *Hans-Jürgen Kerner* on the occasion of his 70th birthday, 75 colleagues from Germany and abroad honour the work and the man who often put the interests of others before his own, be they students, collaborators, colleagues or prisoners. Here, his abilities in cooperating, communicating and mediating were particularly useful to him. The editors wish *Hans-Jürgen Kerner* all the best, and may he continue to help move criminology as a scientific discipline forward and enrich it with his thoughts. He should, however, also take the following quote by *Jean-Jacques Rousseau* to heart: "*The freedom of man does not lie in that he can do what he wants but in that he does not have to do what he does not want to*".

Bochum, Cambridge, Erlangen, Freiburg,
Münster and Tübingen in the fall of 2013.

The editors

Inhaltsverzeichnis

Vorwort	V
Foreword	XI

I. Kriminologie – *Criminology*

<i>Megan B. Augustyn, Terence P. Thornberry</i> Maltreatment and Subsequent Patterns of Substance Use	3
<i>Britta Bannenberg</i> Amoktäterinnen	19
<i>Klaus Boers</i> Soziale Disposition, Verurteilung und Inhaftierung in der Tübinger Jungtäter-Vergleichsuntersuchung	33
<i>Kai-D. Bussmann</i> Wettbewerbskriminalität	49
<i>Axel Dessecker, Rudolf Egg, Werner Sohn</i> Die Kriminologische Zentralstelle in Wiesbaden – Resümee und Ausblick	63
<i>Finn-Aage Esbensen, L. Thomas Winfree Jr.</i> Motivations for gang joining: Does context matter?	77
<i>Thomas Feltes</i> Kriminalitätsindices: Warum messen wir Kriminalität nicht anders?	91
<i>Gerd Ferdinand Kirchhoff</i> Beck's Risk Society – a challenge for traditional victimology?	105

<i>Karl-Ludwig Kunz</i> Zum Konzept der „Punitivität“ und seiner Entwicklung im internationalen Vergleich	113
<i>Erich Marks</i> Der Deutsche Präventionstag – eine Zwischenbilanz 1993–2013	127
<i>Heinz Müller-Dietz</i> Selbstmordattentate in literarischer Perspektive	143
<i>Frank Neubacher</i> Normalisierung im Geschlechterverhältnis Zur Entwicklung der Kriminalität von Mädchen und jungen Frauen	157
<i>Christian Pfeiffer, Dirk Baier</i> Christliche Religiosität und elterliche Gewalt Ein Vergleich der familialen Sozialisation von Katholiken, Protestanten und Angehörigen der evangelischen Freikirchen	171
<i>Karl-Heinz Reuband</i> Punitivität der Bürger in Ost- und Westdeutschland Ein empirischer Vergleich	191
<i>Heinz Schöch</i> Angewandte Kriminologie	207
<i>Hans-Dieter Schwind, Jan-Volker Schwind</i> (Gewalt-) Intensivtäter-Karrieren: Ursachen und polizeiliche Gegenstrategien	221
<i>Klaus Sessar</i> Vom Bösen (und vom Guten) Einige kriminologische Betrachtungen mit literarischer Unterstützung ..	237
<i>Jürgen Stock</i> OK-Forschung – Cui bono?	249
<i>Denis Szabo</i> Les «autorités invisibles»: les racines historiques des valeurs et de la culture en criminologie comparée	265

Noriyoshi Takemura

Complex Dynamic Transvoyage Criminology in Multiple Time
and Space Dimensions:
Paradigm change from ‘clockwork life course’ to ‘chaotic unstable
human itinerancy’ 275

Jan Van Dijk, Hossein Sarkeshikian

On the contrasting concepts of victimhood in Christian
and Islamic cultures 291

Kurt Weis

Gut gemeinte Grenzen:
Karriere, Kunst und Käfig in der Kriminologie 305

Per-Olof H. Wikström, Kyle Treiber

Towards an Analytical Criminology
A Situational Action Theory 319

II. Kriminalprävention und Kriminalpolitik – *Crime Prevention and Crime Policy*

Katalin Gönczöl

War on Crime or Community Crime Prevention? 333

Wolfgang Heinz

Was sollte der Strafgesetzgeber wissen wollen?
Oder: Worüber sollten dem Gesetzgeber aus den Kriminal- und
Strafrechtspflegestatistiken aktuelle und verlässliche Informationen
zur Verfügung stehen? 345

Dieter Hermann

Kommunale Kriminalprävention – Herausforderungen
der Postmoderne 359

Malcolm W. Klein

“Two Languages in European Street Gang Policies:
Using the Eurogang Program” 375

<i>Krzysztof Krajewski</i> Kann die Vollstreckung der Freiheitsstrafe im System der elektronischen Überwachung auf das Ausmaß der Gefängnispopulation und die Überbevölkerung von Strafanstalten in Polen Einfluss haben? . . .	385
<i>Ying-Chieh Lu</i> Die Schwierigkeiten bei der Abschaffung der Todesstrafe in Taiwan	403
<i>Bernd-Dieter Meier</i> Gut gemeint oder gut gemacht? Evaluation eines Projekts gegen Schulgewalt in Norddeutschland	415
<i>Norbert Nedopil</i> Die forensische Psychiatrie braucht kein neues Strafrechtssystem	429
<i>Becca Raffan Gowar, David P. Farrington</i> The Monetary Cost of Criminal Careers	441
<i>Dieter Rössner</i> Eckpunkte evidenzbasierter Kriminalprävention	457
<i>Bernd-Rüdiger Sonnen</i> Empfiehl sich ein Musterentwurf eines Landesresozialisierungsgesetzes (LResoG)?	471
<i>Wiebke Steffen</i> Prävention ist viel zu wichtig, als dass man sie der Polizei allein überlassen dürfte Überlegungen zur Bedeutung der Polizeilichen Kriminalprävention im Kontext der Kriminalprävention als gesamtgesellschaftlicher Aufgabe	485
<i>Franz Streng</i> Einstellungen zum Täter-Opfer-Ausgleich Hintergründe und Veränderungen in Zeiten zunehmender Punitivität . . .	499
<i>Lode Walgrave</i> On the relation between Criminology and Criminal Justice	517
<i>Rüdiger Wulf, Joachim Obergfell-Fuchs</i> Kriminalprävention an Orten Kriminologische Grundlagen und präventive Ansätze	531

III. Strafrecht und Jugendstrafrecht – *Penal Law and Juvenile Penal Law*

Frank Czerner

Die Schuldschwere-Feststellung in § 57a I Nr. 2 StGB als kumulative
Aufgabe von Schwurgericht und Vollstreckungsgericht
bei Strafrestaussatzung einer lebenslangen Freiheitsstrafe
wegen Mordes? 547

Frieder Dünkel, Bernd Geng

Neue entwicklungsbezogene Erkenntnisse des Jugendalters
Argumente für ein Jungtäterstrafrecht? 561

Ulrich Eisenberg

Zur Rolle der Sachverständigen im Verfahren gemäß §§ 7 Abs. 2,
81 a JGG, erörtert an Hand eines Einzelfalls 577

Arthur Hartmann

Täter-Opfer-Ausgleich in der Entwicklung 591

Arthur Kreuzer

Zur Beschneidungskontroverse
Recht und Religion im Konflikt? 605

Kristian Kübl

Die Tötungsdelikte – ein gesichertes Terrain des Strafrechts? 621

Helmut Kury, Mai Sato

Bewährungshilfe – Die Rolle der Freiwilligen
Ein Vergleich zwischen Deutschland und Japan 637

Lawrence W. Sherman, Heather M. Harris

Collateral Fatalities of Criminal Procedures:
How Criminology Could Transform the Moral Dimensions
of Criminal Law 651

Michael Tonry

Thinking about Punishment across Space and Time 661

<i>Gerson Trüg</i> Strafverzicht als Modifikation des staatlichen Strafanspruchs – ein Gedankenspiel?	675
---	-----

<i>Ulrich Weber</i> Der Fall des Paulo Gabriele im Lichte des deutschen Strafrechts	689
--	-----

IV. Strafverfahren – *Criminal Procedure*

<i>Monika Frommel</i> Begünstigen Opferschutzkampagnen Falschaussagen in Verfahren wegen sexueller Nötigung/Vergewaltigung?	697
---	-----

<i>Jörg-Martin Jehle</i> Selektion in europäischen Kriminaljustizsystemen am Beispiel der Sexualdelikte	711
---	-----

<i>Jörg Kinzig</i> Der Freispruch – eine Unbekannte des Kriminaljustizsystems	727
--	-----

<i>Hans-Heiner Kühne</i> Die Protokollierung von Absprachen	747
--	-----

<i>Bernhard Villmow, Alescha Lara Savinsky</i> Gesetzgeberische Intentionen und jugendstrafrechtliche Realität Eine Analyse von Untersuchungshaftentscheidungen gem. §§ 71–72a JGG bei 14-/15-Jährigen in Hamburg	759
--	-----

V. Strafvollzug – *Penal System*

<i>Heinz Cornel</i> Der Anteil der Strafrestaussetzungen an den Entlassungen aus deutschem Strafvollzug Entwicklungen und Ländervergleich	777
--	-----

<i>Dieter Dölling, Peter Fiedler, Anna-Sophia Wagner</i> Über Behandlungsprogramme im Strafvollzug	791
---	-----

Stephan Rixen

Die Würde des Strafgefangenen ist unantastbar –
auch im Staatshaftungsrecht?

Zur (verweigten) Geldentschädigung bei einer mit Art. 1 Abs. 1 GG
unvereinbaren Unterbringung von Strafgefangenen 803

Wolfgang Stelly, Jürgen Thomas

„Die Gefangenen werden immer schwieriger...“

Lebenslagen von Jugendstrafgefangenen in einer Langzeitperspektive ... 817

Michael Walter

Über Sanktionen im Jugendstrafvollzug 831

Veröffentlichungen von *Hans-Jürgen Kerner* 843

Autorenverzeichnis 893

I. Kriminologie – *Criminology*

Maltreatment and Subsequent Patterns of Substance Use

Megan B. Augustyn and Terence P. Thornberry

I. Introduction

Child maltreatment, which includes physical abuse, sexual abuse, and neglect, is a serious threat to child and adolescent health and has been linked to a host of other negative consequences (*Kempe et al.* 1962). In addition to the immediate physical and psychological trauma that maltreatment causes to the victim, maltreatment has been associated with such outcomes as delinquency, violence, risky sex behaviors, eating disorders, depression, internalizing problems, and school disengagement (*Gilbert et al.* 2009).

For a number of reasons maltreatment is also associated with increased involvement in drug use and abuse. Drug use may provide temporary emotional relief from an abusive environment, it may be used as a form of self-medication to alleviate the stress associated with the maltreatment, it may reduce feelings of isolation if the individual is embedded in drug-using social networks, or it may be a form of self-destructive behavior that emerges as a response to the trauma of maltreatment (*Ireland & Widom* 1994). Despite these and other reasons for expecting an association between maltreatment and drug use, the empirical literature that has examined this issue provides somewhat mixed results.

Many studies do find that maltreatment increases later drug use during adolescence, early adulthood, or both (*Kaplan et al.* 1998; *Molnar et al.* 2001; *Thornberry et al.* 2001; *Widom & Maxfield* 2001). In contrast, several studies have found that maltreatment is not significantly related to later drug use (*Dembo et al.* 1990; *Goldston et al.* 1989; *Harrison et al.* 1989; *Widom et al.* 1999). Still other studies report mixed results. For example, *Ireland and Widom* (1994) found that childhood maltreatment was a significant predictor of arrests for drug-related offenses during adulthood but not during adolescence. There are several reasons why the empirical findings regarding the association between maltreatment and drug use may be inconsistent. This study explores three of them.

First, maltreatment may affect drug use differently for males and females, and previous studies have used varying samples: all males, all females, and a combination. These studies do not account for how gender differences may condition the relationship between maltreatment and substance use. For instance, males and females are exposed to different types and severity of maltreatment, with females more likely to be victims of sexual abuse than males (United States Department of Health and Human Services 2012). Girls may be more vulnerable to stressors, such as maltreatment, and respond to strains in different ways than boys. Males tend to use external behavioral coping mechanisms whereas females are more likely to use internal coping mechanisms (e.g. *Kessler & McLeod 1984; Agnew 2006*). Given these gender differences in maltreatment, it is hardly surprising that findings about the impact of maltreatment on drug use vary somewhat by gender. In general, it appears that maltreatment has a somewhat greater impact on drug use for females than it does for males (see *Widom et al. 2006* for a review).

A second issue concerns the heterogeneity that exists within the drug-using population. Some individuals merely dabble in occasional use or experiment here and there, while others use drugs with high frequency and/or over long periods of the life course. Earlier maltreatment may be related to more frequent and chronic drug use but not to sporadic or occasional use. Yet most prior studies use simple, global measures of drug use such as one-time indicator of drug use or lifetime prevalence measures. As a result, the failure to account for the heterogeneity may blur the association between maltreatment and drug use.

Third, previous studies regarding the consequences of maltreatment have generally not examined developmentally-specific indicators that reflect when in the person's life course the victimization occurred. Although *Mersky et al. (2012)* report similar effects of adolescent and childhood-limited maltreatment on criminal offending, several other studies have found that adolescent maltreatment has a stronger and more pervasive impact on a variety of outcomes such as anti-social behavior, drug use, internalizing problems, and risky sex behaviors compared to childhood-limited maltreatment (*Eckenrode et al. 2001; Jonson-Reid & Barth 2000; Stewart et al. 2008; Thornberry et al. 2010*). Therefore, it appears the timing of abuse in the life course may be important in the understanding of the relationship between maltreatment and drug use.

The present paper addresses these issues in an effort to provide a more nuanced assessment of the relationship between maltreatment and subsequent drug use. First, to address heterogeneity we estimate trajectories of use from adolescence through early adulthood, from ages 15 to 23, using semi-parametric group-based trajectory models. This approach allows us to analyze the prevalence of drug use at each point in time over the observed portion of the life course and groups individuals together based on similar patterns of behavior.

We then examine the ability of child maltreatment to predict membership in these different trajectory groups. To address whether or not the timing of abuse has any effect on patterns of substance use, we examine the impact of developmentally-specific measures of maltreatment on trajectory group membership. Specifically, we examine a global measure of maltreatment victimization as well as childhood-limited maltreatment and adolescent maltreatment. Finally, we account for potential heterogeneity in risk by estimating the relationship between maltreatment and each trajectory group, first for the total sample and then for males and females separately.

II. Data and Methods

1. Data

The data come from the Rochester Youth Development Study (RYDS), a multi-wave panel study analyzing the development of delinquency and drug use in a high-risk sample of adolescents ($n=1,000$). Data collection began in 1988 when members of the sample were either in 7th or 8th grade (average age 14). A total of 14 waves of data have been collected during three phases of data collection. The first phase covered adolescence, from 14 to 18 years of age. During Phase 1, each respondent was interviewed nine times (waves 1–9) at six month intervals. Phase 2 began after a 2.5 year gap in data collection. The respondents were interviewed at three annual intervals (average age 21–23). Phase 3, waves 13 and 14, consists of respondent interviews at age 29 and 31 years of age. During this time, official data were also collected from schools, the police and social services.

2. Sample

The RYDS sample was designed to oversample youth who were at a high risk for serious delinquency and drug use because the baseline rates for these behaviors are relatively low (*Elliott et al.* 1989; *Wolfgang et al.* 1987). The target population was limited to seventh and eighth-grade students in the public school system of Rochester, New York, a city that has a diverse population and a high crime rate. The sample was then stratified on two dimensions. First, males were oversampled (75 % versus 25 %) because they are more likely than females to be chronic offenders and engage in serious forms of delinquency (*Blumstein et al.* 1986). Second, students from areas of the city where large populations of adult offenders lived were oversampled on the premise that youth residing in these areas are at a greater risk for offending. Each census tract in Rochester was assigned a resident arrest rate reflecting the proportion of the total population

living in that tract that was arrested by the Rochester police in 1986; subjects were oversampled proportionate to the rate of offenders living in a tract. Although attrition is a potential issue for any longitudinal data, attrition has been relatively low in the RYDS data (Krohn & Thornberry 1999) and advances in statistical modeling enable us to classify all RYDS participants into trajectory groups based on available data regarding drug use.

3. Measurement

a) Substance Use

The measure of substance use is taken from queries at each interview regarding RYDS participants' drug use. Each respondent was asked whether or not they used the following substances since the last interview: marijuana; LSD, acid or cubes; cocaine; crack; heroin or smack; LSD; acid; angel dust or PCP; tranquilizers; downers; uppers; or some other inhalant. Our measure of substance use is a binary indicator of drug use indicating whether or not the RYDS respondent used any drugs since the last interview. As a result, we have a prevalence measure of substance use from wave 1 through wave 12 of data collection.

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics

	Full Sample (N= 1,000)	Males Only (N = 729)	Females Only (N=271)
	Mean	Mean	Mean
Male	0.729	–	–
Any Maltreatment	0.198	0.170	0.273
Childhood Maltreatment	0.144	0.140	0.155
Adolescent Maltreatment	0.082	0.053	0.159
Drug Use Wave 1	0.077	0.073	0.089
Drug Use Wave 2	0.110	0.107	0.118
Drug Use Wave 3	0.118	0.109	0.141
Drug Use Wave 4	0.112	0.110	0.119
Drug Use Wave 5	0.110	0.118	0.087
Drug Use Wave 6	0.120	0.128	0.098
Drug Use Wave 7	0.121	0.126	0.110
Drug Use Wave 8	0.186	0.193	0.166
Drug Use Wave 9	0.217	0.223	0.201
Drug Use Wave 10	0.370	0.404	0.282
Drug Use Wave 11	0.364	0.400	0.272
Drug Use Wave 12	0.355	0.407	0.224

b) Maltreatment Victimization

We employ three different measures of maltreatment victimization in this analysis. The measures are based on data from Child Protective Services records from the Monroe County Department of Social Services, the county of residence for all participants at the start of the study. Access was only granted for substantiated incidents of maltreatment where there was sufficient evidence to consider the case valid (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services 2012). Information was collected regarding all incidents from birth through the age of 17 in which the study participant was a victim of either neglect, physical abuse, emotional abuse, sexual abuse or a combination of two or more of the different types of maltreatment.¹ Our first measure of maltreatment focuses on whether or not the respondent was ever a victim of *maltreatment*. This binary variable indicates whether or not the respondent had at least one substantiated case of maltreatment from birth through the age of 17. Within the sample, 19.8% of respondents were a victim of maltreatment. We also include two additional risk factors for drug use related to the timing of maltreatment. *Childhood maltreatment* denotes whether or not the RYDS participant was a victim of abuse from birth through the age of 11. *Adolescent maltreatment* indicates whether or not a RYDS subject experienced a substantiated act of maltreatment from age 12 to 17. A little over 14% of RYDS participants were victims of maltreatment during childhood and 8.2% of our sample experienced at least one substantiated act of maltreatment during adolescence.²

4. Analytic Plan

To explore the heterogeneity in substance use among the sample population, we employ semi-parametric group-based modeling (SGM), developed by Nagin and colleagues (Jones *et al.* 2001; Nagin 1999; Nagin & Land 1993). This method allows for the longitudinal modeling of behavior and enables the identification of groups of individuals whose patterns of drug use are similar through adolescence and emerging adulthood. The nature of our measure of substance use necessitates the use of the logit distribution in the modeling process.³ With regard to model selection, we employ three different measures of fit and classification to select the best models representing patterns of drug

¹ The timing of the adolescent maltreatment precedes our trajectories of substance use for all but 6 cases. When these six cases are dropped from the analyses, the results remain the same.

² A small group were maltreated in both childhood and adolescence but the number is too small to support separate analysis.

³ We attempted to model trajectories of substance use with an incidence measure using the Poisson process. However, the wide range of substance use among the sample and the extreme right-skew of the distribution prevented convergence.

use within our sample. First, we verify the significance of the covariate estimates (intercept-only [0], linear [1], quadratic [2] and cubic [3]) at an alpha level of .05. Second, we use the Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC), which is calculated from the log-likelihood of the fitted model and the associated penalties for the number of parameters estimated and cases included in the analysis. The third method of fit involves the posterior probability of group assignment, the average probability of being assigned to each group given group assignment. Mean posterior probability scores of 0.7 and higher for each group are deemed to be acceptable indicators of group membership and predictive ability by the SGM model (Roeder *et al.* 1999). With regard to missing data, SGM makes full use of available data when determining parameter estimates and group membership; all subjects who have at least two data points are included in the determination of parameter estimates and standard errors. As a result, all 1,000 RYDS respondents are classified according to SGM. Finally, we run the trajectories by gender ($N = 729$ for males, $N = 271$ for females) because grouping males and females together may mask important developmental differences and patterns of behavior.⁴

III. Results

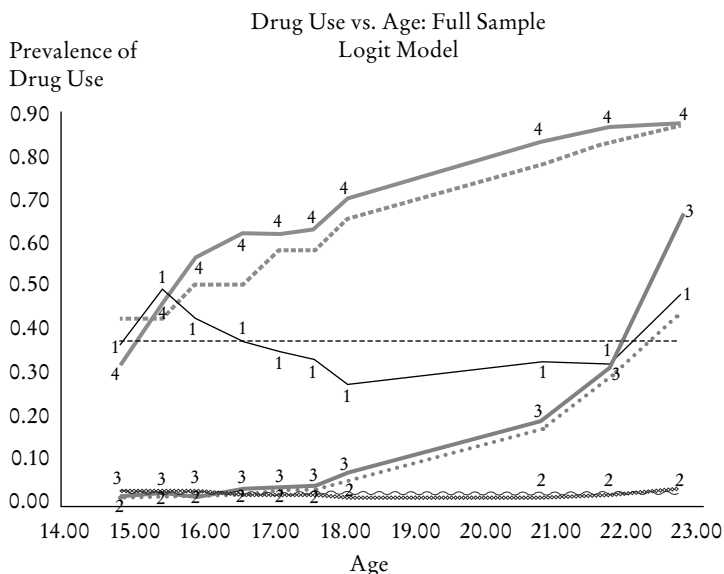
1. Identification of Trajectories

Using SGM, we tested one-group to five-group models of trajectories of the prevalence of substance use spanning ages 15 to 23 for the full sample, the male sample and the female sample.⁵ Based on quality of fit criteria, a four-group model (order 0-0-1-2) was selected as the best-fitting model representing patterns of the prevalence of substance use over time for the full sample. Figure 1 presents the substance use trajectories spanning adolescence to early adulthood for the full sample. The four trajectory groups of substance use are labeled as follows: 1) Moderate Users (13.2%); 2) Non-users (45.4%); 3) Late-starters (31.7%); and 4) High-increasing Users (9.7%).

⁴ Drug use varies by gender with males generally reporting higher prevalence rates and frequency of use (Ensminger *et al.* 1982; Johnston *et al.* 2013; Kandel & Logan 1984).

⁵ We analyze trajectories of substance use beginning with the age of 15 because most of the maltreatment sample had no incidents of maltreatment after the age of 14; therefore, we can more accurately account for the effects of maltreatment on subsequent drug use.

Figure 1: Trajectories of Drug Use, Full Sample (N = 1,000)



Group 1: Moderate Users (13.2%) Group 3: Late-Starters (31.7%)
 Group 2: Non-Users (45.4%) Group 4: High Increasing Users (9.7%)

Using the same evaluation criterion, we found that a three-group model (order 0-1-2) best represented the patterns of substance use among males in the RYDS sample. Figure 2 portrays the trajectories of substance use for the male sample. The three trajectory groups are labeled in the following way: 1) Non-users (38.1%); 2) Late-starters (40.4%); and 3) High Increasing Users (21.5%). A three-group model (1-1-1) best represented the prevalence of substance use among females from adolescence to early adulthood. Figure 3 depicts the trajectories of substance use among the female sample, and the groups are labeled as follows: 1) High Increasing Users (21.2%); 2) Late-starters (12.5%); 3) Non-users (66.3%). Worthy of note is the fact that non-users comprised a larger proportion of the female sample (66.3%) compared to the male sample (38.1%). In addition, males were almost as likely to be classified as late-starters as they were high increasing users, 40.4% and 38.1% respectively, whereas females were almost two times more likely to be classified as high increasing users than late-starters, 21.2% versus 12.5%, respectively.

Figure 2: Trajectories of Drug Use, Males Only (N = 729)

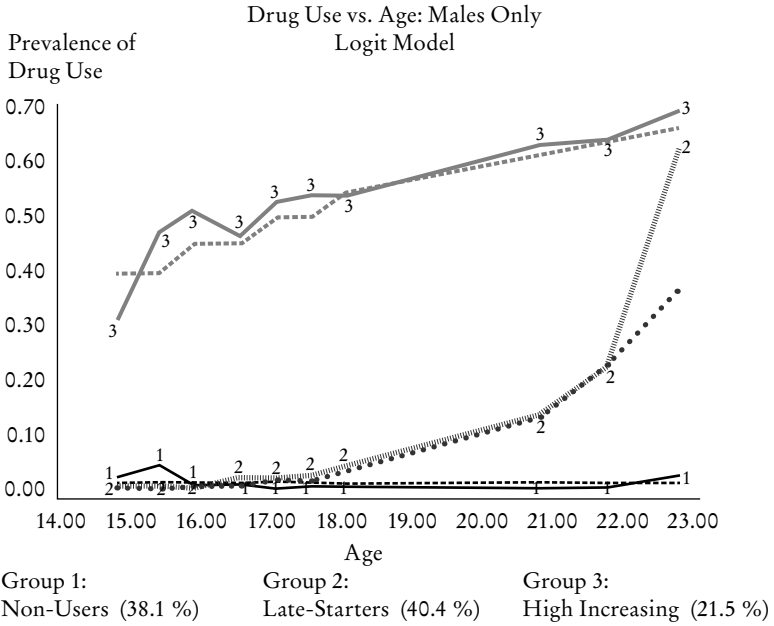
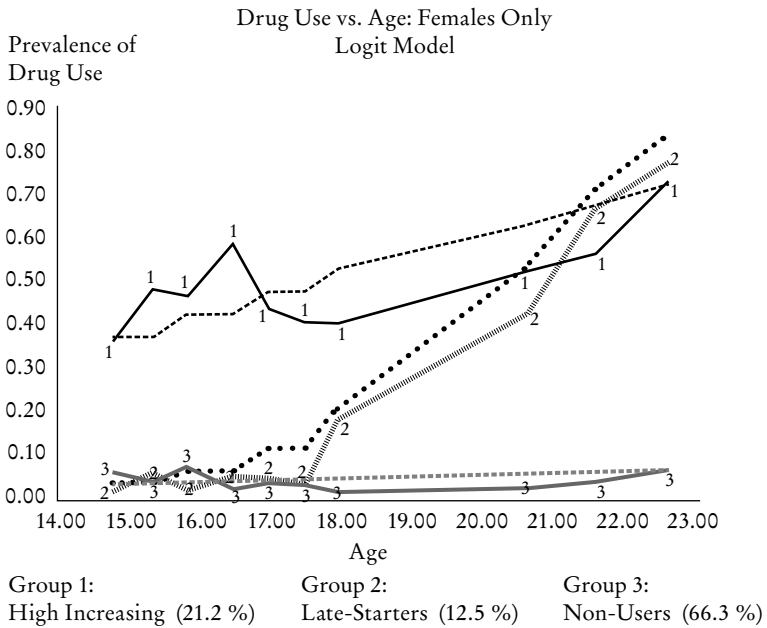


Figure 3: Trajectories of Substance Use, Females Only (N = 271)



2. Type of Maltreatment as a Risk Factor for Patterns of Drug Use

For each of the trajectory models, we add three different measures of maltreatment, separately, to determine what effect, if any, maltreatment and the timing of maltreatment has on one's subsequent pattern of drug use. Table 2 presents the results for the full sample of RYDS participants. These results can be interpreted in a manner similar to multinomial logistic regression with group 1 (moderate users) serving as the reference group. For the full sample, any maltreatment significantly decreases the log odds of a respondent being classified in the non-user group compared to the moderate user group. In other words, maltreatment is associated with a greater likelihood of being a moderate drug user. Analyses examining the risk of child maltreatment on drug use do not reveal that childhood maltreatment is a risk factor for subsequent patterns of drug use during adolescence and early adulthood. Interestingly, maltreatment during adolescence significantly decreases the log odds that a respondent will be classified as a non-user as well as a late-starter compared to a moderate user.

Subsequent analyses were also performed in which the reference group was changed in order to determine whether or not each of the three indicators of maltreatment differentiates classification between the non-user group, the late-starter group and the high-increasing user group. These analyses reveal that any maltreatment and any child maltreatment decrease the log odds of being classified as a non-user (group 2) compared to a late-starter (group 3) and a high increasing user (group 4).

Table 3 displays the results of analyses examining the relationship between each type of maltreatment and group membership among males. In this case, non-users (group 1) serve as the reference group. Among males, a history of maltreatment does not significantly differentiate between classification as a non-user and a late-starter; however, those respondents who were maltreated as an adolescent are more likely to be classified as a high increasing user than a non-user. The story is similar with respect to the risk of child maltreatment on group membership. Being maltreated during childhood does not affect the log odds of being classified as a late-starter compared to a non-user, but it does increase the log odds of being classified as a high increasing user compared to a non-user. Finally, maltreatment during adolescence increases the log likelihood of being classified as a high increasing user compared to a non-user and increases the log likelihood of being a high increasing user compared to late-starter.⁶

⁶ This analysis was done by changing the reference group to late-starters (group 2).

Table 2: Effects of Maltreatment on Drug Use Trajectory Membership (N = 1,000)

	Estimate	Standard Error	Difference Between Groups
Group 2: Non-Users			
Any Maltreatment	-0.753*	0.390	b, c
Childhood Maltreatment	-0.324	0.428	b, c
Adolescent Maltreatment	-1.443**	0.472	–
Group 3: Late-Starters			
Any Maltreatment	-0.082	0.398	a
Childhood Maltreatment	0.295	0.440	a
Adolescent Maltreatment	-0.839*	0.469	–
Group 4: High Increasing			
Any Maltreatment	0.443	0.518	a
Childhood Maltreatment	0.896	0.608	a
Adolescent Maltreatment	-0.634	1.052	–

Reference Group is group 1 (Moderate Users)

* Significantly different from group 1 (moderate users) at $p < .05$

** Significantly different from group 1 (moderate users) at $p < .01$

^a Estimate is significantly different from estimate of Group 2 (non-users) at $p < .05$

^b Estimate is significantly different from estimate of Group 3 (late-starters) at $p < .05$

^c Estimate is significantly different from estimate of Group 4 (high increasing) at $p < .05$

Finally, we turn to the female sample (Table 4); for these analyses, high increasing users (group 1) serves as the reference group. Any instance of maltreatment does not differentiate between classification in the late-starter group compared to the high increasing group, but a substantiated case of maltreatment does decrease the log likelihood of being classified in the non-user group compared to the high-increasing group. In other words, a person is less likely to be a non-user than a high increasing user if he or she experienced an incident of maltreatment. We find the same pattern of results regarding the risk of childhood maltreatment and adolescent maltreatment. While childhood maltreatment and adolescent maltreatment do not differentiate between membership in the late-starter group compared to the high-increasing group, each respective risk factor of maltreatment decreases the log likelihood that a respondent is classified as a non-user compared to a high increasing user. Therefore, abuse during childhood or adolescence decreases the likelihood that a respondent does not use drugs. Subsequent

Table 3: Effects of Maltreatment on Drug Use Trajectory Membership, Males Only (N = 729)

	Estimate	Standard Error	Difference Between Groups
Group 2: Late-Starters			
Any Maltreatment	0.601	0.432	-
Childhood Maltreatment	0.435	0.441	-
Adolescent Maltreatment	0.603	0.751	b
Group 3: High Increasing			
Any Maltreatment	1.044**	0.372	-
Childhood Maltreatment	0.669*	0.385	-
Adolescent Maltreatment	1.261*	0.603	a

Reference Group is group 1 (Non-Users)

* Significantly different from group 1 (non-users) at $p < .05$

** Significantly different from group 1 (non-users) at $p < .01$

^a Estimate is significantly different from estimate of Group 2 (late-starters) at $p < .05$

^b Estimate is significantly different from estimate of Group 3 (high increasers) at $p < .05$

Table 4: Effects of Maltreatment on Drug Use Trajectory Membership, Females Only (N = 271)

	Estimate	Standard Error	Difference Between Groups
Group 2: Late-Starters			
Any Maltreatment	-0.072	0.708	-
Childhood Maltreatment	0.396	0.853	b
Adolescent Maltreatment	-0.158	0.876	-
Group 3: Non-Users			
Any Maltreatment ^b	-0.881*	0.425	-
Childhood Maltreatment	-0.935*	0.518	a
Adolescent Maltreatment	-0.999*	0.493	-

Reference Group is group 1 (High Increasing)

* Significantly different from group 1 (high increasing) at $p < .05$

** Significantly different from group 1 (high increasing) at $p < .01$

^a Estimate is significantly different from estimate of Group 2 (late-starters) at $p < .05$

^b Estimate is significantly different from estimate of Group 3 (non-users) at $p < .05$

analyses also reveal that childhood maltreatment increases the log likelihood of being classified as a late-starter compared to a non-user.⁷

IV. Discussion and Conclusion

We began by outlining three issues that have hampered the understanding of the relationship between child maltreatment and subsequent drug use: failure to acknowledge heterogeneity in patterns of substance use; the differential impact of the timing of child maltreatment on drug use; and gender differences in substance use. We believe that we have overcome these limitations by employing SGM models to explore the relationship between three different indicators of child maltreatment across gender. Two main findings guide our discussion and we believe add to the literature regarding the risk of maltreatment on drug use.

First, our use of trajectory models to estimate patterns of drug use confirms that there are varying patterns of drug use spanning adolescence to early adulthood. We found a group of non-drug users and continuous users over time. There is also ample evidence to suggest that there is another type of drug user, those who begin to use drugs towards the end of adolescence and early adulthood. The use of global or singular point-in-time measures of drug use would fail to differentiate between the continuous users and these delayed starters, which is troublesome in many respects. Important to this research is the fact that child maltreatment seems to be a stronger risk factor for more chronic drug use but does not serve as a major risk factor for drug use that begins during late adolescence or early adulthood.

Our investigation of heterogeneity in substance use over time also reveals some interesting patterns across gender. Although the overall patterns of drug use appears to be similar for males and females, the prevalence rates of these different patterns of drug use differ substantially by gender. About 20% of both male and female respondents were classified in the high increasing user group, but the most prominent form of drug use among males tends to be a delayed entry into drug use. Females, on the other hand, are more likely to be more continuous users over time. The finding that males are more likely to begin drug use later during adolescence and at the beginning of adulthood helps to explain why males have overall higher prevalence rates of drug use compared to females (*Johnston et al.* 2012). This finding also opens the door for other questions such as why late onset of drug use is so much more prominent among males. Do males experience more risk factors for substance use during later adolescence

⁷ This analysis was done by switching the reference group in the trajectory models so that additional comparisons of the risk of maltreatment on group membership could be examined.

compared to females? Do females experience more protective factors for drug use at this time?

This research also adds to the growing literature demonstrating that the effect of maltreatment on antisocial behavior, and more specifically drug use, varies by the timing of maltreatment in the life course. All three of our indicators of maltreatment reveal that child abuse is a risk factor for drug use in that it differentiates between non-users and high increasing users. In essence, maltreatment increases the likelihood of more chronic drug use during adolescence and early adulthood. However, there is much more nuance to this relationship, especially when we examine how the timing of abuse affects drug use across gender. Specifically, the risk of delayed drug use varies by the timing of abuse across gender. We draw upon General Strain Theory to help us to account for these varying responses. For males, adolescent maltreatment decreases the likelihood of delayed drug use. This seems to suggest that males employ coping mechanisms other than drug use when they encounter abusive situations during adolescence. This would be in line with research that suggests males are more likely to respond to strains with anger and violent behavior (*Broidy & Agnew 1997*). Their rearing also promotes this differential response due to socialization experiences that promote masculinity, toughness and independence (*Agnew 2006*). For females, maltreatment during childhood increases the likelihood of a delayed initiation into drug use during late adolescence and early adulthood. There are several possibilities for why females have this delayed negative reaction to abuse. First, victims of abuse during childhood may not be fully aware that the abusive environment is not normal and the trauma associated with the abuse is delayed until there is a more complete understanding of their victimization. This is especially relevant in the case of sexual abuse, with many victims unaware that what they are experiencing is in fact abuse and not some form of a "special relationship" (*Widom & Morris 1997*). In addition, females may be more inclined to "get sad and depressed" and turn to self-medication in the form of drug use to deal with this depressive state (*Mirowsky & Ross 1995*, p. 451 as cited by *Broidy & Agnew 1997*). Or perhaps they are aware of the abusive nature of their environment but are more sheltered by the family from acting out in response to it until later in adolescence. These findings also buttress our argument that differentiating between late-starters and more chronic drug users is worthwhile given that risk factors for drug use may have differential effects on patterns of substance use.

This research has demonstrated that it is important to acknowledge both the heterogeneity in drug use and in the timing of maltreatment across the life course if we want to fully identify the relationship between the two behaviors. That being said, our work does have some limitations that hamper our ability to generalize the results. Our sample is from one city and age cohort in the north-eastern United States. Subsequent work should continue to examine patterns of

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