Youth-Police Relations in Multi-Ethnic Cities : A study of police encounters and attitudes toward the police in Germany and France

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A study of police encounters and attitudes
toward the police in Germany and France

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Abstract

In recent history, various European countries, such as France, have been the scene of recurring violent youth riots targeting the police. Not all countries have, however, been equally affected by the phenomenon. Some countries, such as Germany, have been spared by such large-scale youth riots.

Why do some countries witness greater tensions between young people and the police than others? This book aims to understand this discrepancy by shedding light on how young people perceive, experience and relate to the police.

Based on an original data set, it investigates the relationship between young people and the police in four cities in Germany and France that present similar structural characteristics, such as their size and ethno-cultural diversity.

The relationship is examined in more detail by means of three aspects: young people's frequency and type of police encounters, their attitudes toward and their willingness to cooperate with the police. The book addresses two main questions:

1. Across countries, are there any common predictors for positive relations between young people and the police?

2. Within countries, is there evidence for profiling practices targeting ethnic and disadvantaged minority juveniles? Which consequences do experiences with institutional discrimination have on young people's perceptions of and their propensity to cooperate with the police?

The book tests the influence of a variety of predictors on the type and frequency of young people's encounters with as well as their attitudes toward the police. In addition to ethnicity and gender, the analyses consider the possible influence of social and behavioral variables, such as social status and experiences with delinquency, but also prior encounters with the police and neighborhood deprivation.

From a theoretical perspective, the book is mainly based on work examining the preconditions of police legitimacy and the consequences of a lack thereof on the citizens' willingness to act in abidance with the law.

The findings suggest that, overall, in both Germany and France, similar predictors shape the relationships between young people and the police. Social status, religious values and norms, identification with the host society as well as prior experiences with crime and the criminal milieu play important roles. There are, however, striking differences between the two countries, too.

In Germany, on average, young people with a migration background are checked by the police about as often as those of German descent. Attitudes toward the police are,

with few exceptions, consistently positive across gender, age and ethnic backgrounds.

In France, the results indicate systematic discrimination of young people of a North African origin by the police. Compared to young people of French descent, the chance of experiencing a "stop-and-search" police encounter is more than twice as high. Finally, the attitudes of young people of North African origin toward the police are significantly worse than those of other young people in France.

Zusammenfassung

Zahlreiche Städte Europas wurden in der Vergangenheit Schauplätze wiederkehrender Jugendkrawalle. Im Besonderen verdeutlichten die Unruhen in den französischen „banlieues" im Jahre 2005, in welchem Spannungsverhältnis die dortigen Jugendlichen zur Polizei stehen. Die Unruhen in Frankreich haben mit denjenigen in anderen europäischen Städten gemeinsam, dass es sich dabei oft um männliche Jugendliche mit Migrationshintergrund handelt, welche sich – unter anderem – gegen die Polizei auflehnen. Länder wie Frankreich berichten von besonders gewaltsamen Jugendkrawallen, in anderen scheinen die Unruhen aber nicht die gleiche Intensität zu erreichen. Dieser Umstand wirft Fragen auf.

Im Allgemeinen gilt es dabei zu verstehen, wie sich das Verhältnis junger Menschen zur Polizei in Städten definiert sowie warum es in manchen Ländern zu Spannungen und gewaltsamen Revolten kommt und in anderen nicht.

Im Besonderen interessiert, ob gewisse polizeiliche Handlungspraktiken, beispielsweise routinemäßig durchgeführte Identitätskontrollen, von jungen Menschen mit Migrationshintergrund als diskriminierend empfunden werden und Konsequenzen für deren Einstellung und Kooperation mit der Polizei haben.

Obwohl sich schon einige Arbeiten mit dem Verhältnis junger Menschen zur Polizei auseinandergesetzt haben, fehlt es bis anhin an einer umfassenden internationalen Analyse, welche sowohl Einflussfaktoren auf individueller Ebene als auch kontextuelle Elemente gebührend berücksichtigt.

Beruhend auf den Ergebnissen einer großangelegten Schülerbefragung untersucht dieses Dissertationsprojekt das Verhältnis zwischen Jugendlichen und der Polizei in zwei vergleichbar gepaarten Städten, jeweils in Deutschland (Köln und Mannheim) und in Frankreich (Lyon und Grenoble). Dieser Zusammenhang wird anhand zweier Aspekte näher beleuchtet: jenes der Polizeikontakte junger Menschen und jenes ihrer Einstellungen zur Polizei.

Zwei Fragestellungen stehen dabei im Zentrum:

1. *Mikroebene:* Gibt es länderübergreifende Gemeinsamkeiten im Verhältnis zwischen Jugendlichen und der Polizei?

2. *Makroebene:* Wie bedeutend sind die Unterschiede im Verhältnis zwischen Jugendlichen und der Polizei in Deutschland und in Frankreich?

Diese Arbeit geht davon aus, dass eine Vielzahl von Prädiktoren die Art und Häufigkeit des Kontakts sowie die Einstellung junger Menschen zur Polizei beeinflussen. Neben der ethnischen Herkunft der Jugendlichen berücksichtigen die Analysen den möglichen Einfluss weiterer sozialer und demografischer Merkmale wie Geschlecht,

Alter und gesellschaftlicher Status. Da das Verhalten der Jugendlichen – und besonders ihre Erfahrungen mit der eigenen Delinquenz oder derjenigen ihrer Freunde – sowohl die Kontrollhäufigkeit als auch die Einstellung zur Polizei beeinträchtigen kann, sind diese Prädiktoren in der statistischen Modellierung berücksichtigt worden. Gerade die Einstellung zur Polizei ist möglicherweise durch das jeweilige soziale und kulturelle Umfeld geprägt. Daher wird in dieser Arbeit der Einfluss der Variablen „ausgeprägte Religiosität" und „mangelnde Integration" analysiert.

Aus theoretischer Perspektive basiert diese Arbeit unter anderem auf *Tom R. Tylers* (2004) Überlegungen zu den Voraussetzungen polizeilicher Legitimität und den Auswirkungen einer fehlenden Legitimität auf die Kooperationsbereitschaft der Bürger. Im Weiteren spielt die Konflikttheorie (u.a. *Buckler et al.* 2008) eine wichtige Rolle, insbesondere als Erklärungsmodell zu denkbaren polizeilichen Diskriminierungspraktiken und deren Folgen.

Neben weitgehender Übereinstimmung zeigen sich auch bedeutende Unterschiede im Verhältnis zwischen Polizei und Jugendlichen in Deutschland und Frankreich. Sowohl in Frankreich als auch in Deutschland spielen der soziale und der kulturelle Hintergrund der Jugendlichen, ihre religiösen Wert- und Normvorstellungen sowie die Identifizierung mit der Gesellschaft, in der sie leben, eine wichtige Rolle. Jedoch wird ihre Wirkung auf die Wahrscheinlichkeit eines Polizeikontaktes, auf die Einstellung zur Polizei und die Bereitschaft, mit ihr zu kooperieren, in vielen Analysen durch andere Variablen vermittelt (zum Beispiel: persönliche Einstellung und Erfahrung mit der Begehung von Straftaten; Einstellung zur Delinquenz).

In Frankreich und Deutschland scheinen Erfahrungen mit Kriminalität und dem kriminellen Milieu sowie die erhöhte Bereitschaft, Straftaten zu begehen, das Verhältnis zwischen Jugendlichen und der Polizei maßgeblich zu beeinflussen. Delinquente Jugendliche oder solche, die in ihrem Umfeld eine hohe Bereitschaft zur Begehung von Straftaten aufweisen und einen „risikoreichen" Lebensstil pflegen, haben im Durchschnitt häufiger Kontakt zur Polizei. Ihre Einstellung zur Polizei ist jeweils negativer im Vergleich zu Jugendlichen, die sich „normkonform" verhalten.

Die Ergebnisse der Studie bestätigen zudem, dass sich ein wiederholter Polizei-initiierter Kontakt negativ auf die Einstellung Jugendlicher zur Polizei auswirkt. Jugendliche, welche besonders häufig verdachtsabhängigen wie auch -unabhängigen Kontrollen der Polizei ausgesetzt sind, zu denen auch die „Stop-and-search"-Polizeikontakte gehören, sind der Polizei gegenüber kritisch eingestellt.

Ein Teil dieser Arbeit beschäftigt sich mit der Bereitschaft junger Menschen, Selbstjustiz zu üben. Diese Analysen beruhen aber nur auf den Daten aus Deutschland; im französischen Fragebogen ist diese Fragestellung nicht aufgeführt.

Die Ergebnisse dieser Untersuchung zeigen eine positive Korrelation zwischen Einstellung zur Polizei und entsprechender Kooperationsbereitschaft. Umgekehrt neigen Jugendliche, die den Eindruck haben, dass Polizeiorgane sich im Umgang mit

den Bürgern respektlos und unfair verhalten, zu alternativen Konfliktlösungsstrategien und sind eher bereit, Selbstjustiz zu üben.

Wie oben erwähnt, werden trotz vieler Parallelen auch bedeutende Unterschiede im Verhältnis zwischen Polizei und Jugendlichen in Deutschland und Frankreich ersichtlich. Sie betreffen vor allem den Einfluss eines Migrationshintergrundes auf die Häufigkeit der Polizeikontakte und die Einstellung zur Polizei. In Deutschland werden Jugendliche mit Migrationshintergrund unter Berücksichtigung relevanter Prädiktoren im Durchschnitt ebenso oft von der Polizei kontrolliert wie Jugendliche deutscher Herkunft. Die Einstellung zur Polizei ist, von wenigen Ausnahmen abgesehen, bei Jugendlichen mit und ohne Migrationshintergrund durchweg positiv.

In Frankreich deuten die Ergebnisse auf eine systematische Diskriminierung Jugendlicher nordafrikanischen Ursprungs seitens der Polizei hin. Im Vergleich zu jungen Menschen französischer Herkunft – und unter Berücksichtigung relevanter Prädiktoren – liegen die Chancen eines „Stop-and-search"-Polizeikontakts bei männlichen Jugendlichen maghrebinischen Ursprungs mehr als doppelt so hoch. Deren Einstellung gegenüber der Polizei ist in Frankreich signifikant schlechter als diejenige der übrigen jungen Menschen (französischer sowie anderer ausländischer Herkunft).

Zusammenfassend bestätigen die Ergebnisse dieser Studie, dass Jugendliche multiethnischer oder multikultureller Herkunft, welche gut in die Gesellschaft integriert sind, positive Bindungen zu Familie und Schule aufweisen und einen „risikoarmen" Lebensstil führen, im Durchschnitt ein besseres Verhältnis zur Polizei haben. Polizeihandlungen, die gezielt gegen Angehörige gewisser ethnischer Minderheiten gerichtet sind und damit den Anschein einer unfairen und diskriminierenden Haltung der Polizei vermitteln, können dieses Verhältnis jedoch schwer beeinträchtigen.

Chapter 1

Introduction

The riots in the French "banlieues" in 2005 underline the far-reaching consequences of the often tense relationship between police and young people in today's ethnically diverse cities as well as the necessity to shed light on the relations of young men from disadvantaged immigrant communities with the police (*Le Goaziou & Mucchielli* 2006).

The interest in these youth-police relations is triggered not only by the well-known circumstance that young people, and among those primarily men, are particularly prone to crime and, consequently, also at risk of being exposed to police attention. The above events have caught scholarly interest due to the collective nature of some forms of violence exerted by young people in the interaction with the police as well as the political implications of these collective actions.

Young people, especially those who live in urban centers, frequently experience encounters with the police (see *Pollock* 2014; *Wiley* 2015). Not only criminality reaches its peak in the time of adolescence and young adulthood, but young people's lifestyle habits, such as hanging out with friends in public spaces, add to them being particularly exposed to crime and the justice system (see, for example, *McAra & McVie* 2005).

However, the violent youth outbreaks that took place in several European cities highlight that the type, frequency and intensity of young people's interaction with the police may vary across time and places. Juvenile violent unrest and riots that have, over the last decades, targeted the police, among others, revealed clearly that the relationship between young people and the police can be tense and, occasionally, very violent (see *Jobard* 2009; *Mucchielli* 2009; *Roché & de Maillard* 2009; *Morrell & Scott* 2011; *Waddington et al.* 2013). Yet, some European countries, such as France, the UK and Sweden, have been affected more prominently by these riots than others. The scientific community has turned its attention to those events and has started to investigate in detail how young people perceive, experience and relate to the police (see *Gauthier & Keller* 2010; *Tucci* 2010; *Jackson et al.* 2013a; *Meng et al.* 2015).

Through such studies, the question arose as to which factors are most likely to explain variations in youth-police relationships. Next to social deprivation characteris-

tics, such as high unemployment, economic deprivation and socio-spatial segrega-
tion, factors identified in studies as major promoters of violent protest among young
people include ethnic discrimination, political marginalization and the development
of deviant cultural identities (see *Hardiman & Lapeyre* 2004; *Lagrange & Oberti*
2006). These phenomena are observable in many city areas of many countries, pre-
dominately in deprived neighborhoods. Such is the case for both Germany and
France, where social deprivation, discrimination and the development of deviant cul-
tural identities are issues in urban areas (see *Bolt* 2009). Still, compared to Germany,
French cities are at a greater risk of experiencing violent protest against the police
by (minority) adolescents. In French cities, for example, riots have been recurrently
reported since the 1980s. Like in other countries, among the rioting population,
young male citizens with an ethnic minority background were over-represented (see
Roché & de Maillard 2009; *Waddington & King* 2009).

Although this discrepancy has already drawn scholarly attention (e.g. *Loch* 2009;
Tucci 2010; *Lukas & Gauthier* 2011), so far, no complete and conclusive answer has
been given to the question as to why some countries, and cities within those coun-
tries, are more prone to riots and violence between young people and the police. One
approach to answering this question is by referring to discretionary and discrimina-
tory police practices which, for some scholars, promote these tensions and conflicts
between young people and the police (see *Keller & Schultheis* 2008; *Lukas* 2009;
Waddington & King 2009). Others have pointed to wider problems linked to the po-
lice organization and structure as well as to state policies of integration (see *Roché
& de Maillard* 2009; *Tucci* 2011).

Next to rioting, violent Islamist extremism is another, more recent phenomenon that
also involves young people in various European countries (see *Khosrokhavar* 2016;
Lohlker et al. 2016). Violent Islamist extremism and the intertwined process of rad-
icalization lead to, among others, strained relationships between those young people
and the state and its institutions (see *Coolsaet* 2016).

At first glance, the two phenomena differ. Rioters primarily target the police,
whereas Islamist terrorists target the broader civilian population and are driven by
religious fanaticism. Yet, both rioting and radicalization may be interpreted as an
expression of disillusion and disappointment among certain citizens about the state
and its political and social system. Supporting this assumption is the observation that
radicalization mainly affects young men whose trust in the state and its institutions
are compromised (e.g. *Zick & Preuß* 2015; *El-Mafaalani et al.* 2016). Thus, exam-
ining the drivers of positive attitudes toward the police and factors that potentially
jeopardize relations between young people and state institutions adds to the under-
standing of other phenomena, in addition to the phenomenon of rioting.

The reality of the relationship between young people and the police is complex, and
when exploring it, one has to go beyond the mere analysis of the interaction between
these two parties. Relations between young people and the police involve a number

of different stakeholders and are affected by societal changes as well as the political and social contexts in which these encounters take place. Indeed, a look at the research reveals the great variety of factors that influence youth-police relationships. Besides factors related to the juveniles' background and their social ties, such as ethnicity (e.g. *Hurst et al.* 2000; *Wu et al.* 2013), feelings of ethnic identity (e.g. *Lee et al.* 2010), sub-cultural involvement and community ties (e.g. *Brick et al.* 2009), research also points to the importance of behavioral aspects. These can include variables related to former police contact and delinquency, such as self- and peer delinquency (e.g. *Brick et al.* 2009), personal victimization (e.g. *Apel & Burrow* 2011), personal encounters (see *Brandt & Markus* 2000; *Friedman et al.* 2004; *Murphy & Gaylor* 2010) and vicarious encounters with the police (e.g. *Hurst et al.* 2000). Other variables, such as the levels of self-control (e.g. *Flexon et al.* 2012) and the consumption of alcohol and drugs (e.g. *Geistman & Smith* 2007), are considered to play an important role, too. However, in many cases, this rather limited body of research relies on few predictors, finds little consensus as to which variables have the largest influence and is, with some exceptions (see *Loch* 2009; *Lukas* 2009), confined to one country and one point in time. Research efforts have seldom explored the extent to which pre-existing attitudes, as well as the experiences of an (un-)satisfactory police encounter, affect young people's perceptions of the police (e.g. *Bartsch & Cheurprakobkit* 2004) and their disposition to cooperate with the police (e.g. *Murphy & Gaylor* 2010) or their propensity to resort to self-help measures (e.g. *Apel & Burrow* 2011).

In particular, there is little systematic research that examines youth-police relationships by taking into account both the micro-level of the interaction and the contextual elements at the macro-level.

Based on the following two research questions, this study provides an analysis of young people's encounters with the police as well as explanations for variations in frequency, quality and outcomes of these interactions.

1. On the one hand, this research investigates the micro-level interaction between young people and the police:
   Are youth-police relationships in today's increasingly multi-ethnic (European) cities defined by common patterns of interaction and comparable struggles?

2. On the other hand, this research questions youth-police relationships at the macro-level:
   Are relationships between young people and the police shaped by the context in which interactions take place, and are they thus affected by national policies and country-specific police practices?

This study accepts the challenge to investigate drivers for a positive relationship between young people and the police and sheds light on factors that challenge this relationship, both within and across national borders. Thereby, the perspective of the

adolescents living in large and mid-size cities with large ethnic minority populations is taken. More precisely, this study explores youth-police relationships across two countries and four cities in Europe and provides empirical evidence on its nature, outcomes and challenges; to do so, it utilizes a unique large-scale survey ($N =$ 20,627) tailored for this purpose.

This study addresses some of the shortcomings of previous research and examines which of the various dimensions of juveniles' lives have the strongest influence on their relationship with the police. Using empirical evidence, it discusses predictors for frequent police-initiated police contact with juveniles as well as juveniles' perceptions of unsatisfactory encounters and negative judgment of the police. Finally, it sheds light on predictors for their self-assessed likelihood to cooperate with the police (or to resort to violence) in the hypothetical case of victimization. As pointed out by findings from former research, young people's relationships with the police in ethnically diverse cities is, in all likelihood, influenced by various factors. Thus, next to gender, age, social status and ethnic minority background, the analyses of this study account for the impact of numerous other variables, such as cultural identity, social ties, social deprivation, experiences with delinquency and neighborhood disadvantage.

In order to identify differences in the relationship between young people and the police across countries, the analyses presented in this study are conducted for Germany and France with the same sets of predictors. Thus, the findings deliver insights into adolescents' encounters with the police in multi-ethnic cities in Germany and France. For both countries, this study provides empirical evidence for predictors of juveniles' contacts with the police and their experiences during those encounters and assesses which factors are most likely to jeopardize young people's trust in the police. The systematic approach followed in this study allows for the determination of whether there are fundamental disparities in the youth-police relationship across different countries: knowing this could assist in understanding why some countries in Europe are more affected by riots than others.

This research opts for an investigation of the youth-police relationship in multi-ethnic cities in three separate but successive steps, with each step shedding light on a different aspect of this relationship: firstly, juveniles' contact with the police; secondly, their attitudes toward the police; and thirdly, their willingness to cooperate with the police or to adopt self-help measures (see *Figure 1.1*). The structure of this research relies in particular on *Tyler's* (2004) thoughts on the prerequisites of people's legitimization of the state and its institutions as well as, ultimately, of their cooperation with the police, which are used as a "leitmotif" for this study. Following, *Tyler's* elaborations, among others, this study hypothesizes that young people's experiences of police "unfairness" (*Part III*), e.g. through the (recurrent) exposure to discriminatory stop-and-search practices and disrespectful police conduct, undermines their positive attitudes toward the police (*Part IV*) and, ultimately, inhibits them from cooperating with the police (*Part V*).

However, before providing empirical evidence on the above assumption, an over-view of the topic (*Part I*) and the theoretical framework (*Part II*) is required.

Part I explores the rich body of knowledge on juvenile contacts with the police, re-views predictors of attitudes toward as well as trust in the police and sheds light on the premises of cooperation with the police among young people. The multifarious-ness of studies on the topic that apply a wide range of methods reveals the complexity of the youth-police encounter.

Following the three-step approach discussed earlier, firstly, literature on juveniles' contacts with the police is reviewed, secondly, attention is paid to predictors for trust in the police among young people, and thirdly, studies focusing on juveniles' coop-eration and vigilante self-help are summarized. The overview includes studies rely-ing on large-scale surveys as well as on observational data and interview material.

The literature review on young people's encounters with the police provides an over-view of landmark research that depicts the current debates on types, frequency and correlates of adolescents' contact with the police, as well as on the quality of the encounter. It includes both studies that examine predictors for police contacts in gen-eral and specific types of public encounters with the police, such as contacts in the event of stop-and-search or arrest. Research has identified prime correlates of juve-nile contact with the police, including ethnicity, gender, age, socio-economic status and neighborhood conditions, lifestyle, criminal offending, criminal history and de-linquent peer-group involvement. It will be discussed to what extent studies agree on the impact of these variables on the probability of young people to experience a (po-lice-initiated) police encounter. As this research also examines young people's ex-periences with the latter, *Part I* reviews major studies that have explored predictors for satisfaction with police behavior.

Then, a comprehensive overview of the more recent yet constantly growing body of research on young people's attitudes toward the police is provided. Most of this re-search tests the adequacy of the procedural justice model for exploring young peo-ple's trust in the police.

Finally, the few studies concerned with the prerequisites of young people's cooper-ation with the police as well as the phenomenon of vigilante self-help among the younger generation are revisited.

Part II introduces the theoretical framework on which to base the assumptions for the predictors of experiences of (police-initiated) police encounters, attitudes toward police and predisposition to (non-)cooperation with the police. The conflict theory (see *Hagan et al.* 2005) and the procedural justice/police legitimacy model (see *Tyler* 2004) are among the theories and models that prove to be of particular relevance for the investigation of youth-police relationships, by pointing out prime factors that

might increase juveniles' likelihood of contacts with the police, impact their satisfaction with the encounter, promote positive attitudes toward the police and favor their propensity to cooperate.

The analysis of young people's type and frequency of encounters with the police mainly refers to the conflict theory. This theory is particularly useful for investigating possible ethnic profiling strategies. The analysis of young people's perception of police fairness and their obligation to obey, but also their willingness to cooperate with the police is based mainly on thoughts about the preconditions of police legitimization among people formulated within the framework of the procedural justice/police legitimacy model. The procedural justice model postulates that attitudes, and the derived propensity to cooperate, are shaped by prior experiences with police encounters.

In addition, theoretical reflections on the influence of social ties, "risky" lifestyles, delinquent propensity and involvement in a (delinquent) subculture, stemming mainly from the situational action theory, the social bonding theory and the subcultural theory (*Sykes & Matza* 1957; *Hirschi* 1969; *Wikström & Treiber* 2009), are beneficial to the analysis of youth-police relations. This study accounts for these theories to the extent that they allow for testing the effects of ties to family, friends and the school as well as the influence of religiosity and integration into the host society.

Seven assumptions are formulated based on this theoretical framework. These are the hypotheses of "discrimination", "risky lifestyle and delinquent propensity", "exposure to delinquency", "poor national and religious identification", "weak conventional social ties", "procedural injustice" and "compromised legitimacy".

Finally, *Part II* informs the reader about the German-French "Police and Adolescents in Multi-Ethnic Societies" (POLIS) research project and the large-scale school survey carried out within this project (which provides the data for the analytical part of this research). Apart from details concerning purpose, involved countries, selection of sites and fieldwork, information about the school survey sample and its design is of interest.

Parts III to *V* are fully devoted to the empirical evidence gained from the analysis of young people's relationship with the police. The findings are presented as follows: firstly, juveniles' encounters with, then their attitudes and finally their hypothetical behavior toward the police are reviewed. Each of these parts includes an overview of the measures, a test of the hypotheses and (with the exception of the last part that is devoted to hypothetical behavior) a section comparing the German to the French findings, examining the effects of neighborhoods.

In *Part III*, young people's contacts with the police and their experiences during these encounters are explored.

Variations in different types of police contacts and in juveniles' direct and indirect experiences with police (dis-)respect are examined against the background of the

hypotheses of "discrimination", "risky lifestyle and delinquent propensity" and "procedural injustice".

In order to judge the citizen's legitimization of state authorities, including the police, *Tyler* proposes to question whether an authority's procedure is "fair" and "just". According to the author, people's judgments about the fairness and respectfulness of police conduct and their satisfaction with the police "service" fundamentally shape their (dis-)trust in the police (*Tyler* 2004). Consequently, any experience with police misbehavior – be it disrespectful or unfair treatment or the use of verbal or physical violence – may alter these views and question police legitimization.

Part III is particularly concerned with the analysis of stop-and-search contacts (and thus with a police practice that is potentially perceived as being unfair and discriminatory) and with young people's satisfaction with police encounters. As direct and indirect experiences with unfair and disrespectful police conduct potentially undermine (young) people's positive attitudes toward the police, both own and other people's experiences are examined.

Part IV is devoted to the analysis of young people's attitudes toward the police or, more specifically, to their perception of police fairness and their obligation to obey the police. It builds on the findings of *Part III* as, according to the hypothesis "procedural injustice", it is most likely that prior experiences with the police – particularly the (recurrent) exposure to stop-and-search contact and disrespectful police behavior – will have a strong impact on attitudes toward the police. Yet, these attitudes are, in all likelihood, not solely shaped by experiences with the police. As postulated by the "poor national and religious identification", "weak conventional social ties" and "exposure to delinquency" explanations, young people's affiliation to (delinquent) subcultures and their family ties can potentially impact their perceptions of the police, too.

Since former research has highlighted that perceptions of the police vary across generations (*Jackson et al.* 2013a), *Part IV* sheds light on a possible generational effect on attitudes toward the police.

Part V examines young people's propensity to cooperate with the police and their willingness to resort to self-help measures as an alternative conflict-resolution strategy. Unlike *Parts III* and *IV*, *Part V* does not entail a comparative section. Whilst items related to the hypothetical scenario of victimization are included in the German questionnaire, they are omitted in the French one.

According to the police legitimacy model, shared values and beliefs as well as the legitimization of police authority are preconditions for a citizen's cooperation with the police and thus key to successful police work (*Tyler* 2004).

Therefore, it is assumed that a "compromised legitimacy", or a lack of trust and confidence in the police and the justice system, is likely to prevent (young) citizens from

cooperating with the police. They might favor alternative measures of conflict reso-
lution instead, such as resorting to self-help means. Yet, cooperation with the police,
or its refusal, may, in all likelihood, not be linked solely to perceptions of police
legitimacy. Thus, other possible explanations for cooperation and/or non-coopera-
tion are addressed, too.

Figure 1.1   Framing young people's relationships with the police
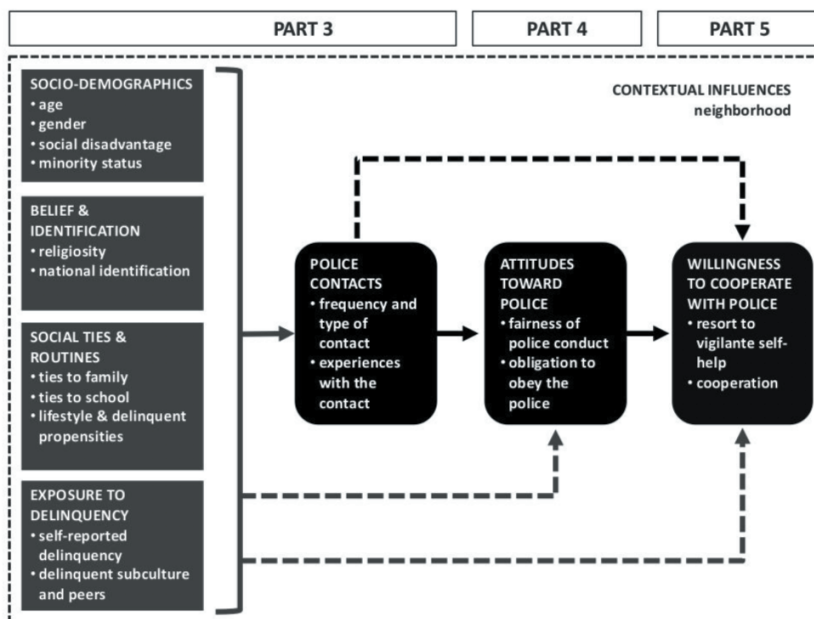
The concluding chapter reviews the main findings of this study and highlights the
factors that potentially strengthen, or weaken, youth-police relations in multi-ethnic
cities. Thereby, both commonalities of the relationships between young people and
the police across countries as well as the major differences are identified. Among the
commonalities, at the individual level, the factors discussed include the roles of back-
ground and identities, the importance of experiences, lifestyles and propensities as
well as effects of ties and attitudes. The contrasting relationships of (male) minority
juveniles with the police, the distinct interplay between identities and attitudes as
well as the differential impact of neighborhood conditions are identified as being
major differences in the relationships between young people and the police in Ger-
many and France and are revised against the empirical evidence provided by this
study.

Part I

Young People's Relationship with the Police

Chapter 2

Quantity, Quality and Correlates of Contacts with the Police

The analytical part of this dissertation will examine both the frequency and the types of contacts between juveniles and the police, as well as the (juveniles') assessment of the quality of such encounters. Therefore, this chapter discusses possible predictors of (specific types of) police contacts and of satisfaction with it.

Although the focus lies on young people, occasional studies carried out with an adult population are referred to when the studies (a) constitute leading research on public contact with and attitudes toward the police or (b) add to the knowledge of citizen-police encounters.

As the present research deals with young people's relationship with the police in a European context (with a comparative focus on Germany and France), an emphasis is placed on studies carried out in these countries.

2.1   Types and Frequency of Contacts with the Police

Police contacts can take many forms: depending on the type, they may either enhance or harm the public's relationship with the police. In recent years, research has taken this into consideration and provided new insights into the types of police contacts, their underlying predictors and their disparate implications for citizen-police relationships (*Cheurprakobkit* 2000; *Skogan* 2006; *Ousey & Lee* 2008).

Scholars commonly differentiate between contacts initiated by the police (on the basis of a suspicion or in "absence of suspicion") and those initiated by the public (see, for example, *Cheurprakobkit* 2000; *Skogan* 2006; *Ousey & Lee* 2008). The former category applies to contacts where citizens are suspected of having violated norms and rules or are stopped for routine identity checks. The latter category is concerned with contacts where citizens are seeking help and/or are interviewed by the police as witnesses to or victims of an offense. Of the two categories, police-initiated contacts allow for wider discretion and are thus more intensively debated within the scientific community, particularly concerning the question whether or not police officers discriminate against ethnic minority groups in the event of such encounters (*Weitzer &*

Tuch 2002; *Petrocelli et al.* 2003; *Jobard & Lévy* 2009; *Lukas & Gauthier* 2011; *Meng et al.* 2015).

In line with recent research on juvenile contact with the police (*Brunson* 2007; *Meng et al.* 2015), this study distinguishes between these different categories.

Predictors for "police-initiated" and "self-initiated" contacts are likely to differ due to the diverging causes of contact. Moreover, the distinction is necessary for the chapters that turn attention to juveniles' attitudes to the police (*Part IV*). Indeed, police-initiated contacts are more likely than self-initiated ones to undermine positive attitudes toward the police (*Skogan* 2005).

Beginning in the 1960s, a multitude of studies has questioned policies and practices of the police when initiating contact with citizens in general, and with young people in particular, with the ultimate aim to explain variations in the public's contact with the police. This research points to the fact that discriminatory police practices targeting members of minority groups and people living in deprived neighborhoods may provoke frustration and disappointment among the targeted population and, at worst, may result in violent outbreaks against the police. Thus, in the long run, disproportionate police-initiated contact seriously challenges police legitimacy in the eyes of citizens and therefore compromises the effectiveness of police work. Due to the salience of the topic and the potential far-reaching consequences of disproportionate police contact, in recent decades, a large number of studies has focused on police-initiated encounters, especially stop-and-search contacts (*Piliavin & Briar* 1964; *Fagan & Davies* 2000; *D'Alessio & Stolzenberg* 2003; *McAra & McVie* 2005; *Brunson* 2007; *Eith & Durose* 2011; *Meng et al.* 2015). Several of these studies provide empirical evidence of discriminatory police practices (*Fagan & Davies* 2000; *D'Alessio & Stolzenberg* 2003; *McAra & McVie* 2007; *Ousey & Lee* 2008; *Eith & Durose* 2011) and conclude that the "police may disproportionately initiat[e] contact with members of the public, for reasons other than criminal offending" (*Pollock* 2014, p. 2).

Many of the earlier studies on public contact with the police are confined to the adult population, or older teenagers, in the US-American context. More recently, extensive literature from Europe has been published on the topic, focusing on both adult and juvenile populations (*Heitmeyer et al.* 2005; *McAra & McVie* 2005; *Svensson & Saharso* 2015; *Bradford et al.* 2016; *Enke & Asmus* 2016).

Research focusing on young people's encounters with the police, both in the USA and elsewhere, finds that young people frequently interact with the police and that these encounters differ in nature and scope (see, among others, *Rusinko et al.* 1978; *Leiber et al.* 1998; *Fagan & Davies* 2000; *Pope & Snyder* 2003; *McAra & McVie* 2005; *Hinds* 2007; *Saarikkomäki & Kivivuori* 2013; *Wiley & Esbensen* 2013; *Pollock* 2014; *Ward et al.* 2014; *Fine et al.* 2016; *Fix et al.* 2017).

These studies suggest a high prevalence of adversarial police contact among young people. In the following, findings from four more recent studies are outlined.

These are specialized youth studies based on large standardized samples. No studies from Germany are listed as no comparable research on police contacts among young people have been carried out there.

The authors use different definitions for "adversarial contact", which makes the comparability of the findings arduous.

In their study of sixth- and seventh-grade youths ($N = 2,972$), carried out at various sites in the USA between 2006 and 2013, *Wiley & Esbensen* (2013) found that around 20% of the juveniles had had an encounter with the police. Among those, nearly 30% (6% of all juveniles) had only been stopped and 70% (14% of all juveniles) had been stopped and arrested.

Medina Ariza (2014) used data of a representative survey of $N = 4,900$ young people aged 10 to 25 in England and Wales. The author found that around 9% of the juveniles had been stopped and checked.

Saarikkomäki and Kivivuori (2013) drew on a nationally representative youth survey in Finland to examine police contacts among young people aged between 15 and 16 ($N = 5,826$). Around 30% of all youths in their survey had experienced various forms of police intervention, such as orders to move on or bag checks.

Based on a longitudinal study of $N = 4,300$ observations, *McAra and McVie* (2005) found a stable prevalence of adversarial police contacts over the years, with around 40% of young people reporting these in Edinburgh, Scotland.

2.2   Correlates of Contact with the Police

Amongst the most important and often-cited predictors of police contacts are ethnicity (*Piliavin & Briar* 1964; *Chambliss* 1994; *Fagan & Davies* 2000; *Lundman & Kowalski* 2009), gender (*Meehan & Ponder* 2002; *McAra & McVie* 2007), age, socio-economic status (*Terry* 1967), criminal history and the seriousness of the criminal event that may have caused police contact (*Black & Reiss* 1970; *McAra & McVie* 2007).

Less commonly studied but equally important predictors of police contact (especially among juveniles) are involvement with delinquent peers (*Patterson et al.* 1998; *Fergusson et al.* 2005; *McAra & McVie* 2007), risky lifestyles (including an "active street life") (*McAra & McVie* 2005, p. 9), drug or alcohol use and neighborhood conditions (*Crawford & Burns* 1998; *Terrill & Paoline* 2007). Few analyses of police contacts include a measure for intelligence (e.g. *Fergusson et al.* 2005).

In a nutshell and based on leading previous research on the topic, "being non-White, being male, being young, having a low SES, increased exposure to delinquent peers,

substance use, being involved in offending behavior and having had previous police contact all lead to an increased chance of police contact" (*Pollock* 2014, p. 9).

Research has debated whether such patterns "indicate that the police are appropriately targeting the most serious offenders in the younger age groups" (*McAra & McVie* 2005, p. 6) and has discussed to which extent gender, class and other types of biases influence police officer decision-making on whom to stop (e.g. *Terry* 1967; *Fagan & Davies* 2000; *Meehan & Ponder* 2002; *McAra & McVie* 2007; *Pollock* 2014). The debate on whether a certain group, such as unemployed, socially marginalized, young black males are "at the receiving end of police powers" (*McAra & McVie* 2005, p. 6) and, therefore, the target of discriminatory police practices, is well-established in studies of adult and older teenager research. For now, however, research on this matter is still lacking with regard to the policing of children and younger teenagers (*McAra & McVie* 2005).

The successive paragraphs will discuss the extent to which current research agrees on the influence the following factors may have on police contact: (1) ethnicity/migration background, (2) gender, (3) age, (4) socio-economic status and neighborhood condition, (5) lifestyle and (6) criminal offending and delinquency of peers.

2.2.1   Ethnicity/migration background

Effects resulting from an individual's ethnic background have been questioned, analyzed and reported in most of the studies on both the public's overall contact with the police (*Fagan & Davies* 2000; *D'Alessio & Stolzenberg* 2003; *Pope & Snyder* 2003; *Heitmeyer et al.* 2005; *Reitzel & Piquero* 2006; *Ousey & Lee* 2008; *Loch* 2009; *Tucci* 2010; *Mastrofski* 2012; *Pollock et al.* 2012; *Pollock* 2014; *McLean* 2015; *Svensson & Saharso* 2015; *Enke & Asmus* 2016; *Fix et al.* 2017) and those specifically concerned with stop-and-search contacts (*Ramirez* 2000; *Weitzer* 2002; *Petrocelli et al.* 2003; *Schafer et al.* 2004; *Alpert et al.* 2005; *Brunson* 2007; *Jobard* 2009; *Dollinger & Schmidt-Semisch* 2011; *Lukas* 2011; *McLean* 2015).

Despite the fact that police have often been confronted with accusations of discrimination against minorities, ethnic bias – also known as ethnic/racial profiling by the police – has only become an established topic for empirical research in recent times. Various empirical studies that have examined predictors of police encounters confirm the effect of ethnicity on police contact and/or arrest situations (among others, *Terry* 1967; *Fagan & Davies* 2000). It is thus legitimate to consider ethnicity as "perhaps the most important individual-level factor in police-citizen interactions" (*Alpert et al.* 2005, p. 411).

Hitherto existing research on ethnic/racial profiling is still, for the most part, carried out in the US-American context and is concerned with practices of racial profiling among both the adult and the juvenile population (*Black & Reiss* 1970; *Weitzer* 2002; *D'Alessio & Stolzenberg* 2003; *Petrocelli et al.* 2003; *Pope & Snyder* 2003; *Schafer*

et al. 2004; *Alpert et al.* 2005; *Reitzel & Piquero* 2006; *Brunson* 2007; *Ousey & Lee* 2008; *Mastrofski* 2012; *Pollock* 2014; *Fix et al.* 2017). Research on ethnic/racial profiling has debated whether, and to what extent, having a specific ethnic background (such as being Black or Hispanic rather than White in the US-American context) affects police officers' decision-making about whom to stop-and-search. With some exceptions (e.g. *Black & Reiss* 1970; *Brunson* 2007; *Mastrofski* 2012), these studies base their findings on quantitative data.

To date, one of the largest studies of ethnic/racial profiling remains the 1999 study of the New York Attorney General's Office that includes the impressive amount of more than 175,000 field interrogation cards. The study concludes that across all crime categories, Blacks and Hispanics are stopped more frequently than Whites by the New York City Police Department, even after controlling for the differential rates at which minorities commit criminal offenses within precincts (*Gelman et al.* 2007). This indicates that minority citizen involvement in crime cannot exclusively explain the higher overall rates at which minorities are stopped by police relative to the White population (*Petrocelli et al.* 2003). Several other studies carried out in different US cities find support for the disproportional stop-and-search practices mainly targeting citizens of Black and Hispanic descent (e.g. *Petrocelli et al.* 2003).

A different approach is followed by *Kochel et al.* (2011) who carried out a meta-analysis based on 23 different data sets collected in the USA, which investigated the effect size of a suspect's ethnicity on the probability of arrest. In line with the previously presented studies, they found that ethnicity remains an important factor for explaining the probability of an arrest even after controlling for variables, including demeanor, severity of the offense, drug or alcohol consumption and prior criminal record.

Yet, research on ethnic/racial profiling is not limited to the US-American context. Particularly in recent times, and often due to recurrent violent outbreaks in various European cities, researchers in Europe have been keen to assess possible claims of discriminatory police practices. Some of this research deals specifically with young people's encounters with the police (*Heitmeyer et al.* 2005; *Loch* 2009; *Tucci* 2010; *Svensson & Saharso* 2015), whereas other studies focus on the adult population (*Jobard* 2009; *Dollinger & Schmidt-Semisch* 2011; *Lukas* 2011; *Heckmann* 2015; *Enke & Asmus* 2016).

One of the most detailed studies on stop-and-search practices in Europe was conducted in Paris in 2007 by *Jobard and Lévy* (2009) (commissioned by the Open Society Justice Initiative). The data set includes more than 500 stops carried out by police and customs officers and provides information on ethnicity, age, gender, clothing and bags carried by the suspected individuals. Findings support the ethnic profiling argument. The authors conclude that "police stops and identity checks in Paris are principally based on the appearance of the person stopped, rather than on their behavior or actions" (*Jobard & Lévy* 2009, p. 10). Compared to individuals

perceived as being "White" (i.e. of Western European origin), those belonging to the "Black" (i.e. of sub-Saharan African or Caribbean origin) and "Arab" (i.e. of North African or Maghrebian origin) ethnic minority communities are stopped disproportionately more often by the police for non-behavioral reasons. Likewise, individuals wearing clothing typically associated with French youth culture also find themselves stopped more often by the police (*Jobard & Lévy* 2009).

In one of the most recent studies, next to ethnic group differences, *Jackson et al.* (2013a) account for time variations and types of police contact. The authors examined data from the British Crime Survey over a period of roughly 25 years. They assume that differences in contact rates by ethnic category vary over time and depend on the type of encounter with the police, whereby the disparities, they presume, are more marked for the police-initiated than for the self-initiated contacts. They assert that over time and across broad ethnic groups, self-initiated contacts converge, yet differences in stop rates persist (*Jackson et al.* 2013a). The authors applied binary logistic regression models in order to predict the odds of having experienced police-initiated contact in previous years. Their interesting results indicate that across people of different ages and ethnic categories (as well as of other factors), the experience of police stops has become a more similar one. Yet, according to the British experience, despite important changes in policing practice and policy over the years, younger people and members of Black ethnic minorities still are more likely to experience encounters with the police (*Jackson et al.* 2013a).

In Germany, *Zdun* (2004) presents one of the few German studies analyzing young people's encounters with the police. The author focuses on a specific population: the so-called *"Russlanddeutsche"*, i.e. people belonging to the group of resettlers of German descent who emigrated from Russia to Germany in the late 20th century and are known for having problematic relations with the police. For his study, the author carried out $N = 219$ interviews with *Russlanddeutsche* from Duisburg. He found that one out of four resettlers had had contact with the police, whereby this is particularly common among younger resettlers. *Zdun* refers to the habit of young *Russlanddeutsche* of spending a significant chunk of their leisure time in public spaces as a main cause for their disproportionate contact with the police. By their mere presence and without committing any delinquent act, these young people evoke the attention and mistrust of the police as well as other residents (*Zdun* 2004).

Research on ethnic/racial profiling in Europe and elsewhere is often confined to national boundaries, yet some interesting research exists questioning police practices across several European countries (see, for example, *Loch* 2009; *Tucci* 2010; *Lukas* 2011).

Despite the above findings, a few studies do exist which suggest that ethnicity is not a core predictor for police contact and/or arrest (e.g. *Black & Reiss* 1970; *D'Alessio & Stolzenberg* 2003; *Pope & Snyder* 2003; *Lundman & Kowalski* 2009).

For instance, *Black and Reiss* (1970) find that "evidence that the police behaviorally orient themselves to race […] is absent" (*Black & Reiss* 1970, p. 76). According to the authors, African Americans were disproportionately more often stopped by the police because they were more frequently suspected of a felony offense at the time of the encounter. As for the discrepancy in the number of arrests between Whites and African Americans, the authors highlight that this could be due to the fact that these suspects are more often the subjects of complaints that lead to an eventual arrest. The authors base their results on observational data from $N = 281$ cases of interactions between juvenile suspects and the police in Boston, Chicago and Washington DC (*Black & Reiss* 1970).

In line with these findings, *Rawls* (2000) claims that behavioral differences between racial groups in the USA affect police officers' likelihood to arrest a suspect. Based on theoretical considerations and backed by video and audio data of interactions, the author concludes that behavioral tasks, such as conversations, are deeply shaped by one's self-identification as "Black" or "White". Thus, across racial groups, the same behavioral tasks might be performed in different manners. As a result, these different behaviors are a source of incomprehension and can be interpreted improperly by the police (*Rawls* 2000).

Alpert et al. (2005) distinguish between the mere suspicion of individuals and decisions to stop-and-search them. The authors examine data from an observational study of police decision-making on 132 eight-hour shifts in Savannah, Georgia. Their analysis leads to the interesting conclusion that "minority status does influence an officer's decision to form nonbehavioral as opposed to behavioral suspicion, but that minority status does not influence the decision to stop and question suspects" (*Alpert et al.* 2005).

The recent research of *Svensson and Saharso* (2015) is as an example of a study which, in addition to delivering a valuable contribution to European ethnic profiling research, finds only limited effects of ethnic background. The authors focus on practices of proactive policing that aim at suppressing delinquency at an early stage. A total of $N = 231$ youths was interviewed for the purpose of the study, both on the street and in youth centers in the Netherlands, so as to empirically test whether claims of unequal and discriminatory treatment of ethnic minority youths during proactive policing are justified.

For this purpose, the authors looked at outcome inequalities, such as the frequency of experiences with proactive policing between juveniles of a native Dutch appearance and ethnic minority youths. They also controlled for unequal treatment, that is "for justifiable distinctions that may be made during proactive policing" (*Svensson & Saharso* 2015, p. 406). The authors conclude that "although proactive policing in the Netherlands is associated with considerable outcome inequality, the extent of unequal treatment of ethnic minority youths is surprisingly limited" (*Svensson & Saharso* 2015, p. 393). Given the small sample size, however, the results may only

be indicative of the young people's experiences with proactive policing and will have to be scrutinized by future studies.

2.2.2 Gender

Gender, or more "specifically being male, may seem intuitively related to police contact" (*Pollock* 2014, p.156) and is often referred to as being an import predictor of police contact or arrest (e.g. *McAra & McVie* 2007; *Eith & Durose* 2011). When looking at specific police contacts, this discrepancy becomes more evident. With regard to traffic stops, for instance, males are more than three times more likely to be arrested than females. A similar male-female divide is found when looking at contacts involving police use of force (see, for example, *Eith & Durose* 2011). Yet, some research finds no conspicuous evidence for the assumption that police officers question or arrest males disproportionately when controlling for involvement in offending behavior (e.g. *Terry* 1967; *Smith & Visher* 1981; *Smith et al.* 1984; *Horowitz & Pottieger* 1991; *Lundman & Kowalski* 2009; *Pollock* 2014).

Most research on the role of gender in the likelihood of police contacts is confined to the USA and rests on the analysis of large-scale quantitative data sets gathered nationally or at a local level in various US cities (*Meehan & Ponder* 2002; *Stolzenberg & D'Alessio* 2004; *Franklin & Fearn* 2008; *Lundman & Kowalski* 2009; *Pollock* 2014). Few studies examine the relationship between gender and police contact through qualitative observational data (e.g. *Terry* 1967; *Smith et al.* 1984).

Some of this research found that gender may only indirectly impact the severity of the outcome of the police contact. In the study of *Smith et al.* (1984), trained civilians rode on 900 patrol shifts and recorded a total of $N = 742$ cases of adult and juvenile contacts with the police in over 24 police departments in St. Louis (Missouri), Rochester (New York) and Tampa-St. Petersburg (Florida). The authors found that the effect of gender was mediated through victims' preferences. In cases where the suspect of an offense was male, the victims were more likely to request the police to arrest him. In contrast, if a suspect was female, victims were equally likely to request an arrest, call for leniency or not to express any preference. The authors applied probit models to the analyses (*Smith et al.* 1984).

Studies that investigate the fact that compared to females, males are more prone to commit serious offenses and are consequently more likely to be arrested, often find a non-significant or even inverse relationship between being male and being referred to an official agency (*Terry* 1967; *Smith & Visher* 1981; *Horowitz & Pottieger* 1991; *Lundman & Kowalski* 2009). In their study of $N = 391$ youths aged 14 to 17 years in Miami, Florida, *Horowitz and Pottieger* (1991) do not attest any significant impact to the gender variable when considering the discrepancy in illegal behavior between male and female juveniles (*Horowitz & Pottieger* 1991).

In the European context, isolated studies discuss the effect of being male rather than female on the likelihood of being contacted and/or arrested by the police. The research of *McAra and McVie* (2005) might be one of the most comprehensive studies on the issue from a European perspective. The authors draw on longitudinal data from a cohort of around $N = 4,300$ young people who started secondary school in the city of Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1998. The authors explored, among others, the influence of gender on the severity of sanctions imposed on juveniles by the police. They applied step-wise logistic regression in order to empirically test this relationship. According to their results, in the encounters of police officers with juveniles, gender significantly affects the outcome. Compared to females, males are more likely to face severe sanctions by the police, such as arrests instead of a simple warning (*McAra & McVie* 2005).

2.2.3 Age

As pointed out above, it is a known fact that encounters between young people and the police are common. Yet, with some exceptions (e.g. *Smith & Visher* 1981; *Eith & Durose* 2011; *Pollock* 2014), details about the effect of age on the type of encounter with the police and on the experiences during these encounters remain unexplored.

In a report about the national-level survey (around $N = 40,000$) performed by the US Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS), *Eith and Durose* (2011) conclude that young people aged 18 to 24 years are most likely to report a face-to-face contact with the police. Use of force during encounters with the police is experienced mostly among people aged 16 to 29 years. Individuals in their 30s or older rarely report violent police contacts. As with other socio-demographic variables, such as ethnicity and gender, the relationship between age and police contact/arrest is likely to be mediated by other variables (*Eith & Durose* 2011).

Following the overall trend in police-recorded crime rates, with increasing age, a decline occurs in rates of both self- and police-initiated contacts (see, e.g., *Jackson et al.* 2013a).

2.2.4 Socio-economic status and neighborhood conditions

Research has intensively discussed the impact of social status and neighborhood conditions on the likelihood of increased police contact as well as on the probability of being arrested in an event of police contact. These studies cover the experiences of juveniles and adults and make use of both quantitative and qualitative methods of research (e.g. *Sampson* 1986; *Hobcraft* 1998; *Fagan & Davies* 2000; *Alpert et al.* 2005; *McAra & McVie* 2005; *Terrill & Paoline* 2007; *Pollock et al.* 2012; *Pollock* 2014; *Meng et al.* 2015; *Wiley* 2015; *Bradford et al.* 2016).

On the whole, these studies find that socio-economic status (SES) is a significant predictor for both the probability of police contact/arrest and the severity of sanctions imposed afterwards. However, the fact that SES measures vary across studies (see, e.g., *Piliavin & Briar* 1964; *Fagan & Davies* 2000; *McAra & McVie* 2007) adds to difficulties in comparing results on the effect of SES.

As for the long-term effect of SES on the likelihood of police contact, one may refer to the study of *Jackson et al.* (2013a). After controlling for confounding factors, e.g. age, gender and ethnic group, the authors still see an effect of employment and economic activity status on the probability of being stopped by the police (*Jackson et al.* 2013a). Only few studies suggest otherwise and find, for instance, that once the analyses control for offending behavior of the suspect, no or only limited statistical evidence exists for the argument that police disproportionately contact individuals of a lower SES (see *Terry* 1967; *Pollock* 2014).

The broad range of in-depth analyses of the impact of both status and neighborhood conditions on police-citizen encounters stems from various countries.

Some important research has been carried out in the US-American context over the last decade (see, e.g., *Fagan & Davies* 2000; *Alpert et al.* 2005; *Terrill & Paoline* 2007; *Pollock* 2014).

With their study, *Fagan and Davies* (2000) add evidence to the research by arguing for the influence of neighborhood features on policing strategies. The authors draw on multiple data sets and gather information about the social and physical disorder of a neighborhood as well as about counts and rates of stops and arrests within precincts from official sources. One of the main purposes of their study was to detect patterns of "stop and frisk" activities across New York City's neighborhoods. For that purpose, they explored whether policing in New York complies with the standard of reasonable suspicion (also known as the "Terry Standard"). The authors provide empirical evidence that the racial composition of a neighborhood, as well as its poverty levels and the extent of social disorganization, predicts race- and crime-specific stops, even when controlling for crime. They conclude that "policing is not about disorderly places, nor about improving the quality of life, but about policing poor people in poor places" (*Fagan & Davies* 2000, p. 457).

Particularly in recent times, distinct studies on the issue have also been carried out in Europe (see, e.g., *McAra & McVie* 2005; *Bradford et al.* 2016).

Based on results of a more recent study from the UK, *McAra and McVie* (2005) suggest that individuals living in areas with high levels of neighborhood deprivation are more likely to be arrested, as opposed to receiving a warning from the police (*McAra & McVie* 2005). However, results from the multivariate analysis find no significant effect of deprivation at the neighborhood level, suggesting that the "'class' bias" (*McAra & McVie* 2005, p. 27) occurs at the individual level. The fact that

young people from more affluent backgrounds may behave in a manner which inhibits the police to take actions against them (such as arrests) is seen as a possible explanation for this finding. According to the authors, "variations in police contact appear to be the product of specific interactions between the individuals and the police rather than a product of more general police targeting of deprived areas" (*McAra & McVie* 2005, p. 27).

Finally, some interesting research has explored the relationship between race and place profiling. The study of *Meng et al.* (2015) is a distinguished example of such research. The authors provide a detailed investigation of neighborhood-level influences in practices of the racial profiling of Black youths in Toronto, Ontario, an ethnically diverse city. The data set includes information about 162,377 contact cards filled out by police officers in the year 2008 that concern police stops of $N = 116,374$ juveniles. The study includes young people aged 15 to 29 (based on the Commonwealth definition of youth). Its results are twofold: it finds empirical evidence for the racial profiling of Black youths and highlights the link between race and neighborhood in police stop-and-search practices. The authors find that drug-related stop-and-searches of Black youths are particularly frequent in the less-disadvantaged neighborhoods mainly populated by White residents. They conclude that their study demonstrates that "race-and-place profiling of Black youth exists in police stop-and-search practices" (*Meng et al.* 2015, p. 115).

2.2.5   Lifestyle

So far, this overview has only looked at the relationship between various socio-economic variables and the probability of experiencing a police encounter. In doing so, an important dimension has been omitted. Next to socio-economic factors, behavioral and lifestyle aspects also play an important role, especially in the probability of police encounters among young people (see, for example, *Piliavin & Briar* 1964; *McAra & McVie* 2005).

The fact that young people have an active "street life" makes them particularly "available for policing" (*McAra & McVie* 2005, p. 9). Thus, it is of little surprise that studies that added lifestyle variables to the analysis of predictors of police contact are, for the most part, concerned with juveniles.

Although this study is interested in predictors of police encounters, rather than juvenile delinquency, some noteworthy recent research focusing on the relationship between "risky" lifestyles, individual propensities to commit crime and juvenile offending is pointed out (among others, *Wikström et al.* 2012), illustrating that a past criminal record greatly increases the probability that young people will have encounters with the police. Thus, this research is taken into consideration to the extent of illustrating that "risky" lifestyles – next to having a direct impact on the likelihood

of police contact through making young people more "available" for police encounters – might also have an indirect influence on the likelihood of juveniles to commit offenses.

The relationship between lifestyle and offending has attracted, to cite a non-exhaustive list, the attention of scholars from the USA (*Svensson & Pauwels* 2008; *Hughes & Short Jr.* 2014; *Simons et al.* 2014), the UK (*McAra & McVie* 2005; *Wikström & Treiber* 2009), Canada (*Gallupe & Baron* 2014), Germany (*Oberwittler* 2004; *Schepers* 2014), Sweden and Belgium (*Svensson & Pauwels* 2008).

Svensson and Pauwels (2008) draw on two independent large-scale data sets to test their assumption that a "risky" lifestyle more importantly affects offense rates when young adolescents display a higher propensity to delinquency. In reverse, the authors premise that adolescents with low levels of delinquent propensity will, if at all, only be marginally affected by a risky lifestyle. To account for country variation, they sampled young adolescents in Antwerp, Belgium ($N = 2,486$), and Halmstad, Sweden ($N = 1,003$). Their findings strongly support the hypothesis that a "risky" lifestyle has a particularly strong effect on the likelihood to offend among individuals with a generally high delinquent propensity to offend (*Svensson & Pauwels* 2008).

2.2.6   Criminal offending and delinquent peers

Among the behavioral variables, next to the lifestyle, former personal experiences with delinquency and an affiliation to delinquent subcultures are strong predictors of young people's encounters with the police. Empirical research on police decision-making during citizen stops provides evidence in support of the argument "that police decision making is primarily driven by situational factors related to criminal behavior (for example, seriousness of offense, victim requests) and the administrative decision making model under which the officer works" (*Alpert et al.* 2005). In other words, this research sustains the proposition that police decide on stopping a citizen based on suspicious or law-violating behavior.

In addition, research that specifically focuses on juveniles' encounters with the police has provided in-depth analyses on the relationship between the delinquency-related variables and the probability of a police encounter. Studies that include youth demeanor in the analysis of predictors of police contact often find it to be a major criterion on which police officers rely when deciding on whom to contact and which action to take (e.g. *Piliavin & Briar* 1964; *McAra & McVie* 2005). Several studies confirm that the seriousness of the suspected offense increases the probability of arrest (e.g. *Piliavin & Briar* 1964; *Black & Reiss* 1970; *Lundman et al.* 1978; *McAra & McVie* 2005). Finally, a criminal record often partly or completely mediates the effects of socio-demographic and other behavioral variables (*Pollock* 2014).

In an earlier study of arrest rates, *Piliavin & Briar* (1964) found that compared to Caucasians, Black youths in the USA more often feature behavioral aspects that police officers commonly associate with delinquency. Thus, the authors plead for investigating young people's demeanor, next to offense rate and possible police bias, when analyzing differential rates in arrest and apprehension. They draw their conclusion from a nine-month observational study of police officers' contacts with young people in one American police department (without providing detailed information about the department).

In their longitudinal studies of predictors for arrest (for further details, see *Chapter 2.2.2*), *McAra and McVie* (2005) found that next to being a serious offender, having self-reported arrests and self-reported contacts with the police significantly predicts arrests. As a plausible reason, the authors refer to the fact that "early and repeated exposure to the police may exacerbate rather than diminish young people's offending or other risk behaviours" (*McAra & McVie* 2005, p. 27). They conclude that following a sort of vicious cycle, an increase in levels of police contact may influence offending levels and vice versa.

Next to personal experiences with delinquent behavior, an increased exposure to police attention may also be traced back to one's involvement in delinquent peer groups. Some research on police contact has explored the influence of having friends or associating with people who are delinquent on police encounters.

Drawing on a total sample of $N = 206$ observations from two successive birth cohorts of fourth-grade boys and their families from Oregon, USA, *Patterson et al.* (1998) explore variables that initiate and maintain a trajectory for offending. The authors were interested in examining the link between antisocial childhood behavior and early arrest. According to their findings, deviant peer group involvement is partly responsible for the evolution of juveniles' offending behavior and leads to an increase in chances of early arrest.

McAra and McVie (2005) agree that for young people, "keeping the 'wrong' company" (*McAra & McVie* 2005, p. 7) may be a major reason for adversarial police contact. In their study, they found that odds of police contacts are about twice as high for children whose friends had at least one adversarial contact with the police than for those whose friends did not have such an encounter. The authors assume that from the moment "youngsters come under the purview of the police, they then become part of the permanent suspect population and, as a consequence, any of their friends and associates who have not had past experience of adversarial police contact, become suspect, too" (*McAra & McVie* 2005, p. 26). Besides, the authors list other predictors for adversarial police contact which potentially attract police attention, such as persistent and serious offending, illegal drug use and underage drinking. However, in a later study which draws on the same data set, *McAra and McVie* (2007) found that in the multivariate analysis, a statistically significant relationship

could not be confirmed between having "trouble-makers" as friends and the probability of arrest in a police contact situation.

2.3   Assessment of the Quality of Contacts with the Police

As pointed out above, the bulk of research is interested in identifying predictors for the frequency of the public's encounters with the police and questions whether members of minority groups are disproportionately exposed to such encounters. Particularly in recent times, however – and following up on the interest in procedural elements of police-citizen interaction –, research has increasingly shed light on specific experiences of the public when interacting with the police.

Next to providing empirical evidence for the public's overall satisfaction with the police service, this research questions the public's perceptions of police performance and behavior during the encounter. It also explores citizens' misbehavior when interacting with the police.

Negative experiences with the police, either personal ones or communicated through accounts by others, are often cited as a cause of tensions in the public-police relationship. Indeed, research mostly agrees on the far-reaching negative consequences of unsatisfactory contact on levels of trust and confidence in the police (see, for example, *Skogan* 2006; *Bradford et al.* 2009). Although confirmed by some research (e.g. *Tyler & Fagan* 2008; *Bradford et al.* 2009), the positive effect of a favorable encounter on perceptions of trust and confidence in the police is more strongly contested (see *Jackson et al.* 2013a).

In light of the fact that experiences with police encounters have the potential to increase or challenge the public's trust and confidence in the police, it is of particular interest to understand which factors affect the public's evaluation of such experiences.

From a temporal perspective, social and political changes have impacted rates of the public's contact with the police (see, e.g., *Jackson et al.* 2013a). Based on data from the British Crime Survey, for the time period between 1992 and 2005/06, *Jackson et al.* (2013a) report a transformation in the public's perceptions of contact with the police toward a markedly higher dissatisfaction with (most) of the self- as well as police-initiated contacts. According to the authors, over time, different policing practices have altered the way the public experiences and judges contacts with the police.

Most studies that have analyzed conduct and performance of police officers and public satisfaction with police encounters stem from the USA. The vast majority of this research applies quantitative methods so as to disentangle the factors that are most likely to impact police performance (*Liska et al.* 1981; *Chandek* 1999; *Cheurprakobkit* 2000; *Cochran & Warren* 2012) and deliver interesting insights into the various

determinants of public satisfaction with the police service (*Tyler & Folger* 1980; *Chandek & Porter* 1998; *Reisig & Parks* 2000; *Reisig & Chandek* 2001; *Bartsch & Cheurprakobkit* 2004; *Garcia & Cao* 2005; *Skogan* 2005; *Weitzer & Tuch* 2005; *Liederbach & Travis* 2008; *Dai & Johnson* 2009; *Dukes et al.* 2009; *Larsen & Blair* 2009; *Zhao et al.* 2012; *Wu et al.* 2013).

From this bulk of research, several studies attest an influence of police contact on individual attitudes toward the police. They find that the strength of this influence depends on the context as well as the frequency of contact and, ultimately, the perceived behavior of police officers (see, for example, *Reisig & Parks* 2000; *Skogan* 2006). Thus, the public's perception of officers' conduct during the encounter and particularly perceptions of procedural fairness and professional behavior are attested an important role.

Studies centered on the analysis of police conduct are frequently consistent with the ideas of the procedural justice model (*Tyler* 2004), whereby in evaluating police conduct, people rely more strongly on the fairness, rather than the outcome, of the procedure.

Research focusing on the public's perception of individual officer behavior reveals that indeed, whereas friendly contacts augment, unfriendly ones decrease satisfaction with the police. Overall, however, negative interactions seem to carry more weight than positive ones (for example *Hurst & Frank* 2000; *Skogan* 2006).

Yet, "the meaning of procedural justice is very situational in nature" (*Dai & Johnson* 2009, p. 598). In other words, the public's expectation on how the police should behave may heavily influence their perceptions of a police officer's action.

The few US studies that focus on the juvenile population investigate events of police misconduct and their consequences on youth-police relationships by relying on quantitative data (see, for example, *Hepburn* 1977; *Hagan et al.* 2005; *Unnever et al.* 2016).

Strongly interwoven with neighborhood characteristics is the frequency of police patrols, as police officers are often allocated to lower-class neighborhoods with high concentrations of ethnic minority citizens. Prior studies point out that with the increased frequency of experiencing police encounters, the level of satisfaction with the police drops among citizens (e.g. *Cox & Falkenberg* 1987). Thus, neighborhood characteristics could offer "a partial explanation for why members of ethnic minority groups (especially those of lower socio-economic status) are the least satisfied with the police" (*Dai & Johnson* 2009, p. 599).

In recent years, measures of satisfaction with the police have also been tested and improved in countries outside the USA. As for now, detailed studies on the public's satisfaction with the police have been carried out in Australia (*Murphy* 2009) and the UK (*Bradford et al.* 2009), to mention just two.

From the studies focusing specifically on the younger population, the more noteworthy ones have been conducted in Germany and applied qualitative methods to question juveniles' satisfaction with the police (e.g. *Gesemann 2003; Zdun* 2004).

Gesemann (2003) questions the nature and consequences of shared experiences of ethnic minority groups with the police in Berlin. This study was carried out in a *Fachhochschule* (university of applied sciences) within the framework of a research project investigating the relationship between the police and ethnic minorities. The author feels that the growing ethnic diversity of German society challenges the institutions of the constitutional democracy, beginning with the police as the responsible organization for ensuring law and security. Interviews with non-native German juveniles in Berlin highlight the recurrence of negative experiences with the police in their everyday life. Identity checks, arrests and raids are perceived as discriminatory police practices that mainly target members of ethnic minority groups. The author points to different patterns of reactions to discrimination. Whereas some juveniles claim their right to equal treatment, others seem to have resigned to police behavior or interpret discriminatory actions in accordance with their own cultural understanding. Independently from juveniles' reactions, however, discriminatory police practices lead to a lack of trust in the police and ultimately to resignation. So as to counter this vicious cycle, the author suggests measures of improving police training, the inclusion of members of ethnic minority groups into the police corps and a more community-oriented police force apt to acknowledge and sanction discriminatory practices (*Gesemann* 2003).

According to *Zdun* (2004), with time, juveniles' evaluation of police conduct changes. The author bases this finding on a study that was introduced above when discussing the possible effects of an ethnic/migration background on experiences of police encounters. As already pointed out, Zdun focuses on a specific group of juveniles: young migrants of German descent that were born in Russia ("*Russlanddeutsche*"). Whereas during their first years of stay in Germany, these young migrants have little experience with police contact, their encounters with the police become more frequent over time. The fact that many of them meet with friends in public spaces puts them at a higher risk of being controlled by police officers who patrol these areas. The young migrants often feel that these police controls are arbitrary in their purpose and nature, and thus, according to the author, this type of police practice deteriorates their view of the police. Yet, the professional behavior of the police during the encounter is seldom contested by the young migrants (*Zdun* 2004).

So far, studies that provide insights into the relationship between personal perceptions of a police encounter and satisfaction with the police have been discussed. Yet, indirect encounters with the police have been found to importantly affect feeling about the police, too (see, for example, *Hurst & Frank* 2000; *Zdun* 2004; *Rosenbaum et al.* 2005; *Brunson* 2007). It is assumed that young people discuss their experiences of police contact with their peers, and thus, they are exposed to what scholars call "indirect" or "vicarious" police contact. The importance of these types of contacts

should not be underestimated as research finds evidence for the argument that hearing and seeing police misconduct has "the greatest effect on perceptions of policing" (*Hurst & Frank* 2000, p. 49).

Summing up, so far, research has rarely shed light on young people's interactions with the police in multi-ethnic cities. Especially for Germany, there is a lack of empirical research that draws on large-scale standardized studies and investigates correlates between police encounters and attitudes toward the police among young people.

For France, important research efforts were carried out questioning practices of institutional discrimination. Again, however, this research focuses primarily on the adult population.

Finally, only a handful of studies have compared experiences of police encounters and perceptions of the police across various European countries. None of these studies have focused specifically on young people or have drawn on a large-scale database.

Chapter 3

Attitudes toward and Cooperation with the Police

3.1   Predictors of Attitudes toward the Police

The considerable body of empirical research on public perceptions of the police has provided a meticulous overview of the prerequisites for the public's positive attitudes toward the police and the factors that undermine confidence and trust in the police and the judicial system (*Correia et al.* 1996; *Tuch & Weitzer* 1997; *Tankebe* 2008; *Bradford et al.* 2009; *Dai et al.* 2011; *Gau* 2011; *Jackson et al.* 2012a; *Hough et al.* 2013b; *Mazerolle et al.* 2013). Yet, for the most part, this research has been limited to the adult population. More recently, however, research on young people's encounters with, and attitudes toward, the police has considerably increased, providing empirical evidence on the predictors for a positive youth-police relationship.

With few exceptions, such as the study of *Carr et al.* (2007), these empirical studies build on quantitative data and, by relying on school-based samples, aim at analyzing young people's overall global views of the police through questions concerned with the fairness of police conduct and their trustworthiness. Only few studies (e.g. *Brunson & Miller* 2006; *Jackson et al.* 2013a) investigate the impact of specific police activities on young people's perceptions of the police, such as police control of drugs or gangs.

For the most part, this research confirms that perceptions of police conduct and attitudes toward the police are generally more negative among young people than among the adult population. In the school-based samples that over-represent minority youths from higher crime or economically distressed areas, views of the police tend to be even more negative (see, for example, *Flexon et al.* 2009; *Watkins & Maume* 2012).

Moreover, the recurrent violent youth riots in inner cities urged scholars to rethink the relationship between youth and the police in urban settings and to analyze the drivers for police legitimacy among juveniles more thoughtfully (see *Hurst & Frank* 2000; *Friedman et al.* 2004; *Fagan & Tyler* 2005; *Watkins & Maume* 2012; *Murphy* 2015). These scholars advocate intensifying research on young people's attitudes toward the police, particularly young people's opinions about patrol officers on the street. They justify this with a number of reasons.

Firstly, researchers argue that how police are viewed in early life influences perceptions of the police and the social order later in life (*Friedman et al.* 2004). These views are already shaped during childhood and adolescence through what scholars

call the process of "legal socialization" (*Fagan & Tyler* 2005, p. 217). Attitudes toward the police are considerably affected by opinions about them at an early stage in life. Thus, "opinions regarding the police are best studied among young people" (*Watkins & Maume* 2012, p. 279).

Secondly, adolescence is a phase in life where people show "'rebellious' tendencies" (*Watkins & Maume* 2012, p. 286) and express an increased desire for autonomy. Although young people are generally more critical toward any form of authority than the adult population (*Janeksela* 1999), "some youths do hold negative views of authority figures specific to the police" (*Watkins & Maume* 2012, p. 286).

Thirdly, due to the fact that "involvement in delinquency follows a curvilinear pattern" (*Schuck* 2013, p. 594), adolescents are at a greater risk than adults of being victimized or involved in criminal activities that attract police attention.

Fourthly and finally, juveniles are frequent users of public spaces, as they often meet their friends there (for example, on the street or in a park). Since police officers often patrol these spaces, young people are a preferred target of police control and therefore likely to interact with the police (see, for example, *Hinds* 2007). As the police are usually the first (and often remain the only) criminal justice agents with whom young people have contact, the encounters with the police potentially shape their future relations with the criminal justice system (*Hurst & Frank* 2000). Accordingly, there is little doubt that young people "are a logical demographic to question about the police" (*Watkins & Maume* 2012, p. 286) and that their (tense) relationship with the police deserves particular scholarly attention.

Although research on young people's attitudes toward the police stems mostly from the US American scientific community (e.g. *Geistman & Smith* 2007; *Flexon et al.* 2009; *Schuck* 2013; *Stewart et al.* 2014; *Slocum et al.* 2016), some detailed studies have been carried out in other countries, too. Europe, for instance, has witnessed a growing body of research on young people's attitudes toward the police as well as their concerns about the legitimization of the police and the judicial system.

This research increased after major youth riots in European cities. Countries with a history of youth violence, such as France, have been particularly concerned with exploring the causes of violent youth protests in inner cities and the lack of police legitimacy among the minority population. To date, (minority) juveniles' views of and attitudes toward the police and the justice system are widely acknowledged to be central for the understanding of riots and collective violence in urban settings (see, for example, *Le Goaziou & Mucchielli* 2006*; Roché* 2007; *Schneider* 2008; *Roché & de Maillard* 2009).

In France, research has identified a lack of integration of ethnic minorities – often coupled with precarious living situations and a tense relationship of the minority population with the police, particularly of North African background – as major causes for the devastating riots in Paris, Lyon and many other French cities in 2005

(*Lagrange & Oberti* 2006; *Le Goaziou & Mucchielli* 2006; *Roché* 2007; *Schneider* 2008; *Jobard* 2009; *Jobard & Lévy* 2009; *Mucchielli* 2009; *Roché & de Maillard* 2009).

The UK provides some of the most valuable contributions to the flourishing debate around the mechanisms of people's legitimization of the police as well as the importance of process-based policing, both methodologically and theoretically (*Bradford et al.* 2009; *Stanko & Bradford* 2009; *Jackson et al.* 2012b; *Hough et al.* 2013b, 2013a; *Tankebe* 2013). Although reference is made to these studies when discussing the theoretical framework and implications underlying the analysis of adolescents' attitudes toward the police, for now, this literature overview does not dwell on more details, as this research mainly focuses on the adult population. One may, however, look into the work of *Jackson et al.* (2013a) on the predictors of trust in the police in England and Wales, which includes some theoretical and empirical considerations on the relationship of young males of minority ethnic descent with the police in London.

Whereas youth riots have occurred in some European countries, such as France, Great Britain and most recently Sweden, this has thus far not happened in others. Germany, for instance, has to date been spared from collective violent outbreaks of juveniles of the size of the 2005 riots in France. To some extent, this might explain the scarce research on the policing of (minority) youth as well as adolescents' diverse perceptions of and experiences with the police and the judicial system in Germany. Still, the empirical German studies allow for some assumptions on the relationship between (ethnic minority) juveniles and the police (*Gesemann* 2003; *Zdun,* 2008*; Lukas* 2009).

As for the comparative German-French research, the situation looks even more precarious. Only a handful of comparative German-French studies have been carried out so far, aiming at understanding why France featured important youth riots in the past while Germany did not. Those studies highlight commonalities but also important differences across the two countries, mainly with respect to the social as well as political integration of minorities and everyday police work (*Loch* 2009; *Lukas* 2011; *Gauthier* 2012).

In the following, the current line of research is summarized according to factors that seem to consistently affect juveniles' (and adults') perceptions of and attitudes toward the police: (1) the core demographics of age, gender and ethnic/migration background; (2) social deprivation as measured by socio-economic status and neighborhood conditions; (3) social ties; (4) the crime- and justice-related variables of criminal offending; and (5) police contact and conduct.

3.1.1   Age, gender and ethnic/migration background

Former research on citizen's attitudes toward the police points to the important rela-tionship between individual-level variables such as age, gender, and ethnic back-ground.

The fact that young adults and teenagers tend to have more negative opinions about the police than older citizens has emerged as one of the most consistent findings of research on attitudes toward the police (*Hurst & Frank* 2000; *Lee et al.* 2010; *Schuck* 2013; *Stewart et al.* 2014; *Murphy* 2015). Yet, some studies find inconsistent or lim-ited effects of age (*Scaglion & Condon* 1980; *Correia et al.* 1996) or do not find age to be a significant predictor of such attitudes at all (*Parker et al.* 1995).

Research that finds an effect of age provides different explanations for the age-related variation in attitudes toward the police. For some research, age is related to a more critical judgment of the police among young people who are less satisfied with police conduct and, although blaming the police for using excessive force (*Jefferis et al.* 1997), at the same time feel that they should engage more fervently in crime control (*Brown & Benedict* 2002). With age, however, views of the police and the judicial system alter and tend to improve; people then see the police as legitimate protectors (see, for example, *Scaglion & Condon* 1980; *Lee et al.* 2010).

More recently, scholars have also analyzed the effect of age on attitudes toward the police with increased methodological rigor, adding to the knowledge about their life-course development (*Esbensen et al.* 2001; *Piquero et al.* 2005; *Esbensen et al.* 2012; *Schuck* 2013; *Stewart et al.* 2014).

In an attempt to describe the development of trajectories of police perception, *Schuck* (2013) focuses on the transition phase from adolescence to young adulthood. The author bases the longitudinal experiment on $N = 1,773$ observations and applies la-tent variable growth modeling to investigate how school-based programs and multi-ple reference groups affect the formation of minorities' attitudes toward the police. *Schuck* records a "dramatic decline in favorable attitudes of youth toward the police" (*Schuck* 2013, p. 19) in the early adolescent phase around age twelve – a trend that eventually ends at age seventeen when attitudes toward the police stabilize. Most interestingly, the author finds a similar pattern in the life-course development of these attitudes for all adolescents in the study, independent of their gender, race or socio-economic status. Furthermore, based on the results, *Schuck* suggests: "the roots of racial differences in attitudes toward the police lie in early childhood" (*Schuck* 2013, p. 21). This reflection is of particular interest as to some extent, it stands in contrast to the research body that argues for a major influence of (negative) experi-ences – which may occur later in life – on the formation of attitudes toward the police (see, for instance, *Flexon et al.* 2009; *Lee et al.* 2010; *Stewart et al.* 2014; *Murphy* 2015; *Fine et al.* 2016; *Slocum et al.* 2016).

The study of *Stewart et al.* (2014) stands out as one of the very few ones that apply group-based trajectory modeling to identify changes in attitudes toward the police over time, among a "general sample of youth" and "across distinct attitudinal developmental groups" (*Stewart et al.* 2014, p. 1 f.). The authors surveyed $N = 927$ juveniles over a four-year period of observation, from ages twelve to sixteen. Other than in the previously presented study (which pointed to a variance in attitudes toward the police over time), the authors found that for most of the surveyed juveniles, the relatively positive attitudes toward the police remain stable throughout the period of observation. Yet, the authors are wary of the bold generalization of findings on these attitudes among young people. Hence, referring to the empirical evidence provided by their study, they conclude that "not all juvenile attitudes exclusively pertaining to the police follow a common increasing or decreasing trajectory" (*Stewart et al.* 2014, p. 10).

Gender is commonly included as a predictor in studies of young people's attitudes toward the police. Some major studies on the topic acknowledge that compared to female juveniles, males hold the police in lower regard (e.g. *Brandt & Markus* 2000; *Hurst & Frank* 2000; *Taylor et al.* 2001; *Gesemann* 2003; *Zdun* 2004; *Geistman & Smith* 2007; *Stewart et al.* 2014).

The reasons behind a supposedly more favorable view of female adolescents can be seen in the tendency that "males are somewhat more likely than females to believe that the police use too much force" (*Jefferis et al.* 1997, p. 389). Other researchers suggest that females tend to be less critical toward the police's handling of problems than males and therefore more satisfied with police conduct (e.g. *Hurst & Frank* 2000). From this follows that for some scholars, the relationship between male adolescents and the police deserves particular attention, and thus they put a focus on male adolescents in their research (for example *Gau & Brunson* 2009; *Jackson et al.* 2013a). Although research often accords female juveniles more favorable views of the police, some researchers were keen to explore attitudes of girls toward the police in more detail, providing information on how girls differ in their relationship to the police (*Hurst et al.* 2005).

The variance in perceptions of the police among male and female juveniles tends to decrease in studies that investigate other core predictors, such as juveniles' racial/ethnic background, the social condition they live in or include a set of behavioral variables that are likely to undermine positive attitudes, such as a high disposition to violence. Generally, these studies no longer find a steady effect of gender on perceptions of the police (see, as an example, *Hurst & Frank* 2000).

Research that specifically looks at young people's attitudes toward the police widely acknowledges that ethnic minority males' relationship with the police is particularly tedious (*Hurst et al.* 2000; *Taylor et al.* 2001; *Gesemann* 2003; *Geistman & Smith* 2007; *Zdun* 2008; *Wu et al.* 2013). Thus, male juveniles with an ethnic minority

background may be considered to be a "special population" (*Jackson et al.* 2013a, p. 128).

Research that finds a less positive assessment of the police among the minority population often explains the differential perceptions of the police between the ethnic majority and minority populations as resulting from a combination of minority members' negative contacts with the police and their more general negative attitudes toward all governmental authorities (e.g. *van Craen & Skogan* 2015). As previously noted, results from surveys and in-depth interviews from different countries (e.g. *Hagan et al.* 2005; *Carr et al.* 2007; *Jackson et al.* 2013a; *Murphy* 2015) suggest that adolescents and young adults of an ethnic minority background, and within those particularly the male adolescents, are exposed to more frequent police encounters and, on average, more often report experiences of hostile and disrespectful police conduct. The perceived unfair and discriminatory treatment by police officers during these contacts fuels resentment against the police and may explain the less favorable views of the police among the (male) minority youth attested by these studies. Thus, claims of discontent with the police have to be taken seriously, as they may trigger tensions with the police which, occasionally, turn into violent protests (see *Le Goaziou & Mucchielli* 2006; *Roché & de Maillard* 2009).

Most of the research from the USA does indeed find a significant and strong influence of the "minority racial status" (*Schuck* 2013, p. 579), reflected in the differing overall attitudes of Black and White juveniles toward the police, with Black juveniles consistently holding less favorable views (*Hurst et al.* 2000; *Taylor et al.* 2001; *Geistman & Smith* 2007; *Schuck* 2013; *Wu et al.* 2013).

The work of *Wu et al.* (2013) is an example of a more recent US-American study that investigates the effect of race on juveniles' attitudes toward the police. The authors ran a set of sequential OLS regressions on juveniles' perceptions of the police on survey data from over $N = 1,300$ students, aged between 13 and 18 and gathered across various US cities. From the analysis, the authors conclude that the differential satisfaction with the police between White and Black (and, to a lesser extent, between White and Hispanic teenagers) is significant, even after controlling for various demographic and location variables.

European empirical research on the effect of an ethnic minority background on attitudes toward the police finds rather mixed results, with studies even suggesting limited effects of the ethnic minority status on perceptions of the police (*Baier et al.* 2009) – or finding no such variations at all (*Jackson et al.* 2013a).

The distinguished work of *Jackson et al.* (2013a) untangles the drivers of trust in the police in England and Wales. Although they did not restrict their study to the juvenile and minority population, they intentionally ran their analysis on data from a booster sample of around $N = 1,000$ Black and ethnic minority males living in London and aged between 16 and 30. They find few differences in levels of trust across different

ethnic groups. What seems to damage trust, however, are (recurrent) experiences with stop-and-search police contacts.

In recent times, German studies have focused on attitudes of minorities and youths toward the police as well (e.g. *Gesemann* 2003; *Zdun* 2004; *Heitmeyer et al.* 2005; *Sauer* 2007; *Celikbas & Zdun* 2008; *Oberwittler & Lukas* 2010), reporting experiences of (dis-)respect and questioning the police's image and trust in the police/judicial system among the minority population.

Altogether, the studies on youth-police relations in Germany mostly find high levels of trust in the police, reporting minor or no ethnic differences between the ethnic majority and minority populations (e.g. *Heitmeyer et al.* 2005; *Baier et al.* 2009; *Oberwittler & Lukas* 2010). Only some studies report a more widespread sense of discrimination among youths with minority backgrounds in Germany (*Gesemann* 2003; *Zdun* 2004; *Celikbas & Zdun* 2008).

Heitmeyer et al. (2005) question the construction of "enemy images" (in German: *Feindbilder*) and the disposition to violence among juveniles of both German and foreign descent – and lay a special focus on juveniles of Turkish background and those descending from "resettlers". To fulfill this purpose, the authors used data from a unique representative longitudinal study, the IKG-Jugendpanel, that started with wave 1 in 2001 and, at the time of the research in 2004, had already been carried out four times with an $N = 3,158$ at wave 4 (510 Turkish, 1,146 resettler and 1,502 native German juveniles). According to their findings, Turkish minority youths trust the justice system even more than youths of a German background (*Heitmeyer et al.* 2005).

Baier et al. (2009) analyzed data from a national representative school survey of $N = 52,610$ juveniles from German schools in grades 4 and 9 across 61 different cities and 15 federal states, with the primary aim to deliver insights into patterns of delinquency and victimization of juveniles. Their findings support an overall positive perception of the police among young people in Germany. The majority of the respondents, over 60%, voiced positive attitudes about the police. Turkish and native German youths shared about the same levels of positive attitudes, whereas young people of Russian or Polish origin reported slightly more negative attitudes (*Baier et al.* 2009).

The study of *Celikbas and Zdun* (2008) is somehow different from the previous ones, as it focuses on a specific population: the young males of Turkish descent. The authors interviewed $N = 200$ male Turkish adolescents from three city districts in Duisburg, Germany in 2003. They conclude that adolescents and young adults of minority descent hold rather negative views of the police, reflected by low levels of trust and a limited willingness to report to the police (*Celikbas & Zdun* 2008). Prior to this study, *Zdun* (2004) had also assessed levels of trust in the police among adolescents of Russian-German descent. The findings suggest the importance of building trust in the relationship between ethnic minority youths and the police.

The ethnic backgrounds of juveniles may also indirectly affect their assessment of police through a variety of other variables, such as "family economic status", "commitment to a delinquent subculture" and "contact with the police" (see *Hurst & Frank* 2000).

3.1.2   Socio-economic status and neighborhood condition

Although several studies have investigated variances in (young) people's attitudes toward the police across different social groups (*Leiber et al.* 1998; *Geistman & Smith* 2007; *Lee et al.* 2010; *Schuck* 2013; *Wu et al.* 2013; *Sargeant & Bond* 2015), the impact of the neighborhood context remains broadly unexplored (with a few exceptions: e.g. *Weitzer* 1999; *Stewart et al.* 2009; *Wu et al.* 2009; *Nix et al.* 2015).

The results from the studies on the effect of individual-level social deprivation are heterogeneous and suggest that adolescents' socio-demographic characteristics are not consistently related to their attitudes toward the police. The fact that these studies include very diverse predictors for measuring social deprivation adds to the difficulty of comparing them.

Indeed, although numerous studies control for socio-economic status or social class, some rely only on a rudimentary measure of the socio-economic status, such as the parental employment status (e.g. *Sargeant & Bond* 2015); others include the parents' educational level and/or family structure or the subjective assessment of socio-economic status as proxies for social class (e.g. *Geistman & Smith* 2007; *Lee et al.* 2010; *Schuck* 2013).

In an older study based on a sample of $N = 337$ male youths from the US state of Iowa, who had been either accused of delinquency or adjudicated as delinquent, *Leiber et al.* (1998) find a statistically significant effect of social class in their examination of predictors for explaining juveniles' attitudes toward the police. The authors conclude that juveniles from lower socio-economic groups perceive the police as being less fair as compared to those belonging to more well-off groups. Yet, this finding is contested, particularly by more recent studies (e.g. *Sargeant & Bond* 2015) that point to the limited effects of class on attitudes toward the police when controlling for other variables, such as race. Similarly, the study of *Wu et al.* (2013) on the interplay between race, social bonds and juveniles' attitudes toward the police finds no major effects of class and the interactional terms between class and race on young people's perceptions of the police. The findings are based on survey data collected from over $N = 1,300$ students aged between 13 and 18 across various US cities.

To date, neighborhood-level variance is still a rarely broached issue in research on juveniles' attitudes toward the police (see *Hurst & Frank* 2000). This is a shortcoming, as one learns from research on the adult population, which accounts for the neighborhood context that differences between neighborhoods in perceptions of the police are likely to exist (*Reisig & Parks* 2000; *Schuck et al.* 2008; *Wu et al.* 2009).

While this research emphasizes that general neighborhood conditions, as well as respondents' perceptions of these conditions, potentially influence their levels of satisfaction with the police, it finds no consensus on the underlying causes for this variation. Hence, "potentially infinite combinations of variables such as education, fear of victimization, race and socio-economic status affect neighborhood differences in perceptions of the police" (*Brown & Benedict* 2002, p. 556).

The research of *Stewart et al.* (2009) is one of the few studies to deal with the effect of the social neighborhood context on police perceptions among young people. Results from the analysis of two waves of data from $N = 763$ Black adolescents living in the US states of Georgia and Iowa suggest that neighborhood does matter indeed. According to the authors, Black juveniles experience frequent discrimination by the police in neighborhoods that are predominately populated by White citizens.

3.1.3   Social ties

Various studies have linked juveniles' attitudes toward teachers, parents and peers to their perceptions of the police (e.g. *Leiber et al.* 1998; *Brick et al.* 2009; *Wu et al.* 2013; *Sargeant & Bond* 2015). Mostly, this research finds that favorable attitudes toward parents and teachers, which result in positive social ties, correlate with positive attitudes toward the police.

Reference is made again to the study of *Wu et al.* (2013) discussed above. The authors find that a commitment to a school of beliefs in shared norms of the society significantly affects juveniles' attitudes toward the police (*Wu et al.* 2013).

In a more recent study, *Sargeant & Bond* (2015) examine parental influence on young people's attitudes toward the police in Australia. The empirical evidence, which relies on a survey of $N = 540$ school students in Southeast Queensland, emphasizes the importance of the familial context. Perceived parental attitudes are found to be associated with those of juveniles, even after controlling for police contact and delinquency-related variables.

Few studies have explored the extent to which a common "social identity" (*Tyler* 2009, p. 349) or the sharing of values of a society can impact the relationship between the police and citizens. The research of *Bradford* (2014) is an interesting example of such a study: it explores the extent to which a commitment to norms and values of the society positively influences the relationship between young people and the police. The author assumes such an influence because "police behaviour carries important identity-relevant information" (*Bradford* 2014, p. 22). Drawing on data from a survey of young Londoners aged between 16 and 30 ($N = 1{,}017$), the author finds, indeed, that perceptions of police fairness – but also the propensity to cooperate with the police – are associated with social identity.

Isolated studies have considered religion as a predictor of attitudes toward the police. *Chow* (2011) has included religion when investigating this issue in a Canadian city. Findings from this survey of $N = 262$ adolescents suggest that there is no statistically significant relationship between religion and attitudes toward police authority.

In addition to social ties, the proximity to a delinquent subculture and other forms of negative social exchange may also alter perceptions of the police.

The study of *Brick et al.* (2009) is an example of research that tests for the influence of both positive and negative social relations on juveniles' attitudes toward the police, as measured by their involvement in a delinquent subculture and ties to the community. The authors base their analysis on a study of juveniles from grades 6 to 9 in four states across the USA, counting $N = 1,289$ observations. According to their findings, both community ties and involvement in a delinquent subculture substantially mediate the influence of police contact on juveniles' attitudes and, thus, add to the explanation of their perceptions of the police.

3.1.4   Criminal offending and delinquent peers

The majority of studies that explore the impact of crime and justice variables on attitudes toward the police find a significant relationship between the commitment to criminal norms and negative ratings of the police (e.g. *Leiber et al.* 1998; *Hardin* 2004; *Brick et al.* 2009; *Flexon et al.* 2009; *Lee et al.* 2010; *Chow* 2011; *Schuck* 2013; *Wu et al.* 2013; *Sargeant & Bond* 2015). The reason for this relationship may be traced back to the circumstance that "it is normal for juveniles who engage in illegal behaviours and view such behaviours positively to view the police negatively" (*Brown & Benedict* 2002, p. 558).

Habitual reoffending as well as delinquent behavior of peers and prior victimization influence opinions about the police and the criminal justice system among juveniles.

In their study, *Wu et al.* (2013) find – in concordance with the bulk of literature on the subject (e.g. *Leiber et al.* 1998; *Geistman & Smith* 2007; *Chow* 2011) – a significant association between variables measuring delinquency as well as non-conventional values and negative perceptions of the police. The authors argue for "a strong link between general values and beliefs and specific perceptions of the police" (*Wu et al.* 2013, p. 446).

Some research has pointed out that strong involvement in a delinquent subculture also results in negative perceptions of the police (e.g. *Schuck* 2013).

3.1.5   Experiences with police encounters

Recent research has increasingly drawn attention to the influence of young people's contact with the police, whether self-instigated or vicarious, on their overall attitudes

toward the police (see, for example, *Schuck* 2013; *Stewart et al.* 2014; *Ward et al.* 2014; *Murphy* 2015; *Fine et al.* 2016; *Slocum et al.* 2016).

Altogether, this research finds that juveniles' experiences with the police greatly influence their opinions about them and that their trust in the police is fragile and likely to be eroded by discriminatory police practices. From this follows that the type and frequency of police contacts should be considered in the analysis of juveniles' attitudes toward the police. Research on the explanatory power of contact with the police finds that encounters between juveniles and the police generally promote more negative attitudes (e.g. *Rusinko et al.* 1978; *Scaglion & Condon* 1980; *Leiber et al.* 1998). In particular, unsought encounters with the police, such as "stop-and-frisk" contacts, are particularly problematic as they are usually experienced in a negative light that will lower opinions about the police. In contrast, sought encounters with the police – where adolescents interact with them to seek information – often produce less variation in juveniles' attitudes toward the police (*Leiber et al.* 1998).

Finally, indirect experiences of police contact can profoundly affect attitudes toward the police, too. Literature indicates that third-party experiences of police misconduct influence one's owns opinions, resulting in less positive attitudes toward the police (e.g. *Hurst et al.* 2000; *Fine et al.* 2016).

In their study, *Flexon et al.* (2009) find a strong empirical evidence in support of the influence of both the "negativity or asymmetrical bias" (*Flexon et al.* 2009, p. 180) of police contacts and the vicarious experiences with trust in the police. The authors explored the dimensions of trust with a sample of $N = 891$ Chicago public school students.

Hagan et al. (2005) come to a similar conclusion in their study of the relationship between race, ethnicity, and perceptions of criminal injustice among Chicago public school students. However, the authors used a much larger data set of $N = 18,000$ observations and applied hierarchical linear modeling to test for racial and ethnic variations in perceptions of criminal injustice. Their findings suggest that on average, ethnic minority youths are more vulnerable to police contacts than White ones. Ethnic minorities' perceptions of criminal injustice are more strongly affected by experiences with police encounters. Moreover, the authors find that when accounting for neighborhood characteristics – or "structural sources of variation in adolescents' experiences" (*Hagan et al.* 2005, p. 381) –, differences in minority youth perceptions of criminal injustice shrink whilst remaining clearly distinct from those of White youths.

Finally, reference is made to the work of *Murphy* (2015) who investigated to what extent procedural justice fosters cooperation with the police among the adult and juvenile population. The author bases the analysis on survey data collected from $N = 513$ adolescents and $N = 2,611$ adults from two medium-size cities in Australia. *Murphy's* results suggest that procedural justice more importantly affects younger

people, thus supporting the literature advocating the importance of exploring young people's encounters with the police.

3.2   From Cooperation with the Police to Vigilante Self-Help

Research investigating the premises of citizen's cooperation with the police aims to add to the understanding why people comply with the law and frequently bases its assumptions on thoughts about the psychology of procedural justice (*Tyler* 2006).

For now, however, research efforts have been mostly restricted to the adult population (e.g. *Tyler & Fagan* 2008; *Dai et al.* 2011; *Jackson et al.* 2012a, 2012b; *Sargeant et al.* 2013; *Bradford et al.* 2014). The few studies that have elaborated on young people's cooperation with the police attest to a wide range of influence factors of procedural justice on juveniles' cooperation (e.g. *Murphy & Gaylor* 2010; *Slocum et al.* 2010, 2016). Yet, while the dynamics that eventually lead younger and older people to cooperate with the police may be comparable, research has highlighted that predictors for cooperation, such as a procedural just treatment, may vary in the size of their effect across age groups (see *Murphy* 2015).

Slocum et al. (2010) present a detailed analysis of the effect of both individual-level attitudes and neighborhood characteristics for juveniles' crime-reporting intentions. Results from their multi-site school survey data across several US states suggest an influence of both individual- and neighborhood-level characteristics. Based on a sample of $N = 1,686$ students, the authors find that at the individual level, attitudes toward the police as well as delinquency and perceptions of the community influence the willingness to report. The effect of the neighborhood is, however, reduced when young people's attitudes and experiences are included.

Among the studies that use vignette experiments to test the willingness to report crime to the police, some interesting research has focused particularly on young people. The work of *Goudriaan & Nieuwbeerta* (2007) is an example of such a study, which uses this method to examine the effects of the social context on reporting crime among $N = 499$ juveniles from seven high schools in the Netherlands. The authors conclude that young people are less willing to report to the police when incidents take place in school and when the offender is well-known.

Research on the extent and the correlates of public support for vigilantism is limited to just a few studies (see *Anderson* 2000; *Haas et al.* 2012; *Jackson et al.* 2013a). These studies unanimously conclude that low levels of police legitimacy increase chances that people will endorse vigilante violence (*Jackson et al.* 2013a): "legitimacy may be the mechanism by which the community either reaches out to the police for assistance and support or, when legitimacy is lost, turns away from the police and toward risky self-help strategies" (*Gau & Brunson* 2015, p. 134).

To date, particularly the occurrence of vigilante violence among adolescents is a rarely investigated issue of research. This is somewhat puzzling, especially when considering, for instance, findings from the International Self-Report Study of Delinquency (ISRD-2) which show that adolescents are reluctant to report violent offenses to the police. The percentage of reported violent victimization varied between 10% and 15% across various countries (*Enzmann* 2012). Two recent German self-report surveys, including the one that provided the data for this study, put the share of violent incidences reported to the police at 15% (*Oberwittler et al.* 2014) and 20% (*Baier et al.* 2009), respectively. Thus, the potential scope for self-help among young people is particularly large.

The low proportion of cases reported to the police raises questions about how young people deal with violent victimization in the large majority of cases that are never reported to the police.

Analyzing data from a large youth survey conducted by the Max Planck Institute for Foreign and International Criminal Law in 1999, *Köllisch* (2004) finds evidence of vigilantism among only a small minority of adolescent victims of violence.

Based on data from a national longitudinal survey of youths in the USA ($N = 1,524$), *Apel and Burrow* (2011) find that repeated experiences of being bullied and hearing gunshots in the neighborhood predicts aggravated assault and gang membership, net of other criminogenic influences. They conclude that violent youth behavior can partly be understood as the result of "an on-going interpersonal dispute wherein one party in the dyad has been wronged or feels aggrieved and retaliates to re-establish equilibrium" (*Apel & Burrow* 2011, p. 113). These findings put self-help in the context of deviant, violence-prone subcultures.

Part II

Theories, Key Assumptions and Methods

Chapter 4

Framing Youth-Police Relations

In order to account for claims and consequences of discriminatory police practices as well as to test for a potential disparity due to an ethnic divide, this research refers mainly to conflict theory. To investigate attitudes toward and the prerequisites of cooperation with the police, this research draws on the police legitimacy model and associated assumptions. This main theoretical framework is supplemented by theoretical considerations stemming from the social bonding theory, the subcultural theory and the situational action theory. Each of these theories will be referred to only to the extent that they allow for further assumptions to be made about the influence of delinquent subcultures, social bonds, lifestyle and delinquent propensity on the quality and frequency of young people's encounters with as well as their attitudes toward the police.

4.1 Ethnic Profiling and Conflict Theory

4.1.1 (Comparative) conflict theory

Conflict theory represents a solid starting point for analyzing factors that influence the likelihood of (young) people to be stopped and searched by the police.

Historically rooted in the US-American context, the theory aims at explaining crime and its control through group relations; it addresses the concepts of power, exposure to group threats and subordination. The theory gives race a prime role in shaping group relations (see *Blalock Jr.* 1965; *Quinney* 1973; *Liska et al.* 1981; *Chambliss* 1994; *Hagan et al.* 2005).

Conflict theory holds that "representatives of the dominant social class, such as police who maintain social control, view minority citizens as posing an increased risk of criminality" (*Petrocelli et al.* 2003, p. 5). It implies that police are more likely to stop-and-search individuals from disadvantaged and minority classes.

On the one hand, police might expect them to commit criminal offenses more frequently (e.g. *Blalock Jr.* 1965; *Quinney* 1973; *Liska et al.* 1981; *Chambliss* 1994;

Petrocelli et al. 2003). On the other hand, "police will often ignore or tolerate offending among the powerful and concomitantly concentrate on those with less status and influence" (*Bradford et al.* 2016, p. 12).

At its core, conflict theory is about power relations and social class in general, with effects that are related to belonging to minority classes being discussed under the umbrella of a broader social disadvantage explanation. This study, however, applies conflict theory mainly in order to explain (perceptions of) disadvantages of ethnic minority groups. The analyses presented in the study do control for a range of other indicators of social class and status, but they are treated as control and not as main explanatory variables.

The comparative conflict theory (*Hagan et al.* 2005) is an elaborated version of the conflict theory that aims to explain racial-ethnic differences through the perceptive of injustice. It is defined by three core hypotheses: racial-ethnic divide, racial-ethnic gradient and differential sensitivity (*Hagan et al.* 2005; *Buckler & Unnever* 2008).

According to the racial-ethnic divide hypothesis, individuals belonging to an ethnic minority are exposed to more injustice, mainly due to their relative lack of social, political, economic and cultural power in relation to the majority population. As a consequence, "these power differentials have limited their capacity to effectively prevent laws from being passed that will disproportionately 'criminalize' them" (*Buckler & Unnever* 2008, p. 271). Divergent capacities in exercising power across ethnic groups are seen as promoting racially segregated communities, causing ethnic minorities to reside in disadvantaged and low-income areas. These areas are characterized by high crime rates and, consequently, residents are more strongly exposed to the criminal justice system. Cumulative experiences of disadvantage and frequent contact with the police further increase perceptions of criminal injustice among certain groups of the minority population (*Buckler & Unnever* 2008).

The racial-ethnic gradient hypothesis postulates that across ethnic minority groups, experiences and perceptions of injustice vary. Thus, specific ethnic groups happen to be particularly exposed to the criminal justice system, for example by being stopped disproportionately often by the police or by experiencing unfair and disrespectful treatment. Individuals of an ethnic minority background form their perceptions of injustice by adopting "a relative frame of reference whereby their perceptions of injustice are formed in relation to one another" (*Buckler & Unnever* 2008, p. 272). This process of "relative subordination" (*Hagan et al.* 2005) implies that individuals of an ethnic minority background form their perceptions of criminal injustice by relating the experiences of their own ethnic minority group with the criminal justice system to those of other ethnic minority groups.

Finally, the differential sensitivity hypothesis posits "that prior contact with the criminal justice system differentially impacts [...] perceptions of injustice" (*Buckler & Unnever* 2008, p. 272). This hypothesis presumes that across race and ethnicity, the quality of police contact varies. Different experiences frame perceptions of injustice

and can have repercussions on opinions about the criminal justice system (*Weitzer & Tuch* 2002).

Advocates of the comparative conflict theory see the dynamics described by the hypotheses of the racial-ethnic divide, the racial-ethnic gradient and a differential sensitivity "as producing a self-reinforcing belief system that contributes to, and sustains, an enduring racial divide in perceptions of injustice" (*Buckler et al.* 2008, p. 272).

4.1.2 Ethnic profiling

The conflict theory (and its underlying assumption) has delivered a valuable contribution to research focusing on ethnic profiling, a particular kind of decision-making process believed to be adopted by some police officers when interacting with citizens. In line with the hypotheses of the racial-ethnic divide, the racial-ethnic gradient and differential sensitivity, ethnic profiling assumes that the police discriminate against (some) minority citizens and that these practices frame minorities' opinions about the police as well as their perceptions of the criminal justice system (*Buckler & Unnever* 2008).

Since the 1990s, the term 'ethnic' or 'racial profiling' has been commonly used to describe discriminatory police practices based on an individual's race or ethnicity. The term quickly gained resonance and became a central social, political and legal concern, particularly in the United States (e.g. *McAra & McVie* 2005; *Cochran & Warren* 2012). Although to date, no "universally accepted definition of this behaviour" (*Schafer et al.* 2003, p. 159) exists, the term 'ethnic profiling' refers to "police-initiated behaviours that are the primary/sole product of a citizen's perceived race/ethnicity, rather than behavioural/legal cues" (*Schafer et al.* 2003, p. 159). Ethnic profiling is claimed to be based on "discretionary decision-making" (*Fallik & Novak* 2014, p. 155), whereby police officers make decisions according to unwritten rules and their own personal experiences. Their discretionary decisions become highly problematic whenever "judgments of police are seen as unfair, not based on law, and/or based on personal biases" (*Fallik & Novak* 2014, p. 155). Thus, in adopting ethnic profiling, police officers target "certain persons because of what they look like and not what they have done" (*Jobard & Lévy* 2009, p. 20). For example, the ethnic profiling argument insinuates that police use "race as a key factor in deciding whether to make a traffic stop" (*Schafer et al.* 2003, p. 159) in a traffic-control situation. Ethnic profiling can also apply to subsequent decisions made by police officers during the course of an encounter, such as whether or not to conduct a search. In being discretionary, ethnic profiling is at odds with the basic principles of law and thus with the foundations of police legitimization as well principles of procedural justice and fair procedure. Hence, it jeopardizes the perception of the rule of law, which states that under the law, all persons are to be treated in an equal manner and that behavioral aspects are at the basis of legal liability (*Sunshine & Tyler* 2003).

Yet, some scholars affirm that for purposes of crime prevention or crime detection, ethnic profiling is desirable and even necessary in specific cases. For instance, in the cases where victims or witnesses describe potential suspects of crimes, they are asked to refer to criteria such as ethnicity, national origin and religious denomination. Therefore, for investigating or preventing specific crimes, the knowledge of the ethnic, national and/or religious background of the suspected individuals can play a decisive role (*Ramirez* 2000).

The consequences of ethnic profiling are manifold and far-reaching. The practice is believed to profoundly affect the targeted individuals by promoting their hostility toward the police. This hostility "increases the chances that routine encounters will escalate into aggression and conflict, and poses safety concerns for law enforcement officers and community members alike" (*Jobard & Lévy* 2009, p. 21).

Thus, it is no coincidence that ethnic profiling is a contentious political topic. In the long term, ethnic profiling harms the effectiveness of law enforcement, "as policing is profoundly dependent on the cooperation of the general public to report crimes, provide suspect descriptions, and offer witness testimony" (*Jobard & Lévy* 2009, p. 20).

Ethnic profiling results in both over- and under-inclusive police practices. On the one hand, it is over-inclusive in that "the majority of people who are targeted for stops and searches are innocent of the suspected crime or infraction" (*Jobard & Lévy* 2009, p. 21). On the other hand, it is under-inclusive because "there may be individuals who do not fit the profile and can therefore escape attention" (*Jobard & Lévy* 2009, p. 21). Both over- and under-inclusion may be problematic for law enforcement agencies. Whereas over-inclusion harms those people who match the profile accidentally but turn out to be innocent, under-inclusion allows delinquent people who do not match the profiled criteria to escape police attention.

4.2   Cooperation, Asymmetry of Impact of Police Contact and the Police Legitimacy Model

4.2.1   Police legitimacy model

The baseline assumptions underlying the procedural justice and police legitimacy models are particularly fruitful for investigating (young) people's attitudes toward the police and for identifying predictors for their cooperation with the police.

The modern understanding of legitimacy (*Tyler* 2004; *Tankebe* 2013; *Tyler & Jackson* 2013) builds on *Max Weber's* work of the "legitime Herrschaft" (*Weber* 1956) – the legitimate rule – and his thoughts about the prime components of legitimacy, namely: effectiveness, distributive fairness, procedural fairness and lawfulness. *Weber* postulates that in the modern state, the perceived legality of enacted rules is a

prime precondition for a legitimate authority. Thereby, mechanisms of the internalization of social norms play an important role (*Weber* 1956). Indeed, other researchers agree that in societies ruled by a legitimate authority, self-control replaces control by others and "social norms and values become a part of people's internal motivational systems and guide their behavior separately from the impact of incentives and sanctions" (*Tyler* 2006, p. 378).

Although the foundations of state and institutional legitimacy are well-known, only in recent years has the concept of legitimacy been extensively applied by research into the dynamics of political, legal and social systems (*Tankebe* 2013). Building upon *Weber's* line of thought, the legal psychologist *Tom R. Tyler* has developed the police legitimacy model; this model highlights core aspects that shape people's view of the police in Western societies (*Tyler* 2004) and provides a valuable starting point for the analysis of (young) people's attitudes toward the police (*Smith* 2007). *Tyler* defines legitimacy as "a psychological property of an authority, institution, or social arrangement that leads those connected to it to believe that it is appropriate, proper, and just" (*Tyler* 2006, p. 375). Thus, the population will generally have more trust in the political system and its institutions if they consider them as legitimate (*Tyler* 2006). Particularly in democratic systems where influence is achieved by other means than by the sole possession and use of power, legitimacy is a premise – and a consequence – of successful authority. Although *Tyler's* work focuses on conditions under which "people", and thus the general population, legitimize state authorities, there is no fundamental indication speaking against the suitability of his theoretical framework for the analysis of the relationship between "young people" and the police.

4.2.2 Procedural justice

According to the procedural justice model of police legitimacy, the police gain legitimacy when their actions and encounters with the citizens are fair and trustworthy, and thus when their treatment of citizens meets the standards of just procedure (*Tyler & Wakslak* 2004).

A procedure is defined as fair and trustworthy if it fulfills the requirements of neutral and consistent decision-making and respectful treatment (*Tyler* 2004). Particularly the neutrality of authorities is a key factor in procedural justice, as the "evidence of evenhandedness and objectivity enhances perceived fairness" (*Tyler* 2004, p. 96). *Tyler* refers to the notion of respect when defining the quality of interpersonal treatment. An authority's procedure is respectful when citizens believe it is "acting out of benevolence and a sincere desire to be fair" (*Tyler & Wakslak* 2004, p. 255). In contrast, experiences of unfair, disrespectful or violent treatment by the police risk the legitimacy of state authority and can eventually undermine the one of the police in the eyes of both those directly affected and those who learn about such incidents.

Considerations on the asymmetry of the impact of police contacts – formulated, among others, by *Skogan* (2006) – fit neatly into the line of thought of the police legitimacy/procedural justice models and are of particular relevance to analyses concerning police-citizen contact, be it direct or indirect. The "asymmetry in the impact of encounters" (*Skogan* 2006) hypothesis assumes that citizens tend to be more satisfied with police contact (and grant them higher legitimacy) when the police are contacted for assistance. Conversely, contacts initiated by the police are "more likely to be of a suspicious, inquisitorial and potentially adversarial nature" (*Skogan* 2006, p. 104) and are therefore perceived as being part of an "unjust" police procedure. The implications of these types of encounters are particularly problematic as, "at its worst, the police may get essentially no credit for delivering professional service, while bad experiences can deeply influence people's views of their performance and even legitimacy" (*Skogan* 2006, p. 99). Thereby, especially the "widespread use of street stops" (*Tyler et al.* 2014, p. 751) undermines legitimacy. According to the procedural justice and police legitimacy models, opinions about the police are "influenced by the number of stops and the degree of police intrusion during those stops" (*Tyler et al.* 2014, p. 271). The asymmetry of the impact of police- and self-initiated encounters, as well as the deteriorating influence of recurrent police-initiated encounters on legitimacy, is supported by various empirical studies (see *Leiber et al.* 1998; *Cheurprakobkit* 2000; *Skogan* 2006; *Tyler et al.* 2014) and adds to the understanding of why "favourable and unfavourable experiences may not have comparable consequences for people's assessments of the quality of police service" (*Skogan* 2006, p. 105).

4.2.3   (Non-)Cooperation

Generally, it is "widely agreed that authorities benefit from having legitimacy and find governance easier and more effective when a feeling that they are entitled to rule is widespread within the population" (*Tyler* 2006 p. 377). Hence, legitimacy promotes people's willingness to voluntarily follow decisions and rules. Building upon *Weber's* thoughts on the internalization of social norms, *Tyler* postulates: "people who internalize social norms and values become self-regulating, taking on the obligations and responsibilities associated with those norms and values as aspects of their own motivation" (*Tyler* 2006, p. 378). Thus, people conform to the law "out of obligation rather than out of fear of punishment or anticipation of reward" (*Tyler* 2006, p. 375). Maintaining high levels of legitimacy is therefore pivotal for a "success in policing efforts" (*Tyler* 2011, p. 258). People are more likely to voluntarily obey rules and police actions (and will morally align with the police) if they perceive the police as legitimate and trustworthy. Since state authority is based on people's acceptance of power and their belief in shared norms and moral values, high levels of

trust in state institutions are preconditions for order and security (*Tyler* 2006). Co-operation or voluntary compliance require that they grant the police legitimacy and, as elaborated above, are best achieved through the procedural justice model.

A lack of trust and legitimacy in the police can have dramatic consequences, particularly among adolescents: (young) people might be unwilling to report crimes and conflicts to the police and might seek alternative conflict resolution strategies (see *Black* 1983; *Bradford et al.* 2013). *Black* (1983) provides a succinct sociological analysis about when and why people take the law into their own hands. According to him, many acts of "self-help" or vigilante violence, such as personal violence or property destruction, are committed in the "pursuit of justice" by people who express "a grievance by unilateral aggression" (*Black* 1983, p. 34). Especially persons who perceive the law as unavailable to them, or as inept, favor vigilante self-help over legal strategies to redress wrongdoings. Thus, vigilantism may thrive in societies with a dysfunctional law enforcement system, or in segments of societies which lack (or think they lack) access to law enforcement authorities (see *Abrahams* 1998; *Goldstein* 2003; *Smith* 2004; *Meagher* 2007; *Pratten* 2008).

4.3 Moderators of Youth-Police Relations

This study draws on the theoretical premises of the social bonding theory, the subcultural theory and the situational action theory in order to identify factors that are likely to moderate the previously discussed influences of ethnic divide and the procedural justice model on young people's relationship with the police.

4.3.1 Religiosity, commitment to societal norms and the social bonding theory

4.3.1.1 Social bonding theory

The social bonding theory allows for strong assumptions based on the influence of (young) people's social ties and beliefs, on their attitudes and hypothetical behavior toward the police. This theory dates back to the works of *Hirschi* (1969) and is embedded in the theories of social control. At its core, it postulates that social ties function as social control mechanisms and thus prevent people from engaging in delinquent activities.

Four elements are central to the social bonding theory: attachment to significant others, commitment to traditional types of action, involvement in conventional activities and beliefs in the moral values of society.

Although the theory was initially designed to explain delinquency, it has been used to measure attitudes toward the police in more recent times, especially the impact of

social ties on (young) people's perceptions of the police (*Wu et al.* 2013; *Ferdik et al.* 2014). Based on *Hirschi's* theory, this research postulates that social bonds interplay with people's, and in particular juveniles', legitimization of the police. Ties to family and school, but also religious beliefs and commitment to norms and values of the society shape the way young people perceive and interact with the police (see *Brick et al.* 2009; *Wu et al.* 2013; *Antrobus et al.* 2015; *Sargeant & Bond* 2015).

4.3.1.2   Attachment to "conventional" others

As with other research (see *Brick et al.* 2009; *Wu et al.* 2013; *Antrobus et al.* 2015; *Sargeant & Bond* 2015), this study considers the potential influence of "significant others" (*Hirschi* 1969) or "conventional others" (*Hindelang* 1973, p. 475) on how young people perceive the police.

The bond of affection for conventional others is a central element in *Hirschi's* theory, and he postulated that this bond is a major deterrent of delinquent behavior (*Hirschi* 1969). Relations to parents and friends, but also to teachers and school are considered important social bonds, particularly for young people (*Junger-Tas* 1992).

The present study assumes that to a certain degree, strong ties to the family reflect young people's disposition to comply with guidelines and rules and therefore promote positive attitudes toward authoritarian figures, such as the police. Inversely, adolescents with poor ties to their family are more likely to hold negative attitudes toward the police. Next to their family, school is also a setting where adolescents are asked to follow certain rules in order to fulfill duties and to meet expectations. Similar to parental figures, teachers possess authority, which demands respect from the students. A strong attachment to school reflects adolescents' commitment to adhere to a setting of norms and rules decreed by the school authority. The ones who do so are likely to accept a different set of rules – such as the ones set by the police and the judicial system – and to be positively inclined to the police. Contrarily, adolescents who restrain from accepting the norms of school show little attachment to it and tend to hold negative views of the police.

4.3.1.3   Religiosity

In line with *Hirsch's* theoretical considerations, belief functions as a strong social control (*Hirschi* 2004) and is likely to influence (young) people's opinions. On the background of the premises discussed within the police legitimacy model, belief in the norms and moral values of society influences (young) people's willingness to cooperate with the police, too.

Religiosity in Western society incorporates the basic principles of ethnic and moral conduct and serves as a guideline for state authorities. Strong religiosity reflects a conscious engagement to behave norm-conformly and to follow principles of a higher morality (*Brettfeld* 2009). Thus, it is presumable that citizens who feel particularly committed to religious values also agree on their underlying moral and ethnic

principles. Following this line of thought, strong religiosity stands for the sharing of conservative values and thus for the ones close to the moral beliefs as well as values of society and, consequently, of the police (*Waddington* 1999). A shared set of conservative values promotes positive perceptions of the police and increases a willingness to support and cooperate with them (*Bradford* 2014).

Conversely, one may argue that people who consider religion to have no important role in their lives may be less supportive of the police and hold them in lower regard. Citizens with weak religiosity who do not conform to the set of values to which the state and its officials are bound are most likely to refuse state authority.

4.3.1.4 Commitment to societal norms

Next to religiosity, this study hypothesizes that the strength of ties toward collectivities or, more specifically, the host society are likely to shape attitudes toward the police, especially among (young) people of a minority background. By influencing perceptions of the police and following the assumptions of the procedural justice model, commitment to societal norms is likely to interfere with young people's choice to also refer to the police in the hypothetical case of victimization. Thus, one's ties to the community and sense of ethnic identity are likely to moderate the relationship between procedural justice and cooperation with the police (see *Antrobus et al.* 2015).

The strength of one's bond to the host society reflects the extent to which young people share the "social identity" (*Tyler & Blader* 2003) of the society they are living in. Social identity is achieved when people identify with a group and sense that they belong to it. Cooperation is eased through social identity because people's "willingness to cooperate within the group will be based in part on the strength of their identification with it, and this sense of identification will in turn be based in part on fairness judgements" (*Bradford* 2014, p. 23). Thus, people with positive social identities who share values and beliefs of the host society and are committed to its societal norms are likely to hold positive attitudes toward the police and are willing to cooperate with them.

Conversely, identifying more strongly with one's ethnic group of origin (and less strongly with the host society) is connected to more critical views of the police. Since a shared set of values, or a common social identity, is associated with high trustfulness, a failure to create this commonality deeply affects the levels of trust citizens have in the police (*Bradford* 2014) and reduces their inclination to cooperate (*Lee et al.* 2010; *Murphy et al.* 2015).

4.3.2   Learning processes, delinquent peers and the subcultural theory

Particularly when analyzing the various factors that undermine (young) people's positive attitudes toward the police – and which restrain them from cooperating with the police –, the potential influence of peers has to be considered. Other than social control theories – which "focus on the restraints on delinquent behavior, on the circumstances and desires that prevent it" (*Hirschi,* 1977, p. 329) –, the subcultural theory (*Sykes & Matza* 1957; *Sutherland et al.* 1992) values behavioral aspects.

As is the case for the social bonding theory, the subcultural theory has been designed to explain delinquent behavior. It is particularly apt for explaining juvenile delinquency. Yet, theoretical considerations and assumptions about the influence of a deviant subculture also assist in the exploration of predictors for (young) people's likelihood of police contact and their attitudes toward the police (see, e.g., *Brick et al.* 2009; *Schuck* 2013).

In delinquent subcultures, the differential association process is applied to create a system of values in opposition to the values held by the norm society. Delinquent subcultures are formed in a process of "building, maintaining, and reinforcing a code for behavior which exists by opposition, which stands in point by point contradiction to dominant values, particularly those of the middle class" (*Sykes & Matza* 1957, p. 664).

Delinquent subcultures are characterized by people's efforts "to construct identities and reputations that communicate toughness and dominance on the streets" (*Hughes & Short Jr.* 2014, p. 419). Subcultures are created via a specific learning mechanism (the differential association process) and are embedded in contexts of learning (the differential social organizations). The latter are the source of learning and may be parents, peers or the neighborhood. Whereas the source of learning may vary by race, the learning mechanism itself remains invariant (*Matsueda & Heimer* 1987).

Some research has pointed out that negative attitudes toward the police are prominent among delinquent subcultures (*Brick et al.* 2009; *Schuck* 2013). This research assumes that following the process of differential association, negative opinions about the police might be shared by the members of these subcultures.

4.3.3   Lifestyle, delinquent propensity and the situational action theory

Finally, young people's lifestyles and delinquent propensities are also considered to be very likely to influence the probability of encounters with the police. Lifestyle and delinquent propensities are jointly considered within the framework of the situational action theory (*Wikström et al.* 2003). Like the social bonding and the subcul-

tural theory, this theory aims at explaining delinquent behavior. Yet, its core elements "exposure" and "self-control" add to the understanding of why (certain) young people are particularly exposed to police attention (*Flexon et al.* 2012).

According to this theory, the probability that particular persons commit a criminal act depends on the "causal interaction between their propensity (to engage in a particular act, such as violence) and their exposure (to a setting conducive to a particular act, such as violence)" (*Wikström & Treiber* 2009, p. 91). People's propensity to engage in criminal acts is affected by "their morality (action-relevant moral rules and emotions) and their ability to exercise self-control", whereas the "[e]xposure occurs when a person faces a temptation or provocation to engage in a particular act in a particular moral context" (*Wikström & Treiber* 2009, p. 91).

In other words, advocates of the situational action theory premise that moral values guide an individual's behavior and consequently, "criminal acts are the result of a perception-choice process" (*Schepers* 2014, p. 1) influenced by the interaction of both an individual's propensity to commit crime and criminogenic conditions of the environments they live in (*Wikström et al.* 2003).

Through everyday routines and lifestyles, juveniles are "exposed" to "different types of settings, which in turn produce different types of situations" (*Svensson & Pauwels* 2008). Particularly young people who follow a "risky lifestyle" (*Cohen & Felson* 1979) are likely to engage in delinquent behavior which, in turn, exposes them to police attention.

Next to "exposure", "self-control" is a central element of the situational action theory; it stems from *Gottfredson's and Hirschi's* general theory of crime (GTC) (*Gottfredson & Hirschi* 1990) and refers to the consideration that people engage in criminal activities because their self-control is weakly developed. Thus, people with low levels of self-control dispose of a high propensity to commit criminal acts, struggle to conform in a socially desirable way and are typically impulsive and reckless. It is assumed that self-control is related to police contact, as "people with low self-control are more likely to have contact with the police because of their tendency to engage in imprudent or reckless actions" (*Flexon et al.* 2012, p. 222).

4.4   Key Assumptions and Hypotheses

On the one hand, this study aims at examining whether in multi-ethnic cities, the relationship between young people and the police is defined by common patterns of interactions. On the other hand, it intends to identify whether variations exist in youth-police relations across countries, that is whether some factors influence this relationship in one country, but not in another.

These research questions shall be answered by testing a set of seven hypotheses drawn from the theoretical streams presented before and from major findings from the body of research on youth-police relations.

This study intends to test three core assumptions about factors that affect youth-police relations in multi-ethnic cities:

1. The hypothesis of "Discrimination" assumes an ethnic divide between the majority and the minority population in likelihood of police encounters and perceptions of injustice and thus builds mainly on the conflict theory and the research on ethnic profiling. Next to ethnicity, the hypothesis assumes that other aspects linked to social class and status also promote inequalities.

2. The hypothesis of a "Procedural injustice" relies on the assumptions discussed within the police legitimacy model that experiences of unfair and disrespectful police procedures negatively affect perceptions of the police.

3. In line with the assumptions of the police legitimacy model, the hypothesis of "Compromised legitimacy" postulates that low levels of positive attitudes toward police decrease people's propensities to cooperate with the police.

This study formulates four additional assumptions on the factors that (next to the ethnic divide and the procedural justice elements addressed in the previous hypotheses) influence the relationship between young people and the police in multi-ethnic cities:

4. Building on the theoretical considerations of the social bonding theory, the hypothesis of "Poor national and religious identification" premises that people with a scarce religiosity a minorities with a weak social identity (with regard to their host society) fail to commit to norms and rules of the society and that this lack of identification with the host society has repercussions on attitudes toward the police and a willingness to cooperate.

5. By referring to the social bonding theory, the hypothesis of "Weak conventional social ties" assumes that weak conventional social bonds to family, peers and school undermine positive attitudes toward and hamper cooperation with the police.

6. Based on findings from the body of research on young people's contact with and their attitudes toward the police, and considering the theoretical assumptions discussed within the subcultural theory, the hypothesis of "Exposure to delinquency" considers that next to own delinquency, a high exposure to delinquency through delinquent peers and membership in violent peer groups influence both rates of police contacts and perceptions of the police.

7. Finally, this study controls for the influence of a "Risky lifestyle and delinquent propensity", since previous research has found that both of these factors predict rates of police contact and, particularly for the delinquent propensity, attitudes toward the police. The analytic part will investigate predic-

tors for the likelihood of (stop-and-search) police contact, attitudes toward and (non-)cooperation with the police against the background of these assumptions.

One may note that this study touches on different theoretical streams that are not always fully compatible with each other. For instance, whereas the conflict theory points at the influence of a minority background on police officers' decision-making processes and on perceptions of police injustice, other theoretical frames – such as the theory of differential association discussed within the framework of the (delinquent) subculture – assume an invariance of race (see *Gottfredson & Hirschi* 1990). As this study intends to account for different dimensions of young people's relationships with the police, the theoretical frameworks are jointly considered to the extent that they allow for spotting predictors that may have an important influence on this complex relationship.

Moreover, this study premises that contacts with, attitudes toward and (non-)cooperation with the police are interwoven. Therefore, the hypotheses concerned with young people's contact with the police may also be relevant for the analysis of their attitudes toward and their willingness to cooperate with the police. Such is the case for the assumptions related to the various forms of discrimination, which are investigated in all detail in the analysis of young people's contact with the police. Yet, the (direct and indirect) influence of ethnic background, social status and levels of social deprivation cannot be neglected in the subsequent analysis of these attitudes and in the inspection of hypothetical reactions to victimization. Thus, this study will also consider the effects of potential discrimination in the analytic part that examines young people's attitudes toward and their propensity to (not) cooperate with the police.

Below, detailed assumptions will be made with regard to the predictors of young people's contacts with the police (and their experiences of such encounters), their attitudes toward and their (un)willingness to cooperate with the police.

4.4.1 Assumptions related to juveniles' contacts with the police and their experiences of such encounters

4.4.1.1 Hypothesis: "Discrimination"

H 1a: Compared to the ethnic majority, juveniles of a minority background are more likely to experience stop-and-search encounters.

As pointed out in the last chapter, the majority of studies attest a racial disparity in the probability of a police-initiated contact (*Fagan & Davies* 2000; *Zdun* 2004; *Jobard & Lévy* 2009; *Kochel* 2011). In line with these findings, and with the presumptions stipulated by the conflict theory (*Blalock Jr.* 1965), this study postulates that racial profiling strategies which discriminate against members of ethnic minority

groups play a role in police officers' interaction with juveniles. Thus, it is expected that juveniles of an ethnic minority background are more likely than native youths to experience a police-initiated contact.

H 1b: Compared to the ethnic majority, juveniles of an ethnic minority background were more dissatisfied with police conduct during their last encounter with the police.

In accordance with the comparative conflict theory (*Buckler & Unnever* 2008), it is assumed that there are racial-ethnic differences in perceptions of injustice, whereby members of ethnic minority groups are not only exposed to more discrimination by the police, but also perceive more injustice than those of the majority group. Following this line of thoughts, this study assumes that members of ethnic minority groups are less satisfied with the way the police acted during the encounter.

H 1c: Compared to the ethnic majority, juveniles of an ethnic minority background report more vicarious experiences of police disrespect.

Research suggests that both own "direct" and third-party "indirect" experiences with the police influence perceptions of the criminal justice system (e.g. *Hurst & Frank* 2000). It is assumed that the higher levels of perception of injustice among members of ethnic minorities postulated by the comparative conflict theory (*Buckler & Unnever* 2008) also result in more dissatisfaction with indirect encounters with the police and thus in more frequent experiences with vicarious police disrespect.

H 1d: Juveniles living in deprived neighborhoods are more likely to have stop-and-search encounters.

Socio-economic status and social deprivation conditions have repeatedly been found to influences police officers' decision-making (e.g. *Fagan & Davies* 2000; *Alpert et al.* 2005). Consistent with these findings and the baseline assumptions of the theory of social disorganization (*Shaw & McKay* 1969; *Sampson & Groves* 1989), but also with considerations of the conflict theory (*Blalock Jr.* 1965), this study hypothesizes that juveniles living in deprived neighborhoods and who are of low-income families are more likely to be stopped and searched by the police.

4.4.1.2 Hypothesis: "Risky lifestyle and delinquent propensity"

H 1e: Juveniles with a risky lifestyle and a high delinquent propensity are more likely to experience stop-and-search encounters with the police.

According to, among others, the situational action theory (*Wikström et al.* 2003), juveniles with low levels of self-control are more predisposed to delinquency. At the same time, people with low self-control have a higher probability to experience police encounters, as they are more likely to behave in a supposedly suspicious manner (*Flexon et al.* 2012). As the situational action theory suggests considering both lifestyle and propensity, "risky lifestyle" is included next to delinquent propensity as a predictor in the analysis.

4.4.1.3 Hypothesis: "Procedural injustice"

H 1f: Juveniles who have frequent police-initiated encounters are less satisfied with police contact.

In line with the assumptions about the implications of contact initiated by the police (*Skogan* 2006) and with the literature in support of this assumption (e.g. *Reisig & Parks* 2000; *Hagan et al.* 2005), this study hypothesizes that juveniles' satisfaction with police encounters is affected by recurrent experiences with police-initiated encounters.

In addition, this study controls for well-known correlates of young people's encounters with the police that relate to the influence of gender as well as prior personal and peer experiences with the criminal justice system.

A consistent finding in juvenile delinquency research is that altogether, male juveniles commit more criminal offenses than female ones (see *Meehan & Ponder* 2002; *Stolzenberg & D'Alessio* 2004; *Franklin & Fearn* 2008; *Lundman & Kowalski* 2009; *Pollock* 2014). Due to this gender divide, especially in arrest rates (also referred to as the "gender-gap phenomenon" [*Taylor et al.* 2001, p. 297]), this study expects that male juveniles are disproportionately more often suspected of having committed a criminal offense and stopped and searched by the police than female juveniles.

In line with most literature on police contacts (*Piliavin & Briar* 1964; *Black & Reiss* 1970; *Lundman et al.* 1978; *McAra & McVie* 2005; *Matsuda et al.* 2013; *Hughes & Short Jr.* 2014; *Pollock* 2014), this research expects that the extent of participation in crime, as well as the involvement of peers in delinquent activities, increases the probability of having encounters with the police, for instance as a suspect of a criminal offense or the like.

4.4.2 Assumptions related to juveniles' attitudes toward the police

4.4.2.1 Hypothesis: "Procedural injustice"

H 2a: Juveniles who recurrently experience police-initiated contact have more negative attitudes toward the police.

This research postulates that the types of police encounters and the experiences during a contact with the police are reflected in adolescents' opinions about the police and the judicial system. Hereby, thoughts about the "asymmetry of contacts bias" (*Skogan* 2006) as well as the prerequisites of legitimization of the police (as developed by the procedural justice/police legitimacy model [*Tyler* 2004]), are of particular relevance. Compared to the contacts where adolescents actively seek help from the police or where they are contacted by the police as witnesses or victims of a criminal offense, the contacts initiated by the police are more likely to undermine

positive attitudes. Building upon the works of *Tyler* (2004) and *Skogan* (2006), this study assumes that juveniles tend to perceive police-initiated contacts as an unfair police procedure. The effect is assumed to be much more pronounced among adolescents with recurrent police-initiated contacts.

H 2b: Juveniles who are dissatisfied with police conduct during their last encounter with the police have more negative attitudes toward the police.

Following the theoretical premises of the procedural justice model of police legitimacy (*Tyler* 2004), this study assumes that experiences of dissatisfaction during police encounters depreciate from positive attitudes toward the police.

H 2c: Juveniles who see or hear about disrespectful police behavior have more negative attitudes toward the police.

Building upon research which found that witnessing or hearing about police misconduct highly influences perceptions of the police (*Hurst & Frank* 2000; *Brunson* 2007), this study assumes that frequent vicarious experiences of police misconduct undermine positive attitudes toward the police.

4.4.2.2   Hypothesis: "Poor national and religious identification"

H 2d: Minority youth who identify little with the society they are living in hold less positive attitudes toward the police.

Juveniles of minority background who only marginally identify with the host society have diverging "social identity" (*Tyler & Blader* 2003) and may find it difficult to share the values of the society they are living in. Building on the thoughts of, among others, the social bonding theory (*Hirschi* 1969), this study postulates that young people's commitment to a shared set of values, or a common social identity, is associated with their positive attitude toward the police. Conversely, a failure to create this commonality deeply, and negatively, affects perceptions of the police among young people (*Bradford* 2014).

H 2e: Adolescents with a weak religiosity hold more negative attitudes toward the police.

In line with the elaborations on the effect of tight bonds to religion discussed within the framework of the social bonding theory (*Hirschi* 1969), this study assumes that juveniles who are not religious and do not accustom with the set of values to which the state and its officials are bound perceive the police more negatively (*Waddington* 1999; *Brettfeld* 2009).

4.4.2.3   Hypothesis: "Weak conventional social ties"

H 2f: Juveniles who are attached only marginally or are not attached at all to relevant others hold less positive attitudes toward the police.

Building on the social bonding theory (*Hirschi* 1969) and in line with previous re-
search (e.g. *Brick et al.* 2009; *Sargeant & Bond* 2015), this study assumes that a lack
of commitment to relevant others, and thus weak ties to family and school, has re-
percussions on perceptions of the police.

4.4.2.4 Hypothesis: "Exposure to delinquency"

H 2g: Juveniles who are exposed to delinquency hold lower levels of attitudes toward
the police.

Based on reflections about the influence of delinquent subcultures (*Sykes & Matza*
1957), this study assumes that the refractory behavior of peers and their membership
in a (violent) peer group highly compromises people's own behavior toward the po-
lice, particularly among juveniles. Not only are adolescents with delinquent peers
more likely to engage in criminal behavior themselves, but they also adopt the views
and attitudes of their peers toward the judicial system and the police (*Brick et al.*
2009; *Schuck* 2013).

4.4.3   Assumptions related to juveniles' (non-)cooperation with the police

4.4.3.1 Hypothesis: "Compromised legitimacy"

H 3: Low levels of police legitimacy promote adolescents to resort to self-help
measures.

In the absence of legitimacy, young people lack the moral obligation to comply with
the rules and guidelines set by the police authority (see *Tankebe* 2013; *Gau &
Brunson* 2015). Thus, when legitimacy falters, chances are high that young people
will refrain from cooperating with the police and seek alternatives to reliance on
them. Such alternatives can entail resorting to self-help measures (*Jackson et al.*
2013b).

In the empirical sections that follow, the validity of the different hypotheses pre-
sented in this section is questioned and empirical evidence is provided for establish-
ing which factors shape juveniles' relationship with the police at the individual and
the structural level.

Most of the hypotheses will be tested on both the German and the French data set.
The ones that are related to young people's (non-)cooperation with the police, how-
ever, constitute an exception and are reviewed by only using the German data. As
pointed to earlier, the French questionnaire did not include questions related to young
people's hypothetical behavior in case of victimization, precluding the possibility for
the analysis of these questions for the French sample.

Summing up and based primarily on the assumptions stipulated by the conflict theory, this study presumes that male ethnic minority adolescents are a group of people particularly at risk of experiencing police-initiated encounters. In addition, behavioral elements addressed by the situational action theory, such as the influence of a risky lifestyle and delinquent propensities, may give supplementary explanations for why some juveniles frequently interact with the police and others do not.

Drawing principally on the police legitimacy model and the reflection about the asymmetry of police contacts – but also on the subcultural and the social bonding theory – this research assumes that young people's positive attitudes toward the police are undermined by recurrent experiences of police-initiated contacts, but also by their poor religiosity, weak identification with the society they are living in, weak ties to family and school and, finally, by their involvement in a delinquent subculture.

The police legitimacy model identifies the preconditions for cooperation with the police and is thus suitable for the analysis of non-cooperation and resort to self-help, too. All other theoretical frameworks pointed out above might be of relevance to explain young people's hypothetical behavior toward the police. Among all adolescents, this study expects the propensity of adopting self-help to be particularly high for those who seriously question the legitimacy of the police, have particularly low levels of commitment to school and family, have low levels of identification with the host society, are disproportionately exposed to delinquent behavior, have a pronounced inclination to commit this behavior and favor unsupervised and "risky" routine activities.

Chapter 5

Data and Methods

5.1 The POLIS Study

The data gathered within the framework of the comparative French-German research project "Police and Adolescents in Multi-Ethnic Societies" (POLIS) warrants an in-depth analysis of youth-police relationships and conflicts in the interaction between police forces and (minority) adolescents. The analyses presented in this study completely rely on data from the POLIS research project. Therefore, in this section, a comprehensive overview on the goals pursued in the POLIS project, its core research questions as well as the selection of research sites are provided. In order to contextualize the relationship between young people and the police, this section informs briefly about the police structures and policies of immigration in Germany and France. Finally, core findings from the qualitative data analysis of the POLIS project (gathered through participatory observations and semi-structured interviews) are summarized.

5.1.1 Purpose, involved countries and researchers

By taking a comparative perspective, the POLIS research project joins the small body of Franco-German empirical research on youth-police relations; the comparison is essential to identify the commonalities of youth violence across countries, but also to point to the "singularité française" (*Lagrange & Oberti* 2006) of the juvenile protests and riots in France. Both within and across both countries, the project investigates the relationship between adolescents and the police in modern, multi-ethnic cities. Next to social deprivation characteristics, such as high unemployment, economic deprivation and socio-spatial segregation, the influences of ethnic discrimination, political marginalization and development of deviant cultural identities are investigated as possible major promoters of violent protest among young people (*Hardiman & Lapeyre* 2004; *Lagrange & Oberti* 2006).

The project results from a cooperation between the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Crime, Security and Law in Freiburg i. Br., Germany, and the Sciences Po Grenoble, Université Grenoble Alpes, France. With a joint grant from the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) and the Agence Nationale de la Recherche (ANR) within the "Projets franco-allemands en sciences humaines et sociales" program, the

POLIS project started in 2009 and ended in 2012. Prof. Dr. *Dietrich Oberwittler* and Prof. Dr. Dr. h.c. mult. *Hans-Jörg Albrecht* (Germany) as well as Prof. Dr. *Sebastian Roché* (France) were its principal investigators. The author of this study, Dr. *Anina Schwarzenbach*, was also a member of the German research team, collaborating with Dr. *Daniela Hunold*, Dr. *Tim Lukas*, *Dominik Gerstner* and Dr. *Beate Ehret*. The research team in France included Prof. Dr. *Jacques de Maillard*, *Sandrine Astor*, *Mathieu Zagrodzki* and *Laura Boschetti*.

5.1.2   Selection of sites and fieldwork

In order to guarantee for a variance in police activities across cities, four different research sites, two for each country, were chosen for quantitative and qualitative data gathering within the POLIS research project. Size and structural characteristics as well as the ethnic composition of these cities were key criteria for their selection.

For Germany and France respectively, one mid-sized and one larger city with a reasonably sized population of inhabitants with an ethnic minority background were selected for the comparison. According to information from the statistical offices, roughly half of the population under the age of 18 is of non-German ethnic origin in the cities of Cologne and Mannheim. For Germany, the research sites were Cologne, with approximately one million inhabitants, and Mannheim, with around 300,000 inhabitants. For France, Grand Lyon, with around 1.2 million inhabitants, and Grenoble Alpes Métropole, with approximately 400,000 inhabitants, qualified for the study.

Considerations about the socio-demographic composition of these city districts lead to the choice of neighborhoods included in the analysis. In each of the countries, the respondents came from more than one hundred small administrative units: these included both deprived neighborhoods with a high proportion of ethnic minority inhabitants and better-situated neighborhoods.

The project rested on three pillars which, next to a large school survey, comprised semi-structured interviews with street police officers and their field observations on patrol. The standardized and randomized school survey was part of the quantitative pillar and offered a systematic comparison of police-related attitudes and experiences of adolescents across countries, neighborhood contexts and ethnic groups. As the findings related to perceptions, experiences and attitudes of juveniles toward the police presented in the following chapters, are completely based on the school survey; the latter will be explored in a separate section (see *Chapter 5.2*).

5.1.3 Police structures, policies of immigration and urban segregation

Country-specific policies of immigration, but also differing police structures and contrasting levels of socio-spatial segregation are contextual elements that might have repercussion on the relationship between the (minority) youth and the police in Germany and France, and therefore, they are briefly addressed in the following.

The German police organization is under the authority of the "Bundesländer" and as such is, to a large extent, decentralized and organized at a regional level. The German federal constitutional system devolves the power to pass legislation for the authority of the police force to each of its 16 states (the so-called *Länder*). Yet, through the Basic Law, federal authority is exerted in core areas of law enforcement, such as criminal investigation, police information and intelligence. Next to the 16 state police forces, Germany counts two federal law-enforcement agencies, both within the remit of the Federal Ministry of the Interior. These are the Federal Criminal Police Office (*Bundeskriminalamt, BKA*) and the Federal Police (*Bundespolizei, BPOL*) (*Wilz* 2012).

Contrarily, despite recent trends toward decentralization, French legacy is characterized by a highly centralized system of power and territorial organization, which directly affects decisions regarding the organization of the police, its budgeting and police recruitment. At the local level, French national police operate under the direct authority of the national Minister of the Interior. The French police system is largely organized at the national level, and it embraces two main police agencies. These are the *Gendarmerie*, a civilian police force of military status that mainly covers rural areas of France, and the National Police, which operates in urban areas. Moreover, the National Police has a number of different units. As a special unit, the *Brigades Anti-Criminalité (BAC)* are known for being particularly harsh and mostly operating undercover (*Roché* 2007). In recent decades, specifically since the 1980s, French governments have sought to reform these police systems. Among others, new forms of policing were implemented, such as the *police de proximité* (*de Maillard & Roché* 2004). By applying a community-oriented model of policing and by strengthening the local roots of national agents, French police sought to appease the tensions between themselves and the population of the *banlieues*. Although promising, the concept of *police de proximité* was subsequently abolished in 2002 by *Nicolas Sarkozy*, then Minister of the Interior (*Ocqueteau* 2007). The less community-oriented policing style in France may damage the image of their police, which, presumably, can have consequences for the legitimization of police authority.

The concept of the ethnic nation is highly valued in the German context. This approach implies that "this ethnic idea of being 'German' cannot accept any ethnic membership other than the German one, at least from an ideological point of view" (*Loch* 2009, p. 799). As a result, access to German citizenship is difficult to obtain

for non-Germans. Non-Germans have only restricted possibilities for political iden-
tification and mobilization, and consequently, these people are politically excluded
to a large extent. However, the German policy of integration does allow non-Ger-
mans to participate in and receive benefits from the welfare state (*Loch* 2009; *Tucci*
2011). Following the assumptions of certain scholars (*Loch* 2009; *Tucci* 2011), due
to the rather conservative policy of immigration, people of foreign origin, e.g. of
Turkish descent, have particularly low expectations of German politics and thus
smaller chances to be disappointed by political decisions.

As opposed to Germany, France pursues a strong policy of assimilating minorities.
France bases its policy on the "Republican Model" of integration that follows a po-
litically defined concept of nation and grants immigrants a national identity. This
model is implemented by republican institutions and the French school system
through a proactive policy of assimilation of post-colonial minorities, which include
people of Maghrebian origin (*Oberti* 2007). Thus, the vast majority of these young
people are French citizens with full political rights. As a result, the canon of repub-
lican values is applied to all French citizens without considering that they might
come from a different socio-cultural background (*Loch* 2009). As such, the French
model of integration leads to a gulf between the ideology of equality and solidarity
proclaimed by the republican values and the reality of social and political exclusion
in France. For some scholars, this gulf is largely responsible for tensions between
agents of state institutions and citizens of an ethnic minority background and may
thus be one of the triggers for the recurrent violent youth outbreaks in French suburbs
(*Loch* 2009; *Tucci* 2011).

On a final note, a few remarks are necessary about the urban, or socio-spatial, segre-
gation of city areas in Germany and France.

Compared to the rest of Europe, France is characterized by a particularly high socio-
spatial segregation of city areas, a phenomenon most prominent in the suburbs of the
French cities, the so-called "*banlieues*"; this spatial segregation adds to the problem-
atic relationship between the state and some of its citizens of ethnic minority back-
grounds. These neighborhoods feature educational disadvantages as well as high
rates of unemployment and poverty. In comparison to other French suburbs, the *ban-
lieues* feature a larger share of citizens with an ethnic minority background (*Oberti*
2007; *Weber* 2016).

In Germany, deprivation within cities is less concentrated than in other European
countries (*Murie & Musterd* 2004; *Bolt* 2009).

5.2   A School Survey to Measure Juveniles' Relationships with the Police

5.2.1   Survey design

Between September 2011 and November 2012, a survey designed (in both languages) by the German-French POLIS research team was conducted with a sample of students from secondary schools from grades 8 to 10 in Germany and from 8 to 11 in France. It took the form of a paper-and-pencil questionnaire during school time. In France, the survey lasted one hour and in Germany up to two school time hours. The fact that it was filled in during school time resulted in high response rates of 79% in Germany and 82% in France.

For Germany, the sample counted a total of $N = 6,948$ observations, with a larger share for Cologne ($N = 4,128$) than for Mannheim ($N = 2,820$), see *Table 5.4*. In France, the sample size counted $N = 13,679$ and consequently almost twice as many observations as in Germany. Again, in the larger-sized city Lyon, the absolute number of observations was higher ($N = 8,220$) than in the smaller city Grenoble ($N = 5,459$), see *Table 5.5*.

5.2.1.1   German sampling procedure

In Germany, as part of the POLIS research project, the school survey "Life Circumstances and Risks of Juveniles" (original German title "*Lebenslagen und Risiken von Jugendlichen*") was carried out between September 2011 and March 2012 in Cologne and Mannheim, with the approval of the school inspectorate. Both the Max Planck Institute for Foreign and Criminal Law in Freiburg and the Institute of Sociology and Social Psychology of the University of Cologne were involved.

The overall sample of the school survey includes students from grades 8 to 10 from German secondary schools which provide general education (the so-called *Allgemeinbildende Sekundarschulen*). Special schools, such as for handicapped children, were excluded from the sampling procedure.

The randomized sample results from a multi-stage cluster sampling procedure. At first, in both cities, a space-delimited sample was drawn based on small administration districts, see *Figure 5.1*. The city areas were not randomly selected: a decision to include certain districts in the sample was primarily based on specific socio-spatial features of the area of interest.

Figure 5.1   *Neighborhood structure in Cologne (left) and Mannheim (right)*
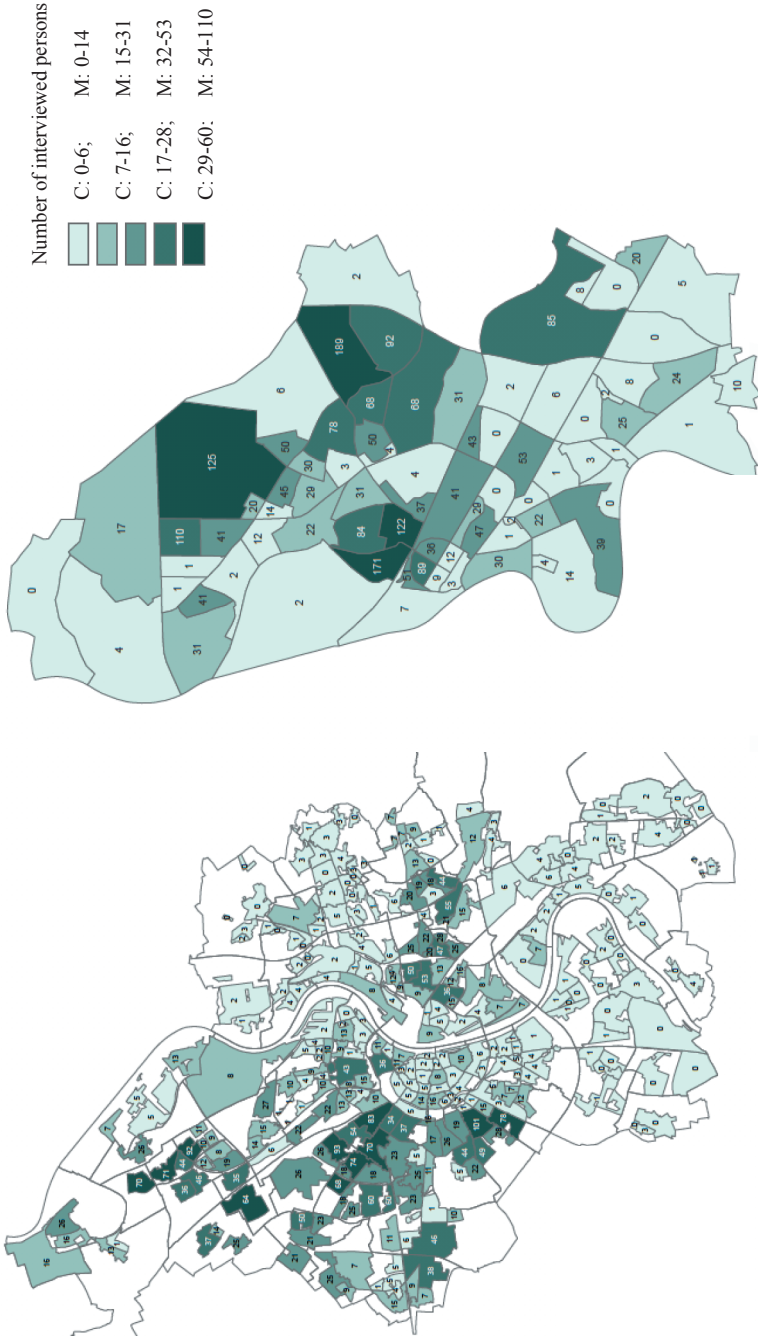
In Cologne, the geographic sampling was largely identical to the previous "MPI school survey 1999" in which clusters of adjacent neighborhoods from central and peripheral areas as well as from both sides of the Rhine river were selected in order to match the overall socio-economic make-up of Cologne (*Oberwittler* 2003).

This geographical clustering ensured a sufficiently large number of respondents per small neighborhood (ca. 360 in Cologne). In Mannheim, due to the smaller city size, it was possible to select all northern and central districts in which roughly 75% of the Mannheim population live. All secondary schools in selected areas were identified and invited to participate in the survey. In Cologne, from 44 eligible schools, 30 participated (68%). In Mannheim, 27 out of 29 (93%) eligible secondary schools participated in the survey. The respondents were asked to identify the small administrative units of their places of residence by using ID numbers form an address directory. Thus, their places of residences (not the geolocation of the schools) could be geocoded for spatial analyses (*Oberwittler & Gerstner* 2019).

Table 5.1   *Mean value of police-initiated contacts by school types in Cologne and Mannheim*

Type of school	Cologne		Mannheim		Total	
	Mean	SE	Mean	SE	Mean	SE
Gymnasium (n = 3,343)	0.72	0.05	0.52	0.04	0.65	0.03
Gesamtschule (n = 611)	1.17	0.19	0.78	0.14	0.98	0.12
Realschule (n = 1,782)	0.88	0.1	0.83	0.1	0.86	0.07
Hauptschule (n = 1,212)	1.21	0.17	1.3	0.18	1.26	0.12
Total (n = 6,948)	0.87	0.05	0.79	0.05	0.84	0.03
Berufsbildende Schule (n = 348)	–	–	1.84	0.23	1.84	0.23

Following a specific proposal from the school authorities in Mannheim, seven vocational schools (*berufsbildende Schulen*) additionally supplement the sample for Mannheim. These schools are frequented by students who accomplished their nine years of regularly school attendance, opt for a subject-oriented degree and are specific to the city of Mannheim. Thus, adolescents who attend vocational schools represent a special category of students who on average are considerably older (over 70% are 17 or older) and much more often in contact with the police. Since those

adolescents represent around 11% of the Mannheim sample, when including them in the analysis, the overall frequency of police contacts in Mannheim increases by 2%. As illustrated in *Table 5.1*, the mean values of police-initiated contacts among adolescents who attend vocational schools is much higher than among adolescents who attend other types of school. In order to avoid the risk of biased results, this particular school form was not considered as a constituent part of the school survey and was thus excepted from the analysis presented in this study. Cologne adopts a different school system than Mannheim and, instead of vocational schools, offers a 10th grade to adolescents.

By excluding the $N = 348$ students who attend vocational schools, the Mannheim sample includes only students up to 9th grade, whereas the Cologne sample, which is not affected by the removal of observations, also includes adolescents of the 10th grade. This has to be kept in mind when comparing Mannheim to Cologne.

Table 5.2 provides an overview of the number of classes (and students within those classes) included in the survey across different school types in Germany, namely: *Gymnasium*, *Gesamtschule*, *Realschule* and *Hauptschule*.

Table 5.2   Distribution of German sample by class and type of school

	consulted classes	gross	net	response rate (%)
Cologne				
Gymnasium	91	2,516	2,128	84.6
Gesamtschule	13	386	309	80.1
Realschule	49	1,394	1,050	75.3
Hauptschule	41	913	641	70.2
Total	194	5,209	4,128	79.2
Berufsbild. Schulen	–	–	–	–
Mannheim				
Gymnasium	60	1,497	1,215	81.1
Gesamtschule	17	418	302	72.2
Realschule	36	940	732	77.8
Hauptschule	44	846	571	67.4
Total	157	3,701	2,820	76.2
Berufsbild. Schulen	22	469	348	74.2

Among participating schools, around two thirds of the classes from grades 8 to 10 were randomly selected for inclusion in the final sample. Thus, in Cologne, out of the 30 participating schools with a total of 292 classes, 197 classes were randomly

selected and 194 classes included in the final sample (66.4%). In Mannheim, within the 27 participating schools, 158 out of a total of 251 classes (62.9%) were selected by using the same procedure as in Cologne; the final sample counts 157 classes.

Respectively, $N = 4,128$ and $N = 2,820$ students filled in the questionnaires in Cologne and Mannheim. Thus, Cologne holds a share of around 60% and Mannheim around 40% of the overall sample. This equates to an overall response rate of 79.2% for Cologne and 76.2% for Mannheim for all school types. The response rate varied by school type, with secondary schools (*Gymnasien*) having a particularly high average response rate of 84.6% for Cologne and 81.1% for Mannheim. The overall high participation of schools and students was considered a success.

Due to the survey's distribution and sample size, the results are representative for adolescents aged between 13 and 16 years in both Cologne and Mannheim, and therefore, the survey allows for general statements on these juveniles. A weight is introduced ex-post to adjust for the composition of school types as, due to the above-mentioned school sampling procedure, the original distribution in the data set does not reflect the actual composition of school types in Cologne and Mannheim.

5.2.1.2 French sampling procedure

In France, the researchers of the POLIS project adopted an analogous study design and procedure as in Germany and, by targeting the same age group of students, sampled secondary schools from grades 8 to 11 (first to fourth year according to the French school system). The French research team carried out the school survey later, between September and November 2012.

As in Germany, the French researchers aimed at analyzing potential neighborhood effects and therefore chose their units of analysis accordingly. The selected units were of a varied socio-economic disposition, but all of them were large enough to include sufficient students for a multilevel statistical analysis. In order to meet these requirements, the school survey relied on a large sample for both Grenoble and Lyon. As for Germany, a paper-and-pencil questionnaire was delivered to the students during school time.

For the years 2012 and 2013, the statistics agencies of Lyon and Grenoble (*SESPAG de Grenoble et du Service Prospective* and *Statistique de l'Académie de Lyon*) registered a total of 67 schools (39 *collèges* and 28 *lycées*) in Grenoble and 221 schools (113 *collèges* and 108 *lycées*) in Lyon. In Grenoble, the schools are located in 19 different neighborhoods and include 819 classes with a total of $N = 20,422$ students. The population of Lyon is much larger than the one of Grenoble, including schools from 32 neighborhoods and amounting to $N = 66,981$ students from 2,636 different classes.

Following a similar sampling procedure as in Germany, 584 classes from Grenoble and 911 classes from Lyon were randomly selected by the French research team. Yet,

only less than half of them, 211 classes in Grenoble (44.8%) and 423 classes in Lyon (46.4%), agreed to participate. The final survey pool for France includes students from the first to the fourth year of secondary school and amounts to a total of $N = 13{,}679$ students, $N = 5{,}459$ from Grenoble (39.9%) and $N = 8{,}220$ from Lyon (60.1%).

5.2.1.3 Questionnaire

The questionnaire asked questions about the socio-demographic and family backgrounds of the students as well as their experiences with delinquency in their social and school environments (including information about their leisure-time behavior and their friends).

For Germany, two different versions of the questionnaire were developed – one including specific questions about their relationship with the police (police version) and one addressing more extensively their relationship with the school (school version). Except for this variation, both versions share a large common part with identical items. In order to safeguard the representativeness of the results, either the police or the school version were randomly assigned between classes. Whereas items related to juveniles' overall attitudes to as well as their number and type of interaction with the police were included in the whole sample, only the police version – and thus solely half of the sample size – incorporated questions about their actual interaction with the police. Additionally, the police version also included two scenarios that were designed to measure juveniles' propensity to report to the police. Thus, the evaluation of the questionnaires performed in the empirical part of this study partly relies on questions of the common section and partly on the police-specific part of the questionnaire included only in the police version. Whereas the evaluation of the common section operates with the full sample size ($N = 6{,}948$), the analyses of the last contact with the police as well as of the scenarios are based on half of the original sample size ($N = 3{,}479$).

The French questionnaire was designed in accordance with the German one and included almost identical items. Yet in France, only one version of the questionnaire was developed: it incorporated items to measure juveniles' attitudes toward the police, their number and type of interactions with the police and their specific experiences during these interactions. Contrary to Germany, however, the questionnaire did not feature the scenarios.

5.2.2 Sample description

Attention will now be turned to the actual composition of the sample. The German (see *Table 5.4*) and French (see *Table 5.5*) data sets will be described according to the main socio-demographic variables of sex, age, migration background, family setting, parental unemployment and parental education. Additionally, the distribution

of the sample across different types of schools in Germany and France will be discussed.

5.2.2.1 German sample

Table 5.4 provides detailed information about the gender, age, migration background, family structure, parental employment status, parental educational level and type of school frequented by the respondents.

Out of the $N = 6,948$ adolescents included in the survey, $N = 4,128$ (56.6%) were sampled in Cologne and 2,820 (43.4%) in Mannheim. Slightly more female than male adolescents participated in the school survey. In Cologne, the sample includes around 47% male and 53% female adolescents. In Mannheim, male and female juveniles are almost equally represented, 49% and 51% respectively. The vast majority of adolescents included in the survey, around 73% and 76% respectively, were aged between 14 and 16, around 19% and 23% respectively were 13 years old or younger, and only around 4% of the sample size had reached the age of 17 at the time of the survey. Between 73% and 76% of the sampled adolescents in Cologne and Mannheim were aged 14 to 16, and between 19% and 23% were 13 years old or younger.

In order to define whether the respective respondent is of foreign or native German descent, information about their place of birth as well as the one of both parents and grandparents is taken into consideration.

For the analysis of the German data set, a detailed migration background variable is used to investigate the impact of various migration backgrounds on chances of police contact, attitudes toward the police and the willingness among young people to resort to self-help. Ten occurrences were accounted for: native German, Turkish, Southern European, Ex-Soviet, Polish, other Eastern European, Maghrebian/Muslim, other migration background, mixed German/Turkish and mixed German/other migration background. These migration background variables consider the places of birth of the respondents' grandparents and parents as well as of the respondents' own places of birth. Thus, for a respondent to hold a migration background, both parents or – if the information about their places of birth is missing or incomplete – at least three grandparents must have been born abroad. If only one parent is born abroad and at least three grandparents are born in Germany, the respondent is considered to be of a German background. However, if only two grandparents are born in Germany, the respondet holds a foreign background.

According to this definition of ethnic minority background, around half of the sample size is of a native German background (49%). Being the largest ethnic minority group, the Turkish make up roughly 19% of the sample size. Around 3% are of a Polish, 3% of an ex-Soviet origin and another 6% of a Southern or other Eastern European background. Around 4% are of Maghrebian/Muslim Asian and 11% of the students are of a mixed background. Thus, an important share of respondents is of a

mixed German and migration background. This refers to those juveniles who have two native grandparents and two grandparents of non-native origin. Where the information of the grandparents' birthplaces is lacking or incomplete, those juveniles have one parent of German origin and one with a migration background. For the analysis, a distinction is made between a mixed German and Turkish background (around 1.6% of the sample size) and a mixed German and other (non-Turkish) migration background (around 10%). Finally, around 6% are of other migration backgrounds. Into this last category fit the residual migration backgrounds that do not match any of the previous categories. As recorded in *Table 5.4*, in Cologne and Mannheim, respondents hold a similar composition of migration backgrounds. Hence, in both Cologne (with a share of 18.9%) and Mannheim (18.8%), the Turks are the largest ethnic minority and exceed, in terms of observations, other minority groups by far.

The share of adolescents with a migration background varies importantly depending on the type of school, whereby some schools have a particularly high concentration of students with a migration background, see *Table 5.3*.

Table 5.3   *Share of students with a migration background by German school types*

Type of school	Migration background				Total	
	no		yes			
	No.	Row%	No.	Row%	No.	Row%
Gymnasium	2,023	60.6	1,314	39.4	3,337	100
Gesamtschule	269	44.2	340	55.8	609	100
Realschule	737	41.5	1,039	58.5	1,776	100
Hauptschule	340	28.3	860	71.7	1,200	100
Total	3,369	48.7	3,553	51.3	6,922	100

N = 26 missing cases

Two-thirds of the adolescents from the German sample live with their two biological parents. In the remaining third of cases, no information about the living situation was provided, the respondents live only with one of their parents or they do not live with their parents any longer, see *Table 5.4*.

Nearly one out of five students in the Cologne (17.7%) and Mannheim (18.2%) samples have at least one parent on welfare benefits (so-called "*Hartz IV*"). Yet, as many unclear and missing answers for this question have been recorded, the share of parental unemployment is presumably even higher.

Table 5.4   German sample along main socio-demographic variables

	Cologne		Mannheim		Total	
	No.	Col%	No.	Col%	No.	Col%
Gender						
boy	1,942	47.1	1,389	49.3	3,331	47.9
girl	2,185	52.9	1,431	50.7	3,616	52.1
Total	4,127	100.0	2,820	100.0	6,947	100.0
Age						
until 13	946	22.9	536	19.0	1,482	21.3
14	1,320	32.0	876	31.1	2,196	31.6
15	1,143	27.7	875	31.0	2,018	29.0
16	554	13.4	405	14.4	959	13.8
17 or more	165	4.0	128	4.5	293	4.2
Total	4,128	100.0	2,820	100.0	6,948	100.0
Migration background						
German	2,070	50.3	1,299	46.2	3,369	48.7
Turkish	779	18.9	528	18.8	1,307	18.9
Southern European	101	2.5	81	2.9	182	2.6
Ex-Soviet	130	3.2	91	3.2	221	3.2
Polish	89	2.2	107	3.8	196	2.8
other Eastern European	113	2.7	105	3.7	218	3.1
Maghrebian/Muslim Asian	155	3.8	87	3.1	242	3.5
other	243	5.9	173	6.2	416	6.0
mixed German/Turkish	69	1.7	40	1.4	109	1.6
mixed German/other	363	8.8	299	10.6	662	9.6
Total	4,112	100.0	2,810	100.0	6,922	100.0
Family structure						
complete	2,757	66.8	1,891	67.1	4,648	66.9
incomplete or missing	1,371	33.2	929	32.9	2,300	33.1
Total	4,128	100.0	2,820	100.0	6,948	100.0
Parental unemployment						
no	3,090	74.9	2,113	74.9	5,203	74.9
yes	732	17.7	513	18.2	1,245	17.9

	Cologne		Mannheim		Total	
	No.	Col%	No.	Col%	No.	Col%
unclear or missing	306	7.4	194	6.9	500	7.2
Total	4,128	100.0	2,820	100.0	6,948	100.0
Highest education of mother/father						
no degree	530	12.8	511	18.1	1,041	15.0
below Abi	763	18.5	693	24.6	1,456	21.0
Abi	861	20.9	570	20.2	1,431	20.6
above Abi	1,115	27.0	581	20.6	1,696	24.4
missing	859	20.8	465	16.5	1,324	19.1
Total	4,128	100.0	2,820	100.0	6,948	100.0
Type of school						
Gymnasium	2,128	51.6	1,215	43.1	3,343	48.1
Gesamtschule	309	7.5	302	10.7	611	8.8
Realschule	1,050	25.4	732	26.0	1,782	25.6
Hauptschule	641	15.5	571	20.2	1,212	17.4
Total	4,128	100.0	2,820	100.0	6,948	100.0

Parental education is another important indicator about the social status of a respond-ent. The mother and/or father of 45% of the adolescents included in the survey hold an *Abitur*, meaning that they successfully completed secondary school. From those, around half have gone on to pursue a university diploma or a comparable degree. The remaining sample share has either parents who hold no degree (15%) or one below *Abitur* level (21%). A substantial part of the missing values (19%) is recorded for this answer, too, indicating that many adolescents only have limited knowledge about the educational status of their parents.

Finally, the data set includes information about the type of school attended by the respondents. In line with the German school system, the sample consists of adoles-cents who attend the *Gymnasium* (48%), the *Gesamtschule* (9%), the *Realschule* (26%) and the *Hauptschule* (17%), which also includes the 32 respondents from the *Waldorfschule*.

5.2.2.2   French sample
Table 5.5 describes the French sample along the same socio-demographic variables as *Table 5.4* did for Germany.

Table 5.5   *French sample along main socio-demographic variables*

	Lyon		Grenoble		Total	
	No.	Col%	No.	Col%	No.	Col%
Gender						
boy	4,221	51.4	2,713	49.7	6,934	50.7
girl	3,946	48	2,724	49.9	6,670	48.8
missing	53	0.6	22	0.4	75	0.5
Total	8,220	100.0	5,459	100.0	13,679	100.0
Age						
until 13	2,276	27.7	1,319	24.2	3,595	26.3
14	2,291	27.9	1,288	23.6	3,579	26.2
15	1,805	22.0	1,262	23.1	3,067	22.4
16	1,162	14.1	1,096	20.1	2,258	16.5
17 or more	686	8.3	494	9.0	1,180	8.6
Total	8,220	100.0	5,459	100	13,679	100.0
Migration background						
French	4,030	49	2,730	50	6,760	49.4
Maghrebian	1,391	16.9	683	12.5	2,074	15.2
other migration background	1,362	16.6	907	16.6	2,269	16.6
mixed native/Maghrebian	514	6.3	285	5.2	799	5.8
mixed native/other	757	9.2	785	14.4	1,542	11.3
missing	166	2.0	69	1.3	235	1.7
Total	8,220	100.0	5,459	100.0	13,679	100.0
Family structure						
complete	5,901	71.8	4,155	76.1	10,056	73.5
uncomplete or missing	2,319	28.2	1,304	23.9	3,623	26.5
Total	8,220	100.0	5,459	100.0	13,679	100.0
Parental unemployment						
no	5,782	70.3	4,120	75.5	9,902	72.4
yes	1,520	18.5	898	16.4	2,418	17.7
unlcear or missing	918	11.2	441	8.1	1,359	9.9
Total	8,220	100.0	5,459	100.0	13,679	100.0

	Lyon		Grenoble		Total	
	No.	Col%	No.	Col%	No.	Col%
Highest education of mother/father						
no degree	395	4.8	232	4.2	627	4.6
below Bac	1,019	12.4	606	11.1	1,625	11.9
Bac	1,175	14.3	783	14.3	1,958	14.3
above Bac	3,636	44.2	2,776	50.9	6,412	46.9
Missing	1,995	24.3	1,062	19.5	3,057	22.3
Total	8,220	100.0	5,459	100.0	13,679	100.0
Type of school						
Collège – Section d'enseignement général et professionnel adapté (CLG – SEGPA)	5,077	61.8	2,611	47.8	7,688	56.2
Etablissement régional d'enseignement adapté (EREA)	0	0	40	0.7	40	0.3
Lycée général (LG)	393	4.8	629	11.5	1,022	7.5
Lycée genéral et technologique (LGT)	1,445	17.6	868	15.9	2,313	16.9
Lycée professionnel (LP)	1,305	15.9	542	9.9	1,847	13.5
Lycée polyvalent (LPO)	0	0	769	14.1	769	5.6
Total	8,220	100.0	5,459	100.0	13,679	100.0

The French sample counts $N = 13,679$ respondents, $N = 8,220$ from Lyon (60%) and $N = 5,459$ (40%) from Grenoble. As in Germany, male and female adolescents are equally represented in both samples. The age distribution varies, however. Compared to Germany, a larger share of respondents, between 24% and 28%, are 13 years old or younger. 78% of the adolescents from Lyon and 71% of those from Grenoble are not older than 15.

Akin to Germany, around half of the respondents (49.4%) are of native descent. Yet, the share of a mixed native/foreign background outnumbers the one from Germany. In France, roughly one out of every six respondents is of a mixed background, and among those, one third is of mixed French and Maghrebian backgrounds. In comparison, in Germany, around one out of every ten respondents is of a mixed background, and among those, only one seventh is of mixed German and Turkish backgrounds. In Lyon, around 65% of the respondents are ethnically French or have at most one parent (or alternatively two grandparents) of foreign origin. In Grenoble, the share of students of French or mixed French/foreign origin amounts to almost 70%. In both cities, respondents with Maghrebian origins represent the largest ethnic minority

background and amount to a share of over 13% in Grenoble and over 17% in Lyon. Roughly 17% of the students in Lyon and Grenoble have both parents or at least three grandparents of various other foreign descent, subsumed under the category "other migration background".

Compared to Germany, slightly more adolescents live with both of their biological parents (around 74%). The share of parent(s) on welfare benefits equates the one in Germany (18%).

The largest difference between the two samples is retained in the level of education of the parents. Hence, other than in Germany, a substantial number of adolescents, more precisely 65% of the respondents in Grenoble and 59% in Lyon, report that their mother and/or father hold at least a *Baccalauréat*, a degree that is similar to the German *Abitur*.

As in Germany, students in France were surveyed in various types of schools. At the time the survey was carried out, half of them attended the *Collège*, which is a school type most similar to the German *Gymnasium*. Other common schools are the *Lycée général et technologique* (17%) and the *Lycée professionnel* (14%).

5.3 Limitations of the Study, Definitions and Conceptual Concerns

In spite of the large-scale sample size, which allows for complex statistical analysis, this study suffered some limitations.

In general, important aspects have often been omitted from analyses of police contact, such as questions whether the predictors of police contact identified in cross-sectional data are confirmed by longitudinal studies that analyze correlations for police contact over time – exceptions being, for example, the studies by *Slocum et al.* (2016) and *Pollock* (2014). The survey data on which this study is based is cross-sectional, too. The limitations of cross-sectional data analysis are well-known and concern difficulties in establishing causal relationships. For example, this study presupposes an influence of own and third-party experiences on attitudes toward the police. Although major studies confirm the direction of this relationship (*Schuck* 2013), in relying on cross-sectional data, one cannot entirely preclude the possibility that the inverse may be true as well, that is, that attitudes to the police have repercussions on the frequency of one's contact with the police and the perceptions of those encounters. Yet for some predictors, this type of data still allows for making strong assumptions as for which direction the causality is to head. This is particularly true for the assumption concerning the influence of core socio-economic variables, such as gender, age and ethnic background, on juveniles' different attitudinal and behavioral variables. The latter are most likely to succeed the socio-economic variables. Besides the issue of causality, which can be partially redressed, other grounds call

for longitudinal research on (young) people' s relationship with the police. For instance, as the few longitudinal studies point out (*Jackson et al.* 2013a; *Schuck* 2013; *Stewart et al.* 2014), over time, people's frequency of police contacts, their perceptions of the quality of the interaction as well as their feelings of trust and confidence in the police are most likely to change. Longitudinal data is required to monitor these changes and to model time-dependent associations.

As with most empirical research, missing data is an issue in this study. Hence, some variables are particularly affected by the problem of non-response. This is the case, for example, for the variable "status of parental employment". In order to cope with this problem, whenever a categorical variable presents a high number of missing values, these observations are included in an own category in the analysis. Thus, to some extent, one can account for a potential effect of non-response. The effect of this variable, however, remains difficult to interpret. Moreover, some analyses presented in the empirical part of this study rely on a reduced sample size: this is the case for the analysis related to the experiences of respondents' last contact with the police.

One part of this study investigates young people's willingness to cooperate with the police or to resort to self-help, based on two scenarios of victimization. This is a limitation insofar as one cannot determine whether intentions expressed in these hypothetical situations would or would not turn into real actions.

This study entails a German-French comparison of correlates of stop-and-search police encounters and attitudes toward the police. Although the analyses have been run separately for each country, the scales included in the regression models have been built based on the same set of items. To test for the equivalence of scales, a cross-country analysis of measurement adequacy has been performed. The results from the factor structure analysis and group fit statistics indicate that the scales are not equal, suggesting that the concepts measured by the scales are not entirely comparable for Germany and France (see *Scale Documentation* in the *Annex* for details on the scales). This fact calls for caution when comparing and interpreting results of the attitudinal and behavioral scales across countries as included in this study.

Finally, a number of definitional arguments and conceptual concerns arise:

Firstly, in this study, the terms "juveniles", "adolescents" and "youth" are used interchangeably and all refer to the youth population of a certain age category, which matches with the age range of the students of the school survey and embraces young people aged between 13 and 17. This is done in light of the awareness that some researchers – as well as authors of studies that are referred to in the following chapters – adopt the same terminology to indicate young people of a broader (or narrower) age range. Similarly, the terms "ethnicity", "ethnic migration background" and "ethnic minority background" are used as synonyms.

Secondly, the analyses conducted in the present study rely on a complex migration background variable that accounts for the information about the places of birth of the

parents, the grandparents and the surveyed students. The juveniles from the survey qualify as "natives" only if their two parents, and most of their grandparents, are of native origin. Although the definition of migration background used in this study allows for the influence of migration to be traced back to the generation of the grandparents, it is also linked to various problems. For instance, a high number of missing values concerning the information of the grandparents' places of birth is reported. In these cases, the ethnic background of the students is defined by relying on information about the parents' places of birth, which leaves a margin of uncertainty as to whether or not the grandparents are of foreign origin.

Thirdly, *Tyler's* police legitimacy model (*Tyler* 2006) provides a robust theoretical framework to this study. However, as opposed to other studies in the field (*Hough et al.* 2013b), this study does not provide a detailed analysis of the various components that shape people's views of the police, nor how these components interrelate. This is mainly due to the fact that the questionnaire used in the POLIS study was not designed to investigate the relationship between respect and trust or to test their relative influence on juveniles' legitimization of the police (see *Gau* 2011; *Wu et al.* 2013).

Part III

Empirical Evidence on Contacts between Juveniles and the Police

Chapter 6

Findings on Police Contacts

6.1 Measures

6.1.1 Police contacts

In order to measure police contacts, the respondents were asked whether they themselves had had contact with the police in their respective city (Cologne or Mannheim, Lyon or Grenoble) in the past 12 months. If they replied in the affirmative, they were asked to state the type and frequency of contact as well as the date of the last contact. Various types of police contacts, both sought and unsought by the adolescents, were listed in the questionnaire.

As this study aims at identifying and comparing predictors over various types of police contacts, both police-initiated (where adolescents are targeted by the police because of their suspicious behavior etc.) and self-initiated contacts (where adolescents seek help or happen to be a victim or witness of an offense) were measured. The latter are, by their very nature, less inclined to result in confrontation and conflict between the involved parties.

The self-initiated police contacts comprise all contacts with the police over the last twelve months where respondents interacted with the officer(s) for the following reasons: "as a victim or witness of a traffic accident/offense", "as a victim of a criminal offense", "as a witness of a criminal offense" and "I asked the police officer a question/sought help from the police". For the police-initiated contacts, respondents were asked whether they had had any interactions with the police in their city over the last twelve months for any of the following reasons: "as a suspect of a criminal offense (e.g. shoplifting, brawling/fighting)", "as a traffic participant (e.g. on a bike ride)" and "I was approached or checked (stopped and searched) on the street/in a park/on a public square". In case the respondents had had contact with the police for any of the above-cited reasons, they were asked to report how often this contact had taken place.

The police contact variable is included in the analysis as a scale when it is a dependent variable. As a predictor for positive attitudes toward the police and a willingness to resort to self-help, as well as for the descriptive statistics, the recoded variable is introduced into the analyses as four category variables with the following occurrences: "none", "one to two", "three to five" and "more than five". A distinction in

these categories serves the purpose of distinguishing the effects of very frequent, and thus presumably more problematic, encounters with the police (subsumed in the category "more than five") from the less frequent ones.

For the multivariate analyses, this study distinguishes between two categories of police-initiated contacts: (1) contacts as a suspect of a criminal offense; and (2) stop-and-search contacts. Thus, a differentiation is made between contacts that are in direct connection with a criminal offense and ones that are part of routine police procedure, such as identity checks. The latter are often claimed to be discriminatory in nature, as they may not be based on the actual demeanor of the juvenile. Making this distinction is important, as one may argue that the underlying drivers for these two categories of police-initiated contacts differ.

The following introduces the measures and findings for Germany only. For France, the measures and findings are discussed in *Chapter 6.3*.

Table 6.1   Frequency of police contacts in Cologne and Mannheim

Police contact previous year	Cologne		Mannheim		Total	
	No.	Col%	No.	Col%	No.	Col%
none	2,278	55.2	1,707	60.5	3,985	57.4
one contact	755	18.3	460	16.3	1,215	17.5
two contacts	379	9.2	219	7.8	598	8.6
3–5 contacts	409	9.9	233	8.3	642	9.2
6–10 contacts	160	3.9	101	3.6	261	3.8
more than ten contacts	113	2.7	72	2.6	185	2.7
missing	34	0.8	28	1.0	62	0.9
Total	4,128	100.0	2,820	100.0	6,948	100.0

The comparison of the frequency of police contacts discloses that in Cologne and Mannheim, juveniles frequently report contacts with the police, see *Table 6.1*. In Cologne, the share of juveniles with at least one police contact is slightly higher (45%) than in Mannheim (39%). A single police contact was reported by 18% of juveniles in Cologne and by 16% in Mannheim. A closer look at the frequency of police contacts reveals that frequent interactions with the police (two up to ten) are common (for Cologne and Mannheim 23% and 20% respectively). However, only in rare cases did juveniles report very high numbers of police encounters (for both Cologne and Mannheim ca. 3% had had more than ten contacts).

For most of the analysis, this study differentiates between three main types of police contacts: (1) witness, victim or self-initiated contacts; (2) contacts as suspect of a criminal offense; and (3) contacts as the target of traffic control or stop-and-search. *Table 6.2* gives a detailed overview of the occurrence and frequency of these contacts among the respondents in Cologne and Mannheim.

In total, approximately 23% of the respondents reported one or more occasions in which the police stopped to conduct a traffic control, identity check etc. Less common were police-initiated contacts for suspicion of a criminal offense (ca. 7% of the students surveyed).

Table 6.2   Frequency of various types of police contacts in Cologne and Mannheim

	Cologne		Mannheim		Total	
	No.	Col%	No.	Col%	No.	Col%
Witness/victim/self-initiated						
no	2,873	70.2	2,046	73.3	4,919	71.4
1–2 contacts	915	22.3	569	20.4	1,484	21.6
3–5 contacts	221	5.4	132	4.7	353	5.1
≥ 6 contacts	85	2.1	45	1.6	130	1.9
Total	4,094	100.0	2,792	100.0	6,886	100.0
As suspect of criminal offense						
no	3,779	92.3	2,604	93.3	6,383	92.7
1–2 contacts	270	6.6	168	6	438	6.4
3–5 contacts	25	0.6	13	0.5	38	0.6
≥ 6 contacts	20	0.5	7	0.3	27	0.4
Total	4,094	100.0	2,792	100.0	6,886	100.0
Traffic control/stop-and-search						
no	3,137	76.6	2,191	78.5	5,328	77.4
1–2 contacts	670	16.4	412	14.8	1,082	15.7
3–5 contacts	175	4.3	117	4.2	292	4.2
≥ 6 contacts	112	2.7	72	2.6	184	2.7
Total	4,094	100.0	2,792	100.0	6,886	100.0

$N = 62$ missing cases

It has to be assumed that the high percentage of police-initiated contacts is overesti-mated. As emphasized by previous studies, the "telescoping effect" (e.g. *Gottfredson & Hindelang* 1977) accounts partly for the overestimation of the prevalence of po-lice-initiated contacts in the last twelve months. According to the "telescoping effect", respondents are likely to misperceive spaces of time by placing distant events as having taken place more recently than they actually did. The control questions about the date of the last police encounter prove that in this survey indeed, some of the reported interactions had not occurred within the time frame of the past twelve months, but had happened further back in time. As shown in *Table 6.3*, in both Co-logne and Mannheim, around 15% of the reported police encounters (where infor-mation about the date of the contact had been made available) had taken place before September 2010. These encounters do not meet the criteria that the police contact has to have taken place at most one year before the school survey was carried out. In order to avoid losing observations, however, these respondents are still included in the analysis.

Table 6.3   *Telescoping effect in Cologne and Mannheim*

Date of contact with the police	Cologne		Mannheim		Total	
	No.	Col%	No.	Col%	No.	Col%
after September 2010	431	83.5	276	84.4	707	83.9
2000 until August 2010	79	15.3	47	14.4	126	14.9
not a valid date	6	1.2	4	1.2	10	1.2
Total	516	100.0	327	100.0	843	100.0

$N = 610$ missing cases for young people who reported at least one police encounter. Note: only half of the questionnaires included this question.

As reported in *Table 6.4*, the frequency of police contacts varies significantly by type of school. Relative to the total amount of adolescents for each school type, particu-larly juveniles of the *Gesamtschule*, *Realschule* and *Hauptschule* report interactions with the police on a frequent basis (six or more police contacts over the last year). The share of those juveniles with frequent police encounters (six or more contacts) amounts to 7% for *Realschule* students, 8% for *Gesamtschule* students and 10% for *Hauptschule* students. Compared to the students from other schools, those who at-tend the *Gymnasium* seem to be less subject to very frequent police-initiated encoun-ters (their share amounts to 5%).

Table 6.4   *Frequency of police-initiated contacts across various school types in Germany*

Type of school	Police contact last year									
	none		1–2		3–5		more than 5		Total	
	No.	Row %	No.	Row %	No.	Row %	No.	Row %	No.	Row %
Gymnasium	1,940	58.3	935	28.1	293	8.8	157	4.7	3,325	100
Gesamtschule	343	56.3	160	26.3	57	9.4	49	8.0	609	100
Realschule	1,028	58.1	448	25.3	170	9.6	122	6.9	1,768	100
Hauptschule	674	56.9	270	22.8	122	10.3	118	10,0	1,184	100
Total	3,985	57.9	1,813	26.3	642	9.3	446	6.5	6,886	100

6.1.2   Explanatory variables

6.1.2.1   Socio-demographic measures

The socio-demographic variables included in the analysis comprise gender, age, migration background, family structure as well as parental educational level, unemployment and social status.

6.1.2.1.1   Age

The age in the sample follows a normal distribution, with 50% of the surveyed adolescents being 15 or younger and only about the upper 1% being above the age of 18. The age of the respondents included in the sample ranges from a minimum of 11 to a maximum of 22 years. All adolescents who were 19 or older at the time of the survey have subsequently been recoded as aged 18.

The analysis of police contacts by age confirms that with an increase in age, juveniles interact more frequently with the police. As displayed by *Table 6.5*, adolescents who report some kind of contact with the police are, on average, older than those who do not experience police encounters. Adolescents with an unsought police contact (that is, as a suspect of a criminal offense or a stop-and-search contact) are by tendency older than those with a sought contact (that is a contact as a witness or victim of a criminal offense or when asking for help). Age is included as a standardized scale in the analysis, with a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1.

6.1.2.1.2   Gender

Gender is coded as a dummy variable with the reference category male. Female and male students are equally represented in the survey. A closer look across various types of police contacts reveals interesting gender disparities.

Table 6.5   Mean values of age for self- and police-initiated contacts in Germany

	Mean age	SE	Lower bond	Upper bond
Witness/victim/self-initiated				
no (n = 4,919)	14.96	0.02	14.93	14.99
1–2 contacts (n = 1,484)	15.00	0.03	14.95	15.06
3–5 contacts (n = 353)	15.11	0.07	14.98	15.24
≥ 6 contacts (n = 130)	15.08	0.09	14.91	15.25
Total (n = 6,886)	14.98	0.01	14.95	15.01
Police-initiated				
no (n = 5,106)	14.92	0.02	14.89	14.95
1–2 contacts (n = 1,225)	15.11	0.03	15.05	15.17
3–5 contacts (n = 330)	15.21	0.06	15.09	15.33
≥ 6 contacts (n = 225)	15.38	0.08	15.23	15.54
Total (n = 6,886)	14.98	0.01	14.95	15.01

$N = 62$ missing cases

Table 6.6 shows that police-initiated contacts are much more common among male than among female juveniles. As a matter of fact, 33% of male, but only 19% of female juveniles had a police-initiated contact. That means that compared to the boys, girls are less frequently stopped, searched and suspected of having committed a criminal offense. Particularly the repeated police-initiated contacts are rare among the female respondents of the survey. Overall, some 13% of the male but only 4% of the female juveniles experienced repeated (three or more) police-initiated encounters.

Yet, as shown in *Table 6.6*, in contrast to the police-initiated contacts where the distinction between male and female juveniles is pronounced, no major gender difference is retained for the self-initiated encounters. From the adolescents who had a self-initiated police contact, males and females are represented in a more equal share (31% and 26% respectively). Only among the category of frequent self-initiated police contacts, one can note that male juveniles are over-represented. Around 5% of the girls and around 10% of the boys had had frequent (three or more) self-initiated encounters with the police.

Table 6.6   *Frequencies of self- and police-initiated contacts among male and fe-*
male juveniles in Germany

	Gender					
	Boy		**Girl**		**Total**	
	No.	Col%	No.	Col%	No.	Col%
Witness/victim/self-initiated						
no	2,261	68.6	2,658	74.0	4,919	71.4
1–2 contacts	721	21.9	763	21.2	1,484	21.6
3–5 contacts	220	6.7	133	3.7	353	5.1
≥ 6 contacts	92	2.8	38	1.1	130	1.9
Total	3,294	100.0	3,592	100.0	6,886	100.0
Police-initiated						
no	2,202	66.8	2,904	80.8	5,106	74.2
1–2 contacts	685	20.8	540	15.0	1,225	17.8
3–5 contacts	226	6.9	104	2.9	330	4.8
≥ 6 contacts	181	5.5	44	1.2	225	3.3
Total	3,294	100.0	3,592	100.0	6,886	100.0

N = 62 missing cases

6.1.2.1.3   Migration background

For details on the construction of the migration background variable, see sample de-
scription in *Chapter 5.2.2* and *Table 5.4*.

Table 6.7 points out that in Germany, there is no major disparity in the overall fre-
quency of sought and unsought police encounters between juveniles of a native Ger-
man and those of an ethnic minority background. Barely any difference can be as-
serted between adolescents with and without migration backgrounds in terms of their
frequency of contacts as suspects of a criminal offense. With regard to the contested
stop-and-search and traffic control police contacts, the descriptive findings suggest
that those are even more prominent among native German adolescents.

*Table 6.7   Various types of police contacts by prevalence of a migration back-
            ground in Germany*

	Migration background					
	no		**yes**		**Total**	
	No.	Col%	No.	Col%	No.	Col%
Witness/victim/self-initiated						
no	2,434	72.7	2,473	70.4	4,907	71.5
1–2 contacts	712	21.3	764	21.7	1,476	21.5
3–5 contacts	148	4.4	205	5.8	353	5.1
≥ 6 contacts	56	1.7	73	2.1	129	1.9
Total	3,350	100.0	3,515	100.0	6,865	100.0
Suspect of criminal offense						
no	3,150	94	3,214	91.4	6,364	92.7
1–2 contacts	175	5.2	262	7.5	437	6.4
3–5 contacts	15	0.4	23	0.7	38	0.6
≥ 6 contacts	10	0.3	16	0.5	26	0.4
Total	3,350	100	3,515	100.0	6,865	100.0
Traffic control/stop and search						
no	2,557	76.3	2,758	78.5	5,315	77.4
1–2 contacts	563	16.8	516	14.7	1,079	15.7
3–5 contacts	149	4.4	140	4.0	289	4.2
≥ 6 contacts	81	2.4	101	2.9	182	2.7
Total	3,350	100	3,515	100.0	6,865	100.0

N = 83 missing cases

Finally, *Table 6.8* provides a more detailed overview of the distribution of police
contacts (all types) among various ethnic groups. A closer look at the frequency of
recurrent encounters with the police (more than five contacts within one year) sug-
gests some variation across ethnic groups. For instance, compared to the adolescents
of German descent (6%), those of Polish and Maghrebian/Muslim Asian origin report
higher percentages of recurrent police encounters (9% and 8% respectively).

Table 6.8   *Frequency of police contacts for different migration backgrounds in Germany*

Migration back-ground	Police contacts last year (all types)									
	none		1–2		3–5		more than 5		Total	
	No.	Row %	No.	Row %	No.	Row %	No.	Row %	No.	Row %
German	1,937	57.8	912	27.2	307	9.2	194	5.8	3,350	100
Turkish	764	59.0	330	25.5	121	9.4	79	6.1	1,294	100
Southern European	116	63.7	42	23.1	16	8.8	8	4.4	182	100
Ex-Soviet	117	53.4	68	31.1	21	9.6	13	5.9	219	100
Polish	132	67.7	39	20.0	7	3.6	17	8.7	195	100
other East-ern Euro-pean	142	66.0	44	20.5	18	8.4	11	5.1	215	100
Maghre-bian/Mus-lim Asian	141	58.5	53	22.0	28	11.6	19	7.9	241	100
other	227	55.9	109	26.8	37	9.1	33	8.1	406	100
mixed Ger-man/Turk-ish	67	62.6	20	18.7	8	7.5	12	11.2	107	100
mixed Ger-man/other	332	50.6	191	29.1	76	11.6	57	8.7	656	100
Total	3,975	57.9	1,808	26.3	639	9.3	443	6.5	6,865	100

N = 83 missing cases

6.1.2.1.4   Family structure and parental unemployment

The variable "family structure" informs about the presence of the parents and the living situation of the respondents. Family structure is included as a dummy variable in the analysis with reference category "complete family structure". The latter implies that the juvenile is living with his/her two biological parents. The other cases where one or both parents are missing or the family is reconstituted/blended are coded as "non-complete family structure".

In order to measure parental unemployment, the respondents were asked about the current occupational status of their parents and whether they had been unemployed in the last twelve months. Parental unemployment is a variable with three occurrences: "father or mother unemployed", "neither father nor mother unemployed" and "parental employment status unclear or missing". Two out of ten respondents reported having unemployed parents or parents who receive welfare support (for Cologne and Mannheim 22% and 20% respectively). This proportion mirrors the share of welfare support for the two cities according to official data (*Oberwittler et al.*

2014). A significant relationship is attested between ethnicity and parental unemployment (*Cramér's V* = .15, *p* < .001).

In *Table 6.9*, the variable "family setting" is cross-tabulated along with the variable "parental unemployment" with the prevalence of police contact. Whereas 40% of respondents from a "complete" family and 41% whose parents are employed reported at least one police encounter in the previous year, the share is slightly higher – around 47% and 46% – among those who do not live with their two biological parents and whose mother and/or father is unemployed.

Table 6.9   *Prevalence of police contacts by family structure and parental employment in Germany*

| | Prevalence of police contacts last year | | | | | |
| | no | | yes | | Total | |
	No.	Row%	No.	Row%	No.	Row%
Complete family structure						
complete	2,774	60.2	1,835	39.8	4,609	100
incomplete or missing	1,211	53.2	1,066	46.8	2,277	100
Total	3,985	57.9	2,901	42.1	6,886	100
Parental unemployment						
no	3,036	58.7	2,133	41.3	5,169	100
yes	666	53.9	569	46.1	1,235	100
unlcear or missing	283	58.7	199	41.3	482	100
Total	3,985	57.9	2,901	42.1	6,886	100

N = 62 missing cases

6.1.2.1.5   Parental educational level

The parental educational level is included as a categorical variable with four categories: "no degree", "below *Abitur*" (German university entrance qualification), "*Abitur*", "degree above *Abitur*". *Table 6.10* reveals that while nearly one third (30%) of native respondents reported that their parents hold a degree of higher education (above *Abitur*), only one fifth of respondents with a migration background (20%) reported the same. Yet, due to the high amount of missing cases (19%), these percentages may not accurately reflect the "true" distribution of the parental educational level of the sample. Thus, the missing cases will be considered as a separate category in the analysis.

Table 6.10   *Distribution of the parental educational level among natives and ju-*
                  veniles with migration background in Germany

Highest education of mother/father	Migration background					
	no		yes		Total	
	No.	Col%	No.	Col%	No.	Col%
no degree	303	8.9	735	20.7	1,038	15.0
degree below Abitur	778	23.1	671	18.9	1,449	21.5
Abitur	799	23.7	631	17.8	1,430	20.6
above Abitur	998	29.6	695	19.6	1,693	24.5
missing	491	14.6	821	23.1	1,312	18.9
Total	3,369	100.0	3,553	100.0	6,922	100.0

6.1.2.1.6   Social status

The social status variable relies on information about parental occupation. The re-
spondents were asked to inform which professional occupation the mother/father had
last pursued. Next to naming the profession, they were additionally asked to give a
detailed description of the activities associated with this profession. This very de-
tailed information was then coded according to the guidelines of the International
Standard for Classification (ISCO-08) in a tedious process involving two coders so
as to ensure the reliability of the outcome. The obtained codes were transferred into
the International Socio-Economic Index of Occupational Status (ISEI), which is
widely used in large-scale assessments studies (such as the PISA study) as an indi-
cator for socio-economic status (see *Ganzeboom et al.* 1992; *Ganzeboom* 2010;
Kaplan & Kuger 2016).

In order to define the socio-economic status of the respondents, this study relies on
the highest ISEI value from the respective two parents. The ISEI scale ranges from
a value of 13 (that indicates low economic status) to a value of 90 (that stands for a
high economic status). The scale was then standardized to a mean of 0 and a standard
deviation of 1. The bivariate analysis indicates that there is a significant yet minor
(in effect size) relationship between social status and ethnicity ($\eta^2 = .14$, $p < .001$).

The correlation between both social status and self-initiated police contact and social
status and police-initiated contacts is small (*Pearsons'r* = -0.01 and *Pearsons'r* = -
0.02 respectively), suggesting that the socio-economic status does not significantly
affect the occurrence of police contacts among adolescents in Germany.

6.1.2.2   Routine activities

6.1.2.2.1   Consumption of alcohol

Juveniles' consumption of alcohol is measured by the standard item "did you ever drink so much alcohol that you got really drunk?", with the answering possibilities: "no, never", "once", "two until five times", "six until ten times" and "more than ten times". Around 70% of respondents answered that they had never been drunk in their life.

Table 6.11   Frequency of alcohol consumption among male and female juveniles in Germany

Ever drunk (in lifetime)	Gender					
	Boy		Girl		Total	
	No.	Col%	No.	Col%	No.	Col%
no	2,228	66.9	2,661	73.6	4,889	70.4
once	362	10.9	413	11.4	775	11.2
2–5 times	386	11.6	340	9.4	726	10.5
≥ 6 times	302	9.1	178	4.9	480	6.9
missing	53	1.6	24	0.7	77	1.1
Total	3,331	100.0	3,616	100.0	6,947	100.0

A similar trend is reported in *Table 6.11* for both male and female juveniles. Overall, less female than male juveniles reported to having been drunk, 26% and 32% respectively. Thus, a minor but significant relationship is found between gender and the consumption of alcohol (*Cramér's V* = 0.1, $p < .001$).

Table 6.12 provides an overview of the prevalence of alcohol consumption among young people of different ethnic groups. Whereas more than 30% of the respondents of German, Ex-Soviet and Polish backgrounds had experienced drunkenness at least once, only half as many, i.e. around 15%, of the respondents of Turkish origin (and thus with utmost probability of Muslim denomination) had already gotten really drunk.

Table 6.12   *Consumption of alcohol across various ethnic backgrounds in Germany*

Migration background	Ever drunk (in lifetime)							
	no		yes		missing		Total	
	No.	Row%	No.	Row%	No.	Row%	No.	Row%
German	2,262	67.1	1,069	31.7	38	1.1	3,369	100
Turkish	1,101	84.2	194	14.8	12	0.9	1,307	100
Southern European	129	70.9	51	28.0	2	1.1	182	100
Ex-Soviet	145	65.6	76	34.4	0	0.0	221	100
Polish	127	64.8	68	34.7	1	0.5	196	100
other Eastern European	156	71.6	58	26.6	4	1.8	218	100
Maghrebian/Muslim Asian	186	76.9	54	22.3	2	0.8	242	100
other	275	66.1	133	32.0	8	1.9	416	100
mixed German/Turkish	83	76.1	25	22.9	1	0.9	109	100
mixed German/other	409	61.8	247	37.3	6	0.9	662	100
Total	4,873	70.4	1,975	28.5	74	1.1	6,922	100

6.1.2.2.2   "Unsupervised" activities

In order to measure their lifestyle, juveniles were asked to rate their leisure time activities as "never", "sometimes", "often" or "very often". For this study, out of those activities, the risky and unlawful ones have been selected and measured along the following four items: "meet friends and hang out on the street/on a square", "go to clubs, parties", "meet friends and hang out in a park or close to the lake and drink in the evening" and "go to pubs". The item "meet friends and hang out on the street/on a square" was dropped after running a confirmatory fact analysis based on polychoric correlations, as it did not properly load into the scale. The remaining items from the scale "unsupervised activities" load onto the factor scale from .44 to .74. The scale has $\alpha = .67$. *Table 6.13* gives an overview of the items retained in this scale and differentiates whether or not the respective respondent has a migration background. Significantly more native German juveniles (19% compared to 15% with a migration background) hang out in a park in the evening and have drinks. Additionally, from *Table 6.13*, one learns that only around 4% of the adolescents from this survey go out to pubs, whereas 12% go clubbing or to parties.

A significant relationship exists between the unsupervised activities and the frequency of police contacts, particularly traffic control/stop-and-search contacts (*Pearsons'r* = -0.25). A higher preference for this type of activities generally increases the tendency of adolescents to become the target of such a contact.

Table 6.13   *Response to unsupervised activity items by prevalence of migration background in Germany*

| | Migration background | | | | | |
| | no | | yes | | Total | |
	No.	Col%	No.	Col%	No.	Col%
Go clubbing, to parties						
rather not	2,898	86.0	3,138	88.3	6,036	87.2
rather yes	456	13.5	397	11.2	853	12.3
missing	15	0.4	18	0.5	33	0.5
Total	3,369	100.0	3,553	100.0	6,922	100.0
Drink in parks with friends						
rather not	2,729	81.0	3,023	85.1	5,752	83.1
rather yes	626	18.6	511	14.4	1,137	16.4
missing	14	0.4	19	0.5	33	0.5
Total	3,369	100.0	3,553	100.0	6,922	100.0
Go to pubs						
rather not	3,217	95.5	3,430	96.5	6,647	96.0
rather yes	139	4.1	105	3.0	244	3.5
missing	13	0.4	18	0.5	31	0.4
Total	3,369	100.0	3,553	100.0	6,922	100.0

6.1.2.3 Deviant attitudes

The deviant attitudes of juveniles were measured through various items, see *Table 6.14*. Some of the items indicate an inclination for risky behavior or a tendency to adopt violence: "beating somebody in response to provocation is normal", "some conflicts ought to be solved by violent means" and "one can do something forbidden, so long as one is not caught". Other items question the willingness of juveniles to comply with the law and to come to reach compromises: "every dispute can be settled through talks", "one has to respect the law, even if the own interests are overlooked". The items load onto a factor of .45 to .79. The scale reliability coefficient is α = .72. Higher values stand for higher deviant attitudes and thus indicate a lower propensity of adolescents to comply with the law.

Table 6.14   *Response to deviant attitude items among adolescent juveniles with-out and with a migration background in Germany*

	Migration background					
	no		yes		Total	
	No.	Col%	No.	Col%	No.	Col%
Beating when provoked						
rather true	658	19.5	1,114	31.4	1,772	25.6
rather untrue	2,679	79.5	2,390	67.3	5,069	73.2
missing	32	0.9	49	1.4	81	1.2
Total	3,369	100.0	3,553	100.0	6,922	100.0
Settling disputes via talks						
rather true	2,643	78.5	2,681	75.5	5,324	76.9
rather untrue	704	20.9	832	23.4	1,536	22.2
missing	22	0.7	40	1.1	62	0.9
Total	3,369	100.0	3,553	100.0	6,922	100.0
Solving conflicts via violence						
rather true	827	24.5	1,350	38	2,177	31.5
rather untrue	2,514	74.6	2,155	60.7	4,669	67.5
missing	28	0.8	48	1.4	76	1.1
Total	3,369	100.0	3,553	100.0	6,922	100.0
Respecting the law						
rather true	2,567	76.2	2,730	76.8	5,297	76.5
rather untrue	768	22.8	763	21.5	1,531	22.1
missing	34	1	60	1.7	94	1.4
Total	3,369	100.0	3,553	100.0	6,922	100.0
Doing something forbidden						
rather true	1,445	42.9	1,441	40.6	2,886	41.7
rather untrue	1,888	56	2,059	58	3,947	57
missing	36	1.1	53	1.5	89	1.3
Total	3,369	100.0	3,553	100.0	6,922	100.0

Overall, a minor but significant difference exists in deviant attitudes across ethnic groups ($\eta^2 = .02, p < .001$). Yet, a closer look at single items reveals a more marked difference for the negative items questioning the inclination to adopt violence. According to *Table 6.14*, respondents with a migration background agree more fre-

quently than those without to the items encouraging violent behavior: "beating some-body in response to provocation is normal" (31% with migration background contra 20% native German respondents) and "some conflicts ought to be solved by violent means" (38% with migration background contra 25% native German respondents).

Finally, male and female juveniles significantly differ with regard to their levels of deviant attitudes ($\eta^2 = .12$, $p < .001$).

6.1.2.4   Exposure to delinquency

The analyses also include measures of crime- and justice-related factors, e.g. self-reported and peer delinquency, victimization, membership in peer groups. *Table 6.15* shows the prevalence of stop-and-search police contacts in relation to those variables.

Table 6.15   *Prevalence of police contacts by self-reported delinquency, victimiza-tion and delinquency of peers in Germany*

| | Prevalence of police contacts last year | | | | | |
| | no | | yes | | Total | |
	No.	Row%	No.	Row%	No.	Row%
Self-reported delinquency						
no	3,013	68.2	1,406	31.8	4,419	100
1–2 offenses	477	47.7	522	52.3	999	100
3–5 offenses	209	40.3	309	59.7	518	100
≥ 6 offenses	262	29.1	639	70.9	901	100
Total	3,961	57.9	2,876	42.1	6,837	100
Victimization						
none	3,019	64.5	1,664	35.5	4,683	100
1–2	573	46.9	650	53.1	1,223	100
3–5	163	37.0	278	63.0	441	100
≥ 6	203	41.5	286	58.5	489	100
Total	3,958	57.9	2,878	42.1	6,836	100
Delinquency of peers						
none	2,194	70.5	916	29.5	3,110	100
one offense	588	58.4	418	41.6	1,006	100
several offenses	1,189	43.4	1,553	56.6	2,742	100
Total	3,971	57.9	2,887	42.1	6,858	100

$N = 62$ missing cases

6.1.2.4.1   Self-reported delinquency

Self-reported delinquency was measured by asking the students if they had ever com-mitted a criminal offense and, if so, how often they had done so in the last twelve months. A total of 17 offenses form part of the self-reported delinquency scale: pirate copying, vandalism, damage to property, damage to vehicles, theft from a vehicle, theft of a vehicle, bike theft, shoplifting, breaking in, property theft, theft of personal belongings, drug use, dealing drugs, assault, body injury, blackmail, and theft of money. According to the findings, around 42% of the respondents of the survey had committed at least one of above-mentioned criminal offenses in their lifetime (for more details see *Oberwittler et al.* 2014). Overall, around one third of the juveniles had done something illegal in the last twelve months (ca. 37%). Important differences by gender exist. Girls reported fewer criminal offenses than boys (27% and 46% re-spectively for the last 12 months). At first sight, no major differences by ethnic back-ground can be found. 42% of the native German juveniles reported having committed at least one criminal offense during their lifetime. The lifetime prevalence for self-reported delinquency for the various ethnic groups is between 36% and 50%. The prevalence for the last twelve months is between 31% and 44%. However, compared with the other ethnic groups, delinquent acts are particularly often reported among juveniles of Russian and Ex-Soviet backgrounds (47%) and among the mixed Ger-man/other (non-Turkish) migration background group (50.5%). According to the findings of this study, cybermobbing was the most prominently committed crimes in the last twelve months (26% and 18% respectively). Moreover, in the same time frame, about 14% of the respondents in the survey had shoplifted, about 12% had caused body harm and about the same share had damaged property. Few juveniles had committed very serious criminal offenses, such as robbery or breaking into a car (2.2% and 0.9% respectively). A small number of juveniles are thus responsible for a large share of criminal offenses. These adolescents frequently commit delinquent acts, particularly the consumption of drugs and property damage (see for more details *Oberwittler et al.* 2014).

Following the age-delinquency curve, the incidence rate for self-reported criminal offenses increases with age, reaching its peak between ages 14 and 18, depending on the country (*Junger-Tas et al.* 2003). Furthermore, for this survey, on average, older juveniles reported having committed more crimes than younger ones for the last twelve months (*Pearsons'r* = 0.15). Thus, according to the findings of this study, delinquency among adolescents is widespread. Yet, research on the life-course per-spectives of delinquency points out that in late adolescence and early adulthood, a downward trend in the delinquency curve begins. Hence, criminal offenses are com-mitted less frequently among the adult population (*Junger-Tas et al.* 2003; *Sampson & Laub* 2003).

The following results are based on a self-reported delinquency variable that includes all types of committed offenses investigated in the school survey, except for cyber-mobbing and pirate copying. *Table 6.15* reveals a strong relationship between the

commitment of offenses and the prevalence of police contact. Hence, whereas from the share of respondents who did not commit any delinquent offense, only 32% experienced a police encounter, it rises to over 70% among those who report very frequent (six or more) offenses. As one would expect, this result indicates that juveniles who belong to the category of repeat offenders are very likely to experience encounters with the police. To what extent the own delinquent behavior affects the relationship with the police will be explored in more detail in the next chapters.

In order to be able to better identify the effect size of the frequent offenders (and to distinguish them from the other, less frequent offenders), the self-reported delinquency variable has been recoded and included in the analysis as a variable with four occurrences: "none", "one to two", "three to five" and "more than five".

6.1.2.4.2   Victimization

In the interest of learning about the effect of prior victimization, respondents have been asked whether – and if so, how often – during the last twelve months they had been a (recurrent) victim of four types of violent offenses, namely: assault, robbery, blackmailing and cyberbullying. Around 31% of them had been victimized at least once (see *Table 6.15*). The summary index of the victimization variable was thus subsequently recoded as a dummy variable that indicates whether or not the respondent has been victimized at least once in the twelve months prior to the survey.

6.1.2.4.3   Peer delinquency

Next to their own experiences with crime and contact with the police, the respondents were asked about the delinquency of their peers (see *Table 6.15*). They were asked how many of their friends had been involved in different types of criminal behavior: "voluntary damage to something", "shoplifting", "robbery", "violently stolen something from somebody", "injured somebody seriously" and "used drugs".

The delinquency of peers is included in the analysis as a scale. The items load onto a factor of .63 to .80. The scale reliability coefficient is $\alpha = .72$. Higher values stand for a higher peer delinquency. Self-reported and peer delinquency are positively and significantly correlated (*Pearsons'r* = .42). Peer delinquency is positively correlated to police-initiated police contacts (*Pearsons'r* = .27).

6.1.2.4.4   Peer group

In order to gather more information about young people's friends, the survey investigates whether the respondents are members of a peer group, and if so, which kind of peer group they belong to. Thus, for the friend group, a differentiation is undertaken between "not a member", "member in a non-violent peer group" and "member in a violent peer group".

As reported in *Table 6.16*, around half of the sampled juveniles ($N = 3,389$ from a total of $N = 6,886$) declared not to be a member in a kind of peer group. Around 42%

are members in a non-violent peer group. Roughly 7% of the juveniles in the sample stated that they are part of a violent peer group. The findings presented in *Table 6.16* postulate a strong relationship between the type of peer-group membership and experiences with police encounters. Whereas only one out of three respondents who stated not to be members in any peer group had had contact with the police, from those who are members in a peer group, the share amounts to at least one out of two. Over 70% of the respondents who are member in a violent peer group reported at least one encounter with the police within one year.

Additionally, the analysis controls for the ethnic composition of the friends. "Friends without migration background" is a dummy variable where "no" indicates that the adolescent has only friends of ethnic minority backgrounds; a "yes" marks that adolescents also have friends without a migration background.

Table 6.16 suggests that there is no significant relationship between the composition of the friend group and the frequency of police contact. Hence, for both the respondents who have an ethnically mixed friend group and for those who only have friends of a non-native background, the prevalence of police contact equates to ca. 42%.

Table 6.16   *Prevalence of police contacts by peer-group membership and composition of friends in Germany*

	Prevalence of police contacts last year					
	no		yes		Total	
	No.	Row%	No.	Row%	No.	Row%
Membership in peer group						
not a member in peer group	2,228	65.7	1,161	34.3	3,389	100
member in non-violent peer group	1,552	53.5	1,350	46.5	2,902	100
member in violent peer group	127	28.1	325	71.9	452	100
missing	78	54.5	65	45.5	143	100
Total	3,985	57.9	2,901	42.1	6,886	100
Friends without migration background						
no	582	57.6	428	42.4	1,010	100
yes	3,261	57.5	2,410	42.5	5,671	100
missing	142	69.3	63	30.7	205	100
Total	3,985	57.9	2,901	42.1	6,886	100

6.2　Testing the Hypotheses: Influences on Chances of Police Contacts

This section tests the theoretical assumptions about the social, behavioral and structural factors that are most likely to affect adolescent contacts with the police. It will proceed as follows: first, information about the specificity of the negative binomial regression model will be delivered. Second, the fitness of the model and the diagnostics will be discussed. Finally, a detailed analysis of variations in three types of police contacts (stop-and-search; suspect of a criminal offense; self-initiated or as a witness or victim) will be provided.

Details about the effect sizes of the predictors for stop-and-search contacts for Cologne and Mannheim are reported in the *Annex* (*Table A1*). Particularly for the predictors for stop-and-search contacts, gender differences are assumed. Therefore, the regression of this type of contact on the various predictors has been computed with male and female sub-samples. Details are reported in the *Annex* (*Table A2*). Finally, in order to validate the findings, the models were run by excluding the contacts that occurred further back in time (more than one year prior to the school survey). Details are reported in the *Annex* (*Table A3*). No substantial differences are retained.

All models presented in the following are based on the assumption that police contacts follow a negative binomial distribution.

"Police contacts" is a typical example of a count variable. Counts are non-negative integers and, as such, cannot yield to negative predicted values. Moreover, like many other count variables, police contacts are highly skewed. Indeed, as mentioned previously, mostly juveniles report having no or just one police contact, and very few have many. The extreme skew violates one of the basic assumptions of the ordinary least square regression (OLS), the normality assumption. Therefore, the OLS regression is not applicable (see, for example, *MacDonald & Lattimore* 2010).

Negative binomial regression is part of the *Poisson* family and models the number of occurrences (counts) of an event when the event has an over-dispersion.

When using models following a *Poisson* distribution, police contacts are conceptualized as a rate. Analogous to logit, *Poisson* models are non-linear, and as such, the interpretation of the coefficient is difficult. Therefore, the coefficients in the regression outputs are displayed as incidence rate ratios (IRR). The IRR are exponentiated coefficients that facilitate the interpretation of the models (*MacDonald & Lattimore* 2010).

For each type of police contact, block-wise negative binomial regression is performed. The observations are clustered by schools.

Table 6.17 reports the descriptive statistics of the variables, as included in the models. As reported in *Table 6.17*, the models are run on a total of $N = 6,080$ observations. In order to avoid the loss of observations, the missing cases have been recorded

into an own category for all categorical variables that present a substantial part thereof.

Table 6.17   *Descriptive statistics of variables included in the analysis of police contacts in Germany*

	Mean	SD	Min.	Max.
Traffic control/stopped on the street contacts	0.69	2.32	0	40
Contacts as suspect of a criminal offense	0.14	0.92	0	20
Contacts as witness/ victim/self-initiated	0.67	2.21	0	73
Gender	0.53	0.50	0	1
Age	0.03	0.99	-2.86	6.70
Migration background	-	-	0	9
Parental occupational status	-0.05	1.00	-1.73	1.73
Parental unemployment	-	-	0	2
Parental educational level	-	-	1	5
Family structure	0.33	0.47	0	1
Ever drunk (in lifetime)	-	-	0	3
Unsupervised activities	0.01	1.00	-0.78	4.24
Deviant attitudes	-0.02	0.99	-1.51	2.79
Victimization	0.32	0.47	0	1
Self-reported delinquency	-	-	0	3
Peer delinquency	0.015	1.00	-1.02	3.24
Membership in peer group	-	-	0	3
Friends without migration background	-	-	0	2
Observations	6,080			

All scales included in the models are standardized, leading to the mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1. Yet, as not all observations are included in the analysis of police contacts, the summary statistics of the scales reported in *Table 6.17* can deviate slightly from these values. The scales 'unsupervised' activities, deviant attitudes and peer delinquency are factor scores based on a polychoric correlation matrix (*Holgado-Tello et al.* 2010). A documentation of these scales is available in the *Annex Scale Documentation*.

The model fit statistics for the main models presented in this section are assessed by relying on the Bayesian information criterion (*BIC*) and the Akaike information criterion (*AIC*) (*Schwarz et al.* 1978; *Akaike* 1998). For both criteria, smaller values indicate a better data fit than larger ones. As indicated by the *BIC* and *AIC* values reported in the summary statistics, for each set of regressions, the final model including all variables (*Model 6*) fits the data best.

The coefficients in each model are interpreted under the assumption that all of its other variables are held constant. The models presented in this chapter are estimated with the statistical software package *STATA*, *version 13*.

6.2.1   Variations in stop-and-search police contacts

In order to identify significant predictors for stop-and-search police contacts, six negative binomial regression models are estimated (see *Table 6.18*). These include both traffic controls and stops on the street. In the following, each predictor is interpreted separately by holding the other variables constant. The results are displayed as incidence rate ratio (IRR).

Model 1 accounts only for the core demographic variables gender, ethnicity and age. According to the results, gender is the strongest predictor for the incidence rate of police-initiated contacts. Being female decreases this incidence rate by 62% ($p < .001$). Age also retains an important effect. One standard deviation in age increases the estimated rate ratio for police-initiated contacts by the factor 1.2 ($p < .001$). At this stage of the analysis, the migration background variable shows some effect. Compared to the native juveniles, being of Turkish descent decreases the incidence rate of police-initiated contacts by 30% ($p < .01$), being of Southern and Eastern European descent by 44% and 37% ($p < .05$). However, these effects are rendered insignificant once young people's routines and their experiences with delinquent behavior are included in the analysis.

Model 2 tests for the influence of the social background and the economic status of the respondents. Specifically, it tests for the influence of the following variables: "parental educational level", "parental occupational and employment status" and "family structure". From the regression output, one reads that from these variables, only the family structure is significantly associated with stop-and-search police contacts. The incidence rate of these contacts is 53% ($p < .001$) higher for juveniles who do not live with their two biological parents than for those who live in a "traditional" family setting with both of their biological parents. Although the effect is largely mediated in *Model 6*, it nevertheless retains significance (IRR = 1.20, $p < .05$).

Model 3 adds the lifestyle variables "consumption of alcohol", "preference for 'unsupervised' activities" and "deviant attitudes" as measures for the respondents' propensity to follow a "risky" lifestyle. The lifestyle variables have a strong influence

on the estimated rate ratio of stop-and-search police contacts. Having recurrent experiences with drunkenness (six or more times in life) – as opposed to never having been drunk in lifetime – influence the rate of stop-and-search police contacts by a factor of 2.5 ($p < .001$). Similarly, with one standard deviation toward a higher preference for "unsupervised" activities and deviant attitudes, the rate for stop-and-search police contacts is expected to increase by the factors of 1.5 and 1.4 ($p < .001$).

Model 4 tests for the influence of experiences with criminal offense, either as a perpetrator or as a victim. Experiences of victimization and commitment to criminal offenses increase young people's likelihood of being stopped and searched by the police. The change in the rate of stop-and-search contacts with the amount of reported delinquent offenses is impressive. In the final *Model 6* (that accounts for all predictors), respondents who have committed six or more criminal offenses (when compared to those who report not having committed any) are expected to have a 2.2 ($p < .001$) times higher rate of stop-and-search contacts. But respondents who have been victimized are more exposed to stop-and-search contacts, too. Those who have been at least once a victim of a criminal offense (compared to those who have not) display higher rates of stop-and-search contacts (IRR = 1.4, $p < .001$).

Model 5 explores the effect of involvement in a (delinquent) subculture on chances of stop-and-search contacts by introducing into the analysis the delinquency of peers, the type of peer-group membership and the composition of friends. Except for the variable measuring the heterogeneity of the friend group (which has no statistically significant effect), the other variables significantly influence the incidence rate of stop-and-search police contacts. The effects also remain persistent in the final *Model 6* that accounts for all covariates. Hence, there, one standard deviation toward more delinquent peers increases the incidence rate for stop-and-search police contacts by 21% ($p < .001$). Interestingly, even being a member of a non-violent peer group (compared to not being a member of any peer group) increases the incidence rate for stop-and-search police contacts by 48% ($p < .001$), and being part of a violent peer group by 92% ($p < .001$).

The likelihood of stop-and-search contacts for Cologne and Mannheim is reported in the *Annex* (*Table A1*). Only the regression output of the final *Model 6* (that includes all covariates) is displayed. The comparison reveals some interesting differences across cities in Germany. For example, in Cologne only, respondents of Maghrebian/Muslim Asian descent are almost twice as likely (IRR = 1.9, $p < .01$) as respondents of native German descent to be the target of police stops during traffic control or on the street. And only in Mannheim, respondents of Southern European origin are less likely to undergo stop-and-search practices than native German adolescents (IRR = .42, $p < .001$).

In order to separately trace the effects for male and female juveniles, the analyses were run with the two sub-samples. The results for the stop-and-search police contacts among male and female adolescents are reported in the *Annex* (*Table A2*). The

sub-sample for boys contains $N = 2,832$, the one for girls $N = 3,248$ observations. Only the results from the final *Model 6* are presented. Whereas the influence of most of the previously discussed predictors on stop-and-search police contacts is comparable for both male and female juveniles, noteworthy differences exist in the impact of a migration background on the incidence rate for stop-and-search police contacts. Under control of the socio-demographic variables and the series of attitudinal and behavioral predictors, males of ethnic minority backgrounds are not significantly more exposed to stop-and-search contacts. Young females of Maghrebian/Muslim Asian background, however, are more likely to encounter such a type of contact (IRR = 1.9, $p < .01$). Moreover, results suggest that females of a Southern European background are less likely to have police-initiated contacts (in the final *Model 6* by 58% ($p < .05$)) than native German females.

Table 6.18   Negative binomial regression of stop-and-search police contacts in Germany

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6	
Female (ref = boy)	0.38****	(-9.8)	0.37***	(-10.3)	0.49***	(-6.7)	0.47***	(-6.8)	0.40***	(-11.1)	0.46***	(-7.9)
Age	1.24***	(4.3)	1.23***	(4.1)	0.90*	(-2.6)	1.10*	(2.2)	1.07	(1.4)	0.94	(-1.6)
Migration background (ref = native)												
Turkish	0.70**	(-2.8)	0.77*	(-2.2)	0.82	(-1.7)	0.73**	(-2.7)	0.71*	(-2.6)	0.91	(-0.8)
Southern European	0.56*	(-2.1)	0.58*	(-2.3)	0.64*	(-2.1)	0.66	(-1.8)	0.56*	(-2.0)	0.69	(-1.9)
Ex-Soviet	0.77	(-0.9)	0.81	(-0.7)	0.67*	(-2.1)	0.93	(-0.2)	0.79	(-1.1)	0.84	(-0.8)
Polish	0.72	(-1.5)	0.79	(-1.1)	0.75	(-1.4)	0.70	(-1.4)	0.89	(-0.5)	0.88	(-0.5)
other Eastern European	0.63*	(-2.1)	0.70	(-1.5)	0.73	(-1.3)	0.73	(-1.3)	0.77	(-1.1)	0.83	(-0.7)
Maghrebian/Muslim Asian	1.35	(1.2)	1.46	(1.5)	1.39	(1.7)	1.16	(0.6)	1.47	(1.6)	1.50	(1.8)
other background	1.14	(0.8)	1.10	(0.6)	1.36	(1.5)	1.15	(0.9)	1.31	(1.4)	1.37	(1.9)
mixed German/Turkish	1.18	(0.4)	1.22	(0.4)	1.01	(0.0)	0.95	(-0.2)	1.08	(0.2)	0.95	(-0.1)
mixed German/other background	1.16	(1.0)	1.12	(0.7)	1.08	(0.4)	1.02	(0.1)	1.01	(0.1)	0.98	(-0.1)
Parental occupational status			1.03	(0.7)							1.05	(0.9)
Parental unemployment (ref = no)												
yes			1.05	(0.5)							0.89	(-1.2)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
unclear	1.01 (0.0)					0.89 (−0.8)
Parental educational level (ref = no degree)						
degree below Bac/Abi		0.97 (−0.2)				0.94 (−0.5)
Bac/Abi		0.94 (−0.5)				0.95 (−0.4)
above Bac/Abi		1.11 (0.7)				1.07 (0.4)
Family structure (ref = complete)		1.53*** (4.8)				1.20* (2.1)
Ever drunk (in lifetime) (ref = no)						
once			1.79*** (4.8)			1.43** (3.2)
2–5 times			1.80*** (5.0)			1.35* (2.5)
≥ 6 times			2.52*** (5.9)			1.48* (2.5)
Unsupervised activities			1.49*** (7.9)			1.28*** (5.2)
Deviant attitudes			1.36*** (7.2)			1.08 (1.8)
Victimization (ref = no)				1.51*** (4.8)		1.38*** (3.8)
Self-reported delinquency (ref = no)						
1–2 offenses				2.07*** (6.6)		1.54*** (4.1)
3–5 offenses				2.70*** (10.0)		1.59*** (4.2)
≥ 6 offenses				6.06*** (13.9)		2.20*** (4.8)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Peer delinquency					1.80*** (13.5)	1.21*** (4.1)
Peer-group member (ref = no)						
member in non-violent peer group					1.75*** (6.8)	1.48*** (4.8)
member in violent peer group					2.91*** (8.1)	1.92*** (5.0)
Friends without migration background (ref = no)						
yes					1.23 (1.6)	1.08 (0.6)
Constant	1.07 (0.7)	0.89 (-0.8)	0.54*** (-5.6)	0.41*** (-8.4)	0.46*** (-5.7)	0.29*** (-6.3)
lnalpha	5.86*** (28.9)	5.74*** (28.8)	4.08*** (22.6)	4.16*** (24.1)	4.22*** (25.7)	3.53*** (20.4)
Rank	13	21	18	17	19	36
Log lik.	-5,630	-5,613	-5,349	-5,367	-5,363	-5,232
Chi-squared	268.63	401.40	701.32	725.55	848.69	1,799.87
BIC	11,374	11,409	10,854	10,882	10,892	10,777
AIC	11,287	11,268	10,734	10,768	10,764	10,535
Observations	6,080	6,080	6,080	6,080	6,080	6,080

Exponentiated coefficients (IRR); z statistics in parentheses

$* p < 0.05$, $** p < 0.01$, $*** p < 0.001$

Missing values are included as residual categories but not reported.

6.2.2   Variations in police contacts as a suspect of a criminal offense

Interesting patterns can also be identified when comparing the incidence rate of stop-and-search police contacts with criminal offense police contacts. The six negative binomial regressions of police contacts as a suspect of criminal offense are reported in *Table 6.19* and include N = 6,080 observations.

Whereas results from the previous modeling suggest that young people of an ethnic minority background do not differ substantially from their native German counterparts when it comes to the likelihood of being stopped and searched, for police contacts pertaining to suspects of a criminal offense, significant differences between the ethnic minority and majority populations are identified. In particular, young people of Maghrebian/Muslim Asian descent are much more often suspected of committing a criminal offense. Compared to adolescents of a native German background, in the final *Model 6*, the incidence rate for juveniles of Maghrebian/Muslim Asian background is 2.7 ($p < .05$) times as high.

Similarly to the previous analysis of stop-and-search contacts, the family structure influences the incidence rate for contacts as a suspect of a criminal offense. The predictor remains significant even in the final *Model 6*. Compared to juveniles who live in a "traditional" family structure and under inclusion of lifestyle variables and exposure to delinquency, the expected incidence rate for contacts as a suspect is 49% ($p < .01$) higher for juveniles who do not live with both their biological parents.

Whereas deviant attitudes had no significant effect in the final *Model 6* for stop-and-search contacts, they are a significant predictor for the contacts as a suspect of a criminal offense. In the final *Model 6*, one standard deviation toward higher deviant attitudes increases the incidence rate for police contacts as a suspect of a criminal offense by 22% ($p < .01$).

Not surprisingly, self-reported delinquency is the strongest predictor for police contacts as a suspect of a criminal offense. When compared to juveniles who have not committed one or two criminal offenses, the incidence rate for those who have already done so increases by a factor of 3.3 ($p < .001$). For those who committed (more than six) multiple offenses, the increase by a factor of 9.4 ($p < .001$) is exorbitantly high.

Most interestingly, compared to the stop-and-search contacts, the effects of the predictors for young people's involvement in a delinquent subculture are more limited. Neither the delinquency of peers nor the composition of one's friends has an effect. Membership in a violent peer group, however, significantly influences contact rates as a suspect of a criminal offense (IRR = 1.6, $p < .01$).

Table 6.19   Negative binomial regression of police contacts as a suspect of a criminal offense in Germany

	(1) Model 1		(2) Model 2		(3) Model 3		(4) Model 4		(5) Model 5		(6) Model 6	
Female (ref = boy)	0.32***	(-6.0)	0.30***	(-6.4)	0.52***	(-4.4)	0.53***	(-4.2)	0.42***	(-5.7)	0.59***	(-3.7)
Age	1.22***	(3.4)	1.14*	(2.4)	0.84***	(-3.6)	1.02	(0.4)	1.12	(1.9)	0.87**	(-2.7)
Migration background (ref = native)												
Turkish	1.37	(1.0)	1.49	(1.2)	1.71*	(2.2)	1.41	(1.5)	1.28	(0.7)	1.61	(1.7)
Southern European	0.83	(-0.4)	0.72	(-0.9)	2.10	(1.1)	1.45	(0.8)	0.92	(-0.2)	1.30	(0.6)
Ex-Soviet	1.42	(1.3)	1.40	(1.3)	1.85*	(2.1)	1.70	(1.6)	1.58	(1.6)	1.72	(1.6)
Polish	0.87	(-0.4)	0.85	(-0.4)	1.28	(0.7)	1.01	(0.0)	1.18	(0.4)	1.10	(0.2)
other Eastern European	1.11	(0.2)	1.20	(0.4)	2.10	(1.2)	1.37	(0.8)	1.26	(0.5)	1.43	(0.9)
Maghrebian/Muslim Asian	2.31*	(2.1)	2.33*	(2.0)	3.24**	(3.1)	2.29*	(2.1)	3.55*	(2.2)	2.65*	(2.2)
other background	1.57	(1.9)	1.34	(1.3)	1.51	(1.5)	1.75*	(2.1)	1.70	(1.5)	1.61	(1.6)
mixed German/Turkish	1.61	(0.9)	1.32	(0.5)	2.35	(1.3)	1.98	(1.1)	1.80	(0.9)	2.29	(1.2)
mixed German/other background	1.50*	(2.4)	1.25	(1.3)	1.71**	(2.8)	1.31	(1.6)	1.33	(1.1)	1.33	(1.5)
Parental occupational status			0.89	(-1.0)							0.81*	(-2.1)
Parental unemployment (ref = no)												
yes			1.29	(1.5)							1.15	(1.1)
unclear			1.17	(0.5)							0.89	(-0.5)
Parental educational level (ref = no degree)												

	(1) Model 1	(2) Model 2	(3) Model 3	(4) Model 4	(5) Model 5	(6) Model 6
below Bac/Abi		1.01 (0.0)				1.15 (0.7)
Bac/Abi		1.26 (0.7)				1.33 (1.3)
above Bac/Abi		1.21 (0.5)				1.29 (1.0)
Family structure (ref = complete)		2.11*** (4.3)				1.39** (3.1)
Ever drunk (in lifetime) (ref = no)						
once			2.03*** (5.3)			1.41 (1.9)
2–5 times			2.32*** (3.8)			1.34 (1.2)
≥ 6 times			3.63*** (5.5)			1.79* (2.1)
Unsupervised activities			1.52*** (7.3)			1.29*** (4.4)
Deviant attitudes			1.79*** (7.2)			1.22** (3.1)
Victimization (ref = no)				1.10 (0.6)		1.02 (0.2)
self-reported delinquency (ref = no)						
1–2 offenses				4.21*** (7.2)		3.34*** (5.7)
3–5 offenses				6.19*** (9.7)		4.05*** (6.9)
≥ 6 offenses				26.49*** (20.2)		9.40*** (8.4)
Peer delinquency					2.06*** (10.3)	1.04 (0.5)
Peer group member (ref = no)						
member in non-violent peer group					1.03 (0.2)	0.86 (-1.1)
member in violent peer group					3.55*** (4.7)	1.64* (2.5)

	(1) Model 1		(2) Model 2		(3) Model 3		(4) Model 4		(5) Model 5		(6) Model 6	
Friends without migration background (ref = no)									1.15	(0.6)	1.01	(0.1)
Constant	0.18***	(-9.3)	0.11***	(-6.9)	0.05***	(-14.6)	0.03***	(-20.1)	0.08***	(-7.1)	0.02***	(-16.6)
lnalpha	12.23***	(14.9)	11.27***	(13.6)	5.13***	(7.7)	4.42***	(10.2)	6.48***	(9.8)	3.38***	(7.2)
Rank	13		21		18		17		19		36	
Log lik.	-2,075		-2,053		-1,844		-1785		-1898		-1717	
Chi-squared	113.79		183.81		686.64		769.09		514.67		4,352.29	
BIC	4,264		4,288		3,845		3,718		3,962		3,749	
AIC	4,177		4,147		3,724		3,603		3,834		3,507	
Observations	6,080		6,080		6,080		6,080		6,080		6,080	

Exponentiated coefficients (IRR); z statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Missing values are included as residual categories but not reported.

6.2.3   Variations in police contact as a victim, a witness or via a self-initiated contact

Six negative binomial regression models have been run in order to identify the predictors for police contact as a victim, as a witness or via self-initiated contact. The coefficients are presented in *Table 6.20*. $N = 6,080$ observations are included in the models. In the following, for the sake of convenience, reference to self-initiated contacts is made for all contacts that were not police-initiated. Therefore, contacts as a victim or a witness are included in the category of self-initiated contacts, too. Each predictor is interpreted separately by holding the other variables constant.

According to the findings, compared to male adolescents, females are less likely to encounter any type of police contact. Hence, the percentage change in the incidence rate of self-initiated police contacts decreases for them by 31% ($p < .001$) in the final *Model 6*. Significant effects of age are achieved only once the analysis accounts for the routines and lifestyles of the respondents; such is the case for *Model 3* and *Model 6*. In the final *Model 6*, each standard deviation increase in age lowers the expected rates for self-initiated contacts by 10% ($p < .01$).

A significant association between ethnicity and the incidence rate of self-initiated police contacts is reported for adolescents with Turkish origins (IRR = 1.35, $p < .01$ for the final *Model 6*). Moreover, results suggest that young people of a Maghrebian/Muslim Asian background are not only significantly more often contacted by the police as suspects of a criminal offense, but also report significantly more frequent self-initiated contacts (IRR = 1.9, $p < .05$ for the final *Model 6*).

Other than for the likelihood of stop-and-search contacts and of those as a suspect of a criminal offense, experiences with drunkenness do not influence the likelihood of self-initiated police contacts when controlling for the delinquency-related predictors.

The more "unsupervised" time young people spend in public places, the more likely they are to become a target of police-initiated contacts or to initiate such contacts themselves as victims or witnesses of a criminal offense. Hence, one standard deviation increase in "unsupervised" activities results in higher rates of self-initiated contacts (IRR = 1.2, $p < .001$).

Other than in the former modeling of police-initiated contacts, where deviant attitudes had a positive effect, a higher propensity to deviancy significantly decreases chances of self-initiated contacts (IRR = .9, $p < .01$ for one standard deviant increase in deviant attitudes under control of all covariates in the final *Model 6*).

Similar to the analysis of the likelihood of stop-and-search contacts, yet different from the one exploring the likelihood of contacts as a suspect of a criminal offense, victimization is a strong and stable predictor. According to the final *Model 6*, the chances to have a self-initiated contact are 61% higher for respondents who had been victimized than for those who had no such experience.

Finally, self-reported delinquency and peer delinquency are robust predictors for rates of stop-and-search contacts, but also for self-initiated contacts. Indeed, compared to the juveniles who had not committed any offense in the last year, in the final *Model 6*, the incidence rate of self-initiated police contacts of juveniles who reported up to two offenses increases by 43% ($p < .05$). For juveniles with more than five offenses, it increases by a factor of 2.2 ($p < .001$). When holding the other covariates constant, a standard deviation toward higher deviant attitudes decreases the incidence rate of self-initiated police contacts by 22% ($p < .001$).

Table 6.20   *Negative binomial regression of contacts as a victim, witness or self-initiated contacts in Germany*

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6	
Female (ref = boy)	0.63***	(-5.0)	0.62***	(-5.6)	0.71***	(-4.5)	0.75***	(-3.5)	0.69***	(-4.7)	0.69***	(-4.8)
Age	1.05	(1.6)	1.04	(1.1)	0.90**	(-2.9)	0.98	(-0.6)	0.97	(-0.9)	0.90**	(-2.9)
Migration background (ref = native)												
Turkish	1.15	(0.9)	1.21	(1.2)	1.33**	(2.7)	1.16	(1.5)	1.07	(0.7)	1.35**	(2.8)
Southern European	0.67*	(-2.3)	0.71	(-1.9)	0.83	(-1.0)	0.74	(-1.7)	0.72	(-1.8)	0.87	(-0.7)
Ex-Soviet	0.85	(-1.0)	0.83	(-1.2)	0.91	(-0.6)	0.85	(-1.1)	0.89	(-0.8)	0.94	(-0.4)
Polish	0.70	(-1.4)	0.69	(-1.5)	0.77	(-0.9)	0.63	(-1.9)	0.71	(-1.4)	0.70	(-1.4)
other Eastern European	0.85	(-0.8)	0.88	(-0.6)	0.92	(-0.5)	0.92	(-0.5)	0.92	(-0.5)	1.01	(0.1)
Maghrebian/Muslim Asian	1.70*	(2.4)	1.65*	(2.4)	1.83*	(2.4)	1.79*	(2.1)	1.84*	(2.0)	1.90*	(2.5)
other background	1.26	(1.5)	1.19	(1.1)	1.34	(1.9)	1.27	(1.4)	1.26	(1.5)	1.36	(1.8)
mixed German/Turkish	1.32	(1.2)	1.28	(1.1)	1.37	(1.5)	1.22	(0.9)	1.15	(0.7)	1.23	(1.0)
mixed German/other background	1.41**	(3.0)	1.36**	(2.7)	1.37**	(2.8)	1.23*	(2.2)	1.21*	(2.1)	1.21*	(2.0)
Parental occupational status			0.99	(-0.2)							1.00	(0.1)
Parental unemployment (ref = no)												
yes			1.20	(1.5)							1.07	(0.8)
unclear			0.97	(-0.2)							1.11	(0.7)
Parental educational level (ref = no degree)												
below Bac/Abi			1.20	(1.4)							1.27*	(2.0)
Bac/Abi			1.08	(0.6)							1.13	(1.1)
above Bac/Abi			1.17	(1.1)							1.13	(1.1)
Family structure (ref = complete)			1.38**	(2.7)							1.14	(1.4)
Ever drunk (in lifetime) (ref = no)												

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6	
once					1.29	(1.9)					1.10	(0.8)
2–5 times					1.44**	(2.9)					1.04	(0.4)
≥ 6 times					1.70**	(2.6)					1.05	(0.3)
Unsupervised activities					1.34***	(6.6)					1.20***	(4.4)
Deviant attitudes					1.10*	(2.5)					0.88**	(-3.2)
Victimization (ref = no)							1.71***	(6.4)			1.61***	(6.2)
Self-reported delinquency (ref = no)												
1–2 offenses							1.62***	(3.6)			1.43*	(2.4)
3–5 offenses							2.07***	(5.6)			1.67***	(3.5)
≥ 6 offenses							3.47***	(10.9)			2.20***	(4.9)
Peer delinquency									1.55***	(10.8)	1.20***	(4.1)
Peer group member (ref = no)												
member in non-violent peer group									1.23**	(2.8)	1.11	(1.3)
member in violent peer group									1.56*	(2.4)	1.22	(1.3)
Constant	0.77**	(-2.6)	0.59***	(-4.2)	0.56***	(-5.8)	0.38***	(-9.2)	0.58***	(-5.2)	0.31***	(-9.6)
lnalpha	3.76***	(20.0)	3.69***	(21.1)	3.21***	(19.9)	2.93***	(16.9)	3.13***	(17.0)	2.75***	(16.3)
Rank	13		21		18		17		17		34	
Log lik.	-6,218		-6200		-6084		-6003		-6056		-5948	
Chi-squared	58.52		123.36		180.17		481.00		334.59		824.38	
BIC	12,550		12,583		12,325		12,154		12,260		12,193	
AIC	12,462		12,442		12,205		12,040		12,146		11,965	
Observations	6,080		6,080		6,080		6,080		6,080		6,080	

Exponentiated coefficients (IRR); z statistics in parentheses

$* p < 0.05$, $** p < 0.01$, $*** p < 0.001$

Missing values are included as residual categories but not reported.

6.3   Comparative German-French Findings

6.3.1   Measures

6.3.1.1   Police contacts in Germany and France

This section compares the frequency and types of police-initiated contacts between Germany and France. The item sets concerning contact with the police were identical for the German and French questionnaires. Thus, the French respondents were also asked about their types of contact with the police, their frequency and when the last contact had occurred.

Relative to the sample size, juveniles in Germany and France have approximately the same amount of police contacts. Hence, one out of two sampled juveniles in either country reported at least one encounter with the police for diverse reasons over the last twelve months (ca. 43%). In the two countries, around 40% of juveniles who reported encounters with the police had had a single encounter, whereas around 60% had had multiple contacts with the police (see *Oberwittler et al.* 2014). *Table 6.21* compares the frequencies of different types of police encounters in Germany and France.

In both Germany and France, slightly more juveniles reported self- rather than police-initiated contacts. Whilst around one out of three adolescents in both countries encounters the police as a victim or witnesses of a criminal offense or because they seek for help, around one out of 13 adolescents in Germany and one out of eleven in France is contacted as a suspect of a criminal offense.

In the following analysis, the focus lies on a specific type of police-initiated contacts, the stop-and-search police contact. Relative to the sample size, slightly more adolescents in Germany than in France had been stopped and/or searched by the police as traffic participants or whilst being on the streets (Germany: 22%; France: 17%). However, the multivariate analysis exposes that these shares hide disparities in the frequency of stop-and-search contacts across gender and, for France, across ethnic groups.

6.3.1.2   Explanatory variables

The following section presents the variables included in the models for the analysis of stop-and-search police contacts of the joint German-French data set. Detailed information is conveyed only for the variables that differ from those previously presented in the analysis of the German data set (see *Chapter 6.1.2*).

6.3.1.3 Socio-demographics

Gender is coded as a dummy variable with the reference category male. As in Germany, male juveniles in France are overrepresented in stop-and-search police contacts. Among the adolescents who had experienced a stop-and-search police contact, around 71% were male and 29% female (Germany: $\eta^2 = .022$, $p < .001$; France: $\eta^2 = .028$, $p < .001$).

Table 6.21   *Frequency of various types of police contact in Germany and France*

| | Country | | | |
| | Germany | | France | |
	No.	Col%	No.	Col%
Witness/victim/self-initiated				
no	4,919	70.8	8,933	65.3
1–2 contacts	1,484	21.4	3,036	22.2
3–5 contacts	353	5.1	655	4.8
≥ 6 contacts	130	1.9	323	2.4
missing	62	0.9	732	5.4
Total	6,948	100.0	13,679	100.0
As suspect of criminal offense				
no	6,383	91.9	11,648	85.2
1–2 contacts	438	6.3	972	7.1
3–5 contacts	38	0.5	180	1.3
≥ 6 contacts	27	0.4	106	0.8
missing	62	0.9	773	5.7
Total	6,948	100.0	13,679	100.0
Traffic control/stop and search				
no	5,328	76.7	10,623	77.7
1–2 contacts	1,082	15.6	1,271	9.3
3–5 contacts	292	4.2	406	3.0
≥ 6 contacts	184	2.6	612	4.5
missing	62	0.9	767	5.6
Total	6,948	100.0	13,679	100.0

As for the single analysis of the German data set, age is standardized to the mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1. In both countries, older juveniles report slightly more

stop-and-search police contacts than younger adolescents (Germany: *Pearsons'r* = .099; France: *Pearsons'r* = .135).

Analogous to the German data set, the structure of the family is included as a dummy variable. In both Germany and France, juveniles of a complete family setting who live together with their two biological parents report slightly less stop-and-search contacts (for Germany: $\eta^2 = .004$, $p < .001$; for France: $\eta^2 = .001$, $p < .001$).

In Germany, the ISEI indicator informs about the social and the occupational status of the respondent. In France, the ISEI indicators were not included in the questionnaire. Thus, the comparative analysis relies only on information about the parental employment status as an indicator of the adolescents' social status. For both Germany and France, the same measurement for parental unemployment status is adopted. In both countries, 18% of the respondents had at least one parent who was unemployed at the time the survey was carried out. Results from the bivariate analysis suggest that there is no relationship between the parental unemployment status and the frequency of police-initiated contacts in Germany; however, there is a small but significant relationship in France (for Germany: $\eta^2 = .0002$, $p > .05$; for France: $\eta^2 = .008$, $p < .001$).

Table 6.22   Ethnic backgrounds of respondents in Germany and France

(Migration) background	Country			
	Germany		France	
	No.	Col%	No.	Col%
native	3,369	48.5	6,760	49.4
Turkish or Maghrebian	1,307	18.8	2,074	15.2
other migration background	1,475	21.2	2,269	16.6
mixed native/Turkish or Maghrebian	109	1.6	799	5.8
mixed native/other	662	9.5	1,542	11.3
missing	26	0.4	235	1.7
Total	6,948	100.0	13,679	100.0

Other than for the analysis of the German data set that differentiates between several ethnic migration backgrounds, a narrow definition of migration background is applied for the comparative sections, see *Table 6.22*. Migration background is included in the analysis as a variable with five occurrences: "native", "Turkish or Maghrebian", "other migration background", "mixed native/Turkish" or "mixed native/Maghrebian", "mixed native and other background". According to the definition of migration background used in this study, around 49% of the respondents in Germany

and France are of native descent. While respondents of a Turkish background are, with a share of 19%, the largest ethnic minority represented in the German sample, the same holds true for respondents of a Maghrebian background for the French sample, with a share of 15%. Additionally, a substantial number of respondents in Germany and France belongs to other smaller ethnic minority groups (for Germany: 21%; for France: 17%). Whilst only around 2% are of a mixed native and Turkish background, three times as many, around 6%, are of a mixed native and Maghrebian origin. Another 10% in Germany and 11% in France are of a mixed native and other foreign background.

Table 6.23   *Frequency of stop-and-search contacts across various migration backgrounds in Germany*

Migration back-ground	Traffic control/stop and search										
	no		1–2 contacts		3–5 contacts		≥ 6 contacts		missing		Total	
	No.	Row %	No.	Row %	No.	Row %	No.	Row %	No.	Row %	No.	Row %
native	2,557	75.9	563	16.7	149	4.4	81	2.4	19	0.6	3,369	100
Turkish	1,048	80.2	170	13.0	44	3.4	32	2.4	13	1.0	1,307	100
other migration background	1,153	78.2	199	13.5	62	4.2	44	3.0	17	1.2	1,475	100
mixed native/ Turkish	86	78.9	12	11.0	2	1.8	7	6.4	2	1.8	109	100
mixed native/other	471	71.1	135	20.4	32	4.8	18	2.7	6	0.9	662	100
missing	13	50.0	3	11.5	3	11.5	2	7.7	5	19.2	26	100
Total	5,328	76.7	1,082	15.6	292	4.2	184	2.6	62	0.9	6,948	100

This study is particularly interested in comparing frequencies of police-initiated contacts as well as attitudes toward the police (as discussed in *Part IV*) among the native population and the largest ethnic minorities in Germany and France. Indeed, striking differences between the two countries can be found, particularly when looking at the frequencies of police-initiated contacts for the various ethnic groups in Germany and France. Details are reported in *Table 6.23* for Germany and *Table 6.24* for France.

Whereas in Germany, minor and statistically insignificant differences between native adolescents, those of Turkish and of other (non-Turkish) foreign backgrounds exist, the disparity in the frequency of police contacts across the ethnic groups is noteworthy in France (for Germany: $\eta^2 = .0001$, $p > .05$; for France: $\eta^2 = .018$, $p < .001$). In Germany, adolescents of Turkish origin are stopped and searched less frequently than the native German adolescents (20% vs. 24%). In France, however, adolescents of a Maghrebian background reported significantly more repeated interactions with

the police than students of native French or other (non-Maghrebian) foreign descent. Compared to the native French adolescents, three times as many adolescents of a Maghrebian background had had six or more interactions with the police during the year preceding the school survey (3% vs. 9%). Analogously, compared with the native French adolescents, those of other (non-Maghrebian) migration backgrounds are over-represented in this category of police contacts (with a share of 5%). These results pinpoint to one of the main findings of the comparative analysis and suggest a disparity in French police practices. Further multivariate analysis demonstrates that this assumption holds particularly true for the contested stop-and-search contacts, even when controlling for other important predictors.

Table 6.24   *Frequency of stop-and-search contacts across various migration backgrounds in France*

Migration back-ground	Traffic control/stop and search										
	no		1–2 contacts		3–5 contacts		≥ 6 contacts		missing		Total	
	No.	Row %	No.	Row %	No.	Row %	No.	Row %	No.	Row %	No.	Row %
native	5,560	82.2	606	9.0	148	2.2	185	2.7	261	3.9	6,760	100
Maghrebian	1,422	68.6	213	10.3	95	4.6	179	8.6	165	8.0	2,074	100
other migration background	1,702	75.0	202	8.9	72	3.2	110	4.8	183	8.1	2,269	100
Mixed native/ Maghrebian	592	74.1	88	11.0	29	3.6	43	5.4	47	5.9	799	100
mixed native/other	1,191	77.2	144	9.3	59	3.8	75	4.9	73	4.7	1,542	100
missing	156	66.4	18	7.7	3	1.3	20	8.5	38	16.2	235	100
Total	10,623	77.7	1,271	9.3	406	3.0	612	4.5	767	5.6	13,679	100

6.3.1.4   Routine activities

Both meeting friends in public places and consumption of alcohol are common routines among the surveyed adolescents. The variable "deviant attitudes" is introduced in this paragraph, too, as it mirrors the propensity of adolescents to follow a risky lifestyle and is often interpreted in combination with juveniles' routine activities (*Wikström et al.* 2012).

Table 6.25 provides an overview of the distribution of the items "Did you ever drink so much alcohol to get seriously drunk?" and "How often do you meet friends on the street/on a square and hang around in your leisure time?".

Most of the adolescents surveyed in Germany and France stated they had not experienced drunkenness. However, still around one out of four juveniles reported having

drunk to excess. Around 7% of surveyed adolescents in Germany and around 9% in France had got drunk on a more regular basis (six or more times in their life).

Table 6.25   *Prevalence of stop-and-search contacts by adolescents' routine activities in Germany and France*

	Country			
	Germany		**France**	
	No.	Col%	No.	Col%
Ever drunk (in lifetime)				
no	4,889	70.4	9,884	72.3
once	775	11.2	1,019	7.4
2–5 times	726	10.4	1,114	8.1
≥ 6 times	480	6.9	1,193	8.7
missing	78	1.1	469	3.4
Total	6,948	100.0	13,679	100.0
Hang out with friends in public spaces				
never	813	11.7	4,179	30.6
rarely	2,121	30.5	3,745	27.4
often	2,177	31.3	3,293	24.1
very often	1,788	25.7	1,842	13.5
missing	49	0.7	620	4.5
Total	6,948	100.0	13,679	100.0

Table 6.26 presents the prevalence of drinking among the various ethnic backgrounds. Whereas about one third of the French native adolescents reported experiences of drunkenness, the prevalence rate for young people of Maghrebian background (and thus with utmost probability of Muslim denomination) is almost four times lower. This finding equates results about the consumption of alcohol across different ethnic groups in Germany. Consumption of alcohol is associated with frequent stop-and-search police contacts (for Germany: $\eta^2 = .071$, $p < .001$; for France: $\eta^2 = .033$, $p < .001$).

The French questionnaire did not contain items to measure the "unsupervised" activities of the respondents. Thus, as an indicator of their lifestyle, the German-French comparison includes the variable "How often do you meet friends on the street/on a square and hang around in your leisure time?". This variable has four occurrences: "never", "rarely", "often" and "very often". The frequencies for Germany and France are reported in *Table 6.25*. According to the results, in Germany, young people hang

out with friends in public spaces much more often than in France (87% vs. 65%). As expected, the frequency of police-initiated contacts is interconnected with meeting in public spaces (for Germany: $\eta^2 = .018$, $p < .001$; for France: $\eta^2 = .056$, $p < .001$).

Table 6.26   Consumption of alcohol across various ethnic backgrounds in France

Migration background	Ever drunk (in lifetime)							
	no		yes		missing		Total	
	No.	Row %	No.	Row %	No.	Row %	No.	Row %
native	4,567	67.6	2,047	30.3	146	2.2	6,760	100
Maghrebian	1,805	87.0	167	8.1	102	4.9	2,074	100
other migration background	1,720	75.8	424	18.7	125	5.5	2,269	100
mixed native/ Maghrebian	592	74.1	181	22.7	26	3.3	799	100
mixed native/other	1,024	66.4	478	31.0	40	2.6	1,542	100
missing	176	74.9	29	12.3	30	12.8	235	100
Total	9,884	72.3	3,326	24.3	469	3.4	13,679	100

For the French-German comparison, only four instead of five items are included in the deviant attitudes scale: "It is normal to beat somebody if one has been provoked", "Every dispute can be settled through talks", "One has to respect the law, even if the own interests are overlooked" and "One can do something forbidden if one is not caught". The percentage of agreement to the previously mentioned items is reported in *Table 6.27*. Noteworthy differences exist for the items investigating the propensity of young people to react with violence to provocation and to do something forbidden (if not caught). Young people in France seem to be more prepared to react violently when provoked than in Germany (34% vs. 26%). However, whereas around 42% of the respondents in Germany could imagine doing something forbidden if not caught, this was the case only for 23% of the respondents in France. For the German scales, the reliability coefficient is $\alpha = .62$, for France $\alpha = .67$. The factor loadings for the items vary between .51 and .59 in Germany and between .57 and .65 in France. In both countries, there is a positive relationship between higher deviant attitudes and the frequency of stop-and-search police contacts (for Germany: *Pearsons'r* = .228; for France: *Pearsons'r* = .281). In France, there is a stronger relationship between deviant attitudes and migration background than in Germany (for Germany: $\eta^2 = .002$, $p < .001$; for France: $\eta^2 = .034$, $p < .001$). Finally, tests confirm the existence of a significant relationship between the frequency of hanging out on the street and the propensity to engage in violence (for Germany: $\rho = .24$, $p < .001$; for France: $\rho = .35$, $p < .001$).

Table 6.27   Response to deviant attitude items in Germany and France

	Country			
	Germany		France	
	No.	Col%	No.	Col%
Beating when provoked				
rather true	1,781	25.6	4,672	34.2
rather untrue	5,081	73.1	8,871	64.9
missing	86	1.2	136	1.0
Total	6,948	100.0	13,679	100.0
Settling disputes via talks				
rather true	5,339	76.8	10,174	74.4
rather untrue	1,543	22.2	3,370	24.6
missing	66	0.9	135	1.0
Total	6,948	100.0	13,679	100.0
Respecting the law				
rather true	5,314	76.5	10,230	74.8
rather untrue	1,536	22.1	3,269	23.9
missing	98	1.4	180	1.3
Total	6,948	100.0	13,679	100.0
Doing something forbidden				
rather true	2,896	41.7	3,096	22.6
rather untrue	3,959	57.0	10,385	75.9
missing	93	1.3	198	1.4
Total	6,948	100.0	13,679	100.0

6.3.1.5 Exposure to delinquency and peers

Analogously to the inquiry of police contact in Germany, the analysis of the joint German-French data set controls for own delinquent behavior and for the delinquency of peers.

The self-reported delinquency variable includes seven different criminal offenses: "vandalism", "vehicle theft", "shoplifting", "break in", "use of drugs", "sell drugs" and "assault". Three out of ten sampled adolescents had committed criminal offenses in Germany. In France, the share is higher, with around four out of ten juveniles having committed at least one of the mentioned offenses. Delinquent juveniles in Germany and France most prominently commit criminal offenses such as vandalism

(Germany: 12%; France: 15%), shoplifting (Germany: 14%; France: 23%), use of drugs (Germany: 11%; France: 18%) and assault (Germany: 12%; France: 14%). Less than half of the adolescents who reported criminal offenses committed only one to two offenses (Germany: 45%; France: 38%). Thus, the remaining 55% in Germany and 62% in France committed multiple (three or more) offenses (see *Oberwittler et al.* 2014).

Not surprisingly, in both Germany and France, self-reported delinquency is inherently related to the frequency of stop-and-search police contacts (for Germany: *Pearsons'r* = .313; for France: *Pearsons'r* = .276). Half of the adolescents in both countries who had committed multiple criminal offenses had had at least one stop-and-search police contact.

Yet, not only one's own delinquent behavior matters but also the delinquent behavior of peers. Adolescents with friends who have committed one or several criminal offenses are particularly exposed to delinquency, too. Police officers often stop-and-search groups of juveniles. And when individuals among these groups act unlawful, the chances of having all identities checked are even higher (correlation between peer delinquency and stop-and-search contacts for Germany: *Pearsons'r* = .289; for France: *Pearsons'r* = .312). Hence, whereas adolescents with no delinquent peers rarely report stop-and-search contacts (for Germany: 13%; for France: 7%), those with several delinquent peers are stopped and/or searched by the police more often (for Germany: 36%; for France: 29%) (*Oberwittler et al.* 2014). A strong positive correlation between own and peer delinquency is found (for Germany: *Pearsons'r* = .444; for France: *Pearsons'r* = .268).

The analysis of police encounters in Germany controls for peer-group membership and for the ethnic composition of the friend group. While the French survey did not collect any data on peer-group membership, it does allow for the analysis of comparative information about the ethnic composition of friends, a variable that is included in both data sets. Whereas in France, there is a minor relationship between the composition of friends and the chance of stop-and-search police contacts, no such relationship is attested in Germany (for Germany: η^2 = .001, $p > .05$; for France: η^2 = .012, $p < .001$).

6.3.2   Testing the hypotheses: influences on chances of stop-and-search police contacts

For the comparative German-French analysis, the focus lies on stop-and-search police contacts only. As in the previous section, the assumptions of influences on chances of stop-and-search police contacts are tested. In so doing, reference will be made to the previous section for the details about the negative binomial distribution and its suitability for the analysis of count variables. Both the individual and the structural influences on chances of stop-and-search police contacts are analyzed; at

the end of the section, the results from the multi-level analysis are presented. The descriptive statistics of the variables, as included in the models, are reported in *Table 6.28*.

Table 6.28   *Descriptive statistics of variables included in the analysis of stop-and-search contacts in Germany and France*

	Germany				France			
	Mean	SD	Min	Max	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Traffic control/ stopped on the street contacts	0.67	2.27	0	40	1.06	4.41	0	40
Gender	0.53	0.50	0	1	0.50	0.50	0	1
Age	-0.00	1.00	-2.86	6.70	0.01	0.99	-2.53	5.42
Migration background	-	-	0	4	-	-	0	4
Parental unemployment	-	-	0	2	-	-	0	2
Parental educational level	-	-	1	5	-	-	1	5
Family structure	0.33	0.47	0	1	0.26	0.44	0	1
Ever drunk (in lifetime)	-	-	0	3	-	-	0	3
Hang out with friends in public spaces	-	-	0	3	-	-	0	3
Deviant attitudes	-0.01	0.99	-1.66	3.09	-0.03	0.98	-1.54	3.00
Victimization	0.32	0.46	0	1	0.22	0.42	0	1
Self-reported delinquency	-	-	0	3	-	-	0	3
Peer delinquency	-0.01	0.99	-0.78	2.99	-0.01	0.99	-0.85	2.48
Friends without migration background	-	-	0	2	-	-	0	2
Observations	6,650				11,729			

For Germany, the models include $N = 6,650$, for France $N = 11,729$ observations. These observations are clustered by schools. The scales included in the models are standardized to the mean. Both variables ("deviant attitudes" and "delinquency of peers") are factor scores based on a polychoric correlation matrix. Details about the scales are provided in the *Annex Scale Documentation*.

Negative binomial regression is favored over a standard *Poisson* regression. The *BIC* and *AIC* information criteria reported in the model fit statistics at the bottom of the tables reveal that for both countries, *Model 6* (which includes all predictors) achieves the lowest values and thus the best model fit. The coefficients in each model are interpreted under the assumption that all of the other variables in the model are held constant.

6.3.2.1   Variation in stop-and-search contacts across countries

Following an analogous approach as in Germany, six models were tested so as to examine the factors influencing the chances of stop-and-search police contacts in France (*Table 6.29*). The results are displayed as incidence rate ratio (IRR). As for Germany, the analyses were also run for boys and girls separately (*Table A4*, *Annex*). The models were run with exactly the same predictors for Germany (see *Table A5*, *Annex*).

The comparative analysis highlights interesting differences, particularly for the socio-demographics and lifestyle variables.

In Germany and France, females are less likely than male adolescents to become the target of stop-and-search contacts. In France, the effect of gender remains stable throughout the analysis. Under control of all covariates in *Model 6*, being female decreases the likelihood of stop-and-search contacts by 69% ($p < .001$).

Other than in Germany, however, age significantly affects the rates of stop-and-search contacts, even when accounting for young people's backgrounds and their experiences with delinquency in *Model 6*. One standard deviation increase in age augments the rates of stop-and-search police contacts by 52% ($p < .001$).

In France, the impact of the ethnic background on chances of stop-and-search police contacts is much stronger than in Germany. In France, young people with an ethnic minority background are more likely than those with a native French background to be stopped and/or searched by the police. This result holds true even in the final *Model 6* when accounting for lifestyle, deviant attitudes and own as well as peer delinquency. According to the results of *Model 6*, young people of Maghrebian origin are more than twice (IRR = 2.2, $p < .001$) as likely to be stopped and searched by police officers than the reference category, i.e. native French juveniles. Similarly, being an adolescent of another non-Maghrebian migration background increases the rate of stop-and-search police contacts by a factor of 1.5 ($p < .01$).

Social and economic backgrounds influence the likelihood of stop-and-search contacts in France. Similar to Germany, evidence in France suggests that with respect to those who live with their two biological parents, juveniles who have only one parent, live with their step-parent or in other family settings are more likely to be stopped and searched by the police (IRR = y a factor of 1.3, $p < .01$ in the final *Model 6*). Moreover, in France, respondents whose parents are well-educated are less likely to

have stop-and-search contacts than the respondents whose parents do not hold any degree (for the degree of baccalaureate: IRR = .6, p < .05 in the final *Model 6*). No such effects are retained for Germany.

A similar trend for Germany and France is reported for variables measuring the consumption of alcohol and hanging out on street. In both countries, the effects of these measures are mediated to a large extent when introducing own and peer delinquency as well as characteristics of the friend group in the model. In France, under inclusion of all covariates, only respondents who had been seriously drunk several (six or more) times – as compared to those who had never been drunk – reported significantly more stop-and-search police contacts (IRR = 1.6, p < .01). As opposed to the situation in Germany, in France, juveniles who seldom hang out on the street have a higher chance of being stopped and/or searched by the police, compared to the reference category, by a factor of 1.3 (p < .05). However, as in Germany, being out on the streets in France very often significantly affects the rate of stop-and-search contacts. Compared to the reference category, an increase in these contacts is retained by a factor of 2.7 (p < .001). The effect size of deviant attitudes on stop-and-search contacts is comparable for Germany and France. In France, stop-and-search contacts increase by almost one third for one standard deviation increase in deviant attitudes (IRR = 1.3, p < .001).

Finally, in France as well as in Germany, respondents who are particularly exposed to delinquency (e.g., they have a number of delinquent friends or are part of a violent peer group) are more likely to be stopped and searched by the police. The effects of these variables, though slightly stronger in France, have already been discussed in detail in the German analysis and will therefore not be mentioned again here.

Several of the previously discussed effects are partially or completely mediated in the final *Model 6* by the variables measuring attitudes to deviancy and exposure to delinquency. Most importantly, when including the latter, the influence of lifestyle variables on the chances of stop-and-search contacts significantly decreases.

The analysis of stop-and-search contacts on the sub-sample of male and female adolescents is reported in the *Annex* (*Tables A2* and *A4*). Interestingly, from the regression outputs, it can be seen that the previously discussed effects of an ethnic minority background hold true, in particular for male adolescents (IRR = 2.9, p < .001). Among the female adolescents, only those of a Maghrebian ethnic minority background are significantly more likely to be stopped and searched by the police (IRR = 1.6, p < .05) than native French adolescents.

Table 6.29   Negative binomial regression of stop-and-search police contacts in France

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6	
Female (ref = boy)	0.22***	(-13.7)	0.21***	(-15.4)	0.29***	(-11.3)	0.25***	(-12.5)	0.27***	(-12.2)	0.31***	(-11.8)
Age	1.68***	(8.4)	1.67***	(8.4)	1.53***	(6.7)	1.60***	(8.3)	1.62***	(10.1)	1.52***	(7.8)
Migration background (ref = native)												
Maghrebian	3.19***	(10.0)	2.88***	(9.3)	2.65***	(8.7)	3.26***	(9.8)	2.29***	(6.9)	2.19***	(6.5)
other migration background	1.91***	(4.6)	1.62***	(3.6)	1.88***	(4.2)	2.16***	(5.1)	1.46**	(2.7)	1.51**	(3.0)
mixed native/Maghrebian	2.37***	(4.2)	1.95***	(3.9)	1.94***	(3.3)	2.23***	(4.8)	1.98***	(3.8)	1.72**	(3.3)
mixed native/other	1.93***	(4.9)	1.93***	(5.2)	1.35*	(2.2)	1.39*	(2.5)	1.56***	(3.5)	1.22	(1.7)
Parental unemployment (ref = no)												
yes			1.38**	(2.9)							1.19	(1.6)
unclear			1.48**	(2.7)							1.55*	(2.1)
Parental educational level (ref = no degree)												
below Bac/Abi			0.78	(-1.2)							0.75	(-1.3)
Bac/Abi			0.65*	(-2.4)							0.64*	(-2.1)
above Bac/Abi			0.49***	(-4.4)							0.61*	(-2.3)
Family structure (ref = complete)			1.50***	(4.2)							1.31**	(2.6)
Ever drunk (in lifetime) (ref = no)												
once					1.54**	(2.6)					1.05	(0.4)
2–5 times					1.84***	(3.8)					1.07	(0.6)
≥ 6 times					3.31***	(8.9)					1.58**	(3.3)
Hang out with friends in public spaces (ref = no)												

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6	
rarely					1.32*	(2.2)					1.29*	(2.1)
often					2.56***	(7.5)					1.97***	(5.9)
very often					4.21***	(11.2)					2.74***	(6.9)
deviant attitudes					1.82***	(11.9)					1.31***	(5.1)
Victimization (ref = no)							1.35**	(2.9)			1.34**	(2.9)
self-reported delinquency (ref = no)												
1–2 offenses							2.35***	(7.2)			1.66***	(3.9)
3–5 offenses							3.81***	(9.7)			2.08***	(5.3)
≥ 6 offenses							12.32***	(22.0)			3.54***	(10.3)
Peer delinquency									2.59***	(25.1)	1.43***	(7.7)
Friends without migration background (ref = no)												
yes									0.52***	(-4.1)	0.69	(-1.8)
Constant	0.88	(-1.4)	1.24	(1.2)	0.23***	(-9.5)	0.23***	(-10.9)	0.97	(-0.2)	0.29***	(-3.6)
lnalpha	10.58***	(43.3)	10.20***	(43.3)	6.66***	(32.6)	6.86***	(36.5)	7.06***	(39.9)	5.31***	(30.2)
Rank	8		15		15		12		11		29	
Log lik.	-10,098		-10,043		-9,455		-9,491		-9,533		-9,140	
Chi-squared	294.64		491.31		1,222.95		904.54		1,161.27		2,230.38	
BIC	20,271		20,227		19,050		19,094		19,169		18,552	
AIC	20,212		20,116		18,940		19,005		19,088		18,338	
Observations	11,729		11,729		11,729		11,729		11,729		11,729	

Exponentiated coefficients (IRR); z statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Missing values are included as residual categories but not reported.

6.3.3   Neighborhood effects

The effect of neighborhood disadvantages on stop-and-search police contacts will now be discussed. Concentrated neighborhood disadvantages may influence the occurrence of violence and delinquency. Neighborhoods that are socially disadvantaged are typically characterized by high unemployment rates, a high share of residents receiving welfare support, low levels of education and a high percentage of migrant residents.

The findings of the school survey were aggregated to the neighborhood level for Cologne and Mannheim as well as for Grenoble and Lyon. In order to ensure statistically robust results, the aggregated data set encompasses only neighborhoods with at least 15 respondents. The average values for the single neighborhoods were then matched with an official indicator for socio-spatial disadvantage, that is, the share of welfare recipients.

Social deprivation is based on a factor score of the variables "official unemployment" and "immigration rates" (for Germany: *Pearsons'r* = .64; for France: *Pearsons'r* = .92). Interestingly, in Germany, barely any correlation between the frequency of stop-and-search contacts and the share of welfare beneficiaries was found to exist. In France, the correlation is slightly higher (for Germany: *Pearsons'r* = −0.006; for France: *Pearsons'r* = 0.0818).

The variations in the mean values of neighborhood social disadvantage with the increase in a frequency of police contacts for Germany and France are shown in *Table 6.30*.

Table 6.30   Mean values of neighborhood social disadvantage by the frequency of stop-and-search police contacts in Germany and France

Traffic control/ stop and search	Germany		France	
	Mean	SE%	Mean	SE%
no (n = 15,951)	0.06	0.02	0.03	(0.01
1–2 contacts (n = 2,353)	-0.03	0.03	0.10	0.04
3–5 contacts (n = 698)	0.01	0.07	0.17	0.06
≥ 6 contacts (n = 796)	0.09	0.08	0.36	0.06
missing (n = 829)	0.43	0.17	0.33	0.05
Total (n = 20,627)	0.05	0.01	0.07	0.01

The multi-level analysis of stop-and-search police contacts includes "neighborhood disadvantage" as a structural variable in the models.

For analyzing stop-and-search police contacts at the neighborhood level, a mixed-effect negative binomial regression model was applied. This is an extension of the standard negative binomial regression model with the additional complexity of including both fixed and normally distributed random effects (see, for example, *Johnson* 2010).

The multi-level analysis follows *Hox's* approach (*Hox et al.* 2010). Firstly, the plain model is run without any of the characteristics at the individual or aggregated level. Secondly, the random intercept model is run, which includes the socio-economic explanatory variables of level 1. Thirdly, the remaining level 1 explanatory variables are added and tested. Fourthly, the random intercept model is tested by additionally adding the level 2 explanatory variable. Before each step, a likelihood ratio test between the actual and the former model was performed so as to assess whether the model fit benefits from the undertaken changes.

The descriptive statistics are reported in *Table 6.31*. With the exception of peer delinquency, the same predictors as in the individual-level analysis of stop-and-search police contacts are included in the multi-level analysis. Peer delinquency is excluded as it might misperceive the effect of the neighborhood.

Tables 6.32 and *6.33* show the regression outputs. The results are displayed as IRR. According to the regression outputs, neighborhood-level disadvantage has no significant impact on chances of stop-and-search contacts in Germany. Consequently, *Model 3* in Germany perfoms best. Social deprivation, however, significantly influences their occurrence in France. *Model 4* in France performs best and indicates that one standard deviation increase in neighborhood deprivation increases the chance to experience a stop-and-search police contact by 23% ($p < .001$).

Table 6.31   Descriptive statistics of variables included in the multi-level analysis of stop-and-search contacts in Germany and France

	Germany				France			
	Mean	SD	Min	Max	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Gender	0.53	0.50	0	1	0.52	0.50	0	1
Age	-0.03	0.97	-2.86	6.70	-0.04	0.99	-2.53	5.42
Migration background	-	-	0	4	-	-	0	4
Parental unemployment	-	-	0	2	-	-	0	2
Parental educational level	-	-	1	5	-	-	1	5
Family structure	0.33	0.47	0	1	0.28	0.45	0	1
Ever drunk (in lifetime)	-	-	0	3	-	-	0	3
Hang out with friends in public spaces	-	-	0	3	-	-	0	3
Deviant attitudes	-0.02	0.99	-1.66	3.09	-0.01	0.99	-1.54	3.00
Victimization	0.32	0.46	0	1	0.23	0.42	0	1
Self-reported delinquency	-	-	0	3	-	-	0	3
Social deprivation (official un-employment/immigration rates)	0.040	0.98	-1.38	3.33	0.05	0.97	-1.35	3.39
Observations	4,755				7,370			

Table 6.32   Multi-level negative binomial regression of stop-and-search police contacts in Germany

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
Female (ref = boy)			0.35***	(-12.8)	0.44***	(-10.5)	0.44***	(-10.5)
Age			1.26***	(5.4)	1.02	(0.4)	1.02	(0.4)
Migration background (ref = native)								
Turkish			0.76*	(-2.3)	0.84	(-1.6)	0.86	(-1.3)

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
other migration background			0.86	(-1.4)	0.86	(-1.5)	0.87	(-1.3)
mixed native/Turkish			0.92	(-0.3)	0.85	(-0.5)	0.87	(-0.4)
mixed native/other			1.01	(0.1)	0.94	(-0.5)	0.94	(-0.5)
Parental unemployment (ref = no)								
yes			1.01	(0.1)	0.85	(-1.6)	0.85	(-1.6)
unclear			1.16	(0.9)	1.06	(0.4)	1.07	(0.4)
Parental educational level (ref = no degree)								
below Bac/Abi			1.02	(0.2)	1.10	(0.8)	1.10	(0.7)
Bac/Abi			1.12	(0.8)	1.26	(1.8)	1.25	(1.7)
above Bac/Abi			1.28	(1.7)	1.53**	(3.2)	1.52**	(3.1)
Family structure (ref = complete)			1.47***	(4.3)	1.15	(1.6)	1.15	(1.6)
Ever drunk (in lifetime) (ref = no)								
once					1.59***	(4.0)	1.59***	(4.0)
2–5 times					1.69***	(4.2)	1.69***	(4.2)
≥ 6 times					2.22***	(5.0)	2.21***	(5.0)
Hang out with friends in public spaces (ref = no)								
rarely					1.60**	(2.9)	1.60**	(2.9)
often					2.27***	(5.2)	2.28***	(5.2)
very often					2.74***	(6.2)	2.77***	(6.2)
Deviant attitudes					1.29***	(5.6)	1.28***	(5.6)
Victimization (ref = no)					1.51***	(5.1)	1.51***	(5.1)
Self-reported delinquency (ref = no)								
1–2 offenses					1.38**	(3.0)	1.37**	(2.9)
3–5 offenses					1.78***	(3.9)	1.79***	(3.9)
≥ 6 offenses					2.34***	(6.2)	2.33***	(6.2)

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
Social deprivation (official unemployment/immigration rates)							0.97	(-0.7)
Constant	0.63***	(-8.3)	0.86	(-1.1)	0.18***	(-9.2)	0.18***	(-9.2)
lnalpha	1.87***	(40.2)	1.69***	(35.0)	1.28***	(24.0)	1.28***	(24.0)
var(cons[xgeoid])	.10*		.07		03		.03	
Rank	3		16		27		28	
Log lik	-4,442		-4,327		-4,078		-4,077	
Chi-squared			231.67		687.85		688.17	
BIC	8,909		8,789		8,384		8,392	
AIC	8,889		8,685		8,209		8,211	
Observations	4,755		4,755		4,755		4,755	

Exponentiated coefficients (IRR); z statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Missing values are included as residual categories but not reported.

Table 6.33   Multi-level negative binomial regression of stop-and-search police contacts in France

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
Female (ref = boy)	0.19***		0.19***	(-18.6)	0.27***	(-16.1)	0.27***	(-16.1)
Age	1.79***		1.66***	(12.2)	1.65***	(11.6)	1.65***	(11.5)
Migration background (ref = native)								
Maghrebian	3.09***		2.49***	(9.4)	2.36***	(8.1)	2.36***	(7.6)

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
other migration background			1.56***	(3.5)	1.49***	(3.5)	1.43*	(3.1)
mixed native/Maghrebian			1.72**	(3.1)	1.90***	(4.0)	1.86***	(3.9)
mixed native/other			2.14***	(5.2)	1.36*	(2.3)	1.34*	(2.2)
Parental unemployment (ref = no)								
yes			1.29*	(2.3)	1.16	(1.5)	1.15	(1.4)
unclear			1.48**	(2.6)	1.32*	(2.0)	1.27	(1.8)
Parental educational level (ref = no degree)								
below Bac/Abi			0.70	(-1.6)	0.63*	(-2.5)	0.63*	(-2.5)
Bac/Abi			0.61*	(-2.3)	0.59**	(-2.9)	0.60**	(-2.8)
above Bac/Abi			0.53**	(-3.2)	0.54***	(-3.6)	0.56***	(-3.4)
Family structure (ref = complete)			1.28**	(2.6)	1.15	(1.6)	1.15	(1.6)
Ever drunk (in lifetime) (ref = no)								
once					1.41*	(2.4)	1.43*	(2.5)
2–5 times					1.02	(0.1)	1.04	(0.3)
≥ 6 times					1.36*	(2.0)	1.40*	(2.3)
Hang out with friends in public spaces (ref = no)								
rarely					1.36**	(2.7)	1.37**	(2.8)
often					2.23***	(7.1)	2.24***	(7.2)
very often					3.05***	(8.7)	3.07***	(8.8)

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
Deviant attitudes					1.46***	(8.7)	1.45***	(8.5)
Victimization (ref = no)					1.33**	(3.0)	1.34**	(3.1)
Self-reported delinquency (ref = no)								
1–2 offenses					2.09***	(6.6)	2.13***	(6.8)
3–5 offenses					3.09***	(8.1)	3.05***	(8.0)
≥ 6 offenses					6.80***	(16.4)	6.78***	(16.5)
Social deprivation (official unemployment/immigration rates)							1.23***	(3.4)
Constant	0.93	(-0.8)		(0.6)	0.17***	(-8.9)	0.17***	(-9.1)
lnalpha	2.63***	(71.0)	2.25***	(57.7)	1.62***	(37.8)	1.62***	(37.8)
var(cons[xgeoid])	0.33***	(3.7)	0.20***	(3.4)	0.28***	(4.4)	0.25***	(4.3)
Rank	3	–	16		27		28	
Log lik.	-6,551		-6,121		-5,583		-5,577	
Chi-squared			66,1.37		1,531.78		1,531.64	
BIC	12,928		12,384		11,406		11,403	
AIC	12,907		12,273		11,219		11,210	
Observations	7,370		7,370		7,370		7,370	

Exponentiated coefficients (IRR); z statistics in parentheses

$* p < 0.05$, $** p < 0.01$, $*** p < 0.001$

Missing values are included as residual categories but not reported.

Chapter 7

Findings on Experiences of Police Contact

7.1   Characteristics of the Last Contact with the Police

While up until to now, the types, quantity and predictors of contacts between youths and the police have been examined, this section will deal with the quality of these encounters.

In order to obtain more detailed information about the nature and quality of youth-police interactions, a question block containing items addressing the experiences of juveniles during their last contact with the police was included in the survey. Following the assumption that the course and style of such interactions are shaped by both parties, the survey sought to gather information about how the respondents perceived both their own (or their peers') behavior and that of the police in their last encounter.

Investigating subjective perceptions of such encounters is important as they are a fairly good predictor for attitudes toward the police (this will be explored in more detail in *Part IV*).

However, as reported in *Table 7.1*, a lot of missing cases are retained for the block that asked about perceptions of police encounters. As noted, around half of the sampled adolescents (42%) reported at least one contact with the police. However, only one third of these juveniles (that is, $N = 1,023$ out of $N = 2,901$) provided valid information about their last police contact. The reason for this is probably twofold. On the one hand, the questionnaire that included the question block on the last police contact was randomly assigned to only half of the sampled students. Hence, as noted in *Table 7.1*, around half of the respondents who had had at least one encounter with the police ($N = 1,520$) were not provided with this questionnaire; consequently, for these respondents, no information is available about the quality of their interaction with the police. On the other hand, the question block about the last contact presents a lot of missing values. As reported in *Table 7.1*, around 28% of the eligible respondents failed to properly complete the question block. Nevertheless, more than $N = 1,000$ valid observations ($N = 1,023$) are preserved for this question block, and thus, the sub-sample is large enough to allow for complex statistical analysis. The bivariate and multivariate analyses of this section are fully based on this narrow sub-sample.

*Table 7.1   Prevalence of police contacts when taking into consideration infor-
                mation about the last contact with the police in Germany*

	Police contact				Missing Infor-mation		Total	
	Yes		No					
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Full sample	2,901	42	3,985	57	62	1	6,948	100
Question-naire type "police"	1,381	40	2,054	59	44	1	3,479	100
Last contact	1,023	72	0	0	400	28	1,423	100

In the event of a police contact, the adolescents were requested to contextualize these
encounters (*Table 7.2*). The questions were designed to gather information about
where, when and with whom the encounter took place. The results indicate that by
and large, police contacts take place in the surroundings where many juveniles live.
Hence, around half (45%) of the respondents who are part of the "last contact" sub-
sample indicated that their encounter with the police took place within their own
neighborhood, another quarter (24%) in the city center. Concerning the time frame,
police contacts mostly occur in the afternoon (50%) or early evening after 6 p.m. and
before 10 p.m. (23%). Less frequent are encounters in the morning (16%) or after 10
p.m. (11%). Finally, juveniles reported that in the majority of the cases (60%), they
had been together with other young people.

*Table 7.2   Characteristics of the last contact with the police in Cologne and
                Mannheim*

	Cologne		Mannheim		Total	
	No.	Col%	No.	Col%	No.	Col%
Moment of interaction						
morning	104	16.1	56	14.8	160	15.6
afternoon	321	49.8	187	49.5	508	49.7
evening	147	22.8	92	24.3	239	23.4
night	68	10.5	40	10.6	108	10.6
missing	5	0.8	3	0.8	8	0.8
Total	645	100.0	378	100.0	1,023	100.0
Presence of other people						
alone	129	20.0	65	17.2	194	19.0

| | Cologne | | Mannheim | | Total | |
	No.	Col%	No.	Col%	No.	Col%
with other youths	373	57.8	242	64.0	615	60.1
with other adults	134	20.8	67	17.7	201	19.6
missing	9	1.4	4	1.1	13	1.3
Total	645	100.0	378	100.0	1,023	100.0
Place of interaction						
own neighbor-hood	299	46.4	159	42.1	458	44.8
city center	147	22.8	99	26.2	246	24.0
missing	199	30.9	120	31.7	319	31.2
Total	645	100.0	378	100.0	1,023	100.0

In order to glean more information about these contacts, respondents were asked whether they had experienced one or more of the following police actions: "The police checked my clothes/bag", "The police checked my identity", "The police gave an order to move", "I was held at the police station", "I spent the night at the police station", "The police spoke with my parents" and "The police started a criminal proceeding". An overview of the prevalence of these police actions can be seen in *Table 7.3*. As noted, a large number of variables are missing, with 35% of the respondents leaving this question block blank. Of the reported responses, the most common police encounter was identity control (45%). Less common but still frequently carried-out procedures were clothes and/or bag checks (23%). Moreover, the police often contacted the adolescent's parents (24%). Among the less common police actions were orders to move (8%), the initiation of criminal proceedings (9%) or a trip to the police station (13%). Juveniles very rarely spent a night at the police station (1%). Noteworthy differences between ethnic groups exist particularly in the frequency of experienced clothes and/or bag checks: These are conducted more often on ethnic minority youths than on native youths (28% vs. 19%). Although identity checks are commonly used by the police in Germany, disparities are minor between juveniles of a native and of a migration background for this type of police action (43% vs. 48%).

Table 7.3   Police actions experienced by adolescents without and with a migra-tion background during their last contact with the police in Germany

| | Migration background | | | | | |
| | no | | yes | | Total | |
	No.	Col%	No.	Col%	No.	Col%
Police checked clothes/bags						
no	234	42.6	200	42.4	434	42.5
yes	102	18.6	133	28.2	235	23.0
missing	213	38.8	139	29.4	352	34.5
Total	549	100.0	472	100.0	1,021	100.0
Police checked identity						
no	100	18.2	107	22.7	207	20.3
yes	236	43.0	226	47.9	462	45.2
missing	213	38.8	139	29.4	352	34.5
Total	549	100.0	472	100.0	1,021	100.0
Police decreed order to move						
no	296	53.9	289	61.2	585	57.3
yes	40	7.3	44	9.3	84	8.2
missing	213	38.8	139	29.4	352	34.5
Total	549	100.0	472	100.0	1,021	100.0
Police brought them to police station						
no	263	47.9	270	57.2	533	52.2
yes	73	13.3	63	13.3	136	13.3
missing	213	38.8	139	29.4	352	34.5
Total	549	100.0	472	100.0	1,021	100.0
Stay at police station overnight						
no	331	60.3	327	69.3	658	64.4
yes	5	0.9	6	1.3	11	1.1
missing	213	38.8	139	29.4	352	34.5
Total	549	100.0	472	100.0	1,021	100.0
Police spoke with parents						
no	222	40.4	204	43.2	426	41.7
yes	114	20.8	129	27.3	243	23.8

| | Migration background | | | | | |
| | no | | yes | | Total | |
	No.	Col%	No.	Col%	No.	Col%
missing	213	38.8	139	29.4	352	34.5
Total	549	100.0	472	100.0	1,021	100.0
Police started criminal proceeding						
no	295	53.7	286	60.6	581	56.9
yes	41	7.5	47	10.0	88	8.6
missing	213	38.8	139	29.4	352	34.5
Total	549	100.0	472	100.0	1,021	100.0

In addition to the assessment of police procedures, the respondents were also asked about their own behavior during police contacts. For this purpose, they were asked: "How did you behave (or others from your group)?". The questionnaire listed several possible behaviors that young people commonly adopt during police encounters. These range from "normal" to more challenging and conflict-prone behaviors. Thus, as an alternative to the item "I behaved normally/orderly", the questionnaire included the following items: "We had drunk alcohol", "We resisted the police", "We provoked the police" and "We ran away". *Table 7.4* lists different types of adolescent behavior and reports the frequency thereof for both the native German respondents and those with a migration background. The majority of the students who reported at least one encounter with the police claimed to have behaved normally during the course of the interaction (82%). According to the results, native German juveniles had drunk alcohol more often than those of migration background prior to the police contact (16% and 10% respectively). Almost the same share of native German and minority adolescents confessed to having resisted the police (4% and 5% respectively), provoked the police (5% for both) or run away (9% and 10% respectively). A look at the gender differences reveals that male as much as female juveniles reported having behaved normally (87% and 90% respectively). However, female juveniles reported significantly less often that they had consumed alcohol (12% and 18% respectively), resisted the police (3% and 7% respectively), provoked the police (3% and 8% respectively) or run away from the police (6% and 13% respectively) (also see *Oberwittler et al.* 2014).

Table 7.4   *Behavior toward the police of adolescents with and without a migra-*
                   tion background during their last contact with the police in Germany

	Migration background					
	no		yes		Total	
	No.	Col%	No.	Col%	No.	Col%
Juvenile was law-abiding						
no	62	11.3	51	10.8	113	11.1
yes	456	83.1	384	81.4	840	82.3
missing	31	5.6	37	7.8	68	6.7
Total	549	100.0	472	100.0	1,021	100.0
Juvenile had drunk alcohol						
no	429	78.1	386	81.8	815	79.8
yes	89	16.2	49	10.4	138	13.5
missing	31	5.6	37	7.8	68	6.7
Total	549	100.0	472	100.0	1,021	100.0
Juvenile resisted the police						
no	497	90.5	411	87.1	908	88.9
yes	21	3.8	24	5.1	45	4.4
missing	31	5.6	37	7.8	68	6.7
Total	549	100.0	472	100.0	1,021	100.0
Juvenile provoked the police						
no	489	89.1	410	86.9	899	88.1
yes	29	5.3	25	5.3	54	5.3
missing	31	5.6	37	7.8	68	6.7
Total	549	100.0	472	100.0	1,021	100.0
Juvenile ran away						
no	471	85.8	388	82.2	859	84.1
yes	47	8.6	47	10.0	94	9.2
missing	31	5.6	37	7.8	68	6.7
Total	549	100.0	472	100.0	1,021	100.0

7.2   Measures

7.2.1   Direct experiences: satisfaction with the police

Young people's satisfaction with the police during the encounter can be assessed by the variables reported in *Table 7.5* with regard to the question "How did the police officers behave?". Both positive and negative aspects of possible police behavior were listed, and the respondents were asked to rate them on the following scale: "fully true", "rather true", "barely true" and "not true".

Table 7.5   *Experienced police behavior among adolescents with and without a migration background during their last contact with the police in Germany*

	Migration background					
	no		yes		Total	
	No.	Col%	No.	Col%	No.	Col%
Police explained reasons of action						
rather true	321	58.5	269	57	590	57.8
rather untrue	176	32.1	164	34.7	340	33.3
missing	52	9.5	39	8.3	91	8.9
Total	549	100.0	472	100.0	1,021	100.0
Police treated them fairly/with respect						
rather true	369	67.2	284	60.2	653	64
rather untrue	143	26.0	161	34.1	304	29.8
missing	37	6.7	27	5.7	64	6.3
Total	549	100.0	472	100.0	1,021	100.0
Police tried to provoke/offend them						
rather true	50	9.1	75	15.9	125	12.2
rather untrue	442	80.5	358	75.8	800	78.4
missing	57	10.4	39	8.3	96	9.4
Total	549	100.0	472	100.0	1,021	100.0
Police became violent						
rather true	14	2.6	22	4.7	36	3.5
rather untrue	469	85.4	409	86.7	878	86
missing	66	12.0	41	8.7	107	10.5
Total	549	100.0	472	100.0	1,021	100.0

Positive items highlight fair and respectful behavior of the police: "The police officers explained honestly the reasons for their action" and "The police officers treated me/us fairly and with respect"; in contrast, negative items were: "The police tried to provoke or offend" and "The police became violent".

The overwhelming majority of adolescents surveyed in Cologne and Mannheim reported positive police experiences. No major disparity in the assessment of police behavior was found between male and female juveniles; neither were there significant differences across ethnic groups. Yet, when taken separately, the individual items paint a slightly different picture. On the one hand, for Cologne and Mannheim respectively, about 60% and 65% of the juveniles confirmed that the police had explained to them the reason for their actions and treated them fairly and respectfully. On the other hand, it is assumed that the remaining one third had experienced a less positive encounter with the police. Around 9% of the sampled native German adolescents and around 16% of adolescents with a migration background (i.e. almost twice as many) stated that they had been provoked by the police during the encounter. Around 3% of native German adolescents and around 5% of adolescents with an ethnic minority background reported that the police had adopted violence during their last interaction.

7.2.2   Indirect experiences: vicarious experiences of police (dis)respect

The questionnaire also asked about indirect experiences of police behavior, see *Table 7.6*. To do so, respondents were asked whether in the twelve months prior to the school survey, somebody from their city area had reported disrespectful contact between the police and citizens and/or whether they had witnessed such a conduct themselves. The answers ranged from "no, never" to "yes, once" and "yes, many times". Based on these two items, a scale measuring indirect perceptions of disrespectful police behavior was drafted. Overall, reports of disrespectful police behavior by third parties (29%) outnumber own such observations (20%). *Table 7.6* further points to important differences between native German juveniles and those with a migration background, the latter reporting much higher rates of vicarious experiences of police disrespect – and they seem to be particularly exposed to hearsay about disrespectful police behavior (34% of adolescents with a migration background vs. 23% of native German adolescents).

The coefficients in each model are interpreted under the assumption that all of the other variables are held constant.

Table 7.6   *Indirect experiences of police behavior among adolescents with and without a migration background in Germany*

| | Migration background | | | | | |
| | no | | yes | | Total | |
	No.	Col%	No.	Col%	No.	Col%
Observation of disrespectful behavior						
no, never	1,378	81.8	1,276	71.8	2,654	76.6
yes, once	187	11.1	273	15.4	460	13.3
yes, many times	74	4.4	156	8.8	230	6.6
missing	46	2.7	73	4.1	119	3.4
Total	1,685	100.0	1,778	100.0	3,463	100.0
Hearsay of disrespectful behavior						
no, never	1,238	73.5	1,070	60.2	2,308	66.6
yes, once	269	16.0	377	21.2	646	18.7
yes, many times	125	7.4	235	13.2	360	10.4
missing	53	3.1	96	5.4	149	4.3
Total	1,685	100.0	1,778	100.0	3,463	100.0

7.2.3   Explanatory variables

This study is keen to identify predictors which affect both direct and indirect experiences of police (dis)respect. Therefore, in the first step, predictors for juveniles' satisfaction with the police in the aftermath of their "direct" encounter are investigated. In a second step, it is tested whether the same variables also predict young people's vicarious experiences of police disrespect, thus their "indirect" feelings of dissatisfaction with the police. For the regression analysis of satisfaction with the police and vicarious police disrespect, the same explanatory variables are included as for the previous analysis of the likelihood of various types of police contact. Thus, reference is made to the previous *Chapter 6.1.2* for a detailed overview of the descriptive statistics of those variables.

Additionally, the analysis of satisfaction with the police (as experienced in the direct encounter) also controls for the influence of respondents' behavior and for the actions of the police. These variables have been introduced above.

7.3   Testing the Hypotheses: Influences on Satisfaction with the Police and Vicarious Experiences of Police Disrespect

In the following paragraphs, the model specifications are presented and subsequently the assumptions are tested that are related to direct satisfaction with the police and indirect experiences of police (dis)respect among adolescents. The dependent variable "satisfaction with the police" is a factor score and modeled as a linear regression, whereas "vicarious experiences of police disrespect" is a mean scale of two items and modeled as an ordered logit regression (for the analysis of categorical dependent variables, see, for example, *Long & Freese* 2006).

The analysis of predictors for satisfaction with the police in Cologne and Mannheim includes a total of seven regressions models, following the block-wise approach. The observations are clustered by schools. The descriptive statistics of all variables included in the linear regression of satisfaction with the police are reported in *Table 7.7*. A total of $N = 804$ observations (out of the initial $N = 6,948$) is included in the sample size. This restriction does not allow for detailed analyses of the impact of the various ethnic groups, as has been undertaken previously. Therefore, the analysis of satisfaction with the police (but also of vicarious experiences with disrespect) differentiates between five types of migration background only: native German, Turkish, Ex-Soviet, other and mixed German/migration background. The analysis of satisfaction with the police includes measures for youth behavior and for police actions during the last youth-police interaction. The model summary statistics are reported at the bottom of the regression outputs. The final *Model 7*, with an $R^2 = .37$ explains around one third of the variance of the residuals. Moreover, both *BIC* and *AIC* values are the lowest in *Model 7*, a further indication that the best model fit of the data is reached in *Model 7*. The post-estimation analysis of the final *Model 7* reveals no major issues with unusual or influential data, neither can higher levels of multicollinearity among the variables be retained.

Table 7.7   *Descriptive statistics of variables included in the analysis of satisfaction with the police in Germany*

	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Satisfaction with police	3.39	0.58	1	4
Gender	0.47	0.50	0	1
Age	0.17	1.00	-2.11	4.44
Migration background	-	-	0	4
Parental occupational status	-0.00	0.99	-1.73	1.73
Parental unemployment	-	-	0	2

	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Parental educational level	-	-	1	5
Family structure	0.38	0.49	0	1
Ever drunk (in lifetime)	-	-	0	3
Police-initiated contacts	-	-	0	3
Victimization	0.45	0.50	0	1
Self-reported delinquency	0.57	0.50	0	1
Unsupervised activities	0.48	1.19	-0.78	4.24
Deviant attitudes	0.34	1.05	-1.51	2.79
Peer delinquency	0.50	1.13	-1.02	3.24
Membership in peer group	-	-	0	3
Friends without migration background	-	-	0	2
Youth had drunk alcohol	0.15	0.36	0	1
Youth resisted the police	0.04	0.21	0	1
Youth provoked the police	0.05	0.23	0	1
Youth ran away	0.09	0.29	0	1
Police checked clothes/bags	-	-	0	2
Police checked identity	-	-	0	2
Police decreed order to move	-	-	0	2
Police brought youth to police station	-	-	0	2
Observations	804			

For the analysis of vicarious experiences of disrespect, a set of five separate regression models is run, all clustered by schools. *Table 7.8* provides an overview of the descriptive statistics for the variables of the ordered logit regression of indirect experiences with police disrespect. Again, the items concerning the vicarious experiences with police demeanor were included only in half of the sample, and due to missing values, this analysis operates with a final $N = 2,985$. The important reduction of the *BIC* and *AIC* values confirms the best model fit for the data for *Model 6*, which accounts for the full set of variables.

The scales are all standardized to the mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1. The scale "attitudes to mother", "unsupervised activities", "deviant attitudes" and "delinquency of peers" are based on a polychoric correlation matrix (*Holgado-Tello et al.* 2010). Yet, for some of the scales, e.g. age, an important deviation from the mean of

0 and a standard deviation of 1 are retained. This is particularly true for the analysis of satisfaction with the police, because the analysis is run on a small sub-sample of the original data set. A detailed documentation of the scales is provided in the *Annex Scale Documentation*.

Table 7.8   Descriptive statistics of variables included in the analysis of vicarious experiences of police disrespect in Germany

	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Vicarious police disrespect	1.35	0.57	1	3
Gender	0.54	0.50	0	1
Age	0.04	0.98	-2.86	6.70
Migration background	-	-	0	4
Parental occupational status	-0.04	1.00	-1.73	1.73
Parental unemployment	-	-	0	2
Parental educational level	-	-	1	5
Family structure	0.32	0.47	0	1
Police-initiated contacts	-	-	0	3
Victimization	0.31	0.46	0	1
Self-reported delinquency	0.35	0.48	0	1
Ever drunk (in lifetime)	-	-	0	3
Unsupervised activities	0.03	1.04	-0.78	4.24
Deviant attitudes	0.01	1.01	-1.51	2.79
Peer delinquency	0.02	1.00	-1.02	3.24
Membership in peer group	-	-	0	3
Friends without migration background	-	-	0	2
Observations	2,985			

7.3.1   Variations in satisfaction with the police

Seven separate regression models of satisfaction with the police – based on various predictors that are assumed to have an impact on adolescents' evaluation of the police during their last contact – are reported in *Table 7.9*.

Model 1 examines the influence of socio-demographic variables. Except for the adolescents of Ex-Soviet origin and the mixed category, those of other migration backgrounds were, compared to adolescents of German descent, less satisfied with police

conduct during their last encounter. This relationship is even maintained when accounting for all behavioral and attitudinal aspects that put a positive youth-police relationship at stake (for Turkish students, $B = -.21$, $p < .01$; for students of other migration backgrounds, $B = -.19$, $p < .001$). The initial effect of gender and age – with girls ($B = .11$, $p < .05$) and younger students ($B = -.08$, $p < .05$) reporting, on average, a more positive police behavior than males and older juveniles – is mediated as soon as the type of police contact is introduced in the model. All other socio-demographic variables of *Model 1* do not significantly affect respondents' satisfaction with the police.

As described in *Model 2*, recurrent police-initiated contacts are particularly likely to have a negative influence on young people's judgment of police conduct during their last encounter. Compared to those who had only self-initiated contacts, juveniles who were targeted very frequently (six or more times) hold, on average, lower levels of satisfaction with the police ($B = -.28$, $p < .001$ in the final *Model 7*). Both victimization and self-reported delinquency have no statistically significant effect on satisfaction with the police (in the final *Model 7*).

Model 3 explores the effects of adolescents' routines and their propensity to violence.

Figure 7.1　　　*Combined effect of unsupervised activities and deviant attitudes on satisfaction with the police in Germany*
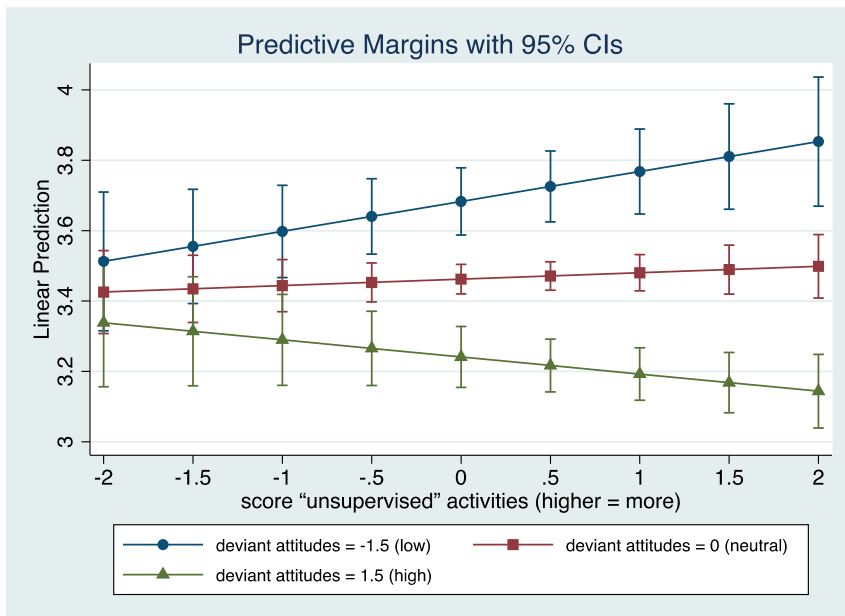
Figure 7.1 documents the interaction effect between delinquent propensities and the tendency to favor "unsupervised" activities before introducing the predictors of the last contact (*Model 7*). A stable and significant effect can be identified between deviant attitudes and the evaluation of police behavior. One standard deviation toward a higher deviant attitude affects the perceptions of positive police behavior by the coefficient $B = -.15$, $p < .001$. That said, adolescents with low deviant attitudes are, on average, more satisfied with police conduct, even when accounting for all other covariates that could potentially undermine the positive youth-police relationship. As documented by *Figure 7.1*, among adolescents who follow a "risk-adverse" lifestyle, their own propensity to violence marginally effects their satisfaction with the police. Among those who follow a "risky" lifestyle, however, delinquent propensities have more leverage. Among the respondents who are particularly inclined to break rules and laws, those who follow a risky lifestyle are significantly less satisfied with police conduct during their last encounter than those who favor other types of activities. However, the interaction term is fully mediated once the model accounts for all covariates.

The effects of the predictors related to a (delinquent) subculture documented in *Model 4*, such as the negative impact of having delinquent peers (for one standard deviation toward higher peer delinquency $B = -.14$, $p < .001$) and being a member of a violent peer group ($B = -.26$, $p < .05$, as compared to not being a member in any peer group) are fully mediated by the other predictors included in the analysis in *Model 7*.

Models 5 and *6* investigate whether the correlates related to own (violent) delinquent or discriminatory behavior of the police are likely to alter adolescents' experiences with the police. As the findings indicate, own behavior influences, to a certain extent, satisfaction with police conduct. As reported in the final *Model 7*, particularly adolescents who have resisted the police in the course of the interaction are, on average, less satisfied with the police ($B = -.40$, $p < .01$).

Finally, some police actions seem to harm adolescents' satisfaction with police conduct, too. Indeed, under control of all covariates in *Model 7*, the following police actions have a negative effect on the positive evaluation of the police: checking clothes/bags ($B = -.17$, $p < .01$), identity checks ($B = -.14$, $p < .01$) and orders to move on ($B = -.15$, $p < .05$).

Table 7.9 Linear regression of satisfaction with the police among adolescents with police contact in Germany

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6		Model 7	
Female (ref = boy)	0.11*	(2.2)	0.02	(0.4)	-0.03	(-0.7)	0.04	(0.8)	0.05	(1.1)	0.04	(1.0)	-0.08	(-1.8)
Age	-0.07*	(-2.7)	-0.04	(-1.6)	-0.03	(-1.4)	-0.05*	(-2.3)	-0.04	(-1.7)	-0.04	(-1.9)	-0.03	(-1.2)
Migration background (ref = native)														
Turkish	-0.17*	(-2.4)	-0.20**	(-3.1)	-0.23**	(-3.4)	-0.20**	(-3.0)	-0.21**	(-3.3)	-0.17**	(-2.8)	-0.21**	(-3.3)
Ex-Soviet	-0.20	(-1.6)	-0.16	(-1.2)	-0.18	(-2.0)	-0.23	(-1.9)	-0.18	(-1.6)	-0.12	(-1.0)	-0.15	(-1.4)
other migration background	-0.22**	(-3.5)	-0.16**	(-2.7)	-0.22***	(-3.8)	-0.23***	(-3.6)	-0.24***	(-4.1)	-0.18**	(-3.1)	-0.19**	(-3.5)
mixed German/other background	-0.12	(-1.9)	-0.08	(-1.4)	-0.08	(-1.5)	-0.08	(-1.5)	-0.06	(-0.9)	-0.08	(-1.2)	-0.02	(-0.5)
Parental occupational status	-0.02	(-0.7)	-0.01	(-0.5)	-0.03	(-1.2)	-0.02	(-1.0)	-0.01	(-0.3)	-0.01	(-0.6)	-0.02	(-0.7)
Parental unemployment (ref = no)														
yes	-0.06	(-1.1)	-0.04	(-0.9)	-0.04	(-0.9)	-0.05	(-1.1)	-0.07	(-1.6)	-0.06	(-1.1)	-0.05	(-1.1)
unclear	-0.11	(-1.0)	-0.08	(-0.8)	-0.09	(-0.9)	-0.06	(-0.7)	-0.07	(-0.8)	-0.08	(-0.7)	-0.04	(-0.5)
Parental educational level (ref = no degree)														
below Bac/Abi	-0.07	(-0.9)	-0.09	(-1.3)	-0.11	(-1.5)	-0.08	(-1.2)	-0.06	(-0.8)	-0.07	(-1.0)	-0.10	(-1.3)
Bac/Abi	-0.02	(-0.2)	-0.06	(-0.6)	-0.08	(-0.9)	-0.08	(-0.9)	-0.04	(-0.4)	-0.04	(-0.5)	-0.09	(-1.1)
above Bac/Abi	-0.10	(-1.1)	-0.13	(-1.6)	-0.13	(-1.7)	-0.15	(-1.8)	-0.11	(-1.2)	-0.14	(-1.8)	-0.17	(-2.0)
Family structure (ref = complete)	-0.04	(-1.0)	0.02	(0.5)	0.03	(0.8)	-0.00	(-0.0)	-0.01	(-0.3)	0.03	(0.8)	0.06*	(2.0)
Police-initiated contacts (ref = no)														
1–2 contacts			-0.06	(-1.5)									0.02	(0.6)
3–5 contacts			-0.27***	(-5.4)									-0.11	(-1.9)
≥ 6 contacts			-0.67***	(-8.5)									-0.28***	(-3.6)

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6		Model 7	
Victimization (ref = no)	0.01	(0.1)											0.04	(1.1)
Self-reported delinquency (ref = no)			-0.18***	(-4.1)									0.01	(0.4)
Ever drunk (in lifetime) (ref = no)														
once					-0.14	(-1.8)							-0.10	(-1.5)
2–5 times					-0.11	(-1.8)							-0.04	(-0.6)
≥ 6 times					-0.27**	(-3.0)							-0.11	(-1.5)
Unsupervised activities					0.00	(0.1)							0.02	(1.0)
Deviant attitudes					-0.16***	(-5.9)							-0.13***	(-5.0)
Interaction effect unsupervised activities*deviant attitudes					-0.05**	(-3.0)							-0.02	(-1.3)
Peer delinquency							-0.14***	(-5.3)					-0.02	(-0.6)
Peer-group member (ref = no)														
member in non-violent peer group							-0.01	(-0.2)					-0.01	(-0.2)
member in violent peer group							-0.26*	(-2.3)					-0.05	(-0.5)
Friends without migration background (ref = no)							-0.03	(-0.6)					-0.04	(-0.9)
Youth had drunk alcohol									-0.18**	(-3.0)			-0.01	(-0.1)
Youth resisted the police									-0.64***	(-4.3)			-0.40**	(-3.0)
Youth provoked the police									-0.38**	(-3.1)			-0.14	(-1.4)
Youth ran away									-0.20*	(-2.6)			-0.06	(-0.8)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7
Police checked clothes/bags (ref = no)							
yes						-0.35*** (-5.2)	-0.17** (-3.3)
Police checked identity (ref = no)							
yes						-0.22*** (-4.7)	-0.14** (-2.8)
Police decreed order to move (ref = no)							
yes						-0.27*** (-4.2)	-0.15* (-2.2)
Police brought to police station (ref = no)							
yes						-0.10 (-1.3)	-0.06 (-0.9)
Constant	3.53*** (43.9)	3.78*** (48.5)	3.76*** (52.2)	3.70*** (38.2)	3.65*** (47.9)	3.80*** (48.6)	3.94*** (36.1)
Rank	15	20	21	21	19	20	41
R-squared	0.06	0.20	0.26	0.18	0.21	0.20	0.37
Adjusted R-squared	0.04	0.18	0.24	0.16	0.19	0.18	0.34
BIC	1,454	1,355	1,301	1,380	1,346	1,360	1,305
AIC	1,383	1,262	1,203	1,282	1,257	1,267	1,112
Observations	804	804	804	804	804	804	804

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Missing values are included as residual categories in the analysis but not reported.

7.3.2   Variations in vicarious experiences of police disrespect

Six ordered logit regressions were performed so as to test which predictors matter most for the evaluation of third-party experiences of police disrespect and whether the same predictors determine both direct and indirect experiences with police conduct. Therefore, an analogous procedure was adopted, such as the one used for the investigation of direct experiences in the contact with the police; this included the same set of variables (except for the ones from the last block, i.e. the predictors related to the last contact with the police, which are excluded from this analysis). The results are documented in *Table 7.10* and displayed as *Odds Ratios*.

Model 1 examines the impact of core socio-demographic factors including gender, age and migration background. The results suggest that in most cases, a migration background impacts adolescents' vicarious experiences with the police. Except for the young people of Ex-Soviet origin, juveniles of foreign descent, on average, reported more often to have observed (or to have been told about) disrespectful police behavior (compared to native German youths).

Compared to the respondents of German descent, strong effects for the following migration backgrounds are found: Turkish (*Odds Ratio* = 2.2, *p* < .001), other (i.e. excluding Turkish and Ex-Soviet, *Odds Ratio* = 1.9, *p* < .001) and mixed German/other (*Odds Ratio* = 1.5, *p* < .001). The effects prevail even when the whole set of attitudinal and behavioral variables is inserted in *Model 6*.

As discussed in *Model 2*, experiences of police-initiated contacts in the last year – particularly when they were recurrent – had a tremendous impact on young people's perceptions of (direct and indirect) disrespectful police behavior. Compared to adolescents with no police-initiated contact, vicarious police disrespect was reported much more often among adolescents with very frequent police-initiated encounters (*Odds Ratio* = 16.7, *p* < .001 for six or more contacts). In *Model 6* (under control of all covariates), the effect shrinks to one third (*Odds Ratio* = 4.5, *p* < .001). However, experiences of police-initiated contacts still remain among the strongest predictors of *Model 6*.

Model 3 explores the importance of prior delinquent records and victimization for vicarious experiences with police disrespect. Other than in the analysis of satisfaction with police conduct, an experience of victimization matters importantly in this context. Victims of criminal offenses (as compared to non-victims) are more likely to recount vicarious experiences of police disrespect, even when controlling for own and peer delinquency in *Model 6* (*Odds Ratio* = 1.4, *p* < .01); a record of prior delinquent offenses matters little when controlling for police-initiated contacts, (delinquent) subcultures and routines.

Model 3 investigates the influence of routines and delinquent propensities. As in the previous analysis, former experiences with excessive alcohol consumption do not display a significant effect when the model controls for other variables testing the

exposure to delinquency. A different effect is found for both "unsupervised" activities and deviant attitudes. The effects are consistent although the effect size diminishes (also in the final regression *Model 6*). Respondents presenting particularly high deviant attitudes reported vicarious experiences of disrespect significantly more often (one standard deviation toward higher deviant attitudes affects vicarious experiences of disrespect by *Odds Ratio* = 1.5, *p* < .001). A similar trend is reported for those respondents who follow a "risky" lifestyle (one standard deviation toward higher "unsupervised" activities affects vicarious experiences of disrespect by *Odds Ratio* = 1.5, *p* < .001).

Both peer delinquency and the characteristics of the peer group (which are investigated in *Model 5*) predict perceptions of vicarious disrespectful behavior by the police. Interestingly, even when controlling for all relevant predictors in *Model 6*, all variables related to the peers have a a statistically significant influence on vicarious experiences with police disrespect. Thus, the number of this type of experiences depends on the delinquency of peers (one standard deviation toward higher delinquency influences the levels of vicarious experiences of disrespect by *Odds Ratio* = 1.5, *p* < .001), but also on the membership in peer groups. Respondents who are members of violent (*Odds Ratio* = 2.2, *p* < .001), but also members of non-violent peer groups (*Odds Ratio* = 1.4, *p* < .01) are more apt to report vicarious experiences of police disrespect (compared to respondents who are not members in any peer group).

Finally, respondents with an ethnically heterogeneous friend group (compared to those with a homogeneous friend group, i.e. including only friends with a migration background) are less subject to vicarious police disrespect (*Odds Ratio* = .8, *p* < .05).

Table 7.10   Ordered logit regression of vicarious experiences with police disrespect in Germany

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6	
Female (ref = boy)	0.60***	(-7.2)	0.70***	(-4.4)	0.73***	(-4.5)	0.96	(-0.5)	0.72***	(-4.0)	0.97	(-0.4)
Age	1.16***	(3.6)	1.10*	(2.3)	1.11*	(2.2)	0.94	(-1.3)	1.03	(0.6)	0.98	(-0.4)
Migration background (ref = native)												
Turkish	1.99***	(6.3)	2.26***	(7.5)	2.41***	(7.0)	2.49***	(7.6)	1.85***	(5.2)	2.17***	(6.1)
Ex-Soviet	1.28	(1.1)	1.28	(1.2)	1.12	(0.4)	1.20	(0.7)	1.22	(0.8)	1.08	(0.3)
other migration background	1.66***	(4.2)	1.71***	(4.1)	1.81***	(4.7)	2.05***	(5.2)	1.73***	(4.0)	1.88***	(4.3)
mixed German/other background	1.58***	(3.9)	1.47***	(3.6)	1.51***	(3.7)	1.77***	(5.2)	1.48***	(3.4)	1.49***	(3.4)
Parental occupational status	0.90*	(-2.4)	0.90*	(-2.2)	0.91*	(-2.1)	0.93	(-1.6)	0.94	(-1.1)	0.95	(-0.9)
Parental unemployment (ref = no)												
yes	1.10	(1.1)	1.03	(0.3)	0.97	(-0.3)	1.04	(0.4)	0.95	(-0.5)	0.91	(-0.9)
unclear	0.90	(-0.5)	0.94	(-0.3)	0.89	(-0.6)	0.87	(-0.7)	0.77	(-1.4)	0.80	(-1.1)
Parental educational level (ref = no degree)												
below Bac/Abi	0.92	(-0.6)	0.92	(-0.6)	0.94	(-0.5)	0.95	(-0.4)	0.92	(-0.6)	0.92	(-0.6)
Bac/Abi	0.96	(-0.3)	0.89	(-0.9)	0.97	(-0.2)	0.95	(-0.4)	0.97	(-0.2)	0.94	(-0.4)
above Bac/Abi	1.07	(0.4)	1.01	(0.1)	1.08	(0.5)	1.01	(0.0)	1.06	(0.3)	1.05	(0.3)
Family structure (ref = complete)	1.37***	(4.0)	1.29**	(3.1)	1.23**	(2.6)	1.22*	(2.4)	1.20*	(2.5)	1.15	(1.8)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Police-initiated contacts (ref = no)						
1–2 contacts		2.32*** (9.3)				1.44*** (3.6)
3–5 contacts		5.53*** (12.5)				2.65*** (5.8)
≥ 6 contacts		16.68*** (10.9)				4.50*** (5.1)
Victimization (ref = no)			1.63*** (5.0)			1.35** (2.9)
Self-reported delinquency (ref = no)			3.13*** (12.0)			1.22 (1.8)
Ever drunk (in lifetime) (ref = no)						
once				1.46*** (3.6)		1.18 (1.4)
2–5 times				1.20 (1.3)		0.79 (-1.6)
≥ 6 times				1.57* (2.3)		0.75 (-1.3)
Unsupervised activities				1.45*** (7.9)		1.19*** (3.4)
Deviant attitudes				1.90*** (11.3)		1.48*** (6.7)
Peer delinquency					2.08*** (14.2)	1.53*** (7.7)
Peer group member (ref = no)						
member in non-violent peer group					1.55*** (4.3)	1.37** (3.2)
member in violent peer group					3.96*** (7.5)	2.15*** (3.9)
Friends without migration background (ref = no)						
yes					0.72* (-2.4)	0.78* (-2.1)

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6	
cut1	1.97***	(5.1)	2.81***	(7.8)	3.95***	(9.2)	3.08***	(7.8)	2.10***	(4.2)	3.30***	(6.4)
cut2	4.65***	(10.9)	7.17***	(13.8)	9.99***	(15.0)	8.21***	(13.7)	5.78***	(9.5)	9.63***	(11.6)
cut3	10.33***	(16.0)	17.35***	(19.8)	23.36***	(18.8)	20.52***	(20.1)	14.84***	(14.6)	26.47***	(16.6)
cut4	23.38***	(20.3)	42.59***	(23.4)	54.70***	(22.7)	51.00***	(24.5)	38.05***	(18.6)	72.01***	(20.5)
Pseudo R^2	0.024		0.068		0.066		0.097		0.108		0.139	
Rank	18		21		20		23		24		34	
Log lik.	-3,191		-3,046		-3,055		-2,955		-2,918		-2816	
Chi-squared	234.31		909.32		599.74		1,006.57		823.35		1,921.81	
BIC	6,526		6,261		6,270		6,093		6,028		5,905	
AIC	6,418		6,135		6,150		5,955		5,884		5,701	
Observations	2,985		2,985		2,985		2,985		2,985		2,985	

Exponentiated coefficients (Odds Ratio); z statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Missing values are included as residual categories in the analysis but not reported.

7.4   Comparative German-French Findings

7.4.1   Characteristics of the last contact with the police in Germany and France

This study is not only interested in comparing the frequency of juveniles' police contacts in Germany and France, but also in exploring whether the nature of such interactions differs. Indeed, as will be seen shortly, pronounced disparities are identified, particularly with regard to the influence of the respondents' ethnic backgrounds.

As in Germany, the French survey results have substantial missing values for the items related to the last contact with the police. The details are reported in *Table 7.11*. Yet, other than in Germany, all sampled adolescents received the questions. From 88% of the respondents who had experienced at least one encounter with the police in France, complete information concerning experiences during the last encounter is available. Thus, for France, *N* = 4,842 observations are declared as valid; these refer to the respondents who reported at least one police contact and properly answered the question about the last contact. This corresponds to 35% of the overall sample size.

Table 7.11   *Prevalence of police contacts when taking into consideration information about the last contact with the police in France*

	Yes		No		Missing		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Contact with the police	5,527	40	7,439	55	713	5	13,679	100
Complete information	4,842	88	685	12			5,527	100
Valid information	4,842	35	8,837	65			13,679	100

Table 7.12 compares Germany and France along the main characteristics of the last contact with the police. Only the sub-sample of respondents with at least one police contact is considered. In France, youth-police interactions happen more often in the city center than in Germany (for Germany and France, 24% and 30% respectively) and less frequently within the own neighborhood (45% and 37% respectively). As for the time frame of the contact, similar to Germany, police encounters predominately take place in the afternoon or early evening (54% and 22% respectively), and interactions between young people and the police in the morning or at night are rare (10% and 11% respectively). Again, as is the case for Germany, juveniles often hang around in a group at the moment of the encounter with the police (61% of juveniles with a police contact).

Table 7.12   Characteristics of the last contact with the police in Germany and France

	Germany		France	
	No.	Col%	No.	Col%
Moment of interaction				
morning	160	15.6	468	9.7
afternoon	508	49.7	2,632	54.4
evening	239	23.4	1,068	22.1
night	108	10.6	511	10.6
missing	8	0.8	163	3.4
Total	1,023	100.0	4,842	100.0
Presence of other people				
alone	194	19.0	571	11.8
with other youth	615	60.1	2,960	61.1
with other adults	201	19.6	1,225	25.3
missing	13	1.3	86	1.8
Total	1,023	100.0	4,842	100.0
Place of interaction				
own neighborhood	458	44.8	1,766	36.5
city center	246	24.0	1,426	29.5
missing	319	31.2	1,650	34.1
Total	1,023	100.0	4,842	100.0

With regard to the police actions, as reported in *Table 7.13*, the most important difference between Germany and France concerns identity checks. Although such checks are common in both countries, the frequency differs by ethnic background. In France, this difference is alarming. Checks of identities among respondents of Maghrebian (46%) or other, non-Maghrebian migration backgrounds (40%) are much more frequent than among native French juveniles (27%). Analogously, for the controls of clothes and/or bags, this disparity is much more obvious in France than in Germany. Compared to juveniles of a native French background (22%), those of a Maghrebian background reported nearly twice as often (45%) and those of other migration backgrounds significantly more often (37%) to having undergone this kind of police practice. In contrast to Germany, where the police often contact the parents, the French police inform the parents less frequently (between 10% and 17% for the different ethnic groups). Orders to move on are given more frequently in France, particularly

when the police interact with juveniles of Maghrebian descent (around 25%). In comparison, only 7% of Turkish youths in Germany who provided information about the last contact reported such police actions. In France, only 16% of the adolescents of a French native background with at least one police contact experienced an order to move. 22% of the juveniles of a Maghrebian background in France with police contact – compared to 11% of the juveniles with a Turkish migration background in Germany – were taken to the police station. In both countries, the police seldom initiated a criminal proceeding; in France, this was the case for 3% of adolescents with police contact.

Table 7.13   *Experienced police actions during the last contact with the police in France*

| | Migration background | | | | | | | |
| | native | | Maghrebian | | other foreign | | Total | |
	No.	Col%	No.	Col%	No.	Col%	No.	Col%
Police checked clothes/bags								
no	1,887	77.5	391	53.8	465	62.4	2,743	70.2
yes	527	21.7	329	45.3	274	36.8	1,130	28.9
missing	20	0.8	7	1.0	6	0.8	33	0.8
Total	2,434	100.0	727	100.0	745	100.0	3,906	100.0
Police checked identity								
no	1,746	71.7	384	52.8	441	59.2	2,571	65.8
yes	668	27.4	336	46.2	298	40.0	1,302	33.3
missing	20	0.8	7	1.0	6	0.8	33	0.8
Total	2,434	100.0	727	100.0	745	100.0	3,906	100.0
Police decreed order to move								
no	2,027	83.3	538	74.0	599	80.4	3,164	81.0
yes	387	15.9	182	25.0	140	18.8	709	18.2
missing	20	0.8	7	1.0	6	0.8	33	0.8
Total	2,434	100.0	727	100.0	745	100.0	3,906	100.0
Police brought to the police station								
no	2,081	85.5	563	77.4	594	79.7	3,238	82.9
yes	333	13.7	157	21.6	145	19.5	635	16.3
missing	20	0.8	7	1.0	6	0.8	33	0.8
Total	2,434	100.0	727	100.0	745	100.0	3,906	100.0
Stayed at the police station overnight								
no	2,356	96.8	670	92.2	683	91.7	3,709	95.0

	Migration background							
	native		Maghrebian		other foreign		Total	
	No.	Col%	No.	Col%	No.	Col%	No.	Col%
yes	58	2.4	50	6.9	56	7.5	164	4.2
missing	20	0.8	7	1.0	6	0.8	33	0.8
Total	2,434	100.0	727	100.0	745	100.0	3,906	100.0
Police spoke with parents								
no	2,176	89.4	599	82.4	620	83.2	3,395	86.9
yes	238	9.8	121	16.6	119	16	478	12.2
missing	20	0.8	7	1.0	6	0.8	33	0.8
Total	2,434	100.0	727	100.0	745	100.0	3,906	100.0
Police started criminal proceeding								
no	2,375	97.6	684	94.1	707	94.9	3,766	96.4
yes	39	1.6	36	5.0	32	4.3	107	2.7
missing	20	0.8	7	1.0	6	0.8	33	0.8
Total	2,434	100.0	727	100.0	745	100.0	3,906	100.0

Mixed backgrounds not reported

Table 7.14   *Behavior of adolescents toward the police during last contact with the police in France*

	Migration background							
	native		Maghrebian		other foreign		Total	
	No.	Col%	No.	Col%	No.	Col%	No.	Col%
Juvenile was law-abiding								
no	760	31.2	262	36.0	241	32.3	1,263	32.3
yes	1,572	64.6	424	58.3	472	63.4	2,468	63.2
missing	102	4.2	41	5.6	32	4.3	175	4.5
Total	2,434	100.0	727	100.0	745	100.0	3,906	100.0
Juvenile had drunk alcohol								
no	1,934	79.5	618	85.0	601	80.7	3,153	80.7
yes	353	14.5	55	7.6	88	11.8	496	12.7
missing	147	6.0	54	7.4	56	7.5	257	6.6
Total	2,434	100.0	727	100.0	745	100.0	3,906	100.0
Juvenile resisted the police								
no	2,157	88.6	526	72.4	620	83.2	3,303	84.6

	Migration background							
	native		Maghrebian		other foreign		Total	
	No.	Col%	No.	Col%	No.	Col%	No.	Col%
yes	175	7.2	160	22.0	93	12.5	428	11
missing	102	4.2	41	5.6	32	4.3	175	4.5
Total	2,434	100.0	727	100.0	745	100.0	3,906	100.0
Juvenile provoked the police								
no	2,278	93.6	617	84.9	673	90.3	3,568	91.3
yes	54	2.2	69	9.5	40	5.4	163	4.2
missing	102	4.2	41	5.6	32	4.3	175	4.5
Total	2,434	100.0	727	100.0	745	100.0	3,906	100.0
Juvenile ran away								
no	2,220	91.2	585	80.5	660	88.6	3,465	88.7
yes	112	4.6	101	13.9	53	7.1	266	6.8
missing	102	4.2	41	5.6	32	4.3	175	4.5
Total	2,434	100.0	727	100.0	745	100.0	3,906	100.0

Mixed backgrounds not reported

Similarly, when comparing the reaction of juveniles to the police encounter, considerable differences across the two countries were reported. A comparison between the behavior of native French youths and those of Maghrebian and other (non-Maghrebian) descent during the last contact with the police is provided in *Table 7.14*. As for the Turkish juveniles in Germany, in France, only few juveniles of Maghrebian origin (around 8%) stated that they had drunk alcohol prior to the police encounter. Except for this item, however, for the other items measuring aberrant youth behavior in France, the adolescents of Maghrebian origin are over-represented compared to the native adolescents and those of non-Maghrebian minority groups, as well as in comparison to the adolescents of all ethnic backgrounds in Germany. The item with the largest difference is "I resisted the police". Compared to Germany, significantly more respondents reported having resisted the police during the last interaction in France. This is evidence of the conflict-ridden nature of interactions between French police and adolescents. 22% of the juveniles of a Maghrebian background agreed to this item. Compared to the adolescents of non-Maghrebian ethnic backgrounds, juveniles of Maghrebian descent are almost twice as likely to resist the police, and even three time as often compared to the native French adolescents. Whereas only one out of fifty juveniles of a native French background confirmed that they had provoked the police during the encounter, one out of twenty juveniles of foreign backgrounds (except for the Maghrebian origin) agreed to this item. For the youth of Maghrebian origin, the share increases to around one out of ten. Finally, with a rate of 14%, twice

as many juveniles of a Maghrebian background than of other foreign migration back-
grounds had run away during the encounter with the police. Compared to the French
native youths, the share of Maghrebian youths who had run away almost tripled.

7.4.2   Measures and explanatory variables

As discussed in the analysis of satisfaction with police conduct among the respond-
ents in Germany, the occurrence of both positive and negative police behavior was
asked about. As in Germany, young people in France are, overall, satisfied with the
manner in which the police behaved in the course of the interaction. Yet, other than
in Germany, prominent differences between the native French adolescents and the
ones of foreign descent exist, as reported in *Table 7.15*; this particularly concerns
items intended to identify police misbehavior. Whereas across ethnic groups in Ger-
many, juveniles share similar experiences of police conduct, perceptions of police
behavior differ enormously between ethnic majority and minority students in France.
Whereas only 7% of the native French respondents reported that the police had tried
to provoke or offend them, twice as many respondents of foreign backgrounds (15%,
excluding the respondents of a Maghrebian background) and almost four times as
many of Maghrebian origin (27%) felt subject to provocation or offending by the
police officers. A similar distribution is reported for the item measuring violent po-
lice behavior. Around three out of fifty respondents of a native French (6%) and
around seven out of fifty respondents of a foreign background (14%, excluding the
respondents of a Maghrebian background) claimed that the police had adopted vio-
lence. Around one out of four respondents of a Maghrebian background (23%) had
experienced police violence, a finding that supports the assumption of more violent
and conflict-prone interaction among the French police and young people of foreign
(and particularly North-African) origin. This finding gains even more relevance
when compared to the low level of agreement to the item "The police became vio-
lent" for all ethnic groups in Germany, as reported in the previous section. Thus, the
risk of adolescents of Maghrebian origin to experience police violence is nearly four
times as high than for native French juveniles. Thus, it is of little surprise that in
France, only half of the respondents of Maghrebian descent (51%) – compared to
three quarters of respondents of French native origin (75%) – who had experienced
one or more encounters with the police felt that the police had treated them in a fair
and respectful manner. The reliability coefficient α for the scale is .59 and .70 for
Germany and France respectively. For Germany, the factor loading of the items
ranges between .49 and .80, for France between .44 and .83.

Table 7.15   *Experienced police behavior among adolescents with and without a migration background during their last contact with the police in France*

	Migration background							
	native		Maghrebian		other foreign		Total	
	No.	Col%	No.	Col%	No.	Col%	No.	Col%
Police explained reasons of action								
rather true	1,345	55.3	324	44.6	368	49.4	2,037	52.2
rather untrue	942	38.7	342	47.0	326	43.8	1,610	41.2
missing	147	6.0	61	8.4	51	6.8	259	6.6
Total	2,434	100.0	727	100.0	745	100.0	3,906	100.0
Police treated fairly/with respect								
rather true	1,827	75.1	370	50.9	461	61.9	2,658	68.0
rather untrue	493	20.3	301	41.4	242	32.5	1,036	26.5
missing	114	4.7	56	7.7	42	5.6	212	5.4
Total	2,434	100.0	727	100.0	745	100.0	3,906	100.0
Police tried to provoke/offend								
rather true	171	7.0	193	26.5	112	15.0	476	12.2
rather untrue	2,123	87.2	480	66.0	580	77.9	3,183	81.5
missing	140	5.8	54	7.4	53	7.1	247	6.3
Total	2,434	100.0	727	100.0	745	100.0	3,906	100.0
Police became violent								
rather true	136	5.6	164	22.6	105	14.1	405	10.4
rather untrue	2,046	84.1	450	61.9	539	72.3	3,035	77.7
missing	252	10.4	113	15.5	101	13.6	466	11.9
Total	2,434	100.0	727	100.0	745	100.0	3,906	100.0

Mixed backgrounds not reported

As is the case for Germany, information was also gathered about French respondents' vicarious experiences with disrespectful police behavior, see *Table 7.16*. Overall, hearsay as well as observations are much more common in France. There, the differences by ethnic minority background for vicarious experiences with police disrespect are enormous. Again, adolescents of a North-African migration background stand out in the analysis as having witnessed, or heard about, disrespectful police behavior at high rates. As in Germany, around one third of the native adolescents

reported having witnessed unfair and disrespectful treatment by the police. Among the ethnic minority population, three out of four youths of a Maghrebian background (and half of the other minority groups that do not originate in North-African countries) claimed to have witnessed such an event. Not surprisingly, hearsay of disrespectful police conduct is widespread among Maghrebian youths (73%) but less common among native French youths (41%) and youths of other, non-Maghrebian origins (58%). Overall, the vicarious experiences with police disrespect are quite frequent among both male and female juveniles in Germany and France, whereby the relative numbers are higher in France. Yet, substantially more male than female juveniles have allegedly seen police treating other persons in their neighborhood in an unfair manner or were told that such an event had occurred. For France, the gender gap is even more pronounced than for Germany. For Germany, 38% of the male and 30% of the female juveniles had witnessed disrespectful police conduct at least once. In France, such conduct had been observed by 52% of the male and 42% of the female juveniles (see *Oberwittler et al.* 2014).

Table 7.16   *Indirect experiences with police behavior among adolescents with and without a migration background in France*

	Migration background							
	native		Maghrebian		other foreign		Total	
	No.	Col%	No.	Col%	No.	Col%	No.	Col%
Observation of disrespectful behavior								
no, never	1,537	63.1	169	23.2	320	43.0	2,026	51.9
yes, once	514	21.1	162	22.3	173	23.2	849	21.7
yes, many times	375	15.4	385	53.0	239	32.1	999	25.6
missing	8	0.3	11	1.5	13	1.7	32	0.8
Total	2,434	100.0	727	100.0	745	100.0	3,906	100.0
Hearsay of disrespectful behavior								
no, never	1,417	58.2	184	25.3	304	40.8	1,905	48.8
yes, once	558	22.9	144	19.8	181	24.3	883	22.6
yes, many times	448	18.4	383	52.7	249	33.4	1,080	27.6
missing	11	0.5	16	2.2	11	1.5	38	1.0
Total	2,434	100.0	727	100.0	745	100.0	3,906	100.0

Mixed backgrounds not reported

The comparative analyses of experiences with police (dis)respect includes the same set of predictors as the analysis relying only on the German data (see *Chapter 7.2.3*).

However, the variables "peer group" and "unsupervised activities" were dropped as they do not exist in the French data set. The variable "unsupervised activities" is substituted by "hanging out with friends in public places". All items for the comparative German-French data set have been presented in the previous section.

7.4.3   Testing the hypotheses: influences on direct and indirect experiences of police (dis)respect

This section examines whether the predictors for direct and indirect experiences of police satisfaction and respect among juveniles in Germany are important, to an equal extent, in the French context, too.

For this purpose, a set of regressions is run so as to test for the validity of the assumptions and to determine the effect size of the predictors for both direct and indirect experiences of police encounters in Germany and France. First, the predictors for adolescents' satisfaction with the experienced police conduct are compared in both countries. Then, the impact of variables on indirect experiences with police behavior is examined.

An identical analytic approach for both Germany and France is adopted, and thus a set of regression models is run that include the exact same variables. In both countries, the observations are clustered by schools. *Table 7.17* provides the descriptive statistics of the variables included in the analysis of satisfaction with the police. As mentioned before, the absolute number of juveniles in Germany who reported at least one police contact and filled in the question block about the last contact is limited (to a total of $N = 862$ observations for the comparative section). In France, the shrinking of the sample is less severe. Thus, the final sample operates with $N = 3,907$ cases here. The regression models of satisfaction with the police are tested for unusual and influential data, normality of residuals, heteroscedasticity, multicollinearity, non-linearity and model misspecification. No major influential data can be identified, nor can problems be attested that are related to multicollinearity or heteroscedasticity. The distribution of the residuals suggests that linear a regression analysis is appropriate. Again, for Germany, a question mark is raised on whether all relevant variables are included. Tests in France suggest no major issues with omitted variables. Overall, the various criteria reported in the model summary statistics at the bottom of the tables attest a good fit of the models to the data, particularly for the final models where all variables are included. Compared to Germany, particularly high values of the R^2 are achieved with an $R^2 = .45$ in France, meaning that the variance of the dependent variables pertaining to satisfaction with the police is explained to a larger extent by the variables included in the models.

Table 7.17   *Descriptive statistics of variables included in the analysis of satisfac-tion with the police in Germany and France*

	Germany				France			
	Mean	SD	Min	Max	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Satisfaction with the police	3.39	0.59	1	4	3.34	0.68	1	4
Gender	0.46	0.50	0	1	0.45	0.50	0	1
Age	0.15	1.01	-2.11	4.44	0.18	1.01	-2.53	4.69
Migration background	-	-	0	4	-	-	0	4
Parental unemployment	-	-	0	2	-	-	0	2
Parental educational level	-	-	1	5	-	-	1	5
Family structure	0.38	0.49	0	1	0.29	0.45	0	1
Police-initiated contacts	-	-	0	3	-	-	0	3
Victimization	0.45	0.50	0	1	0.32	0.46	0	1
Self-reported delinquency	0.51	0.50	0	1	0.58	0.49	0	1
Ever drunk (in life-time)	-	-	0	3	-	-	0	3
Hang out with friends in public spaces	-	-	0	3	-	-	0	3
Deviant attitudes	0.32	1.04	-1.66	3.09	0.18	1.04	-1.54	3.00
Peer delinquency	0.45	1.16	-0.78	2.99	0.30	1.08	-0.85	2.48
Friends without migration background	-	-	0	2	-	-	0	2
Youth had drunk alcohol	0.15	0.36	0	1	0.14	0.35	0	1
Youth resisted the police	0.05	0.21	0	1	0.11	0.32	0	1
Youth provoked the police	0.05	0.23	0	1	0.04	0.20	0	1
Youth ran away	0.09	0.30	0	1	0.07	0.25	0	1
Police checked clothes/bags	-	-	0	2	-	-	0	2

	Germany				France			
	Mean	SD	Min	Max	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Police checked identity	-	-	0	2	-	-	0	2
Police decreed order to move	-	-	0	2	-	-	0	2
Police brought to police station	-	-	0	2	-	-	0	2
Observations	862				3,907			

Table 7.18 presents the descriptive statistics of the variables included in the vicari-ous-experiences-of-disrespect model. Again, in Germany, the questions concerned with the indirect experiences of police disrespect were included only in half of the questionnaires, which were then randomly distributed across schools. Thus, after de-ducting the missing value observations, the final sample operates with an $N = 3,279$. In France, no distinction was made and all students filled in the same questionnaire. Thus, here, the full sample can be used, which, after deduction of the missing values, counts a total of $N = 11,639$ observations. As for Germany, ordered logit regression is applied to the modeling of vicarious experiences with police disrespect (see, e.g., *Long & Freese* 2006). According to the *BIC* and *AIC* criteria, the last *Model 6* fits the data best.

Table 7.18   *Descriptive statistics of variables included in the analysis of vicarious experiences with police disrespect in Germany and France*

	Germany				France			
	Mean	SD	Min	Max	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Vicarious po-lice disrespect	-	-	1	3	-	-	1	3
Gender	0.54	0.50	0	1	0.50	0.50	0	1
Age	0.02	0.99	-2.86	6.70	0.01	1.00	-2.53	5.42
Migration background	-	-	0	4	-	-	0	4
Parental unemployment	-	-	0	2	-	-	0	2
Parental educa-tional level	-	-	1	5	-	-	1	5
Family struc-ture	0.33	0.47	0	1	0.26	0.44	0	1
Police-initiated contacts	-	-	0	3	-	-	0	3

	Germany				France			
	Mean	SD	Min	Max	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Victimization	0.31	0.46	0	1	0.23	0.42	0	1
Self-reported delinquency	0.30	0.46	0	1	0.41	0.49	0	1
Ever drunk (in lifetime)	-	-	0	3	-	-	0	3
Hang out with friends in public spaces	-	-	0	3	-	-	0	3
Deviant attitudes	-0.01	1.00	-1.66	3.09	-0.03	0.98	-1.54	3.00
Peer delinquency	-0.02	0.99	-0.78	2.99	-0.01	0.99	-0.85	2.48
Friends without migration background	-	-	0	2	-	-	0	2
Observations	3,279				11,639			

The scales are standardized to the mean. Again, as reported in the summary statistics of *Table 7.17*, a deviation from the mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1 are registered, particularly for the analysis of satisfaction with the police. This is because the analysis of satisfaction with the police relies on a sub-sample of the original data set. A detailed documentation of the scales is provided in the *Annex Scale Documentation*. The coefficients in each model are interpreted in accordance with the assumption that all of the other variables in the model are held constant.

7.4.3.1 Variations in satisfaction with the police

Table 7.19 reports the variations in juveniles' satisfaction with the police in France. The results for Germany are reported in the *Annex* (*Table A6*). A blockwise modeling approach is adopted to check on potential mediation effects. A total of seven regression models is run.

In France, an $R^2 = .45$ for the final *Model 6*, which includes all the variables, is achieved. Thus, 45% of the variance of the dependent variable "satisfaction with the police" is explained through the predictors included in the analysis. This result suggests that the analysis accounts for important predictors for perceived satisfaction with police conduct.

Model 1 includes the standard socio-economic variables: gender, age, ethnicity and parental unemployment. It also controls for parental educational level and family structure. In France as much as in Germany, whereas one standard deviation toward

an increase in age has a minor but significant negative impact on satisfaction with the police (B = -.05, p < .001), being female rather than male positively influences the recalled satisfaction with the conduct of police officers during the encounters (B = .21, p < .001). For France, parental unemployment also significantly affects the level of satisfaction with the police among juveniles who reported at least one inter-action. As opposed to having employed parents, having at least one unemployed parent (B = -.09, p < .01) affects satisfaction with the police. Other than in Germany, living in an alternative (non-traditional) family structure (that is, not living with both biological parents) negatively influences perceptions of police satisfaction in France. As in Germany, a marked disparity between ethnic minority youths, particularly Ma-ghrebian youths (B = -.45, p < .001), and native youths in their level of satisfaction with the police is registered in France. The effect on satisfaction with the police of belonging to a Maghrebian background, albeit being partially mediated, persists throughout the analysis (B = -.14, p < .001 for the final *Model 6*).

Model 2 includes information on juveniles' exposure to delinquency and discrimina-tion, by introducing the self-reported delinquency, victimization and frequency of police-initiated contacts into the model. In Germany and France, once the model ac-counts for all covariates, self-reported delinquency and victimization have no impact on adolescents' satisfaction with the police. However, experiences of police-initiated contacts have, as was the case for Germany, a significant and negative influence on respondents' satisfaction with police conduct. Whereas in Germany, with respect to having had self-initiated police contacts, only juveniles who reported frequent (more than two) police-initiated contacts were significantly less satisfied with the police during their last encounters, in France, evidence speaks for a negative impact on satisfaction with the police from having just one police-initiated contact (B = -.26, p < .001). As in Germany, the effect of police-initiated contacts is partly mediated by the inclusion of other relevant variables in the model.

Model 3 tests the influence of routine activities on the level of satisfaction with police conduct. These are experiences with alcohol and the combined effect of the fre-quency of being out on the streets and deviant attitudes. As in Germany, only exces-sive alcohol consumption negatively affects juveniles' satisfaction with the police (B = -.09, p < .01).

As shown by *Figure 7.2*, the analysis confirms that, as postulated, in both Germany and France, a significant interaction exists between hanging out in public places and deviant attitudes. Young people who are out on the streets particularly often and have a high propensity to commit violent acts are particularly dissatisfied with the police. Differently from Germany, however, the interaction term is also significant in the final *Model 6*.

Model 4 examines the influence of peer delinquency and the composition of friend-ship groups. Both variables have a significant influence on satisfaction with the po-lice in France. In both Germany and France, one standard deviation toward more

delinquent peers decreases satisfaction with the police (for France, $B = -.22$, $p <$ .001). Whereas the effect is fully mediated in the final *Model 6* for Germany, it is only partly mediated for France. Other than in Germany, having a mixed friend group rather than only friends of an ethnic minority background in France highly influences juveniles' levels of satisfaction with the police ($B = .32$, $p < .001$).

Figure 7.2   *Combined effect of unsupervised activities and deviant attitudes on satisfaction with the police in Germany and France*
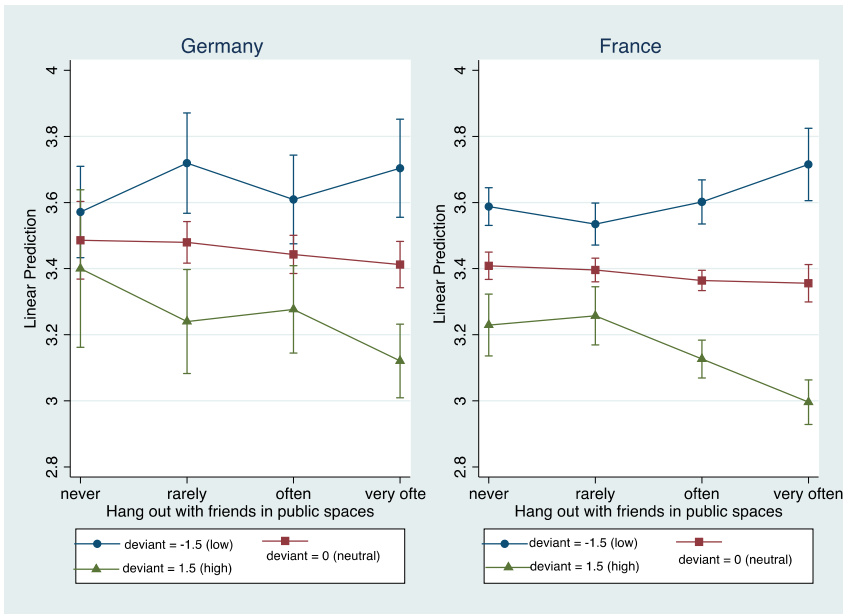
Finally, the impact of the demeanor of juveniles during the last contact with the police is compared. Under control of all covariates in the final *Model 6*, for both countries, adolescents resisting (for France: $B = -.36$, $p < .001$) and provoking the police (for France: $B = -.24$, $p < .01$) are, on average, less satisfied with police conduct. However, other than in Germany, youths who had run away from the police in France were less satisfied with police conduct ($B = -.16$, $p < .01$).

Of the different police actions, "checks of clothes and bags" are negatively experienced by young people in both countries and lead to less satisfaction with the police. When including all covariates in *Model 6*, next to the checks of clothes and bags in France ($B = -.23$, $p < .001$ compared to the respondents who had not experienced such a police action), the orders to move on are also negatively experienced ($B = -.17$, $p < .001$ compared to the respondents who had not experienced such a police action). Most interestingly, whereas identity checks lead to dissatisfaction with the

police in Germany, no evidence of such a negative influence on the youth-police relationship is found in France (under control of all covariates).

Table 7.19   Linear regression of satisfaction with the police in France

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6		Model 7	
Female (ref = boy)	0.21***	(9.3)	0.01	(0.6)	0.08***	(4.5)	0.15***	(7.1)	0.12***	(6.8)	0.04*	(2.1)	-0.02	(-1.0)
Age	-0.05***	(-4.2)	0.00	(0.4)	-0.03**	(-2.8)	-0.02	(-1.7)	-0.05***	(-4.4)	-0.01	(-1.0)	-0.02	(-1.9)
Migration background (ref = native)														
Maghrebian	-0.45***	(-11.7)	-0.30***	(-9.5)	-0.31***	(-9.2)	-0.30***	(-9.5)	-0.32***	(-9.1)	-0.29***	(-8.7)	-0.14***	(-4.8)
other	-0.18***	(-5.4)	-0.13***	(-4.3)	-0.15***	(-5.1)	-0.11***	(-3.9)	-0.15***	(-4.6)	-0.10***	(-3.4)	-0.07*	(-2.5)
mixed native/Maghrebian	-0.19***	(-4.6)	-0.11**	(-2.8)	-0.13**	(-3.2)	-0.13**	(-3.3)	-0.10*	(-2.5)	-0.10*	(-2.5)	-0.03	(-0.8)
mixed native/other	-0.17***	(-4.9)	-0.08**	(-2.9)	-0.09**	(-3.1)	-0.11***	(-3.9)	-0.11***	(-3.9)	-0.10***	(-3.5)	-0.04	(-1.7)
Parental unemployment (ref = no)														
yes	-0.09**	(-2.9)	-0.05	(-1.9)	-0.07*	(-2.5)	-0.06*	(-2.2)	-0.07**	(-2.8)	-0.06*	(-2.5)	-0.04	(-1.9)
unclear	-0.21***	(-3.9)	-0.15**	(-3.2)	-0.14**	(-2.9)	-0.17***	(-3.4)	-0.12**	(-2.7)	-0.15**	(-3.1)	-0.08	(-1.8)
Parental educational level (ref = no degree)														
below Bac/Abi	0.09	(1.6)	0.03	(0.6)	0.04	(0.7)	0.01	(0.3)	0.03	(0.6)	0.05	(0.9)	-0.02	(-0.5)
Bac/Abi	0.11	(1.8)	0.04	(0.7)	0.03	(0.6)	0.02	(0.4)	0.04	(0.7)	0.05	(1.0)	-0.03	(-0.7)
above Bac/Abi	0.17***	(3.4)	0.06	(1.4)	0.07	(1.7)	0.08	(1.6)	0.07	(1.5)	0.09*	(2.0)	-0.02	(-0.6)
Family structure (ref = complete)	-0.08***	(-3.6)	-0.06**	(-2.8)	-0.06**	(-2.9)	-0.06**	(-2.6)	-0.08***	(-3.9)	-0.06*	(-2.6)	-0.05**	(-2.8)
Police-initiated contacts (ref = no)														
1–2 contacts			-0.26***	(-11.1)									-0.07**	(-3.2)
3–5 contacts			-0.59***	(-13.4)									-0.21***	(-4.9)
≥ 6 contacts			-0.82***	(-19.2)									-0.22***	(-5.0)
Victimization (ref = no)			0.01	(0.7)									0.01	(0.4)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7
Self-reported delinquency (ref = no)		-0.18*** (-9.2)					-0.03 (-1.7)
Ever drunk (in lifetime) (ref = no)							
once			0.04 (1.0)				0.06 (1.9)
2–5 times			-0.01 (-0.3)				0.04 (1.6)
≥ 6 times			-0.09** (-2.7)				0.08** (2.6)
Hang out with friends in public spaces (ref = no)							
rarely			-0.04 (-1.3)				-0.02 (-0.9)
often			-0.11*** (-4.4)				-0.03 (-1.4)
very often			-0.17*** (-4.2)				-0.02 (-0.7)
Deviant attitudes			-0.17*** (-6.8)				-0.07*** (-3.6)
Interaction effect hang out with friends*deviant attitudes (ref = no)							
rarely*deviant attitudes			0.02 (0.5)				0.02 (0.7)
often*deviant attitudes			-0.07* (-2.2)				-0.01 (-0.4)
very often*deviant attitudes			-0.15*** (-4.4)				-0.06* (-2.1)
Peer delinquency				-0.22*** (-19.6)			-0.05*** (-4.5)
Friends without migration background (ref = no)							
yes				0.32*** (6.7)			0.15*** (3.6)
Youth had drunk alcohol (ref = no)					-0.18*** (-4.8)		-0.04 (-1.0)
Youth resisted the police (ref = no)					-0.63*** (-14.1)		-0.36*** (-8.0)

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6		Model 7	
Youth provoked the police (ref = no)									-0.47***	(-6.1)			-0.24**	(-3.1)
Youth ran away (ref = no)									-0.35***	(-5.8)			-0.16**	(-2.8)
Police checked clothes/bags (ref = no)											-0.48***	(-16.4)	-0.23***	(-7.7)
Police checked identity (ref = no)											-0.16***	(-6.4)	-0.04	(-1.7)
Police decreed order to move (ref = no)											-0.32***	(-12.1)	-0.17***	(-6.6)
Police brought to police station (ref = no)											-0.12***	(-3.6)	-0.01	(-0.5)
Constant	3.29***	(60.4)	3.73***	(74.9)	3.52***	(65.7)	3.12***	(50.5)	3.51***	(72.4)	3.64***	(74.8)	3.60***	(63.2)
Rank	14		19		24		17		18		19		41	
R-squared	0.12		0.31		0.29		0.25		0.32		0.32		0.45	
Adjusted R-squared	0.12		0.31		0.28		0.25		0.32		0.31		0.45	
BIC	7,707		6,802		6,978		7,095		6,723		6,764		6,094	
AIC	7,619		6,682		6,828		6,989		6,610		6,644		5,837	
Observations	3,907		3,907		3,907		3,907		3,907		3,907		3,907	

t statistics in parentheses

$*\ p < 0.05,\ **\ p < 0.01,\ ***\ p < 0.001$

Missing values are included as residual categories in the analysis but not reported.

7.4.3.2 Variations in vicarious experiences of police disrespect

Next, it will be examined whether the same variables predicting police satisfaction in direct interactions also predict police satisfaction in indirect interactions. For this purpose, a set of ordered logit regressions of vicarious experiences with police disrespect are estimated; the findings for France are shown in *Table 7.20*. Following a blockwise approach, six different models are tested. The results for Germany are reported in the *Annex* (*Table A7*).

Model 1 tests the influence of socio-demographic variables. In contrast to male juveniles, females reported having witnessed or being told about unjust police behavior less often (*Odds Ratio* = .63, *p* < .001). However, as for Germany, the effect of gender is fully mediated through the inclusion of other variables in the final *Model 6*. In contrast, compared to the juveniles whose parents are both employed, having at least one unemployed parent in France influences the indirect experiences with police disrespect (*Odds Ratio* = 1.4, *p* < .001). As in Germany, ethnicity is a strong predictor for indirect experiences with police disrespect in France. However, on average, the effect of being of an ethnic minority background – as opposed to being of a native background – is stronger in France, being highest for youths of a Maghrebian minority background (*Odds Ratio* = 4.3, *p* < .001). The ethnicity effect is robust and remains significant in the final *Model 6*, too.

Model 2 checks for the influence of police-initiated contacts. In Germany and in France, the variable "police-initiated contacts" is among the strongest predictors for vicarious experiences of police disrespect. In both Germany and France, one to two police-initiated contacts (compared to none) significantly expose young people to indirect experiences of police misconduct (*Odds Ratio* = 3.2, *p* < .001). Though partly mediated, this effect remains strong in the final *Model 6*.

Model 3 tests for the effects of victimization and self-reported delinquency. Other than in Germany, both variables significantly influence vicarious experiences with police disrespect, even when controlling for all predictors that potentially influence this relationship in *Model 6* (*Odds Ratio* = 1.4 and 1.6, *p* < .001 in the final *Model 6*).

Model 4 controls for lifestyle variables. For both Germany and France, the routine activities and lifestyles of juveniles play a role in their perception of direct and indirect encounters with the police. Being out on the streets very often rather than never has a strong impact on indirect experiences with disrespect in France (*Odds Ratio* = 3.4, *p* < .001). In France and Germany, deviant attitudes significantly affect both direct and indirect experiences with the police. One standard deviation toward higher deviant attitudes produces an increase in indirect experiences of disrespect among juveniles in Germany and France (for France, *Odds Ratio* = 1.4, *p* < .001 in the final *Model 6*).

Model 5 addresses the impact of peer delinquency and the composition of friends. In France and in Germany, having an ethnically mixed friendship group (rather than

having only friends of an ethnic minority background) diminishes the experiences of vicarious disrespectful police behavior. Yet, compared to Germany, the effect is more marked in France (*Odds Ratio* = .6, *p* < .001). To a similar extent, peer delinquency influences perceptions of vicarious police disrespect in Germany and France (*Odds Ratio* = 2.4, *p* < .001). Both predictors (composition of friends and peer delinquency) remain significant in the final *Model 6*.

Table 7.20   Ordered logit regression of vicarious experiences of police disrespect in France

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Female (ref = boy)	0.63*** (-9.9)	0.87** (-3.2)	0.70*** (-7.1)	0.89* (-2.5)	0.75*** (-6.3)	1.01 (0.2)
Age	1.25*** (7.5)	1.11*** (3.9)	1.14*** (4.5)	1.14*** (4.2)	1.11*** (3.7)	1.08* (2.6)
Migration background (ref = native)						
Maghrebian	4.33*** (20.6)	3.95*** (19.5)	5.17*** (23.5)	4.14*** (18.7)	3.76*** (18.7)	3.60*** (17.2)
other	1.83*** (10.3)	1.81*** (9.8)	2.07*** (12.1)	1.92*** (10.9)	1.81*** (9.7)	1.81*** (9.1)
mixed native/Maghrebian	2.32*** (10.6)	2.21*** (9.6)	2.45*** (11.4)	2.17*** (9.4)	2.09*** (9.1)	2.03*** (8.7)
mixed native/other	1.36*** (5.0)	1.24*** (3.5)	1.27*** (4.0)	1.19** (2.8)	1.21** (3.1)	1.08 (1.3)
Parental unemployment (ref = no)						
yes	1.40*** (7.5)	1.32*** (6.1)	1.32*** (6.2)	1.30*** (5.7)	1.28*** (5.3)	1.21*** (4.1)
unclear	1.59*** (5.4)	1.55*** (5.1)	1.62*** (5.3)	1.42*** (3.9)	1.51*** (4.5)	1.42*** (3.8)
Parental educational level (ref = no degree)						
below Bac/Abi	0.74** (-2.6)	0.80 (-1.9)	0.79* (-2.1)	0.84 (-1.5)	0.89 (-1.0)	0.93 (-0.6)
Bac/Abi	0.74** (-3.0)	0.83 (-1.8)	0.77** (-2.7)	0.85 (-1.6)	0.88 (-1.2)	0.96 (-0.4)
above Bac/Abi	0.57*** (-5.6)	0.64*** (-4.5)	0.58*** (-5.5)	0.71** (-3.2)	0.70*** (-3.5)	0.81* (-2.2)
Family structure (ref = complete)	1.31*** (7.0)	1.25*** (5.6)	1.21*** (4.8)	1.22*** (5.1)	1.22*** (4.9)	1.15*** (3.4)
Police-initiated contacts (ref = no)						
1–2 contacts		3.16*** (20.2)				1.83*** (10.9)
3–5 contacts		8.17*** (19.6)				3.32*** (10.6)
≥ 6 contacts		16.52*** (30.9)				5.48*** (17.6)
Victimization (ref = no)			1.44*** (7.2)			1.37*** (6.3)
Self-reported delinquency (ref = no)				3.81*** (30.0)		1.56*** (9.3)
Ever drunk (in lifetime) (ref = no)						

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6	
once							1.37***	(3.8)			0.99	(-0.2)
2–5 times							1.24**	(2.6)			0.75**	(-3.3)
≥ 6 times							1.98***	(8.5)			0.91	(-1.0)
Hang out with friends in public spaces (ref = no)												
rarely							1.53***	(8.7)			1.41***	(6.7)
often							2.16***	(15.9)			1.71***	(10.9)
very often							3.42***	(17.0)			2.07***	(9.8)
Deviant attitudes							1.95***	(28.5)			1.44***	(14.1)
Peer delinquency									2.42***	(36.7)	1.55***	(15.7)
Friends without migration background (ref = no)												
yes									0.47***	(-11.2)	0.56***	(-8.7)
cut1	1.02	(0.2)	1.71***	(4.9)	2.16***	(6.9)	2.36***	(7.2)	0.60***	(-4.4)	1.74***	(4.7)
cut2	2.11***	(6.8)	3.83***	(12.2)	4.82***	(14.0)	5.50***	(14.2)	1.41**	(3.0)	4.41***	(12.4)
cut3	4.60***	(13.5)	9.43***	(19.3)	11.29***	(20.7)	13.76***	(21.4)	3.57***	(10.9)	12.45***	(20.4)
cut4	8.63***	(18.3)	19.79***	(24.5)	22.19***	(25.1)	28.66***	(26.1)	7.54***	(16.4)	28.94***	(25.6)
Pseudo R^2	0.053		0.107		0.098		0.127		0.126		0.173	
Rank	17		20		19		24		20		32	
Log lik.	-14,454		-13,619		-13,756		-13,316		-13,326		-12,616	
Chi-squared	880.97		2,626.75		2,066.17		2,819.05		2,538.12		3,424.87	
BIC	29,067		27,426		27,691		26,857		26,839		25,532	
AIC	28,941		27,279		27,551		26,680		26,692		25,296	
Observations	11,639		11,639		11,639		11,639		11,639		11,639	

Exponentiated coefficients (Odds Ratio); z statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Missing values are included as residual categories in the analysis but not reported.

7.5   Summary

Tensions between ethnic minority juveniles and the police have been intensively covered by the media in recent years, particularly in France. The aim of the school survey at hand was to obtain empirical evidence about common predictors and experiences of juvenile-police interactions in France and Germany, as seen through the eyes of juveniles in both countries.

The findings support the gender gap hypothesis or "gender-gap phenomenon" (*Taylor et al.* 2001, p. 297), wherein male juveniles are disproportionately more likely to have contact with the police (see *Stolzenberg & D'Alessio* 2004; *Pollock* 2014). Although a high proportion of both male and female juveniles experience encounters with the police, the gap between boys and girls is profound for certain types of contacts. This is the case for stop-and-search contacts. The findings indicate that male juveniles in Germany and France are systematically stopped and/or searched by the police more often. The effect of gender remains significant even when controlling for lifestyle variables and experiences with delinquency: a fact that points to the robustness of this result.

The findings demonstrate that both one's own level of delinquency and that of one's peers have a significant influence on the likelihood of a police-initiated contact and, therefore, confirm results from various other studies (e.g. *Wikström & Treiber* 2009; *Matsuda et al.* 2013; *Hughes & Short Jr.* 2014) that suggest police officers judge whether or not to stop and search young people by relying predominantly on conspicuous behavioral features. This finding may be of little surprise as one may assume that experiences with delinquency are closely intertwined with the probability to experience police encounters. Yet, what is interesting is that in both Germany and France, one's own experiences with delinquency matter to the same extent as the delinquency of one's peers or the type of (delinquent) subculture one is part of. Thus, it is not only one's own delinquent behavior but – in line with empirical findings on the impact of deviant subcultures (see *Sutherland et al.* 1992; *McAra & McVie* 2007) – also the delinquency of one's peers that can influence the probability of a stop-and-search police contact. Own delinquency as well as that of one's peers also affect the quality of police interactions. As such, both forms of delinquency shape adolescents' opinion of police conduct and their experiences with (dis)respectful police officers – although to a different extent in the two countries.

Notwithstanding the many commonalities, this study finds noteworthy differences in the effect of an ethnic minority background on the probability of (stop-and-search) police contacts and the experience of police encounters between and within the two countries.

As the results discussed for now reveal little about the underlying causes of a troubled relationship between the police and adolescents, three assumptions that relate to the predictors of police-initiated contacts as well as direct and indirect experiences

of police (mis)conduct will now be reviewed. The assumptions are based upon a set of hypotheses presented in *Chapter 4.4*. Those hypotheses argued that a variation in the likelihood of (stop-and-search) police contact as well as direct and indirect experiences of police conduct are explained by "discrimination", "risky lifestyle and delinquent propensity" and "procedural injustice".

7.5.1   "Discrimination" – explanation

A high proportion of juveniles in Germany and France have had at least one interaction with the police. The "discrimination" explanation examines whether there is a variation in the probability of juveniles being stopped and searched by the police (as well as in their experiences of such encounters) across ethnic groups and neighborhood divides.

Although previous studies have consistently pointed to the influence of socio-economic deprivation and neighborhood conditions on police officers' practices on the streets (e.g. *Fagan & Davie* 2000; *Alpert et al.* 2005*; Carr et al.* 2007; *Meng et al.* 2015), this research finds contrary results for Germany (*Hypothesis 1d*). The findings for Germany suggest that – differently to what has been proclaimed by scholars pointing to the relevance of social disorganization (see *Shaw & McKay* 1969; *Sampson & Groves* 1989) – the contextual condition in which juveniles live is of minor importance. In Germany, juveniles from low-income neighborhoods are as likely as those from better-situated neighborhoods to be contacted by the police. However, the respective neighborhood has some influence in France.

This study is keen to investigate whether an ethnic divide exists for the likelihood of stop-and-search police contacts, as premised by conflict theory (see *Chapter 4.1*) (see *Quinney* 1973; *Liska et al.* 1981; *Hagan et al.* 2005; *Buckler & Unnever* 2008). This study finds uneven results for claims of racial disparity in police contacts, which have been recurrently raised by ethnic profiling research (e.g. *Chambliss* 1994; *Petrocelli et al.* 2003; *McAra & McVie* 2005; *Cochran & Warren* 2012).

For Germany, no consistent empirical evidence was found that police carry out discriminatory identity checks (*Hypothesis 1a*). Adolescents with a migration background have (when controlling for the social status of the respondents) the same chances of being stopped and searched by the police as native Germans. These findings contrast results from other German studies (*Zdun* 2004). An exception exists for adolescents of a Maghrebian background in Cologne: their rates of stop-and-search contacts are significantly higher than those of native youths. A more prominent ethnic variation exists when juveniles are contacted as being suspects in a criminal offense, another type of police-initiated contact. Findings from the multivariate analysis speak for a disparity across ethnic backgrounds, with German adolescents of a Maghrebian/Muslim Asian background holding significantly higher rates of contacts. In Germany, despite the high proportion of juveniles with recurrent interactions

with the police, the overall police conduct during these interactions is mostly positively perceived. Yet, this study finds variations in levels of satisfaction with police conduct among youths with an ethnic minority background (*Hypothesis 1b*). Under control of all covariates, young people of Turkish origin, for instance, still express a slightly higher dissatisfaction with the police than native German adolescents. Furthermore, a closer look at the single items reveals that one third of the respondents feel that they have not been treated in a fair and respectful manner by the police officers. In conjunction with other studies (e.g. *Brunson* 2007; *Hurst & Frank* 2000), among adolescents (particularly those with a migration background), this study finds a high proportion reporting having observed or heard of disrespectful conduct by police officers (*Hypothesis 1c*). Across all ethnic groups, only a small proportion reports provocations and violence by police officers.

In France, in line with most of the research on ethnic profiling (see *Fagan & Davies* 2000; *Jobard & Lévy* 2009; *Kochel* 2011), the findings from this study provide strong evidence in support of an ethnic divide in the probability of stop-and-search police encounters (*Hypothesis 1a*). In France, the ethnic minority status is significantly associated with the initiation of contacts by the police. Physical appearance and behavioral prejudices targeting members of specific ethnic groups seem to matter to a greater extent. Especially adolescents of a Maghrebian background, but also those of other ethnic minority backgrounds, are stopped and checked by the police substantially more often than those of native French origin and, consequently, have tense relations with the police. On the one hand, they report being at the mercy of police violence. On the other hand, they confess to often opposing and provoking the police. Compared to adolescents of native French descent, those of Maghrebian origin also stand out as being particularly dissatisfied with police conduct during their last police encounter (*Hypothesis 1b*) and as seeing or hearing about police misconduct significantly more often (*Hypothesis 1c*).

7.5.2   "Risky lifestyle and delinquent propensity" – explanation

As part of the "risky lifestyle and delinquent propensity" explanation, this study has tested whether respondents with a preference for "risky" activities and a high inclination to commit deviant acts are more likely to experience stop-and-search police encounters.

Based on former research exploring the effect of low self-control on police contacts (see *Flexon et al.* 2012), this research has hypothesized that a high level of deviancy is strongly related to chances of stop-and-search police encounters (*Hypothesis 1e*). It has found evidence for this assumption in both Germany and France, similar to other studies on the issue (e.g. *Piliavin & Briar* 1964; *McAra & McVie* 2007). Yet, when controlling for the delinquent behavior of the respondents, the effect of deviant attitudes is mediated partially for France and fully for Germany.

Based on former research (*Wikström & Treiber* 2009) that proposes investigating both delinquent propensity and routine activities, the influence of a risky lifestyle on the probability of police encounters has been examined, too. This study finds strong support for the importance of routine activities and situations when explaining the likelihood for juvenile-police contacts in Germany and France. The analysis of police contacts reveals that juveniles whose lifestyles can be labeled as being "risky" are more exposed to police attention and particularly subjected to stop-and-search police contacts. Adolescents who frequently hang out on the streets, meet friends for drinks and go to clubs follow a risky lifestyle and therefore are more prone to being stopped and/or searched by the police.

7.5.3   "Procedural injustice" – explanation

This research finds empirical support for the assumption that adolescents who are exposed to (recurrent) police-initiated contacts are less satisfied with their last police encounter (*Hypothesis 1f*). Among the respondents who had at least one encounter with the police, particularly the experience of recurrent police-initiated contacts substantially (and negatively) affects their judgment of police conduct during their last encounter. This finding coincides with most of the studies that explore the impact of self- and police-initiated police contacts on the public's opinion of the police; it also highlights the problematic consequences of recurrent police-initiated encounters on satisfaction with the police (see *Cheurprakobkit* 2000; *Hurst & Frank* 2000; *Skogan* 2006; *Bradford et al.* 2009).

Part IV

Empirical Evidence on Attitudes of Juveniles toward the Police

Chapter 8

Findings on Positive Attitudes toward the Police

8.1 Measures

8.1.1 Measuring police fairness and the obligation to obey the police

In order to gather information about adolescents' overall attitudes toward the police, respondents were asked to express their opinions about the police.

Positive attitudes toward the police are measured through a series of items that aim at capturing the multidimensionality of the construct. Thereby, a differentiation is made between the items more apt to measure the dimension of "police fairness", namely the items "The police protect adolescents", "The police disrespect adolescents", "Overall, the police can be trusted" and "The police treat foreigners worse than natives", as well as the item that indicates young people's "obligation to obey" the police, namely "One should in any case follow the instructions of the police". Overall, the decision to treat these two dimensions of attitudes toward the police separately is based on previous studies and theoretical considerations (see, e.g., *Tyler* 2006). The results from the confirmatory factor analysis indicate that one could also treat them as one dimension. Yet, for the subsequent analysis, the two dimensions will be treated separately. Added value is gained by doing so, as one can identify whether the same predictors influence "perceived fairness of police conduct" and "felt obligation to obey", or whether some noteworthy differences can be detected.

Table 8.1 lists percentages of agreement and disagreement to the items as expressed by young people of German native and migration backgrounds. Additionally, for informative purposes only, *Table 8.1* also reports the percentage of agreement and disagreement to the items "Even if having a serious problem, I would never contact the police" and "If adolescents protest violently and with riots against the police, I would join". These items have been omitted from the analysis of attitudes toward the police because conceptually, they stand on their own and therefore respond to neither "fairness of police conduct" nor "obligation to obey the police".

The scale "fairness of police conduct", with a reliability coefficient of $\alpha = .73$, is a factor score computed through polychoric confirmatory factor analysis (*Holgado-Tello et al.* 2010). This method is preferred to a standard correlation matrix, as the items that build the scale are interval-scaled with four occurrences only. All details

of the confirmatory factor analysis are reported in the scale analysis section in the *Annex Scale Documentation*. Before building the scale, the negative items have been reversed. After confirmatory factor analysis, the scale has been converted to a maximum value of 4. Thus, "police fairness" ranges from a minimum of ca. 1 (extremely negative perceptions of police fairness) to a maximum of 4 (utmost positive rating of police fairness).

Table 8.1   *Response to items of attitudes toward the police among adolescents with and without a migration background in Germany*

	Migration background					
	no		yes		Total	
	No.	Col%	No.	Col%	No.	Col%
Police protect adolescents						
rather disagree	1,223	36.3	1,252	35.2	2,475	35.8
rather agree	2,111	62.7	2,255	63.5	4,366	63.1
missing	35	1.0	46	1.3	81	1.2
Total	3,369	100.0	3,553	100.0	6,922	100.0
Police disrespect adolescents						
rather disagree	2,259	67.1	2,071	58.3	4,330	62.6
rather agree	1,073	31.8	1,437	40.4	2,510	36.3
missing	37	1.1	45	1.3	82	1.2
Total	3,369	100.0	3,553	100.0	6,922	100.0
Police can be trusted						
rather disagree	786	23.3	964	27.1	1,750	25.3
rather agree	2,544	75.5	2,538	71.4	5,082	73.4
missing	39	1.2	51	1.4	90	1.3
Total	3,369	100.0	3,553	100.0	6,922	100.0
Police treat foreigners worse						
rather disagree	2,667	79.2	2,022	56.9	4,689	67.7
rather agree	642	19.1	1,480	41.7	2,122	30.7
missing	60	1.8	51	1.4	111	1.6
Total	3,369	100.0	3,553	100.0	6,922	100.0
Follow instructions of the police						
rather disagree	357	10.6	433	12.2	790	11.4
rather agree	2,974	88.3	3,077	86.6	6,051	87.4
missing	38	1.1	43	1.2	81	1.2
Total	3,369	100.0	3,553	100.0	6,922	100.0
Never contact the police						
rather disagree	2,445	72.6	2,261	63.6	4,706	68
rather agree	880	26.1	1,250	35.2	2,130	30.8

	Migration background					
	no		yes		Total	
	No.	Col%	No.	Col%	No.	Col%
missing	44	1.3	42	1.2	86	1.2
Total	3,369	100.0	3,553	100.0	6,922	100.0
Join protests against the police						
rather disagree	3,128	92.8	3,188	89.7	6,316	91.2
rather agree	208	6.2	312	8.8	520	7.5
missing	33	1.0	53	1.5	86	1.2
Total	3,369	100.0	3,553	100.0	6,922	100.0

As mentioned above, the dependent variable "obligation to obey the police" is based on one item only. This item ranges from 1 ("don't agree at all"), 2 ("don't agree"), 3 ("agree") to 4 ("completely agree").

As reported in *Table 8.1*, both native German juveniles and those of foreign descent hold, for the most part, the police in high regard and are inclined to adopt a positive behavior toward the police. Around three quarters of the respondents agreed that the police can be trusted, around two thirds that the police protect adolescents, and about 87% felt that the instructions of police officers should be obeyed. Yet, a large share of the students raised issues of disrespectful police behavior (around 36%) and believes that police discriminate against people of foreign descent (31%). Despite the vast majority of adolescents being disposed to obey the instructions of the police, 31% said that they still would not contact the police in case of a problem. One out of 13 adolescents would also join fellow adolescents in protests against the police.

8.1.2   Explanatory variables

The following sections discuss whether attitudes or hypothetical behavior toward the police change depending on the social environment and the conditions of juveniles as well as the extent to which respondents' experiences with crime- and justice-related factors deteriorate their positive attitudes toward the police. This process reflects the assumptions of the procedural justice model whereby experiences and perceptions are supposed to promote changes in attitudes (see, e.g., *Tyler* 2004).

The predictors measure the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents, the strength of their social ties and their predisposition to violence, combined with their lifestyle, their experiences with delinquency (their own ones or those of their peers) and, finally, their past police contacts.

The following section develops particularly on the variables embracing various types of social ties, as this set of variables is exclusive to the analysis of adolescents' atti-

tudes toward the police. For the remaining predictors included in the analysis, reference should be made to the previous chapter on the analysis of police encounters, where detailed information about all measures is given (*Chapter 6.1*).

8.1.2.1   Demographics and social conditions

The socio-demographic variables included in the analysis comprise gender, age and migration background. Additionally, the models control for parental occupational status, unemployment and educational level, as well as for the composition of the family.

Table 8.2   *Response to items measuring negative attitudes toward the police among male and female adolescents in Cologne and Mannheim*

	boy		girl		Total	
	No.	Col%	No.	Col%	No.	Col%
Police disrespect adolescents						
rather disagree	1,859	55.8	2,486	68.8	4,345	62.5
rather agree	1,426	42.8	1,091	30.2	2,517	36.2
missing	46	1.4	39	1.1	85	1.2
Total	3,331	100.0	3,616	100.0	6,947	100.0
Never contact the police						
rather disagree	2,203	66.1	2,519	69.7	4,722	68
rather agree	1,072	32.2	1,064	29.4	2,136	30.7
missing	56	1.7	33	0.9	89	1.3
Total	3,331	100.0	3,616	100.0	6,947	100.0
Join protests against the police						
rather disagree	2,852	85.6	3,484	96.3	6,336	91.2
rather agree	419	12.6	103	2.8	522	7.5
missing	60	1.8	29	0.8	89	1.3
Total	3,331	100.0	3,616	100.0	6,947	100.0
Police treat foreigners worse						
rather disagree	2,019	60.6	2,683	74.2	4,702	67.7
rather agree	1,248	37.5	883	24.4	2,131	30.7
missing	64	1.9	50	1.4	114	1.6
Total	3,331	100.0	3,616	100.0	6,947	100.0

Table 8.2 reports items measuring male and female perceptions of overall unfair and disrespectful police conduct, intentions to protests against the police and the intention to refrain from cooperation with the police. Generally, in Germany, female adolescents hold more positive attitudes toward the police than male ones. In other words, on average, females rather than males feel that the police act fairly and respectfully; they are also more in favor of contacting and cooperating with the police. Around one out of three (30%) female juveniles agreed that the police disrespect adolescents, and around one out of four (24%) felt that the police treat foreigners worse than natives. The percentage of agreement to these items was even higher among male adolescents (43% and 38% respectively), indicating that females hold a slightly more positive view of the police. The gender disparity is particularly pronounced for the item that measures violent hypothetical behavioral intentions against the police: 13% of German boys (12.3% of natives and 14.3% of boys with a migration background), but just 3% of the girls endorsed the idea of participating in violent protests against the police. Thus, among female respondents, the potential to use violence was much lower. Although these figures may not be alarming at first sight, they do indicate that in Germany, roughly one in eight male and one in 33 female adolescents are potentially prone to participate in riots against the police.

A closer look at the items measuring negative attitudes toward the police (as reported in *Table 8.1*), reveals differences between adolescents with and without a migration background. These differences are particularly marked for the items measuring disrespectful conduct toward or unfair treatment of minority adolescents. Although German juveniles of foreign descent trusted the police to a high degree (to about the same extent as native juveniles), they felt more often that the police disrespect adolescents (40% of juveniles with a migration background vs. 32% of juveniles with a native German background) and – even more alarmingly – would say twice as often that the police treat foreigners worse (42% of juveniles with a migration background vs. 19% with a native German background). Minor differences between adolescents with and without a migration background existed for the statements measuring hypothetical behavioral intentions: the possible use of violence against the police and the restraint from informing the police. Slightly more adolescents with than without a migration background confirmed that they would get involved if other adolescents were to riot against the police (9% and 6% respectively). 35% of the adolescents with a migration background (compared to 29% of native adolescents) would "never go to the police even in the case of a serious problem".

8.1.2.2 Social ties

The analysis of young people's attitudes toward the police accounts for additional predictors that were not included in the previously presented models concerned with young people's encounters with the police: feelings of national identification, the importance attested to religion and the attachment to family and school. The national

and religious ties were measured by the variables "religiosity" and "national identi-fication".

Respondents were asked to rate the importance of religion in their life. Religiosity is included in the analysis as a categorical variable with four occurrences: "very im-portant", "important", "less important" and "not important at all". *Table 8.3* points out that the importance of religion varies greatly across ethnic groups. Whereas reli-gion plays a minor role in the lives of the respondents of a native German background (71%), the opposite is true for those from an ethnic minority background, and par-ticularly for Muslims. Indeed, the vast majority of respondents of a Turkish or Ma-ghrebian/Muslim Asian background (namely 89% and 79%) stated that religion is important or very important in their lives.

Table 8.3   Response to religiosity items across ethnic backgrounds

Migration background	Importance of religiosity							
	rather not		rather yes		missing		Total	
	No.	Row%	No.	Row%	No.	Row%	No.	Row%
German	2,401	71.3	943	28.0	25	0.7	3,369	100
Turkish	124	9.5	1,164	89.1	19	1.5	1,307	100
Southern European	61	33.5	119	65.4	2	1.1	182	100
Ex-Soviet	115	52.0	104	47.1	2	0.9	221	100
Polish	100	51.0	95	48.5	1	0.5	196	100
other Eastern European	59	27.1	152	69.7	7	3.2	218	100
Maghrebian/ Muslim Asian	48	19.8	192	79.3	2	0.8	242	100
other	174	41.8	234	56.2	8	1.9	416	100
mixed German/ Turkish	43	39.4	65	59.6	1	0.9	109	100
mixed German/ other	442	66.8	214	32.3	6	0.9	662	100
Total	3,567	51.5	3,282	47.4	73	1.1	6,922	100

Next to religiosity, the degree of national identification among non-native respond-ents is included as another element to assess the strength of adolescents' social ties. Non-native respondents were asked if they "feel" that they are German or rather a member of their respective group of origin. On a five-point scale, the possible an-swers were: "completely German", "more German", "divided", "more as a member of my group of origin" and "completely as a member of my group of origin". As illustrated in *Table 8.4*, the degree to which respondents of a minority background

identified with their country of origin varies across migration backgrounds. Whereas around half of the students of Turkish, Southern and Eastern European backgrounds (excluding the Ex-Soviet countries and Poland) identified strongly with their country of origin and only 10% to 14% of them felt German, respondents from other ethnic minority backgrounds followed a different pattern. Hence, according to the figures, around 21% to 38% of the respondents from Ex-Soviet, Polish and Maghrebian/Muslim Asian backgrounds fully identified with Germany.

Table 8.4   Response to national identification items across ethnic backgrounds

Migration background	National identification									
	host		divided		origin		missing		Total	
	No.	Row %	No.	Row %	No.	Row %	No.	Row %	No.	Row %
Turkish	162	12.4	488	37.3	622	47.6	35	2.7	1,307	100
Southern European	19	10.4	52	28.6	109	59.9	2	1.1	182	100
Ex-Soviet	67	30.3	91	41.2	61	27.6	2	0.9	221	100
Polish	74	37.8	70	35.7	48	24.5	4	2.0	196	100
other Eastern European	30	13.8	84	38.5	99	45.4	5	2.3	218	100
Maghrebian/ Muslim Asian	52	21.5	108	44.6	77	31.8	5	2.1	242	100
other	99	23.8	191	45.9	110	26.4	16	3.8	416	100
mixed German/ Turkish	26	23.9	34	31.2	18	16.5	31	28.4	109	100
mixed German/other	258	39.0	198	29.9	61	9.2	145	21.9	662	100
Total	787	22.2	1,316	37.0	1,205	33.9	245	6.9	3,553	100

National identification and the importance of religion are positively correlated ($\rho = .499$, $p < .001$).

As a proxy for the general attachment to the family, attachment to one's mother is a scale that includes six items (*Table 8.5*). These items are: "I trust my mother deeply", "I tell everything about me and what I am doing to my mother", "My mother constantly blames me", "I often have a dispute with my mother", "My mother cares about me and what I am doing" and "It happens that my mother beats me or throws

something at me". The scale is based on a polychoric matrix and results from confirmatory factor analysis; the scale reliability coefficient reaches $\alpha = .75$. More details are reported in the *Annex Scale Documentation*.

Table 8.5   *Response to items measuring the attachment to one's mother among adolescents with and without a migration background in Germany*

| | Migration background | | | | | |
| | no | | yes | | Total | |
	No.	Col%	No.	Col%	No.	Col%
Juvenile trusts mother						
rather true	2,986	88.6	3,125	88.0	6,111	88.3
rather untrue	299	8.9	341	9.6	640	9.2
missing	84	2.5	87	2.4	171	2.5
Total	3,369	100.0	3,553	100.0	6,922	100.0
Juvenile tells everything to mother						
rather true	2,243	66.6	2,295	64.6	4,538	65.6
rather untrue	1,037	30.8	1,161	32.7	2,198	31.8
missing	89	2.6	97	2.7	186	2.7
Total	3,369	100.0	3,553	100.0	6,922	100.0
Mother blames juvenile						
rather true	863	25.6	1,245	35.0	2,108	30.5
rather untrue	2,415	71.7	2,189	61.6	4,604	66.5
missing	91	2.7	119	3.3	210	3.0
Total	3,369	100.0	3,553	100.0	6,922	100.0
Juvenile has disputes with mother						
rather true	979	29.1	1,039	29.2	2,018	29.2
rather untrue	2,307	68.5	2,420	68.1	4,727	68.3
missing	83	2.5	94	2.6	177	2.6
Total	3,369	100.0	3,553	100.0	6,922	100.0
Mother cares about juvenile						
rather true	2,742	81.4	2,776	78.1	5,518	79.7
rather untrue	537	15.9	675	19.0	1,212	17.5
missing	90	2.7	102	2.9	192	2.8
Total	3,369	100.0	3,553	100.0	6,922	100.0

	Migration background					
	no		yes		Total	
	No.	Col%	No.	Col%	No.	Col%
Mother is violent against juvenile						
rather true	145	4.3	285	8.0	430	6.2
rather untrue	3,132	93.0	3,161	89.0	6,293	90.9
missing	92	2.7	107	3.0	199	2.9
Total	3,369	100.0	3,553	100.0	6,922	100.0

Whereas for the positive items, little variation between native German and migrant youths is retained, for some of the negative items, the level of agreement varies significantly.

Table 8.6   *Response to school attitude items among male and female adolescents in Germany*

	Gender					
	boy		girl		Total	
	No.	Col%	No.	Col%	No.	Col%
Juvenile is interested in content						
rather true	2,671	80.2	2,940	81.3	5,611	80.8
rather untrue	635	19.1	660	18.3	1,295	18.6
missing	25	0.8	16	0.4	41	0.6
Total	3,331	100.0	3,616	100.0	6,947	100.0
Juvenile likes school						
rather true	2,565	77.0	2,891	80.0	5,456	78.5
rather untrue	741	22.2	704	19.5	1,445	20.8
missing	25	0.8	21	0.6	46	0.7
Total	3,331	100.0	3,616	100.0	6,947	100.0
Juvenile applies in school						
rather true	2,392	71.8	2,967	82.1	5,359	77.1
rather untrue	910	27.3	630	17.4	1,540	22.2
missing	29	0.9	19	0.5	48	0.7
Total	3,331	100.0	3,616	100.0	6,947	100.0

Substantially more adolescents with a migration background reported that their mothers frequently blame them (35% compared to 26% without a migration background). Among native Germans, only one youth in 23 reported being subject to occasional aggressive behavior or violence by their mother; this number was one in 13 amongst non-native respondents.

As reported in *Table 8.6*, "Commitment to school" is a scale that includes three items: "I like my school a lot", "I am interested in what I am learning at school" and "I apply myself in school quite a lot". As reported in the *Annex Scale Documentation*, the polychoric correlation matrix and a confirmatory factor analysis were applied. The reliability coefficient equates to an $\alpha = .57$, which indicates that the item match of the scale is not fully satisfactory. Yet, for the purpose of better comparison with the French data set, this scale is nevertheless included in the analysis.

Both male and female adolescents are positively oriented toward school, with female juveniles being slightly more interested in the content, liking the school slightly better and applying themselves in school a bit more. Overall, at first sight, the figures speak for a positive commitment to school among the average German secondary school respondents; however, at the same time they indicate that around one fifth of the respondents do not like school, are not interested in the contents taught or are not willing to apply themselves.

The bivariate correlation between "attachment to mother" and "commitment to school" is positive and statistically significant (*Pearsons' r* $= .285$, $p < .001$).

8.1.2.3 Exposure to crime and justice

Finally, the models include a set of variables to measure the influence of respondents' exposure to crime and justice. These are, in order, "police-initiated police contacts", "victimization", "self-reported delinquency", "unsupervised activities", "deviant attitudes", "peer delinquency", "membership in a peer group" and "friends without migration background".

Whereas unsupervised activities ($\alpha = .72$), delinquent propensities (measured as deviant attitudes ($\alpha = .72$)) and peer delinquency ($\alpha = .83$) are included as scales (standardized to the mean and with a standard deviation of 1), all other predictors are categorical variables. All scales result from a polychoric correlation matrix and a subsequent confirmatory factor analysis. Detailed information about the scales is provided in the *Annex Scale Documentation*.

As all variables related to exposure to crime and justice were included in the modeling of chances of police contacts, the reader may refer to *Chapter 6.1* for additional information.

8.2 Testing the Hypotheses: Factors Undermining Positive Attitudes toward the Police

The following statistical models test whether the above-listed predictors significantly impact perceptions of police fairness and the obligation to obey the police. As in the previous analyses, the model specification and diagnostics are briefly discussed beforehand.

Table 8.7 lists the descriptive statistics of all variables included in the regressions of "fairness of police", *Table 8.8* the ones for the regressions of "felt obligation to obey the police". All scales were centered to a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1 before being introduced into the analysis. Deviations from these values are due to the missing cases. Details about the scales are provided in the *Annex Scale Documentation*.

The dependent variables "fairness of police" and "felt obligation to obey to police" as well as the attitudinal scales "attitudes to mother", "attitudes to school", "unsupervised activities" and "deviant attitudes" are based on a series of Likert-scaled items, subsequently collapsed into a scale based on polychoric correlation matrices (for the reasons that favor the use of polychoric correlations over the *Pearson* correlation in the confirmatory factor analysis of ordinal variables, see *Holgado-Tello et al.* 2010).

The model diagnostics confirm that the dependent variable "perception of fairness of police" follows a linear distribution and that by applying linear regressions to the data, the models are correctly specified (see *Wooldridge* 2015). The dependent variable "felt obligation to obey the police" is treated as an ordinal variable, whereby parallel regressions are assumed. Accordingly, ordered logit regression is applied to the data (see *Long & Freese* 2006).

The first regression sets examine which predictors best explain adolescents' satisfaction with the police fairness. *Table 8.7* details the descriptive statistics of the predictors included in the analysis. Out of the $N = 6,948$ observations, $N = 5,917$ are included in the analysis. This reduction in sample size is due to the missing values recorded in the independent variables (particularly the variables concerning young people's economic status). The criteria for statistical fitness R^2, *BIC* and *AIC* that are reported at the end of *Table 8.10* suggest a fairly good model fit of the last *Model 6* where all variables are introduced. *Model 1*, which accounts only for the socio-demographic and social deprivation variables, explains only 8% of the variance in the perception of the police fairness variable ($R^2 = .078$). The R^2 progressively augments when social ties as well as crime- and justice-related factors are included (in *Model 6*: $R^2 = .35$). The highest R^2 is reached when considering predictors for the last contact with the police ($R^2 = .54$).

Table 8.7   Descriptive statistics of variables included in the regression of police fairness in Germany

	Mean	**SD**	**Min**	**Max**
Perception of police fairness	2.86	0.67	1	4
Gender	0.54	0.50	0	1
Age	0.02	0.99	-2.86	6.70
Parental occupational status	-0.05	1.00	-1.73	1.73
Parental unemployment	-	-	0	2
Parental educational level	-	-	1	5
Family structure	0.33	0.47	0	1
Migration background	-	-	0	9
National identification	-	-	1	4
Importance of religion	-	-	1	4
Attitudes toward mother	-0.00	1.00	-3.81	1.34
Attitudes toward school	0.00	0.99	-3.64	1.80
Police-initiated contacts	-	-	0	3
Victimization	0.32	0.47	0	1
Self-reported delinquency	-	-	0	3
Unsupervised activities	0.00	1.00	-0.78	4.24
Deviant attitudes	-0.02	0.99	-1.51	2.79
Peer delinquency	0.01	0.99	-1.02	3.24
Membership in peer group	-	-	0	3
Friends without migration background	-	-	0	2
Observations	5,917			

As displayed in *Table 8.8*, the subsequent regression of "felt obligation to obey the police" (with $N = 5,902$) accounts for the same predictors as the analysis of the perception of "fairness of police". The *BIC* and *AIC* criteria (reported at the end of *Table 8.11*) indicate the achievement of the best statistical fitness when including the socio-demographic variables, the social ties as well as the exposure to crime and justice measures in the analysis.

Table 8.8   *Descriptive statistics of variables included in the regression of obli-*
                   gation to obey the police in Germany

	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Obligation to obey to police	3.37	0.74	1	4
Gender	0.54	0.50	0	1
Age	0.02	0.99	-2.86	6.70
Parental occupational status	-0.05	1.00	-1.73	1.73
Parental unemployment	-	-	0	2
Parental educational level	-	-	1	5
Family structure	0.33	0.47	0	1
Migration background	-	-	0	9
National identification	-	-	1	4
Importance of religion	-	-	1	4
Attitudes toward mother	-0.00	1.00	-3.81	1.34
Attitudes toward school	0.00	0.99	-3.64	1.80
Police-initiated contacts	-	-	0	3
Victimization	0.32	0.47	0	1
Self-reported delinquency	-	-	0	3
Unsupervised activities	0.00	1.00	-0.78	4.24
Deviant attitudes	-0.02	0.99	-1.51	2.79
Peer delinquency	0.01	0.99	-1.02	3.24
Membership in peer group	-	-	0	3
Friends without migration back-ground	-	-	0	2
Observations	5,902			

For both the analysis of respondents' perceived fairness of the police and for their obligation to obey the police, the models were run on the sub-sample of respondents of $N = 836$ for whom information is available about the last contact with the police, see *Table 8.9*. This enables a test of the influence of police practices and their behavior on young people's attitudes toward the police.

For the analysis of both the variations in perceived fairness of police and the obligation to obey the police, the exact same variables are included in the same order in the models. This is done in order to detect similarities and differences between the two dimensions of attitudes toward the police. The observations are clustered by schools.

Table 8.9   Variables included in the sub-sample about the experiences of the last contact with the police in Germany

	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Satisfaction with police	0.04	0.97	-3.91	1.05
Vicarious police disrespect	0.37	1.20	-0.62	2.86
Observations	832			

The coefficients in each model are interpreted under the assumption that all other variables in the model are held constant. The models presented in this chapter were estimated with the statistical software package *STATA*, *version 13*.

8.2.1   Variations in the perceived fairness of police conduct

The results of the analysis of predictors for the perceived fairness of police conduct are reported in *Table 8.10*. The variables are included in blocks in the regression, whereby each insertion is documented in a separate model. This approach disentangles the various influences on adolescents' perceptions of the police, enabling an analysis of the impact of the single variables and to detect mediation processes. The analysis starts with a plain model including only the demographic variables as well as the ones related to social deprivation (*Model 1*) and successively adds social ties (*Model 2*), experiences with police-initiated encounters (*Model 3*), exposure to own and peer delinquency (*Models 4* and *5*). The final *Model 6* accounts for all predictors, while *Model 7* tests additionally for the predictors related to the experiences in actual encounters with the police.

Model 1 tests for the influence of gender, age and migration background on a positive perception of police fairness. Moreover, the model controls for the variables that function as indicators for the social condition of the respondents. These are juveniles' social status (measured with the index for the occupational status of the parents), their family composition (that is, whether or not the juvenile lives with his biological parents) and the parental employment status (that is, if the adolescent has at least one unemployed parent). The employment status as well as the parental education level seem to have no noteworthy influence on respondents' perceptions of police fairness. The other variables included in this first plain *Model 1*, however, significantly impact the predicted values of this aspect. Being a female rather than a male adolescent positively impacts the levels of perceived fairness. Female respondents have more positive attitudes toward the police than male respondents ($B = .18$, $p < .001$) Yet, when including deviant attitudes and unsupervised activities in the analysis (as is the case in *Model 4*), the effect of gender is mediated to a large extent; this is an indication of the importance of these variables for the analysis.

Generally, juveniles with an ethnic minority background hold a slightly more negative view of police fairness than German native juveniles. An exception are adolescents with a Southern European or Maghrebian/Asian background. Their perceptions of police fairness do not significantly differ from the native German respondents. Compared to these, respondents of Polish descent, however, hold more critical opinions about the police: a Polish background reveals a robust effect on perceptions of police fairness. Hence, the size of the effect and the statistical significance remain unchanged (even under inclusion of the delinquency variables in *Model 6* [$B = -.15$, $p < .01$]). As for the other ethnic minority backgrounds, however, the initially reported statistically significant effect in *Model 1* is largely mediated through the inclusion of additional variables in the successive models.

Respondents' perceptions of the police differ with age. An increase in age leads to a slight downward trend in positive attitudes toward the police (for one standard deviation increase in age, $B = -.11$, $p < .001$ for police fairness). Age remains consistently significant throughout the models for the perception of police fairness.

Parental employment status and their educational level have no, parental occupational status a very limited ($B = .03$, $p < .05$) and family composition an important influence ($B = -.11$, $p < .001$) on the levels of perceived fairness among the respondents. Compared to the respondents who live in a traditional family structure with their two biological parents, the ones who live in alternative family settings hold the police in lower regards. Yet, this effect is fully mediated through the other predictors successively included into the analysis.

Model 2 includes ties to beliefs, to the cultural and ethnic background as well as to family and school. Adolescents who closely identify with their country of origin perceive the police as acting in a more unfair manner than their reference category (adolescents who closely identify with Germany) ($B = -.25$, $p < .001$). The effect of national identification is robust, although the effect size is almost halved when the predictors of crime and justice are included in the analysis.

Most interestingly, for most of the ethnic backgrounds, national identification completely mediates the effect of the ethnicity variable. Thus, while ethnicity affects juveniles' views of the police, the influence is mediated to a large extent by the variable measuring degrees of identification with the host society. Next to national identification, further social ties are included: religiosity, attachment to mother and commitment to school. The empirical evidence speaks for a strong, positive impact on perceived police fairness of positive social ties to family, school and belief. Respondents who indicated religion to be of some (or of a great) importance in their lives – with respect to those who do not value religion – perceive the police more positively (between $B = .12$, $p < .001$, and $B = .18$, $p < .001$). Similarly, motherly and school ties are positively correlated to perceptions of police fairness (for an increase of one standard deviation, $B = .10$, $p < .001$, for attitudes to the mother and $B = .15$, $p < .001$, for attitudes to the school). Based upon the presumption of a combined effect

of ethnicity, religiosity and national identification on perceptions of police fairness, a series of interaction terms is tested at this stage of the analysis. However, the interaction term between migration background and religiosity as well as migration background and national identification is not significant. This finding will be discussed in more detail in the section devoted to the comparative analysis of the perception of police fairness.

Model 3 tests the assumption whether respondents who had one or more police-initiated contacts in the twelve months preceding the school survey perceive the police less favorably than those who did not have any or only self-initiated contacts with the police. The aim is to explore whether (recurrent) experiences with police-initiated contacts undermine positive perceptions of police fairness. Indeed, according to the findings, being stopped and searched by the police and/or being suspected of having committed a criminal offense significantly influences perceptions of the police. The results suggest that positive perceptions of police fairness are challenged by frequent police-initiated contacts, the effect proving to be substantial even when controlling for all relevant predictors in the final *Model 6*. Adolescents who report three or more police-initiated contacts – compared to those who do not report any – on average feel that the police are less fair and trustworthy ($B = -.18$, $p < .001$ in *Model 6*). Thus, positive attitudes toward the police erode with the increasing frequency of police-initiated contacts, a trend that is particularly marked among very frequent (i.e. more than five) contacts ($B = -.23$, $p < .001$ in *Model 6*).

Model 4 investigates the influence of young people's delinquent propensities (and their preference for a "risky" lifestyle) on their perceptions of police fairness. The preference for unsupervised activities is used as a measure for respondents' (risky) lifestyles. Juveniles' routine activities impact their perceptions of the police. On average, the ones who are often out on the streets, go clubbing or to the pub, hang around with their friends and drink hold more negative views of the police (for one standard deviation increase in fun and action activities, $B = -.11$, $p < .001$. Even stronger effects are retained for those who sympathize with deviant attitudes. One standard deviation toward higher deviant attitudes results in a substantial decrease in the respondents' perceptions of police fairness ($B = -.28$, $p < .001$); this effect is only slightly mediated through the insertion of other predictors in the regression. Since former studies (e.g. *Wikström & Treiber* 2009) suggest to test for a combined effect of these variables, an interaction term has been included in the regression models; however, no significant effect can be seen (see *Figure 8.1* for the interaction effect).

Model 5 examines the influence of an increased exposure to delinquency on young people's perceptions of police fairness (through measures for respondents' experiences of victimization and their self-reported delinquency). The assumption is tested that with an increased exposure to delinquent behavior, juveniles progressively tend to accuse the police of unfair conduct. Indeed, results suggest that juveniles' perception of police fairness worsens with the amount of criminal offenses they have committed in the last twelve months. Respondents who had committed very frequent

(more than five) offenses – compared to those who had not committed any – were particularly critical of the police (B = -.31, p < .001). The effect size is reduced by two-thirds when accounting for all relevant predictors in *Model 6* (B = -.09, p < .01).

Figure 8.1   *Combined effect of unsupervised activities and deviant attitudes on police fairness in Germany*
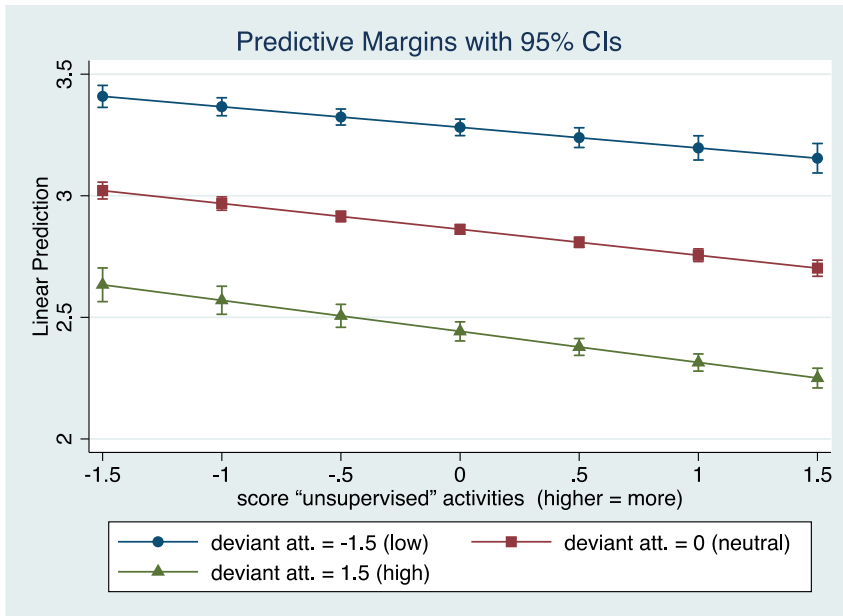
Model 6 also deals with the influence of respondents' peers on their perceptions of the police. The model controls for delinquency of peers, composition of their friend group and membership in (delinquent) peer groups. The findings support the assumption that young people's attitudes toward the police are shaped by the experiences with delinquency of their peers. Hence, according to the results, in *Model 6*, a single standard deviation toward more delinquent peers affects perceived fairness by B = -.10 (p < .001 in *Model 6*); being part of a violent peer group – as opposed to not being in a peer group – affects perceived fairness by B = -.12 (p < .01 in *Model 6*). Conversely, having a heterogeneous friend group results in higher predicted values for perceived police fairness (B = -.09, p < .01 in *Model 6*), suggesting that being surrounded by people of various ethnic backgrounds generates more optimistic views of the police.

Finally, *Model 7* explores the influences of concrete experiences with the police (as well as of third-party experiences of alleged police disrespect) on young people's

attitudes toward the police. This model is designed around the assumption that negative experiences result in more unfavorable views of the police. The empirical evidence suggests that negative encounters result in an increased perception that police conduct is unfair, disrespectful or discriminatory (with one standard deviation toward higher satisfaction with the police encounter affecting perceptions of police fairness by $B = -.22$, $p < .001$). The model also controls for third-party experiences of alleged police disrespect. Results suggest that both experiences of disrespect (own or third-party) harm positive perceptions of the police (by $B = -.22$, $p < .001$ for one standard deviation increase in the "vicarious experiences of disrespect" scale). Most of the discussed effects of the other predictors are not retained in *Model 7*. In all likelihood, this is ascribable to the reduced sample size as well as to selection effects. Indeed, *Model 7* only includes respondents who reported at least one contact with the police; these respondents displayed other characteristics than those without any police contact (see *Chapter 6* for the discussion on predictors for police contacts).

Table 8.10   Linear regression of police fairness in Germany

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6		Model 7	
Female (ref = boy)	0.18***	(9.7)	0.14***	(8.7)	0.12***	(6.0)	-0.04*	(-2.1)	0.08**	(4.8)	-0.03	(-1.7)	-0.03	(-1.0)
Age	-0.11***	(-11.1)	-0.09***	(-9.5)	-0.10***	(-9.6)	-0.06***	(-6.5)	-0.06***	(-7.0)	-0.05***	(-5.9)	-0.03	(-1.6)
Parental occupational status	0.03*	(2.3)	0.03*	(2.6)	0.03*	(2.2)	0.01	(1.0)	0.02	(1.4)	0.01	(1.2)	0.03	(1.1)
Parental unemployment (ref = no)														
yes	-0.05	(-1.8)	-0.02	(-0.9)	-0.04	(-1.4)	-0.02	(-1.0)	0.01	(0.3)	0.01	(0.4)	-0.02	(-0.4)
unclear	-0.06	(-1.6)	-0.05	(-1.4)	-0.06	(-1.7)	-0.03	(-0.8)	-0.06	(-1.4)	-0.04	(-1.0)	-0.09	(-1.2)
Parental educational level (ref = no degree)														
below Bac/Abi	-0.02	(-0.6)	-0.03	(-1.2)	-0.01	(-0.4)	-0.02	(-0.8)	-0.01	(-0.4)	-0.02	(-0.8)	-0.14*	(-2.3)
Bac/Abi	-0.00	(-0.0)	-0.02	(-0.6)	0.01	(0.3)	-0.01	(-0.3)	-0.00	(-0.1)	-0.01	(-0.5)	-0.07	(-0.9)
above Bac/Abi	-0.06	(-1.5)	-0.08*	(-2.3)	-0.04	(-1.1)	-0.05	(-1.6)	-0.05	(-1.4)	-0.06	(-2.0)	-0.12	(-1.6)
Family structure (ref = complete)	-0.11***	(-5.0)	-0.07**	(-3.3)	-0.08***	(-4.1)	-0.07***	(-4.2)	-0.05*	(-2.6)	-0.03	(-2.0)	-0.07	(-1.7)
Migration background (ref = native)														
Turkish	-0.11***	(-4.8)	-0.06*	(-2.0)	-0.12***	(-5.2)	-0.08**	(-3.5)	-0.05	(-1.9)	-0.04	(-1.2)	-0.02	(-0.3)
Southern European	-0.03	(-0.6)	0.06	(1.0)	-0.05	(-0.9)	-0.02	(-0.5)	-0.00	(-0.1)	0.03	(0.4)	-0.15	(-0.9)
Ex-Soviet	-0.17*	(-2.6)	-0.05	(-0.8)	-0.17***	(-2.8)	-0.13*	(-2.2)	-0.13*	(-2.2)	-0.07	(-1.1)	0.06	(0.5)

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6		Model 7	
Polish	-0.15**	(-2.7)	-0.09	(-1.8)	-0.15**	(-3.0)	-0.18***	(-3.5)	-0.16**	(-3.0)	-0.15**	(-2.9)	-0.11	(-0.9)
other Eastern European	-0.11*	(-2.3)	-0.07	(-1.4)	-0.11*	(-2.3)	-0.09*	(-2.0)	-0.10*	(-2.2)	-0.07	(-1.6)	0.04	(0.3)
Maghrebian/ Muslim Asian	-0.09	(-1.7)	-0.04	(-0.7)	-0.08	(-1.4)	-0.10*	(-2.0)	-0.03	(-0.8)	-0.03	(-0.6)	-0.06	(-0.4)
other background	-0.20***	(-5.5)	-0.14***	(-4.0)	-0.18***	(-5.7)	-0.18***	(-5.2)	-0.16***	(-5.1)	-0.15***	(-3.9)	-0.13	(-1.1)
mixed German/ Turkish	-0.03	(-0.4)	-0.00	(-0.0)	-0.01	(-0.2)	0.00	(0.1)	0.03	(0.5)	0.03	(0.5)	0.25	(1.4)
mixed German/ other background	-0.10**	(-3.1)	-0.02	(-0.5)	-0.08**	(-2.7)	-0.06*	(-2.4)	-0.03	(-1.3)	-0.02	(-0.5)	-0.10	(-1.6)
Importance of religion (ref = not important)														
somewhat important			0.12***	(4.5)							0.07**	(2.7)	0.02	(0.4)
fairly important			0.18***	(6.5)							0.13***	(5.3)	0.14**	(2.9)
very important			0.14**	(3.4)							0.12***	(4.0)	0.07	(0.9)
National identification (ref = host country)														
divided			-0.08	(-1.9)							-0.04	(-0.9)	0.04	(0.5)
country of origin			-0.24***	(-6.8)							-0.13***	(-3.9)	-0.03	(-0.4)
Attitudes to mother			0.10***	(11.1)							0.04***	(4.3)	0.02	(0.9)
Attitudes to school			0.15***	(14.2)							0.08***	(8.9)	0.03	(1.5)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6		Model 7	
Police-initiated contacts (ref = no)												
1–2 contacts			-0.20***	(-8.7)					-0.03	(-1.7)	-0.01	(-0.4)
3–5 contacts			-0.50***	(-8.6)					-0.18***	(-3.9)	-0.11	(-1.8)
≥ 6 contacts			-0.72***	(-12.0)					-0.23***	(-4.9)	-0.11	(-1.8)
Unsupervised activities					-0.11***	(-11.4)			-0.04***	(-3.6)	-0.03	(-1.5)
Deviant attitudes					-0.28***	(-27.0)			-0.17***	(-15.3)	-0.18***	(-5.6)
Interaction effect unsupervised activities*deviant attitudes					-0.01*	(-2.1)					0.02	(1.1)
Victimization (ref = no)							-0.00	(-0.2)	0.00	(0.3)	0.02	(0.6)
Self-reported delinquency (ref = no)												
1–2 offenses							-0.08***	(-3.7)	-0.01	(-0.3)	0.08	(1.4)
3–5 offenses							-0.16***	(-5.1)	-0.03	(-1.1)	-0.06	(-1.0)
≥ 6 offenses							-0.31***	(-11.4)	-0.09**	(-3.3)	-0.01	(-0.1)
Peer delinquency							-0.19***	(-17.1)	-0.10***	(-9.1)	-0.05	(-1.8)
Peer-group member (ref = no)												
member in non-violent peer group							-0.06***	(-3.6)	-0.05**	(-2.9)	-0.02	(-0.5)

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6		Model 7	
member in violent peer group									-0.27***	(-5.5)	-0.12**	(-2.7)	0.02	(0.3)
Friends without migration background (ref = no)									0.12***	(4.0)	0.09**	(3.2)	-0.01	(-0.2)
Satisfaction with police													0.22***	(7.3)
Vicarious police disrespect													-0.12***	(-7.0)
Constant	2.88***	(81.7)	2.81***	(81.3)	2.98***	(83.6)	2.96***	(101.2)	2.89***	(70.2)	2.86***	(67.9)	2.92***	(32.2)
Rank	20		28		23		23		30		43		46	
R-squared	0.08		0.19		0.14		0.28		0.26		0.35		0.55	
Adjusted R-squared	0.07		0.19		0.13		0.28		0.26		0.35		0.53	
BIC	11,717		10,986		11,337		10,254		10,495		9,803		1,453	
AIC	11,583		10,799		11,183		10,100		10,294		9,516		1,235	
Observations	5,917		5,917		5,917		5,917		5,917		5,917		831	

t statistics in parentheses

$* p < 0.05$, $** p < 0.01$, $*** p < 0.001$

Missing values are included as residual categories in the analysis but not reported.

8.2.2   Variations in felt obligation to obey the police

In light of the above findings, this section aims at testing whether variations in young people's obligation to obey the police may be explained by a similar set of predictors or whether other factors have to be taken into consideration. The findings are outlined in *Table 8.11*.

Interesting differences for the variables gender, age and ethnic background are reported. As was the case for the modeling of perceived fairness of police conduct, being a female adolescent positively impacts the obligation to obey (*Odds Ratio* = 1.39, *p* < .001). However, when including measures of delinquent offending and attitudes, the gender effect flips. Under control of these variables, female adolescents express a lower inclination to follow police instructions (*Odds Ratio* = .77, *p* < .001 in *Model 4*). Once accounting for all covariates, the increase in age undermines not only positive perceptions of police fairness but also affects the obligation of adolescents to obey (for one standard deviation increase in age, *Odds Ratio* = .88, *p* < .001 in the final *Model 6*).

Most juveniles with an ethnic minority background are less inclined to obey the police than German native juveniles. An exception is formed by young people of Maghrebian/Muslim Asian descent: this group expressed a higher willingness to follow the instructions of the police than native German juveniles; this remains stable even in *Model 6* where all relevant predictors are included in the analysis (*Odds Ratio* = 1.45, *p* < .05). Young people of Polish descent are not only more skeptical about the police fairness, they are also more reluctant to follow police instructions: a robust effect throughout the analysis (*Odds Ratio* = .64, *p* < .01 in *Model 6*). The strong effect of the Polish descent (concerning both perceptions of police fairness and obligation to obey the police) makes these juveniles the only ethnic group that significantly differs from the native German juveniles; this remains the case even when a whole set of attitudinal and behavioral variables are considered that are apt to predict positive attitudes toward the police.

Except for family composition, which initially has a statistically significant influence on felt obligation to obey the police (an effect that is fully mediated through other predictors included in the analysis), measures for young people's social status and their family structure do not add to the understanding of variations in felt obligation to obey the police.

Model 2 investigates the theoretical assumptions that relate to the influence of social bonds on attitudes toward the police. The results indicate that social ties have a significant effect on both the predicted values for fairness of police conduct and the likelihood to obey the police. Positive ties to family and school as well as a firm religious belief not only result in a more positive perception of police fairness (*Table 8.10*) but also in a more pronounced acceptance of their authority. Respondents who indicated religion to be of some importance in their life – with respect to those that do not value religion – are more inclined to be obedient (*Odds Ratio* = 1.26, *p* <

.001). Even more marked is the difference for those who stated that religion plays a very important role in their life (*Odds Ratio* = 1.57, *p* < .001). Similarly, positive motherly and school ties result in an increased obligation to follow the instructions of the police (for an increase of one standard deviation in attitudes toward the mother, *Odds Ratio* = 1.27, *p* < .001, and for an increase of one standard deviation in attitudes toward school, *Odds Ratio* = 1.56, *p* <.001). Whereas the effect of religion is robust, the measures for parental attachment and school commitment are mediated to a larger extent. Finally, *Model 2* explores the level of identification with the host society and its implication for respondents' willingness to comply with the instructions of the police. Other than in the regression analysis of fairness of police conduct – where a strong attachment to the country of origin is found to significantly decrease young people's positive perceptions of the police –, the effect of national identification on one's felt obligation to obey the police is more inconsistent. The initial significant negative effect of being strongly related to the country of origin – compared to identifying strongly with the German society – found at an early stage of analysis in *Model 2* (*Odds Ratio* = .73, *p* < .05) is fully mediated through the inclusion of the other correlations for obligation to obey the police in *Model 6*.

As was the case for positive perceptions of police fairness, a strong obligation to obey the police is particularly challenged by frequent police-initiated contacts. This is investigated in *Model 3*. Adolescents who experience three or more police-initiated contacts – compared to those who do not experience any or only reported self- initiated encounters with the police – are, in all likelihood, less disposed to comply with the instructions of the police. This effect is particularly marked among the adolescents who report very frequent (i.e. six or more) police-initiated encounters. Under control of all covariates in *Model 6*, these adolescents are significantly less likely to follow the instructions of the police than those who did not have any police-initiated contacts (*Odds Ratio* = .50, *p* < .001). Thus, positive attitudes toward the police (to wit high levels of perceived police fairness and a strong obligation to obey the police) erode with the frequency of police-initiated contacts, a trend that is particularly marked among juveniles with very frequent contacts.

Model 4 investigates the effect of exposure to delinquency. The former analysis of predictors for high levels of police fairness pointed to the important explanatory power of this effect (both own and peer exposure). The analysis reveals that among all juveniles, those who report (frequent) own and peer experiences with delinquent behavior and who favor delinquent attitudes are more reluctant to obey the police. Hence, the effects of self-reported delinquency as well as of deviant attitudes on their obligation to obey the police are particularly salient. Frequent offenders (to wit respondents who committed several [six or more] offenses – compared to those who did not commit any) are, under control of all covariates of *Model 6*, significantly less inclined to obey the police (*Odds Ratio* = .66, *p* < .001). Similarly, respondents who expressed themselves as being in favor of deviant behavior are less inclined to obeying the police (in the final *Model 6*, one standard deviation toward an increase in

deviant attitudes equates to *Odds Ratio* = .54, *p* < .001). However, the effect of un-supervised activities reported in *Model 4* (*Odds Ratio* = .84, *p* < .001) is fully mediated in the final *Model 6*.

The measures of "composition of friend group" and "peer delinquency" all significantly alter the respondents' propensity to obey the police. These effects are reported in *Model 5*. One standard deviation toward more delinquent peers affects the felt obligation to obey (by *Odds Ratio* = .85, *p* < .001 in the *Model 6*), and being part of a peer group – as compared to not belonging to any peer group (be it violent or non-violent) – lowers the respondents' disposition to follow instructions of the police (by *Odds Ratio* = .84, *p* < .01, and *Odds Ratio* = .67, *p* < .01 respectively in *Model 6*). Inversely, having friends of a diverse ethnic background promotes positive attitudes toward the police and adolescents' propensity to comply with their instructions (*Odds Ratio* = 1.16, *p* < .05). Thus, once again, these results match former findings and suggest that the behavior and attitudes of peers influence both young people's own perceptions of the police, the way they relate to the police and their propensity to obey the police.

The examination of predictors of felt obligation to obey the police among adolescents who reported at least one contact with the police in *Model 7* allows for further conclusions. In line with the theoretical assumptions of the procedural justice model, satisfaction with a police encounter is an important explanatory variable for young people's propensity to obey the police; a high satisfaction with the police encounter results in a higher propensity to comply with the instructions of the police (*Odds Ratio* = 1.43, *p* < .01). Thus, satisfaction with police conduct influences both perceptions of police fairness and the propensity to comply with police instructions. Other than for the former modeling of perceptions of police conduct, however, vicarious experiences of police misconduct have no statistically significant influence on young people's likelihood to obey police instructions.

Table 8.11   Ordered logit regression of obligation to obey the police in Germany

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6		Model 7	
Female (ref = boy)	1.39***	(6.1)	1.31***	(5.1)	1.22***	(3.3)	0.77***	(-3.7)	1.19**	(2.7)	0.79***	(-3.4)	1.19	(1.0)
Age	0.78***	(-9.4)	0.82***	(-8.2)	0.80***	(-8.5)	0.87***	(-4.9)	0.85***	(-5.7)	0.88***	(-4.6)	0.87	(-1.7)
Parental occupational status	0.99	(-0.3)	1.00	(-0.0)	0.98	(-0.5)	0.94	(-1.5)	0.96	(-1.0)	0.95	(-1.2)	0.91	(-0.9)
Parental unemployment (ref = no)														
yes	0.90	(-1.1)	0.96	(-0.4)	0.93	(-0.7)	0.99	(-0.1)	1.01	(0.1)	1.03	(0.3)	0.99	(-0.0)
unclear	0.88	(-1.0)	0.92	(-0.7)	0.85	(-1.3)	0.93	(-0.5)	0.91	(-0.8)	0.94	(-0.4)	0.65	(-1.3)
Parental educational level (ref = no degree)														
below Bac/Abi	1.05	(0.6)	1.02	(0.2)	1.07	(0.8)	1.03	(0.3)	1.08	(0.9)	1.04	(0.4)	1.11	(0.4)
Bac/Abi	1.06	(0.6)	1.03	(0.3)	1.09	(0.9)	1.01	(0.1)	1.06	(0.6)	1.03	(0.3)	1.01	(0.0)
above Bac/Abi	0.89	(-1.1)	0.84	(-1.6)	0.93	(-0.6)	0.87	(-1.3)	0.91	(-0.8)	0.87	(-1.4)	0.79	(-0.8)
Family structure (ref = complete)	0.80***	(-4.0)	0.89*	(-2.1)	0.85**	(-2.9)	0.90	(-1.7)	0.87*	(-2.5)	0.95	(-0.8)	1.00	(0.0)
Migration background (ref = native)														
Turkish	1.13	(1.7)	1.05	(0.3)	1.14	(1.8)	1.31***	(3.4)	1.35***	(4.1)	1.13	(1.0)	0.88	(-0.4)
Southern European	0.95	(-0.4)	0.97	(-0.2)	0.94	(-0.5)	0.98	(-0.1)	1.04	(0.3)	0.86	(-0.8)	0.46	(-1.7)
Ex-Soviet	0.67**	(-3.0)	0.82	(-1.2)	0.67**	(-3.0)	0.75	(-1.9)	0.70*	(-2.4)	0.77	(-1.4)	0.76	(-0.5)
Polish	0.76*	(-2.3)	0.79	(-1.7)	0.74*	(-2.5)	0.69**	(-3.2)	0.71**	(-3.0)	0.64**	(-2.9)	0.38	(-1.8)
other Eastern European	1.08	(0.5)	0.98	(-0.1)	1.10	(0.6)	1.14	(0.8)	1.16	(0.9)	0.98	(-0.2)	1.19	(0.3)
Maghrebian/Muslim Asian	1.39*	(2.0)	1.34	(1.6)	1.49*	(2.3)	1.63**	(3.0)	1.60**	(3.0)	1.45*	(2.2)	1.54	(0.8)
other background	0.99	(-0.1)	1.02	(0.2)	1.04	(0.3)	1.05	(0.4)	1.06	(0.4)	1.01	(0.1)	0.54*	(-2.5)
mixed German/Turkish	0.92	(-0.4)	0.99	(-0.0)	0.96	(-0.2)	1.05	(0.3)	1.06	(0.3)	1.08	(0.4)	0.44	(-1.0)

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6		Model 7	
mixed German/ other background	0.82*	(-2.6)	1.01	(0.1)	0.84*	(-2.3)	0.89	(-1.3)	0.90	(-1.4)	1.00	(0.0)	1.05	(0.2)
Importance of religion (ref = not important)														
somewhat important			1.26***	(3.8)							1.16*	(2.2)	1.13	(0.6)
fairly important			1.54***	(6.0)							1.43***	(4.7)	1.16	(0.7)
very important			1.57***	(3.8)							1.55***	(3.9)	1.36	(0.8)
National identification (ref = host country)														
divided			0.86	(-1.5)							0.95	(-0.4)	1.60	(1.6)
country of origin			0.73*	(-2.4)							1.01	(0.1)	2.11*	(2.3)
Attitudes to mother			1.27***	(6.9)							1.09*	(2.5)	1.27**	(3.3)
Attitudes to school			1.56***	(13.8)							1.33***	(9.6)	1.35**	(2.9)
Police-initiated contacts (ref = no)														
1–2 contacts					0.71***	(-4.6)					1.01	(0.1)	1.01	(0.1)
3–5 contacts					0.31***	(-8.8)					0.63***	(-4.2)	0.63*	(-2.2)
≥ 6 contacts					0.16***	(-9.5)					0.50***	(-3.4)	0.47*	(-2.5)
Victimization (ref = no)							1.09	(1.1)			1.18*	(2.1)	1.21	(1.2)
Self-reported delinquency (ref = no)														
1–2 offenses							0.87	(-1.5)			0.99	(-0.1)	0.94	(-0.4)
3–5 offenses							0.79*	(-2.0)			0.93	(-0.6)	0.77	(-1.0)
≥ 6 offenses							0.43***	(-11.3)			0.66***	(-5.3)	0.67	(-1.7)
Unsupervised activities							0.84***	(-5.0)			0.93	(-1.9)	0.92	(-1.0)
Deviant attitudes							0.48***	(-18.9)			0.54***	(-14.9)	0.59***	(-5.4)
Peer delinquency									0.59***	(-13.7)	0.85***	(-3.6)	0.96	(-0.5)

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6		Model 7	
Peer-group member (ref = no)														
member in non-violent peer group									0.80^{***}	(-4.3)	0.84^{**}	(-3.0)	0.68^{*}	(-2.0)
member in violent peer group									0.38^{***}	(-8.5)	0.67^{**}	(-2.9)	0.57^{*}	(-2.3)
Friends without migration background (ref = no)									1.20^{**}	(2.6)	1.16^{*}	(2.3)	1.45	(1.6)
Satisfaction with police													1.43^{**}	(2.9)
Vicarious police disrespect													0.90	(-1.4)
cut1	0.03^{***}	(-25.7)	0.03^{***}	(-23.3)	0.02^{***}	(-26.8)	0.01^{***}	(-28.0)	0.02^{***}	(-22.6)	0.01^{***}	(-25.2)	0.01^{***}	(-9.8)
cut2	0.12^{***}	(-19.9)	0.13^{***}	(-16.5)	0.10^{***}	(-21.5)	0.07^{***}	(-21.6)	0.11^{***}	(-18.6)	0.08^{***}	(-17.8)	0.10^{***}	(-4.9)
cut3	1.07	(0.6)	1.30^{*}	(2.1)	0.90	(-0.9)	0.80	(-1.8)	1.14	(1.1)	1.12	(0.8)	1.24	(0.5)
Pseudo R^2	0.017		0.061		0.037		0.106		0.067		0.128		0.209	
Rank	22		30		25		28		28		45		47	
Log lik.	-5,827		-5,568		-5,708		-5,304		-5,532		-5,171		-740	
Chi-squared	410.89		1,832.69		758.38		1,990.00		1,744.89		5,023.64		4,235.26	
BIC	11,846		11,397		11,633		10,850		11,306		10,733		1,796	
AIC	11,699		11,197		11,466		10,663		11,119		10,433		1,574	
Observations	5,902		5,902		5,902		5,902		5,902		5,902		827	

Exponentiated coefficients (Odds Ratio); z statistics in parentheses

$* p < 0.05$, $** p < 0.01$, $*** p < 0.001$

Missing values are included as residual categories in the analysis but not reported.

8.3   Comparative German-French Findings

8.3.1   Measures

8.3.1.1   Measuring positive attitudes toward the police across both countries

The detailed analysis of attitudes toward the police in Cologne and Mannheim points to similarities and differences in the perceived fairness and obligation to obey among a variety of predictors, such as gender, ethnic background and experiences of delinquency. In the following, these results are compared to the ones from the French school survey.

Table 8.12   *Response to attitudes toward police items among adolescents in Germany and France*

	Germany		France	
	No.	Col%	No.	Col%
Police protect adolescents				
rather disagree	2,485	35.8	6,168	45.1
rather agree	4,377	63.0	6,590	48.2
missing	86	1.2	921	6.7
Total	6,948	100.0	13,679	100.0
Police disrespect adolescents				
rather disagree	4,345	62.5	7,810	57.1
rather agree	2,517	36.2	4,908	35.9
missing	86	1.2	961	7.0
Total	6,948	100.0	13,679	100.0
Police can be trusted				
rather disagree	1,756	25.3	5,391	39.4
rather agree	5,098	73.4	7,513	54.9
missing	94	1.4	775	5.7
Total	6,948	100.0	13,679	100.0
Police treat foreigners worse				
rather disagree	4,702	67.7	5,438	39.8
rather agree	2,131	30.7	7,232	52.9
missing	115	1.7	1,009	7.4
Total	6,948	100.0	13,679	100.0

	Germany		France	
	No.	Col%	No.	Col%
Follow instructions of the police				
rather disagree	792	11.4	4,760	34.8
rather agree	6,071	87.4	8,415	61.5
missing	85	1.2	504	3.7
Total	6,948	100.0	13,679	100.0
Never contact the police				
rather disagree	4,722	68.0	8,785	64.2
rather agree	2,136	30.7	4,184	30.6
missing	90	1.3	710	5.2
Total	6,948	100.0	13,679	100.0
Join protests against the police				
rather disagree	6,336	91.2	10,901	79.7
rather agree	522	7.5	2,148	15.7
missing	90	1.3	630	4.6
Total	6,948	100.0	13,679	100.0

Building on the procedural justice model, it has to be assumed that juveniles' experiences and perceptions influence attitudes toward the police in France to the extent they do in Germany. Thus, potential variations in attitudes toward the police across countries may be explained by differences in the socio-cultural environment and in the preponderance of negative experiences with crime and justice. In the comparative analysis of positive attitudes toward the police, the same items are included as in the previous section that dealt with the German data set. *Table 8.12* details the percentage of agreement and disagreement to the various items that form the scales "perception of police fairness". Noteworthy differences in levels of agreement between Germany and France are reported for discrimination ("The police treat foreigners worse than natives" [in Germany: 31%; in France: 53%]) and trust ("The police can be trusted" [in Germany: 73%; in France: 55%]). This suggests that in France, compared to Germany, significantly more adolescents feel that the police treat foreigners worse and significantly less adolescents express trust in the police.

These differences are reflected in the three items that measure juveniles' hypothetical behavior during a police encounter, namely "One should in any case follow the instructions of the police", "Even if I had a serious problem, I would never contact the police" and "If adolescents protest violently and with riots against the police, I would join". Adolescents in France seem more reluctant to follow police instructions (in Germany: 11%; in France: 35%), and, even more alarmingly, around one out of six

adolescents in France (compared to one out of 13 in Germany) supports the idea of protest against the police (in Germany: 8%; in France: 16%).

These results highlight country-specific differences in the perceived fairness of police conduct as well as behavior toward the police in hypothetical situations. These descriptive findings will next be supplemented by a more in-depth analysis of the predictors for positive attitudes to the police, provided by the multivariate analyses presented in this section.

8.3.1.2 Explanatory variables

A set of explanatory variables is included in the comparative German-French analysis of young people's attitudes toward the police, in alignment with the previous examination of predictors for attitudes toward the police among adolescents in Germany (see *Chapter 8.1*).

As a proxy for the bond to the family, two parental monitoring items are used in the comparative analysis: "My parents know who I spend my free time with" and "My parents know what I do during my free time".

In the following, a special focus is set on the measures that, according to the theoretical considerations, potentially predict variations in attitudes toward the police, namely ethnicity and generation of immigration, national identification and religious ties. In addition to these variables, as reported in *Table 8.17*, the models control for gender, age, social and economic status, ties to family and school, composition of friend group, propensity to and experiences with delinquency (both own and of peers).

8.3.1.2.1   Ethnicity and generation of immigration

For the comparison of attitudes toward the police between Germany and France, a narrow five-categorical definition of the ethnic background is adopted, whereby the largest ethnic minority group of each country is considered separately from the other groups for the purpose of better comparison. For Germany, the differentiation is made between native Germans, adolescents belonging to the largest (Turkish) ethnic minority group and those of other, i.e. non-Turkish backgrounds. Additionally, the respondents of mixed German native/Turkish and mixed German native/other background are listed separately. In France, a distinction is undertaken between native French adolescents, adolescents of Maghrebian origin (representing the largest ethnic minority group) and those of other non-Maghrebian ethnic backgrounds. As for Germany, the mixed background is considered in two separate categories which distinguish between mixed French native/Maghrebian and mixed French native/other background.

Findings from migration research suggest a generational effect of immigrants' perceptions of the police: attitudes toward the police may vary between respondents of

ethnic minority backgrounds, depending on their length of stay in the country (see, e.g., *Wu* 2010).

This study runs separate analyses for both Germany and France that include a generational variable to test for differences in attitudes toward the police across different generations of immigration.

As the examination of the generational effect is not the main focus of this study but rather a follow-up to the comparative analysis of attitudes toward the police, it is included as a supplement (see *Chapter 8.3.3*).

The variable "generation of immigration" is constructed by retrieving information about the respondents' places of birth as well as the ones of their parents and grandparents. Thereby, a differentiation between first, second and third generation is undertaken. Respondents with a first-generation migration background – i.e. who were born abroad and immigrated to Germany or France – are split between those who immigrated at a very young age (under five years) and those who immigrated later. Both types of first-generation immigrants are listed in the analysis – following the belief that immigration at a very early stage in life ought to be considered separately, as these immigrants may not significantly differ from those who were born and raised in Germany and France. Respondents of second-generation immigration were born in Germany or France; however, either both of their parents or at least one of their parents and three of their grandparents were born abroad. If the respondents were born in Germany or France, and so were both their parents, or at most one parent and two grandparents were born abroad, then he or she is considered to belong to the third generation of immigration.

Table 8.13   *First, second and third generation of immigration across various ethnic groups in Germany*

Migration background	1. gen. ≥ 5		1. gen. < 5		2. gen.		3. gen.		Total	
	No.	Row %	No.	Row %	No.	Row %	No.	Row %	No.	Row %
Turkish	45	3	34	3	1,199	92	29	2	1,307	100
other	250	17	167	11	1,021	69	37	3	1,475	100
mixed native/ Turkish	4	4	0	0	1	1	104	95	109	100
mixed native/ other	23	3	36	5	2	0	601	91	662	100
Total	322	9	237	7	2,223	63	771	22	3,553	100

In *Tables 8.13* and *8.14*, the share of first-, second- and third-generation immigrants among the non-native respondents are reported for Germany and France respectively. In Germany, almost all adolescents of the Turkish ethnic minority, around

92%, are second-generation immigrants. *Table 8.14* reveals a more varied immigration flow of Maghrebian citizens to France. Although the majority of respondents with a Maghrebian background are second-generation (around 68%), a good share of them is first- (18%) or third-generation, too (14%).

Table 8.14   *First, second and third generation of immigration across various ethnic groups in France*

Migration background	1. gen. ≥ 5		1. gen. < 5		2. gen.		3. gen.		Total	
	No.	Row %	No.	Row %	No.	Row %	No.	Row %	No.	Row %
Maghrebian	224	11	145	7	1,407	68	298	14	2,074	100
other	500	22	183	8	1,216	54	370	16	2,269	100
mixed native/ Maghrebian	19	2	23	3	5	1	752	94	799	100
mixed native/ other	38	2	52	3	3	0	1,449	94	1,542	100
Total	781	12	403	6	2,631	39	2,869	43	6,684	100

8.3.1.2.2   National identification and religious ties

The previous analysis of variations in attitudes toward the police in Germany demonstrated the positive impact of identification with the host society and strong religious ties. This section tests whether this finding holds true in the international comparison, too.

Table 8.15   *National identification across ethnic backgrounds in France*

Migration background	host		divided		origin		missing		Total	
	No.	Row %	No.	Row %	No.	Row %	No.	Row %	No.	Row %
Maghrebian	375	18.1	953	45.9	685	33.0	61	2.9	2,074	100
other	550	24.2	963	42.4	706	31.1	50	2.2	2,269	100
mixed native/ Maghrebian	371	46.4	296	37.0	113	14.1	19	2.4	799	100
mixed native/other	794	51.5	557	36.1	171	11.1	20	1.3	1,542	100
Total	2,090	31.3	2,769	41.4	1,675	25.1	150	2.2	6,684	100

Table 8.15 illustrates the degrees of national identification across various ethnic minority groups in France. Compared to Germany, the French respondents with an ethnic minority background feel more strongly attached to French society. Yet, about

one third (33%) of the non-native respondents still fully identify with their country of origin. For the respondents of mixed origins, the percentages are much smaller (14% for the respondents of mixed native French/Maghrebian backgrounds).

Table 8.16   Religiosity across ethnic backgrounds in France

Migration background	rather not		rather yes		missing		Total	
	No.	Row%	No.	Row%	No.	Row%	No.	Row%
native	5,087	75.3	1,543	22.8	130	1.9	6,760	100
Maghrebian	106	5.1	1,941	93.6	27	1.3	2,074	100
other	720	31.7	1,507	66.4	42	1.9	2,269	100
mixed native/ Maghrebian	338	42.3	451	56.4	10	1.3	799	100
mixed native/ other	1,096	71.1	412	26.7	34	2.2	1,542	100
Total	7,347	54.6	5,854	43.5	243	1.8	13,444	100

Since an effect of religiosity on adolescents' perceptions of the police is hypothesized, this variable is included as a predictor in the models, too. The largest minorities in both Germany and France come from Muslim countries. As reported in *Table 8.16*, the vast majority of adolescents of Maghrebian descent in France feel that religion plays an important, if not very important, role in their lives (94%). A similar finding was retained for the adolescents of a Turkish background in Germany. For native German and French adolescents, the opposite holds true (religion is of minor importance).

8.3.2   Testing the hypotheses: factors undermining positive attitudes toward the police

In the following, analyses of predictors for "perceived fairness of police conduct" and "obligation to obey the police" are run on the French data set, and important variations in the predictors are identified across countries by comparing the results with the German regression outputs. While details concerning the model specification have already been discussed when referring to the German data set, additional information is provided that concerns the comparative analysis and the fitness of the French models.

Table 8.17   *Descriptive statistics of the variables included in the regression of police fairness in Germany and France*

	Germany				France			
	Mean	SD	Min	Max	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Perception of police fairness	2.86	0.67	1	4	2.56	0.73	1	4
Gender	0.53	0.50	0	1	0.50	0.50	0	1
Age	-0.00	1.00	-2.86	6.70	0.02	1.00	-2.53	5.42
Parental unemployment	-	-	0	2	-	-	0	2
Parental educational level	-	-	1	5	-	-	1	5
Family structure	0.33	0.47	0	1	0.26	0.44	0	1
Migration background	-	-	0	4	-	-	0	4
National identification	-	-	1	4	-	-	1	4
Importance of religion	-	-	1	4	-	-	1	4
Parental monitoring	0.00	1.00	-2.52	1.05	-0.00	0.99	-2.94	1.05
Attitudes to school	0.00	0.99	-3.64	1.80	0.01	0.98	-3.18	1.70
Police-initiated contacts	-	-	0	3	-	-	0	3
Victimization	0.32	0.47	0	1	0.23	0.42	0	1
Self-reported delinquency	-	-	0	3	-	-	0	3
Hang out with friends in public spaces	-	-	0	3	-	-	0	3
Deviant attitudes	-0.01	1.00	-1.66	3.09	-0.03	0.98	-1.54	3.00
Peer delinquency	-0.01	0.99	-0.78	2.99	-0.00	0.99	-0.85	2.48
Friends without migration background	-	-	0	2	-	-	0	2
Observations	6,515				11,156			

In *Table 8.17*, the descriptive statistics of the variables are presented, as they are included in the models. Although the models have been run on the German and French data sets separately, the same predictors were included in the analyses. $N = 6,515$ (out of $N = 6,948$) observations were included in the German data set and $N = 11,156$ (out of $N = 13,679$) observations in the French one. Besides gender, age, parental unemployment and educational level, family structure and migration background, the models control for the influences of a series of other attitudinal and behavioral variables. These are: the influence of social ties, specifically the identification with the host society; the level of religiosity; parental monitoring as a proxy for attachment to the family; and commitment to the school. The models also control for various crime- and justice-related variables, such as self-reported and peer delinquency as well as frequency of police-initiated contact. Details about the scales are provided in the *Annex Scale Documentation*.

In addition, the influence of satisfaction with police encounters and the vicarious experiences with police disrespect on attitudes to the police are explored. This is done by computing the analysis on a sub-sample that includes only adolescents who reported at least one encounter with the police in the twelve months prior to the school survey (see *Table 8.18*). These models include $N = 905$ observations for Germany and $N = 4,093$ observations for France.

Table 8.18   Variables included in the sub-sample about the experiences of the last contact with the police in Germany and France

	Germany				France			
	Mean	SD	Min	Max	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Satisfaction with police	0.03	0.98	-3.91	1.05	0.02	0.98	-3.30	0.98
Vicarious experiences of police disrespect	0.36	1.19	-0.62	2.86	0.32	1.09	-0.77	2.07
Observations	905				4,093			

The regression of the perception of police fairness was tested for the normality of distribution of the residuals, omitted variables, heteroscedasticity, unusual and influential data as well as multicollinearity. The tests suggest that the models are specified correctly; yet, according to the test results, additional variables should be included in the models. This indication is to be taken into consideration for further analysis (see, for example, *Wooldridge* 2015).

The model statistics reported at the bottom of the tables indicate that for both the analysis of "perception of police fairness" and of "felt obligation to obey the police",

the best fit is achieved among the French respondents once all attitudinal and behavioral predictors are included. For the regression of police fairness, the R^2 values are reported and demonstrate that for France, a large amount of the variance of the dependent variable (over 40%) can be explained through the predictors included in the analysis (for the German model, the R^2 equates 35%). The modeling of the two dimensions of attitudes to the police, "perception of police fairness" and "felt obligation to obey the police", follows a blockwise approach, to wit the variables are summarized in blocks according to the theoretical threats, and for each block, a new model is computed. The observations are clustered by schools.

The coefficients in each model are interpreted under the assumption that all of the other variables in the model are held constant.

8.3.2.1 Variations in perceived fairness of police conduct

As for Germany, in France, the regression of perceived fairness of police conduct is performed on the full sample size minus the missing values, including $N = 11,156$ observations. See *Table 8.17* for the descriptive statistics. The results of the multivariate analysis are reported in *Table 8.19*. The detailed analysis of predictors for variations in perceived fairness of police conduct have been presented earlier (see *Chapter 8.1*). Yet for the comparative analysis, some variables had to be excluded from the regression models, as they are not present in the data sets of both countries, resulting in a slightly different model for Germany. The regression outputs for Germany are documented in the *Annex* (*Table A8*).

The analysis follows the same model design as in Germany and counts a total of seven regression models. The first model controls only for the demographic variables and the social conditions. The subsequent models test the veracity of previously postulated theoretical assumptions about the influence of social ties, exposure to (recurrent) discriminatory police contact and own as well as peer experiences with delinquency on the perception of police fairness. The final *Model 7* counts only $N = 4,041$ observations and examines whether among the respondents who had at least one police-initiated contact, procedural justice elements – to wit own and third-party experiences of a fair police conduct – promote positive perceptions of the police.

Table 8.19   Linear regression of police fairness in France

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6		Model 7	
Female (ref = boy)	0.10***	(5.2)	0.04*	(2.2)	0.01	(0.3)	-0.06***	(-3.6)	0.04*	(2.4)	-0.07***	(-5.1)	-0.08**	(-3.3)
Age	-0.11***	(-8.8)	-0.08***	(-8.2)	-0.07***	(-6.5)	-0.06***	(-6.1)	-0.06***	(-6.1)	-0.05***	(-5.8)	-0.03*	(-2.0)
Parental unemployment (ref = no)														
yes	-0.09***	(-4.8)	-0.04*	(-2.5)	-0.06***	(-3.8)	-0.04**	(-3.0)	-0.06***	(-3.8)	-0.02	(-1.7)	-0.01	(-0.5)
unclear	-0.17***	(-5.4)	-0.10**	(-3.1)	-0.15***	(-5.1)	-0.09***	(-3.6)	-0.14***	(-4.5)	-0.06*	(-2.3)	-0.01	(-0.2)
Parental educational level (ref = no degree)														
below Bac/Abi	0.15***	(3.5)	0.07	(1.6)	0.12**	(2.8)	0.09*	(2.3)	0.08*	(2.1)	0.04	(1.0)	0.01	(0.2)
Bac/Abi	0.16***	(4.4)	0.07	(2.0)	0.13***	(3.4)	0.11**	(3.2)	0.10**	(2.7)	0.04	(1.3)	0.03	(0.6)
above Bac/Abi	0.24***	(5.7)	0.10*	(2.5)	0.19***	(4.7)	0.13***	(3.5)	0.15***	(3.8)	0.04	(1.2)	-0.01	(-0.1)
Family structure (ref = complete)	-0.10***	(-6.1)	-0.07***	(-4.6)	-0.08***	(-5.6)	-0.06***	(-4.3)	-0.07***	(-5.1)	-0.05***	(-3.9)	-0.03	(-1.8)
Migration background (ref = native)														
Maghrebian	-0.55***	(-21.5)	-0.27***	(-8.5)	-0.48***	(-22.5)	-0.42***	(-20.1)	-0.43***	(-21.8)	-0.21***	(-7.0)	-0.10**	(-2.7)
other	-0.20***	(-7.5)	-0.01	(-0.4)	-0.19***	(-7.6)	-0.18***	(-8.8)	-0.17***	(-7.1)	-0.04	(-1.8)	-0.05	(-1.6)
mixed native/ Maghrebian	-0.26***	(-7.2)	-0.14***	(-3.9)	-0.23***	(-6.3)	-0.18***	(-5.4)	-0.19***	(-5.7)	-0.09**	(-2.7)	0.01	(0.3)
mixed native/other	-0.13***	(-5.9)	-0.04	(-1.8)	-0.10***	(-4.2)	-0.07***	(-3.6)	-0.09***	(-4.0)	-0.01	(-0.6)	-0.05	(-1.8)
National identification (ref = host country)														
divided			-0.18***	(-7.8)							-0.13***	(-6.4)	-0.10***	(-4.0)
country of origin			-0.34***	(-10.9)							-0.20***	(-7.6)	-0.15***	(-3.9)

	Model 1	Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6		Model 7	
Importance of religion (ref = not important)													
somewhat important		0.03	(1.8)							0.02	(1.3)	0.02	(0.7)
fairly important		0.01	(0.3)							0.02	(0.7)	0.04	(1.5)
very important		-0.20***	(-6.6)							-0.13***	(-5.2)	0.01	(0.4)
Parental monitoring		0.13***	(19.3)							0.04***	(4.9)	0.03**	(3.1)
Attitudes to school		0.16***	(20.5)							0.07***	(9.0)	0.05***	(4.5)
Police-initiated contacts (ref = no)													
1–2 contacts				-0.27***	(-12.8)					-0.05**	(-2.7)	-0.00	(-0.0)
3–5 contacts				-0.58***	(-15.5)					-0.20***	(-6.2)	-0.04	(-1.0)
≥ 6 contacts				-0.76***	(-27.7)					-0.28***	(-10.0)	-0.05	(-1.6)
Victimization (ref = no)						-0.03	(-1.6)			0.00	(0.0)	0.05**	(2.9)
Self-reported delinquency (ref = no)													
1–2 offenses						-0.14***	(-7.7)			-0.10***	(-5.4)	-0.02	(-1.0)
3–5 offenses						-0.17***	(-6.9)			-0.09***	(-4.2)	-0.03	(-1.0)
≥ 6 offenses						-0.25***	(-9.4)			-0.10***	(-3.9)	-0.03	(-1.1)
Hang out with friends in public spaces (ref = no)													
rarely						-0.06***	(-3.6)			-0.04*	(-2.5)	-0.01	(-0.5)
often						-0.12***	(-5.7)			-0.06**	(-3.3)	-0.04	(-1.3)
very often						-0.24***	(-10.3)			-0.12***	(-6.0)	-0.05	(-1.6)
Deviant attitudes						-0.28***	(-30.6)			-0.20***	(-21.0)	-0.12***	(-10.5)
Peer delinquency								-0.27***	(-37.5)	-0.08***	(-8.5)	-0.02*	(-2.2)

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6		Model 7	
Friends without migration background (ref = no)														
yes									0.30***	(10.1)	0.14***	(6.0)	0.11***	(3.7)
Satisfaction with police													0.16***	(13.3)
Vicarious police disrespect													-0.21***	(-22.9)
Constant	2.50***	(62.4)	2.66***	(66.3)	2.66***	(68.0)	2.77***	(77.8)	2.29***	(50.3)	2.68***	(65.4)	2.55***	(41.8)
Rank	14		22		17		22		17		36		38	
R-squared	0.14		0.27		0.22		0.36		0.28		0.41		0.54	
Adjusted R-squared	0.14		0.27		0.22		0.36		0.28		0.41		0.53	
BIC	23,211		21,398		22,148		19,954		21,236		19,216		6,447	
AIC	23,109		21,237		22,023		19,793		21,112		18,953		6,207	
Observations	11,156		11,156		11,156		11,156		11,156		11,156		4,041	

t statistics in parentheses

$* p < 0.05$, $** p < 0.01$, $*** p < 0.001$

Missing values are included as residual categories in the analysis but not reported.

Similar to Germany, the first plain *Model 1* (that includes only the demographic variables) reports a substantial and significant effect of gender, ethnic minority background and age on the respondents' perceptions of fairness of police conduct. In contrast to male juveniles, female adolescents hold significantly higher predicted values for their perception of this aspect (B = .10, p < .001). Once the model controls for respondents' own experiences with crime and their propensity to commit criminal offenses (as is the case in *Model 4*), the effect of gender flips. Thus, once their proximity to crime and justice is accounted for female adolescents are more critical than males about the fairness of the police (B = -.06, p < .001 for *Model 4*). This is an interesting finding which speaks against the assumption that females generally hold more positive views of the police.

As in Germany, older adolescents in France question the fairness of the police more than younger ones. One standard deviation increase in age progressively lowers the levels of reported police fairness (B = -.11, p < .001 in *Model 1*). Other than in Germany, however, the effect of age is consistent, as it also remains statistically significant in *Model 6* under control of social ties as well as crime- and justice-related factors. As one of the top-line findings, the regression outputs report strong effects of a migration background in France. There, juveniles with an ethnic background generally believe that the police are more biased, less trustworthy and less respectful toward foreigners. Although an effect of ethnicity was reported for the German sample, too, the size of the effect is much larger in France. The effects of the ethnic background variable on perceptions of police fairness remain substantial and statistically significant throughout the analysis, especially for the juveniles of Maghrebian descent. In the plain *Model 1* – which accounts only for the demographic variables of gender, migration background, age and social condition –, juveniles of a Maghrebian background have values that are more than half a scale unit lower concerning perceived fairness of the police than the reference group, the youth of a native French background (B = -.55, p < .001). The effect size diminishes when social ties variables are introduced into the analysis, but still remains prominent in the final model accounting for all relevant predictors (B = -.21, p < .001 in *Model 6*). The previous *Chapters 6.3* and *7.4* have already pointed to the higher rates of stop-and-search police contacts among adolescents with a migration (especially Maghrebian) background in France and their conflict-ridden interactions with the police. It is thus of little surprise that compared to Germany, the French police are perceived as acting in a more unfair manner and, consequently, enjoy significantly less trust among adolescents with a migration background (and in particular among those of North African origin). Compared to the French native adolescents, who on average perceive the police rather positively, the ones of a Maghrebian background view the police with a much more critical eye.

Model 1 also controls for measures pertaining to the social conditions of the respondents, specifically for family composition as well as parental unemployment status

and educational level. Similar to Germany, the effect of these variables is fully mediated by other predictors included in the analysis at a later stage. An exception is the variable related to the structure of the family. In France, living with one's biological parents (and thus in a "traditional family" structure) seems to promote positive views of authority figures such as the police. Adolescents who live in an "alternative" family structure express more resentment toward the police as they question police fairness to a larger extent ($B = -.05$, $p < .001$ for the final *Model 6*).

Model 2 tests the effect of identification with the host society (as the first of a series of social ties variables) with regard to variations in the perceptions of police conduct fairness. The model reports a very substantial effect of identification with the society for France. Compared to youth who feel close to the French society, those who identify themselves with their country of origin, on average, hold more negative views on the fairness of the police ($B = -.34$, $p < .001$). In Germany, national identification affects perceptions of police fairness, too. However, the effect size for France is much larger. As in Germany, the above-discussed effect of the ethnicity variable is also largely reduced in size in France when controlling for juveniles' degrees of identification with the society. Overall, the level of positive attitudes toward the police is higher, and the association between group identities and this aspect is weaker in German than in French cities. Thus, particularly for France, group identities significantly shape trust and confidence in the police (also see *Tyler & Blader* 2003; *Bradford* 2014).

As a further top-line finding, the effect of religiosity on perceptions of police fairness is contrary for Germany and France. While in Germany, adolescents with high religiosity (compared to those who claim religion not to be important in their lives) share positive perceptions of police fairness, the exact opposite is true in France. Here, very religious adolescents perceive significantly lower levels of police fairness than those who feel religion to be of little importance in their lives. The effect prevails even when controlling for the delinquency variables and police contacts ($B = -.13$, $p < .001$ in *Model 6*).

Next to religiosity and national identification, *Model 2* includes further social ties in the analysis. In France (as in Germany), the empirical evidence supports the hypothesis that stronger social ties positively influence the perception of fairness of the police (for each standard deviation toward a higher parental monitoring, $B = .13$, $p < .001$; for each standard deviation toward a stronger commitment to school, $B = .16$, $p < .001$).

At this stage of the analysis, tests for the combined effects of migration background, religiosity and national identification on attitudes toward the police in Germany and France have been performed. Former studies point to the fact that the degrees of national identification with the host society vary across ethnic groups (*Bradford* 2014). Therefore, the assumption is tested whether the strength of national identification has a differential effect on attitudes toward the police, depending on the ethnic

minority background of the respondents. The results are illustrated in *Figure 8.2*. The coefficients of the interaction effects are reported in the *Annex* (*Table A10*). In Germany and France, youths with an ethnic minority background who partially or fully share the ethnic identity of their group of origin hold more negative predicted values for police fairness than those who identify themselves with the host country. However, compared to Germany, the effect size is larger in France. Whereas no statistical difference can be found in Germany in this trend across ethnic minority groups, the results reveal a more dramatic picture for France. Maghrebian adolescents who feel close to their country of origin hold significantly stronger negative views of the police than both the native French ones and the respondents of other ethnic minority backgrounds. The coefficients of the interaction terms are reported in the *Annex* (*Table A10*).

Figure 8.2   *Combined effect of migration background and national identification on perceptions of police fairness in Germany and France*
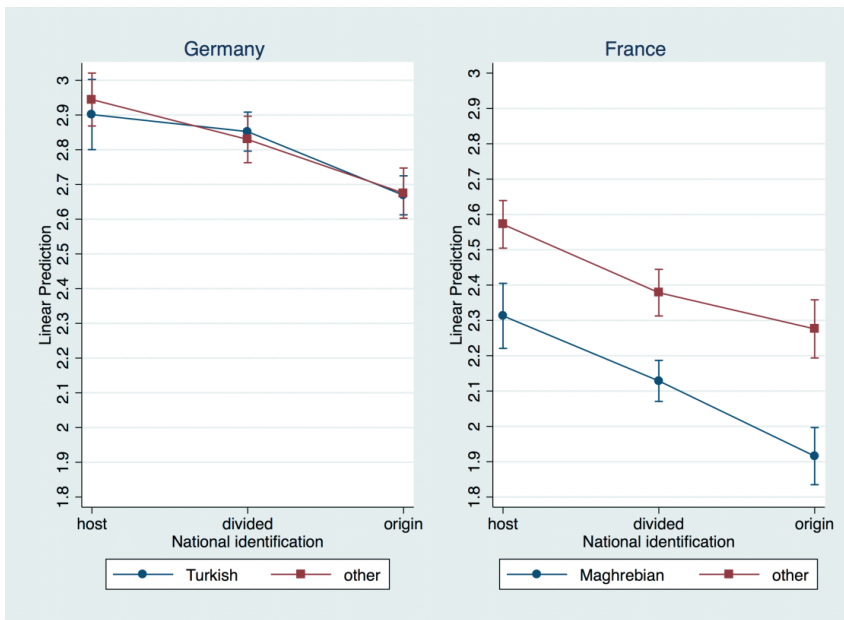

Previous research has pointed to the problematic relationship between belonging to an ethnic minority group and being a religious person, especially when it comes to unlawful behavior of juveniles (e.g. *Brettfeld* 2009). Thus, an interaction term between migration background and religiosity is included in the analysis so as to identify whether such a relationship is found in this data set, too (see *Figure 8.3*). Indeed, the findings point to the important role of religiosity. In Germany, very religious

adolescents reported high values of police fairness. In France, the effect of religiosity on perceived fairness is opposite. In particular the Maghrebian youth who claim that religion is very important in their lives hold significantly more negative views of the French police than the native French youth or those with another minority background.

Models 3 to *5* investigate the relationship between delinquency- and crime-related variables and the perception of police fairness. The models report similarly strong effects for most of these predictors in Germany and France.

Figure 8.3   *Combined effect of migration background and religiosity on police fairness in Germany and France*
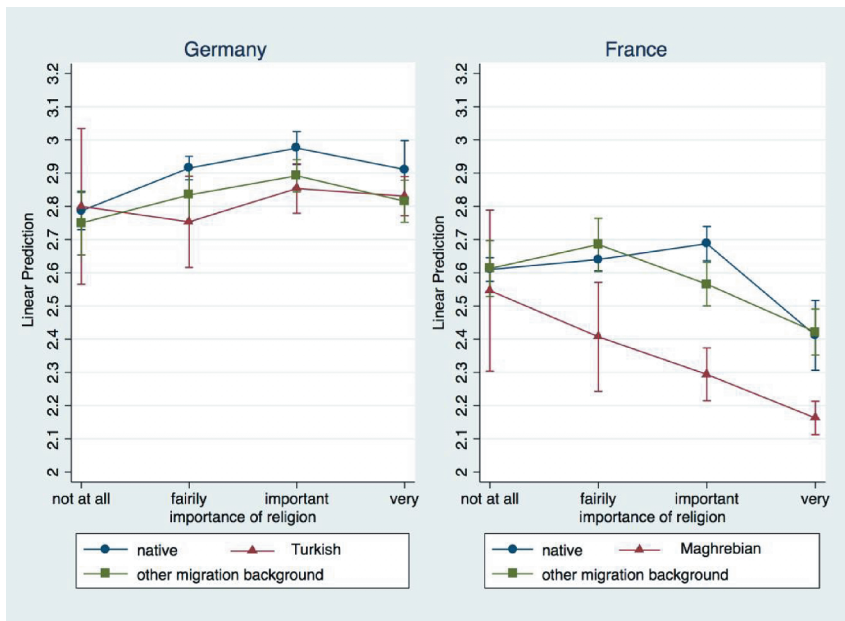
Model 3 controls for respondents' police-initiated contacts. In line with the assumptions of procedural justice, respondents who are recurrently stopped and searched by police officers or contacted as suspects of a criminal offense hold the police in lower regard. For both Germany and France, having had at least one police-initiated contact has a significant negative influence on adolescents' perceptions of police fairness. The influence becomes particularly marked among juveniles with six or more contacts (for France, $B = -.76$, $p < .001$). Although this effect is partly mediated under control of all predictors in the final *Model 6* (for France, $B = -.28$, $p < .001$), it remains substantial, making police-initiated contacts one of the strongest predictors of the analysis.

Except for victimization (which is not statistically significant), all variables related to lifestyle, the characteristic of peers and exposure to delinquency influence the levels of the respondents' perceived positive police fairness. In particular, the strong effect of deviant attitudes can be seen. Among all adolescents, those who expressed themselves in favor of committing delinquent and violent offenses were particularly critical about the police (B = -.28, p < .001).

Finally, *Model 7* explores the influence of the measure "direct and indirect experiences with police (dis)respect" on the perception of police fairness (among respondents who had at least one contact with the police). As for Germany, the findings report strong effects for both predictors. Respondents who are satisfied with police conduct during the encounter were likely to trust the police and to believe in a fair and respectful police service (for one standard deviation to higher satisfaction with the police, B = .16, p < .001). Negative experiences with the police, however, undermine these positive attitudes. The findings point to the prominent effect of vicarious experiences with police misconduct in France, which influence the perception of the police to an even greater extent than own experiences (for one scale point to more frequent experiences of vicarious police disrespect, B = -.21, p < .001).

8.3.2.2 Variations in obligation to obey the police

Variations in the obligation to obey the police are tested along the very same predictors as were included in the analysis of perceived fairness of police conduct. N = 11,346 observations are included in the analysis, see *Tables 8.20* and *8.21*. The results are reported as *Odds Ratios*. The following discussion compares the results of the regression of "obligation to obey the police" to the findings from Germany as well as to the previous analysis of the regression of "perception of police fairness" and points to the most important similarities and differences. The findings for Germany are presented in the *Annex* (*Table A9*).

Being a female rather than a male adolescent has a stronger impact on one's perceived obligation to obey the police. Whereas according the plain model (which controls only for the socio-demographic variables and the social conditions), female adolescents are more likely to follow the instructions of the police than male ones (*Odds Ratio* = 1.40, p < .001), once the propensity to commit a violent act and the experiences of criminal offenses are taken into consideration, the reverse is true. Under control of these variables, female adolescents are less likely to obey the police (*Odds Ratio* = .87, p < .01 for *Model 6*). The inconsistent effect of the gender variables has also been identified in the German sample as well as on the occasion of the above-discussed analysis of the perception of police fairness, a fact that increases the robustness of the finding.

Table 8.20   Descriptive statistics of the variables included in the regression of felt
obligation to the police in Germany and France

	Germany				France			
	Mean	SD	Min	Max	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Obligation to obey the police	3.36	0.75	1	4	2.75	0.91	1	4
Gender	0.53	0.50	0	1	0.50	0.50	0	1
Age	-0.00	1.00	-2.86	6.70	0.02	0.99	-2.53	5.42
Parental unemployment	-	-	0	2	-	-	0	2
Parental educational level	-	-	1	5	-	-	1	5
Family structure	0.33	0.47	0	1	0.26	0.44	0	1
Migration background	-	-	0	4	-	-	0	4
National identification	-	-	1	4	-	-	1	4
Importance of religion	-	-	1	4	-	-	1	4
Parental monitoring	0.01	1.00	-2.52	1.05	-0.00	0.99	-2.94	1.05
Attitudes to school	0.00	0.99	-3.64	1.80	0.01	0.98	-3.18	1.70
Police-initiated contacts	-	-	0	3	-	-	0	3
Victimization	0.32	0.47	0	1	0.23	0.42	0	1
Self-reported delinquency	-	-	0	3	-	-	0	3
Hang out with friends in public spaces	-	-	0	3	-	-	0	3
Deviant attitudes	-0.01	1.00	-1.66	3.09	-0.03	0.98	-1.54	3.00
Peer delinquency	-0.01	0.99	-0.78	2.99	-0.01	0.99	-0.85	2.48
Friends without migration background	-	-	0	2	-	-	0	2
Observations	6,497				11,346			

Other than in Germany, in France, a very strong and consistent effect on one's felt obligation to obey the police is reported when having an ethnic minority background, particularly among the respondents of North African descent. Compared to the respondents with a French native background, those of Maghrebian origin are, in all likelihood, less inclined to follow the instructions of the police – albeit among others, the model controls for respondents' own and peer experiences with crime and justice (*Odds Ratio* = .68, *p* < .001 in *Model 6*).

The effect of age remains almost unvaried throughout the analysis, with older adolescents being more reluctant than younger ones to follow the instructions of the police (for one standard deviation toward a higher age, *Odds Ratio* = .87, *p* < .01 in *Model 6*). This effect is almost identical for the analysis of the German data.

From the measures of social deprivation in the final *Model 6*, only respondents who have at least one unemployed parent (as compared to those whose parents are employed) felt significantly less obliged to comply with the instructions of the police (*Odds Ratio* = .86, *p* < .01).

In France as much as in Germany, strong positive social ties to family and school, which stand for a positive relationship to authoritarian figures, seem to promote the acceptance of police instructions (for one standard deviation increase in parental monitoring, *Odds Ratio* = 1.07, *p* < .01; for one standard deviation increase in attitudes to school, *Odds Ratio* = 1.22, *p* < .001 in *Model 6*). Very similar effects of these predictors are retained in the German analysis.

The analysis of the effect of national identification and religiosity, however, reveals noteworthy cross-country differences. Whereas under control of all predictors, no important effect or national identification is retained for the analysis of the German data, respondents' degrees of identification with the society significantly predict to what extent they are willing to obey to the police in France (for the respondents who strongly identify with their country of origin – compared those who identify with the host country –, *Odds Ratio* = .68, *p* < .001 in *Model 6*).

Again, as already noted in the discussion of predictors for young people's perceptions of police fairness, the effect of religiosity is contrary for France and Germany. Whereas in Germany, strong religiosity seems to encourage a compliance to the norms and values of the police, religiosity rather promotes a sense of a distinct identity in France, i.e. separated from the state (for the respondents who reserve religion an important place in their lives – compared to those who are not very religious –, *Odds Ratio* = .84, *p* < .05 in *Model 6*). The same contrasting trend has been discussed on occasion of the analysis of predictors for the perception of police fairness.

Similar implications of the crime- and justice-related variables, as explored in *Models 3* to *5*, are registered for both countries. As is the case for Germany, experiences of police-initiated contacts importantly influence young people's propensity to fol-

low instructions of the police. Albeit controlling for a series of predictors that potentially influence this relationship, respondents who have been contacted by the police three or more times over the last year (compared to those who have never been contacted) are significantly less likely to follow the instructions of the police (*Odds Ratio* = .72, *p* < .01 for 3 to 5 contacts; *Odds Ratio* = .51 *p* < .001 for more than 5 contacts in *Model 6*). The size of the effect of multiple police-initiated contacts on one's obligation to obey the police is comparable with the one registered among the German respondents, a fact that highlights the potential deteriorating effect on young people's relationship with the police of recurrent stop-and-search practices or other encounters initiated by the police. Adolescents who are positively inclined to deviant attitudes are more reluctant to obey the police, a trend recorded across borders. As for the previous analyses, under control of all variables, "deviant attitudes" is among the strongest predictors (*Odds Ratio* = .46, *p* < .001 in *Model 6*). The fact that the size of the effect is equal for both Germany and France adds to the robustness of this result.

Adolescents who have a high propensity to commit criminal offenses, delinquent peers and friend groups composed solely of non-native peers are significantly less likely to comply with the instructions of the police. As these effects have already been extensively discussed in the previous analysis of the likelihood of respondents in Germany to obey the police, they will not be further investigated here.

Finally, in *Model 7*, the influence of predictors for direct and indirect experiences with the police are explored – namely the satisfaction with police conduct during the own encounter and vicarious experiences of police disrespect. Analogously to the findings for Germany, the evidence supports the hypothesized effect of own and third-party experiences of a (dis)respectful and (un)fair behavior of the police on one's propensity to follow their rules and orders (for one standard deviation increase in satisfaction with the police, *Odds Ratio* = 1.36, *p* < .001; for one standard deviation increase of vicarious experiences of disrespect, *Odds Ratio* = .74, *p* < .001).

Table 8.21   Ordered logit regression of obligation to obey the police in France

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6		Model 7	
Female (ref = boy)	1.40***	(7.8)	1.22***	(4.7)	1.16***	(3.4)	0.92	(-1.9)	1.25***	(5.1)	0.87**	(-3.1)	0.83*	(-2.2)
Age	0.80***	(-8.4)	0.83***	(-7.4)	0.85***	(-5.9)	0.85***	(-6.1)	0.87***	(-5.3)	0.86***	(-6.1)	0.90***	(-3.3)
Parental unemployment (ref = no)														
yes	0.76***	(-6.0)	0.83***	(-3.9)	0.79***	(-5.5)	0.83***	(-3.9)	0.81***	(-4.8)	0.86**	(-3.3)	0.95	(-0.7)
unclear	0.71***	(-4.0)	0.82*	(-2.3)	0.74***	(-3.9)	0.82**	(-2.7)	0.74***	(-3.8)	0.90	(-1.5)	0.89	(-0.7)
Parental educational level (ref = no degree)														
below Bac/Abi	1.20	(1.5)	1.00	(0.0)	1.10	(0.8)	1.03	(0.2)	1.05	(0.4)	0.94	(-0.5)	1.03	(0.1)
Bac/Abi	1.20	(1.6)	0.99	(-0.1)	1.10	(0.9)	1.06	(0.5)	1.07	(0.6)	0.94	(-0.5)	1.05	(0.3)
above Bac/Abi	1.54***	(3.7)	1.15	(1.2)	1.39**	(2.9)	1.21	(1.5)	1.32*	(2.4)	1.02	(0.2)	1.07	(0.4)
Family structure (ref = complete)	0.86***	(-3.7)	0.91*	(-2.2)	0.88**	(-3.2)	0.91*	(-2.4)	0.90**	(-2.8)	0.93	(-1.8)	0.92	(-1.1)
Migration background (ref = native)														
Maghrebian	0.36***	(-14.7)	0.59***	(-6.0)	0.40***	(-13.5)	0.46***	(-10.4)	0.44***	(-12.1)	0.68***	(-4.7)	0.88	(-0.9)
other	0.73***	(-5.2)	1.04	(0.6)	0.74***	(-4.9)	0.75***	(-4.5)	0.77***	(-4.3)	0.97	(-0.4)	1.05	(0.3)
mixed native/Maghrebian	0.63***	(-5.7)	0.79**	(-2.8)	0.67***	(-4.7)	0.75***	(-3.6)	0.72***	(-3.8)	0.88	(-1.5)	0.93	(-0.4)
mixed native/other	0.70***	(-6.0)	0.84**	(-2.9)	0.74***	(-5.1)	0.78***	(-4.2)	0.75***	(-4.8)	0.87*	(-2.3)	0.93	(-0.8)
National identification (ref = host country)														
divided			0.67***	(-6.7)							0.75***	(-4.8)	0.79**	(-2.8)
country of origin			0.49***	(-8.6)							0.68***	(-4.7)	0.71*	(-2.6)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7
Importance of religion (ref = not important)							
somewhat important		1.08 (1.6)				1.07 (1.5)	1.04 (0.3)
fairly important		1.07 (1.3)				1.10 (1.6)	1.08 (0.9)
very important		0.72*** (-3.8)				0.84* (-2.1)	0.99 (-0.1)
Parental monitoring		1.32*** (12.7)				1.07** (2.8)	1.06 (1.5)
Attitudes to school		1.56*** (20.9)				1.22*** (8.6)	1.20*** (5.0)
Police-initiated contacts (ref = no)							
1–2 contacts			0.67*** (-5.3)			1.07 (1.0)	1.10 (1.0)
3–5 contacts			0.32*** (-10.2)			0.72** (-3.2)	0.92 (-0.7)
≥ 6 contacts			0.19*** (-15.0)			0.51*** (-5.9)	0.69* (-2.5)
Victimization (ref = no)				1.06 (1.2)		1.11* (2.1)	1.11 (1.1)
Self-reported delinquency (ref = no)							
1–2 offenses				0.91 (-1.7)		0.96 (-0.6)	1.09 (0.8)
3–5 offenses				0.75*** (-3.6)		0.85* (-2.1)	0.97 (-0.3)
≥ 6 offenses				0.74*** (-4.7)		0.97 (-0.4)	1.14 (1.0)
Hang out with friends in public spaces (ref = no)							
rarely				0.85** (-3.1)		0.88* (-2.4)	0.92 (-0.9)
often				0.80*** (-3.9)		0.88* (-2.2)	0.95 (-0.5)
very often				0.68*** (-5.0)		0.84* (-2.1)	1.05 (0.4)
Deviant attitudes				0.39*** (-35.8)		0.46*** (-27.5)	0.50*** (-15.7)
Peer delinquency					0.56*** (-29.2)	0.88*** (-4.4)	0.96 (-0.9)

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6		Model 7	
Friends without migration background (ref = no)														
yes													1.44*	(2.5)
Satisfaction with police									1.94***	(8.6)	1.36***	(3.8)	1.38***	(6.4)
Vicarious police disrespect													0.74***	(-6.7)
cut1	0.12***	(-16.4)	0.07***	(-20.0)	0.08***	(-19.8)	0.05***	(-22.3)	0.17***	(-14.2)	0.06***	(-18.8)	0.08***	(-10.2)
cut2	0.58***	(-4.6)	0.39***	(-7.4)	0.41***	(-7.7)	0.31***	(-8.8)	0.91	(-0.8)	0.39***	(-6.5)	0.61*	(-2.0)
cut3	4.53***	(13.7)	3.58***	(10.9)	3.40***	(11.6)	3.42***	(10.1)	8.00***	(18.0)	4.36***	(10.6)	6.36***	(7.8)
Pseudo R^2	0.034		0.076		0.054		0.123		0.072		0.136		0.163	
Rank	16		24		19		24		19		38		40	
Log lik.	-14,096		-13,485		-13,799		-12,800		-13,550		-12,606		-4,747	
Chi-squared	556.89		1,788.18		1,471.94		3,415.47		2,458.40		5,230.38		1,986.92	
BIC	28,341		27,193		27,776		25,824		27,278		25,567		9,826	
AIC	28,223		27,017		27,637		25,647		27,139		25,288		9,573	
Observations	11,346		11,346		11,346		11,346		11,346		11,346		4,070	

Exponentiated coefficients (Odds Ratio); z statistics in parentheses

$* p < 0.05$, $** p < 0.01$, $*** p < 0.001$

Missing values are included as residual categories in the analysis but not reported.

8.3.3   Excursus: generational effects

Despite a fast-growing immigrant population in many European countries and the intensive debate over policies of immigration, little is known about immigrant perceptions of the police in general and how these perceptions differ from one generation to the other in particular.

The purpose of this chapter is to shed light on potential generational differences in attitudes toward the police in Germany and France.

In line with the classical assimilation theory, one might assume that with time, immigrants become more assimilated into the host society, and as a result of this process of adaption, they express more positive views of host society institutions, including the police. Yet, research has challenged this theory. Some studies found that children of immigrant groups perform less well and hold more critical views of law enforcement institutions than their parents who immigrated from another country (see *Wu* 2010).

Thus, next to the degree of assimilation, group-specific explanations linked to cultural background, legal status, perceptions of the home country police and experiences with immigration officials may as well determine differential views of the police among the immigrant population (see *Wu et al.* 2017).

The analyses presented in the following will test for the impact of the length of stay in the host country (i.e. the generation of immigration) as a proxy for the degree of assimilation. Specifically, the analyses will examine the effect of the immigration generation on attitudes toward the police among respondents with a migration background. Analogously to other studies that have pointed to variations in perceptions of the police across generations (see *Wu* 2010), this study aims at providing empirical evidence that attitudes toward the police change between the first, the second and the third generation of immigrants.

Thus, not only belonging to a (specific) minority background may influence perceptions of the police, but also the length of residence in a country. In order to test for this "generational effect", perceived police fairness among non-native respondents has been regressed for both Germany and France on the variables measuring the generation of immigration. For the rest (as one can read from the descriptive statistics of *Table 8.22*), so as to grant the best comparability of the findings, the final models include the same sets of variables in the analysis as in the previous sections. Thus, in addition to the "generation of immigration" variable, the models control for the socio-economic and social deprivation variables, for respondents' social ties as well as their experiences with and exposure to delinquency.

The effects of the other group-specific variables of interest, such as perceptions of the home country police, cannot be estimated with the data from this study. Further research may consider focusing on immigrants' attitudes toward the police and carrying out detailed analyses of the implications of various group-specific variables.

For both countries, "generation" is included as a categorical variable in the analysis with four occurrences: "1. generation, kid immigrated $\geq$ 5 years age", "1. generation, kid immigrated < 5 years age", "2. generation" and "3. generation". Whereas the second generation indicates that both parents migrated to the country, both parents of third-generation adolescents grew up in Germany or France respectively. Adolescents with parents of a mixed native/migration background are recoded as part of the second generation.

The subsequent analyses are run only with respondents of a migration background and therefore with a sub-sample of the original data set. For the analyses of the perceptions of police fairness, for Germany and France respectively, $N = 3,328$ and $N = 5,372$ observations are included.

The results of examining the effect of the generation on perceived police fairness are presented for Germany in *Table 8.23* and for France in *Table 8.24*. A set of five regression models is run for Germany and France separately, following an analogous approach to the analyses of the previous sections.

Model 1 controls only for the demographic variables of gender, age and ethnic background as well as indicators for the social status of the family, namely the parental employment and educational statuses as well as the structure of the family. The variable of interest, "generation of immigration", is introduced in *Model 2. Model 3* investigates whether the potential effect of the generation variables is subject to change when various measures for respondents' social ties are included. Similarly, *Model 4* examines whether the potential effect of the generation variables is mediated, fully or to some extent, through the numerous crime- and justice-related variables. Finally, *Model 5* tests whether a possible generational effect still prevails when including all predictors into the analysis.

In Germany, no variation in the perceptions of police fairness is found between the respondents of the first generation who were born in the country (or migrated to Germany at a very young age) and those who migrated to the country after age 5. Neither do the third-generation immigrants differ in their perceptions of the police from the first generation of immigrants (migrated to Germany at age 5 or older). Respondents of the second generation of immigration, however, hold slightly but significantly more negative views of police fairness ($B = -.10, p < .01$) than the first-generation immigrants. These effects are subject to little variation, hence they remain almost unchanged when other predictors are included in the analysis.

Table 8.22   Descriptive statistics of variables included in the regression of police fairness on generation of immigration in Germany and France

	Germany				France			
	Mean	SD	Min	Max	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Perception of police fairness	2.79	0.69	1	4	2.38	0.76	1	4
Gender	0.52	0.50	0	1	0.51	0.50	0	1
Age	0.09	1.02	-2.34	6.70	0.06	1.01	-2.53	5.42
Parental unemployment	-	-	0	2	-	-	0	2
Parental educational level	-	-	1	5	-	-	1	5
Family structure	0.30	0.46	0	1	0.28	0.45	0	1
Migration background	-	-	1	4	-	-	1	4
Generation of immigration	-	-	1	4	-	-	1	4
Importance of religion	-	-	1	4	-	-	1	4
National identification	-	-	1	4	-	-	1	4
Parental monitoring	-0.08	1.02	-2.52	1.05	-0.03	1.04	-2.94	1.05
Attitudes to school	0.07	1.02	-3.64	1.80	-0.02	1.03	-3.18	1.70
Police-initiated contacts	-	-	0	3	-	-	0	3
Victimization	0.32	0.47	0	1	0.21	0.41	0	1
Self-reported delinquency	-	-	0	3	-	-	0	3
Hang out with friends in public spaces	-	-	0	3	-	-	0	3
Deviant attitudes	0.03	1.00	-1.66	3.09	0.11	1.04	-1.54	3.00
Peer delinquency	0.06	1.02	-0.78	2.99	0.08	1.06	-0.85	2.48
Friends without migration background	-	-	0	2	-	-	0	2
Observations	3,328				5,372			

According to the French results, the immigration generation variable is a robust predictor for perceptions of police fairness. Respondents who were born in France (or immigrated at a very young age) – as compared to those who arrived after age 5 – perceive significantly lower levels of police fairness (B = -.27, p < .001).

Similarly, adolescents of second- and third-generation immigration are more critical of police fairness than their first-generation counterparts (for the second and third generation respectively, B = -.25, p < .001 and B = -.16, p < .01). Although partially mediated through the other predictors included in the analysis, these effects also remain substantial in *Model 5*. Thus, compared to Germany, a more significant empirical evidence for the generational effect is found in France.

The results seem to contradict the theory of assimilation, suggesting that the length of stay in the host country does not improve immigrants' positive perceptions of the police. On the contrary, children of immigrants are more critical of the police, which is likely to be linked with a general discontent with the host society and other group-sepcific variables cited above, such as one's own legal status and experiences with immigration officials.

Overall, the model fit statistics reported at the bottom of *Tables 8.23* and *8.24* indicate that differently from the predictors for social ties and the variables related to crime and justice, the inclusion of the immigration generation adds little to the understanding of variations in the perception of police fairness among all respondents in Germany and France.

Table 8.23   Generational effect in linear regression of police fairness in Germany

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5	
Female (ref = boy)	0.21***	(8.7)	0.21***	(8.6)	0.13***	(5.6)	0.00	(0.1)	-0.00	(-0.2)
Age	-0.10***	(-5.7)	-0.10***	(-5.8)	-0.08***	(-5.3)	-0.06***	(-4.9)	-0.06***	(-4.6)
Parental unemployment (ref = no)										
yes	-0.03	(-0.8)	-0.03	(-1.0)	0.00	(0.1)	0.00	(0.1)	0.01	(0.5)
unclear	-0.02	(-0.4)	-0.02	(-0.6)	0.00	(0.0)	-0.02	(-0.6)	-0.01	(-0.4)
Parental educational level (ref = no degree)										
below Bac/Abi	-0.09*	(-2.3)	-0.09*	(-2.2)	-0.08*	(-2.1)	-0.07*	(-2.4)	-0.07*	(-2.3)
Bac/Abi	-0.03	(-0.7)	-0.03	(-0.6)	-0.04	(-1.1)	-0.04	(-1.0)	-0.04	(-1.2)
above Bac/Abi	-0.09*	(-2.1)	-0.10*	(-2.3)	-0.10*	(-2.5)	-0.10**	(-3.2)	-0.09**	(-3.2)
Family structure (ref = complete)	-0.14***	(-5.5)	-0.14***	(-5.7)	-0.10***	(-4.1)	-0.08***	(-3.6)	-0.07**	(-2.9)
Migration background (ref = Turkish)										
other	-0.00	(-0.1)	-0.02	(-0.7)	-0.00	(-0.2)	-0.06*	(-2.2)	-0.04	(-1.6)
mixed native/Turkish	0.11	(1.9)	0.10	(1.0)	0.06	(0.6)	0.00	(0.1)	0.00	(0.0)
mixed native/other	0.04	(1.1)	0.02	(0.3)	0.05	(0.7)	-0.05	(-0.6)	-0.02	(-0.3)
Generation of immigration (reference = 1. gen, immigrated ≥ 5 yrs)										
1. generation, kid immigrated < 5 yrs			-0.06	(-1.0)	-0.02	(-0.3)	-0.01	(-0.1)	0.01	(0.1)
2. generation			-0.12*	(-2.3)	-0.11*	(-2.6)	-0.09**	(-2.7)	-0.10**	(-2.7)
3. generation			-0.10	(-1.3)	-0.11	(-1.5)	-0.02	(-0.4)	-0.04	(-0.7)
Importance of religion (ref = not important)										

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5	
somewhat important					0.07	(1.5)			0.04	(0.8)
fairly important					0.14***	(3.5)			0.10*	(2.6)
very important					0.08	(1.8)			0.07	(1.8)
National identification (ref = host country)										
divided					-0.06	(-1.5)			-0.03	(-0.7)
country of origin					-0.20***	(-6.5)			-0.10***	(-3.5)
Parental monitoring					0.12***	(11.7)			0.04***	(4.1)
Attitudes to school					0.16***	(12.7)			0.08***	(7.3)
Police-initiated contacts (ref = no)										
1–2 contacts							-0.01	(-0.4)	-0.00	(-0.1)
3–5 contacts							-0.14*	(-2.2)	-0.15*	(-2.5)
≥ 6 contacts							-0.20*	(-2.5)	-0.20*	(-2.4)
Victimization (ref = no)							-0.03	(-0.9)	-0.02	(-0.8)
Self-reported delinquency (ref = no)										
1–2 offenses							-0.07*	(-2.1)	-0.05	(-1.6)
3–5 offenses							0.01	(0.2)	0.03	(0.6)
≥ 6 offenses							-0.15***	(-3.8)	-0.11**	(-2.9)
Hang out with friends in public spaces							-0.01	(-0.8)	-0.01	(-0.5)
Deviant attitudes							-0.24***	(-16.9)	-0.20***	(-15.8)
Peer delinquency							-0.11***	(-6.0)	-0.10***	(-5.5)
Friends without migration background (ref = no)										
yes							0.11***	(4.2)	0.11***	(4.0)
Constant	2.76***	(96.3)	2.87***	(52.0)	2.89***	(41.9)	2.95***	(56.1)	2.91***	(42.9)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Rank	13	16	24	28	36
R-squared	0.06	0.06	0.18	0.31	0.33
Adjusted R-squared	0.06	0.06	0.18	0.30	0.32
BIC	6,880	6,897	6,505	5,978	5,935
AIC	6,801	6,800	6,359	5,807	5,715
Observations	3,328	3,328	3,328	3,328	3,328

t statistics in parentheses

$* p < 0.05$, $** p < 0.01$, $*** p < 0.001$

Missing values are included as residual categories in the analysis but not reported.

Table 8.24   Generational effect in linear regression of police fairness in France

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5	
Female (ref = boy)	0.13***	(5.0)	0.13***	(5.0)	0.06*	(2.6)	-0.09***	(-4.6)	-0.08***	(-4.3)
Age	-0.10***	(-6.9)	-0.11***	(-7.3)	-0.09***	(-7.8)	-0.07***	(-6.0)	-0.07***	(-6.8)
Parental unemployment (ref = no)										
yes	-0.06*	(-2.4)	-0.06*	(-2.6)	-0.03	(-1.4)	-0.03	(-1.3)	-0.02	(-0.7)
unclear	-0.15***	(-4.1)	-0.16***	(-4.4)	-0.10*	(-2.5)	-0.06	(-2.0)	-0.05	(-1.4)
Parental educational level (ref = no degree)										
below Bac/Abi	0.12*	(2.4)	0.11*	(2.3)	0.04	(0.8)	0.03	(0.6)	0.01	(0.2)
Bac/Abi	0.10	(1.9)	0.09	(1.6)	-0.00	(-0.1)	0.04	(0.7)	0.00	(0.1)
above Bac/Abi	0.22***	(3.9)	0.21***	(3.6)	0.04	(0.9)	0.06	(1.1)	-0.00	(-0.0)
Family structure (ref = complete)	-0.08***	(-3.4)	-0.08***	(-3.6)	-0.07**	(-3.2)	-0.05*	(-2.4)	-0.05*	(-2.5)
Migration background (ref = Maghrebian)										

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5	
other	0.35***	(12.2)	0.32***	(11.9)	0.22***	(7.4)	0.19***	(6.8)	0.14***	(4.8)
mixed native/Maghrebian	0.29***	(7.1)	0.23***	(5.1)	0.13**	(3.0)	0.16***	(3.5)	0.10*	(2.3)
mixed native/other	0.42***	(14.2)	0.36***	(9.6)	0.21***	(5.2)	0.26***	(7.0)	0.16***	(4.2)
Generation of immigration (reference = 1. gen., immigrated ≥ 5 yrs)										
1. generation, kid immigrated < 5 yrs			-0.27***	(-5.3)	-0.24***	(-5.2)	-0.16***	(-3.7)	-0.17***	(-4.3)
2. generation			-0.25***	(-5.7)	-0.27***	(-7.5)	-0.17***	(-5.0)	-0.20***	(-6.4)
3. generation			-0.16**	(-3.3)	-0.26***	(-6.1)	-0.08*	(-2.2)	-0.16***	(-4.5)
Importance of religion (ref = not important)										
somewhat important					0.01	(0.3)			0.01	(0.3)
fairly important					-0.10**	(-2.8)			-0.08*	(-2.1)
very important					-0.28***	(-7.0)			-0.20***	(-5.7)
National identification (ref = host country)										
divided					-0.15***	(-5.8)			-0.09***	(-4.3)
country of origin					-0.32***	(-9.6)			-0.17***	(-6.1)
Parental monitoring					0.12***	(10.7)			0.03***	(2.7)
Attitudes to school					0.17***	(14.9)			0.07***	(6.6)
Police-initiated contacts (ref = no)										
1–2 contacts							-0.08*	(-2.6)	-0.07*	(-2.5)
3–5 contacts							-0.21***	(-4.7)	-0.19***	(-4.4)
≥ 6 contacts							-0.27***	(-6.6)	-0.24***	(-6.0)
Victimization (ref = no)							0.02	(1.0)	0.02	(1.1)
Self-reported delinquency (ref = no)										

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5	
1–2 offenses							-0.15***	(-5.5)	-0.14***	(-5.5)
3–5 offenses							-0.11**	(-3.3)	-0.10**	(-3.3)
≥ 6 offenses							-0.13***	(-3.7)	-0.13***	(-4.1)
Hang out with friends in public spaces							-0.05***	(-4.9)	-0.03***	(-3.5)
Deviant attitudes							-0.22***	(-17.0)	-0.19***	(-14.7)
Peer delinquency							-0.09***	(-8.2)	-0.07***	(-6.9)
Friends without migration background (ref = no)										
yes							0.18***	(6.9)	0.12***	(4.6)
Constant	1.95***	(33.5)	2.18***	(30.3)	2.73***	(43.8)	2.42***	(38.4)	2.75***	(43.7)
Rank	13		16		24		28		36	
R-squared	0.11		0.12		0.26		0.38		0.41	
Adjusted R-squared	0.11		0.11		0.26		0.38		0.40	
BIC	11,826		11,795		10,884		9,987		9,818	
AIC	11,740		11,690		10,726		9,803		9,581	
Observations	5,372		5,372		5,372		5,372		5,372	

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Missing values are included as residual category in the analysis but not reported

8.3.4   Neighborhood effects

In addition to the individual-level analysis, this section examines if and to what extent the concentrated socio-geographical disadvantage explains variations in respondents' perceptions of police fairness. Characteristically for the French case, youth violence is concentrated in the so-called "banlieues", suburbs of larger cities with high levels of concentrated disadvantage. For studying the influence of various socio-geographical factors on adolescents' experiences and attitudes, respondents were clustered into neighborhoods according to the information about their residential addresses. Only neighborhoods with at least 15 surveyed adolescents were considered in the analysis. In the following, findings from a series of multi-level models of adolescents' perceptions of police fairness in Germany and France are presented.

Previous studies have pointed out that people from the same neighborhood are likely to hold similar levels of trust in the police. In their analysis of the social ecology of this issue in London, *Jackson et al.* (2013a) found that the neighborhood context accounts for around 9% of the variation of public trust in police fairness. Their results indicate that neighborhood differences are explained primarily by structural and social characteristics, such as concentrated disadvantage, residential stability, ethnic composition and levels of collective efficacy, to mention just a few.

The following analysis aims at identifying whether variations in the levels of positive perceptions of police fairness among young people across neighborhoods in Germany and France exist – and whether the structural characteristics of the neighborhoods add to this variation. The descriptive statistics of the variables included in the model are listed in *Table 8.25*.

Table 8.25   Descriptive statistics of variables included in the multi-level regression of police fairness in Germany and France

	Germany				France			
	Mean	SD	Min	Max	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Perception of police fairness	2.87	0.68	1	4	2.52	0.75	1	4
Gender	0.53	0.50	0	1	0.52	0.50	0	1
Age	-0.03	0.97	-2.86	6.70	-0.02	0.99	-2.53	5.42
Parental unemployment	-	-	0	2	-	-	0	2
Parental educational level	-	-	1	5	-	-	1	5
Family structure	0.33	0.47	0	1	0.28	0.45	0	1
Migration background	-	-	0	4	-	-	0	4

	Germany				France			
	Mean	SD	Min	Max	Mean	SD	Min	Max
National identification	-	-	1	4	-	-	1	4
Importance of religion	-	-	1	4	-	-	1	4
Parental monitoring	-0.01	1.00	-2.52	1.05	0.03	0.98	-2.94	1.05
Attitudes to school	0.02	0.99	-3.64	1.80	0.02	0.99	-3.18	1.70
Police-initiated contacts	-	-	0	3	-	-	0	3
Victimization	0.32	0.47	0	1	0.23	0.42	0	1
Self-reported delinquency	-	-	0	3	-	-	0	3
Deviant attitudes	-0.02	0.99	-1.66	3.09	-0.02	0.99	-1.54	3.00
Social depriva- tion (official un- employment/im- migration rates)	0.04	0.98	-1.38	3.33	0.04	0.96	-1.35	3.39
Observations	4,715				7,308			

Except for the variables related to the (delinquent) characteristics of the peers that are intentionally excluded from the analysis (as they may be too closely interrelated with the neighborhood), all previously presented variables in the analysis of individual-level perceptions of police fairness are included as level 1 variables in the multi-level analysis, too (for Germany: *Pearsons' r* = .64; for France: *Pearsons' r* = .92). Additionally, the factor score for the social deprivation of the neighborhood (based on official unemployment and immigration rates) – which is a proxy for the structural characteristics of the neighborhood – is introduced into the analysis as a level 2 variable.

Table 8.26   Neighborhood variation in police fairness in Germany

	Intra-class correlation (*ICC*)	Variance neighborhood	Variance residual
Empty model	.012	.005	.45
adding social characteristics	.004	.002	.43
adding all level 1 covariates	.004	.001	.29
adding level 2 variable	. 004	001	29

Table 8.26 presents the results from the intra-class correlations for the multi-level models for the German sample, while *Table 8.27* does the same for the French sample. The multilevel analysis has been computed in accordance with *Hox's* (2010) approach. The output from the multi-level modeling is reported in *Table 8.28* for Germany and in *Table 8.29* for France.

Table 8.27   *Neighborhood variation in police fairness in France*

	Intra-class correlation (*ICC*)	Variance ethnic back-ground	Variance neighbor-hood	Variance residual
Empty model	.061		.04	.53
adding social characteristics	.020		.01	.48
adding all level 1 covariates	.007		.00	.34
adding level 2 variable	.003		.00	.36
Random slope and intercept				
adding random slope	.00	.00	.00	. 34
adding cross-level interaction	.00	.00	.00	. 34

In order to examine the neighborhood effects, the analysis starts with *Model 1*, a plain model that does not control for any covariates. A look at the *ICC* value of this empty model indicates that in Germany, only around 1% of the variation occurs between neighborhoods.

The French *ICC* value of the empty model exceeds the one from Germany by far, with an initial 6% of the variance explained by the variance between neighborhoods. Thus, whereas in France, the clustering by neighborhoods adds to the understanding of influences on adolescents' attitudes toward the police, it conveys very limited information in Germany. Adolescents who live in the same neighborhood in France are thus more likely to share similar perceptions of police fairness, whereas these perceptions are not specific to a German neighborhood.

Model 2 controls for main individual-level predictors that provide indications about the social characteristics of the adolescents from the survey: gender, ethnic background, age, parental unemployment and educational status as well as family structure. This compositional model accounts for the fact that "people are not randomly distributed across neighborhoods" (*Jackson et al.* 2013a, p. 105).

Model 3 considers all level 1 covariates in the analysis. For both Germany and France, when adding national identification, importance of religion, parental moni-

toring, commitment to school, police-initiated police contact, self-reported delin-
quency and deviant attitudes, an important share of the initial neighborhood-level
variation can be explained.

Model 4 adds the level 2 explanatory variable. From the multi-level regression tables,
one reads that other than in France, concentrated disadvantage has no effect on ado-
lescents' perceptions of police fairness in Germany.

*Figure 8.4   Combined effect of migration background and neighborhood dep-
                     rivation on police fairness in Germany and France*
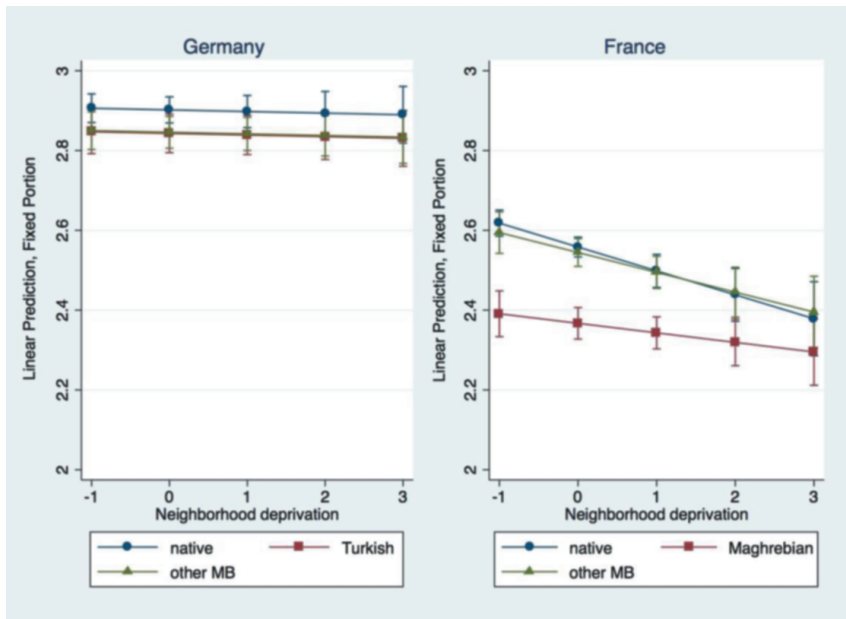
In France, one standard deviation increase in concentrated disadvantage results in a
significant drop in adolescents' views of police fairness ($B = -.04$, $p < .001$). Inter-
estingly, for France, a significant cross-level interaction between the level 1 variable
"migration background" and the level 2 variable "concentrated disadvantage" is re-
ported; this result supplies the assumption that social deprivation affects adolescents'
attitudes toward the police and that the strength of the effects depends on the ethnic
background of the juvenile (see *Model 5* for France). The interaction effect is visu-
alized in *Figure 8.4*. In France, the effect of neighborhood deprivation is particularly
important for young people of a native or other (non-Maghrebian) migration back-
ground. For those juveniles, living in a deprived neighborhood negatively influences
their perceptions of police fairness. Among young people of Maghrebian descent,

however, these perceptions remain rather low, regardless of whether they live in deprived or more affluent neighborhoods.

For France, the likelihood ratio test indicates that the model with the level 2 variable, a random ethnic background slope as well as an interaction between the random slope and the level 2 variable fits the model best. Yet, with this more complex model, the increase in the additionally explained neighborhood-level variation is very limited.

Table 8.28   *Multi-level linear regression of police fairness in Germany*

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
Female (ref = boy)			0.19***	(9.9)	-0.01	(-0.4)	-0.01	(-0.4)
Age			-0.11***	(-10.8)	-0.05***	(-6.5)	-0.05***	(-6.5)
Parental unemployment (ref = no)								
yes			-0.07**	(-2.8)	-0.02	(-1.0)	-0.02	(-1.0)
unclear			-0.11**	(-2.8)	-0.09**	(-3.0)	-0.09**	(-2.9)
Parental educational level (ref = no degree)								
below Bac/Abi			-0.00	(-0.1)	-0.02	(-0.9)	-0.02	(-0.9)
Bac/Abi			0.01	(0.4)	-0.02	(-0.6)	-0.02	(-0.6)
above Bac/Abi			-0.01	(-0.5)	-0.05	(-1.7)	-0.05	(-1.8)
Family structure (ref = complete)			-0.13***	(-6.1)	-0.05**	(-3.1)	-0.05**	(-3.1)
Migration background (ref = native)								
Turkish			-0.11***	(-3.9)	-0.06	(-1.8)	-0.06	(-1.7)
other			-0.11***	(-4.5)	-0.06*	(-2.0)	-0.06	(-1.9)
mixed native/Turkish			0.01	(0.1)	0.04	(0.6)	0.04	(0.6)
mixed native/other			-0.09**	(-2.6)	-0.01	(-0.4)	-0.01	(-0.4)
National identification (ref = host country)								
divided					-0.06*	(-2.0)	-0.06*	(-2.0)
country of origin					-0.13***	(-4.2)	-0.13***	(-4.2)
Importance of religion (ref = not important)								
somewhat important					0.05*	(2.0)	0.05*	(2.0)
fairly important					0.08**	(3.1)	0.08**	(3.1)
very important					0.06*	(2.0)	0.06*	(2.1)
Parental monitoring					0.04***	(4.5)	0.04***	(4.5)
Attitudes to school					0.09***	(10.0)	0.09***	(10.0)

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
Police-initiated contacts (ref = no)								
1–2 contacts					-0.04*	(-2.0)	-0.04*	(-2.0)
3–5 contacts					-0.24***	(-6.2)	-0.24***	(-6.2)
≥ 6 contacts					-0.38***	(-7.7)	-0.38***	(-7.7)
Victimization (ref = no)					-0.04*	(-2.2)	-0.04*	(-2.2)
Self-reported delinquency (ref = no)								
1–2 offenses					-0.07**	(-3.0)	-0.07**	(-3.0)
3–5 offenses					-0.05	(-1.3)	-0.05	(-1.3)
≥ 6 offenses					-0.22***	(-6.6)	-0.22***	(-6.6)
Deviant attitudes					-0.24***	(-23.8)	-0.24***	(-23.8)
Social deprivation (official unemployment/ immigration rates)							-0.00	(-0.4)
Constant	2.87***	(232.4)	2.87***	(89.2)	2.99***	(93.9)	2.99***	(93.8)
var(cons)	0.01***	(-11.4)	0.00***	(-6.7)	0.00***	(-7.9)	0.00***	(-7.6)
var(Residual)	0.45***	(-38.1)	0.42***	(-41.2)	0.29***	(-58.7)	0.29***	(-58.7)
Rank	3		16		32		33	
Log lik.	-4,836		-4,673		-3,820		-3,820	
Chi-squared			340.95		2,544.30		2,544.79	
BIC	9,697		9,481		7,911		7,919	
AIC	9,678		9,377		7,704		7,706	
Observations	4,715		4,715		4,715		4,715	

z statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Missing values are included as residual categories in the analysis but not reported.

Table 8.29   Multi-level linear regression of police fairness in France

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5	
Female (ref = boy)			0.12***	(7.1)	-0.07***	(-4.7)	-0.07***	(-4.7)	-0.07***	(-4.7)
Age			-0.11***	(-13.1)	-0.06***	(-8.5)	-0.06***	(-8.4)	-0.06***	(-8.4)
Parental unemployment (ref = no)										
yes			-0.08***	(-3.9)	-0.02	(-0.9)	-0.01	(-0.8)	-0.01	(-0.8)
unclear			-0.12***	(-3.8)	-0.03	(-1.0)	-0.02	(-0.8)	-0.02	(-0.9)
Parental educational level (ref = no degree)										
below Bac/Abi			0.12**	(2.9)	0.06	(1.6)	0.05	(1.6)	0.05	(1.5)
Bac/Abi			0.18***	(4.3)	0.09**	(2.6)	0.09*	(2.4)	0.08*	(2.4)
above Bac/Abi			0.23***	(6.0)	0.09**	(2.9)	0.08*	(2.5)	0.08*	(2.5)
Family structure (ref = complete)			-0.09***	(-4.7)	-0.04**	(-2.8)	-0.04**	(-2.7)	-0.04**	(-2.7)
Migration background (ref = native)										
Maghrebian			-0.48***	(-20.3)	-0.19***	(-7.9)	-0.18***	(-7.5)	-0.19***	(-7.4)
other			-0.15***	(-6.4)	-0.03	(-1.2)	-0.02	(-0.9)	-0.01	(-0.6)
mixed native/Maghrebian			-0.26***	(-7.8)	-0.12***	(-4.2)	-0.11***	(-3.9)	-0.11***	(-3.7)
mixed native/other			-0.09**	(-3.2)	-0.00	(-0.1)	0.00	(0.1)	0.01	(0.4)
National identification (ref = host country)										
divided					-0.11***	(-5.7)	-0.10***	(-5.5)	-0.10***	(-5.4)
country of origin					-0.18***	(-7.4)	-0.17***	(-7.3)	-0.17***	(-7.2)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3		Model 4		Model 5	
Importance of religion (ref = not important)								
somewhat important			0.03	(1.7)	0.03	(1.6)	0.03	(1.6)
fairly important			0.02	(0.8)	0.02	(1.0)	0.02	(1.1)
very important			-0.17***	(-7.1)	-0.16***	(-6.4)	-0.15***	(-6.3)
Parental monitoring			0.04***	(5.1)	0.04***	(5.1)	0.04***	(5.1)
Attitudes to school			0.07***	(9.6)	0.08***	(9.8)	0.08***	(9.8)
Police-initiated contacts (ref = no)								
1–2 contacts			-0.09***	(-3.9)	-0.09***	(-3.9)	-0.09***	(-3.9)
3–5 contacts			-0.25***	(-6.6)	-0.25***	(-6.8)	-0.25***	(-6.7)
≥ 6 contacts			-0.31***	(-9.1)	-0.31***	(-9.0)	-0.31***	(-9.1)
Victimization (ref = no)			-0.01	(-0.9)	-0.02	(-0.9)	-0.01	(-0.9)
Self-reported delinquency (ref = no)								
1–2 offenses			-0.17***	(-8.6)	-0.17***	(-8.7)	-0.17***	(-8.7)
3–5 offenses			-0.15***	(-5.5)	-0.16***	(-5.5)	-0.16***	(-5.5)
≥ 6 offenses			-0.20***	(-8.4)	-0.20***	(-8.5)	-0.20***	(-8.5)
Deviant attitudes			-0.24***	(-27.2)	-0.23***	(-27.0)	-0.23***	(-27.0)
Social deprivation (official unemployment/ immigration rates)					-0.04***	(-5.0)	-0.06***	(-4.2)
Interaction effect social deprivation*ethnic background (reference = native)								
social deprivation* Maghrebian							0.04	(1.8)

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5	
social deprivation* other									0.01	(0.5)
social deprivation* mixed native/ Maghrebian									0.01	(0.2)
social deprivation* mixed native/other									0.06*	(2.0)
Constant	2.50***	(135.3)	2.45***	(59.7)	2.73***	(75.1)	2.73***	(75.5)	2.73***	(75.2)
var(cons)	0.03***	(-20.1)	0.01***	(-17.2)	0.00***	(-11.1)	0.00***	(-6.7)	0.00	(-1.8)
var(Residual)	0.53***	(-38.1)	0.48***	(-44.2)	0.34***	(-65.2)	0.34***	(-65.3)	0.34***	(-65.2)
var(Migration background)									0.00***	(-4.3)
Rank	3		16		32		33		38	
Log lik.	-8,138		-7,717		-6,403		-6,391		-6,388	
Chi-squared	.		938.34		4,636.44		4,759.49		4,785.55	
BIC	16,303		15,577		13,090		13,076		13,114	
AIC	16,282		15,466		12,869		12,848		12,852	
Observations	7,308		7,308		7,308		7,308		7,308	

z statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Missing values are included as residual categories in the analysis but not reported.

8.4 Summary

How do adolescents from multi-ethnic cities in Germany and France feel about the police? And are perceptions about police fairness and felt obligations to obey the police influenced by experiences of procedural injustice addressed in *Part III*?

Key findings from the school survey reveal that most of the predictors of positive attitudes toward the police function in a similar manner in France and Germany. In both countries, experiences with the commitment of criminal offenses – but also an affiliation to delinquent subcultures – significantly undermine positive attitudes toward the police. For instance, adolescents with a prior delinquent record (particularly repeat offenders) held lower levels of positive attitudes toward the police than those who did not commit any criminal offense in the twelve months prior to the school survey. On average, they assigned the police lower levels of fairness and tended to wary of complying with the instructions of officers.

Yet, important differences in experiences with the police exist between adolescents of the two countries: these concern the relationship between ethnic minority youths and the police as well as the impact of religiosity and national identification on attitudes toward the police.

Chapter 4 discussed why "procedural injustice", "poor national and religious identification", "weak conventional social ties" and "exposure to delinquency" potentially undermine positive attitudes toward the police. The following pages discuss whether this study can provide empirical evidence in support of these assumptions.

8.4.1 "Procedural injustice" – explanation

This study finds support for the argument that young people who experience "procedural injustice" have, on average, a more negative opinion about the police.

According to the findings of this study and as evidenced by other research (e.g. *Skogan* 2006; *Tyler et al.* 2014), in both Germany and France, frequent police-initiated contacts deteriorate positive attitudes toward the police (*Hypothesis 2a*). Adolescents who are frequently stopped and searched by the police or who interact with the police as suspects of a criminal offense are more likely to say that the police are unfair and feel less obliged to follow their instructions.

Moreover, this research finds strong support for the assumptions that own and third-party experiences during encounters with the police shape perceptions of police fairness and of one's obligation to obey the police (*Hypothesis 2b*).

In Germany and France, adolescents who had negative experiences with the police and who are unsatisfied with the way the police interacted with them hold them in lower regard. Compared to adolescents who did not have such negative experiences,

both their view about police fairness and their obligation to obey the police are significantly lower.

The findings from this study highlight the importance of "vicarious" encounters with the police on perceptions of and attitudes toward the police (*Hypothesis 2c*); they thus support the results from other studies (see *Hurst & Frank* 2000; *Brunson* 2007). Hearing about or seeing occurrences in which the police disrespected citizens has a strong effect on one's own perceptions of the police. Juveniles who have experienced negative "vicarious" encounters with the police tend to perceive them as being unfair and feel less obliged to obey their instructions.

Although having an impact on perceptions of police fairness, experiences during the last contact with the police most importantly affect the felt obligation to obey the police. Thus, there seems to be a strong link between own experiences with the police and compliance with police instructions.

8.4.2   "Poor national and religious identification" – explanation

In referring to other research emphasizing the importance of a common "social identity" (*Tyler & Blader* 2003) for positive perceptions of the police, this study expected to find that adolescents who closely identify with their country of origin will display more negative attitudes toward the police (*Hypothesis 2d*). For Germany and France, the empirical evidence speaks in support of this assumption. Adolescents who only loosely identify with the society (compared to those for whom the reverse is true) tend to display less positive attitudes toward the police: their views about police fairness are significantly lower. The effect of one's national identification on the obligation to obey the police is strong in France and more inconsistent in Germany.

Similarly, following the elaboration of the theoretical *Chapter 4.3* that linked religiosity to the social bonding theory (*Hirschi* 1969), this study has premised that weak religiosity results in more negative attitudes toward the police (*Hypothesis 2e*). While this assumption holds true for Germany, weak religiosity has the opposite effect in France.

Adolescents in Germany to whom religion is not of any importance (compared to those who refer to religion as being a central aspect in their lives) tend to claim that the police act unfairly, and thus, they are less willing to obey police instructions.

Compared to Germany, feelings of national identity affect attitudes toward the police to a similar extent in France. Unexpectedly, however, the effect of religiosity is reversed there. Adolescents who are very religious (compared to those that are not) are significantly less supportive of the police. They attest the police significantly lower levels of fairness and feel less obliged to obey their instructions. The effect of religiosity is particularly strong among adolescents of Maghrebian descent.

This research finds evidence that religious and national identification have a more important influence on perceptions of the fairness of police conduct than on the felt obligation to obey the police. This finding suggests that national and religious identities are closely intertwined with the concepts of fairness and respect.

8.4.3 "Weak conventional social ties" – explanation

The findings reveal that stronger social ties to "significant others" (*Hirschi* 1969) lead to more positive perceptions of the police (*Hypothesis 2f*). As one example of a conventional social tie, this study accounts for the maternal relationship (or the parental monitoring for the joint analysis). In Germany and France, this study finds support for the hypothesis whereby adolescents who are only loosely attached to their parents tend to hold less positive attitudes toward the police.

Similarly, adolescents in Germany and France who are only marginally attached to their school are very likely to hold more negative attitudes toward the police than those who strongly relate to their school. This correlation is most probably explained by the fact that to a certain extent, a positive inclination to the school reflects adolescents' willingness to subordinate to an authoritarian institution as well as to follow rules and regulations.

8.4.4 "Exposure to delinquency" – explanation

This study expected young people who are part of a (delinquent) subculture to hold the police in lower regards (*Hypothesis 2g*) than those who are not part of such a subculture. Indeed, the findings reveal that exposure to delinquency significantly predicts both the perceptions of police fairness and the obligation to obey the police. Young people who have delinquent friends and who are members of a (delinquent) peer group are more likely to express concerns about police fairness and to disobey police instructions. It is thus presumed that negative attitudes toward the police spread within delinquent subcultures through the mechanism of "differential associations", as discussed within the framework of the subcultural theory (*Sykes & Matza* 1957) and by studies that investigate the relationship between subcultural involvement and attitudes toward the police (see *Brick et al.* 2009; *Schuck* 2013).

8.4.5 Ethnicity and attitudes toward the police

Finally, the effect of ethnicity needs to be discussed. Overall, adolescents in Germany hold very positive attitudes toward the police, regardless of whether they are male or female, whether they are of a high or a low social status, whether they live in well-off or deprived areas and (for most ethnic minority backgrounds) whether they are of native or of foreign origin. To draw the conclusion that an ethnic minority

background does not matter in Germany is, however, premature as this study finds some effects (e.g. for the Polish respondents) on both perceived fairness and the obligation to obey. However, the effects are not consistent across the two research sites. Overall, the findings from this study suggest that in Germany, the effect of one's background is of subordinate importance. For example, adolescents of Turkish origin (who form an important part of the data set) do not differ substantially form native adolescents in their levels of attitudes toward the police.

In France, the findings paint a much more troublesome relationship between the police and a specific group of young people with an ethnic minority background: Maghrebian adolescents. Compared to French natives, this group is substantially less inclined to confide in the police, and at the same time, they do not hold the same willingness to obey police instructions. This effect remains significant even after controlling for a whole set of variables, such as religious and national identification, lifestyle and delinquency.

The fact that this research finds similar effects in both Lyon and Grenoble enhances the robustness of the results and points out that the French experience differs from the German one. Thus, the results from this survey suggest that in France, especially adolescents of Maghrebian origin are subject to systematic harassments by the police. This is reflected in their lack of trust in the police and the judicial system.

As discussed in the previous *Chapter 6* this study does not find male adolescents of migration backgrounds who live in deprived neighborhoods in Germany to be particularly at risk of experiencing the contested stop-and-search police contacts. Similarly, no substantial differences exist between the levels of attitudes toward the police across adolescents of the various socio-cultural backgrounds. Hence, this study does not find a significant gender, ethnic group or social status disparity when controlling for the behavioral variables.

For France, however, the results paint a different picture. The analysis of predictors of police contacts found that male adolescents of Maghrebian origin are particularly likely to be contacted by the police. Moreover, a neighborhood effect exists, too. Compared to other adolescents in the survey, male adolescents of a Maghrebian background living in deprived neighborhoods hold particularly low opinions of police fairness.

Part V

**Empirical Evidence on Juveniles'
(Non-)Cooperation with the Police**

Chapter 9

Findings on the Willingness to Cooperate versus Resorting to Self-Help Measures

9.1 Measures

9.1.1 Cooperating with the police versus willingness to resort to self-help

Cooperation with the police and vigilante self-help were measured in the surveys via two fictional scenarios. The results are reported in *Table 9.1*.

In the first scenario, respondents were asked to imagine a situation in which, whilst walking alone in their neighborhood, they are attacked and robbed of their mobile phones by other juveniles they know by sight. In the second scenario, the respondents were invited to imagine that their little brother was repeatedly threatened and other students at school extorted money from him.

For both scenarios, five different formal and informal types of reactions were presented: "informing parents", "informing the police", "talking to the perpetrators", "confronting the perpetrators", "doing nothing". The statement "I, together with friends, would confront the perpetrators (if necessary, by force)" is designed to measure the willingness to possibly adopt violent self-help, whereas the statement "I would inform the police" signals a propensity to cooperate with the police.

Respondents were asked to rate the likelihood of each reaction by using the following response categories: "definitely", "maybe", "probably not" or "definitely not". For both scenarios, the responses to the self-help and the cooperation statement are combined to a mean score scale ranging from 1 – not likely to 4 – very likely (for the "self-help" scale: *Spearmans' ρ* = .66; for the "cooperation" scale: *Spearmans' ρ* = .47).

The aim here is to focus on the statements depicting self-help and cooperation: other possible reactions to the hypothetical case of victimization are not considered. *Table 9.1.* illustrates the distribution of the items "I would confront the perpetrator with my friends (if necessary, by force)" and "I would inform the police" for the two scenarios.

Table 9.1   *Response to scenarios in the hypothetical case of victimization among adolescents with and without a migration background in Germany*

	Migration background					
	no		yes		Total	
	No.	Col%	No.	Col%	No.	Col%
Robbery of mobile phone: confront perpetrators						
in any case	292	17.3	499	28.1	791	22.8
rather yes	330	19.6	455	25.6	785	22.7
rather not	503	29.9	402	22.6	905	26.1
in no case	540	32.0	376	21.1	916	26.5
missing	20	1.2	46	2.6	66	1.9
Total	1,685	100.0	1,778	100.0	3,463	100.0
Money extortion: confront perpetrators						
in any case	489	29.0	647	36.4	1,136	32.8
rather yes	404	24.0	384	21.6	788	22.8
rather not	320	19.0	314	17.7	634	18.3
in no case	432	25.6	360	20.2	792	22.9
missing	40	2.4	73	4.1	113	3.3
Total	1,685	100.0	1,778	100.0	3,463	100.0
Robbery of mobile phone: inform police						
in any case	736	43.7	790	44.4	1,526	44.1
rather yes	585	34.7	516	29	1,101	31.8
rather not	226	13.4	268	15.1	494	14.3
in no case	114	6.8	154	8.7	268	7.7
missing	24	1.4	50	2.8	74	2.1
Total	1,685	100.0	1,778	100.0	3,463	100.0
Money extortion: inform police						
in any case	322	19.1	334	18.8	656	18.9
rather yes	536	31.8	492	27.7	1,028	29.7
rather not	547	32.5	546	30.7	1,093	31.6
in no case	230	13.6	317	17.8	547	15.8
missing	50	3.0	89	5.0	139	4.0
Total	1,685	100.0	1,778	100.0	3,463	100.0

The agreement to the "self-help" item is high for both scenarios. More than half of the respondents (56%) favored vigilante violence in the case of money extortion, and 46% of the respondents uttered this preference in the case of mobile phone theft. One may argue that the high level of acquiescence to the statement in both scenarios is due to a rather low item difficulty, since the act of self-help is addressed only indirectly. "Confronting" a perpetrator does not necessarily amount to outright retaliation, although it might if including the possibility of the use of force. Moreover, adding the statement "I would talk to them" to the list of possible alternative reactions helps demarcate "confronting" from less antagonistic interactions.

The two scenarios differ more significantly with regard to the agreement to the "cooperation" item. Hence, whereas the vast majority of the respondents (around 76%) would inform the police in the case of mobile phone theft, only half of them would report cases of money extortion to the police (49%).

Finally, the percentages illustrated in *Table 9.1* suggest that while minor differences in patterns of reporting to the police existed between respondents with and without a migration background, young people with a migration background favored scenarios of self-help more frequently. In the following, it will be discussed whether these differences still hold true in the multivariate analysis.

9.1.2 Explanatory variables

A series of predictors are included in the analysis of vigilante self-help. The socio-demographic variables comprise sex, age, migration background, parental occupational and educational status as well as parental unemployment and family composition. Attachment to mother, commitment to school, national identification and religiosity are the four concepts measuring social ties which are included in the analysis. Self- and peer delinquency, victimization and contacts with the police figure in the analysis as measures for the exposure to delinquency.

Additionally, as they were found to be of relevance for the previous analysis, deviant attitudes and unsupervised activities are also included as predictors. Finally, following on from the theoretical assumptions related to the preventive character of a positive inclination to the police, the analysis accounts for attitudes toward the police. The descriptive statistics (*Table 9.2*) for all predictors can be found in the previous chapters (see *Chapters 6.1* and *8.1*). Whereas measures for the socio-demographic variables and the exposure to delinquency were presented in *Part III*, the variables measuring social ties and attitudes toward the police were reviewed in *Part IV*.

*Table 9.2   Descriptive statistics of variables included in the regression of will-
ingness to resort to self-help in Germany*

	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Resort to self-help	2.53	1.03	1	4
Gender	0.54	0.50	0	1
Age	0.03	0.98	-2.86	6.70
Migration background	-	-	0	9
Parental occupational status	-0.05	1.00	-1.73	1.73
Parental unemployment	-	-	0	2
Parental educational level	-	-	1	5
Family structure	0.32	0.47	0	1
Attitudes toward police	0.03	0.98	-2.75	1.69
Police-initiated contacts	0.25	0.43	0	1
National identification	-	-	1	4
Importance of religion	-	-	1	4
Attitudes toward mother	0.02	1.01	-3.81	1.34
Attitudes toward school	0.05	0.99	-3.64	1.80
Victimization	0.31	0.46	0	1
Self-reported delinquency	0.35	0.48	0	1
Unsupervised activities	0.02	1.04	-0.78	4.24
Peer delinquency	0.01	1.00	-1.02	3.24
Membership in peer group	-	-	0	3
Observations	2,908			

9.2   Testing the Hypotheses: Factors that Influence Resorting to Self-Help Measures or Cooperating with the Police

9.2.1   Variations in the willingness to resort to self-help

In order to test theoretical assumptions and to clarify the relative impact of the vari-
ous predictors on juveniles' willingness to resort to self-help, a series of block-wise

ordered logit regression were estimated (see, e.g., *Long & Freese* 2006). The dependent variable "willingness to resort to self-help" is treated as an ordinal, yet ranked outcome variable where higher values signal a stronger tendency toward self-help.

For the descriptive statistics of the variables included in the model, see *Table 9.2*. The two scenarios were only included in half of the questionnaires; thus, when excluding the missing values, the number of observations included in the analysis amounts to $N = 2,908$. All scales have been standardized to facilitate the interpretation of coefficients. As the standardization was done on the full sample, deviations from these values are possible. Details about the scales are provided in the *Annex Scale Documentation*. All categorical variables are included in the model as a series of indicator variables. The observations are clustered by schools.

The results from the ordered logistic regression of "willingness to resort to self-help" are reported in *Table 9.3*. All model summary statistics reported at the end of the table indicate that the model is best fitted when all predictors are included in the variables, as is the case for *Model 6*. The results in the output table are displayed as *Odds Ratios*. The *Odds Ratio* reported in the following should be interpreted under the condition that the other variables in the model are held constant. They indicate a change in one category of the agreement to the self-help item (*Long & Freese* 2006).

The models presented in this chapter are estimated with the statistical software *STATA*, *version 13*.

Model 1 in *Table 9.3* regresses the willingness to resort to self-help solely on gender, age and ethnicity. The results show a lower willingness to resort to self-help among females and younger adolescents of a native German background. On average, girls show a substantially lower willingness to resort to self-help than boys (*Odds Ratio* = .24, $p < .001$ for female compared to male adolescents), indicating that the inclination to vigilantism is heavily gendered and predominantly a male issue. Old age increases the willingness to resort to self-help (for one standard deviation toward an increase in age, *Odds Ratio* = 1.24, $p < .001$). In comparison to native German youths, juveniles of a Turkish, Maghrebian/Muslim Asian or other Eastern European background are more inclined to resort to self-help (*Odds Ratio* = 1.53, $p < .001$; *Odds Ratio* = 1.80, $p < .01$; and *Odds Ratio* = 1.55, $p < .05$). In contrast, respondents of a mixed Turkish/native German background do not differ from native Germans. Yet significant effects for respondents of a mixed German/other (non-Turkish) migration background (*Odds Ratio* = 1.30, $p < .05$) are found, which, however, is a heterogeneous group preventing further conclusions.

Model 1 includes also indicators on the socio-economic status of the respondents' families. The results show that social disadvantages significantly affect the willingness to resort to vigilantism and reduce the effect of belonging to ethnic minorities. Adolescents with at least one unemployed parent (compared to those whose parents do not receive welfare support) are more prone to adopt vigilante violence (*Odds*

Ratio = 1.30, *p* < .01). In contrast, a higher parental occupational status lowers adolescents' tendency to revert to self-help (for one standard deviation increase of parental occupational status, *Odds Ratio* = .82, *p* < .001). Similarly, adolescents whose parents hold a degree of higher education (compared to those whose parents hold no degree) are less likely to resort to self-help (*Odds Ratio* = .75, *p* < .05). The inclusion of these status indicators considerably attenuates the relevance of belonging to ethnic minority groups. The difference to native Germans is reduced by 45% for adolescents of a Turkish background and by almost 30% for adolescents of Maghrebian/Muslim Asian backgrounds.

Model 2 is the first of four models which tests the influence of different theoretical concepts. First, two predictors are included representing procedural justice theory, attitudes toward and experiences with the police. Results provide evidence for a very strong support of the procedural justice hypothesis that positive attitudes toward the police inhibit adolescents' propensity to engage in self-help (for one standard deviation toward a more positive attitude to the police, *Odds Ratio* = .48, *p* < .001). Almost as strongly, the experience of police-initiated contacts increases the tendency to opt for vigilante violence (*Odds Ratio* = 1.69, *p* < .001 for adolescents with at least one police-initiated contact compared to those who had no such contacts). Interestingly, the inclusion of these two predictors does not mediate the effects of Turkish and Maghrebian migration backgrounds. However, as illustrated in the final *Model 6*, the effects representing procedural justice (in particular those concerning police-initiated contacts) are rendered insignificant, or largely diminished, by the inclusion of predictors representing other theoretical concepts, i.e. delinquency.

In *Model 3*, the influence of social bonds is explored. Next to one's attachment to the mother, this model includes school commitment, national identification and religiosity. The results are as predicted: Stronger conventional bonds reduce adolescents' inclination to resort to self-help (*Odds Ratio* = .77, *p* < .001 for one standard deviation increase of attachment to mother; *Odds Ratio* = .73, *p* < .00 for one standard deviation increase of school attachment). Identifying closely with the country of origin instead of Germany strongly fosters the juveniles' willingness to resort to self-help (*Odds Ratio* = 1.74, *p* < .01). In contrast to the other variables, religiosity seems to play a minor role (no significant effect in *Model 3*). Conventional social bonds further mediate the impact of the migration status, rendering the effect of being of Turkish or other Eastern European origin insignificant and reducing the effect of being of Maghrebian/Muslim Asian origin. As the summary statistics reported in *Table 9.3* show, the overall predictive value of *Model 3* is weaker than *Model 2*, suggesting that social bonds are a poor explanation for young people's propensity to use vigilante violence.

Table 9.3   Ordered logistic regression of willingness to resort to self-help in the hypothetical case of victimization in Germany

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6	
Female (ref = boy)	0.24***	(-15.22)	0.26***	(-14.27)	0.24***	(-16.95)	0.27***	(-16.04)	0.26***	(-17.29)	0.28***	(-16.66)
Age	1.24***	(5.75)	1.11**	(2.93)	1.19***	(5.11)	1.02	(0.51)	1.09*	(2.50)	1.00	(0.01)
Migration background (ref = native)												
Turkish	1.53***	(4.44)	1.47***	(3.77)	1.21	(1.42)	2.09***	(8.47)	1.47***	(3.95)	1.19	(1.28)
Southern European	1.11	(0.58)	1.12	(0.50)	0.85	(-0.79)	1.35	(1.28)	1.07	(0.31)	0.91	(-0.36)
Ex-Soviet	1.44	(1.41)	1.23	(0.75)	1.12	(0.44)	1.48	(1.62)	1.44	(1.42)	1.12	(0.44)
Polish	1.06	(0.30)	0.97	(-0.14)	0.97	(-0.17)	1.16	(0.80)	1.22	(1.19)	0.99	(-0.04)
other Eastern European	1.55*	(2.30)	1.57**	(2.62)	1.22	(0.84)	1.92**	(3.23)	1.86**	(3.25)	1.42	(1.59)
Maghrebian/Muslim	1.80**	(3.16)	1.77**	(2.65)	1.58*	(2.19)	2.24***	(4.09)	1.87***	(3.31)	1.56*	(2.05)
Asian												
other	1.32	(1.58)	1.11	(0.59)	1.14	(0.71)	1.53*	(2.16)	1.38	(1.61)	1.09	(0.42)
mixed German/Turkish	1.03	(0.11)	1.05	(0.17)	0.94	(-0.20)	1.26	(0.74)	0.94	(-0.17)	0.97	(-0.11)
mixed German/other	1.30*	(2.18)	1.17	(1.33)	1.16	(1.33)	1.29*	(2.33)	1.23*	(2.11)	1.12	(1.14)
Parental occupational status	0.82***	(-4.42)	0.84***	(-3.76)	0.83***	(-4.31)	0.83***	(-4.30)	0.86***	(-3.46)	0.87**	(-3.19)
Parental unemployment (ref = no)												
yes	1.30**	(2.70)	1.22*	(2.05)	1.21*	(1.97)	1.23*	(2.18)	1.17	(1.74)	1.15	(1.46)
unclear	1.25	(1.67)	1.19	(1.36)	1.20	(1.37)	1.32*	(2.36)	1.19	(1.46)	1.15	(1.18)
Parental educational level (ref = no degree)												
below Abi	0.99	(-0.05)	1.01	(0.09)	1.04	(0.34)	0.98	(-0.18)	1.00	(-0.04)	1.00	(0.02)
Abi	0.83	(-1.43)	0.79	(-1.69)	0.85	(-1.09)	0.75*	(-2.09)	0.79	(-1.67)	0.77	(-1.86)
above Abi	0.75*	(-2.24)	0.66**	(-3.16)	0.78	(-1.88)	0.64***	(-3.52)	0.68**	(-2.90)	0.62***	(-3.60)
Family structure (ref = complete)	1.24*	(2.27)	1.06	(0.53)	1.14	(1.36)	1.04	(0.40)	1.07	(0.65)	0.96	(-0.37)
Attitudes toward police			0.48***	(-13.14)							0.64***	(-6.54)
Police-initiated contacts (ref = no)			1.69***	(5.78)							1.03	(0.30)
National identification (ref = host country)												
divided					1.21	(1.43)					1.18	(1.29)
country of origin					1.74**	(3.24)					1.36	(1.91)

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6	
Importance of religion (ref = not important)												
fairly important					0.85	(-1.43)					0.93	(-0.60)
important					0.89	(-1.14)					1.01	(0.08)
very important					1.07	(0.45)					1.28	(1.66)
Attitudes toward mother					0.77***	(-5.01)					0.93	(-1.50)
Attitudes toward school					0.73***	(-8.19)					0.93*	(-2.02)
Victimization (ref = no)							1.15	(1.77)			1.01	(0.07)
Self-reported delinquency (ref = no)							2.84***	(10.38)			1.70***	(5.38)
Unsupervised activities							1.53***	(11.76)			1.17***	(3.60)
Peer delinquency									2.10***	(12.16)	1.48***	(6.21)
Peer-group member (ref = no)												
member in non-violent peer group									1.29***	(3.55)	1.14	(1.86)
member in violent peer group									4.20***	(10.06)	2.94***	(7.23)
cut1	0.09***	(-20.80)	0.08***	(-19.20)	0.08***	(-19.69)	0.12***	(-16.96)	0.08***	(-16.98)	0.08***	(-16.00)
cut2	0.16***	(-16.94)	0.14***	(-15.59)	0.14***	(-15.62)	0.22***	(-12.55)	0.15***	(-13.62)	0.16***	(-12.44)
cut3	0.36***	(-10.14)	0.34***	(-9.21)	0.32***	(-8.83)	0.52***	(-5.69)	0.38***	(-7.65)	0.39***	(-6.29)
cut4	0.74**	(-2.95)	0.76*	(-2.31)	0.69**	(-2.85)	1.16	(1.27)	0.85	(-1.26)	0.94	(-0.44)
cut5	1.52***	(4.06)	1.72***	(4.81)	1.47**	(2.96)	2.61***	(8.40)	1.97***	(5.57)	2.29***	(5.83)
cut6	3.16***	(10.03)	3.93***	(12.09)	3.14***	(8.43)	5.88***	(13.11)	4.65***	(11.55)	5.68***	(11.83)
Pseudo R^2	0.054		0.097		0.073		0.095		0.107		0.130	
Log lik.	-5,252.65		-5,015.94		-5,150.13		-5,028.40		-4,958.22		-4,832.97	
Chi-squared	347.86		1,283.43		867.27		1,567.95		1,098.35		2,402.89	
rank	25.00		27.00		33.00		28.00		29.00		42.00	
BIC	10,704.68		10,247.20		10,563.44		10,280.11		10,147.71		10,000.90	
AIC	10,555.29		10,085.87		10,366.26		10,112.81		9,974.43		9,749.94	
Observations	2,908		2,908		2,908		2,908		2,908		2,908	

Exponentiated coefficients (Odds Ratio); z statistics in parentheses

$*p < 0.05$, $**p < 0.01$, $***p < 0.001$

Missing values are included as residual categories in the analysis but not reported.

Models 4 and *5* test the effects of self-reported and peer delinquencyand the amount of unsupervised activities. Self-reported and peer delinquency significantly affect juveniles' propensity to rely on self-help. Compared to those who had not committed any delinquent acts, respondents who reported offenses were significantly more willing to use self-help (*Odds Ratio* = 2.84, *p* < .001). Similarly, higher scores on the peer delinquency scale are associated with an increased inclination to use self-help (for one standard deviation increase in peer delinquency, *Odds Ratio* = 2.10, *p* < .001). Being member in a violent peer group has by far the strongest effect of all predictors (compared to non being member in any peer group, *Odds Ratio* = 4.20, *p* < .001). Adolescents who hold rule-abiding views clearly reject the idea of taking the law into their own hands. When controlling for delinquency covariates, no effect of the experience of victimization on adolescents' responsiveness to vigilante violence is found. However, when excluding the self-reported delinquency from the analysis, victimization has a significant positive impact on the willingness to resort to self-help.

In the final *Model 6*, all predictors from the previous models are included; this is done in order to examine the relative strength and/or mediation effects of the various theoretical concepts. As already noted, many effects are reduced in size or completely mediated when including the complete set of variables in the analysis. Yet, boys are still more likely to use self-help than girls. The effect of belonging to a Turkish or another Eastern European background can no longer be attested. However, belonging to a Maghrebian and Near/Middle Eastern background significantly affects young people's likelihood to resort to self-help. Of the other socio-demographic variables, a stable effect of the socio-economic status is reported. Looking at the predictors representing theoretical constructs, conventional ties variables are largely mediated by more proximal variables. The same is true for police-initiated contacts, whereas the effect of police legitimacy remains (albeit reduced in strength). Predictors that remain strong in the final model are own and peer delinquency as well as unsupervised activities.

9.2.2 Variations in willingness to cooperate with the police

Agreement with the statement "I would inform the police" provides an indication about the propensity to report cases of victimization to the police and thus allows for assumptions to be made about one's willingness to cooperate with state authorities.

Analogously to the previous analysis, a series of ordinal logit regression models have been performed by following a block-wise approach. Based on the assumption that the scenario picturing a cooperation with the police is antagonistic to the self-help scenario, the very same predictors have been included in the models, see *Table 9.4*. As there are missing values for some variables in the equation, *N* = 2,892 observations are included in the analysis.

Table 9.4   *Descriptive statistics of variables included in the willingness to in-form the police in Germany*

	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Inform the police	2.86	0.83	1	4
Gender	0.54	0.50	0	1
Age	0.031	0.98	-2.86	6.70
Migration background	-	-	0	9
Parental occupational status	-0.05	1.00	-1.73	1.73
Parental unemployment	-	-	0	2
Parental educational level	-	-	1	5
Family structure	0.32	0.47	0	1
Attitudes toward police	0.04	0.97	-2.75	1.69
Police-initiated contacts	0.24	0.43	0	1
National identification	-	-	1	4
Importance of religion	-	-	1	4
Attitudes toward mother	0.02	1.00	-3.81	1.34
Attitudes toward school	0.06	0.98	-3.64	1.80
Victimization	0.31	0.46	0	1
Self-reported delinquency	0.34	0.48	0	1
Peer delinquency	-0.01	0.98	-1.02	3.24
Unsupervised activities	0.02	1.03	-0.78	4.24
Membership in peer group	-	-	0	3
Observations	2,892			

Table 9.5 reports the result from the ordered logistic regression of "willingness to inform the police". The models' summary statistics reported at the bottom of the table confirm a slight amelioration of the model fitness when controlling for attitudinal and behavioral predictors, as is the case for *Model 6*, compared to the statistics reported in *Model 1* (that controls only for socio-demographic variables). The interpretation of the *Odds Ratio* reported in the table follows the same logic as for the previous analysis of "willingness to resort to self-help".

Models 1 examines the effect of various socio-demographic variables on young people's likelihood to agree to the items measuring their cooperation with the police. *Model 1* in *Table 9.5* shows that girls are more willing to inform the police than boys

(*Odds Ratio* = 1.38, *p* < .001 for female compared to male adolescents). However, the effect of gender lowers significantly when the delinquency predictors are considered, suggesting that males and females are equally likely to report incidents to the police when taking into consideration their affiliation to delinquency. This finding is at odds with the results of the previous analysis of "willingness to resort to self-help" where gender remained a stable predictor throughout the analysis.

Except for the category "mixed German/other migration background", which, however, is difficult to interpret, young people of an ethnic minority background are not significantly dissimilar from native Germans in their likelihood to inform the police. Other than in the former analysis of "willingness to resort to self-help", this finding holds true even when controlling only for the core demographic variables (gender, age and migration background), indicating that ethnicity adds little to explaining variations in the likelihood of informing the police.

Exempting the consistent effect of parental unemployment, young people's living conditions and social status seem to have no major effect on their inclination to report offenses to the police. Respondents with at least one unemployed parent (compared to those whose parents are not social welfare recipients) are found to be consistently less inclined to inform the police (in the hypothetical case of victimization) (*Odds Ratio* = .74, *p* < .01). Receiving welfare support from the state may prevent young people from informing the police about experiences of victimization, as they may feel that they are already dependent on the state and may thus be hesitant to ask for more help.

Model 2 shows that, as theorized, respondents who feel the police act fairly and respectfully (and thus ought to be trusted) are highly inclined to report incidents of victimization to the police (*Odds Ratio* = 1.79, *p* < .001 for one standard deviation to a more positive attitude toward the police). Although the effect is heavily reduced once the delinquency predictors are considered in the analysis, it remains one of the strongest predictors for young people's propensity to inform the police, providing support for the argument that young people who hold the police in high regard are willing to refer to them when needing help. The effect of police-initiated contacts initially reported in *Model 2* is fully mediated through the delinquency variables in *Model 6*, suggesting that experiences of police-initiated contact do not directly influence the willingness to inform the police. This finding contradicts the assumption that police-initiated contacts, often claimed to be of a discriminatory nature, inhibit a cooperation with the police.

In line with the previous findings concerning the preventive nature of conventional social bonds on one's willingness to resort to self-help, *Model 3* suggests that positive ties to family and school promote "traditional" forms of conflict resolution indeed, as they increase young people's likelihood to report to the police. In this constellation, a positive attitude toward school and close motherly ties (which could generally be interpreted as signaling a positive attitude toward authorities) result in

a higher willingness to report incidents of victimization (*Odds Ratio* = 1.33, *p* < .001 for one standard deviation increase in positive attitudes toward school; *Odds Ratio* = 1.17, *p* < .001 for one standard deviation increase in positive attitudes toward mother). Similarly, compared to the respondents who do not value religion, those who feel that religion is of fundamental importance to their lives are more likely to inform police officers (*Odds Ratio* = 1.51, *p* < .001). Although the effect of religiosity is altered by the delinquency variables introduced in *Model 6*, it nevertheless remains significant; this finding supports the assumption that highly religious young people stick to similar norms and values as the police and thus feel more inclined to cooperate with them.

A closer inspection of the delinquency correlations listed in *Models 4* and *5* reveals that (as one would assume) experiences of own and peer delinquency as well as a high affiliation to deviant groups inhibit young people's likelihood to inform the police (at least in the hypothetical case of victimization presented in the survey) (*Odds Ratio* = .49, *p* < .001 for having committed at least one offense compared to not having committed any; *Odds Ratio* = .66, *p* < .001 for one standard deviation to an increase of peer delinquency; *Odds Ratio* = .41, *p* < .001 for being member in a violent peer group compared to no being member in any peer group).

While experiences of prior victimization do not explain variations in young people's tendency to favor vigilante self-help, they add to the understanding of their willingness to report to the police. Indeed, respondents who report having been a victim of a criminal offense in the past (as compared to those who have not) expressed a higher preference for the statement "I would inform the police" (*Odds Ratio* = 1.19, *p* < .05). This might be ascribable to the fact that these respondents have already experienced reporting a crime to the police in real life.

From all variables included in the final *Model 6*, the crime- and justice-related factors (such as former own and third-party experiences with delinquency and attitudes toward the police) are among the sturdiest predictors for young people's willingness to inform the police.

The results suggest that the tendency to resort to self-help and the willingness to cooperate are motivated by different causes. Although for both analyses, the variables proximate to delinquency hold a predictive value, they differ in the size of the effect. Social status shapes favoritism for vigilante self-help, but it adds little to the understanding of why some young people are keener to inform the police than others. Prior experiences of victimization only have an indirect impact on the choice to revert to self-help strategies, but they directly affect the propensity to cooperate with the police.

Table 9.5   Ordered logistic regression of willingness to inform the police in the hypothetical case of victimization in Germany

	(1) Model 1		(2) Model 2		(3) Model 3		(4) Model 4		(5) Model 5		(6) Model 6	
Female (ref = boy)	1.38***	(4.56)	1.23**	(2.92)	1.33***	(4.06)	1.23**	(3.03)	1.18*	(2.32)	1.12	(1.59)
Age	1.00	(0.09)	1.09*	(2.13)	1.04	(1.04)	1.14**	(2.59)	1.07	(1.82)	1.15**	(2.93)
Migration background (ref = native)												
Turkish	0.99	(-0.10)	1.08	(0.65)	0.85	(-1.10)	0.85	(-1.37)	1.06	(0.54)	0.89	(-0.73)
Southern European	0.84	(-0.53)	0.87	(-0.42)	0.90	(-0.24)	0.79	(-0.74)	0.89	(-0.34)	0.86	(-0.36)
Ex-Soviet	0.81	(-1.07)	0.94	(-0.34)	0.89	(-0.57)	0.79	(-1.18)	0.82	(-1.01)	0.88	(-0.64)
Polish	0.89	(-0.58)	0.96	(-0.20)	0.86	(-0.70)	0.89	(-0.58)	0.85	(-0.77)	0.92	(-0.43)
other Eastern European	0.92	(-0.45)	0.99	(-0.07)	0.87	(-0.69)	0.82	(-1.17)	0.89	(-0.69)	0.84	(-0.86)
Maghrebian/Muslim Asian	1.09	(0.54)	1.18	(0.92)	0.94	(-0.27)	1.01	(0.08)	1.15	(0.82)	1.03	(0.13)
other	1.10	(0.62)	1.24	(1.45)	1.06	(0.37)	1.00	(0.01)	1.09	(0.61)	1.09	(0.56)
mixed German/Turkish	0.93	(-0.21)	0.87	(-0.39)	0.86	(-0.42)	0.73	(-0.83)	0.94	(-0.17)	0.76	(-0.80)
mixed German/other	0.69**	(-3.08)	0.74**	(-2.60)	0.73*	(-2.44)	0.70**	(-2.85)	0.71**	(-2.63)	0.76*	(-2.05)
Parental occupational status	0.97	(-0.75)	0.94	(-1.43)	0.96	(-0.94)	0.96	(-0.90)	0.94	(-1.40)	0.93	(-1.65)
Parental unemployment (ref = no)												
yes	0.74**	(-2.69)	0.75*	(-2.57)	0.79*	(-2.19)	0.75*	(-2.46)	0.78*	(-2.16)	0.77*	(-2.25)
unclear	0.97	(-0.20)	0.97	(-0.18)	0.97	(-0.15)	0.97	(-0.17)	1.03	(0.14)	1.03	(0.16)
Parental educational level (ref = no degree)												
below Bac/Abi	1.11	(0.73)	1.12	(0.67)	1.07	(0.45)	1.14	(0.90)	1.14	(0.86)	1.11	(0.66)
Bac/Abi	1.04	(0.26)	1.07	(0.37)	1.02	(0.11)	1.08	(0.51)	1.04	(0.22)	1.05	(0.28)
above Bac/Abi	1.20	(1.21)	1.32	(1.63)	1.17	(1.02)	1.32	(1.95)	1.24	(1.38)	1.32	(1.77)

	(1) Model 1		(2) Model 2		(3) Model 3		(4) Model 4		(5) Model 5		(6) Model 6	
Family structure (ref = complete)	0.85*	(-2.38)	0.95	(-0.70)	0.91	(-1.33)	0.93	(-0.98)	0.93	(-1.06)	1.02	(0.29)
Attitudes toward police			1.79***	(13.83)							1.48***	(8.21)
Police-initiated contacts (ref = no)			0.80*	(-2.32)							1.00	(-0.04)
National identification (ref = host country)												
divided					0.91	(-0.81)					0.96	(-0.35)
country of origin					0.76	(-1.87)					0.94	(-0.35)
Importance of religion (ref = not important)												
fairly important					1.17	(1.70)					1.08	(0.86)
important					1.32**	(3.15)					1.18	(1.92)
very important					1.51***	(3.71)					1.36**	(2.77)
Attitudes toward mother					1.17***	(4.34)					1.06	(1.44)
Attitudes toward school					1.33***	(8.58)					1.14***	(3.37)
Victimization (ref = no)							1.19*	(2.06)			1.27**	(3.00)
Self-reported delinquency (ref = no)							0.49***	(-11.68)			0.70***	(-4.51)
Unsupervised activities							0.78***	(-4.48)			0.94	(-1.04)
Peer delinquency									0.66***	(-8.27)	0.85**	(-2.87)
Peer-group member (ref = no)												
member in non-violent peer group									1.06	(0.81)	1.13	(1.84)
member in violent peer group									0.41***	(-4.49)	0.51***	(-3.60)

	(1) Model 1		(2) Model 2		(3) Model 3		(4) Model 4		(5) Model 5		(6) Model 6	
cut1	0.07***	(-14.27)	0.06***	(-14.87)	0.07***	(-12.86)	0.05***	(-17.31)	0.06***	(-15.47)	0.06***	(-13.86)
cut2	0.13***	(-11.42)	0.12***	(-11.68)	0.15***	(-10.22)	0.10***	(-14.49)	0.12***	(-12.32)	0.12***	(-11.07)
cut3	0.31***	(-6.85)	0.29***	(-6.90)	0.34***	(-5.77)	0.24***	(-9.39)	0.28***	(-7.29)	0.30***	(-6.45)
cut4	0.76	(-1.59)	0.77	(-1.41)	0.88	(-0.70)	0.61**	(-3.18)	0.74	(-1.69)	0.82	(-1.02)
cut5	2.25***	(5.11)	2.41***	(5.08)	2.67***	(5.50)	1.88***	(4.41)	2.27***	(4.92)	2.65***	(5.42)
cut6	5.62***	(9.88)	6.23***	(9.70)	6.79***	(9.89)	4.78***	(9.91)	5.80***	(9.52)	6.94***	(9.98)
Pseudo R^2	0.006		0.031		0.019		0.022		0.026		0.044	
Log lik.	-5,200.13		-5,066.02		-5,129.97		-5,115.89		-5,095.18		-4,999.59	
Chi-squared	106.25		470.50		640.74		432.54		515.87		1,049.16	
rank	25.00		27.00		33.00		28.00		29.00		42.00	
bic	10,599.51		10,347.22		10,522.94		10,454.93		10,421.48		10,333.90	
aic	10,450.26		10,186.04		10,325.94		10,287.78		10,248.36		10,083.18	
Observations	2,892		2,892		2,892		2,892		2,892		2,892	

Exponentiated coefficients (Odds Ratio); z statistics in parentheses

$*p < 0.05$, $**p < 0.01$, $***p < 0.001$

Missing values are included as residual categories in the analysis but not reported.

9.3   Summary

How high is the potential for vigilante self-help among adolescents in Germany, and do positive attitudes toward the police prevent them from adopting (violent) conflict-resolution strategies?

Few studies have examined vigilante self-help among young people in highly developed first-world countries. The aim of this study is to bridge this empirical gap, to explore which predictors lead to vigilante self-help becoming an option and whether the same predictors also influence decisions on whether or not to inform the police. An important caveat is that the survey used by this study asked adolescents to respond about their willingness to resort to self-help or to inform the police in hypothetical situations. Whether or not the reported intentions would turn into real actions remains open to speculation.

The results of the analysis reveal that a large share of young people (between 49% and 76% depending on the offense) could imagine informing the police if they were victimized. However, the willingness to resort to self-help is quite widespread among adolescents, too. Indeed, between 46% and 56% expressed a willingness to engage in vigilantism. These findings would seem to be consistent with evidence from previous studies which have shown that the large majority of cases of adolescent victimization are not reported to the police.

More importantly, the findings show that vigilante attitudes are not confined to less-developed countries: they are also prevalent among some segments of highly developed and democratic societies.

The analyses were guided by two basic assumptions: firstly, self-help is antagonistic to cooperation with the police; and secondly, since self-help is an illegal behavior involving physical aggression, factors explaining delinquency may also explain the use of self-help. So as to test the validity of the first assumption, the very same set of predictors was included in the analysis of young people's likelihood both to resort to self-help and to inform the police, an action that may indicate a propensity to cooperate with the police. In order to test for the second assumption, the analysis placed an emphasis on the links between the inclination to self-help and police-related attitudes and experiences, as well as other delinquency-related causes (see *Brown & Benedict* 2002).

The multivariate analyses revealed many interesting findings. Socio-demographic factors explain relatively little about young people's willingness to engage in vigilante self-help or to report incidents of victimization to the police. Only gender and one's socio-economic status were consistently associated with vigilante self-help, and only parental unemployment is a stable predictor for a propensity to inform the police. Thus, although young males and juveniles of low socio-economic backgrounds are more supportive of vigilante self-help, they are not necessarily less willing to report incidents of victimization to the police.

The analyses presented in this chapter were mainly driven by the desire to identify whether a "compromised legitimacy" of the police among young people decreases their propensity to cooperate with the police and, at the same time, promotes their willingness to resort to vigilante self-help.

9.3.1 "Compromised legitimacy" – explanation

A consistent finding from prior studies is that public attitudes toward the police matter for vigilante support (e.g. *Tankebe* 2009; *Jackson et al.* 2013a; *Haas et al.* 2014; *Nivette* 2016) and for cooperation with the police (e.g. *Tyler & Blader* 2003). The findings presented in this study concur with these studies. Especially young people who hold favorable attitudes about the police are less predisposed to supporting vigilantism; they are also more prone to cooperate with the police (*Hypothesis 3*).

However, peer delinquency, unsupervised activities and deviant attitudes mediate some of the effects. Thus, the inclusion of these variables has importantly attenuated the effects of attitudes toward the police. Police legitimacy – or lack thereof – does not explain by itself why adolescents would or would not use self-help and why they are or are not apt to cooperate with the police, in line with other studies.

9.3.2 Further explanations

The study provides evidence that a risky lifestyle, pronounced delinquent propensities and a high exposure to delinquency promote young people's propensity to favor alternative and violent conflict resolution strategies and at the same time – with the exception of the risky lifestyle variable – impede their willingness to cooperate with the police.

The effect of police legitimacy is seconded by the whole set of variables apt to measure the degree of respondents' exposure to delinquency which – with the exception of the variable measuring prior victimization – significantly influences juveniles' willingness to resort to self-help. Particularly the delinquency of peers appears to have a stable and strong influence. Since the questionnaire explicitly asked whether the respondents would confront the perpetrator together with their friends, the strong effect of having like-minded delinquent friends would, however, seem unsurprising. Yet, the delinquency of peers is also a central predictor for the analysis of the predictors for young people's cooperation with the police. This suggests that adolescents who are surrounded by delinquent friends feel less inclined to report incidents of victimization to the police. This may be because they and their friends doubt the legitimacy of the police and the justice system.

In addition to the effects of delinquent attitudes and peer influence, situational effects (such as unsupervised routines) matter, although this is only in regard to resorting to

vigilante self-help. Indeed, as one may guess, to some extent, following a risky life-style is equated with a higher propensity for vigilante violence. This finding comple-ments research that points to the interdependence between a risk-seeking lifestyle and delinquent and violent behavior (see *Wikström & Treiber* 2009). On the contrary, however, a risky lifestyle has no effect whatsoever on adolescents' propensity to in-form the police.

As in several previous studies, this study has found that adolescents with migration backgrounds from a number of countries (i.e. Eastern European and post-Soviet Un-ion countries as well as Turkey, the Maghreb and Near/Middle Eastern countries) show a stronger tendency to resort to self-help compared to native German adoles-cents. However, except for Maghrebian and Muslim Asian adolescents, this differ-ence is fully mediated by a low social status and conventional social ties.

Supporting the idea that migrant youths' attitudes toward the police (and other state agencies) are shaped by their level of integration into the host society, identification either with the host society or with their own ethnic group of origin mediates almost all effects of a migration background on the willingness to use self-help. As for the analysis of attitudes toward the police presented in the former chapter, next to de-grees of national identification, the models control for religiosity. Strong religiosity or a shared set of norms and moral values eases integration and promotes the will-ingness to inform the police. These important findings support the idea that group identities and a sense of belonging influence both the degrees of cooperation with the police and the choice for alternative conflict-resolution strategies (see *Tyler & Blader* 2003; *Lee et al.* 2010; *Bradford* 2014; *Murphy et al.* 2015). One's willingness to cooperate with the police depends on a sense of belonging to the group the police is associated with and the acknowledgment of a common set of values and norms that guide one's behavior. Inversely, strong ties to one's country and group of origin may be an indicator of failed integration into the host society, thereby explaining the preference for alternative strategies of conflict management.

The findings presented in this chapter do not provide strong evidence that conven-tional social ties, such as bonds to family and school, strongly and consistently in-fluence young people's choices (not) to cooperate with the police. For instance, the delinquency-related variables trump the preventive influence of positive social ties on juveniles' willingness to resort to self-help strategies. Yet, a positive attitude to-ward an institutional authority, such as a school, proxies a more general willingness to refer to other institutional authorities, such as the police.

Finally, once own delinquency is considered, actual and even repeated contacts with the police are not consequential when it comes to an inclination to use vigilante vio-lence. This finding would seem to contradict procedural justice theory and is partic-ularly interesting considering the large share of ethnic minority adolescents in the sample. The juveniles who are most frequently stopped by the police are also the most delinquent ones, which explains why the effect of police contacts is completely

mediated by delinquency predictors. According to these findings, frequent interactions with the police do not massively alienate adolescents from them nor hamper their willingness to cooperate with the police, once these effects are separated from the delinquent inclinations this group often has.

Chapter 10

Conclusion

The findings from this study have revealed that in ethnically diverse cities, the relationship between young people and the police differs in quality, frequency and intensity.

At first glance, the empirical evidence highlights the frequent interactions with the police as well as the largely positive perception the younger generation has of the police in Germany and France. However, drawing conclusions from these general findings on the youth-police relation in multi-ethnic cities would be premature: behind these findings lies a much more heterogeneous picture.

Variables such as gender, ethnic background, social status, own and peer delinquency (to name just a few) impact youth-police encounters to differing degrees: they can increase the probability of experiencing a police encounter in the first place, they can affect views of police fairness and they can push young people away from or toward self-help.

The aim of this closing chapter is to not only acknowledge the complexity of the issues at hand but also to caution against general conclusions about youth-police relationships in European cities. It will also reiterate the main similarities and differences found at an individual and (cross-)national level.

Based on the results from the findings and analyses presented in the previous chapters, this conclusion will identify common patterns of interaction and focus on key variables that support or undermine positive youth-police relationships. Attention will then be turned to national peculiarities in Germany and France that are found to shape interactions between young people and the police. Lastly, prerequisites are formulated for positive youth-police relationships in multi-ethnic cities.

The theoretical concepts suggest a causal logic with regard to the effect of young people's experiences and attitudes on their relations with the police. Before turning attention to the concluding remarks of this study, however, the reader should note that the interpretations of the directions of the effects have to be treated with some reservation. The cross-sectional nature of the data does not always allow to rule out the possibilities of reverse causation.

10.1   Common Traits: What Matters in Young People's Relations with the Police

At the individual level, young people's backgrounds as well as behavioral and attitudinal aspects profoundly shape their relationships with the police. Three common aspects that define youth-police relationships across countries are: (1) the role of background and identities; (2) the importance of experiences, lifestyles and delinquent propensities; and (3) the effect of ties and attitudes.

10.1.1 The role of background and identities

In order to account for social, cultural and economic backgrounds, this study has included information about young people's ethnic backgrounds, their family structures and socio-economic statuses. These were measured by sets of variables, such as parental employment and parental educational level. Religiosity and the degree of identification with the host society were included in the analyses as two important dimensions of identity that, in all likelihood, would be found to shape young people's relationship with the police.

During the study, it emerged that young people's backgrounds and how strongly they identify with their origins define how they interrelate with and perceive the police. That said, for a substantial part of the analyses presented in this study, the effect of the backgrounds (i.e. respondents' social statuses) are mediated when attitudinal predictors are taken into account (e.g. respondents' lifestyles, propensities to commit violence and exposure to delinquency).

Nonetheless, the background variables remain of interest since a mediation effect of these variables indicates that one's background has an indirect influence on the likelihood of police encounters, police perceptions and one's willingness to cooperate with the police.

This study investigated differences in the likelihood of police contact, experiences with police encounters and attitudes toward the police among both the ethnic majority and ethnic minorities. According to the findings, the effect of belonging to a (specific) minority group influences the likelihood of being stopped and searched in France, but not in Germany. Yet, in both countries, belonging to a (specific) ethnic minority group influences direct and indirect experiences with police encounters.

Of particular interest to the study was not just the likelihood of police encounters but also their quality. This was measured because the bulk of literature on the topic of procedural justice (e.g. *Tyler* 2004; *Tyler & Fagan* 2012; *Tankebe* 2013) emphasizes the importance of a fair and respectful conduct by police officers when interacting with citizens. Moreover, these authors warn about the far-reaching consequences of policing that discriminates (or is perceived as discriminating) against members of

minority groups. For the most part, adolescents report a highly positive police conduct during police encounters, though a closer look at individual items reveals that (particularly for young people of ethnic minority backgrounds) a substantial number feels subjected to disrespectful or unfair treatment.

Research has also pointed to the importance of indirect experiences with disrespectful police behavior via hearsay or own observation (e.g. *Flexon et al.* 2009). This study examined predictors for such "vicarious" experiences among juveniles, too. According to the findings, in both Germany and France, young people with a (specific) ethnic minority background register significantly more negative experiences in direct (but also indirect) police encounters.

Closely related to juveniles' cultural and ethnic backgrounds are religiosity and identification with the host society (see *Brettfeld* 2009). Based on previous research (e.g. *Bradford* 2014), it was postulated by this study that the extent to which young people relate to their religious and national background or (conversely) to the society they are living in will highly affect their perceptions of and their (hypothetical) behavior toward the police. The findings provide evidence that for both Germany and France, religiosity and national identification influence young people's perceptions of police fairness and their obligation to obey the law.

In an increasingly multi-ethnic and multicultural society, the effects and implications of very diverse group identities (and how these identities are lived and conceived) deserve particular scholarly attention. Especially after the terrorist attacks in Europe in recent years, which enhanced fears about the radicalization and "Islamization" of (European) society (see *Zick & Preuß* 2015), the question arises to what extent religious and national identifications challenge a peaceful coexistence.

10.1.2 The importance of experiences, lifestyle and delinquent propensities

Young people's experiences with crime and justice (and the repercussions of negative encounters with the police on their relations with the police and the judicial system) have increasingly emerged as a topic of study in recent years (e.g. *Stewart et al.* 2014; *Murphy* 2015; *Slocum et al.* 2016).

For one, this research identifies personal and peer involvement in delinquent activities as a powerful predictor for the likelihood of adversarial police-initiated contact and for low levels of trust and confidence in the police. Negative experiences during police encounters (where officers seemingly fail to meet standards of respectful and professional conduct) may deeply affect young people's perceptions of the police and the judicial system.

This study investigated the impact of a wide range of experiences related to crime and justice on young people's contact with and perceptions of the police. Specifically, it examined the impact of prior experiences with delinquency (both own ones and those of peers) and prior contact with the police as a suspect of a criminal offense or whilst being stopped and searched. Additionally, this study accounted for adolescents' delinquent propensities (measured through attitudes toward deviancy) and routines that mirror a "risky" lifestyle (e.g. frequent consumption of alcohol and congregating in public places). As expected, delinquency and a risky lifestyle strongly influence not only the frequency of police encounters but also the overall perception of the police and the likelihood to resort to self-help measures. In particular, recurrent own and peer-related criminal offending and high deviant propensities, paired with high preferences for a risky lifestyle, are found to significantly increase reported rates of police-initiated contacts and deteriorating attitudes toward the police. Indeed, throughout the study, the strong and consistent effect of juvenile attitudes toward deviancy stands out. This highlights the importance of considering young people's delinquent propensities when evaluating their relationships with the police.

The abovementioned findings apply equally to Germany and France. Thus, in both countries, patterns of contact with the police and attitudes toward them are explained, to a large degree, by young people's habits, their exposure to crime and their propensity to commit delinquent acts.

The findings from this research align neatly with the robust empirical evidence on the link between experiences with police encounters and attitudes toward the police provided by previous research on police-citizen relations (e.g. *Scaglion & Condon* 1980; *Tyler & Fagan* 2012; *Mazerolle et al.* 2013). The damaging effect of adversarial, police-initiated contacts on attitudes toward the police and, ultimately, the willingness to cooperate with the police has been intensively discussed in the academic community, and doubts have been expressed as to the effectiveness of stop-and-search police contacts. This research supplements this literature: in Germany and France, the findings of this study show that police-initiated contacts, particularly when they are recurrent, have the potential to seriously challenge a harmonious youth-police relationship.

10.1.3 The effect of ties and attitudes

Scholars have attested to the extensive influence social ties and attitudes toward parents, school and other authorities can have on youth-police interrelations (e.g. *Sargeant & Bond* 2015). This research examined attitudes toward the police and juveniles' willingness to cooperate with them by integrating a set of variables which could be classified as "positive" and "negative" social relations.

On the one hand, "positive" social relations – reflected in strong and solid conventional ties (e.g. the degree of attachment to the mother and a positive endorsement of

the school) – are likely to promote adolescents' esteem for the police and their willingness to cooperate with them. On the other hand, "negative" relations that expose juveniles to delinquency have the opposite effect: they impinge their views of the police and prevent them from calling the police in cases of victimization. As an example for such "negative" relations, this study used the variable of affiliation with a (violent) subculture.

In contrast to Germany, the French questionnaire lacked questions about peer-group typology and its inclination to violence; however, questions about the ethnical heterogeneity were included. This meant that in the comparative German-French analysis, involvement in subcultures was restricted to the variable measuring whether or not the respondents have friends without a migration background. The study assumed that respondents who reported having only friends with a migration background are likely to be part of an (influential) subculture. A similar assumption was made for adolescents who are members of a violent peer group.

The findings reveal that the types and strengths of social relations affect juveniles' judgments of the police, with the general effect of "negative" social relations prevailing over "positive" ones.

Negative social relations, a highly homogeneous group of friends and membership in delinquent peer groups are found to hamper positive youth-police relations and to promote a willingness to resort to self-help. In general, negative social relations are robust and provide empirical evidence on the influence of young people's friends on their perceptions of the police.

Contrarily, positive social relations, adolescents with good family relationships and a strong commitment to school lead to viewing the police positively. For the most part, however, these effects are largely mediated by other variables, suggesting that they are rather "causes of the cause" and do not directly explain the relationship between juveniles and the police.

The study's findings comply with the bulk of research on the importance of just and fair policing (e.g. *Jackson et al.* 2013a). The more juveniles perceive the police in a positive light, the less likely they are to seek alternative conflict resolution strategies.

10.2   National Particularities: How Context Shapes Young People's Relations with the Police

Although this research has found major similarities between Germany and France, a few deep-seated differences exist. To this end, three main focal points are addressed: (1) the contrasting relationship of male minority juveniles with the police; (2) the distinct interplay between identities and attitudes; and (3) the differential impact of neighborhood conditions.

10.2.1 The contrasting relationship of (male) minority juveniles with the police

Male juveniles of an ethnic minority background are considered by some experts to be part of "a special population" (*Jackson et al.* 2013a, p. 128) when it comes to their relationships with the police. Indeed, it is commonly assumed that ethnic minority youths, especially males, cultivate a particularly tedious relationship with the police (see *Hurst et al.* 2000; *Taylor et al.* 2001; *Gesemann* 2003; *Geistman & Smith* 2007; *Zdun* 2008; *Wu et al.* 2013). Scholars have mentioned recurrent proactive police practices (especially stop-and-search contacts) as a prime reason for this troubled relationship. Such police practices provoke discontent and resentment among young people of ethnic minority backgrounds as they feel harassed by recurrent identity checks and controls. At worst, this vexation can turn into action in the form of violent street protests (see *Tyler & Wakslak* 2004; *Carr et al.* 2007; *Jobard & Lévy* 2009). This study has found that the likelihood of stop-and-search contacts as well as levels of attitudes toward the police vary with regard to a number of predictors in Germany and France.

In Germany, it emerged that on average, young people of ethnic minority backgrounds are not stopped and searched disproportionately often; neither are their attitudes toward the police particularly worrisome. Indeed, young people of an ethnic minority background have relatively equal chances of being stopped by the police as German native youths. This finding suggests that in Germany, ethnic prejudices by the police against certain ethnic minorities – as identified in other studies (e.g. *Mletzko & Weins* 1999) – do not result in ethnic discrimination. The effect of the ethnic background is mediated, almost to its full extent, by behavioral and attitudinal predictors of stop-and-search police encounters. These results are in alignment with other, mostly qualitative research findings which suggest that German police officers base their stop-and-search practices on time and place aspects and/or the clothing as well as reactions of young people to their presence rather than on features linked to ethnicity (see, e.g., *Hunold* 2013).

However, the findings do reveal a gender disparity. Under control of a set of variables measuring behavior and attitudes, male juveniles have a 50% higher chance of being stopped than females.

The analysis of young people's attitudes toward the police comes to a similar conclusion. In Germany, with few variations (e.g. young people of Polish descent), young people across ethnic groups perceive the police as being highly fair and respectful.

In general, the findings from the analyses of stop-and-search police encounters and juvenile attitudes suggest that native and ethnic minority juveniles in Germany have positive attitudes toward the police. However, significant differences between the ethnic majority and (certain) ethnic minority groups are found in the analyses of experiences with direct and indirect police encounters. Despite expressing very positive

overall views about the police that do not significantly differ from those of native German youths, some ethnic minority youths (e.g. juveniles with a Turkish background) voice criticism about personal experiences with the police. Some scholars have advocated for a differentiation between global and specific attitudes toward the police (e.g. *Schuck & Rosenbaum* 2005), and the results from the analysis of the German data set speak in favor of this distinction.

While overall, the German findings suggest that rather harmonious and positive relations exist between (male) ethnic minority juveniles and the police, the results from the school survey in France tell a different story. These findings suggest heavier implications of belonging to a (specific) minority group in France than in Germany, in terms of repeated experiences with discretionary police contact and more critical views of the police.

This study provides empirical evidence of discriminatory policing practices, including the targeting of adolescents with an ethnic minority background (primarily adolescents and young adults of Maghrebian descent). Compared to French native youths, Maghrebian juveniles are particularly exposed to stop-and-search police contacts: their likelihood of experiencing such a contact is twice as high (even when controlling for other relevant predictors). The strained relationship between Maghrebian adolescents and the police becomes even more evident if one compares their likelihood of stop-and-search contacts and their attitudes toward the police to adolescents of another ethnic minority descent in France. Compared to the juveniles of Maghrebian origin, the chances of being stopped and searched by the police is significantly lower among those adolescents, and their levels of perceived police fairness are significantly higher.

Hence, according to the results, other than in Germany, the ethnic features of juveniles in France play heavily into police officers' decisions on whom to control.

At the same time, Maghrebian adolescents stick out since in comparison to other young people in France, they hold the police in particularly low regard. On average, these adolescents are more negatively inclined toward the police, have lower trust in them and complain about unfair police conduct more often.

Like in Germany, male adolescents in France are stopped and searched much more frequently than female ones. Thus, picking up the terminology of *Jackson et al.* (2013a), one might consider Maghrebian adolescents in France (and among them particularly the males) as belonging to a "special population". For instance, being male and of Maghrebian descent (compared to being a native French female) triples the chances of being stopped by the police. However, while the analysis of police contacts in France points to significant and strong effects of both gender and ethnic background, results from the analysis of attitudes toward the police find that females trust the police less than males (once delinquency-related variables are taken into account). Results from this study defeat – to a certain extent – the assumption that

being male and of ethnic minority descent can extensively explain why some adolescents are caught in particularly strained relations with the police.

10.2.2 The distinct interplay between identities and attitudes

With regard to their religiosity and national identification, this study was particularly concerned with the effects of young people's diverse identities on their perception of the police. The backdrop for this interest is the assumption that these culturally shaped dimensions add to the understanding of how they see and judge the police and the judicial system (e.g. *Brettfeld* 2009; *Bradford* 2014).

The study considered religion and feelings of national identification to have different meanings and implications across ethnic groups. Consequently, a series of "interaction terms" between ethnicity and religiosity, as well as between ethnic background and national identification, were modeled to test for these effects.

The findings are of great interest as they reveal ethnic variations in the effect of religiosity and national identification on perceived police fairness. Whilst on average, this research asserts similar trends for the effect of identification with the society on perceptions of police fairness in Germany and France (with a weaker identification resulting in more negative perceptions), an antipodal effect of religiosity on attitudes toward the police is found.

Most interestingly, the gulf in the effect of religiosity between Germany and France is particularly wide for the young people originating from Muslim countries. In Germany, high religiosity boosts positive attitudes toward the police, especially among adolescents of Turkish descent. Compared to adolescents for whom religion is not of (any) importance, highly religious juveniles hold the police in particularly high regard and feel that they are fair and respectful. In France, the findings reveal an opposite effect of religiosity on attitudes, with high religiosity rather promoting hostility toward the police. Thus, the highly religious adolescents of Maghrebian descent stick out as having a particularly poor opinion of the police. Certainly, in light of the more recent terrorist attacks in Europe – which involved, among others, young Muslim men with a North African background –, this finding gains particular relevance.

The findings might suggest that in Germany, religiosity stands for a compliance with conservative norms and values and a high respect for authoritarian figures, including the police. In France, however, religiosity has distinct and different implications. It promotes the formation of identities that have their own systems of rules and values; these systems often stand in sharp contrast to the majority population. As such, high religiosity may be equated to deficient integration in the French context (see *Lagrange & Oberti* 2006). Such parallel systems reflect a disregard for local norms and values and an unwillingness to conform with the society's authority – an attitude that eventually leads to a troubled relationship with the police.

Thus, next to the variable of ethnic minority background, the way in which juveniles identify with the values of the host country and their level of religiosity both add to our understanding of why young people's relationships with the police may differ within and across countries.

10.2.3 The differential impact of neighborhood conditions

For the comparative analysis of the likelihood of police contacts and attitudes toward the police, potential effects of social deprivation at the neighborhood level were examined. Based on existing theoretical and empirical knowledge about the implications of socio-spatial disadvantages (e.g. *Shaw & McKay* 1969; *Fagan & Davies* 2000; *Carr et al.* 2007; *Gibson* 2012), it is widely assumed that neighborhood conditions influence the frequency of young people's police-initiated encounters and their perceptions of the police.

However, this study has found that neighborhood conditions add little to the understanding of the relationship between young people and the police.

For Germany, no empirical evidence is found for the claim that adolescents from socially deprived neighborhoods are at particular risk of being stopped by the police, nor that they hold the police in lower regard. Thus, no evidence is found for the assumption that police officers adopt a different policing style in well-off and socially disadvantaged neighborhoods respectively.

The results speak for positive experiences of interactions with the police across ethnic groups and neighborhoods in Germany. The generally positive assessment of the police in this country might be a consequence of the fact that since the end of the 1980s, community-oriented policing styles have increasingly been implemented in Germany (*Feltes* 2004).

The French findings point to minor variations in the likelihood of police contacts and attitudes toward the police across neighborhoods. Here, young people from highly disadvantaged neighborhoods are more likely to be stopped by the police and, on average, hold more negative attitudes toward the police than those from more well-off areas of the city.

Overall, according to the results of this study, the influence of the neighborhood context on juvenile-police relationships is in fact rather limited.

10.3 Beyond Procedural Justice: Prerequisites for Positive Youth-Police Relations

This study was built upon *Tyler's* (2004) seminal work on the drivers of police legitimacy and the processes that lead to cooperation with the police. The study followed

a three-step approach: (1) it started with a discussion of predictors for different types of police encounters (including adversarial stop-and-search police contacts); (2) it then reviewed dynamics that undermine positive attitudes toward the police; and (3) it assessed factors that promote juvenile self-help violence. Thus, this research has shed light on factors that potentially challenge young people's relationships with the police. Drawing on the knowledge obtained thereby, some final thoughts on preconditions for harmonious youth-police relationships can now be expressed.

Starting from the end, in accordance with the police legitimacy and procedural justice model (*Tyler* 2004), the findings presented in this study illustrate that cooperation with the police can be improved when adolescents perceive them as being fair and respectful; it is hampered if the opposite is true. As foreseen by the theory, perceptions of the police are shaped by adolescents' experiences with them; exposure to negative encounters (e.g. adversarial stop-and-search contacts) can seriously damage such positive perceptions.

Yet, without discrediting *Tyler's* findings on the importance of just and fair policing and procedures, the findings of this study suggest that when examining requirements for positive youth-police relationships, the sequence portrayed in the police legitimacy model may oversimplify a very complex reality. From the beginning, the study opted for a broader theoretical framework to investigate youth-police relations. This allowed for the inclusion of a variety of factors that potentially impact these relationships in addition to those related to fair and just procedures. To this end, the purpose of this study was to go beyond testing the accuracy of *Tyler's* police legitimacy model (as has been done by other scholars, e.g. *Jackson et al.* 2013a) and to look at the mechanisms that underlie it.

The study has successfully identified a range of factors that can lead to youth-police cooperation but were not considered in the police legitimacy model (at least not in its original version). These include, for instance, attitudinal factors appealing to young people's social and religious identities, societal relationships as well as the strength of school and familial ties. It was also found that behavioral aspects play a major role, such as young people's lifestyles, their delinquent propensities and their experiences with crime.

In today's ethnically diverse and culturally varied cities, the challenge for governments and the police is to acknowledge, respect and integrate diverse religions, cultures and lifestyles. At the same time, it is necessary to closely monitor the societal changes these differences provoke. In their interaction with young people, the police are required to promote high professional standards and values, to treat all youths equally and to be sensitive toward new customs and habits while always retaining their authority. Juveniles who are well-integrated into the host society have strong "positive" ties, follow a "risk-averse" lifestyle and have little or no experience with crime and delinquency, will, in all likelihood, have positive relationships with the police. However, discretionary police practices that discriminate against certain

members of minority populations will lead to perceptions of unfairness that can seriously threaten positive youth-police relations.

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Annex

Scale documentation

Notation

SRMR: Standardized root mean-squared residual

CD: Coefficient of determination

Scale 1   (Positive) perception of police fairness

(Positive) perceptions of police fairness	Germany	France
Country-level Cronbachs's α	0.732	0.778
Eigenvalue factor	1.798	2.105
Factor loading		
(1) The police protect adolescents	0.702	0.721
(2) The police disrespect adolescents	0.675	0.784
(3) Overall the police can be trusted	0.748	0.735
(4) The police treat foreigners worse than natives	0.557	0.656
Group-level fit statistics		
SRMR	0.076	0.056
CD	0.758	0.793

Negative items have been reverse-coded.

Scale 2   Satisfaction with the police

Satisfaction with the police	Germany	France
Country-level Cronbachs's α	0.589	0.694
Eigenvalue factor	1.717	2.144
Factor loading		
(1) The police have explained honestly the reasons for their action	0.487	0.444
(2) The police treated me/us fairly and with respect	0.556	0.780
(3) The police tried to provoke or offend	0.806	0.836
(4) The police became violent	0.721	0.798
Group-level fit statistics		
SRMR	0.173	0.059
CD	0.642	0.815

Negative items have been reverse-coded.

Scale 3   (Positive) attitudes to school

(Positive) attitudes to school	Germany	France
Country-level Cronbachs's α		
Eigenvalue factor	0.568	0.642
Factor loading	0.995	1.200
(1) I like my school a lot	0.477	0.648
(2) I am interested in what I am learning at school	0.669	0.711
(3) I apply myself in school	0.565	0.523
Group-level fit statistics		
SRMR	0.084	0.048
CD	0.686	0.759

Scale 4   Deviant attitudes

Deviant attitudes	Germany single	Germany joint	France joint
Cronbachs's α		0.614	0.675
Eigenvalue factor		1.247	1.498
Factor loading			
(1) It is normal to beat somebody if one has been provoked	0.746	0.589	0.6112
(2) Every dispute can be settled through talks	0.529	0.511	0.5652
(3) One has to respect the law, even if the own interests are overlooked	0.448	0.542	0.647
(4) One can do something forbidden if one is not caught	0.579	0.587	0.6214
(5) Conflicts can only be solved by violent means	0.788		
Group-level fit statistics			
SRMR		0.081	0.602
CD		0.052	0.678

Positive items have been reverse-coded.

Scale 5   Unsupervised activities

Unsupervised activities	Germany
Cronbachs's α	0.715
Eigenvalue factor	1.797
Factor loading	
(1) Go to clubs, parties	0.786
(2) Meet friends and hang out in the evening in a park or close to the sea and drink	0.771
(3) Go to pubs	0.763

Scale 6   Peer delinquency

Peer delinquency	Germany single	Germany joint	France
Cronbachs's α	0.823	0.711	0.747
Eigenvalue factor	4.745	2.181	2.343
Factor loading			
(1) Voluntarily damaged something	0.795	0.769	0.809
(2) Violently stole something from somebody	0.731	0.752	0.810
(3) Seriously injured somebody	0.749	0.795	0.760
(4) Used drugs	0.703	0.625	0.673
(5) Absenteeism	0.685		
(6) Shoplifting	0.725		
(7) Robbery	0.773		
(8) Insulted somebody	0.674		
(9) Cyberbulling	0.686		
Group-level fit statistics		0.144	0.043
SRMR		0.721	0.767

Scale 7   Attitudes to mother

Attitudes to mother	Germany
Cronbachs's α	0.748
Eigenvalue factor	2.592
Factor loading	
(1) I trust my mother deeply	0.801
(2) I tell everything about me and what I am doing to my mother	0.660
(3) My mother constantly blames me	0.621
(4) I often have a dispute with my mother	0.681
(5) My mother cares about me and what I am doing	0.582
(6) It happens that my mother beats me or throws something at me	0.569

Negative items have been reverse-coded.

Additional findings

Table A1   Negative binomial regression of stop-and-search police contacts in Cologne and Mannheim

	Model Cologne		Model Mannheim	
Female (ref = boy)	0.45***	(-6.9)	0.51***	(-4.0)
Age	0.93	(-1.4)	0.95	(-0.8)
Migration background (ref = native)				
Turkish	0.97	(-0.2)	0.90	(-0.6)
Southern European	0.99	(-0.1)	0.42***	(-3.9)
Ex-Soviet	1.03	(0.2)	0.57	(-1.6)
Polish	0.92	(-0.2)	0.85	(-0.8)
other Eastern European	0.98	(-0.1)	0.72	(-1.0)
Maghrebian/Muslim Asian	1.90*	(2.2)	1.12	(0.4)
other background	1.37	(1.5)	1.52	(1.6)
mixed German/Turkish	0.92	(-0.2)	1.21	(0.5)
mixed German/other background	1.08	(0.4)	0.91	(-0.4)
Parental occupational status	1.12	(1.7)	0.99	(-0.1)
Parental unemployment (ref = no)				
yes	0.78*	(-2.1)	1.01	(0.0)
unclear	0.98	(-0.1)	0.66	(-1.4)
Parental educational level (ref = no degree)				
degree below Bac/Abi	1.18	(0.8)	0.77	(-1.9)
Bac/Abi	1.02	(0.1)	0.93	(-0.4)
above Bac/Abi	1.24	(0.9)	0.97	(-0.1)
Family structure (ref = complete)	1.27*	(2.2)	1.11	(0.8)
Ever drunk (in lifetime) (ref = no)				
once	1.65***	(3.5)	1.16	(1.0)
2–5 times	1.43*	(2.5)	1.33	(1.7)
≥ 6 times	1.64**	(2.7)	1.31	(0.9)
Unsupervised activities	1.27***	(4.2)	1.26**	(3.1)
Deviant attitudes	1.12	(1.9)	1.03	(0.4)
Victimization (ref = no)	1.58***	(4.4)	1.14	(1.1)
Self-reported delinquency (ref = no)				
1–2 offenses	1.40**	(2.6)	1.89***	(4.0)
3–5 offenses	1.36*	(2.4)	2.16***	(4.3)
≥ 6 offenses	1.52*	(2.3)	3.86***	(5.8)
Peer delinquency	1.18**	(2.7)	1.25***	(3.4)
Peer-group member (ref = no)				
member in non-violent peer group	1.45***	(3.8)	1.55***	(3.8)
member in violent peer group	1.97***	(4.7)	1.89**	(3.1)
Friends without migration background (ref = no)				
yes	1.08	(0.4)	1.08	(0.4)
Constant	0.26***	(-5.0)	0.29***	(-4.6)
lnalpha	3.50***	(13.4)	3.26***	(18.0)
Rank	29		26	
Log lik.	-3,169		-2,037	

	Model Cologne		Model Mannheim	
BIC	6,575		4,277	
AIC	6,396		4,126	
Observations	3,577		2,503	

Exponentiated coefficients (IRR); z statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Missing values are included as a residual category but not reported.

Table A2   *Negative binomial regression of stop-and-search police contacts for boys and girls in Germany*

	Model Boy		Model Girl	
Age	0.98	(-0.3)	0.89*	(-2.0)
Migration background (ref = native)				
Turkish	0.82	(-1.4)	1.02	(0.1)
Southern European	0.86	(-0.5)	0.42*	(-2.2)
Ex-Soviet	0.82	(-0.7)	1.02	(0.1)
Polish	0.86	(-0.5)	1.02	(0.0)
other Eastern European	0.65	(-1.3)	1.18	(0.5)
Maghrebian/Muslim Asian	1.39	(1.1)	1.90*	(2.1)
other background	1.39	(1.3)	1.19	(0.8)
mixed German/Turkish	0.83	(-0.7)	1.13	(0.3)
mixed German/other background	0.82	(-0.9)	1.25	(1.2)
Parental occupational status	0.96	(-0.5)	1.17**	(3.1)
Parental unemployment (ref = no)				
yes	0.90	(-0.7)	0.88	(-0.9)
unclear	0.76	(-1.4)	1.15	(0.6)
Parental educational level (ref = no degree)				
degree below Bac/Abi	0.88	(-0.6)	0.97	(-0.2)
Bac/Abi	0.90	(-0.5)	1.03	(0.2)
above Bac/Abi	1.10	(0.4)	1.07	(0.3)
Family structure (ref = complete)	1.16	(1.1)	1.22	(1.8)
Ever drunk (in lifetime) (ref = no)				
once	1.56*	(2.4)	1.26	(1.5)
2–5 times	1.46*	(2.4)	1.24	(1.2)
≥ 6 times	1.42	(1.7)	1.66*	(2.6)
Unsupervised activities	1.23**	(3.2)	1.32***	(5.7)
Deviant attitudes	1.05	(0.8)	1.14*	(2.0)
Victimization (ref = no)	1.24*	(2.1)	1.54***	(4.0)
Self-reported delinquency (ref = no)				
1–2 offenses	1.36*	(2.0)	1.71***	(3.9)
3–5 offenses	1.64***	(3.6)	1.30	(1.3)
≥ 6 offenses	2.41***	(4.5)	1.74**	(2.8)
Peer delinquency	1.15*	(2.1)	1.30***	(4.1)
Peer-group member (ref = no)				

	Model Boy		Model Girl	
member in non-violent peer group	1.37*	(2.3)	1.64***	(3.9)
member in violent peer group	1.86***	(3.5)	2.26***	(3.5)
Friends without migration background (ref = no)				
yes	0.90	(-0.7)	1.45*	(2.1)
Constant	0.40***	(-3.8)	0.09***	(-8.8)
lnalpha	3.75***	(16.5)	2.81***	(9.4)
Rank	35		35	
Log lik.	-3,138		-2065	
Chi-squared	1,299.29		652.07	
BIC	6,555		4,414	
AIC	6,347		4,201	
Observations	2,832		3,248	

Exponentiated coefficients (IRR); z statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Missing values are included as a residual category but not reported.

Table A3   *Negative binomial regression of stop-and-search police contacts for valid contacts only in Germany*

	Model all contacts		Model valid contacts	
Female (ref = boy)	0.46***	(-7.9)	0.44***	(-7.7)
Age	0.94	(-1.6)	0.94	(-1.5)
Migration background (ref = native)				
Turkish	0.91	(-0.8)	0.89	(-0.8)
Southern European	0.69	(-1.9)	0.70	(-1.7)
Ex-Soviet	0.84	(-0.8)	0.84	(-0.8)
Polish	0.88	(-0.5)	0.94	(-0.2)
other Eastern European	0.83	(-0.7)	0.68	(-1.5)
Maghrebian/Muslim Asian	1.50	(1.8)	1.39	(1.4)
other background	1.37	(1.9)	1.39	(1.9)
mixed German/Turkish	0.95	(-0.1)	0.99	(-0.0)
mixed German/other background	0.98	(-0.1)	0.99	(-0.1)
Parental occupational status	1.05	(0.9)	1.05	(1.0)
Parental unemployment (ref = no)				
yes	0.89	(-1.2)	0.89	(-1.1)
unclear	0.89	(-0.8)	0.89	(-0.7)
Parental educational level (ref = no degree)				
degree below Bac/Abi	0.94	(-0.5)	0.99	(-0.1)
Bac/Abi	0.95	(-0.4)	0.98	(-0.2)
above Bac/Abi	1.07	(0.4)	1.09	(0.5)
Family structure (ref = complete)	1.20*	(2.1)	1.24*	(2.3)
Ever drunk (in lifetime) (ref = no)				
once	1.43**	(3.2)	1.36**	(2.7)
2–5 times	1.35*	(2.5)	1.34*	(2.3)

	Model all contacts		Model valid contacts	
≥ 6 times	1.48*	(2.5)	1.42*	(2.1)
Unsupervised activities	1.28***	(5.2)	1.30***	(5.2)
Deviant attitudes	1.08	(1.8)	1.07	(1.3)
Victimization (ref = no)	1.38***	(3.8)	1.43***	(3.8)
Self-reported delinquency (ref = no)				
1–2 offenses	1.54***	(4.1)	1.53***	(3.8)
3–5 offenses	1.59***	(4.2)	1.70***	(4.5)
≥ 6 offenses	2.20***	(4.8)	2.21***	(4.4)
Peer delinquency	1.21***	(4.1)	1.20***	(3.4)
Peer-group member (ref = no)				
member in non-violent peer group	1.48***	(4.8)	1.53***	(4.8)
member in violent peer group	1.92***	(5.0)	2.04***	(5.0)
Friends without migration background (ref = no)				
yes	1.08	(0.6)	1.11	(0.8)
Constant	0.29***	(-6.3)	0.27***	(-6.0)
lnalpha	3.53***	(20.4)	3.75***	(21.0)
Rank	36		36	
Log lik.	-5,232		-4,819	
Chi-squared	1,799.87		1,685.06	
BIC	10,777		9,949	
AIC	10,535		9,709	
Observations	6,080		5,786	

Exponentiated coefficients (IRR); z statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Missing values are included as a residual category but not reported.

Table A4   *Negative binomial regression of stop-and-search police contacts for boys and girls in France*

	Model Boy		Model Girl	
Age	1.58***	(7.5)	1.43***	(3.7)
Migration background (ref = native)				
Maghrebian	2.91***	(7.1)	1.62*	(2.3)
other migration background	1.61**	(3.3)	1.45	(1.5)
mixed native and Maghrebian	2.07**	(3.1)	1.29	(1.2)
mixed native and other	1.24	(1.7)	1.12	(0.7)
Parental unemployment (ref = no)				
yes	1.09	(0.8)	1.37	(1.7)
unclear	1.99**	(2.8)	0.78	(-1.1)
Parental educational level (ref = no degree)				
degree below Bac/Abi	0.77	(-1.2)	0.60	(-1.3)
Bac/Abi	0.80	(-1.0)	0.43*	(-2.3)
above Bac/Abi	0.67	(-1.8)	0.51*	(-2.1)
Family structure (ref = complete)	1.26*	(2.0)	1.35	(1.8)

	Model Boy		Model Girl	
Ever drunk (in lifetime) (ref = no)				
once	1.11	(0.6)	0.95	(-0.2)
2–5 times	1.12	(0.8)	1.03	(0.1)
≥ 6 times	1.67**	(3.2)	1.70*	(2.5)
Hang out with friends in public spaces (ref = no)				
rarely	1.35*	(2.2)	1.29	(1.2)
often	2.08***	(5.3)	1.83***	(3.3)
very often	3.25***	(6.9)	1.79**	(2.9)
Deviant attitudes	1.19**	(3.1)	1.56***	(5.2)
Victimization (ref = no)	1.18	(1.4)	1.69***	(3.5)
Self-reported delinquency (ref = no)				
1–2 offenses	1.74***	(3.6)	1.54*	(2.4)
3–5 offenses	2.49***	(5.2)	1.48	(1.7)
≥ 6 offenses	3.72***	(9.5)	3.04***	(5.0)
Peer delinquency	1.41***	(7.1)	1.50***	(4.2)
Friends without migration background (ref = no)				
yes	0.59*	(-2.2)	0.86	(-0.6)
Constant	0.25***	(-3.8)	0.11***	(-4.3)
lnalpha	4.71***	(27.9)	6.84***	(18.3)
Rank	28		28	
Log lik.	-6,424		-2,655	
Chi-squared	2,136.78		947.50	
BIC	13,092		5,552	
AIC	12,905		5,365	
Observations	5851		5878	

Exponentiated coefficients (IRR); z statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Missing values are included as a residual category but not reported.

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Table A5   Negative binomial regression of stop-and-search police contacts in Germany (joint data set)

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6	
Female (ref = boy)	0.38***	(-9.9)	0.37***	(-10.4)	0.45***	(-7.4)	0.41***	(-8.7)	0.46***	(-8.9)	0.47***	(-8.0)
Age	1.24***	(4.5)	1.24***	(4.5)	0.97	(-0.8)	1.12*	(2.6)	1.10*	(2.1)	1.00	(-0.1)
Migration background (ref = native)												
Turkish	0.72*	(-2.4)	0.79	(-1.8)	0.74*	(-2.5)	0.77*	(-2.0)	0.66***	(-3.3)	0.83	(-1.6)
other migration background	0.87	(-1.1)	0.90	(-0.9)	0.89	(-0.9)	0.90	(-0.9)	0.89	(-0.9)	0.91	(-0.8)
mixed native and Turkish	1.24	(0.5)	1.31	(0.6)	1.30	(0.6)	1.03	(0.1)	1.20	(0.4)	1.14	(0.4)
mixed native and other	1.15	(1.0)	1.10	(0.7)	1.04	(0.3)	1.05	(0.3)	1.00	(-0.0)	0.95	(-0.4)
Parental unemployment (ref = no)												
yes			1.03	(0.3)							0.85	(-1.8)
unclear			1.13	(0.6)							1.00	(0.0)
Parental educational level (ref = no degree)												
degree below Bac/Abi			1.02	(0.2)							1.05	(0.4)
Bac/Abi			0.96	(-0.4)							1.08	(0.6)
above Bac/Abi			1.23	(1.7)							1.37**	(2.6)
Family structure (ref = complete)			1.56***	(5.4)							1.26**	(2.8)
Ever drunk (in lifetime) (ref = no)												
once					1.81***	(6.2)					1.49***	(4.0)
2–5 times					2.32***	(6.9)					1.60***	(3.9)
≥ 6 times					3.73***	(10.6)					2.03***	(5.3)

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6	
Hang out with friends in public spaces (ref = no)												
rarely					1.13	(0.6)					1.01	(0.1)
often					1.56**	(2.7)					1.32	(1.8)
very often					1.84***	(3.8)					1.52**	(2.8)
Deviant attitudes					1.43***	(7.6)					1.21***	(5.1)
Victimization (ref = no)							1.64***	(5.7)			1.53***	(4.6)
Self-reported delinquency (ref = no)												
1–2 offenses							1.80***	(5.4)			1.25*	(2.1)
3–5 offenses							2.71***	(7.4)			1.37*	(2.3)
≥ 6 offenses							4.96***	(13.3)			1.62**	(3.2)
Peer delinquency									1.97***	(18.2)	1.33***	(6.6)
Friends without migration background (ref = no)												
yes									1.15	(1.1)	1.10	(0.8)
Constant	1.04	(0.4)	0.83	(-1.5)	0.40***	(-6.0)	0.49***	(-7.1)	0.69**	(-2.6)	0.29***	(-6.1)
lnalpha	6.10***	(31.0)	5.96***	(31.3)	4.49***	(26.3)	4.71***	(26.2)	4.72***	(27.7)	4.02***	(25.2)
Rank	8		15		15		12		11		29	
Log lik.	-6,073		-6,051		-5,817		-5,856		-5,851		-5,717	
Chi-squared	162.68		291.37		699.59		614.65		752.70		1,570.2	
BIC	12,216		12,233		11,766		11,818		11,799		11,689	
AIC	12,162		12,131		11,664		11,736		11,724		11,492	
Observations	6,650		6,650		6,650		6,650		6,650		6,650	

Exponentiated coefficients (IRR); z statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Missing values are included as a residual category but not reported.

Table A6　　Linear regression of satisfaction with the police among adolescents with police contact in Germany (joint data set)

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6		Model 7	
Female (ref = boy)	0.10*	(2.1)	0.02	(0.5)	0.02	(0.4)	0.03	(0.6)	0.05	(1.1)	0.04	(1.1)	-0.04	(-1.0)
Age	-0.08***	(-3.6)	-0.05*	(-2.5)	-0.04	(-1.8)	-0.06**	(-2.8)	-0.06*	(-2.6)	-0.05*	(-2.6)	-0.03	(-1.4)
Migration background (ref = native)														
Turkish	-0.16*	(-2.4)	-0.19**	(-3.1)	-0.23***	(-3.5)	-0.15*	(-2.3)	-0.20**	(-3.2)	-0.15**	(-2.7)	-0.18**	(-2.9)
other migration background	-0.18**	(-3.2)	-0.15**	(-2.9)	-0.19***	(-3.6)	-0.15**	(-2.9)	-0.20***	(-3.8)	-0.12*	(-2.6)	-0.14**	(-3.3)
mixed native and Turkish	-0.35	(-1.7)	-0.26	(-1.3)	-0.28	(-1.8)	-0.34*	(-2.0)	-0.24	(-1.5)	-0.24	(-1.3)	-0.13	(-0.9)
mixed native and other	-0.13	(-2.0)	-0.09	(-1.4)	-0.09	(-1.6)	-0.07	(-1.1)	-0.06	(-0.9)	-0.09	(-1.3)	-0.02	(-0.4)
Parental unemployment (ref = no)														
yes	-0.03	(-0.7)	-0.03	(-0.5)	-0.02	(-0.4)	-0.02	(-0.5)	-0.05	(-1.3)	-0.02	(-0.5)	-0.03	(-0.7)
unclear	-0.05	(-0.6)	-0.05	(-0.6)	-0.03	(-0.4)	-0.02	(-0.2)	-0.05	(-0.6)	-0.03	(-0.4)	-0.01	(-0.2)
Parental educational level (ref = no degree)														
degree below Bac/Abi	-0.04	(-0.5)	-0.04	(-0.5)	-0.06	(-0.7)	-0.08	(-1.0)	-0.04	(-0.6)	-0.04	(-0.5)	-0.06	(-0.8)
Bac/Abi	0.01	(0.2)	-0.01	(-0.1)	-0.02	(-0.3)	-0.06	(-0.7)	-0.02	(-0.2)	-0.00	(-0.0)	-0.05	(-0.6)
above Bac/Abi	-0.07	(-0.8)	-0.08	(-0.9)	-0.12	(-1.5)	-0.13	(-1.7)	-0.08	(-1.1)	-0.10	(-1.3)	-0.14	(-1.8)
Family structure (ref = complete)	-0.07	(-1.7)	-0.02	(-0.5)	-0.01	(-0.3)	-0.04	(-1.1)	-0.04	(-1.1)	-0.01	(-0.4)	0.02	(0.6)
Police-initiated contacts (ref = no)														
1–2 contacts			-0.07	(-1.9)									0.02	(0.6)
3–5 contacts			-0.27***	(-5.3)									-0.08	(-1.5)
≥ 6 contacts			-0.63***	(-8.5)									-0.24**	(-3.1)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7
Victimization (ref = no)	0.03 (0.7)						0.05 (1.5)
Self-reported delinquency		-0.17*** (-4.0)					0.02 (0.5)
Ever drunk (in lifetime) (ref = no)							
once			-0.08 (-1.4)				-0.04 (-0.7)
2–5 times			-0.11 (-1.9)				-0.01 (-0.2)
≥ 6 times			-0.27*** (-3.5)				-0.07 (-1.0)
Hang out with friends in public spaces (ref = no)							
rarely			-0.01 (-0.2)				0.02 (0.3)
often			-0.06 (-0.8)				-0.02 (-0.3)
very often			-0.08 (-1.1)				-0.03 (-0.5)
Deviant attitudes			-0.07 (-1.2)				-0.07 (-1.6)
Interaction effect hang out with friends*deviant attitudes (ref = no)							
rarely*deviant attitudes			-0.11 (-1.5)				-0.08 (-1.3)
often*deviant attitudes			-0.06 (-0.8)				-0.03 (-0.6)
very often*deviant attitudes			-0.16* (-2.3)				-0.07 (-1.1)
Peer delinquency				-0.17*** (-6.9)			-0.03 (-1.4)
Friends without migration background (ref = no)							
yes				0.01 (0.2)			0.01 (0.2)
Youth had drunk alcohol					-0.13* (-2.2)		0.04 (0.7)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7
Youth resisted the police					-0.61*** (-4.2)		-0.44** (-3.3)
Youth provoked the police					-0.46*** (-3.9)		-0.24* (-2.3)
Youth ran away					-0.22** (-2.7)		-0.10 (-1.3)
Police checked clothes or bags (ref = no)							
yes						-0.37*** (-5.4)	-0.20*** (-3.7)
Police checked identity (ref = no)						0.00 (.)	0.00 (.)
yes						-0.19*** (-4.5)	-0.13** (-2.7)
Police decreed order to move (ref = no)						0.00 (.)	0.00 (.)
yes						-0.22*** (-3.5)	-0.11 (-1.6)
Police brought to police station (ref = no)						0.00 (.)	0.00 (.)
yes						-0.11 (-1.4)	-0.08 (-1.1)
Constant	3.50*** (41.8)	3.71*** (44.9)	3.73*** (36.9)	3.62*** (36.4)	3.62*** (49.5)	3.74*** (44.0)	3.81*** (30.8)
Rank	14	19	24	17	18	19	41
R-squared	0.06	0.18	0.23	0.16	0.21	0.19	0.35
Adjusted R-squared	0.05	0.17	0.21	0.15	0.19	0.17	0.32
BIC	1,573	1,486	1,472	1,492	1,454	1,481	1,435
AIC	1,507	1,396	1,358	1,411	1,368	1,390	1,240
Observations	862	862	862	862	862	862	862

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Missing values are included as a residual category but not reported.

Table A7   Ordered logit regression of vicarious experiences of police disrespect in Germany (joint data set)

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6	
Female (ref = boy)	0.61***	(-7.0)	0.73***	(-4.4)	0.72***	(-4.8)	0.78***	(-3.4)	0.84**	(-2.6)	0.92	(-1.1)
Age	1.17***	(4.2)	1.12**	(2.9)	1.11*	(2.4)	1.03	(0.7)	1.07	(1.7)	1.04	(0.9)
Migration background (ref = native)												
Turkish	2.10***	(7.0)	2.32***	(8.2)	2.41***	(8.0)	2.54***	(8.3)	1.78***	(4.9)	2.13***	(6.1)
other migration background	1.64***	(4.6)	1.73***	(4.8)	1.73***	(5.0)	1.85***	(5.3)	1.62***	(4.2)	1.73***	(4.4)
mixed native/Turkish	1.64	(1.8)	1.71	(1.8)	1.62	(1.6)	1.80*	(2.3)	1.62	(1.7)	1.54	(1.4)
mixed native/other	1.63***	(4.4)	1.54***	(4.1)	1.53***	(3.9)	1.70***	(5.8)	1.54***	(3.8)	1.52***	(4.3)
Parental unemployment (ref = no)												
yes	1.07	(0.7)	1.03	(0.3)	0.92	(-0.8)	1.01	(0.1)	0.95	(-0.5)	0.91	(-1.0)
unclear	1.05	(0.3)	1.04	(0.2)	1.07	(0.4)	1.03	(0.2)	0.94	(-0.3)	0.98	(-0.1)
Parental educational level (ref = no degree)												
degree below Bac/Abi	0.88	(-1.0)	0.86	(-1.2)	0.88	(-0.9)	0.93	(-0.5)	0.89	(-0.8)	0.89	(-0.9)
Bac/Abi	0.90	(-0.8)	0.85	(-1.3)	0.93	(-0.6)	0.93	(-0.6)	0.95	(-0.4)	0.94	(-0.5)
above Bac/Abi	0.89	(-0.9)	0.85	(-1.2)	0.90	(-0.8)	0.98	(-0.1)	0.94	(-0.4)	0.99	(-0.1)
Family structure (ref = complete)	1.36***	(4.3)	1.26**	(3.2)	1.23**	(3.0)	1.20**	(2.8)	1.24***	(3.4)	1.14*	(2.1)
Police-initiated contacts (ref = no)												
1–2 contacts			2.35***	(9.7)							1.51***	(4.7)
3–5 contacts			5.68***	(11.6)							2.84***	(6.2)
≥ 6 contacts			16.58***	(11.3)							5.32***	(6.0)
Victimization (ref = no)					1.71***	(5.7)					1.50***	(4.1)
Self-reported delinquency					3.00***	(12.7)					1.13	(1.3)
Ever drunk (in lifetime) (ref = no)												
once							1.69***	(4.9)			1.28*	(2.1)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
2–5 times				1.71*** (4.7)		1.07 (0.5)
≥ 6 times				2.61*** (6.4)		1.13 (0.7)
Hang out with friends in public spaces (ref = no)						
rarely				1.31 (1.9)		1.25 (1.5)
often				1.75*** (3.5)		1.38* (2.0)
very often				2.43*** (5.8)		1.81*** (3.7)
Deviant attitudes				1.73*** (11.6)		1.38*** (6.2)
Peer delinquency					2.22*** (19.2)	1.54*** (8.5)
Friends without migration background (ref = no)						
yes						0.77* (-2.4)
cut1	1.90*** (4.7)	2.74*** (7.0)	3.45*** (8.7)	4.81*** (10.2)	0.73** (-2.9)	3.76*** (6.4)
cut2	4.55*** (10.4)	7.11*** (12.7)	8.81*** (14.5)	12.72*** (16.3)	1.61** (3.1)	10.88*** (11.7)
cut3	10.03*** (16.3)	17.07*** (18.2)	20.44*** (19.6)	30.72*** (22.5)	4.36*** (9.3)	28.97*** (16.4)
cut4	23.37*** (20.3)	43.03*** (21.4)	49.32*** (22.6)	76.86*** (24.9)	10.75*** (15.1)	79.33*** (19.1)
Pseudo R^2	0.023	0.067	0.062	0.086	0.088	0.125
Rank	17	20	19	24	20	32
Log lik.	-3,515	-3,355	-3,373	-3,289	-3,278	-3,146
Chi-squared	224.43	921.70	589.71	736.84	759.32	1,813.18
BIC	7,167	6,873	6,900	6,772	6,718	6,550
AIC	7,063	6,751	6,785	6,625	6,597	6,355
Observations	3,279	3,279	3,279	3,279	3,279	3,279

Exponentiated coefficients (Odds Ratio); z statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Missing values are included as a residual category but not reported.

Table A8 Linear regression of police fairness in Germany (joint data set)

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6		Model 7	
Female (ref = boy)	0.17***	(10.0)	0.09***	(5.9)	0.12***	(6.2)	0.00	(0.2)	0.07***	(4.6)	-0.03	(-1.7)	-0.03	(-0.9)
Age	-0.11***	(-10.0)	-0.08***	(-9.0)	-0.09***	(-8.5)	-0.07***	(-8.0)	-0.07***	(-7.9)	-0.06***	(-7.1)	-0.03	(-1.5)
Parental unemployment (ref = no)														
yes	-0.06*	(-2.1)	-0.02	(-0.9)	-0.04	(-1.7)	-0.02	(-0.8)	-0.02	(-0.9)	-0.00	(-0.2)	-0.02	(-0.4)
unclear	-0.10**	(-2.7)	-0.06	(-2.0)	-0.10**	(-2.9)	-0.08*	(-2.5)	-0.09*	(-2.6)	-0.06*	(-2.3)	-0.15	(-1.9)
Parental educational level (ref = no degree)														
degree below Bac/Abi	-0.01	(-0.4)	-0.02	(-0.8)	-0.00	(-0.1)	-0.02	(-0.9)	-0.00	(-0.2)	-0.02	(-0.8)	-0.10	(-1.6)
Bac/Abi	0.01	(0.5)	-0.01	(-0.4)	0.02	(0.9)	-0.02	(-0.7)	0.00	(0.0)	-0.02	(-0.9)	-0.03	(-0.5)
above Bac/Abi	-0.03	(-0.8)	-0.06	(-1.8)	-0.01	(-0.4)	-0.06*	(-2.3)	-0.04	(-1.4)	-0.06*	(-2.5)	-0.08	(-1.2)
Family structure (ref = complete)	-0.12***	(-6.2)	-0.08***	(-4.2)	-0.09***	(-5.0)	-0.06***	(-4.0)	-0.08***	(-4.8)	-0.04**	(-2.9)	-0.08*	(-2.1)
Migration background (ref = native)														
Turkish	-0.13***	(-5.4)	-0.09**	(-3.0)	-0.13***	(-5.7)	-0.11***	(-5.3)	-0.04	(-1.6)	-0.07*	(-2.3)	-0.04	(-0.5)
other migration background	-0.14***	(-5.7)	-0.08*	(-2.6)	-0.14***	(-6.1)	-0.13***	(-5.8)	-0.10***	(-4.9)	-0.09***	(-3.2)	-0.05	(-0.7)
mixed native/Turkish	-0.02	(-0.3)	-0.02	(-0.4)	-0.01	(-0.2)	-0.03	(-0.5)	0.03	(0.6)	-0.01	(-0.1)	0.10	(0.6)
mixed native/other	-0.11***	(-3.8)	-0.04	(-1.0)	-0.09**	(-3.4)	-0.06*	(-2.5)	-0.06*	(-2.5)	-0.04	(-1.0)	-0.09	(-1.4)
National identification (ref = host country)														
divided			-0.05	(-1.4)							-0.02	(-0.5)	0.01	(0.1)
country of origin			-0.20***	(-6.3)							-0.10***	(-3.6)	-0.03	(-0.4)
Importance of religion (ref = not important)														
somewhat important			0.11***	(4.6)							0.05*	(2.3)	0.01	(0.3)
fairly important			0.17***	(7.2)							0.11***	(5.0)	0.15**	(3.3)
very important			0.12**	(3.4)							0.08**	(3.2)	0.06	(0.9)
Parental monitoring			0.12***	(13.1)							0.03***	(4.2)	0.04	(1.9)
Attitudes to school			0.16***	(16.3)							0.08***	(9.6)	0.01	(0.3)
Police-initiated contacts (ref = no)														

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7
1–2 contacts			-0.20*** (-8.6)			-0.04* (-2.1)	-0.03 (-0.8)
3–5 contacts			-0.49*** (-7.9)			-0.19*** (-3.8)	-0.11 (-1.6)
≥ 6 contacts			-0.71*** (-11.0)			-0.24*** (-4.4)	-0.09 (-1.5)
Victimization (ref = no)				-0.05** (-2.8)		-0.02 (-1.1)	-0.01 (-0.4)
Self-reported delinquency (ref = no)							
1–2 offenses				-0.11*** (-4.4)		-0.04 (-1.8)	-0.04 (-0.9)
3–5 offenses				-0.15*** (-4.1)		-0.03 (-0.9)	-0.10 (-1.6)
≥ 6 offenses				-0.32*** (-10.3)		-0.11*** (-3.6)	-0.04 (-0.5)
Hang out with friends in public spaces (ref = no)							
rarely				0.03 (1.0)		0.04 (1.4)	0.05 (0.8)
often				-0.01 (-0.5)		0.01 (0.5)	0.05 (0.7)
very often				-0.08* (-2.5)		-0.02 (-0.6)	0.06 (0.7)
Deviant attitudes				-0.27*** (-28.6)		-0.21*** (-21.7)	-0.18*** (-6.6)
Peer delinquency					-0.25*** (-28.6)	-0.09*** (-7.2)	-0.04 (-1.4)
Friends without migration background (ref = no)							
yes					0.13*** (5.0)	0.10*** (4.1)	0.03 (0.5)
Satisfaction with police							0.21*** (7.1)
Vicarious police disrespect							-0.14*** (-8.5)
Constant	2.88*** (94.1)	2.83*** (84.0)	2.97*** (87.1)	3.04*** (84.8)	2.79*** (84.6)	2.85*** (65.4)	2.86*** (24.4)
Rank	14	22	17	22	17	36	38
R-squared	0.07	0.19	0.13	0.31	0.20	0.35	0.53
Adjusted R-squared	0.07	0.19	0.13	0.31	0.20	0.35	0.51
BIC	12,995	12,124	12,600	11,142	12,023	10,859	1,555
AIC	12,900	11,975	12,485	10,993	11,908	10,615	1,372
Observations	6,515	6,515	6,515	6,515	6,515	6,515	904

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Missing values are included as a residual category but not reported.

Annex

Table A9   Ordered logit regression of obedience to police in Germany (joint data set)

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6		Model 7	
Female (ref = boy)	1.42***	(6.7)	1.21***	(3.4)	1.26***	(3.9)	0.89	(-1.8)	1.14*	(2.1)	0.84*	(-2.5)	1.12	(0.8)
Age	0.78***	(-9.6)	0.82***	(-7.3)	0.80***	(-8.5)	0.84***	(-5.9)	0.84***	(-6.5)	0.87***	(-4.8)	0.93	(-0.8)
Parental unemployment (ref = no)														
yes	0.92	(-1.0)	1.00	(-0.0)	0.95	(-0.6)	0.99	(-0.2)	0.99	(-0.1)	1.02	(0.2)	0.94	(-0.3)
unclear	0.79*	(-2.3)	0.85	(-1.5)	0.76**	(-2.7)	0.81*	(-2.2)	0.80*	(-2.4)	0.83	(-1.9)	0.72	(-1.2)
Parental educational level (ref = no degree)	1.00	(.)	1.00	(.)	1.00	(.)	1.00	(.)	1.00	(.)	1.00	(.)	1.00	(.)
degree below Bac/Abi	1.05	(0.6)	1.04	(0.3)	1.08	(0.9)	1.01	(0.1)	1.06	(0.7)	1.04	(0.3)	1.18	(0.6)
Bac/Abi	1.05	(0.6)	1.01	(0.1)	1.08	(0.9)	0.97	(-0.3)	1.03	(0.3)	0.99	(-0.1)	1.02	(0.1)
above Bac/Abi	0.88	(-1.3)	0.83	(-1.8)	0.93	(-0.8)	0.80*	(-2.4)	0.86	(-1.6)	0.82*	(-2.0)	0.77	(-0.8)
Family structure (ref = complete)	0.82***	(-4.0)	0.91	(-1.8)	0.87***	(-2.8)	0.93	(-1.4)	0.88**	(-2.5)	0.97	(-0.5)	0.95	(-0.3)
Migration background (ref = native)														
Turkish	1.11	(1.5)	0.95	(-0.4)	1.12	(1.6)	1.19*	(2.3)	1.31***	(3.4)	1.00	(0.0)	1.00	(0.0)
other migration background	0.94	(-0.9)	0.95	(-0.5)	0.96	(-0.6)	0.97	(-0.4)	0.99	(-0.1)	0.90	(-1.1)	0.84	(-0.7)
mixed native/Turkish	1.01	(0.0)	0.95	(-0.3)	1.04	(0.2)	0.97	(-0.2)	1.16	(0.7)	0.97	(-0.2)	0.41	(-1.2)
mixed native/other	0.79**	(-3.2)	0.91	(-1.1)	0.81**	(-2.9)	0.86	(-1.9)	0.84*	(-2.3)	0.90	(-1.1)	1.02	(0.1)
National identification (ref = host country)														
divided			0.92	(-0.9)							0.99	(-0.1)	1.34	(1.1)
country of origin			0.77*	(-2.2)							0.99	(-0.0)	1.77	(1.7)
Importance of religion (ref = not important)			1.00	(.)							1.00	(.)	1.00	(.)
somewhat important			1.28***	(4.3)							1.15*	(2.2)	1.11	(0.5)
fairly important			1.57***	(6.3)							1.37***	(4.5)	1.20	(1.0)
very important			1.66***	(4.8)							1.54***	(4.3)	1.35	(0.8)
Parental monitoring			1.35***	(8.9)							1.09***	(3.6)	1.17**	(2.7)
Attitudes to school			1.55***	(15.0)							1.27***	(8.2)	1.34**	(3.0)
Police-initiated contacts (ref = no)														
1–2 contacts					0.72***	(-4.3)					1.00	(0.1)	0.98	(-0.1)
3–5 contacts					0.32***	(-8.5)					0.60***	(-5.0)	0.59**	(-2.6)

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6		Model 7	
≥ 6 contacts					0.18***	(-8.6)					0.52***	(-3.7)	0.53*	(-2.1)
Victimization (ref = no)							1.08	(1.0)			1.15	(1.8)	1.03	(0.2)
Self-reported delinquency (ref = no)														
1–2 offenses							0.78***	(-3.3)			0.89	(-1.5)	0.70	(-2.0)
3–5 offenses							0.76*	(-2.2)			0.94	(-0.4)	1.11	(0.3)
≥ 6 offenses							0.45***	(-7.3)			0.69***	(-3.3)	0.61	(-1.9)
Hang out with friends in public spaces (ref = no)														
rarely							0.94	(-0.6)			0.95	(-0.5)	1.27	(0.7)
often							0.96	(-0.4)			1.02	(0.1)	1.32	(0.8)
very often							0.94	(-0.5)			1.04	(0.3)	1.56	(1.2)
Deviant attitudes							0.41***	(-27.7)			0.47***	(-21.4)	0.54***	(-7.0)
Peer delinquency									0.57***	(-14.6)	0.85***	(-3.9)	0.90	(-1.2)
Friends without migration background (ref = no)														
yes									1.16*	(2.4)	1.20**	(3.1)	1.39	(1.5)
Satisfaction with police													1.54***	(3.5)
Vicarious police disrespect													0.87*	(-2.0)
cut1	0.03***	(-23.7)	0.03***	(-21.2)	0.02***	(-22.7)	0.01***	(-21.6)	0.03***	(-22.3)	0.02***	(-18.3)	0.02***	(-8.3)
cut2	0.13***	(-19.0)	0.13***	(-15.6)	0.10***	(-18.3)	0.06***	(-16.5)	0.13***	(-18.3)	0.09***	(-13.2)	0.17***	(-3.9)
cut3	1.09	(0.8)	1.28*	(2.0)	0.93	(-0.7)	0.78	(-1.6)	1.22	(1.9)	1.21	(1.1)	1.92	(1.5)
Pseudo R^2	0.016		0.064		0.034		0.119		0.054		0.135		0.202	
Rank	16		24		19		24		19		38		40	
Log lik.	-6,526		-6,210		-6,407		-5,842		-6,276		-5,738		-830	
Chi-squared	390.14		1,055.89		780.29		2,267.02		1,015.55		3,617.90		1,357.87	
BIC	13,192		12,630		12,982		11,894		12,719		11,810		1,933	
AIC	13,083		12,467		12,853		11,731		12,591		11,553		1,740	
Observations	6,497		6,497		6,497		6,497		6,497		6,497		899	

Exponentiated coefficients (Odds Ratio); z statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Missing values are included as a residual category but not reported.

Table A10 Interaction effects in linear regression of police fairness in Germany and France

	Model 1 Germany		Model 2 Germany		Model 3 France		Model 4 France	
Female (ref = boy)	0.09***	(5.9)	0.10***	(5.9)	0.04*	(2.1)	0.04*	(2.2)
Age	-0.08***	(-9.1)	-0.08***	(-8.9)	-0.08***	(-8.2)	-0.08***	(-8.3)
Parental unemployment (ref = no)								
yes	-0.02	(-1.0)	-0.02	(-1.0)	-0.04**	(-2.6)	-0.04*	(-2.5)
unclear	-0.07	(-2.0)	-0.06	(-2.0)	-0.09**	(-3.0)	-0.10**	(-3.1)
Parental educational level (ref = no degree)								
degree below Bac/Abi	-0.02	(-0.8)	-0.02	(-0.9)	0.07	(1.6)	0.07	(1.7)
Bac/Abi	-0.01	(-0.4)	-0.01	(-0.4)	0.07	(2.0)	0.08*	(2.1)
above Bac/Abi	-0.06	(-1.9)	-0.06	(-1.9)	0.09*	(2.4)	0.10*	(2.5)
Family structure (ref = complete)	-0.08***	(-4.1)	-0.08***	(-4.2)	-0.07***	(-4.6)	-0.07***	(-4.4)
Migration background (ref = native)								
Turkish (D) / Maghrebian (F)	0.01	(0.1)	-0.12*	(-2.3)	-0.06	(-0.5)	-0.31***	(-6.1)
other migration background	-0.04	(-0.7)	-0.07	(-1.8)	0.00	(0.1)	-0.08*	(-2.4)
mixed native/Turkish (D) / Maghrebian (F)	0.06	(0.3)	0.02	(0.2)	-0.05	(-0.8)	-0.07	(-1.6)
mixed native/other	-0.03	(-0.5)	-0.04	(-0.9)	-0.01	(-0.2)	-0.08**	(-2.8)
Importance of religion (ref = not important)								
somewhat important	0.13***	(4.7)	0.11***	(4.6)	0.03	(1.5)	0.03	(1.8)
fairly important	0.19***	(7.0)	0.17***	(7.2)	0.08**	(2.8)	0.01	(0.5)
very important	0.12*	(2.5)	0.11**	(3.3)	-0.20***	(-3.6)	-0.19***	(-6.3)
Interaction effect migration background and religion								
Turkey or Maghreb*fairly important	-0.18	(-1.3)			-0.17	(-1.1)		
Turkey or Maghreb*important	-0.14	(-1.0)			-0.33**	(-2.7)		
Turkey or Maghreb*very important	-0.09	(-0.7)			-0.19	(-1.3)		
other*fairly important	-0.04	(-0.7)			0.04	(0.7)		
other*important	-0.05	(-0.9)			-0.12*	(-2.3)		
other*very important	-0.06	(-0.8)			0.01	(0.1)		

	Model 1 Germany		Model 2 Germany		Model 3 France		Model 4 France	
National identification (ref = host country)								
divided	-0.05	(-1.4)	-0.13	(-0.9)	-0.18***	(-7.6)	-0.21***	(-5.2)
country of origin	-0.20***	(-6.6)	-0.60***	(-15.4)	-0.34***	(-10.6)	-0.48***	(-7.7)
Parental monitoring	0.12***	(13.1)	0.12***	(12.9)	0.13***	(19.5)	0.13***	(18.9)
Attitudes to school	0.16***	(16.4)	0.16***	(16.5)	0.16***	(20.5)	0.16***	(20.4)
Interaction effect migration background and national identification			0.00	(.)			0.00	(.)
Turkey or Maghreb*divided			0.11	(0.7)			0.05	(0.9)
Turkey or Maghreb*origin			0.44***	(6.6)			0.18*	(2.4)
other*divided			0.07	(0.4)			0.07	(1.2)
other*origin			0.40***	(6.9)			0.27***	(4.2)
Constant	2.82***	(80.4)	2.83***	(84.2)	2.65***	(65.2)	2.66***	(66.0)
Rank	34		32		34		34	
R-squared	0.20		0.20		0.27		0.28	
Adjusted R-squared	0.19		0.19		0.27		0.27	
BIC	12,222		12,207		21,479		21,461	
AIC	11,991		11,990		21,230		21,212	
Observations	6,515		6,515		11,156		11,156	

t statistics in parentheses

$^* p < 0.05$, $^{**} p < 0.01$, $^{***} p < 0.001$

Missing values are included as a residual category but not reported.

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