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# Turkish Children and Teenagers as Perpetrators and Victims of Violence

## 1. Introduction

An act of violence committed by two young men on 20 December 2007 and filmed by closed-circuit television cameras dominated the debate on juvenile violence in Germany for a number of weeks. The perpetrators were young immigrants, one of Turkish and the other of Greek origin. Because the film of the extremely violent scene was shown on numerous news programmes for several days, the theory was soon posited that immigrant crime was the key threat to inland security. Young Turks in particular became the focus of political and media attention. At the time, the campaign leading up to the regional elections in the state of Hesse was in full swing and we seized the opportunity to counter the emotionally charged arguments spouted by various politicians with criminological facts and empirical knowledge (Pfeiffer and Baier, 2008). The following thus looks at what comes to light when data analysis focuses on young Turks. Our studies are based on representative surveys conducted with fourth and ninth grade school children carried out in different cities, towns and regions in five German states from 1998 to 2006. The survey data are supplemented by information gleaned from police crime statistics.

## 2. Violent Behaviour and School Performance Among Turkish Children

In 2005, and for the first time since its inception, the KFN[1] schools survey took in some 5,529 fourth graders (see also Mössle, Kleimann and Rehbein, 2007). With support from the class teachers, data was collected on parents' educational backgrounds and teachers' recommendations regarding the type of senior school each of the fourth graders was suited to attend.

Figure 1 (below) highlights two issues specific to Turkish children. Firstly, when compared with all other ethnic groups, they received the fewest recommendations for *Gymnasium* and the most for *Hauptschule*. Secondly, they committed more acts of violence against other children (hitting, kicking or fighting with another child) than any of their schoolmates.

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Figure 1: Teacher's recommendations and self-reported acts of violence (hitting/fighting) for fourth graders from various ethnic groups (KFN Schools Survey 2005, in %)
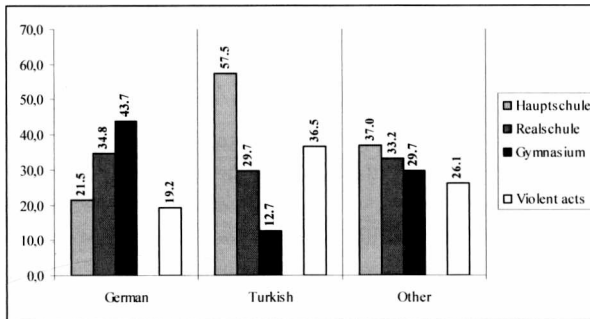


With reference to the comparison of teachers' recommendations regarding senior school type, a longitudinal study of 1,000 children from schools in Berlin conducted by KFN since 2005 has made it possible to compare third graders' (eight year-olds) mathematical skills and performance. Marginal differences were evident between the ethnic groups, with native German children performing slightly better than Turkish or Russian children. The divergence was, however, too small to be of any significance in explaining the gap in school marks at this age. Other factors obviously play an important role. Table 1 (below) shows characteristics identified in the survey of fourth graders that we have concluded are highly relevant to school performance and a readiness to resort to violence.

Table 1: Childhood circumstances for fourth graders from various ethnic groups (KFN Schools Survey 2005, in %)

| | German | Turkish | Other |
|---|---|---|---|
| Own room | 87.5 | 26.6 | 60.8 |
| Games console in room | 21.1 | 40.4 | 37.7 |
| Computer in room | 33.8 | 43.0 | 39.5 |
| Television in room | 30.3 | 46.3 | 48.6 |
| Media consumption on school days (average in hours and minutes) | 2 hrs 15 mins | 3 hrs 28 mins | 2 hrs 54 mins |
| Media consumption at the weekend (average in hours and minutes) | 3 hrs 35 mins | 5 hrs 3 mins | 4 hrs 31 mins |
| Films for age 16-18 seen in the past 7 days | 16.8 | 38.2 | 29.4 |
| Ever played a game for over age 16-18 | 33.0 | 55.1 | 46.7 |
| Experience of parental violence | 12.1 | 19.3 | 18.3 |
| Percentage of friends of German extraction | 90.3 | 42.8 | 60.8 |
| Percentage of immigrants in the class | 26.5 | 57.0 | 43.8 |
| Live in an urban environment (> 30,000 inhabitants) | 58.0 | 87.8 | 77.9 |
| Parents well educated | 41.5 | 8.0 | 23.9 |

What comes to light is that when compared with all other groups, Turkish children are least likely (26.6 percent) to have their own room. It goes without saying that this brings considerable disadvantages because its makes it difficult for them to concentrate on schoolwork if a sibling or an adult pursues other activities in the same

room (listening to music, watching television, talking on the telephone, or talking and playing with friends).

Added to this is the fact that 10 year-old Turkish children are more likely to have a games console and their own computer and rank second among the ethnic groups when it comes to having their own television. Access to their own visual media equipment means that on school days, Turkish fourth graders consume the most media, with 3 hours and 28 minutes. They also lead the field on weekends, with 5 hours and 3 minutes. A similar picture comes to light as regards consumption of films and computer games which due to their extreme violent content are classified for aged 16 or 18 or have been officially listed as suitable for adults only (over 18). This is another area where Turkish children show by far the highest exposure. A key finding in the media impact research we have conducted so far is that the more time children and juveniles spend consuming media and the more brutal the content of the films and computer games they consume, the worse their school performance and marks are (Pfeiffer et al, 2008). The poor performance is not just reflected in the low number of recommendations for *Gymnasium*, but in a comparatively weak average grade in German, science and maths (3.2 on a scale from 1 (top) to 6 (bottom), compared with 2.5 for German children and 2.9 for other children).

Another influencing factor is the experience of violence in the family. It is significant in relation to both school marks and delinquent behaviour of those affected (see Lansford et al, 2007, Smith and Thornberry, 1995). Figure 2 (below) illustrates the responses of 14,301 ninth graders questioned in the 2005 KFN survey regarding the extent to which they were the victims of inner-family violence during their childhood (up to age 12).[2]

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[2] Parental violence was documented in terms of the estimated frequency of the following six types of attack: being hit, having an object thrown at them, being held tight or pushed around, being hit with an object, being hit with a fist or kicked, being beaten or severely beaten. When at least three types of attack were rarely experienced, the parental style is described as mild punishment. If these three forms are more frequently use or if the fourth occurs at least rarely, we talk of severe punishment. Mistreatment is deemed to occur when a child is hit with a fist or kicked, beaten or severely beaten.

Figure 2: Parental violence in childhood according to ethnical background, ninth grade (KFN Schools Survey 2005, in %)
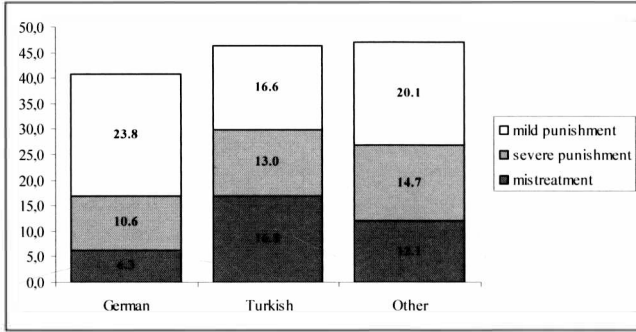


This shows that at 16.8 percent, Turkish children are far more vulnerable to mistreatment/abuse compared with all the ethnic groups covered in the survey. Looking at the 10 year-olds, we refrained from asking detailed questions about inner-family violence and merely recorded whether the children had been cuffed around the ear or hit within the last four weeks. But even in this context, the Turkish children were significantly more exposed (19.3 percent) than, say, the native German children (12.1 percent).

Integration is a preventive factor when it comes to immigrant children getting caught up in delinquent groups. The ethnic composition of their peer groups evidently plays an important role (see Rabold and Baier, 2008). We thus asked which ethnic groups the three children belonged to who each respondent had invited to their last birthday party. Of the native German children, an unsurprising 90.3 percent said they had invited German children. This applied to 60.8 percent of the others and 42.8 percent of the Turkish children. Looking at Turkish fourth graders, a pronounced regional divergence came to light. This can be taken as a sign of the considerable regional differences regarding the integration of immigrant children. A comparison between cities showed Turkish children in Oldenburg to be most likely to receive an invitation to a German child's birthday party (92.2 percent). Those in Dortmund were at the other end of the scale, with 35.5 percent. Not surprisingly, a comparison of the rate of violence among Turkish children in the different cities showed a reverse trend. It is highest among Turkish fourth graders in Dortmund (48 percent) and significantly lower in Oldenburg (35.3 percent).

Friendships with German children are primarily founded in nursery school and primary school. The children are thus reliant on structural conditions in their local environment. Against this backdrop, it would appear that the problem lies in the fact that in our survey 9 out of 10 Turkish children grow up in cities with over 30,000 inhabitants and often stick with their own kind because almost three-fifths of their classmates are immigrants themselves. The German children tend to live in small towns and rural

areas, and are far less likely to be in the same class as immigrant children.

In the following, the influence variables outlined earlier as regards school perfor-
mance and violence-related child delinquency among fourth graders are summarised
in a pathway analysis. The figures represent standardised coefficients which can vary
between 0 (no correlation) and 1 (perfect correlation). Existing correlation between
factors are identified with arrows, with the direction of the arrow showing the assu-
med effect. Apart from the factors already mentioned, we also took in 'well-educated
parents', because school performance research talks of parents' educational back-
grounds having a transmission effect (see, for example, Baumert and Schümer, 2001).

Figure 3: Model used to explain violence-related child delinquency and school per-
formance for fourth graders (controlled according to age, gender and regional origin;
KFN Schools Survey 2005; weighted data; diagram: standardised pathway coeffici-
ents)
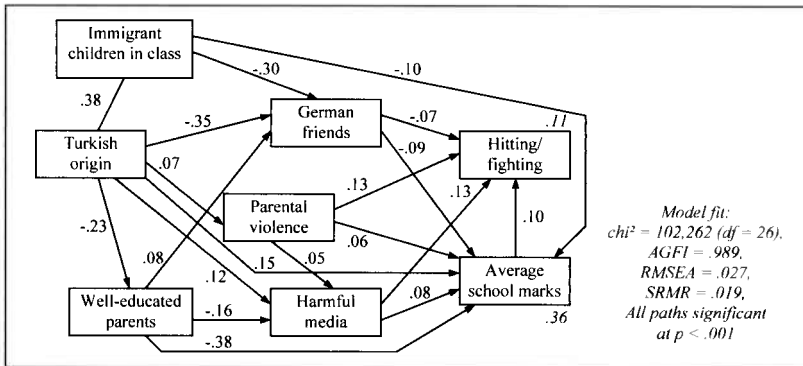


A direct pathway from Turkish origin to the variable 'hitting/fighting' no longer exists
once other factors have been controlled for. The higher exposure of Turkish children
to violent behaviour can largely be apportioned to four factors:

1.  Even after controlling for parents' educational background, Turkish children still demonstrate significantly poorer school performance. This goes hand in hand with anger and frustration and increases the risk of violence-related child delinquency.

2.  Turkish children consume more development-harming media. This often brings them into contact with violent role models; use of violent computer games has a proven effect on their ability to empathise (Funk et al, 2004), so that a link between their own readiness to resort to violence can be seen (see also Mößle, Kleimann and Rehbein, 207, pp. 31ff). The model also shows that frequent use of such content results in lower average marks.

3.  Turkish children have less contact with native German friends. More frequent contact goes hand in hand with lesser readiness to resort to violence and better average marks. The number of German friends is thus related to the number of immigrant children in the class: the higher the number, the fewer native German friends in the network.

4.  Turkish children experience greater exposure to parental violence. On the one hand, this fosters their readiness to resort to violence themselves; on the other, children who are punished or mistreated/abused by their parents are less able to perform well at school.

The model shows a very close link between parents' educational background and children's school performance: the better educated parents are, the better the average marks attained by their children. Turkish school children are less likely to have well-educated parents. Parents' educational background has no direct effect on school children's readiness to resort to violence. The fact that Turkish children are generally worse off in this regard therefore provides no direct explanation for the difference in German and Turkish fourth graders' readiness to resort to violence.[3]

## 3. Police Records on Violent Crime Committed by Turkish Juveniles

Police records have only limited suitability in comparative analysis on the crime rates amongst young foreigners and young Germans. Because police records document the nationality of suspects but not their ethnic origin[4], naturalised Turkish youths are re-

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[3]  Figure 3 shows a negative relationship between the number of immigrants in the class and average marks. A high proportion of immigrants thus has an ambivalent effect: on the one hand, they are less likely to develop friendships with German children, which in turn increases the risk of violent behaviour and reduces the average marks achieved. On the other, they provide an opportunity to perform better and attain better marks. It can be assumed that in classes with large numbers of immigrants, it is easier for individual pupils to set themselves apart and rise above the generally poor performance levels. This indicates that a high number of immigrants in primary school classes is not actually disadvantageous. Rather, the size of the percentage could be influential, meaning there are thresholds which should not be exceeded.

[4]  One exception applies to young repatriated ethnic Germans from former Communist countries in some German states, for whom the fact that they are repatriated ethnic Germans and the country from which they moved to Germany was documented in addition to them being registered as Germans when identified as suspects in police reports (see Pfeiffer et al, 2005).

gistered as German. Looking at the findings of the KFN schools survey conducted in 2005, this applied to 37.5 percent of 14 to 16 year-old Turks who committed violent acts in 2004. At the beginning of 2005, 26.8 percent of the Turkish school children questioned said they had committed at least one violent act in the year before the survey. Of these, 62.5 percent had Turkish nationality. The others were born German because their parents had either already applied for German citizenship before the birth or were naturalised later on.

Consideration must also be given to the fact that according to overlapping findings in several different studies, when compared to native German youths, young foreigners are at greater risk of being reported to the police as a result of violent behaviour and being thus be registered by the police as a suspect. This is especially the case in the frequent constellation of victim and perpetrator belonging to different ethnic groups (see Wilmers et al, 2002, Mansel 2003, Pfeiffer et al, 2005). Longitudinal analyses of police records on violent crime committed by young immigrants and young Germans are made difficult in that the growing group of naturalised young immigrants involves individuals with specific social traits. To gain German citizenship, young immigrants must have parents who are socially well integrated and have no criminal record. This positive selection boosts membership of social fringe groups among foreigners.

Nonetheless, crime statistics are the only source of data that provides information on long-term trends. Figure 4 shows the trend in crime committed by German and non-German juveniles (aged 14 to 17), both for all types of offences and specifically for violent crime based on the number of suspects in relation to population (*Tatverdächtigenbelastungsziffer*, or TVBZ). This figure shows the number of adolescents out of 100,000 in that age group who are thought to have committed a crime. In this process, there is one source of error that cannot be controlled: foreign suspects include tourists, people living in Germany illegally and others who hold a foreign passport and are temporary residents. These are registered by the police but not in the population statistics. The TVBZ figures are thus usually too high in relation to foreigners. This distortion factor is of less importance in the case of juveniles than for adults because the number of 14 to 17 year-olds in this group is relatively low.

Looking first at the trends for all types of offences, these remain the same for German and non-German juveniles until 1999. While the crime rates in both groups rise, the increase among non-German youths (10 percent) is lower than that for Germans (40 percent). After 1999, the TVBZ figure for all types of crime committed by non-German adolescents drops by 21 percent but remains largely constant for Germans (down 6 percent). Consequently, the number of offences committed by non-German youths dropped from 27.6 percent to 16.4 percent. Thus, while in 1993 every fourth juvenile crime recorded by the police was committed by a non-German youth, thirteen years later it was only every sixth.

Figure 4: TVBZ trends for crime/violent crime committed by German and non-German juveniles since 1993 and trends in crime committed by non-German youths since 1993
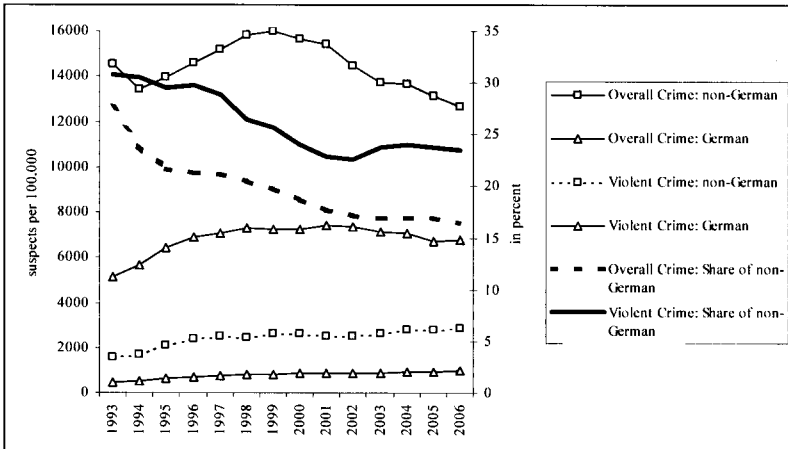


A similar trend as regards the number of crimes committed by non-German youths can be seen in the figures on violent crime, which include murder/manslaughter, robbery, dangerous/grievous bodily harm and rape. While in 1993 some 30.8 percent of all juvenile violent crime registered by the police was committed by foreign youths, in 2006 it was down to 23.5 percent. Nonetheless, the TVBZ figures show a rise in both groups, although it is slightly weaker as regards non-German than German juveniles. In 1993 the TVBZ for violent crime was 1,604.5 among non-German youths and 486.9 for Germans. In 2006, it was 2,863.6 for non-Germans and 983.9 for Germans. This represents a rise of 78 percent for non-German teenagers compared with a 102 percent increase among German juveniles. One possible cause for the convergence of the two groups could be the growing number of ethnic German youths repatriated from former Communist countries living in Germany who show an above-average readiness to resort to violence – particularly the boys – and are registered as German nationals (Haug, Baraulina, Babka von Gostomski, 2008, p. 20ff; Pfeiffer et al, 2005, p. 45ff).

We are able to determine the TVBZ separately for Turkish youths in 2006 for a cross-sectional comparison.[5] As Figure 5 shows, the figure for overall crime was two-thirds higher than for German youths. For the all non-German group the figures were up by 86 percent compared with that for the German group. The differences are more significant in respect of violent crime, with Turkish youths demonstrating the highest

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[5]  According to the Federal Statistical Office, 129,888 youths (aged 14 to 18) of Turkish nationality lived in Germany in 2006

TVBZ. This is three and a half times as high as that for German juveniles and 19 percent higher than that for all non-Germans. This means that in 2006, around one in ten juveniles registered by the police as suspected of committing a violent crime were of Turkish nationality. Their share of the population in that age group is only 3.4 percent. The share of all non-Germans among juvenile suspects of violent crime is 23.5 percent compared with a population share of 9.5 percent. Particularly striking is the extremely high number of Turkish juveniles among suspects of robbery and dangerous/grievous bodily harm. With regard to other crimes, Turkish juveniles are lesser in numbers than non-German youths. Plus, in respect of a few specific crimes, the TVBZ figures show only an insignificant divergence between German and non-German youths. This applies, for example, to drug-related crime and wilful damage. In the case of shop-lifting, the TVBZ ranks German and Turkish youths as more or less on a par.

Figure 5: TBVZ for selected crimes involving German, non-German and Turkish teenagers in 2006 and the number of crimes committed by non-German and Turkish youths in 2006
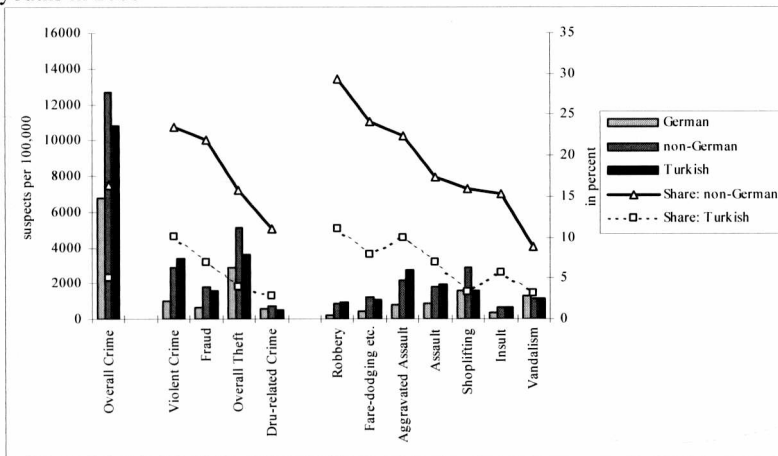


Crime statistics thus show a differentiated picture between Turkish youths in particular and non-German youths in general who are known to the police. Thus, in the last 13 years there has been no disproportionate rise in crime committed by immigrant youths. On the contrary: the TVBZ gaps are gradually closing. Among 100,000 non-German juveniles, considerably fewer crimes were committed in 2006 than in 1993. A rise is however evident among German teenagers. Violent crimes were more frequent in both groups, although the increase was greater among the young Germans. In a cross-section analysis of the figures for 2006, it is evident that when compared to German youths and all non-German youths, Turkish juveniles commit by far the highest number of violent crimes. The picture is quite different, however, as regards

property-related crime. The question as to how these differences might be explained cannot be answered using police crime statistics. We must rely on analyses regarding unreported crime, as this allows inclusion of crimes not reported to the police and also identifies the personal, family and social circumstances that we assume play a role in the occurrence of teenage violence and of juveniles slipping into criminal activity.

## 4. Turkish Adolescents as Perpetrators and Victims of Violence

### 4.1 Responses from immigrant juveniles concerning unreported crime

Before we look at the empirical findings of the KFN schools survey, we would first like to see whether this method is at all suited to explain why ethnic minorities are more likely to be involved in violent crime.

The validity of the findings from immigrants' responses is questionable on a number of counts. According to Eisner and Ribeaud (2007), one of the key problems is that immigrants are generally more difficult to reach and are less willing to participate in surveys to begin with. In school surveys, this plays only a subordinate role because nearly all the teenagers in school on the day the interviews are conducted take part. In the KFN survey conducted in 2005, only 1.3 percent of pupils and parents refused an interview. And of the pupils who were absent on the day of the survey (a total of 8.7 percent), teachers said only 23 percent were of non-German origin which mean there were not very many immigrants in that group. School surveys thus appear to be an effective way of interviewing a group that is generally difficult to reach.

Another potential problem is thus linked to the responses of immigrant youths. In their study on reports made by male youths regarding their own delinquency, Köllisch and Oberwittler (2004) show that while doubts as to the validity of immigrants' responses are justified, school surveys conducted at class level deliver more reliable results than other types of surveys such as verbal, face-to-face interviews. This applies both to self-reported delinquency and self-reported contacts with the police (p. 731). Generally, when comparing the youths' own reports and police statistics, the authors find that immigrant juveniles tend to keep quiet about any contacts with the police. When analysing delinquency and dealings with the police, this results in a conservative estimate rather than an over-estimate regarding existing differences.

Our surveys of ninth graders in 2005 and 2006 also allow analysis of the reliability of the responses received. This is possible in that reports of violent behaviour correlate with theoretically plausible causal factors in all the groups questioned. Table 2 (below) illustrates the relationship between the respondents having delinquent friends and resorting to violence themselves. The correlations are significant in all groups[6], with the levels more or less the same among German and Turkish youths. For Russian

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[6]  See next section on identifying the ethnic origin of the young people questioned

and Polish children questioned in the survey, friendships with delinquent individuals have a great influence because they correlate more with violent behaviour; this is less so in the case of Italian youths. If non-German respondents were to give systematically false reports on their violent behaviour, it would lead to a lower or non-existent correlation with the 'delinquent friends' variable.[7]

Table 2: Selected indicators on the reliability of responses from German and non-German youths (KFN Schools Survey 2005/2006; weighted data)

|  | German | Turkish | Russian | Yugo-slavian | Polish | Italian | Other |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Correlation between 'delinquent friends' and 'committed a violent act' (r) | 0.26 | 0.22 | 0.36 | 0.27 | 0.39 | 0.16 | 0.27 |
| Social desirability (mean) | 2.04 | 2.35 | 2.15 | 2.14 | 1.94 | 2.25 | 2.10 |
| Correlation between 'social desirability' and 'committed a violent act' (r) | -0.07 | -0.11 | -0.11 | -0.20 | -0.12 | -0.03 | -0.07 |
| No response to 'committed a violent act' | 1.0 | 1.7 | 2.2 | 3.2 | 1.8 | 1.3 | 1.6 |
| Correlation between acceptance of violence and 'no response to committed a violent act' | 0.05 | -0.01 | 0.07 | 0.08 | 0.03 | 0.03 | 0.02 |
| Not matching responses to 'committed a violent act' | 8.1 | 16.5 | 15.3 | 21.7 | 10.2 | 10.4 | 14.1 |
| 'committed a violent act' first question | 11.8 | 21.8 | 18.6 | 22.5 | 14.7 | 17.0 | 20.3 |
| 'committed a violent act' second question | 10.6 | 21.6 | 14.4 | 24.4 | 14.6 | 18.2 | 17.7 |
| 'committed a violent act' in at least one question | 14.8 | 27.7 | 22.2 | 28.9 | 18.1 | 18.8 | 24.3 |

The reliability of the responses can also be analysed by identifying a single factor which is responsible for a specific response, that of 'social desirability'. Naplava (2002) assumes, for example, "that immigrants with shorter periods of residence tend not to report delinquent behaviour in an attempt to avoid giving the impression that they stray from the norm in their host country" (ibid, p. 19). Immigrant groups who have only been in Germany for a short time must, therefore, demonstrate heightened social desirability which in turn results in them failing to report violent behaviour. To assess social desirability, a short four-item version of a social desirability scale (Crown and Marlow, 1960) was used during the school survey conducted in 2005. Representative responses include: "I always tell the truth" and "I'm always willing to admit when I make a mistake". The respective total index assumes scores of between 0 (no socially desirable response) and 4 (highly socially desirable response). The results shown in Table 2 illustrate that Turkish and Italian teenagers score highest on social desirability, that is the two groups with the longest average residency in Germany (see below). Russian youths score slightly higher than Germans, while Polish youths score slightly lower. As the negative correlations in Table 2 show, all groups showed a lower tendency to give socially desirable responses regarding their own prevalence of violence, i.e. the empirical evidence shows that respondents with high social desirability scores tend to keep quiet about their violent behaviour. Because non-Germans

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[7] Other factors such as masculinity norms, poor self-control and use of violent media reveal significant links with violent behaviour in all groups, too(see Baier and Pfeiffer 2007).

give more socially desirable responses and in almost all non-German groups the relationships are more prominent in their self-reports about their own delinquency, it can be assumed that the ethnic differences in violent behaviour should be even greater in reality than the youths questioned would have us believe (for more on the differences in violent behaviour see Table 3 in the following section). This means that school survey data results in ethnic differences being under rather than over-estimated.

The same conclusion can be drawn from the analysis shown in Table 2 on the missing cases: between 1.0 and 3.2 percent of all respondents refused to answer the question (known as 'missings') on whether they had ever committed a violent act. This is more prevalent in non-German than German youths. Missing scores can have a number of causes: it is possible that the juveniles deliberately fail to answer a question because they do not want to give themselves away. Another reason could be that with this section being towards the end of the survey (the questions on committing violent acts are on pages 24 to 27 of the questionnaire), the respondents had already given up due to lack of motivation or lack of understanding due to language barriers. With the exception of the Turkish youths, there is a weak relationship between failure to answer and greater acceptance of violence[8], meaning that it is plausible that those who failed to answer certain questions tended to have committed more violent acts; and because the incidence of missing responses tends to be higher among non-German youths, the ethnic differences would be more evident if all the children and youths surveyed had answered the questions.

An additional evaluation builds on analyses done by Köllisch and Oberwittler (2004) except that the respondents' comments are not compared with official police statistics but with respondents' comments elsewhere in the questionnaire. As part of a school survey conducted in Hanover in 2006, the pupils were asked exactly the same questions in two different sections of the questionnaire (pages 12 and 14). The subsequent evaluation also showed that the answers given by immigrant youths were less reliable in that they were less stable. While 8.1 percent of the German youths questioned gave two different answers to the same question, 16.5 percent of the Turkish group did so. Looking at the differences between the groups, then the picture is more balanced: Turkish and Yugoslavian youths are only slightly more violent than their German counterparts. Among the Russian and other juveniles, the differences in prevalence rates were greater in both answers. Further analyses have revealed that the difference in the answers has less to do with ethnic origin and more with the respondents' educational background (Rabold, Baier and Pfeiffer 2008). In the case of special needs children and Hauptschule pupils, the answers deviate from each other more frequently than those of *Gymnasium* pupils. This analysis also confirms that overall, there are only a

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[8]  This was assessed using eleven answers such as "life would be really boring without fights" and "you have to resort to violence because that's the only way to gain respect". The acceptance of violence was located on page 9 of the questionnaire, making motivation and language problems less evident in terms of missing data.

few reasons to assume that immigrant juveniles systematically lie about their own violent conduct. There are, however, indications that with few missing cases and when socially desirable answers are excluded, the ethnic differences would be even greater.[9]

Ethnic differences in violent behaviour are thus not a result of impression management by non-German youths who adapt their reported behaviour to specific expectations instead of telling the truth. Consequently, a greater readiness to resort to violence among immigrant juveniles is more a fact than an artefact. This conclusion is justified in that various sources (police crime statistics and surveys on unreported crime) along with a number of studies show comparable results (see among others Babka von Gostomski 2003; Eisner and Ribeaud, 2008; Naplava, 2002; Oberwittler, 2003).

### 4.2 Turkish youths' responses in a survey on unreported crime
In the following we address the results of the survey on unreported crime conducted among ninth grade school children in 2005 (see Baier and Pfeiffer, 2007).[10] In some areas, comprehensive surveys were carried out, meaning all youths in the ninth grade were questioned. In others, random samples were taken from at least one in three children in all classes in that year. With the exception of special needs pupils and those in the *Berufsvorbereitungsjahr* scheme in which they are given special training to prepare them for entry into the jobs market, and which could include pupils from the age group in question, all types of schools (including private schools) are represented in the survey.[11]

To identify ethnic origin, respondents were asked to state their parents' nationality at the time they were born. If they were Turkish, the child was listed as Turkish. If the parents were Russian, then so the child, and so on. If the father and mother had differing, non-German nationalities, the mother's nationality was the deciding factor. If there was a non-German father and German mother, the child was assigned to the respective non-German group. Where information was lacking on parents' nationality, other data was used such as the youths' own nationalities at the time of their birth or the country of origin of one or other of the parents. This strategy is not always reliable in the case of Russian and Polish respondents, however. Because these are two countries where large numbers of ethnic Germans have been repatriated from, the youths

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[9]  The reliability of the statements made by the youths questioned is underlined not least by the following evaluation (see Baier and Pfeiffer, 2007, p. 21f): the youths were not only questioned about whether they had committed a violent act but also whether they had been victims of violence. Pupils who had experienced violence were asked to name the ethnic origin of their attacker in the most recent incident. Four out of ten acts of violence against boys, according to the victims, were committed by German perpetrators; there was a similar number of violent crimes committed by perpetrators of Turkish origin. This means that Turkish youths are far more likely to be among the perpetrators (including in the statements made by the victims) than their numbers among all youths questioned might lead us to expect.

[10]  The survey was conducted in the following areas: Dortmund, Kassel, Munich, Oldenburg, Landkreis Peine, Schwäbisch Gmünd, Landkreis Soltau-Fallingbostel, Stuttgart and Lehrte.

[11]  In some instances, data is taken from a survey of 3,661 ninth graders in Hanover which was conducted in 2006 using new measurement instruments (see Rabold, Baier and Pfeiffer, 2008).

frequently describe themselves and their parents as German. In such cases, classification was aided by an additional question about ethnic German immigration and the country the parents emigrated to. In this way, over 80 different native nationalities were identified. The five biggest groups are Turkish (9.5 percent of respondents), Russian[12] (5.4 percent), Yugoslavian[13] (3.9 percent), Polish (3.5 percent) and Italian (2.2 percent). Another 11.6 percent of all ninth graders in the schools surveyed are of non-German origin. In total, almost a third of respondents have immigrant backgrounds.

The German juveniles were almost all born in Germany and all have German citizenship (see Table 3). Turkish and Russian youths thus form two contrasting groups: while 87 percent of the Turkish teenagers questioned were born in Germany, only 37.7 possess a German passport. Only 10.6 percent of Russian pupils were born here; they largely enjoy German status, however, on account of their ethnic German backgrounds. Over half of the Russian youths involved in the survey have been in Germany for less than 10 years, meaning that their primary socialisation largely took place in Russia or the former Soviet Union. Further analysis has shown that three quarters of the youths listed as Russian moved to Germany after 1992 and are thus mostly of ethnic German origin. More than half of respondents in all the other groups were born in Germany. A large proportion of them have German citizenship; only in the case of Yugoslavian youths is the figure much lower, at 29.1 percent.

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[12] Correctly speaking, the category should really be described as 'Russian/former Soviet Union', because the group comprises youths who stem from successor states of the former Soviet Union.

[13] Youths described as Yugoslavian come from the successor republics to the former Yugoslavia (Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, etc.). This group also includes Albanian juveniles; this appears necessary because in their answers, the pupils have not made a clear distinction between Albanian and Kosova-Albanian.

Table 3: Indicators for willingness to resort to violence and other circumstances of various ethnic groups (in %; KFN Schools Survey 2005/2006; weighted data)[14]

| | German | Turkish | Russian | Yugo-slavian | Polish | Italian | Other |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| N | 9119 | 1354 | 766 | 560 | 506 | 308 | 1663 |
| Born in Germany | 99.5 | 87.0 | 10.6 | 58.5 | 79.2 | 89.9 | 75.5 |
| German citizenship | 100.0 | 37.7 | 85.0 | 29.1 | 89.7 | 57.1 | 74.4 |
| Committed a violent act | 13.6 | 26.8 | 23.5 | 24.9 | 24.8 | 21.0 | 19.0 |
| Five/more violent acts (boys) | 4.1 | 13.2 | 8.4 | 11.5 | 9.1 | 7.9 | 7.5 |
| Working towards *Hauptschule* leaving certificate | 19.4 | 53.6 | 37.6 | 51.0 | 25.8 | 47.6 | 30.2 |
| Working towards *Abitur* qualification | 45.2 | 14.1 | 28.9 | 21.6 | 33.9 | 21.7 | 38.6 |
| Close to poverty | 8.1 | 23.0 | 29.1 | 15.7 | 11.6 | 13.6 | 16.6 |
| Experience of childhood abuse | 6.3 | 16.8 | 11.0 | 13.9 | 12.7 | 11.9 | 12.0 |
| Acceptance of masculinity norms (boys only) | 3.9 | 23.7 | 9.2 | 18.9 | 8.7 | 12.9 | 7.3 |
| Experience of separation/divorce | 30.4 | 15.0 | 24.4 | 19.4 | 25.9 | 30.5 | 32.8 |
| Frequent use of violent media | 34.8 | 44.0 | 42.0 | 41.1 | 47.4 | 38.2 | 36.6 |
| Sports club membership | 64.7 | 41.4 | 39.2 | 39.5 | 53.6 | 46.7 | 54.0 |
| Delinquent friends (mean) | 2.6 | 4.7 | 3.3 | 4.9 | 4.4 | 3.7 | 3.5 |
| Proportion of German friends | 82.6 | 24.9 | 31.5 | 31.7 | 57.6 | 53.2 | 51.8 |

To obtain information on the willingness to resort to violence in the various groups, the pupils were asked whether and if so how often they had committed bodily harm, robbery, blackmail or threatened someone with a weapon in the past 12 months. Table 3 shows that German youths report least on such violence acts: only 13.6 percent of all German youths questioned admitted to such activity, while almost twice as many Turkish teenagers did (26.8 percent). The other groups score far higher in this area than their German counterparts. The prevalence rates among Italian pupils and teenagers of other origin were only one-and-a-half times as high.[15] If only those male youths are assessed who according to their own statements committed five or more violent acts (multiple offenders), the young Turks score the highest: this applies to 13.2 percent of all male Turks in the survey; among the Germans the proportion is only a third as high, at 4.1 percent. The findings derived from police crime statistics are not only confirmed in terms of greater willingness to resort to violence among Turkish youths: when it comes to shop-lifting or wilful damage, there is again no difference between German and Turkish youths. While among the German respondents, 15.2 percent had engaged in shop-lifting and 14 percent had committed wilful damage, of the Turkish youths questioned the figures were 12.4 and 13.6 percent respectively.[16] Thus, despite their construction problems,

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[14] In this instance, we refrained from showing the significance of the differences between the ethnic groups. Given the relatively large sample and the numerous complete sets of data it contains, extrapolation to the population as a whole can be considered almost error-free. Unless otherwise stated, it can be assumed that at minimum the overall hypothesis regarding the absence of significant differences between the groups can be rejected.

[15] Prevalence rates show the proportion of youths who had committed at least one crime during the study period (e.g. in the last 12 months).

[16] The mutliple offender quota for shop-lifting was 3.3 percent (German) and 3.7 percent (Turkish), and 3.6 percent each for damage to property.

the crime statistics would appear to provide a reliable illustration of criminal activity.

In the search for possible factors to explain the heightened readiness to resort to violence among Turkish youths, a variety of theoretical assumptions can be drawn upon. The deprivation theory approach focuses on the social structures in which German and non-German youths live. It starts with the assumption that immigrant youths are more disadvantaged because they are less likely to obtain grammar school-level qualifications and tend to work in the low-wage sector. This sector is not only problematic in terms of wage levels but also because the jobs involved are less secure which makes immigrants far more vulnerable to unemployment and dependency on welfare benefit. The disadvantages they face as regards school and working life result in the fact that the cultural goals shared with the majority cannot be achieved via socially provided, institutionalised paths. The discrepancy between goals and opportunities leads to frustration which is compensated for among other things by seeking innovative ways to obtain resources (see Merton 1995). This theory thus assumes that the higher scores achieved by immigrants are due to their fringe status in society. As empirical findings underscore, Turkish youths in particular grow up in such socially marginalised conditions. For this reason, one in seven Turkish youths (14.1 percent) are currently working towards *Abitur* qualifications at *Gymnasium* or *Gesamtschule*; more than half will achieve a Hauptschule school leaving certificate (53.6 percent). As outlined earlier in Section 2, their poor educational integration is due to a range of influencing factors. And there is also evidence that 23 percent of Turkish school children report that the family's social status is characterised by their dependency on welfare benefits or the head of the household being unemployed. German youths are thus significantly less affected. One in two attends a school that will give them a chance of obtaining *Abitur* qualifications and only one in twelve say that their family is affected by poverty. Among the youths from the other ethnic groups, the situation as regards socio-structural integration is also more positive than that for Turkish youths.

Cultural reasons based on the existence and maintenance of specific habits within immigrant groups broaden the spectrum of possible explanations. In line with subculture theory and the theory of cultural conflict, the norms and values of a given society are not always applicable in all social groups. For example, immigrants do not simply reject the cultural beliefs of their countries of origin when they move to Germany. Infact, there is strong support for the theory that immigrants tend all the more to return to tradition in response to lacking social integration and to norms and value-based beliefs that differ from those prevalent in Germany (Enzmann, Brettfeld and Wetzels, 2004, p. 267). Immigrant groups thus form their own learning environment. Children who grow up in such communities are brought up with attitudes and behavioural traits that are not shared by the majority of German society. This provides for a clash of cultures which, especially in teenage years, can take on violent forms.

Empirical confirmation of this type of cultural outlook can be found in Table 3, which once again shows the Turkish group to be particularly affected. Culture influences, among other things, their attitude to the situations in which physical violence should be used. In accordance, there are considerable differences regarding the frequency of domestic violence. Some 16.8 percent of Turkish youths report that they were hit with a fist/kicked or beaten/severely beaten as a child (physical abuse). Among the Germans, this figure was around a third lower (6.3 percent). Of the youths from the other ethnic groups, experience of childhood abuse was also about twice as frequent. The same applies to abuse during the last 12 months prior to the survey and to observations of marital violence between the parents – these influencing factors are not listed separately in Table 3. Turkish teenagers appear to be most frequently affected and their German counterparts least so (physical abuse: Turkish youths 10.3 percent, German youths 3.6 percent; observations of parental violence: Turkish youths 26.1 percent, German youths 6.2 percent).

As numerous studies show, experience of domestic violence significantly increases teenagers' willingness to resort to violence and to use violence as a means of identity and of getting their own way. This is especially so as regards masculinity norms that legitimate the use of violence. To identify these, responses such as "a real man is strong and protects his family" and "if a women betrays her husband, he is entitled to hit her" were used as assessment criteria (see Enzmann, Brettfeld and Wetzels, 2004). More than any others, Turkish youths maintain a "culture of honour" of this kind: 23.7 percent accepted it without restriction, while only 3.9 percent of young Germans questioned did so. The connection between exposure to domestic violence and attitudes towards using violence (which is responsible for greater readiness to resort to violence) is rarely broken among Turkish youths by their parents separating or divorcing. This is also a culturally-influenced behaviour pattern. Despite the higher scores regarding inter-marital violence observed by Turkish youths, the separation and divorce rate among Turkish parents is only 15 percent. In the case of German teenagers, it would appear that the high divorce and separation rate of 30.4 percent means that inner-family conflict is less frequently fought out through physical violence. That the ending of a marriage which the children are more likely to have experienced as violent can reduce their own readiness to resort to violence became evident especially in relation to Turkish youths (Baier and Pfeiffer, 2007), although the effects were less significant than those of other factors.

The existence of a violence culture is evident not only in relation to parenting styles, but to the use of violent media. When asked how often they watch horror and action films, and play first-person shooter and combat games, 44 percent of Turkish juveniles said they did so frequently. The figure for German adolescents was 10 percentage points lower. Evidence gathered in recent media impact research shows that together with other influencing factors, frequent use of extremely violent computer games in-

creases adolescents' readiness to resort to violence and their acceptance of mascu-linity norms that legitimate the use of violence (see Anderson et al, 2007; Kuncik and Zipfel, 2004; Mößle, Kleimann and Rehbein, 2007). It can thus be assumed that this aspect also plays an important role in the high levels of violence among Turkish teenagers.

Apart from deprivation theory and cultural explanations, at least one other theoreti-cal standpoint can be drawn upon to explain Turkish adolescents' greater readiness to resort to violence. The theory of differential association used in criminological research has repeatedly shown that contact with people who commit delinquent acts themselves can be one of the strongest influencing factors for violent behaviour (see Baier 2005; Baier and Wetzels, 2006). If, due to their socially marginalised status and their cultural beliefs, immigrant juveniles frequent a violent environment, it would be of key importance to their own acceptance of violence. A standpoint that places social contacts in the spotlight is also highlighted by the findings shown in Table 3.

At first glance, respondents' answers show that non-German adolescents are less fre-quently involved in structured leisure and recreational activities: while almost two thirds of the German teenagers are members of sports clubs or similar, the same ap-plies to only 44 percent of Turkish respondents – they tend to spend their free time with delinquent friends. When asked how many of their friends had committed one of six delinquent acts (shop-lifting, robbery, bodily harm, car theft, breaking into a car, drug dealing), the Turkish teenagers reported an average 4.7 of such friends, while the German group reported only 2.6. The social networks to which Turkish youths belong therefore tend to involve more negative role models. And there are significant differences between the groups once the ethnic compositions within those networks are taken into account: in the survey conducted in Hanover in 2006, respondents were asked about the ethnic origins of their five best friends. The Turkish teenagers said only one in four of their friends was of German origin, the Russians said one in three and Polish youngsters reported one in two or more. Personal relations with German youths are a vital form of social capital (see Haug 2003) in that they communicate German norms and values, and on average have better educational qualifications and enjoy higher socio-economic status.

The descriptive evaluations presented here thus provide empirical confirmation of the validity of all three of the theoretical standpoints outlined earlier. Turkish youths suffer socio-structural disadvantages, they have the greatest affinity with a violence-oriented, masculinity culture and their social networks are particularly shaped by de-linquent acquaintances and friendships. By way of contrast, this also means that Tur-kish adolescents who are socially better off and show no specific influences as regards their everyday contacts and exposure to violence should do no worse than German youths with similar traits. This is confirmed in Figure 6.

Figure 6: Violence rates for Turkish and German youths (only *Realschule* pupils with no experience of poverty, no experience of parental violence in childhood and no more than medium acceptance of masculinity norms, in %)
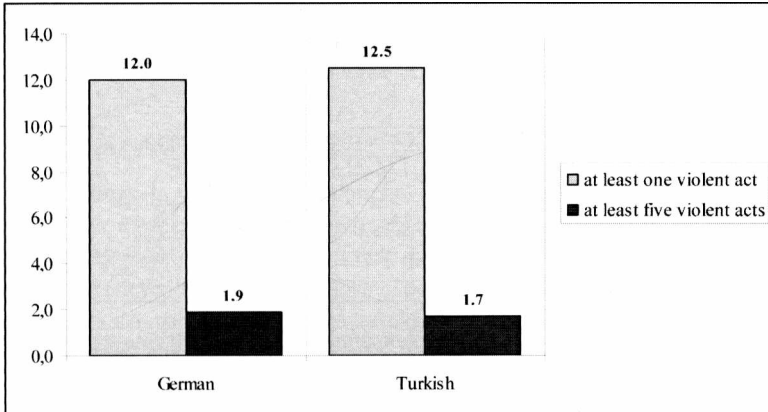


The analysis shown in Figure 6 compares school pupils who attend *Realschule*, whose families are not affected by poverty, were brought up in a non-violent atmosphere and demonstrate average attitudes regarding their acceptance of masculinity norms that legitimise violence. Questioned in this way, German and Turkish youths then show little difference in terms of their readiness to resort to violence. In the year prior to the survey, 12 percent of young Germans and 12.5 percent of Turkish youths had committed at least once violent act. A comparison between the multiple offenders resulted in 1.9 percent Germans and 1.7 percent Turks. These findings send out a clear message: it is not their Turkish origin that leads youths from this ethnic group to become frequent perpetrators of violence in their teenage years. Rather, the cause lies in the circumstances in which they grow up.

The path analysis depicted below allows conclusions regarding the relationships between the different influence variables and which of them promote readiness to resort to violence.[17] Except for 'self-control', all factors included in the analysis are known. Self-control was used in connection with a volatile temperament (representative statements: "If I'm in an argument with someone, I find it hard to keep my cool" and "It doesn't take much for me to get really angry or lose my temper"; (see Grasmick et al, 1993). Poor self-control is seen as a key cause of delinquent behaviour (Gottfredson and Hirschi, 1990) because it means that the long-term consequences of such actions are not sufficiently thought through and are pushed to the background in favour of potential short-term benefits.

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[17] Paths which although significant due to sample size but may be rated (< .10) are not shown in the figure.

Figure 7: Model used to explain violent behaviour, ninth graders (controlled for age, gender and regional origin: KFN Schools Survey 2005; weighted data; shows standardised path coefficients)
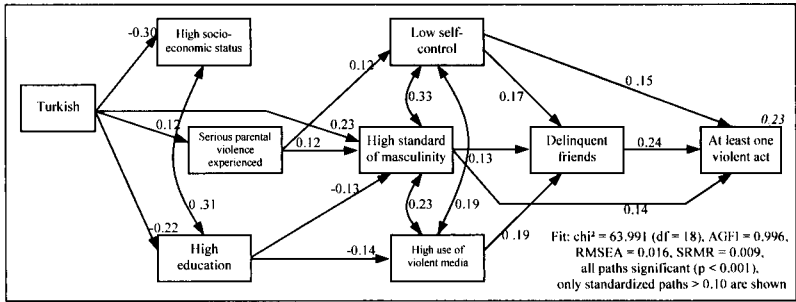


Overall, these findings show that when compared to their German counterparts, Turkish juveniles are more likely to grow up in families with low socio-economic status.[18] This is, however, largely insignificant in that deprivation theory explanations are not confirmed in this instance. A higher or lower status is rarely linked to other variables in the model, except when it comes to parental educational level, that is: parents with higher socio-economic status tend to provide their children access to higher levels of education.[19] Turkish youths are directly disadvantaged in this regard as far fewer of them receive the same opportunities. High education levels in turn comprise an important factor in reducing the propensity to consume violent media and more rarely leads to the formation of masculinity norms that emphasise violence. These are among the most indicative factors in the model: Turkish adolescents tend far more readily than German youths to accept antiquated masculinity norms which legitimate both internal violence (within the family) and external violence (to defend the family). Teenagers with strong masculinity norms thus tend to join delinquent groups and commit more acts of violence. Apart from masculinity norms and educational level, a third key factor is exposure to parental violence. Thus, Turkish youths are far more likely to suffer serious parental violence than their German counterparts.

Other factors used in the model are less decisive as regards ethnic differences in violent behaviour. In general, juveniles who frequently use violent media have a greater affinity to masculinity norms and are more likely to seek contact with delinquent friends. Poor self-control is linked to their own readiness to resort to violence and seek associations with delinquent friends. The greatest influence on violent behaviour

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[18] Socio-economic status was described using ISEI 88 values and drawing on the suggestion made by Albrecht et al (2002) when only limited information is available (parents' employment status and school qualifications); parents without work (unemployed, housewife) received a score of 0.

[19] For the level of education measure, information on aimed educational level was translated into years of school attendance (Hauptschule = 9 years, Realschule = 10 years, Gymnasium = 13 years).

stems from inclusion in delinquent peer networks. This is confirmed by data analysis which supplements the schools survey conducted in Hanover in 2006. In this survey, the composition of groups of friends, i.e. the proportion of German friends within the network, was documented separately. The multi-level analysis performed for the purpose by Rabold and Baier (2008) shows the amount of influence the ethnic composition of groups of friends has on the risk of resorting to violent behaviour. When controlled for this trait, youths of Turkish, Russian and other ethnic origin no longer score higher as regards violent influences.

When it comes to violence prevention, the conclusions to be drawn from these findings speak for themselves. Measures targeted at the parenting styles of Turkish parents and the masculinity perceptions they foster in their sons appear just as necessary as better school integration for Turkish children and teenagers. The latter would not only have a dampening effect on the development of a 'macho' culture. Of great importance is that attendance at senior schools can lead to changes in youths' social networks and friendships. A longitudinal study on trends in teenage violence in Munich and Hanover allows empirical evaluation of this assumption. KFN's first ever representative survey of ninth graders was carried out in Hanover and Munich in 1998. In Munich, the survey data for 2005 was used for comparison purposes. In Hanover, the data collected during the school survey in 2006 was used because no adequate data was collected in the previous year. Figure 8 (below) shows the frequency of self-reported violent acts committed by German and Turkish adolescents in the respective comparison years (see Baier, 2008).

Figure 8: Violent acts in selected years according to ethnic origin in Hanover and Munich (in %; weighted data)
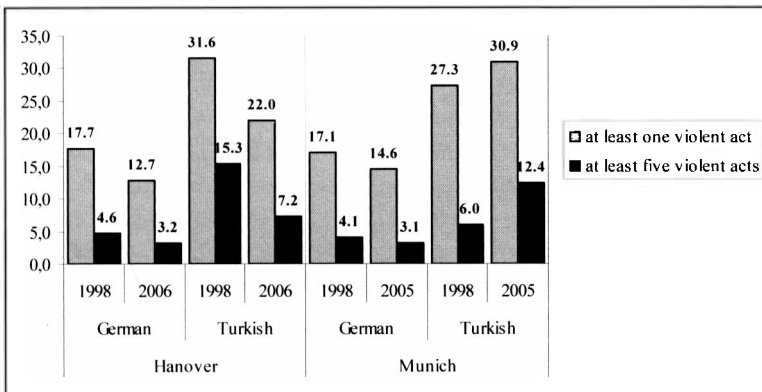


A longitudinal comparison of the 1998 data with 2005/2006 shows that readiness to resort to violence among German and Turkish adolescents in Hanover and Munich has in some respects developed along contradictory paths. In Hanover, teenage violence

among both German and Turkish youths dropped significantly, and there was a particularly marked decline in multiple offences committed by Turkish juveniles, from 15.3 percent to 7.2 percent. The gap between violent behaviour in both ethnic groups narrowed from 10.7 percentage points to 4 percentage points. In Munich, by way of contrast, a different trend can be observed for the period 1998 to 2005. While the number of German youths who according to their own reports committed violent acts declined in the course of the seven years in question, the figures for multiple offenders, especially among Turkish adolescents, rose significantly (from 6.0 percent to 12.4 percent). This has resulted in a widening of the gap between violent behaviour in the two ethnic groups, from the original two percentage points to 9.3 percentage points.

In the search for explanations for the trends shown in Figure 8, the influence variables confirmed in the pathway analysis are only of limited assistance because some of them were not included in the 1998 survey (e.g. type and frequency of media use and the composition of networks of friends). In respect of other factors, there is no evidence of a serious difference: both in Munich and in Hanover, for example, domestic or inner-family violence declined in the German and Turkish groups (see Baier 2008, p. 50 f). What stands out, however, are the different trends among Turkish adolescents in their levels of acceptance of masculinity norms that legitimate the use of violence. While a decline is evident in Hanover, acceptance of such norms is on the increase in Munich (Baier 2008, p. 16 f).

When comparing the two cities, very different trends come to light as regards the opportunities available for school-based integration of German and Turkish teenagers. For the German group, such opportunities have increased in both Hanover and Munich since 1998 in that the chance of obtaining *Abitur* school-leaving qualifications opens the door to highly promising further education and training paths. As Figure 9 shows, *Gymnasium* figures in Munich rose from 46.6 to 49.9 percent and in Hanover from 40.3 to 46.1 percent. In parallel, the number of German teenagers at Hauptschule in Munich dropped from 20.9 to 19.9 percent and from 16.2 to 12.7 percent in Hanover. The trends in Hanover are noticeably stronger than in Munich.

Figure 9: No. of pupils attending Hauptschule and *Gymnasium* in a given period in Hanover and Munich according to ethnic group (in %; weighted data)
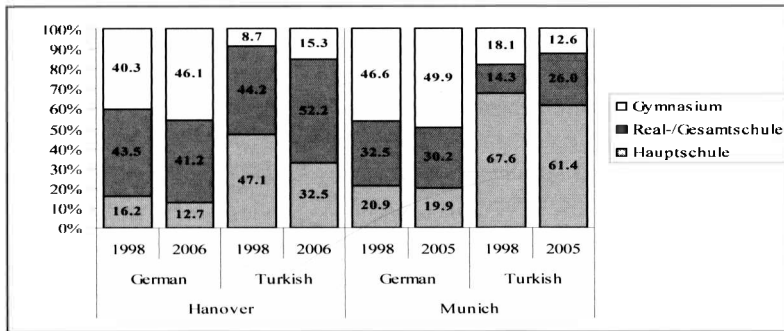


Among young Turks, a contradictory trend is evident as regards *Gymnasium* attendance: in Munich the numbers dropped from 18.1 percent to 12.6 percent. This compares with a rise from 8.7 percent to 15.3 percent in Hanover. Further, there is a marked difference in the role played by Hauptschule attendance for Turkish teenagers in both cities. While in Munich, it remained the clearly dominant school type in 2005 despite a slight drop (61.4 percent), in Hanover only just under a third of Turkish youths now attend Hauptschule (2006: 32.5 percent compared with 47.1 percent in 1998). In Hanover, the majority of Turkish adolescents (52.2 percent) have migrated to the mid-level education segment (*Realschule/Gesamtschule*), the same applied to only 26.0 percent of young Turks in Munich in 2005.

There are a number of explanations for the serious differences. In the course of the past 10 years in Hanover, starting with the Bürgerstiftung Hannover founded in 1997, a number of clubs and associations and urban district-specific initiatives have set up a range of projects and measures aimed at promoting school-based and social integration of young immigrants and at establishing constructive approaches to conflict mediation in schools. Examples include broad-based mentor programmes and free extra-curricular tuition for primary school children with immigrant backgrounds, training of conflict mediators, projects to provide after school supervision for children from socially marginalised families, and sport and music programmes.[20] We cannot currently state whether and to what extent similar measures have been taken in Munich. Initial enquiries suggest that civil involvement is particularly strong in Hanover in this regard.

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[20] At the recent celebrations marking its tenth anniversary, the Bürgerstiftung Hannover reported that since 1998 it had carried out some 235 projects, most of which involved youth work. These in turn focused on integrating socially marginalised children and teenagers at a cost of 700,000 euros. Also, Mentor e.V., which is responsible for funding help with homework in primary schools, now boasts a membership of over 400 active volunteers. As part of a study to be conducted by KFN in conjunction with a nationwide schools survey involving 50,000 teenagers, a systematic comparison between school-based and social integration measures is planned.

According to the school heads questioned in the survey, the decline in Turkish children attending Hauptschule in Hanover and the marked increase in their numbers at *Realschule* and *Gymnasium* is largely due to the fact that in Lower Saxony, primary school teachers' recommendations for senior school type are not binding. Turkish parents in Hanover obviously make good use of this opportunity. In Bavaria, on the other hand, a recommendation for Hauptschule is binding and parents must accept it. An exception is made for a very small number of children who sit and pass a very difficult special aptitude test and so qualify to attend a *Realschule* or *Gymnasium* despite their primary schools' recommendations.

The problems currently associated with children who attend Hauptschule have already been addressed in detail in two previous reports (Baier and Pfeiffer, 2007a; Pfeiffer and Baier, 2008). For this reason, only the key aspects will be taken up here. In most of the German states in which this type of school exists, Hauptschule pupils belong at an increasing rate to socially marginalised groups. For example, they are three times as likely to be victims of serious inner-family violence than those who attend Gymnasium. Male Hauptschule pupils spend more than six hours a day watching television, playing computer games or using the Internet, and have a greater preference for excessively violent content than their peers at other types of school. Only a minority of them are members of a club compared with the vast majority of Realschule and certainly Gymnasium pupils. Instead, a considerable number of Hauptschule pupils tend to be part of problematic groups and networks. In a comparison between Munich and Hanover, this becomes especially clear: some 27.5 percent of Turkish youths in Munich said they had five or more delinquent friends, while only 19.5 percent of young Turks in Hanover said the same. On the other hand, only 28.8 percent of Turkish adolescents in Munich said they had no delinquent friends compared with 38.8 percent in Hanover. This confirms the city to city comparison that attending Hauptschule under today's conditions promotes entry into delinquent groups and the development of violent careers.

## 5. Summary and Conclusions

The presented results of different school surveys lead to a unanimous finding: Turkish fourth graders and Turkish ninth graders commit significantly more violent offences than their German counterparts and those from other ethnic groups. But when it comes to other types of childhood and teenage delinquency such as wilful damage and shoplifting, young Turks show no marked differences compared with the other groups. What is also interesting is that when comparing German and Turkish adolescents, the extreme differences in the frequency of teenage violence completely disappear if the analysis is limited to ninth graders who attend *Realschule*, are not affected by poverty, are brought up in a non-violent household and show at most medium acceptance of masculinity norms that legitimise the use of violence.

Also, multivariate analysis methods confirm this finding and offer explanations for the markedly high rate of violence among Turkish children and teenagers. In consequence, and especially as regards Turkish families and young Turks' immediate environment, a combination of mutually reinforcing influencing factors are evident:

1.  Particularly high exposure to inner-family violence which promotes children's' and teenagers' readiness to resort to violence and has a harmful effect on character development.

2.  Very early access to televisions, games consoles and computers in their bedrooms which leads to a high degree of inappropriate media use during primary school years, especially among Turkish children.

3.  Poor integration of young Turks into Germany's three-tier schools system with the outcome that the majority of them attend Hauptschule and thus become caught up in social networks comprising children and teenagers with above-average problems.

4.  The tendency for many Turkish youths to focus on culturally shaped masculinity norms (culture of honour) which legitimise the use of violence to achieve certain goals and ambitions.

5.  A high number of friends who frequently commit criminal offences coupled with a low number of German friends who belong to other social groups.

These factors are all interlinked. Among young male Turks, excessive use of extremely violent computer games in association with other risk traits promotes their acceptance of masculinity norms that legitimise the use of violence. On the other hand, attending a *Realschule* or a *Gymnasium* is a resource that fosters both entry into positive friendships and social networks and provides excellent opportunities for further education, training and employment. If we take into account that currently 20 percent of young immigrants living in Germany leave school without any qualifications (see Diefenbach 2007, p. 70 f) and that this figure is probably even higher among young Turks, it becomes clear what prevention measures must focus on to achieve success. The research findings revealed in comparing trends in multiple offences among Turkish adolescents in Hanover and Munich provide clear evidence to this end. But we are well aware that this comparison of the two extreme groups is not sufficient to provide empirical evidence of the interpretation presented regarding the relationship between school-based integration, friendships and violent behaviour. We believe, however, that our theories can be verified using considerably broader-based data resources in future. Using funding providing by the Federal Ministry of the Interior, we are currently conducting representative surveys of 50,000 ninth graders in schools in 61 cities, towns and rural districts throughout Germany. A key aim of this research project is to analyse the impact of differing social and school-based integration opportunities on delinquency rates among young immigrants.

Two findings can however be reported today. We believe the strong decline in violent crime among young Turks in Hanover is a source of ongoing encouragement for those involved in school-based preventive measures to combat teenage violence. Also, it is clear that in the public debate on this issue, we should not generalise about young criminal Turks or foreigners. The fact that at present, young immigrants in Germany commit more crimes than young Germans is not an unconquerable force of nature. If we are to reduce the high rates of violence, we must achieve a balance not just in the conditions in schools, but in circumstances within the families and societal groups in which children grow up.

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