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# CHALLENGING INTEGRATION AND POLICE PRESENCE: DETERMINANTS OF SUBJECTIVE SAFETY FOR PERSONS WITH A TURKISH MIGRATION BACKGROUND

## 1. Introduction

One of the most important events of the 1960s with influence for the German society was the commencement of the labour agreements. In particular, the agreement of the German government with Turkey played the most significant role as since then one million Turks immigrated to Germany[1]. Nowadays, people with a Turkish migration background constitute the largest ethnic minority in Germany[2]. Although it was expected that these so-called "guest-workers" would return to their home country when their workforce is not needed any longer, they finally stayed and many of them became naturalized. However, becoming naturalized cannot automatically be understood as becoming assimilated or even integrated: Their presence impacts the German society and German culture, e.g., in the form of Turkish media, multilingual signposting or Turkish soccer clubs[3]. Therefore, also the German police have to consider the Turkish minority in their activities as a very diverse

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[1] P. Zölling, *Deutsche Geschichte von 1871 bis zur Gegenwart. Wie Deutschland wurde, was es ist*, dtv, München 2009.

[2] Statistisches Bundesamt, *Bevölkerung und Erwerbstätigkeit, Bevölkerung mit Migrationshintergrund, Ergebnisse des Mikrozensus 2011*, Fachserie 1, Reihe 2.2, Wiesbaden 2012.

[3] E.g. A. Bingöl, *"Merhaba Polizei". Die deutsche Polizei im Spiegel türkischer Printmedien am Beispiel der Tageszeitung Hürriyet*, Master's thesis. German Police University, Münster 2012.

ethnic minority incorporating very modern as well as very traditional Turks[4]. Especially relating to current statistics of Germans' satisfaction with police work and feelings of subjective safety[5], the Turkish minority should be regarded separately from the rest of the population for three reasons. First of all, in many dimensions of social life (e.g., housing and schooling) the majority of them can be considered as underprivileged[6]. Second, this underprivileged status is often connected to overt or subtle discrimination[7]. Third, many of them belong to a visible minority due to their appearance[8]. Research has shown that belonging to an underprivileged group is associated with a higher sensitivity for disrespect[9]. Thus, the perception of subjective security in people with a Turkish migration background might be more fragile than in others. Moreover, the conclusions drawn from such statistics for the mainstream German population might not give a clue about what factors contribute to subjective safety for persons with a Turkish migration background. This paper tackles these assumptions by examining if persons with a Turkish migration background feel safe in Germany. It furthermore explores what factors contribute to their perceptions of being safe; and it finally examines what the police and their presence contribute to these perceptions. By doing this, this research will also provide practical recommendations for police as well as other stakeholders for supporting subjective as well as objective safety of the Turkish as well as other ethnic minorities in Germany.

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[4] Cf. W. Frindte, K. Boehnke, H. Kreikenborn, W. Wagner, *Lebenswelten junger Muslime in Deutschland. Ein sozial- und medienwissenschaftliches System zur Analyse, Bewertung und Prävention islamistischer Radikalisierungsprozesse junger Menschen in Deutschland*, Bundes- ministerium des Innern, Berlin 2012; cf. J.B. White, *Turks in new Germany*, "American Anthro- pologist" 1997, Vol. 99, No. 4, pp. 754–769.

[5] E.g. J. Jackson, T. Pooler, K. Hohl, J. Kuha, B. Bradford, M. Hough, *Trust in justice: topline results from round 5 of the European Social Survey*, ESS Topline Results Series, Issue 1, European Commission, 2011 [online], http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/41680/1/Trust%20in%20justice%28lsero%29. pdf

[6] Cf. A. Janßen, A. Polat, *Zwischen Integration und Ausgrenzung – Lebensverhältnisse türkischer Migranten der zweiten Generation*, Carl von Ossietzky Universität, Oldenburg 2005 [online], http://www.forschungsnetzwerk.at/downloadpub/berlin_diss_2005_janzwi05.pdf [Accessed: 18.09.2012].

[7] FRA (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights), *European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey. Data in focus report 2: Muslims*, Vienna 2009 [online], http://fra.europa. eu [Accessed 25.01.2013].

[8] Cf. FRA (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights), *European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey. Data in focus report 6: Minorities as victims of crime*, Vienna 2012 [online], http://fra.europa.eu [Accessed 25.01.2013].

[9] C.L. Pickett, W.L. Gardner, M. Knowles, *Getting a Cue: The Need to Belong and Enhanced Sensitivity to Social Cues*, "Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin" 2004, Vol. 30, No. 9, pp. 1095–1107.

## 2. Background

### 2.1. Subjective Safety

While a variety of definitions of the term subjective safety have been suggested, this paper will use the definition basing on the work by Zehnder[10], who saw it as perception of security in public spaces. The negative pole of subjective safety is also labelled as fear of crime[11]. When conceptualizing subjective safety in general, Maslow's[12] higher-order need, the need of subjective safety, is referred to as a basic human factor motivating a need-stilling behaviour[13]. Reviewing the current literature shows several explanations why this need is crucial to human functioning. Respective research, for example, revealed that subjective safety is associated with positive effects on subjective well-being[14], community well-being[15], life satisfaction[16], happiness and individual health[17].

Compared to objective security, subjective security is theorized as a different concept leading to different effects on individual behaviour[18]. Thus, Zehnder[19] calls for also examining the determinants of subjective security. According to Baumer's[20] general model of fear of crime, three general determinants can be considered: (1) individual characteristics indicative of vulnerability to criminal predators;

[10]  M. Zehnder, *The economics of subjective security and camera surveillance*, "WWZ Research Paper" 2009, 04 (B-099).

[11]  Cf. R. Franc, Z. Prizmic-Larsen, L.K. Lipovcan, *Personal security and fear of crime as predictors of subjective well-being*, in: D. Webb, E. Wills-Herrera (eds), *Subjective Well-being and Security*, Springer, Dordrecht 2012, pp. 45–68.

[12]  A.H. Maslow, *A theory of human motivation,* "Psychological Review" 1943, Vol. 50, No. 4, pp. 370–396.

[13]  Cf. D. Webb, E. Wills-Herrera (eds), op. cit.

[14]  R.A. Cummins, *Safety and subjective well-being: A perspective from the Australian Unity Wellbeing Index*, in: D. Webb, E. Wills-Herrera (eds), op. cit., pp. 13–40; P. Dolan, T. Peasgood, M. White, *Do we really know what makes us happy? A review of the economic literature on the factors associated with subjective well-being*, "Journal of Economic Psychology" 2008, Vol. 29, No. 1, pp. 94–122.

[15]  Cf. A. Aly, *Terror, fear and individual and community well-being*, in: D. Webb, E. Wills-Herrera (eds), op. cit., pp. 31–44.

[16]  C. Medina, J.A. Tamayo, *An assessment of how urban crime and victimization affects life satisfaction*, in: D. Webb, E. Wills-Herrera (eds), op. cit., pp. 91–148.

[17]  C. Graham, J.C. Chaparro, *The linkages between insecurity, health, and well-being in Latin America: An initial exploration based on happiness surveys*, in: D. Webb, E. Wills-Herrera (eds), op. cit., pp. 197–252.

[18]  Cf. D. Webb, E. Wills-Herrera (eds), op. cit.

[19]  M. Zehnder, op. cit.

[20]  T.L. Baumer, *Testing a general model of fear of crime: Data from a national sample*, "Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency" 1985, Vol. 22, No. 3, pp. 239–255.

(2) beliefs about and perceptions of the threat present in the local environment; and (3) knowledge of proximate criminal events. These three determinants are assumed to contribute also to ethnic minority members' subjective safety.

## 2.2. The Turkish Minority in Germany

Currently 2.5 million persons with a Turkish migration background live in Germany[21]. This does not imply that every person moving from Turkey to Germany belongs to the ethnic group of the Turks, as also persons with Kurdish and Arab roots might have Turkish citizenship as well[22]. In this article we include these groups in the term "persons with Turkish migration background" and the abbreviation TMB for Turkish migration background will be used. According to Heubrock and colleagues[23], this inclusion can be motivated by the aim of the paper of investigating people who came from Turkey as well as the groups shared cultural values[24]. With regard to this paper a special emphasis needs to be laid on the dimension of individualism-collectivism: whereas people with TMB can be more or less described as appreciating collectivistic values, the country of immigration, Germany, can be described as having a clearly individualistic culture[25]. Thus, many people with TMB in Germany live a collectivistic life in an individualistic culture, which in turn directly affects all areas of daily life. The key aspects with regard to this paper can be listed as follows: socio-economic status, housing and integration.

The *socio-economic status* of the majority of the first guest workers that came from Turkey can be described as rather low. German industries were searching workforce for simple, unskilled jobs and likewise the majority of former guest workers belonged to the underprivileged, poor and poorly educated parts of the Turkish society[26]. For several reasons, such as insufficient schooling opportunities for children with TMB in the 1970s and 1980s[27] or the constant influx of Turkish spouses who do not speak German and stay at home with their children[28], the mean

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[21] Statistisches Bundesamt, op. cit.

[22] B. Moser, M. Weithmann, *Landeskunde Türkei. Geschichte, Gesellschaft und Kultur*, Helmut Buske Verlag GmbH, Hamburg 2008.

[23] D. Heubrock, W. Boberg, B. Kolewe, J. Lübben, S. Orböck, *Türken und Araber verstehen und vernehmen. Empfehlungen zur interkulturellen Vernehmung arabisch-türkischer Personen*, Polizeipsychologische Praxis, Band 6, Verlag für Polizeiwissenschaft, Frankfurt 2012.

[24] Cf. G. Hofstede, *Culture's Consequences. Comparing Values, Behaviors, Institutions, and Organizations across Nations*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA 2001.

[25] Ibidem.

[26] P. Zölling, op. cit.

[27] F.-O. Radtke, *Migration – und das bundesdeutsche Schulsystem*, in: Kölnischer Kunstverein (ed.), *Projekt Migration*, DuMont, Köln 2005, pp. 454–464.

[28] Cf. A. Janßen, A. Polat, op. cit.

income per month of TMB households is rather low compared to German ones[29]. Moreover, also only 54.4% of TMB girls and 61.3% of TMB boys graduate from general secondary school.

Naturally, also *housing* is for the majority of people with TMB living in Germany below the standard of the Germans. Many people with TMB live in rather underprivileged parts of the cities, where rents are low, where many migrants live, and where the majority of their family members live[30]. Although many TMB households include grandparents, parents and children, also the distance to other relatives is kept very short if possible.

Accordingly, for many people with TMB *integration* into one's own family network and within one's ethnic minority plays a more important role than integration into German mainstream society[31]. Of course, also the prevalent faith in Islam constitutes a further point where people with TMB and Germans in most cases do not share overlapping interests[32]. However, one needs to mention that the strong family bonds of persons with TMB can be considered as social capital and thus as a protective factor supporting subjective security[33].

## 2.3. Subjective Security of German Turks

Referring to the before mentioned model of fear of crime[34], people with TMB cannot per se be described as vulnerable to criminal predators. However, due to their appearance and their foreign names, they can be considered as vulnerable to right-wing crime. Moreover, as 15% of them cannot speak German at all[35], they might also become victims of deception. The more prevalent case regarding perceptions of the threat present in the local environment[36] is overt or subtle discrimination experienced when applying for jobs or trying to find accommodation[37]. These kinds

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[29] Info Research Group, *Deutsch-Türkische Lebens und Wertewelten 2012, Ergebnisbericht zu einer repräsentativen Befragung von Türken in Deutschland*, Berlin 2012.
[30] A. Janßen, A. Polat, op. cit.
[31] Ibidem.
[32] H. Aydin, D. Halm, F. Şen, „*Euro-Islam". Das neue Islamverständnis der Muslime in der Migration, Renner Institut, Stiftung Zentrum für Türkeistudien*, Institut an der Universität Duisburg-Essen, Essen 2003.
[33] Cf. E. Wills-Herrera, L. Orozco, C. Forero-Pineda, O. Pardo, V. Andonova, *The relationship between perceptions of insecurity, social capital, and subjective well-being: Empirical evidences from areas of rural conflict in Colombia*, in: D. Webb, E. Wills-Herrera (eds), op. cit., pp. 177–198.
[34] T.L. Baumer, op. cit.
[35] M. Venema, C. Grimm, *Situation der ausländischen Arbeitnehmer und ihrer Familienangehörigen in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, Forschungsbericht im Auftrag des Bundesministeriums für Arbeit und Sozialordnung, Offenbach–München 2002.
[36] T.L. Baumer, op. cit.
[37] E.g. A. Janßen, A. Polat, op. cit.

of discrimination seem to be very frequent to people with TMB as current statistics show that in 2009 31% felt discriminated in the last twelve months[38]. Within the last year, TMB persons' knowledge of proximate criminal events[39] increased significantly due to the uncovering of the so-called NSU scandal. The NSU has been a right-wing cell that committed a series of attacks against ethnic minority members in Germany and thereby killed 8 people with TMB[40]. The NSU scandal moreover was labelled as such, because the German police over ten years did not suspect xenophobic motives behind these attacks and did not investigate respectively. As research showed, that victimization has negative effects on friendship as well as on confidence in public institutions[41], and this scandal might not only have impaired integration of persons with TMB into the German society, but also their trust in the German police.

## 2.4. Police Work as Determinant of Subjective Safety

The German police consist of 16 federal police forces – allocated to each of the 16 German federal states. Additionally, there are the German Federal Criminal Police Office, Federal police responsible for border control and the safety of railways, as well as the police of the German parliament. In 2012, all in all 243,982 officers were employed in the German police[42]. According to current data of the European Social Survey, the German police belong to the second most trusted police in Europe[43].

Typical activities of police officers comprise patrolling, criminal investigation, and traffic work[44]. Bayley's statement – that "patrol work is determined almost entirely by what the public ask the police to do"[45] – directly points to the argument that citizens should have a right to safety[46]. However, the question is, if a need for higher subjective safety should demand an increase of patrolling in terms of police communication of safety. In line with this question, Barker challenges this assumption by showing unintended effects of police patrols. On the one hand, the

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[38] FRA (2009), op. cit.

[39] Cf. T.L. Baumer, op. cit.

[40] H. Lanwert, *Die Angst der Migranten in der Nordstadt nach den NSU-Morden*, „WAZ", April 22, 2013 [online], http://www.derwesten.de/staedte/dortmund/die-angst-der-migranten-in-der--nordstadt-nach-den-nsu-morden-id7864060.html

[41] C. Graham, J.C. Chaparro, op. cit.

[42] Eurostat, *Anzahl der Polizeibeamten in Deutschland in den Jahren von 1997 bis 2012*, "Statista" 2014 [online], http://de.statista.com/statistik/daten/studie/156792/umfrage/anzahl-der-polizisten-in-deutschland/

[43] J. Jackson et al., op. cit.

[44] D.H. Bayley, *What do the police do?*, in: T. Newburn (ed.), *Policing*, Willan Publishing, Portland 2005, pp. 141–149.

[45] Ibidem, p. 141.

[46] P. Ramsay, *The Insecurity State: Vulnerable Autonomy and the Right to Security in the Criminal Law*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2012.

police might be expected to deal with every little malpractice, on the other hand police presence might be perceived as unwarranted, especially by citizens with a migration background[47].

## 2.5. Research Questions

To summarize, the above considerations lead us to three research questions.

1. Do persons with TMB feel safe in Germany?
2. What contributes to feelings of being safe for persons with TMB?
3. What role do the police play for strengthening subjective security of persons with TMB?

# 3. Method

## 3.1. Design

The research questions call for an explorative approach. Thus, the current research was conducted applying a qualitative form for data collection. Specifically, the study examined persons with TMB via semi-structured interviews for capturing the topic of subjective safety, integration, police presence and perceptions of police work (see Appendix). In order to avoid socially desired answers, language problems or even access difficulties, all interviews were conducted by two trained interviewers with TMB. They had the task to find persons who themselves or whose parents or grandparents migrated from Turkey to Germany. The sampling strategy followed a snowball sampling technique[48]. Before the interviews started, participants were informed about the research project as well as their rights regarding voluntariness, anonymity, data processing and data protection. All participants agreed with the procedure and signed a prepared informed consent form. Interviews were audio recorded and transcribed. Due to the sensitivity of the interview theme, some of the interviewees did not agree to the audio recording. In these specific cases, the interviewer made notes during the interview. The length of the interviews ranged between 30 and 60 minutes.

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[47]  A. Barker, *Communicating security? Policing urban spaces and control signals*, "Urban Studies" 2014, Vol. 51, pp. 3046–3061.

[48]  E.g. F.P. Morgeson, S.E. Humphrey, *The Work Design Questionnaire (WDQ): Developing and validating a comprehensive measure for assessing job design and the nature of work*, "Journal of Applied Psychology" 2006, Vol. 91, No. 6, pp. 1321–1339.

## 3.2. Sample

The study took place in Germany in the cities of Berlin and Mannheim. Both cities have a high proportion of citizens with TMB. The interviewers realized the task to purposefully choose their samples in order to cover a broad variety of citizens with TMB. A sample of 17 participants was interviewed. In Berlin the interviewer surveyed twelve participants and in Mannheim, the interviewer surveyed 5 participants. Most of the interview partners were the second generation with TMB in Germany; only five participants belonged to the first generation of migrants. Their age ranged between less than twenty to fifty or more years. Further information on gender, education, employment and marital status is presented in table 1.

Table 1. Study Participants

| Socio-demographic characteristics | Sample |
|---|---|
| Migration background | Turkish: 12; Arabian: 4; Kurdish: 1; |
| Age | Median: 21–30 years; Range: below 20 to 60 years |
| Gender | Female: 6; male: 11 |
| Education | No graduation: 2; pupil: 4; graduation from highschool or professional education: 5; university student (B.A.): 2; graduation from university: 3; information missing: 1 |
| Employment | Unemployed: 7; employed: 9; information missing: 1 |
| Marital status | Not married: 6; married: 6; information missing: 5 |
| Migrant generation | First generation: 5; second generation: 12 |

## 3.3. Analysis

First of all, the interviews were transcribed. According to the research questions, a content analysis[49] was performed. As the interviews had been structured according to a binding guideline, some steps of the analysis could be left out. Thus, the following steps were conducted:

1. Development of a coding handbook and pretesting of the defined categories. The defined categories were:
   a. Interviewee's age: as not all transcripts did include precise age indication, interviewees' age had to be rated combining statements on educational status, employment, marital status, living conditions, number of siblings and history of migration. The scale ranged from 1 (11–20 years) to 5 (50–60 years).

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[49] P. Mayring, *Einführung in die qualitative Sozialforschung*, Psychologie Verlags Union München 1990.

    b. Integration into migrant community: statements about one's belonging to one's ethnic community. An example coding unit is "Most of my friends are Turks".

       Integration into migrant community and integration into German mainstream society were coded separately, as citizens with a migrant background usually do to "live and move between two worlds"[50].

    c. Integration into German mainstream society: statements about one's integration into German mainstream society. An example coding unit is "I am well integrated in the Turkish and German community. I've got a lot of friends with an Arab background, but I also have a lot of German friends".

    d. Social involvement: statements about one's social involvement. An example coding unit is "I do voluntary work and I am in close contact with a registered association".

    e. Subjective safety: statements about subjective safety. An example coding unit is "I feel save in the quarter I live in".

    f. Police presence: statements about (perceived) police presence. An example coding unit is "Of course, the police are present. I often see a police patrol when I am in the city".

    g. Attitudes towards the police: statements about one's attitude towards the police. An example coding unit is "I always call the police if I notice criminal behaviour or if a person needs help".

    h. Experiences with the police: statements about one's experiences with the police. An example coding is "My personal experiences with the police were positive and fair".

2. Detection of coding units in the interviews and marking according to their respective category. In most of the interviews several coding units fitting one category appeared. All in all 379 coding units were coded by hand.

The analysing steps were conducted on the basis of the German material. For the purpose of this paper, interview phrases were translated into English. Selection units that had been categorized as statements about the interviewees' subjective safety were analysed applying grounded theory[51] to examine the reasons that were referred to for giving the evaluation of the degree of subjective safety. Thus, the results of the content analysis could be qualified including given hints for correct interpretation.

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[50] W. Frindte et al., op. cit.

[51] A. Strauss, J.M. Corbin, *Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques*, Sage Publications, Newbury Park, Calif. 1990.

## 4. Results and Discussion

### 4.1. Do Persons with TMB Feel Safe in Germany?

In general, the majority of the interview partners explained that they felt save in their environments. However, it needs to be mentioned that some of the interview partners described how they felt in their houses or in their streets instead of telling about their subjective safety in their quarters. Even though there was no definition given for the term "quarter", it usually refers to a part of a larger area or district. But it was noticeable that the interview partners often categorized "quarters" as smaller areas like their streets or their houses in which they felt save. It seems that subjective safety was only given in the proximity of the neighborhood: "In my quarter? I don't know. But I feel save in our house and in the street we live in".

Thus, the first research question about TMB members' subjective safety in Germany can be answered in the affirmative: the majority reported to feel safe and good in the quarters they live in. Moreover, this result is independent of interviewees' socio-demographic characteristics such as age, gender, generation of migration, education or employment status. Engaged or married interviewees report higher rates of subjective safety than unmarried interviewees. These findings are in line with research results of Germans' subjective safety perceptions that are also on a high and positive level.

### 4.2. What Contributes to Feelings of Being Safe for Persons with TMB?

The reasons interviewees mentioned why they felt safe in the quarters they live in can be structured into family presence, acquaintance with neighbours and neighbourhood, as well as community membership. Accordingly, subjective security is improved by the presence of the family as well as acquaintance with places and persons. One male interviewee states:

> We know each other in our house and other family members live there as well. No one can enter the house without being noticed. In our street there are different Turkish cafés. The people there know my brother and me. Not much can happen there.

The fact that the neighbours have know each other since childhood strengthens the feeling of community and therefore also subjective security or, as one male interviewee put it: "I grew up in this quarter and know nearly all the families. Therefore I feel rather save". Moreover, interview partners reported that their subjective safety depends on being a member of the (neighbourhood) community, for example: "I feel very save in my quarter. Everyone knows each other. Here in

quarter the subjective safety cannot be influenced. Everything that disturbs will be taken away."

The reasons interviewees mentioned for why they felt unsafe or expected to feel unsafe in their quarters can be structured into social change, crime, and right-wing terrorism. First of all, foreignness seems to influence the subjective safety of persons with TMB the most. For instance, changes in the social structure of the quarter or unusual incidents deepen insecurity within the community. One male interviewee mentioned: "It would make me feel unsafe if suddenly foreign teenagers hung out in our street". Secondly, most of the interview partners felt less safe when they knew about criminal offences happening in their neighbourhoods, as one female interviewee reported:

> At the moment I don't have a problem with my quarter, but of course we hear about [some incidents], and especially late at night you don't feel so good. (…) Safety has been a problem recently. (…) Lately, we read it everywhere that a young female student has been killed.

Thirdly, it must be noticed that crime and violence against members of the community with TMB generates anxiety in general. Most of all, the murders committed by the right-wing terrorist organisation NSU were mentioned:

> The killing spree showed me that I am not safe here. As a matter of fact, no migrant can live safe here. That is what the NSU wanted to achieve and they were successful. My friends do not feel safe. They are scared and their fear is somehow contagious.

To sum up, the main factors that contribute to increased subjective safety can be summarized as neighbourhood integration. This subsumes integration into one's family (e.g., indicated by marital status). Moreover, this also subsumes integration into one's housing community as well as integration into one's ethnic community. From a culture perspective this makes sense, as the collective and being in a collective determines collective oriented cultures like persons with TMB[52]. Knowing the surrounding and being familiar with the people on the street makes the presence and the future more predictable. If these encounters and relationships are friendly and positive, each individual expects that they will receive help of the collective when needed and that they will not become victimized[53]. In contrast, social change, because of moving in of unfamiliar persons, getting to know about criminal offences in the neighbourhood or even right-wing motivated attacks is

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[52]  Cf. G. Hofstede, op. cit.
[53]  Cf. T.L. Baumer, op. cit.

a threat to the collective as well as to the individual[54]. Unpredictable elements occur in the lives of the individuals and thus may lead to estrangement from the collective[55] and as well as impaired feelings of TMB members' subjective security.

### 4.3. What Role Do the Police Play for Strengthening Subjective Security of Persons with TMB?

Finally, it must be noticed that police presence plays an ambivalent role. One female interviewee expressed the need for increased police patrolling: "At daytime I feel safe here, but not in the evenings. At night, there should be more police in the streets". Another male interviewee spoke about ambivalent feelings regarding the presence of police in the quarter: "Less police presence would influence my subjective safety negatively, but I wouldn't also feel safe if the police were present all the time. Then I would be worried." Moreover, in some cases even the mere presence of the police seems to cause stress and hence to impair feelings of subjective safety, as one male interviewee reported: "Of course, I feel safe. My family and friends live here. But every time the police are in our quarter, we are scared".

All in all, police presence was found to positively contribute to TMB members' subjective safety: the more police are perceived as present by TMB members, the more will persons with TMB feel safe and secure from crime. This is in line with Baumer's model of fear of crime[56], proposing that police presence might decrease perceptions of threat and thus increase perceptions of safety. However, police presence turned out to be perceived as an ambivalent factor increasing and decreasing subjective safety at the same time. In line with Barker[57], this might be due to ambiguous attitudes regarding under-policing and over-policing: too little police is a threat to safety as crime is expected to increase. But too much policing is also a threat to subjective safety as this might be a sign that the quarter one lives in is a very dangerous one[58]. From the perspective of persons with TMB, this might also raise the fear of being controlled a lot, of being ethnically profiled or of being discriminated by the police in general[59].

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[54] Ibidem.
[55] Cf. C. Graham, J.C. Chaparro, op. cit.
[56] T.L. Baumer, op. cit.
[57] A. Barker, op. cit.
[58] Cf. T.L. Baumer, op. cit.
[59] Cf. C. Decker, N. Kunz, A. Burchard, J. Kersten, *Turkish migrants in Germany in conflict with the police: Conflict analysis and recommendations for conflict resolution*, in: A. Kozary (eds), *Police-minority Relations: Policing – Ethnic Minorities. Restorative Justice in Police Practice*, L'Harmattan, Budapest [forthcoming].

## 5. Conclusion and Recommendations

In this study, the aim was to assess TMB members' subjective safety and its determinants with special regard to integration and police presence. As the study has shown that subjective safety is positively linked with integration into the family and the familiar neighbourhood while the police is associated with (fighting) criminal activities, the presence of the police in one's quarter seems to raise ambivalent feelings, as it implies that criminal offences might happen in the "safety-zone".

These findings suggest several courses of action for the German police and the German cities as well. These actions should consider the meaning of collectivism as the core cultural value that the study findings present as the identity of persons with TMB. A reasonable approach to tackle this issue could be to emphasize the role of police officers with TMB as they are able to build positive bridges between the police and persons with TMB[60] (cf. Decker & Kersten, in press). Especially, if they would apply approaches of community policing, the police could be perceived as a stable, predictable institution of the quarter. Thus, persons with TMB would be enabled to integrate the police into their internal picture of their familiar neighbourhood. Moreover, trustful relations could be established. Another possibility for the police and citizens with TMB is to take part in a project that was initiated in the police of Mannheim "Cooperation for public safety – Police and Immigrants in an open discussion" where TMB member and police officers meet for a joint two-day workshop[61].

On the part of the German cities, it would be advisable to strengthen neighbourhood. In Berlin, for example, the position of the quarter manager has been established. The aim of the quarter management and his committee is to initiate projects that improve environments as well as subjective security perceptions and that upgrade living conditions by making sure that dilapidation is hindered. All in all, the task is to enable citizens to take the future into their own hands, helping them to help themselves. Activities like "Clean yard", round table "Neighbourhood" are possible examples. Besides typical problem resolution, residents are activated to initiate projects by themselves. Thus, citizens from various cultural backgrounds could be motivated to engage in their neighbourhoods and in their communities regardless of their ethnic background. There is, therefore, a definite

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[60] C. Decker, J. Kersten, *Migrant police officers' contribution to police-ethnic minority conflict management*, "European Journal of Policing Studies" [in press].

[61] H. Hassel, *Project "Cooperation for public safety – police and Immigrants in open discussion"*, in: J. Kersten, C. Decker (eds), *Strengthening Democratic Processes. Police Oversight through Restorative Justice in Austria, Hungary, and Germany*, Verlag für Polizeiwissenschaft, Bonn [forthcoming].

need for intensified intercultural contact that might also be enhanced by offers of intercultural trainings for residents of a quarter. These trainings could help to overcome communicative barriers and to foster empathy and mutual understanding of other cultural backgrounds. Moreover, such trainings should not only be offered for adults, but should also become part of the school curriculum to teach pupils how diversity can work. Consequently, these trainings could help persons with TMB to move between the two worlds and to integrate into German mainstream society, too.

Further work needs to be done to establish whether these finds can be replicated by a standardized survey study. Then, also the influence of collectivism could find further recognition as a basic variable influencing perceptions of subjective security. Taken together, this study highlights the importance of strengthening integrative approaches in combination with police work to support positive developments of subjective security.

## Funding

## Appendix

### Interview guidelines
Start with a short presentation about the COREPOL project. Its aims and approach should be given already while contacting the interviewees but can be repeated at the beginning of the interview.

*Personal living and security situation in Germany*
1. How did it happen that you or your family immigrated to Germany from Turkey?
2. Can you tell me about your family situation here in Germany?
3. May I ask you about your education? What are you trained in? How does your professional situation look like at the moment?
4. To what extent are you involved in an ethnic community? To what extent do you see yourself as a member it?
5. How would you describe your ethnic community to a person who is not familiar with it? What characterizes the community? What constitutes it?

6. What kind of social contacts/networks do you have/belong to in Germany?
7. What kind of experiences have you had with public agencies/offices in Germany?
8. Do you feel secure in your living environment/village/quarter? What supports your feeling of personal security? What could or does cause a feeling of insecurity?

*Handling conflicts in one's personal environment*

9. What kind of conflicts could or do already occur in your daily life?
10. How do you usually deal with these conflicts? How do you solve conflicts? Who or what supports you in solving the conflicts?

*Image & acceptance of the police in general*

11. How would you describe the German police to a person who is not familiar with the German circumstances?
12. Are there differences between the police in Germany and the police in your home country?
13. How do you think the police in Germany experience the ethnic minority you belong to?
14. How do you experience the presence of the police in your town?
15. With what kind of problem/in what situations would you ask the police for help?
16. When/in what situations would you avoid the help of the police, although the police might be competent for it? What could be a reason for your decision? Who and why would you approach instead?

*Personal experiences with the police*

17. What kind of experiences have you had with the police in your home country?
18. Have you already had contact with the police in Germany personally? If yes:
    18.1. What was the reason/content of the encounter?
    18.2. Who was involved?
    18.3. What happened exactly?
    18.4. To what extent did you observe communication problems caused by the language?
    18.5. How did the police behave? How did you feel the police treated you?
    18.6. Were you properly informed about the situation, including your rights and further formal procedure?

18.7. How do you assess the police's approach? What are the reasons for being/not being satisfied with the approach of the police? What did you find fair/unfair, etc.?

19. In your opinion, how in general could the relationship between Turks and the police be improved? Please tell me, if you have any experiences or stories that you think are important regarding this topic.