

Ethnic Differences in Juvenile Delinquency:

The Role of Violence Legitimising Norms of Masculinity*

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1. Introduction

At present research on the involvement of ethnic minorities in crime in general and juvenile crime in particular is an highly controversial issue, leading to polarisation in public debates as well as in scientific discussions among German criminologists (see *Albrecht* 1997, p. 47; *Mansel* 1994; *Reichert/Schroer* 1994; *Walter* 2001). From the mid-1980s until the late 1990s German police crime statistics showed a substantial increase in juvenile crime, especially in violent crime (see *Pfeiffer* 1998; *Wetzels et al.* 2001). Furthermore, these data repeatedly showed a disproportionate involvement of non-German juveniles in criminal offending (see *Albrecht* 1997; *Rehmann* 1998; *Steffen* 1998). Prison statistics also show a substantial over-representation of persons with 'foreign citizenship' (see *Walter* 2001, p. 212; *Pfeiffer/Dworschak* 1999). Analyses of the files of public prosecutors in Hannover, Hamburg and Stuttgart revealed that rates of allochthonous juveniles, charged with violent offences (robbery and aggravated assault), were clearly above average compared to their proportion of the population (see *Delzer* 1999; *BMI/BMJ* 2001, p. 543). This was particularly true for juveniles of Turkish origin who were about three times more often charged as would

be expected from their estimated proportion of the population. No over-representation was found for so-called *Aussiedler*.¹

However, analysing the possible link between migration and crime has several well-known shortcomings when relying on data provided by police or federal justice information systems. It can be argued that over-representation of non-German ethnic groups in police statistics might be a statistical artefact, since the inclusion of offenders belonging to groups that are not included in the population statistics, for example tourists and illegal immigrants, may inflate the calculation of the offending rates. Whereas, immigrants who have a German passport, for example repatriates, are counted as Germans in police and justice statistics. Furthermore, there are important differences between autochthones and the immigrants with respect to socio-economic status, education, employment, place of abode (city versus rural area), and so forth. These variables are correlated with crime and should be controlled for when comparing the criminal involvement of different ethnic groups. A study of crime committed by foreigners in Bavaria, using police data, show the effect of controlling for several of the variables mentioned above: while the total offending rate of foreigners was 4.9 times higher than the rate of German citizens without controlling for such variables, this ratio dropped substantially when controlling for age, sex, place of abode, and once illegal immigrants and offences against immigration laws had been excluded from the analysis. The offender rate of young male foreigners aged 14 to 21 years, compared to the offending rate of the corresponding German population was only 1.9 times higher after controlling for the above mentioned factors (see *Steffen et al.* 1992; *BMI/BMJ* 2001, p. 312).

In Germany to date there have been only a small number of self-report studies with juveniles that included ethnic minorities. *Schumann et al.* (1987) found a significant lower rate of self-reported delinquency for young foreigners. *Sutterer/Karger* (1994) came to similar conclusions in a small-scale study in Mannheim. However, more recent self-report studies with larger samples found significantly higher proportions for foreign juveniles particularly with respect to self-reported violent offences (see *Heimeyer et al.* 1996; *Mansel/Hurrelmann* 1998).

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¹ Repatriated immigrants from eastern Europe and the states of the former Soviet Union, who are entitled to re-naturalization if evidence of German ancestry can be provided.

In 1998 we conducted a multi-centric representative survey on victimisation experiences and self-reported delinquency with 16,190 juvenile 9th graders in seven different cities and two small villages (see *Enzmann/Pfeiffer/Wetzels* 1999; *Wetzels et al.* 2001). 28.5% of the respondents were allochthones. According to information given by some of the victims of violent acts, young Turkish migrants were over-represented among the offenders. This was in line with the self-report data about violent offending behaviour that also showed markedly higher rates for juvenile migrants, particularly for those of Turkish or Yugoslavian descent, but not for juvenile repatriates from the former Soviet Union. *Strobel/Kittmel* (2000) reported similar differences between foreigners, repatriates and autochthones from a survey conducted in North Rhine-Westphalia.

Furthermore, the data of our 1998 survey showed that the longer the young migrants live in Germany the higher their prevalence rates for violent offences. This indicates that, in line with results from international research (see *Martinez/Lee* 2000), the process of acculturation to the German host society might be associated with additional stress for the juveniles and their families. There are indicators of an internal cultural conflict for some of the juvenile immigrants who have to adapt to the expectations of the host society and their peers, on the one hand, and are confronted with the traditional norms of their ethnic group at home, on the other hand (see *Albrecht* 1997, p. 67). This hypothesis of an internal cultural conflict is supported by our finding that the level of intra-family conflict reported by the juvenile migrants increased with the length of their stay in Germany. Additionally, we found the rates for intra-family violence were much higher for the young migrants. Again, we found the highest rates of victimisation by parental violence among the young Turkish migrants.

In line with most self-report studies we also found that rates of violent offending were much higher for males across all ethnic groups. This result is confirmed by many socio-psychological studies on sex differences in aggressive behaviour (see *Krahé* 2001). But it is noteworthy that, for violent offending, the sex differences were more pronounced in certain ethnic groups (Turkish and Yugoslavian) and that the differences of the rates of violent offenders between the ethnic groups were much higher for males than for females. After controlling for educational level, parental unemployment and parental vocational training, a significant higher rate of self-reported violent offending was found for male migrants only, particularly for those from Turkish and Yugoslavian de-

cent. For females, on the bivariate level, there was only a small difference in violent offending between the ethnic groups, which disappeared in the multivariate model (see *Wetzels et al.* 2001).

In sum, the results of our 1998 survey showed that for only certain ethnic groups is there a higher involvement in violent juvenile delinquency. This effect can be explained, to some extent, by social structural factors like unemployment or educational level. However, even after controlling for certain social structural factors there remain significantly higher offending rates for male juveniles of some of the migrant groups of a specific ethnic origin.

How can this remaining difference between juveniles of a different ethnic origin be explained? A theoretical explanation should give special emphasis to the fact that in our multivariate model we still found a significant overrepresentation of violent offenders only for certain ethnic groups and particularly for males. Consequently, we assume that there should be an ethnic specific cultural factor that is linked to the approval of violent behaviour in general and male violent behaviour in particular.

In their effort to explain differences in the rates of violent acts between the white inhabitants of the Northern and the Southern States in the USA, *Nisbett/Cohen* (1996) proposed a theoretical framework, the concept of a 'culture of honour', which is closely linked to the questions arising from our research. According to their theoretical reasoning there are certain cultures, in particular where historically the law was weak and citizens had to depend on themselves for protection, where violence becomes a powerful force in social interaction that is positively evaluated. "Insults or any challenge indicating that a person could be pushed around had to be met with harsh retaliation so that a man would not be branded as an 'easy mark'." (*Cohen/Nisbett* 1997, p. 1188). Violence here is a means to maintaining personal reputation and honour. This is particularly relevant in instances of threats to property or family members (in particular females) and in respect of insults. *Nisbett/Cohen* (1996) traced this southern 'culture of honour', characterised by a greater acceptance of violence as a means of restoring one's reputation and honour as a man, back to the historical roots of the settlement and survival in the south. While communities that can be predominantly characterised as 'herding societies' settled in the south, the north was predominantly settled by farmers. "Herdsman constantly face the possibility of loss of their entire wealth – through loss of their herds. Thus a stance of aggressiveness and willingness to kill or commit mayhem is useful in announcing their determination to protect their animals at all

costs." (Nisbett/Cohen 1996, p. 5). Nisbett/Cohen quote several anthropological studies that show that in different regions of the world a version of such a culture of honour is characteristic of herding societies. It is noteworthy, however, that Nisbett/Cohen point to the fact that such a culture of honour might also develop in modern societies for economic reasons. In inner-city areas, particularly among the lower social classes, scarcity of economic resources, social disorganisation of the neighbourhoods and a low probability of State protection, creates the need for individuals to protect themselves and show physical strength and the capability for self-defence.

In societies influenced by a culture of honour it is necessary for individuals, in particular males, to protect their reputation for strength. This is done by resorting to violence. Members of such cultures are more likely to view violence as a legitimate and even necessary response to threats and insults. For them violence is an appropriate means of self-protection. Such social norms are present at the aggregate level of social institutions (Cohen/Nisbett 1997) as well as at the individual level of attitudes. These attitudes are socialised by harsh parental discipline and the use of violence against children. This is in line with our results, which showed that victimisation by parental violence was much more prevalent among those ethnic groups whose male members were significantly over-represented among juvenile violent offenders.

Gilmore (1990) pointed out that such cultures of honour build up their codes of conduct into definitions of what it means to be a 'real' male. Once such norms are incorporated into the culturally defined gender roles, they tend to persist. They are defined as things a man has to do and just does. Even women tend to share these norms, although they do not act out the requirements of such a culture of honour in the most visible way. "Nevertheless, women are very much a part of all cultures of honour – teaching it to their sons, enforcing it on their menfolk, and, quite often, even participating in its violent behaviour patterns themselves." (Nisbett/Cohen 1996, p. 86).

We assume that the different ethnic groups of young migrants differ in their acceptance of social norms regarding violence as appropriate behaviour for males in situations of self-defence, in instances of threats to their family members, and in response to insults. Such norms should also be more prevalent among juveniles from lower classes. Furthermore, we hypothesise that the approval of violence-legitimising norms of masculinity should be closely linked to juvenile violent offending. Our central hypothesis is that, for both sexes, there is a significant difference in the

acceptance of violence-legitimising norms of masculinity between ethnic groups. Additionally, we hypothesise that, after controlling for social-structural variables, there should be a residual difference in violent offending between the ethnic groups, particularly for males. After additionally controlling for violence legitimising-norms of masculinity, there should be no significant difference in violent offending among ethnic groups, neither for males nor for females. To analyse whether the differences between ethnic groups are attributable to such sex-specific norms regarding violent behaviour, a multivariate model using a measure of attitudes towards violence without any relation to masculinity should be analysed. We expect that the effect of the violence-legitimising norms of masculinity is stronger than the effect of such attitudes towards violence without reference to social norms about manhood. For property offences, possible differences in offending rates between the ethnic groups should be non-significant for both sexes, after having controlled for social-structural factors only. There should be no additional significant effect for violence-legitimising norms of masculinity.

2. Method and Sample

The following results are based on a multi-centric study on victimisation and delinquency in four major cities and one rural district in Germany in the year 2000. The sample consists of a random sample of school classes (9th and 10th grade), stratified according to school type within each city/district. The juveniles were contacted in their classrooms, where they anonymously filled in a written questionnaire. The participation rate was 95.1% of all juveniles who were attending school at time of the interview and 84.3% of all students registered in the classes included in the sample.

The total sample consists of 11,071 juveniles; 50.5% of them were female. The mean age was 15.3 years ($sd = 0.84$). 74.5% of the sample were autochthonous Germans; 4.3% of the respondents were *Aussiedler*. These respondents were not subsumed under the autochthonous because they were not born in Germany and often their mother tongue is not German. Furthermore 6.9% of the sample were naturalised migrants from other foreign countries (1.2% from Turkey) who also held German citizenship but with a clear family background indicative of second or third generation migrants. The largest group of foreigners without German citizenship came from Turkey (4.5%). For the rest, 3.1% were from

the region of the former Yugoslavia, 1.5% from other South-European states, like Spain and Portugal, and 5.1% from other different nations from around the world.

With respect to education 33% of the sample attend a grammar school (*Gymnasium*), 43.9% attend secondary school level 2 (*Realschule* or *Gesamtschule*), 17.6% attend secondary school level 1, which is the lowest level of secondary school (*Hauptschule*) and 5.5% are attendants of so-called occupational preparation classes (*BYJ*). The latter are mostly juveniles who failed to qualify for *Hauptschule* or who became unemployed after leaving secondary school level 1.

The sample size of the following analyses is smaller than the total sample due to missing values. Only those respondents, for whom complete data for all variables, entered into the multivariate models, were available, have been integrated in the analyses.

2.1 Measures

The main dependent variable is the incidence and prevalence of juvenile delinquency. We used a modified version of the *Delinquenzbelastungsskala* (DBS) (Lösel 1975), a self-report measure of delinquency, comprising 12 specific criminal acts: shop-lifting, vehicle theft, car burglary, burglary, assault, threat with a weapon, extortion, robbery, vandalism, graffiti-spraying, driving without license and commuting without a ticket. The measure has two response formats: one for lifetime prevalence (yes/no) and the other for the frequency of having committed the respective act during the past 12 months (number of incidences).

For the present analysis only the first eight criminal acts committed during the past 12 months are considered here. The first four are aggregated into an index of property crime, the next four into an index of violent crime. The dichotomy 'never' versus 'once or more' is a measure of the prevalence during the past year. Because the number of criminal acts is highly skewed (zero inflated counts), an ordinal measure of incidence with five incidence classes has been constructed: never, once, twice to four-times, five-times to nine-times, ten times and more.

The social circumstances of the families of the juveniles were assessed by two measures. The first is the Standard International Socio-Economic Index of Occupational Status (ISEI, *Ganzeboom et al.* 1992), a measure of socio-economic status based on information about the vocational training and the present occupation of the parents that was categorised according to the International Standard Classification of Occu-

pations (ISCO). The second is a binary variable indicating whether the head of the household is unemployed or whether the family is receiving social welfare benefits.

Victimisation by parental corporal punishment in childhood (childhood maltreatment) was assessed by a German adaptation of the Conflict Tactics Scales (Straus 1979). Respondents were asked to indicate whether they had experienced parental violence varying in intensity from mild forms of punishment like spanking to severe forms of maltreatment like kicks or fist blows before they had reached the age of twelve years. Responses ranged from one (never), two (seldom), three (sometimes) to four (frequently) and were aggregated by weighting the items according to their intensity. For example, parental violence was coded as 'mild punishment' if less severe forms such as a spanking had been experienced sometimes, at the most, and no forms of maltreatment had ever been experienced; whereas it was coded as 'severe maltreatment' if kicks or fist blows had been experienced at least sometimes. The resulting scores for childhood maltreatment range from zero (no corporal punishment) to four (severe maltreatment) comprising increasing degrees of intensity and frequency.

To assess violence-legitimising norms of masculinity (VLNM) an eight-item Likert scale was constructed. The items were derived from Nisbett's descriptions of attitudes and behaviours that seem to be a characteristic feature of the culture of honour (Nisbett 1993; Nisbett/Cohen 1996). The response format ranges from one ('completely disagree') to four ('completely agree'). The VLNM-scale has been shown to be one-dimensional; the internal consistency (Cronbach's Alpha) in the current sample is .80 (see Appendix A for items and psychometric properties).

The variable 'attitudes towards violence' (ATV) is assessed by an 11-item Likert scale (see Weizels 2000). The scale has been shown to be one-dimensional yielding a test-retest reliability of .78 (Weizels 2000, p. 67). The response format ranges from one ('completely disagree') to four ('completely agree'). The internal consistency (Cronbach's Alpha) in the current sample is .90 (see Appendix B).

3. Results

Analyses of the social background variables show that the social circumstances of allochthonous juveniles are particularly poor in Germany (see Table 1). The social status of their families is significantly lower, par-

ticularly for Turkish juveniles, even if naturalised. The rates of allochthonous juveniles attending grammar school is significantly lower. That too is particularly pronounced for Turkish juveniles. Furthermore the proportion of parents who are unemployed or receive social welfare benefits is significantly higher for the juveniles from migrant families.

Table 1: Socio-economic status, education and parental unemployment/social welfare benefits by ethnicity (n = 9,278)

Ethnicity	ISEI (mean)	Education (rate of juveniles attending grammar school)	Rate of parental unemployment / social welfare
autochthonous	49.47	40.3%	7.9%
repatriated (Commonwealth of Independent States, hereafter CIS)	38.18 ^a	21.8%	18.9%
repatriated (other)	40.10 ^a	41.5%	7.9%
naturalised (Turkish)	38.24 ^a	15.5%	13.4%
naturalised (other)	46.97	37.7%	10.9%
foreigners (Turkish)	34.64 ^a	10.0%	13.3%
foreigners (former Yugosl.)	37.64 ^a	8.0%	13.3%
foreigners (Southern Europe)	37.25 ^a	12.9%	9.7%
foreigners (other)	47.07	34.4%	20.6%
<i>total (average)</i>	47.67	36.9%	9.3%
	F = 76.05***	$\chi^2(8) = 306.3***$	$\chi^2(8) = 115.1***$

Notes: p < .001; a: socio-economic status significantly lower compared to autochthonous (post hoc tukey test); bold: significantly above the average; underline: significantly below the average

Consistent with earlier studies the prevalence rates of self-reported delinquency over a period of 12 months show that shoplifting, particularly, may be regarded as 'normal' delinquent behaviour of youth; more than one-quarter (28.2%) of all juveniles reported to have stolen minor

goods from shops during the past year. It is noteworthy that with respect to shoplifting there is only a small (but nevertheless significant) difference between males and females, whereas with respect to all other offences the prevalence rates of males are about three to five times higher (see *Table 2*). Most characteristic for male delinquency are (simple) assaults, vehicle theft, threats with a weapon and burglary.

Table 2: Prevalence of self-reported delinquency during the last 12 months by gender

	Males (n = 4,473)	Females (n = 4,806)	$\chi^2(1)$
Property Offences			
shoplifting	29.9%	26.6%	12.46
vehicle theft	8.1%	1.9%	188.06
burglary	6.6%	1.9%	122.12
car burglary	3.3%	0.7%	78.91
total	34%	27.8%	40.99
Violent Offences			
assault	23.4%	7.7%	435.08
robbery	4.9%	1.4%	94.86
threat with a weapon	4.7%	0.9%	125.47
extortion	1.6%	0.5%	30.75
total	24.9%	8.6%	446.37

Notes: all differences are significant (p < .001)

Overall, violent offences are predominantly committed by male juveniles. The difference between male and female delinquency becomes even more pronounced if we compare the incidence classes over a period of 12 months for violent and property offences between males and females. With respect to violent crimes, 6.6% of the males may be regarded as frequent offenders (incidence rates of 5 and more) whereas

only 1.5% of the females belongs to this category (see *Table 3*). Concerning property crimes, this difference is somewhat smaller: 11.5% of the males can be regarded as frequent offenders as compared to 6.3% of the females. Because of the strong differences between male and female delinquent behaviour in the following analyses both groups are treated separately.

Table 3: Prevalence and incidence rates of self-reported delinquency during the past 12 months by gender

	Prevalence (> 0)	Incidence			
		1	2-4	5-10	> 10
Violent Offences					
males	24.9%	9.0%	9.3%	3.7%	2.9%
females	8.6%	3.6%	3.5%	1.0%	0.5%
Property Offences					
males	34.0%	11.5%	10.9%	6.1%	5.4%
females	27.9%	11.9%	9.7%	4.4%	1.9%

Note: males: n = 4,473; females: n = 4,806

Concerning delinquent behaviour, male (and female) juveniles are, however, not a homogeneous group. *Table 4* shows that, particularly with respect to violent offences, there are marked differences according to the ethnic or cultural background. Overall, the prevalence rates of violent offences of autochthonous Germans are significantly below the average, whereas the highest rates can be found among juveniles from Turkish origin, whether they are naturalised or not. Although females show significantly lower rates of violent offences, males and females show a similar pattern of ethnic differences. In the context of the discussion of cultural differences as an explanation for ethnic-specific rates of delinquency it is noteworthy that, with respect to property offences among males, there is no difference between juveniles from Turkish origin and other ethnic groups, whereas among females, Turkish foreigners show a significantly lower rate of property offences compared to the average. Thus, altogether the prevalence of violent offences of Turkish ju-

veniles is significantly above the average and at the same time their prevalence of property offences tends to be below the average.

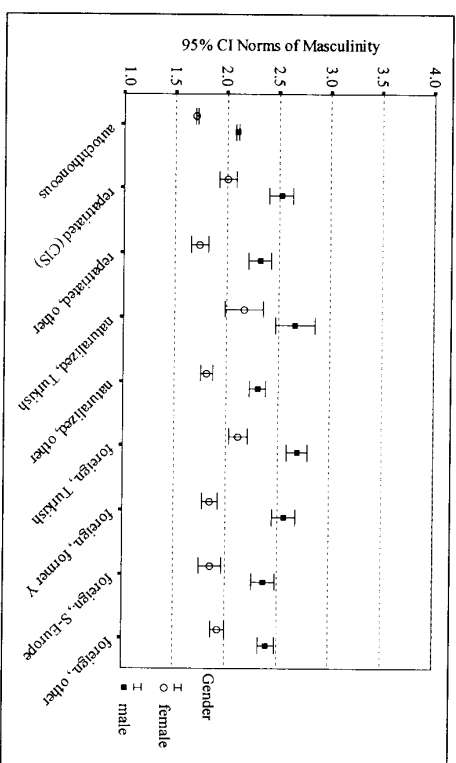
Table 4: Prevalence of violent and property offences by gender and ethnicity

Ethnicity	Males (n = 4,473)		Females (n = 4,806)	
	Violent Offences	Property Offences	Violent Offences	Property Offences
autochthonous	22.8%	33.6%	7.8%	28.2%
repatriated (CIS)	27.2%	40.7%	3.2%	12.0%
repatriated (other)	25.9%	35.3%	7.6%	39.2%
naturalised (Turkish)	38.5%	30.8%	17.8%	20.0%
naturalised (other)	31.7%	36.6%	13.2%	33.9%
foreigners (Turkish)	42.3%	36.5%	19.4%	17.7%
foreigners (former Yugosl.)	35.2%	34.4%	11.9%	28.1%
foreigners (Southern Europe)	29.3%	36.2%	3.0%	25.8%
foreigners (other)	27.2%	31.7%	8.4%	27.2%
total (average)	24.9%	34.0%	8.6%	27.8%
$\chi^2(8)$	52.31***	3.84	51.79***	37.13***

Notes: ***: p < .001; bold: significantly different from the average

As shown in *Figure 1*, there are significant differences in violence-legitimising norms of masculinity (VLNM) between males and females as well as between ethnic groups. Within ethnic groups, males always show the highest scores of VLNM. At the same time, males and females show a very similar pattern across ethnic groups, indicating that females are likewise influenced by ethnic-specific norms. The highest scores of VLNM can be found among juveniles from Turkish origin, the lowest among autochthonous Germans.

Figure 1: Violence legitimising norms of masculinity (95% confidence intervals) by ethnicity and gender (n = 9,279)



A hierarchical regression analysis of gender, socio-economic status (ISEI), and ethnicity on VLNM yields two remarkable results (see *Table 5*): First, even after controlling for gender and socio-economic status, there remains a significant effect of ethnicity if the dummy-coded variables of ethnic membership are entered simultaneously as a last block ($F(8,9268) = 64.18, p < .001$). Thus, differences in VLNM between ethnic groups are not due to differences in socio-economic status. Controlling for gender and socio-economic status, the greatest difference can be observed between autochthonous Germans and Turkish foreigners. Secondly, juveniles whose parents' socio-economic status is low hold stronger violence-legitimising norms than those juveniles whose parents' socio-economic status is higher, even if the membership to certain ethnic groups is kept constant.

Table 5: Regression of gender, socio-economic status (ISEI), and ethnicity on violence legitimising norms of masculinity

	B	Beta	T	p
male	.43	.39	42.81	< .001
ISEI	-.00	-.15	-15.64	< .001
repatriated (CIS)	.30	.08	8.72	< .001
repatriated, other	.09	.02	2.26	.024
naturalised, Turkish	.46	.09	9.37	< .001
naturalised, other	.14	.06	6.34	< .001
foreigners, Turkish	.43	.14	15.47	< .001
foreigners, former Y.	.24	.07	7.97	< .001
foreigners, S-Europe	.15	.03	3.40	< .001
foreigners, other	.25	.09	10.15	< .001
(Constant)	1.93		112.84	< .001

Notes: Total model: adjusted $R^2 = 0.23$, $F(10,9268) = 274.27$, $p < .001$; R^2 -change for entering ethnicity = .04, F -change (8,9268) = 64.18, $p < .001$; autochthonous Germans are coded as zero.

The role of VLNM for the explanation of ethnic differences in the incidence of violent delinquency was analysed by employing a series hierarchical ordinal logistic regression analyses, separately for males and females. In the first model (model 0) only ethnicity was entered as an independent variable (entering dummy-coded membership to the respective ethnic groups as a block; autochthonous Germans were coded as the reference group). Model 0 serves as a baseline to evaluate the effect of social structure variables, education, childhood maltreatment and violence-legitimising norms of masculinity for explaining ethnic differences in delinquency. In model 1 social structure variables (unemployment/recipient of welfare benefits and socio-economic status of the parents) (step 1), education of the juveniles (step 2), childhood maltreatment (step 3), and ethnicity (last step) were entered as independent variables. The change of chi-square in the last step indicates whether a significant

The change of chi-square in the last step indicates whether a significant effect of ethnicity remains, after controlling for the variables entered previously. Finally, in model 2 VLNM was entered at step 4 before entering ethnicity in the last step. This may show whether violence-legitimising norms of masculinity may explain ethnic differences that might remain in model 1.

In line with the differences in prevalence rates for violent offences reported above (*Table 4*), *Table 6* shows that among males there are significant differences in the incidence of violent offences dependent on ethnicity (model 0). The highest odds-ratios (in comparison to the autochthonous Germans) were found for juveniles of Turkish origin (foreigners and naturalised), followed by juveniles from the states of the former Yugoslavia and other naturalised juveniles. Model 1 shows that there are significant direct effects of social structure variables on the incidence of violent offences (step 1). Controlling for these variables, the level of education has a significant effect (step 2): The lower the level of education, the greater the risk that these juveniles will commit a violent offence. At this step the socio-economic status of the parents is no longer significant. Obviously, the level of education of the juveniles is highly correlated with the socio-economic status of their parents and a more proximate variable. The education will determine the future socio-economic status of the juveniles themselves and if we know the level of education we can predict the risk of delinquent behaviour better than by knowing the socio-economic status of their parents. Step 3 shows that, after controlling for social structure variables and the level of education, childhood maltreatment has a significant effect on violent delinquency. Even at this step there remains a small but significant effect of unemployment of the parents/recipients of social welfare ($B = 2.7$, standardised $B = .04$, Exp (B) = 1.30, $p = .026$), indicating that, independent from experienced parental violence in childhood, (male) juveniles from poor households tend to commit violent offences more often. After controlling for all the aforementioned variables, we still find significant differences in the incidence of violent offences between ethnic groups (step 4). Although the odds-ratios decreased, the incidence rates of naturalised (other), and especially Turkish foreigners, are still significantly higher compared to autochthonous Germans.

Model 2 shows that for males, the variable, violent norms of masculinity, is very strong (standardised $B = .37$, odds ratio = 3.89) and a significant predictor of the incidence of violent offences, even after controlling for social structure variables, the level of education, and child-

hood maltreatment (step 4). After controlling for this variable too (step 5), ethnic differences in the incidence of violent offences vanish completely: the (non-significant) parameters show that for nearly all ethnic groups the odds-ratios rather become negatives. Other predictors that remain significant in the last step are the level of education ($\Delta X^2_{(3)} = 50.52$, $p < .001$) and childhood maltreatment ($\Delta X^2_{(1)} = 16.50$, $p < .001$). Obviously, VLNM play an important role in explaining ethnic differences in (violent) juvenile delinquency.

A very similar result can be found by applying the same regression models to the female subsample (*Table 7*). Although the size of the effect of childhood maltreatment is somewhat stronger and the effect of VLNM is somewhat smaller for males compared to females, the similarity of the results is noteworthy, because on an absolute level females did show significantly lower prevalence and incidence rates of violent offences (see *Table 2* above). This indicates that the variables that are important to explain violent delinquency in the male sample are operative in the female sample as well.

At the beginning of the results-section we noticed that in contrast to violent offences among male juveniles no ethnic differences could be found with respect to property offences. To investigate this issue further, using the incidence of property offences, we applied the same analyses to the male sample. Results show that, after controlling for the above mentioned variables, the rates of autochthonous Germans are significantly higher compared to juveniles of Turkish origin, foreigners from the states of the former Yugoslavia and the remaining category of other foreigners (*Table 8*). This result was already found with respect to female juveniles at a bivariate level (see *Table 4* above). Thus, if we control for differences of social structure, levels of education, parental physical punishment, and violence-legitimising norms of masculinity, the Turkish juveniles that at first seemed to belong to the most delinquent ethnic group, actually are less delinquent compared to autochthonous Germans, at least with respect to property offences.

Table 6: Hierarchical ordinal logistic regressions of violent offences (incidence classes) on ethnicity (males only, n = 4,473)

IV	$\Delta\chi^2$ (df)	B	stand. B	Exp(B) ^{a)}
Model 0:				
<i>Ethnicity</i> (0: <i>autochthones</i>)	52.96 (8)***			
repatriated (CIS)		0.19	.01	1.21
repatriated (other)		0.16	.01	1.17
naturalised (Turkish)		0.73	.04**	2.07
naturalised (other)		0.45	.05**	1.57
foreigners (Turkish)		0.93	.09***	2.54
foreigners (former Y)		0.66	.06***	1.93
foreigners (S-Europe)		0.33	.02	1.39
foreigners (other)		0.27	.03	1.31
Model 1:				
(1) <i>Poverty/Status</i>	54.79 (2)***			
unemployed/soc. welfare		0.41	.06***	1.50
socio-economic status		-0.01	-.12***	1.01-1
(2) <i>Education</i> (0: <i>grammar school</i>)	96.83 (3)***			
occ. preparat. classes		1.26	.13***	3.54
secondary school (1)		0.90	.18***	2.45
secondary school (2)		0.69	.18***	1.99
(3) <i>Childh. maltreatment</i>	47.19 (1)***	0.21	.12***	1.23

Table 6 continued: Hierarchical ordinal logistic regressions of violent offences (incidence classes) on ethnicity (males only, n = 4,473)

IV	$\Delta\chi^2$ (df)	B	stand. B	Exp(B) ^{a)}
(4) <i>Ethnicity</i> (0: <i>autochthones</i>)	17.72 (8)*			
repatriated (CIS)		-0.03	-.00	1.03-1
repatriated (other)		0.15	.01	1.16
naturalised (Turkish)		0.47	.03	1.60
naturalised (other)		0.37	.04*	1.45
foreigners (Turkish)		0.51	.05**	1.66
foreigners (former Y)		0.34	.03	1.41
foreigners (S-Europe)		0.11	.02	1.12
foreigners (other)		0.16	.01	1.18
Model 2:				
(4) <i>Norms of Masculinity</i>	419.06 (1)***	1.36	.37***	3.89
(5) <i>Ethnicity</i> (0: <i>autochthones</i>)	8.28 (8)			
repatriated (CIS)		-0.57	-.04*	1.77-1
repatriated (other)		-0.13	-.01	1.14-1
naturalised (Turkish)		-0.14	-.01	1.15-1
naturalised (other)		0.12	.01	1.13
foreigners (Turkish)		-0.11	-.01	1.11-1
foreigners (former Y)		-0.16	-.01	1.18-1
foreigners (S-Europe)		-0.12	-.01	1.13-1
foreigners (other)		-0.22	-.02	1.25-1

Notes: Ordinal logistic regression analyses; parameters of the independent variables are shown only for the respective steps; a) odds-ratios < 1 are shown as 1/Exp (B); *: $p < .05$; **: $p < .01$; ***: $p < .001$

Table 7: Hierarchical ordinal logistic regressions of violent offences (incidence classes) on ethnicity (females only, n = 4,806)

IV	ΔX^2 (df)	B	stand. B	Exp(B) ^a
Model 0:				
<i>Ethnicity</i> (0: autochthones)	46.77 (8)***			
repatriated (CIS)		-0.94	-.08	2.56 ⁻¹
repatriated (other)		-0.01	-.00	1.01 ⁻¹
naturalised (Turkish)		0.97	.05*	2.64
naturalised (other)		0.61	.08***	1.84
foreigners (Turkish)		1.05	.11***	2.86
foreigners (former Y)		0.50	.05	1.65
foreigners (S-Europe)		-0.99	-.06	2.70 ⁻¹
foreigners (other)		0.08	.01	1.09
Model 1:				
(1) <i>Poverty/Status</i>	51.12 (2)***			
unemployed/soc.welfare		0.33	.05*	1.39
socio-economic status		-0.02	-.19***	1.02 ⁻¹
(2) <i>Education</i> (0: grammar school)	106.02 (3)***			
occ. preparat. classes		1.63	.14***	5.11
secondary school (1)		1.65	.30***	5.20
secondary school (2)		1.09	.29***	2.98
(3) <i>Childh maltreatment</i>	90.07 (1)***	0.40	.21***	1.49

Table 7 continued:
Hierarchical ordinal logistic regressions of violent offences (incidence classes) on ethnicity (females only, n = 4,806)

IV	ΔX^2 (df)	B	stand. B	Exp(B) ^a
(4) <i>Ethnicity</i> (0: autochthones)	27.51 (8)***			
repatriated (CIS)		-1.19	-.09*	3.28 ⁻¹
repatriated (other)		-0.12	-.01	1.13 ⁻¹
naturalised (Turkish)		0.63	.03	1.87
naturalised (other)		0.41	.05*	1.50
foreigners (Turkish)		0.47	.04*	1.60
foreigners (former Y)		-0.05	-.00	1.05 ⁻¹
foreigners (S-Europe)		-1.51	-.09*	4.53 ⁻¹
foreigners (other)		-0.16	.02	1.17 ⁻¹
Model 2:				
(4) <i>Norms of Masculinity</i>	121.14 (1)***	1.23	.27***	3.42
(5) <i>Ethnicity</i> (0: autochthones)	26.54 (8)			
repatriated (CIS)		-1.58	-.12**	4.83 ⁻¹
repatriated (other)		-0.07	-.00	1.08 ⁻¹
naturalised (Turkish)		0.08	.00	1.09
naturalised (other)		0.28	.03	1.32
foreigners (Turkish)		0.05	.00	1.05
foreigners (former Y)		-0.03	-.00	1.03 ⁻¹
foreigners (S-Europe)		-1.59	-.09*	4.89 ⁻¹
foreigners (other)		-0.39	-.04	1.48 ⁻¹

Notes: Ordinal logistic regression analyses; parameters of the independent variables are shown only for the respective steps; a) odds-ratios < 1 are shown as 1/Exp (B); *: $p < .05$; **: $p < .01$; ***: $p < .001$

Table 8: Hierarchical ordinal logistic regressions of property offences (incidence classes) on ethnicity (males only, n = 4,473)

IV	$\Delta\chi^2$ (df)	B	stand. B	Exp(B) ^a
Model 0:				
<i>Ethnicity</i> (0: autochthones)	2.94 (8)			
re-immigrants (CIS)		0.19	.01	1.21
re-immigrants (other)		0.07	.00	1.07
naturalised (Turkish)		-0.02	-.00	1.02-1
naturalised (other)		0.12	.01	1.13
foreigners (Turkish)		0.16	.02	1.17
foreigners (former Y)		0.07	.01	1.07
foreigners (S-Europe)		0.22	.01	1.24
foreigners (other)		-0.01	-.00	1.01-1
Model 1:				
(1) <i>Poverty/Status</i>	20.72 (2)***			
unemployed/ social welfare		0.15	.02	1.16
socio-economic status		-0.01	-.07***	1.01-1
(2) <i>Education</i> (0: <i>grammar school</i>)	61.17 (3)***			
occ. preparat. classes		0.96	.10***	2.61
secondary school (1)		0.62	.13***	1.86
secondary school (2)		0.43	.12***	1.53
(3) <i>Childh. maltreatment</i>	61.59 (1)***	0.22	.13***	1.24

**Table 8 continued:
Hierarchical ordinal logistic regressions of property offences (incidence classes) on ethnicity (males only, n = 4,473)**

IV	$\Delta\chi^2$ (df)	B	stand. B	Exp(B) ^a
(4) <i>Ethnicity</i> (0: autochthones)	4.45 (8)			
re-immigrants (CIS)		0.03	.00	1.03
re-immigrants (other)		0.03	.00	1.03
naturalised (Turkish)		-0.27	-.02	1.31-1
naturalised (other)		0.00	.00	1.00
foreigners (Turkish)		-0.24	-.02	1.27-1
foreigners (former Y)		-0.24	-.02	1.28-1
foreigners (S-Europe)		0.02	.00	1.02
foreigners (other)		-0.10	-.01	1.11-1
Model 2:				
(4) <i>Norms of Masculinity</i>	173.39 (1)***	0.77	.23***	2.17
(5) <i>Ethnicity</i> (0: autochthones)	29.18 (8)***			
re-immigrants (CIS)		-0.30	-.02	1.35-1
re-immigrants (other)		-0.16	-.01	1.17-1
naturalised (Turkish)		-0.73	-.04*	2.08-1
naturalised (other)		-0.16	-.02	1.18-1
foreigners (Turkish)		-0.66	-.06***	1.93-1
foreigners (former Y)		-0.59	-.05**	1.80-1
foreigners (S-Europe)		-0.13	-.01	1.14-1
foreigners (other)		-0.33	-.04*	1.40-1

Notes: Ordinal logistic regression analyses; parameters of the independent variables are shown only for the respective steps; a) odds-ratios < 1 are shown as 1/Exp(B); *: $p < .05$; **: $p < .01$; ***: $p < .001$

Finally, we investigated whether general attitudes towards violence could explain ethnic differences in violent offending equally well as violence-legitimising norms of masculinity. This is an interesting issue because both constructs overlap to a comparatively high degree; the correlation between ATV and VLNM is $r = .66$ ($p < .001$). As *Table (model 2b)* shows, although the effect of ATV is clearly stronger than the effect of VLNM (step 4 after controlling for social structure variables, level of education, and childhood maltreatment; compare *Table 6*), it cannot account for differences between ethnic groups as convincingly as VLNM. Although the overall effect of ethnicity is not significant as well, the chi-square difference tends to be greater ($\Delta\chi^2_{(8)} = 12.57$ as opposed to $\Delta\chi^2_{(8)} = 8.28$) and there remains a significant difference between autochthonous German and naturalised Turkish males.

Table 9: Hierarchical ordinal logistic regressions of violent offences (incidence classes) on ethnicity (males only, $n = 4,473$)

IV	$\Delta\chi^2$ (df)	B	stand. B	Exp(B) ^{a)}
Model 2b:				
(4) <i>Attitudes tw. Violence (0. autochthones)</i>	1080.43 (1)***	2.10	.57***	8.20
(5) <i>Ethnicity (0. autochthones)</i>	12.57 (8)			
re-Immigrants (CIS)		-0.54	-.03	1.72-1
re-immigrants (other)		-0.17	-.01	1.19-1
naturalised (Turkish)		0.61	.03*	1.84
naturalised (other)		0.20	.02	1.22
foreigners (Turkish)		0.23	.02	1.25
foreigners (former Y)		0.16	.01	1.18
foreigners (S-Europe)		0.17	.01	1.19
foreigners (other)		-0.09	-.01	1.09-1

Notes: Ordinal logistic regression analyses; parameters of the independent variables are shown only for the respective steps; a) odds-ratios < 1 are shown as 1/Exp(B); *. $p < .05$; **. $p < .01$; ***. $p < .001$

4. Summary and Discussion

The results show that the social circumstances of allochthonous juveniles in Germany are particularly poor with respect to the financial situation of their families. For this group the rates of parental unemployment and families receiving social welfare benefits is considerably higher, and the socio-economic status of the parents and the level of the education of the juveniles are lower. These are variables that are linked to criminal involvement independently of ethnic origin. Furthermore, on the bivariate level, among males, there are higher rates of violent offences for some ethnic groups of the allochthones, while this difference does not exist for property offences. The same applies for females.

Furthermore, multivariate analyses show that delinquency rates in general are higher among juveniles who have a lower level of education, who come from families affected by parental unemployment or who receive social welfare benefits, and who have experienced physical punishment or even severe maltreatment by their parents during childhood. However, these variables can only partially explain the ethnic differences in juvenile violent delinquency.

As hypothesised, allochthonous juveniles in Germany, particularly those of Turkish origin, clearly show more positive attitudes towards violence-legitimising norms of masculinity (VLNM). This is true for both sexes, which indicates that VLNM might indeed represent culturally shared values. However, in line with the theoretical expectations derived from the social psychological concept of the culture of honour, such violence-legitimising norms of masculinity are also more prevalent among juveniles from families with a lower socio-economic status. Ethnic differences in self-reported violent delinquency vanish after controlling for socio-economic status, parental unemployment, the juveniles' level of education, childhood maltreatment and violence-legitimising norms of masculinity. This holds equally for both sexes. It is noteworthy that, after controlling for these variables, the Turkish juveniles, who at first seemed to belong to the most delinquent ethnic group, are significantly less delinquent compared to autochthonous Germans with respect to property crimes. This too, holds equally well for males as well as for females.

These results have certain implications for the interpretation of the link between ethnicity and crime. First, it is important to consider that the relationship between ethnicity and delinquency depends on the type of delinquent behaviour (that is, property versus violent crime) and that

ethnic groups are not homogeneous in this respect. This implies that the rough category 'foreigner' is not sufficient for such analyses; the same is true for the category 'crime'. Secondly, although there is a relationship between indicators of social deprivation and crime, and although certain ethnic groups are particularly socially deprived, such differences in social and economic circumstances are not sufficient to explain the existing ethnic differences in criminal offending behaviour. In addition to social deprivation, certain cultural factors incorporating social norms of appropriate behaviour are important and contribute to ethnic differences as well. The culture of honour, here operationalised as violence-legitimising norms of masculinity, is one of these factors. Interestingly, in addition to the approval of specific forms of violence, that is only those that defend one's reputation and property, one further element of the culture of honour is the respect for the general right of property. This helps to explain the observation that certain ethnic groups, who show higher rates of violent crime, simultaneously show lower rates of property crime. Concerning the observed sex differences, it should be noted that, although the culture of honour primarily prescribes male behaviour, it also effects the expectations and the behaviour of females because it is a culturally shared norm.

The analyses show that VLNMI seems to be better suited for the analysis of ethnic differences in violent crime than a general measure of attitudes towards violence. Consequently, one should expect that ethnic differences in violent offences might predominantly be attributed to conflicts in which offenders use violence as a means to protect or improve their reputation. To investigate this issue it would be necessary to differentiate violent offences, not according to legal definitions, but according to the motivation of the offenders. Because we lack this information this cannot be answered here. There is another limitation to the current study: we cannot answer the question whether violence-legitimising norms of masculinity and its effects are characteristic for certain ethnic groups in general or whether the approval of these norms is specific for the particular situation of immigration to Germany. It is conceivable that the confrontation with deprivation and ethnic prejudices might force immigrants to resort to traditional social norms that are no longer shared in the countries of their origin. To investigate this issue, comparative studies in the home countries of the allochthonous juveniles are required.

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Appendix A: Violence legitimising norms of masculinity (VLNM)

Item	Mean	SD	r_h
A real man is strong and protects his family.	3.05	0.83	.45
A man not ready to defend himself by force against injuries is a wimp.	1.75	0.83	.54
As a father, a man is the head of the family and may assert himself forcibly, if necessary.	1.58	0.86	.46
If a woman is unfaithful to her husband, the man is allowed to beat her.	1.38	0.69	.45
A man should be ready to defend his wife and children by using force.	2.58	0.97	.51
Wife and children are obliged to obey a man as the father of the family.	1.68	0.78	.52
A real man is ready to assert himself forcibly against someone who runs down his family.	1.85	0.85	.65
A man should be allowed to own firearms to protect his family or his property.	1.71	0.92	.52

Total scale (average item means): *Mean* = 1.95; *SD* = 0.55; *Cronbach's Alpha* = 0.80; *N* = 8578

Appendix B: Attitudes towards violence (ATV)

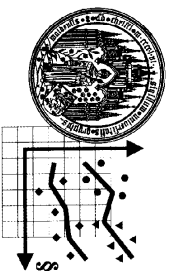
Item	Mean	SD	r_h
To have fun a bit violence is simply part of the game.	1.74	.85	.67
You have to resort to violence because that is the only way to attract attention.	1.47	.74	.63
If someone attacks me I will strike back.	2.83	.97	.52
The strong have to prevail or else there will be no progress.	1.67	.84	.65
I am ready to exert violence if I feel the need to impress.	1.66	.84	.67
Without violence everything would be much more boring.	1.49	.76	.67
I quickly become violent if someone provokes me.	1.76	.85	.66
Juveniles clear things up through violence, adults are only talking.	1.94	.94	.59
I think it is quite normal for males to compete with each other in violent fights.	2.07	.93	.59
An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, that's life.	1.90	.93	.64
Sometimes, when I am in the mood, I take part in roughing up others.	1.61	.83	.67

Total scale (average item means): *Mean* = 1.83; *SD* = 0.61; *Cronbach's Alpha* = 0.90; *N* = 8578

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