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JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

A qualitative study with focus on juvenile delinquency in the European city Malmö.

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Abstract

The aim of this qualitative research is to investigate the shifts in juvenile delinquency in the southern Swedish city called Malmö. My two research questions are;

1) From the perspective of serving employees at the Police Department in Malmö, in what ways have juvenile delinquency changed the recent years?
2) Which factors do employees at the Police Department in Malmö believe have impacted such changes in juvenile delinquency?

The study introduces the topic juvenile delinquency in the European Union (EU) and Sweden with the help of former studies and theories on the subject. The data collection is based on my interviews with seven currently active police officers at the Police Department in Malmö. Theories used to explain the juvenile's behavior and the experience of the respondents are the social bond theory, the social learning theory and the subcultural theory.

The interviews are showing that the juvenile delinquency has not increased itself, but the respondents highlight that the juveniles are starting their criminal path in earlier stage than before. Furthermore, the respondents have experienced an increase of juvenile delinquency when it comes to the *level* of crime where juvenile crimes have gone from small more "innocent crimes" to serious crimes. The absence of good role models in juveniles surrounding is a factor for choosing the criminal way in life, that the social surroundings impact if they live in exposed areas in the city. My study also showed that many juveniles with foreign background have different attitude and trust level towards the Police in Malmö.

Contents

Abstract

1. Introduction

Juvenile delinquency has been a heated subject for decades. Still, there is a lack of research regarding the levels of juvenile delinquency and the explanation why juveniles commit crime, as well as how it can be prevented. Since the beginning of the 1990s there has been a clear increase in the level of officially recorded youth crime in the western countries in EU (Dünkel, 2014). In EU, sociologists sometimes speak about two different schools with the focus to prevent individuals to become recidivists. These two schools are following: the classical school, which declares that the state has the duty and right to bring the offender to repentance by punishment and by prison to scare him or her. The second school is called the sociological school where the commission of an offence against society is more viewed through the lens of corrupting psychological disorder and surroundings. In EU there have been many discussions, and these are still ongoing, which one of these schools or methods are better (Lemkin, 1941). So, the interesting part is that the EU countries have such different strategies and jurisdictions when talking about juvenile delinquency, and even more interesting is how the EU is trying to get a united strategy and approach without success.

Researchers have noticed that it can be hard to compare countries because of several reasons; a key being that the concept of "juvenile" varies across EU countries, and it also has different laws attached to it. This is something one notices when you read previous research and studies. A juvenile in Sweden is a person between 15-23 years (Estrada et al 2001) and in other countries it can be up to 16 or 19 years (Estrada et al 2001). Another difficulty with studying juvenile delinquency in the EU is that the official criminal statistics are not constructed in the same way, and they are therefore not measuring the same variables. Coleman & Moynihan (1996) argue that it is important to notice that official statistics consist of several problems and some of them are that our knowledge is changing over time, but also that the tendency to report is changing and being affected by different things in society. Even the work routines of the police and the practice in the courts are often unsystematic and inadequate (Coleman & Moynihan, 1996). Coleman & Moynihan (1996) recommend researchers to use previous studies and data written or made by researchers in the country that they are specifically investigating, since they often have good knowledge on different factors that are affecting the statistics in that country.

Definition of crime, deviant behavior, juvenile and juvenile delinquent

In this study I will be using the concepts "crime", "juvenile"," criminal" and "juvenile delinquent".

Crime and deviant behavior

When referring to the definition "crime" it is a bit hard to explain what it is and Sarnecki, one of Sweden's criminologists explains it as an action that is being mentioned in the lawbook and for which there is a penalty for doing/acting so (Sarnecki, 2010). This means that an action cannot be a crime if it is not being defined in the lawbook. This can also be called "the principle of legality" which comes from the Latin word *"nullum crimen sine lege"* and means no crime without a law". What the society defines as a crime is changing over time and what might have been illegal years ago, may be changed and become more acceptable and vice versa (Sarnecki, 2010). Sarnecki (2010) often uses the definition "deviant behaviour" when speaking about juveniles and it is a common word used instead of "crime". Deviant behavior is a behavior that deviates from what is being perceived as "normal" in a society. Deviant behavior can also be

used to explain behavior that is not legislated but is strongly deviated from prevailing norms which can be mental illness, abuse, prostitution and so on. The thing that decides what deviant behavior is depends on how tolerant the society is. By using this definition instead of crime many researchers can avoid problems which can occur because of the fast changes of the criminal area or criminology over all (Sarnecki, 2010). Also, the definition deviant can be problematic in the way that different behaviors are being more normalized since others are being more deviant over time. So, either crime or deviant behavior is perfect to use but it is important to know the difference (Sarnecki, 2010). Through my study I will use the definitions deviant behavior and crime but since my focus is on juveniles it will be more natural to use the definition deviant behavior.

Juvenile and juvenile delinquent

I will also use the concept "juvenile delinquent" which means a person under 21 years that has or is committing crime and has been registered or/and prosecuted for this. In some sections one can notice that I am talking about people up to 23 years and that is because of the juvenile system in Sweden where one can be called juvenile even up to 23 years, and therefore also get something called "youth discount". You will have the opportunity to read more about this later in the study but in short it means that you get discounted for the crimes you have committed because of your age.

Aim

The aim of this study is to investigate police perspectives on shifts in juvenile delinquency in the European city of Malmö in Sweden. To help me investigate this I will be using two research questions;

1) From the perspective of serving employees at the Police Department in Malmö, in what ways have juvenile delinquency changed the recent years?

2) Which factors do employees at the Police Department in Malmö believe have impacted such changes in juvenile delinquency?

Limitations

When writing about juvenile delinquency there are several restrictions and the biggest one is the lack of research in many EU countries and the lack of new investigations and research. Dünkel (2006) is discussing how there is a lack of in-depth comparative research where new EU member states are included and that reports on national justice systems need to be updated. He also mentions how many middle and eastern EU countries are not even included in these reports. Another restriction is the concept of a juvenile where it differs a lot from one country to another. This complicates the research a lot since it does not show correct or realistic results, because the statistics does not measure same variables nor the same ages or/ and types of crime.

The results of my study are specific to the study area and therefore it cannot be generalized to other geographic areas due to specific context of Malmö city. The study is also limited to the perspective of the police employees and does not intercept the juveniles understanding of what

is occurring. Since my aim is to investigate the employees of the police department and their experience of and thoughts on in what ways the juvenile delinquency has changed over the recent years, I only get the government perspective.

2. Theory and previous research

This chapter consists of an introduction of my chosen theories, more precisely Social Bond theory, Social Learning theory and the Subcultural theory. Furthermore, the chapter brings to light relevant previous research in the field, giving particular attention to the development of juvenile delinquency in Europe and Sweden over time.

A theory can be used to explain or describe social reality. There are different kinds of theories; descriptive, normative, micro theory, macro theory, conflict theory and consensus theory. Descriptive means that the theory is explaining or describing something. A normative theory is a theory telling how something should be. Micro and Macro theories are focusing on the social and structural perspective (macro) and individual and performer perspective (micro) (Bryman, 2008). One can look at the world and its problems in two ways, from micro or macro perspective or approach. Macro can be described as the bird's eye view, broader social context to produce to describe social problems. Another description can be that macro theories of criminal behavior are explaining the big picture across the society and these theories are answering why there are variations in group rates of crime (Bryman, 2008). On the other hand, micro theories of criminal behavior focus on a small group of offenders or on an individual crime. They attempt to answer why some individuals are more likely than others to commit crime. Other authors have used the terms "individual conduct" or processual theories (Bryman, 2008).

When looking at my study my aim is to investigate police perspectives on shifts in juvenile delinquency in Malmö, I am exploring the area from a micro perspective. The focus is limited to juvenile delinquency and not focusing on crimes in general. I chose one city in Sweden, making it more specified and limited. I am searching for thought about the subject on an individual level due to my chosen theories. The questions asked in the interview with the respondents, who all have work experience from juvenile delinquency, are developed and formulated to focus on micro level explanations of the subject.

To answer my first research question in what ways, have the juvenile delinquency changed over the recent years I must explain the extent and variations of the subject and the respondents' answers are providing me with a micro view on the subject. The second research question focusses on which factors the employees at the Police Department in Malmö believe have impacted such changes in juvenile delinquency and I have chosen questions focusing on attitudes and trust towards the police.

Social Bond Theory

The Social Bond Theory is a very applicable theory when addressing juvenile delinquency since it is proved that many youths are missing good relations to their parents, do not have many social bonds in society, and often feel as outsiders rather than a part of the society (Bryman & Burgess, 1999). The central premise of Hirschi's theory is that delinquency arises when social

bonds are weak or absent. This theory explains that individuals will commit criminal acts, if the opportunity is given. The thing that is stopping individuals from doing these acts is the social control that society upholds. Each time before an individual does something he or she is being faced with a rational consideration and then act after these (Bryman & Burgess, 1999). The founder of this theory, Hirschi, means that an individual who does not have social bonds to the society in form of friends, neighbors, trainers or other adults in their close surrounding is more likely to develop criminal behavior. In short, Hirschi means that when social bonds are weakened, the risk for an individual committing a crime increases. Hirschi speaks about four different forms of social bond and those are: attachment, commitment, belief and involvement (Bryman & Burgess, 1999).

The four different elements of social bond

Attachment: The first form or element of social bond is attachment, which indicate how close a person is to the conventional social world. A person who is highly sensitive to the opinion of others has a higher likelihood of displaying attachment. Attachment such as attachment to parents, friends, and teachers and so on are some of the attachments that will, according to the theory, deter individuals from committing criminal behavior or crime (Kotlaja, 2019). (Kotlaja, 2019, Sarnecki, 2010).

Commitment: commitment refers to the investment a person puts towards conventional relationships, goals, or activities. Persons with further education will be deterred from criminal activity by the fear of losing the opportunity of achieving goals. If a person is engaging in criminal behavior, it produces a risk that can prevent a person from successfully accomplishing goals or establishing relationships and participating in activities. (Kotlaja, 2019, Sarnecki, 2010).

Belief: The third theoretical element is belief, and this rests on the recognition of social consensus or a shared set of values within a given society. Belief has to do with the internalization of a moral system, to distinguish right and wrong. What decides at what degree a person believes in the moral validity of certain norms is how likely he or she is to be deviate from them (Kotlaja, 2019, Sarnecki, 2010).

Involvement: The idea of this element is that an increase in the amount of time spent engaging in conventional activities, the less time the person must become involved in deviant behavior (Kotlaja, 2019). In other words, it discusses the time a person must commit crime. If a person is busy with a variety of conventional activities, it leads to less opportunity and ability to engage in criminal behavior (Kotlaja, 2019, Sarnecki, 2010).

This theory has been one of the most popular control theories in the 20th century and is still getting a lot of attention although the newest generation of criminologists seem to me more interested in the life course and/or the developmental perspective (Kotlaja, 2019, Sarnecki, 2010). The theory is useful when explaining crime because it is based on empirical study on self-reported crime and by this the theory can be tested empirically and being set against other theories (Sarnecki, 2010). Kotlaja (2019) mentions that it is important that these elements of the social bond are interrelated, and research has supported the general proposition underlying the theory that a weakening or severity of any combination of elements of the social bond increases the chances for deviant behavior.

The Social bond theory was used already in 1960s when Hirschi tried to identify the main reasons of why male high school students are committing crime. The students were from the San Francisco Bay area in the United States. Hirschi's hypothesis was that people who are highly social integrated should be more likely to possess a stronger bond to the society and therefore also less likely to risk the negative repercussions that results from this deviant behavior (Kotlaja, 2019, Sarnecki, 2020). Individuals with weaker bond to the society do not risk losing as much as those with strong social bonds and are therefore more prone to a deviance. What this founder predicted was that each and one of these elements, individually and collectively, would influence deviant behavior. If there is a strong presence of these four elements then the individual will be prevented from being deviant which would lead to committing crime or conforming behavior in society (Kotlaja, 2019). In this test the four elements of the social bond were analyzed using school-, police records and self-report data from the Richmond's Youth projects sample. Juveniles who experience their parents as aware of their activities, have a good communication and who reports greater affectional identification were less likely to report delinquency (Kotlaja, 2019). Other results were that adolescents who were more attached to parents and school were more likely to be attached to their peers as well. The findings all pointed at that, individuals that are more attached to other members of a society, the more likely they are to believe, invest and to be involved in conventional lines of activity and therefore are less likely to deviate. Other findings were the lack of respect for the legal system that was a result of weak social bonds and that both belief and other elements of social bonds increased the likelihood of delinquency (Kotlaja, 2019).

Limitations with the social bond theory

One limitation to this theory is that the different bonds are close related to each other, and that the theory does not explain how they are related. Hirschi also mentions how the connection to parent has the most important and central role because this bond has the greatest influence on the other bonds. Even though this is a critic plenty researcher have confirmed that the connection towards parents is playing a crucial role and is affecting the other three (Kubrin et al. 2009). Other researchers have criticized the bond participation because Hirschi means that this bond would prevent and result in that a person will not commit crime. Another interesting critic directed to this theory is that it has excluded or ruled out women from the research and therefore we do not know that much about women's criminal behavior (Sarnecki, 2009).

Empirical research of the social bond theory

Several researchers have examined Hirschi's theory, and most of the findings are supportive. while others are mixed or negative towards the theory. The empirical relationship that has been the most frequently tested has been the relationship between attachments to parents and delinquency. The same element has received a considerable amount of empirical support over the years. Many of the studies have set out to test the social bond theory and look at separate effects of each element of the social bond and can therefore be considered a partial test of the theory rather than a complete test (Kotlaja, 2019, Sarnecki, 2020).

In my study I have chosen to apply all four bonds in the theory since I believe they are very connected to each other when explaining juvenile delinquency. In other words, I believe it to be harder if made separately. In the result part of the study, I will describe my results based on the different social bonds and discuss how they interact. Mostly, I will focus on the two

elements commitments and involvement since these two elements speaks about a person's conventional relationships, goals and activities. They are measuring a juvenile's risks of committing a crime or not, at the same time it is a protective factor if the social bonds are strong. The belief bond is important when reflecting on the young adult's desire to apply the social norms and values might be of interest, especially in exposed areas of Malmö. Commitment also refers to the question why a person chooses to not commit crime since he/she wants to achieve their goals in life, and the participation in social activities. When looking at involvement I find it relevant for my study since it explains the time a person spent engaging in conventional activities and tells that a person who is busy with different activities has less opportunity and ability to engage in criminal behavior. The social element attachment describes the importance of a person's attachment to friends, teachers and so on. This element also describes how these relationships can deter a person from committing crime.

Social learning theory

The Social learning theory, (SLT) was founded in 1977 by the psychologist Albert Bandura who focuses on the idea that individuals can learn behavior through observation. This theory has four mediational processes that will describe whether a new behavior is acquired. These processes are attention, retention, reproduction, and motivation (Kennedy, Dettullio and Millen, 2015). Bandura states that individuals learn through observation and that reinforcements and punishment have indirect effect on behavior and learning. Badura's SLT is based on the idea that we learn from our interactions with other people in different social contexts. When a behavior is observed, one develops similar behaviors and after observing others one assimilates and imitate this behavior, especially if one gets positive reactions (Kennedy, Dettullio and Millen, 2015). He also states how meditational processes influence our behavior by cognitive factors contributing to whether a behavior will be acquired or not. Furthermore, Bandura discusses how learning does not have to lead to a change, which mean that if a person learn that something is wrong, he or she will not necessary stop behaving that way (Kennedy, Dettullio and Millen, 2015). The SLC theory has four mediational processes, and these are following:

Attention: a behavior must get our attention before it can be imitated. If a child sees her/his parents or siblings do something, he or she will maybe do the same to get attention. This can lead to the child thinking this behavior is acceptable and continuing doing it since he or she is getting attention.

Retention: a behavior cannot be performed if it is not being remembered and because of this a person who wants to learn something must remember the modelled activities.

Reproduction: is the ability to execute the model's behavior which means that a person wants to reproduce the behavior of a person they admire or look up to. But if you do not have the ability to do so you will not be able to irrespective of how often you observe a model's behavior and how well you retain it as a memory.

Motivation: the person is seeking for reactions and therefore the observed behavior requires motivation to do so (Martinez, 2010).

Already in the 1960s Bandura made an experiment called "Bandura's Bobo doll experiment" where children were exposed to both aggressive and nonaggressive models that played with

dolls violently or placidly. The results were that it is enough to observe a behavior to influence it, especially among children (Kennedy, Dettullio and Millen, 2015).

In my study I have chosen to look at attention, reproduction and motivation move deeply since I find them very applicable to my study. The element attention explains that a person wants to get attention for behaving in a certain way and if this person has seen someone else behave in a certain way and have seen that they got attention he/she will maybe to the same and the goal is the attention. Reproduction on the other hand is when one reproduces or imitate a person's behavior that you admire or look up to. The last and lot least process is motivation and explains itself, a person is seeking for reactions, and this is what makes them motivated to do so.

Limitations of the social learning theory

The weakness of this theory is where it neglects the importance of accountability in one's actions and focusing more on the environment where a person's behavior and actions are determined by society and not by a person's process information (Kennedy, Dettullio and Millen, 2015). The mots primary and common criticism with the SLT is that the theory does not explain why certain behaviors are rewarded or punished. Another criticism is the relationship among delinquent peers Bandura is mentioning which is weak and has bad bonds where research have shown that these relationships does not have to be as weak as Bandura has suggested (Brauer, 2009).

Subcultural theory

The founder of this theory, Albert Cohen describes how most delinquent juveniles are members of a delinquent subculture. A subculture is a type of system or society with own attitudes, values and concepts which differs a lot from the major society (Cohen, 2016). Why juveniles become a member of these subcultures is because adjustment and status problems caused by the existing class society. Cohen explains this phenomenon with an example following: a boy from the lower class wants to adapt to higher social stratum but is being confronted and cannot fulfil this or these goals because of his social background (Cohen, 2016). He in this way must recognize his low status, poor prestige and his poor chance to success in the society. These situations easily lead these boys to enter a subgroup and feel outside the society. In this subculture they find other people like themselves where they share their status, language or and other cultural aspects. Since the behavior that is displayed within the subculture is very different from the major society people outside the subculture perceives the behavior as deviant and often criminal. Most often members of a subculture are aggressive and not respectful towards non-members (Cohen, 2016).

Limitations with the subcultural theory

Important to notice is that the subcultural theory is not an actual learning theory but more as a hybrid learning theory and is only dealing with juvenile delinquency which means that the theory could not explain criminal behavior in general. Another weakness is that the study is

based on North American street gangs. The theory also fails to explain crimes committed by the middle class or by girls and women (Cohen, 2016).

Police legitimacy

In a democratic country the legacy of the police authority is crucial. A legal and legitimate policing makes democratic policing. These two concepts go hand in hand since legality without legitimacy and legitimacy without legality could cause problems in the community and the democratic policing. The topic police legitimacy has been researched widely and have been a topic of many studies over the last decades. A way to explain police legitimacy is to investigate and bring light to concepts like trust in police, willingness to cooperate, police authority and police forces effectiveness (Mesko & Eman, 2015). Police legitimacy explains citizens experience of the treatment they get from the police and justice officials. Further on it explains the received help and treatment the citizens get from the police and other authorities, citizens preparedness to obey and listen to the police and, finally the level of trust the citizens have for the police (Mesko & Eman, 2015). The importance of understanding how public views on police legitimacy form and change can provide us with a new framework through which to evaluate policing policies and practices (Tyler, 2011).

When looking at young people's attitudes and trust towards the legal institutions such as the police and courts, it is quite similar as it is towards other social institutions as school and social centers and is often called "anti-authority syndrome". Anti- authority syndrome means that the attitude is negative, and the juvenile is not willing to cooperate (Mesko & Eman, 2015). If focusing on the judgments of the police juveniles usually form these judgments based on their direct experiences with police officers. From the perspective of the relationship between juveniles and police this means that the treatment the juvenile receives from the police in direct contact builds his or her attitude rather than the global attitudes (Mesko & Eman, 2015). Why juveniles often have negative attitudes and judgments of police officers is because they are the ones working the most with young people, if not on daily basis. Juveniles are often staying outdoors on public places and therefore they are subjects for involuntary and generally negatively experiences with the police (Mesko & Eman, 2015).

Previous research

European approaches to juvenile delinquency; differences, similarities and challenges

The European Economic and Society Committee argues for more focus and priority for a common strategy to prevent juvenile delinquency in EU. Some of the reasons they are discussing is that children will often be victims for social exclusion and if we prevent crime early these individuals will not continue their criminal behavior at older age and in this way, we will avoid future criminals (Sigmund, 2003). Today there are several projects and political contributions within the EU with focus on juvenile delinquency and agreements regarding juveniles with focus to promote the process of integrating this group into the society. There are still instruments and measures missing for implementing the agreements. Juvenile delinquency in the EU is very varying and, as discussed, the definition differs, which leads to difficulties when one would like to analyze the situation in this area. The management of juvenile delinquency is quite different, and, in some countries, there are laws focused only on juveniles and in other countries there are none and no sanctions are being taken (Sigmund, 2003). There are countries with juvenile crime law, with special penalty system while in others the same penalties are being assigned as if the individual was adult, but often with a bit weaker punishment. Sigmund (2003) discusses how even if the statistics from different EU member countries are showing that juvenile delinquency have not increased, there is a general understanding in the society that it is increasing and that juvenile crimes are getting more and more serious and more dangerous. Because of this many societies within the EU are seeking more effective control mechanisms, which have led to sharpening of youth legislation in many countries.

The European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) made a report in 2015 discussing the treatment of juveniles in the European Union Member States where they have stated that most of the countries have set an age limit at 18 years for criminal proceedings to be entitled to special support and to procedural safeguards such as audio-visual recording, special personal interviewing and hearing in absence of the public. Above mentioned applies to all juveniles whether they are suspect or offender, victims or witnesses (FRA, studies on child- friendly justice, 2015). Findings from FRA's studies on child- friendly justice (2015 and 2017) discusses that a few Member States have set an upper age limit for children to be entitled to special support and procedural at lower age than 18 and Sweden is not one of these member states. They also found that in some Member States children tend to be treated as adults once they are older than the age limit set for being entitled to procedural safeguards. Children and juveniles can be subject to custodial sanctions measures in all EU Member States and the general trend is that the minimum age for such sanctions is the same as the minimum age for criminal responsibility that is ranging from 10 to 16 in the European countries (FRA, studies on child-friendly justice, 2015 and 2017). Other interesting findings one can read in FRA's studies on child- friendly justice (2015 and 2017) is that approaches towards child participation in judicial proceedings among the European Member States are asymmetric. Furthermore, the regulation for a criminal, civil or administrative law proceeding differ a lot from one Member state to another (FRA, studies on child- friendly justice, 2015). Figure seen below provides a summary

of the EU countries and their age limit when speaking about juvenile offenders as subject to custodial sanctions and measures.

Age of criminal responsibility across Europe

Dünkel (2014) discusses how in 2008 the European rules for juvenile offenders subject to sanctions or measures recommend no particular age but specifying only that an age should be specified by law and that this age should not be too low. The minimum age of criminal responsibility varies a lot across European countries, from 10 years to 18 years or even higher in others (Dünkel, 2014). After a recent reform the most common age of criminal responsibility became 14 years. All these developments at national level are setting standards for youth justice referring to the convention from 1989, called United Nation (UN) Convention on the rights of the Child, which was a binding international treaty that all European states have ratified. Sweden was one of the first countries by ratifying the convention already in September 1990 and played a leading role in the convention.

Dünkel (2014) states the importance of a defined age of criminal responsibility and an ongoing discussion on how low we can go when talking about the age of criminal responsibility. For example, in England and Wales the age of criminal responsibility is 10 years while it in Sweden is 15 years (Dünkel. 2014). Even though England and Wales are not included in the EU they have been member countries and are still European countries it is important and interesting to mention their age of criminal responsibility to see how different it is across Europe and the EU.

In France and Greece and many other European countries only, educational sanctions imposed by the family and youth courts are applicable at an earlier age. Also, in Switzerland the youth court judge can only impose educational measures on juveniles between 10 to 14 years if they are seen as criminally responsible and juvenile prison are restricted. There is a similar situation in the former Yugoslavian countries (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Montenegro, North Macedonia, Serbia and Slovenia) (Dünkel. 2014).

When looking at the upper age limits of criminal responsibility there are differences across Europe and the EU. This limit focuses on the maximum age to which juvenile crime or sanctions can be applied. This number is between 18 and 20 years and appeared in some European countries already in 1953 (Dünkel. 2014). A reason behind this is that there are different definitions of juvenile, adolescent and crime in different countries. The definition of "adolescent" is hard to define and is differing a lot across European countries. Estrada and Flyghed (2007) describes this phenomenon as very hard to explain because it is a life phase between a person's childhood and adulthood. For example, Estrada and Flyghed (2007) argues that the definition "adolescent" begins at the age of 11 and ends at 20. On the other hand, Muncie (2004) argues that an adolescent in general is between 13-19 years. Other scholars such as Rutter, Giller and Hagell (1998) argue that adolescence is very individual and that it is therefore very hard to state when it occurs. This is one of the biggest difficulties when trying to compare countries or to come with a good prevention system or approach against juvenile delinquency. The problem is that the statistics are so different and plenty of cases are not being registered because of a person's age and because of this it is a challenge to count it correct (Rutter, Giller and Hagell (1998).

The development of juvenile delinquency in Europe over time

Juvenile delinquency has had a lot of attention over time and attracts both politics and media in different ways. Since the 1980s the general public have become more concerned about youth violence taking place in our countries (von Hofer, 2011). One of the reasons can be the attention juvenile delinquency receives from media all-round Europe and the world, not at least in Sweden. According to von Hofer (2011), the reason can be that societies have changed their approach towards this kind of crime; the suggestion being that today's societies have lower tolerance when looking at juvenile delinquency and because of this have put more focus on this topic than earlier years. As mentioned in the introduction since the beginning of the 1990s there has been a clear increase in the level of officially recorded youth crime in the western countries in the EU (Dünkel, 2014). Why this occurred was because more serious crimes were committed by young offenders.

Punitive versus social punishment -transfer laws

A reason for a country to choose an upper limit of the definition of juvenile might be seen as a way to apply a more appropriate sentence on immature young adults. Meanwhile in many European Member States there are waivers (voluntary relinquishment or surrender of some known right or privilege), or transfer laws which can be regarded as a systematic weakness in the jurisdiction. A transfer law means that the youth is being treated as an adult, in other words, it is when a juvenile from a delinquent court is being transferred to an adult court. The personality of the young offender, seriousness of the crime and the circumstances when committing a crime also determines, if possible, to application of adult criminal law. Some countries apply this when dealing with serious offences, such as rape, homicide and (attempted) aggravated theft. Note that the limitations and definitions of such crimes is set by the member states themselves and differ from country to country. The aim of a transfer law, which has a distinctively punitive purpose, is to expand the types of offences and offenders eligible for transfer from juvenile court for trial and sentencing in an adult criminal court. These reforms lowered the age for transfer making the number of transfer eligible offenses increasing or also expanded precautional discretion and reduces judicial discretion in transfer decision-making. However, the transfer of juvenile defendants to the adult system is far rarer than in the United States (Matthews et al (2018). Interesting to mention is that 28 out of 35 European countries having special legal provisions for youth over age 18. Scandinavian countries (such as Sweden) do not have provision for transfer since they do not have specialized juvenile jurisdictions.

Matthews et al (2018) describes how the European youth justice system is divided into two categories, called the flexible model and the strict model. The flexible model means that there must be a special juvenile system for a person until he or she is at the age of 18 years and countries using this model are The Netherlands and Belgium. The second model is the strict model and refers to a juvenile justice system where there is an upper age limit of the juvenile justice system which means that juveniles being sentenced under that age limit in the adult system is eliminated and this is being used in countries such as Germany and Spain. These countries using the strict model implies that the juvenile justice system have no longer a maximum prison sentences if one compare with those European countries that are using the flexible model (Matthews et al 2018).

The fundamental idea is to react differently towards young offenders up to a certain age based on their maturity and their ability of discernment, but still criminological research has not found evidence for positive effects on transfers or waivers in any European country (Dünkel, 2014). Transfers may in practice be of declining significance in Europe. For instance, in Netherlands the number of transfers to adult courts has been reduced considerably even though waivers and transfer laws are of little significance in practice in most European countries. When looking at those countries that have statutory provisions and are imposing educational and other sanctions of the youth justice law on juveniles, up to date these laws have not had the same impact in practice (Dünkel, 2014). The transfer to adult courts has not shown any positive effects of preventing and has negative effects when applied with community sanctions.

Why do juveniles commit crime?

Although hard to explain why juveniles are committing crimes the investigators have found several risks- and protective factors and can therefore try to establish preventive programs or work in the schools and at police departments. Many researchers are discussing the problems with the differences and the difficulty regarding the concept "juvenile" in the EU and the European countries (Estrada, 1999). Estrada have studied different limitations in Europe and abroad on when a person should be counted as a juvenile and states that the general delimitation is between 15 and 20 years. Sarnecki (2010), a Swedish criminologist who has studied why juveniles commit crimes, argues that there is no easy answer to this question but different sub-answers. Sarnecki mentions two crucial factors of juveniles committing crime and those are that the individual has an opportunity to commit crime and that this same person can commit the crime when he or she sees an opportunity. Sarnecki also discusses how there is an interplay between different factors in the society such as: environment and the tendency of the individual as an explanation why a person commits crime.

Sarnecki (2010) discusses how the early childhood decides if one will commit crime or not. Children who are not getting enough of love and care, but also are not getting enough of stimulus have a higher risk to become criminal. Moreover, the relationship towards the parents and family is very important during the teenage years, as well as towards the school, and can be crucial which type of crime one will commit (Sarnecki, 2010). Sarnecki (2010) also discusses that individuals from lower social groups and individuals with foreign background tend to run greater risk to commit crimes, especially those that are second- generation immigrants. Jerzy clearly refers to the social bond theory focusing on relationships such as bonds to parents and other family members. A research study from Belgium and Finland found a significant impact of various opportunities on later offending such as unemployment and neighborhood disadvantage (Loeber & Farrington, 2012). Kennedy, Dettullio and Millen (2015) are discussing the different risk- and protective factors against delinquency and are mentioning five different domains. These five domains are: *individual, family, peer, school and community*. The individual domain is the biological dispositions, attitudes, values and knowledge. The second focuses on a person's management and bonding. The domain peer is a person's norms and activities and attachments towards other people. School tells itself, bonding with other pupils, climate and the performance in school. Finally, domains are discussed in community settings, with focus on bonding, norms, awareness and mobilization.

The development in Sweden

Sweden has always been seen as a welfare state with focus on paternalism and protection, which means that one should offer treatment to criminal individuals rather than punishing them (Hazel, 2008). Estrada (1999) discusses that the development of juvenile delinquency in post-war Sweden have shown an increase in prosecution statistics for theft among juveniles between the years 1950-1972. Similar trends have been found in other Western Europe countries at the same period according to Sarnecki (2007); a trend that continues into the 1970s. Later in the beginning of 20th century Sweden has had a praxis of treating juveniles or young offenders differently than other, older criminals and this system has been stable over time (Jansson, 2004). All Scandinavian countries (Sweden, Denmark and Norway) have embraced a long-standing welfare principle and therefore juvenile offenders are tried and convicted by the same courts as adults (Hill et.al (2006).

As mentioned above there are waivers against prosecution, restrictions on prison sentences and the offenders are being handed over to local services. In Sweden particularly the social services are playing a very important part in the court procedure when there is a young offender involved (Janson, 2004). This system has been criticized both for its lack of evidence that the treatments provided are effective and for the lack of legal transparency and its questionable fairness (Sarnecki & Estrada, 2006). And as in many European countries there is an ongoing debate on other or/and better ways of handling with young offenders.

The Swedish School Survey

The Swedish school survey takes each second year in the ninth grade of elementary school, where juveniles answer a questionnaire with focus on exposure and participation of crime over the last 12 months. The aim with the survey is to explain the development of self-reported exposure and participation in crime in order to get better knowledge on how common it is for Swedish juveniles to be exposed to crime or to commit crime (Brå, 2021). The latest survey from 2019 show that it is very common for juveniles to be exposed to crime and that they have committed crime during a 12-month period. A total of 48 %, almost 50 %, of the juveniles answering the questionnaire state that they have been exposed to crime or been a victim of crime especially for following types of crime: theft, abuse, threat, robbery, or sexual offence during the last 12 months. Brå stated that the number has decreased since 2017 where 51% stated that they have been exposed to crime. Both girls and boys are exposed to crime, but the difference is in the type of crime. Among girls the most common crimes are theft and sexual offence and among boys it is most common with theft and abuse. Brå, (2021) states that juveniles with foreign background are more exposed to crime than those with Swedish parents or both parents born in Sweden.

Regarding participation in crime 52% of the respondent's state that they have committed a crime the last 12 months. The most common crimes are theft, abuse, damage, and drug offences. Both girls and boys participate in theft and drug crimes, but the big differences are in abuse and vandalism where boys are overrepresented (Brå, 2021). Brå (2021) found that juveniles with foreign background were overrepresented in the participation in crime except from theft-related crimes, where the juveniles with two Swedish parents were overrepresented. Juveniles with separated parents or a family with bad economy were also sticking out in the survey. Brå (2021) furthermore found that juveniles are overrepresented in the Crime statistics over suspected persons, as well as within the numbers of prosecutions in Sweden. This means that it is more

common to commit crime in your young years than adult years. In Sweden one reaches the age of criminal responsibility at 15 years and the most common penalty is a fine or other penalty specially designed for juveniles. These penalties are youth care, youth services and closed youth care (Brå, 2021).

A survey on youth robbery in Sweden

Brå (2021) published a study based on 715 youth cases explaining the development on youth robbery in Sweden pointing out an increase over the last years. In 531 of these cases the suspect was a boy and 83 a girl. 101 cases consisted of both girls and boys suspected of youth robbery (Brå, 2021). The study is based on criminal statistics, register data and geographical data from the Police Authority and Statistics, as well as surveys on vulnerability and participation in robberies. Brå (2021) show both that the number of reported offences and the self-reported exposure to robberies among young people have increased. In 2020 the number decreased slightly in the bigger cities and the reason is, according to Brå the Covid- 19 pandemic. Brå (2021) is discussing the increase of youth robbery as a serious social problem and pointing out that the development is very worrying. In 2019 2489 cases were reported and in 2020 this number decreased to 2186. In the end in 2020 and during 2021 the increase continued. Brå (2021) found that many of the suspects are boys with foreign background and are living in neighborhoods with low socioeconomic status (Brå, 2021). By foreign background they mean a boy born in another country than Sweden or has parents where both are born in a foreign country. When looking at the person being exposed to the robbery it is most often (77%) juveniles with two Swedish parents and the juveniles itself is born in Sweden, a boy and is also living in a neighborhood with higher social economic status (Brå, 2021).

Threat is very common in these robberies and not at least different kinds of humiliations. Most often the perpetrator wants to show power and to humiliate the victim in different ways. Often, they tell their victim to not go to the Police and to report and are recording the crime by taking photos and videos (Brå, 2021). For those cases where a girl is the suspects (2/3 of the total vases) it is very common that they know their victim unlike the cases where the suspect is a boy and they often do not know their victim. The cases where a girl is being suspect for a youth robbery has increased over the years 2015-2019 and the most common age of the suspect is under 15 years (Brå, 2021).

The legal process for a delinquent juvenile in Sweden

In Sweden a person that is under 21 years cannot get jail time, so the most common penalties are supervision, which means that the case is written off, or fines. Written of means that the crime is being investigated but neither prosecution nor trial will take place. Even though it is being registered in a person's crime register. This means that if a person has committed two crimes in Sweden instead of one the penalty will not be twice as long penalty and the same is for a person committed two serious crimes. Sweden has this system so that the sentences do not become unreasonably long and the thinking of a person holding responsible for an act that is considerable minor is wrong (Åklagarmyndigheten, 2021). When a police officer chooses to not investigate a case the reason is often that this person has been suspected of several crimes and it would not make any difference to add this crime to the list and if the person is under 18 years the police officer sometimes chooses to not investigate the case.

The Swedish youth penalties

Youth care is when a juvenile is being placed at a home called: HVB ('Hem för Vård och Behandling') where juveniles with similar problems or difficulties are being placed on a designated time.

Youth services
Youth care is when the juvenile is being sentenced to serve their sentence by working between 20-150 hours. The work is not paid and is often occurs in associations or other society groups (Sveriges domstolar, 2021).

Closed youth care
The third and second penalty is closed youth care and is being used when a juvenile have committed a serious crime. This means a crime that would have led to prison If the juvenile has been adult at the time of the time of the crime. The time is always timed, and you can be placed on one of the youth homes that are run by the State Department Board (Sveriges domstolar, 2021).

Youth surveillance
For this year (2021) a new law has been established in Sweden and has entered into force on the 1st of January which is called youth surveillance and can be applied for juveniles between 15 and 20 years. This penalty will be used for juveniles who have committed a serious crime or is committing crimes repeatedly. To see this penalty as an option and applicable the youth care and your services should not be estimated to be sufficient when looking at the type of crime. The aim with youth surveillance is to fill the gap between youth care, youth services and closed youth care (Regeringskansliet, 2021).

The Court practice in Sweden

The court practice in Sweden has the aim, when it comes to juveniles, to avoid prison sentences and approximately 20 % of all prosecution decisions are against juveniles at the ages 15-20 years, (Brå, 2021). This means that the number of prosecution decisions in relation to the average of the population in Sweden, is bigger in the ages of 15-17 and 18-20, than it is in adult years. When looking at the prosecution decision in 2019, Brå stated that the most common penalty was refrain from prosecution or penalty warning, where approximately 34 % of the juveniles were sentenced this way. 94% of all juveniles being prosecuted got a penalty warning which means that you get a warning and if you get caught in a time of approximately 6 months you can get sentenced for the crime you committed earlier. Important to notice is all the hidden statistics of those juveniles that are never reported or that are getting an oral warning from the Police officers.

Since 1999 Sweden got a penalty youth care for juveniles and the aim was for the juvenile to get the care or treatment he or she needs. In 2019 about 86 juveniles were sentenced to youth

care, between the ages 15-20. When comparing with the year before, 2018 there were 67 juveniles sentenced to youth care which is an increase with 28. In average the juveniles were sentenced to 11, 8 months which also in an increase from 2018 with 2 months (Brå, 2021). Brå (2021) also found that 45% of the judgments were different types of assault, 23% violation of life and health and 13% were violation of freedom and life.

Sandström (2000) argues in his research that juveniles are committing more crimes than adults in Sweden. Juveniles are committing most crimes when they are 15 years and later it decreases, after 17 years. Juveniles that have foreign backgrounds are overrepresented, especially in gang-related crimes. According to the Police in the County of Skåne (the southern part of Sweden where Malmö is included and is the largest city), and the department called Kriminalunderrätttelsetjänsten, KUT (2003) in translation, the criminal intelligence service has 65% of the juvenile perpetrators foreign background. Several European research from Belgium and Finland found a significant impact of various opportunities on later offending such as unemployment and neighborhood disadvantage (Loeber & Farrington, 2012).

Swedish crime statistics

The statistics is being collected from crime statistics from the police departments, meaning reported cases, solved crimes and, persons being suspected of crimes, which also is the most common one. The statistics are also being collected from prosecution statistics (people who have received a penalty; a fine, criminal injunction or a judgement), recurrence statistics and finally probation statistics from the jails (Sarnecki, 2010). Important to remember is that it is hard to study the extent of the juvenile delinquency in a society mostly because many crimes are not being reported to the police and because of this there is a big number of hidden statistics and will not be included in the total of the statistics being represented. The hidden statistic is the ratio between the actual number of offences and those offences that are being reported to the police (Sarnecki, 2010). To be clearer, the amount and number of crime and the existence of crime is much larger than we what we see in out statistics. Sarnecki (2010) mentions another limitation by studying the extent of crime and that is that it is hard to study the extent over time similar when studying different crime types over time because they are changing, going from legally to illegal or more acceptable and vice versa. Also, the practice in the Swedish court is changing over time and can differ a lot from one year to another which can lead to convictions (Sarnecki, 2010).

Reform trends in juvenile justice in Sweden

The Juvenile Justice System in Sweden relies on a welfare orientation by transferring juvenile offenders between 15 and 17 years regularly to the welfare authorities. By the end of the 1960s and the beginning of 1970s the Swedish justice system was characterized by a treatment focus which was highly discussed at the end of the 1970s (Jansson, 2004). What differs the system from today is that there is a combination of classical theory demands for justice and proportionality and treatment theory focus on prevention. Just as then the Swedish social services have a strong influence on those cases where the offender ii supp to 15 or 18 years. And the legal system is getting more influenced when the age of the offender is increasing. If one compares this system to other European countries one can say that the system is very characterized by human values (Jansson, 2004). Already in the year 1999 the transfer between the Social Welfare Authorities were expanded. Closed youth care institutions were established

as an alternative to youth imprisonment, which had a net-widening effect and led to that more than 100 juveniles, instead of 10, were found in these institutions (Jansson, 2004). Within criminology the term net-widening is used to describe the effects of providing alternatives to incarceration or diversion programs to direct offenders away from court (Jansson, 2004). The net-widening problem was first raised by sociologists and refers to the risk of new criminal reforms expanding the social control over individuals. This by implementing alternative sanctions which are meant to be imposed on prison-bound offenders are in practice used for low-risk offenders who would otherwise receive lighter sanctions. One can also explain the net-widening as an impediment to efficient sentencing system from the law perspective (Kantorowicz, 2011).

The procedure of a juvenile being suspected in Sweden

If a juvenile is being suspected of a crime in Sweden, there are special processes that police employees must follow. At first, it must be handled as fast as possible and within six weeks the police must inform the juvenile if he or she will be prosecuted in court or not. Which is close similar when comparing with an adult process, but the difference is that when the police employees want to interrogate a juvenile under 18 years, they must contact their parents or caregiver and The Swedish Social Administration need to attend the hearing (Åklagarmyndigheten, 2021). The reason is to protect the juvenile since a juvenile is not used to be interviewed or does not know the legal system as good as an adult. If a juvenile is under 15 years old and has committed a crime, he or she cannot be prosecuted in court and instead it is up to the Social Administration or Social Services to decide what will happened to them. When a juvenile is older than 15 years it is up to the Prosecutors office to decide if a trial will take place or not. For those between 15-17 years there are special penalties (Åklagarmyndigheten, 2021).

The extent and nature of juvenile crime

Studies in Sweden

Two Swedish studies found that the proportion of offences committed by criminals in Sweden, juveniles stand for approximately 60% of the total of all crimes. Same results have been found in the Netherlands where young adolescents continue to commit crimes even beyond the age of 30, especially some minorities (Dünkel, 2015). Berry and colleagues (2006) also studied 829 children with foreign background in the capital city Stockholm and found that second generation immigrants were more psychologically adapted and assimilated than the first-generation immigrants. In Sweden violence has increased among young criminals according to several research and statistics measured in the different countries (Sarnecki, 2009, Brå, 2019, Brå 2021). Estrada (2001) discusses how men with foreign background in Sweden have about double the rate of crime as the rest of the Western Countries and is questioning the validity of Swedish crime statistics. He is also discussing how the number of young people committing crime, especially assault, have increased substantially during the 19th century.

Discussions are taking place on this topic and the most common explanation on why the increase has occurred is the presumed increase in propensity to report violence to the police or also that the police have become better on recording violent offences. Also, Loeber &

Farrington (2012) highlight in their study that several studies have stated that young minority men grown up in the Western Europe are overrepresented in court- and police statistics, especially for violent crime. Similar findings are that people with foreign background have about double the rate of crime compared to individuals with two Swedish born parents (Petersson, 2002). This situation has existed for several decades and has probably become worse over time. This result can be confirmed even in victimization and self-report surveys across the Europe (Tonry, 1997).

Olson (1999) argues that fellowship or relationship towards friends has become a very important factor for juveniles, and that they have a lot of need to be seen and take more space than adults in society. Olson (1999) also argues that a society perceives juveniles who are committing crimes as vulnerable and weak. He also discusses how media enlarges the picture of juvenile delinquency in society and that this picture often is incorrect. Juvenile delinquency is a phenomenon that has awakened a significant amount of fear in the European society since 19-century and this is one of the problems that have been discussed and observed internationally (Sigmund, 2003). It is known that society often focuses more on juveniles committing crimes than adults and Sigmund (2003) argues that because of this it seems to be a bigger problem than the "normal adult crime". Sigmund (2003) adds that it is important to underline that the victims of juvenile delinquents are often juveniles themselves, but she also underlines the importance of prevention, sanctions, integration, and reintegration to society.

Juveniles with foreign background

Both national and international research have found that juveniles of immigrant background stand for a larger proportion of self-reported offending than juveniles of native non-immigrant youths (Brå, 2021). Most often juveniles with at least one parent born abroad report more offending than juveniles with two native-born parents (Svensson & Pauwels, 2010). Swedish studies have shown that juveniles born abroad, also called first-generation immigrants do offend more than juveniles born in Sweden with foreign- born parents, second-generation immigrants (Andersson, 2020).

Brå (2020) also found the same results in their school- survey where juveniles with one or two foreign-born parents reported more exposure to crime than native juveniles or those with at least one native- born parent. Also, when looking at the participation in crime, juveniles with one or two foreign- born parents were overrepresented, except from theft where the native juveniles are more represented. Also, the Swedish police data are showing that being registered for violent crime is more common among first- generation immigrants where the first-generation immigrants are being registered more for property crime (Kardell & Martens, 2013), Brå, 2021).

A study made by Svensson and Shannon (2020) on immigrant background and crime among young people in Sweden showed that both first- and second generations immigrants report committing more crime than native juveniles. The results also showed that the association between delinquent friends and offending is stronger for both first- and second-generation immigrants than for natives. The data used in this study was four different nationally representative self-report studies where approximately 20 000 adolescents were participating.

While Swedish studies show that juveniles that were born abroad, first- generation immigrants offend more than juvenile born in Sweden with foreign- born parents also called second-

generation immigrants' studies from other countries instead show offending to be somewhat more common among second- generation immigrants (Vazsonyi et al., 2006).

Socially disadvantaged areas in Sweden

In 2018 Brå made a study to explain the exposure to crime, the perceived insecurity and the trust in the judiciary and to find the differences between a socially disadvantaged area or neighborhood with an urban area, between the years 2006-2017 in Sweden. A socially disadvantaged area is being explained as a geographically delimited area which is characterized by low- socio-economic status where criminals have impact on the local community (Brå, 2018). Brå does a security survey each year and this study was one of these. A security survey is based on telephone interviews with random sample of 20 000 persons between the ages 16-79 years and the respondent must be resident in Sweden.

The study stated that the exposure to crime in socially disadvantaged areas have differed from year to year but that an increase has occurred over the last years. In urban areas the proportion has been more stable but with an increase in recent years. When looking at the proportion of people feeling unsecure in the neighborhoods Brå (2018) found that the proportion of people being exposed to crime is larger in these socially disadvantaged areas than in other urban areas. These results apply to both women and men living in this areas (Brå, 2018). What people were most afraid of was being outdoor late at nights and in the dark and this is applicable on both women and men even though in some aspect's women are a bit more afraid than men. When Brå measured the trust for the police, the prison service and the view on how the judiciary handles cases the proportions were at the same levels. The trust for the police and other judiciary is the same in socially disadvantaged areas as in urban areas in Sweden but there has been a reduction of the trust towards the police and judiciary overall in Sweden over the past years according to Brå (Brå, 2018).

There are plenty socially disadvantaged areas across Sweden and those located in Malmö are: Holma, Krockbäck, Bellevuegården, Södra Sofielund, Nydala, Hermosdal, Lindängen och Rosengård (Polismyndigheten, 2021).

3. Method and material

Method

Which research method one should use depends on what the investigator wants to have answered in the research. Important to notice is that some questions can only be answered with a qualitative study. These questions refer to individuals' experiences on different matters and their views on reality, which is applicable in my research. The goal with a qualitative research method is to describe, explain and to interpret (Ahrne, 2011). Qualitative research methods assume that different individuals can perceive the reality in many ways and that there are no absolute or objective truths. Qualitative studies, unlike quantitative ones, often include a small number of respondents but focuses on investigating the phenomenon deeper. Mc Cracken (1998) calls it "the less is more" and means that you can get more and deeper answers by doing

a qualitative study. Another difference between a qualitative study and a quantitative study is that in a qualitative study one cannot generalize, because there is not the use of numbers which helps to illustrate the phenomenon. In a qualitative study the research use data in form of words and explanations, that is; qualities (Ahrne, 2011). The research process in qualitative studies is most often inductive, which means that the researcher does not assume as in deduction from a theory that you are trying to derive hypothesis from which one can test. You are trying to, with the help of your observations or your data to come to an explanation. The researcher him/herself is a tool to help to collect data and to interpret this. Other than this, the research process looks the same as the one in quantitative research, where you start with a literature search to describe the area or phenomenon you will research, to learn more about what is already know and from that create your research question(-s). Next in the process you collect data, you analyze it and then compile the results and discuss your findings (Ahrne, 2011). Important to mind is that a researcher is seeking a detailed description as possible of the phenomenon he or she is investigating and therefore it is important to choose your sample carefully. One recommendation is to choose respondents that you think are inducted in the subject and can give you a lot of information about it. The number of respondents is usually between 5 to 10 in a smaller qualitative study, and even if that may not sound as a lot, it is enough since the research will investigate each respondent carefully and detailed (Ahrne, 2011).

Limitations of qualitative studies

Some limitations of qualitative studies are that there is a lack of generalizability and that the process is time-consuming and that the interpretations are limited. Qualitative research is also based on personal experience and knowledge which can be misleading. By doing qualitative research it can be hard to analyze the results since you cannot analyze the data mathematically as in the quantitative study (Bryman, 2002). This because the qualitative research is more based on opinions and judgements rather than results. The qualitative research is hard or impossible to replicate because each and one of the studies are unique (Bryman, 2002). Because qualitative research is a perspective- based method the responses or results cannot me measured. The data in qualitative research may not be robust enough to explain complex issues and can make it difficult to understand context of a phenomenon (Bryman, 2002).

The qualitative method is more applicable to my study since my aim is to investigate police employees experience of juvenile delinquency in Malmö, and by conducting interviews I hopefully will get answers to my research questions. Information collected by a qualitative method/qualitative interview offers me a possibility to describe and explain experience of the extent of juvenile delinquency among the police employees.

Sampling

Snowball sampling

The focus of this study is to investigate the views and experiences of juvenile delinquency at the Police department in Malmö and therefore I chose to do qualitative research. By interviewing seven employees at the Police department in Malmö, individually and by the digital communication program called Teams, I want to explain and describe the employees' views on and experiences with juvenile delinquency, including whether they have noticed a

shift in trends within this area. I want to underline that their answers and experiences cannot be generalized to the whole Police department of Malmö.

I used snowball sampling where I contacted two persons, former colleagues to me who later helped me getting more respondents. Since I myself have been working at the police department with administrative work it was easier for me to find respondents and someone who would help me to pursue my goal by interviewing police employees. After discussing with my two foreign colleagues and telling them about my study they came up with some suggestions on who I could contact, and who would easily help me by finding me respondents fast. My two colleagues contacted helping their former directors and asked if they could ask their employees to contribute to my study by participate in an interview. This was also the approach that was made.

Advantages- and disadvantages with snowball sampling

The advantage with the snowball sampling method is that you get more respondents, and this can go very fast. The disadvantages are that your first respondent or respondents chooses on his own who he/she will recommend to you. In this way you maybe do not get the sampling you wanted since somebody else chose for you (Johnson, 2014). In one way the personal helping you is becoming very controlling of the sampling selection process and you as an interviewer are giving the respondents a lot of responsibility and you don't have any direct influence on who will be our respondents. Since I got help from two directors, they choose themselves who they will ask or recommend participating in my study. As I was informed, they asked around in their group and then they got several people that wanted to participate and so I got their names and contact information. Because I got help with my sampling, I have not made a systematic selection since I did not have full control over who I would interview.

A snowball sampling is good in that way that it allows studies to take place where it might otherwise be impossible to conduct research because of a lack of participants also it is a good way to go since many respondents do not want to come forward and participate in research studies of several reasons. One of these reasons can be that they do not want their identity to be exposed and because of this the snowball sample is a very good tool since the researchers often know each other and are being recommended between themselves (Johnson, 2014). A disadvantage with this sampling is that it will likely provide you with a result that is hard to generalize and can take long time because it relies on other respondents helping you to recommend others or also attract them to participate in your study (Johnson, 2014). When looking at my study and my sampling I agree that I found it hard to find respondents at different parts of the police department, except from mine and one of the biggest reasons were that I did not have contacts at these departments.

Sampling method

After getting contact information to these two directors, I contacted these two per email and by this time our cooperation started. I contacted them by email and introduced myself and my work. When they answered me, they told informed me that they will talk with their staff and later I will get contact information to each and one of them wanting to participate in my study. As soon as the directors had got information that people would set up and participate in my study, I got contact information to several persons that could participate in my interviews. After

doing this I contacted each and one of the possible participants and sent them a participant information sheet explaining (se appendix 1) who I am and my work and the question guide so that they could see what type of questions I would be asking. I also sent them a consent form which I asked them to sign and hand in to me. All the respondent signed the consent form and then scanned them and sent to me by mail. All meetings were booked and held on the communication platform Teams because of the pandemic situation and the spread of Covid-19; this to make sure no one gets infected or to spread the virus. After approximately four interviews I noticed the lack of female respondents, so I contacted the directors again trying to find more female respondents. Also, two of the respondents told me he/she would ask her/his female colleague to participate so I could get a more even gender distribution.

My respondents were selected by their workplace and my goal was to interview people working with juvenile cases in the city of Malmö. Other things I focused on was that I wanted to interview both men and woman, to get equality but this was challenging. One of the reasons is that there are more men working at the Police department in question, and a second reason is that there are less women working at these departments that I had contact with overall. Despite these disadvantages, the snowball sampling method was deemed the best approach for my study, as it was a way to overcome the challenges of gaining a suitable sample.

Why snowball sampling?

The reason for choosing this sampling approach is that it would make it easier to find more respondents who have suitable knowledge about the topic I am writing about. What characterizes the snowball sample method is that you find a couple of respondents that will fit your study and during the interview, or after, you ask them if they can ask a colleague who would like to participate and, in this way, you get several respondents (Johnson, 2014). This method is very applicable for my study since as I have mentioned earlier it is hard to find respondents at the Swedish police departments and hard to contact anybody in the department if you do not have contacts who can give you their contact information since you cannot find this kind of information on the internet for an example. Also, if you or you are not working at the specific department you do not even know where to start or who to contact to get respondents. Another reason is that many of the employees have protected identity and you cannot find the employees contact information anywhere or even know how the department or different groups are structured if you have not worked there yourself. The snowball sampling method is a very good tool to identify appropriate respondents because when you find one or two respondents in the area it is easier to find several with their help (Johnson, 2014).

Sample description

All seven of my respondents have been working at the Police department of Malmö at least one year. The employees have been working at the Police department of Malmö between two and approximately 12 years. They have also all working as police officers at least a couple of years and some of them still are while others are working with juvenile investigation.

Interview design and process

There are three types of interviews with focus on how the questions are being designed: structured, semi-structured and an open interview (Halkier, 2010). The two most common interview types are semi-structured individual interviews, where you interview one person at the time, and semi-structured group interviews where up to eight persons can be interviewed at the same time regarding a common experience or life situation (Halkier, 2010). Semi-structured interviews focus on question areas rather than detailed questions to give the respondent more space to speak naturally and to decide to which extend he or she wants to mention different things or aspects. With semi-structured interviews the interviewer wants the respondent to share his or her personal perspectives on reality, and therefore one should let the respondent speak as much as he or she wants without being led by the interviewer. To make this happen the interviewer should ask open-ended questions so that the respondents can develop their answers through follow-up questions (Halkier, 2010). By using open-ended question, the interviewer is not forcing the respondent to answer with yes or no answers or not to develop their answers.

The layout of the interview follows like this: a presentation of who I am and in short what I am writing about and of course the aim of the study, following by a couple of backgrounds questions about my respondent such as: gender, how long they have been working at the Police department in Malmö and if they are trained Police officers or civilian employee and what they have for working position. Rest of the questions are focused on their professional experience on juvenile delinquency in the city of Malmö (see appendix 2)

Each interview took between one–two hours depending on how much the respondents were willing to speak and develop their answers. Each and one of the respondents were developing their answers which is a very good sign for me as an interviewer and reassures me that my interview guide was of a suitably open nature. I have conducted semi-structured interviews with one respondent at the time. This to get as deep and developed answers as possible. I also thought a lot about my questions and have several open questions so the respondents him-/herself can decide how deep their answer will be and how long they will discuss each question. I also prepared a couple of supplementary questions in case the answer would be inadequate.

Ethical Considerations

When interviewing a person, it is very important to think about the ethical aspects. This applies to both qualitative and quantitative research, but there are aspects to consider when doing a qualitative study. This is because in a qualitative study it is a smaller number of respondents, and they are giving us so much about themselves. Because of this one should pay extra care that no one of the respondents can be identified and that your study is not harmful to them. Not to infrequently, an interviewer must skip parts of the interview and not use them in the research to protect the respondent. If a respondent tells you that he or she does not want you to skip a part and does not want you to use a specific part from the interview you have to respect this and do so (Stafström, 2017). Fortunately, I did not encounter such difficulties during the interviews. The questions are formulated in a sense that the respondents do not reveal sensitive information about themselves. The target is their opinions on the subject, based on their experiences.

The Swedish Research Council (2017) mentions eight different general rules that are important to have in mind. Some of these rules are; that you shall always tell the truth about your research, you shall openly account for your methods and results, and you shall keep your research organized, for example through documentation and filing. As an interviewer you must always

be honest and not hide anything regarding your research. A person should never be forced to participate in a study, and they should also have given you their approval and compliance before participating, preferably in writing. A good hint is to send the respondent information before the interview with information such as: information about you and the aim of the research and the setup of the interview, but also a part describing that the results will be handled confidential and how they will be used. Also, information that it is voluntary to participate and that the respondent can quit the interview whenever her or she wants. Except from this there should be contact information if the respondent has questions (Johnson, 2014).

Anonymity is possible to do for an example by removing personal information such as name and workplace and so on, which makes it impossible to link an answer to a specific individual. There are plenty of studies made where the identity of the respondent is not being revealed and the disadvantage with this is that it is difficult or impossible to verify the researcher's information or also that the whole group gets stigmatized or discriminated against due to the publication of certain research results even though no one in the group have been identified (Johnson, 2014). This aspect I considered a lot by telling the two directors early on to tell the respondents that they will stay anonymous. This is because of several reasons, one of them is that many police officers in Sweden and Malmö do have protected identity because of their work. Because of the same aspect I will not mention what two sections I am referring to and only refer to the police department of Malmö in general.

The interviews were held digitally which was because of the pandemic and the Covid 19- virus. Before the meeting the respondent were informed that I need to get their approval and compliance before participating. This was to confirm that they were participating on free will. The consent form includes their name and a consent that they are participating voluntary and their signature. This form was left home in a folder, and I did not bring it with me when leaving the house. Same was for my calendar where I named them the same.
Each one of the respondents also chose if they wanted to be anonymous. I found this very important in my case since close to all the respondents asked me if they could stay anonymous because of their work or/and because they got protected identity. This also led to a trust between me, and the respondents and they felt like they could speak freely and answer the questions honestly. Since I was interviewing employees at the police, I was careful with their contact information and on my papers and in other documents in my computer I named them *"Respondent 1-9"*.

Other important thing to think about when interviewing is to choose a good interview place, your outfit, your appearance and the time of the interview. A good interview place is a place where the respondent feels are fitting him or her and where he/she feel comfortable and can talk and answer. One should also be aware of how you as an interviewer want the interview to continue and what the aim is with the interview and to be aware of that you may have to guide and to help the respondent to not stray too far from the subject and/-or the question you are asking. In some cases, you may have to contact the respondent afterwards to clarify or correct something that you have not understood correctly (Johnson, 2014). In my case I did not have to contact the respondents a second time since the information and answers I got were very clear.

A good recommendation is to do a pilot interview which means that you try your interview on a friend or a person that you know to see if you have questions that are suitable and understandable, but also to see if you can get good and deep answers. If your respondent is

speaking more than you, then you know that you have done a good interview (Johnson, 2014). One of my biggest challenges was that I did not want to include people I know working at the police department in my study, this to avoid affecting their answers or their ability to develop their answers because of our private relationship. I also did not want to interview people I know since this could maybe influence their answers and my ability to perform as professional as possible, this was not deemed suitable. Our relationship could also affect their answers or ability to develop their answers and in some cases also avoid answering fully. I did meanwhile have a pilot interview with a close friend who is not working at the Police department and has no deeper knowledge of criminology, in order to be sure that the questions are understandable.

Validity and Reliability

When doing a study, it is particularly important that the information that you are collecting is empirical. To make sure that your information is empirical you need to focus on several different things: the information must be valid and relevant but also credible and reliable (Bryman, 2011). The valid part is also being called validity, and there are two types of validity: internal validity and external validity. Internal validity describes if you as a researcher really are measuring what you think you are measuring, and the external validity describes the results and if it is generalizable (Bryman, 2011). Reliability is describing the trustability and credibility and refers to explain whether your research is trustable and credible. The reliability also explains if you have implemented the research in a way that makes it trustable in other words it is showing that you are measuring what you want to measure. If a researcher wants its research to have a high reliability it is required that if you or somebody else re-conducts the study on another occasion you should get the same results (Bryman, 2011).

If you look over the reliability in this research, you can say that I have explained the procedure step by step which facilitates if someone would like to re-do the research. Meanwhile it might be harder to re-do the interviews, if the aim is to generalize the foundlings. This study only speaks about the topic juvenile delinquency and so does the interviews, and that is why I argue the study is reliable.

Reflections on methods and approaches

One of the biggest difficulties for me during this research was to find respondents who were willing to participate. I struggled with this at the beginning but also during my interviews. For this reason, I had to contact my contact persons several times to ask them for help and asking them to find me more respondents. Thanks to these contacts and the snowball sampling it made it possible for me to get various respondents and my research could go on. Another big issue was that there were not plenty of women willing to participate so I kindly had to ask those women I interviewed to ask their colleagues if they could consider participating in my research. Unfortunate not many women were willing to do so and because of this I did not get a good and equal gender distribution. Other challenges were that I had to find police officers I do not know or have not had contact or collaborated with during my time at the police department since it is not good to interview people you know. I have plenty of people who were willing to participate but I had to reject them and asked them to find other people that I do not know in order to have higher validity and reliability in the answers and furthermore the conclusions.

When looking at my research questions I noticed early of the interview process that I had plenty of questions, which was in order to not miss anything. And so, after three interviews I understood that some of the questions were quite similar, so I removed several questions and instead transformed them to supplementary questions. For me this was not a problem, I just adjusted the interview guide and remove a couple of questions. My respondents were very positive to the study and were generous in their answers, which made it very easy for me. I got deep and rich answers with plenty of data to analyze. The respondents offered answers that covered the time from their early beginning at the department until today which is very appreciated for a researcher.

4. Analysis and results

In this chapter I will present the results and analysis and relate them to chosen theoretical concepts and previous research in the field. The presentation of these themes aims to offer a comprehensible view of serving police officers' perspectives on juvenile delinquency, as well as what factors are believed to lead to criminal behavior among juveniles.

The chapter is organized according to the main themes that were identified in the analytical process. These are following: *the extent and nature of youth crime, exclusion and segregation, the development of juvenile delinquency over the past years and the question of sentencing age, circle of friends and foreign background, family constellation, activities outside the school, and attitudes towards the Police.*

The extent and nature of youth crime

Five respondents out of seven agree that most of the juveniles committing crime in the city of Malmö are boys and young men. In response to the question whether the two genders are committing and being exposed to different kinds of crimes they answer a bit differently, but regarding the boys and men there is coherence in the data. These findings are exemplified in the following quotes;

> *"Boys are more exposed to crime, mostly drug crimes while girls are exposed to molestation and violent abuse where the parts know each other."*
> - Respondent, R3

> *"Boys are those that are both committing crime and are exposed to crime. The difference from before is that boys are willing to humiliate their victims. They are using video recordings, pictures and are not afraid to show their faces while committing the crime. Many perpetrators want to have a confirmation and evidence so that they can show this to people. A plus is that they will get status within the criminal circle."*
> - Respondent, R5

One of the elements in the social learning theory is observation which means that an individual can learn behavior through observation. In social learning theory the attention is important for the individual behaving deviant. If a person gets attention for his/her deviant behavior the chances are bigger for him/her to continue and to repeat this behavior (Martinez, 2010). In this case the juveniles are seeking other juveniles' attention and are therefore recording their crimes and showing it to others. If they would not get attention, they would probably not be doing this

but, since it has become a trend in Sweden among juveniles to commit these kinds of crimes they continue and sees it as a "fun thing". According to Brå (2021) most often the perpetrator wants to show power and humiliate the victim in different ways. The perpetrator threats the victim if he/she goes to the police that it will get worse or that he or she will spread the video of the crime. Very often juveniles do record or take pictures of their crimes to that they can have this as a proof and to use it to blackmail the victim is different ways (Brå, 2021).

All seven respondents shared the view that both the perpetrator and the victim is almost always a boy when it comes to violent crimes. Robbery is commonly committed by boys too but can also be committed by girls, the difference is that girls know or has a relation with their victims. It was a generally shared viewpoint that boys commit most violent crimes and drug crimes, and these are already very serious but are getting more and more serious for each day. Girls are committing more theft crimes and offences and slander towards other girls, especially on social media. Girls are also more exposed to threats and sexual abuse.

The police officers' perspective on this are reflecting the foundlings of Brå (2020) where it is found that young male offenders are overrepresented in the statics of suspects and when looking at the number of prosecutions, important to notice is that a young offender in Sweden is person between 15-20 years. Of those that were registered as suspected in 2019 were about 45 % under 30 years and 20% were between 15-20 years (Brå, 2020).

Respondent R1 and R3 illustrate the overlap in views on the gender question;

"The perpetrators are more often boys committing a lot of violent abuse and drug crimes. Girls are more likely to commit crimes such as threats and molestation."
- Respondent, R1

"Boys are those that are commuting more crime. Usually, they are committing violent crime or and drug crime. Regarding girls they are dealing more with harassment, threating each other, girls between and different types of crimes at social media where they are hanging out other girls in a bad way and mostly the goal is to get the other person a bad reputation."
- Respondent, R3

Brå also found that there are differences in types of crime across genders in Sweden when looking at the juvenile crime. Those findings were that boys were more likely to commit threat crimes, sexual offending towards other girls and the level of theft was also very high. Girls were also more likely to bully and harass each other on social media and Internet. Boys were most likely to commit thefts and abuse and damage offending, and the smallest difference was found when looking at theft and drug crimes (Brå, 2020).

Exclusion and segregation

On the theme exclusion and segregation, the respondents discuss how common it is for the juveniles to feel excluded from society or living in segregated neighborhoods, and have a sense of not fitting in. Not all the juveniles will admit that they feel this exclusion, but as a police

officer one can notice this easily, according to several respondents. What makes them "outsiders" according to some of my respondents is the lack of language and the slang that these juveniles are using. Slang is a type of language when you use words or phrases that are being used in very particular groups or/and gangs. The aim by using slang instead of the mainstream language is to establish group identity or/and to exclude outsiders. This way juveniles who speak the dominant language poorly and has a bad vocabulary will not feel outside. My respondents discussed the negative aspects of this, as you are trying to fit in a "small group" instead of focusing on the bigger group, that is, the Swedish inhabitants and society overall and try to adapt. The respondents discuss how in their view this would lead to a better life in form of continuing their schooling and later in life find a good job and at the end move from, what the respondents call "the segregated neighborhoods" to better and more developed parts of the city.

This behavior can be explained by the subculture theory which interprets that delinquent juvenile often are members of a subculture. A subculture is a system or society outside the major society with its own attitudes, values and concepts and therefore this differs a lot from the accepted behavior in the society (Cohen, 2016). Most often this behavior is being seen as deviant and criminal by the major society. Cohen (2016) explains that a juvenile becomes a member of this subculture because he cannot adapt and fulfill his goals in the society because of his social status (Cohen, 2016).

In the respondents' views, exclusion and segregation are two very strong risk factors for committing crime in early years, as well as to start and continue a criminal carrier later in adult age. There is agreement in the data that many of the juveniles who are living in these segregated areas and neighborhoods are not continuing school or integrating with the rest of the society. This view is exemplified in following quote;

"Living in segregated neighborhoods is a risk factor for a kid or juvenile to start committing crime. Usually, they feel outside the society and not often the parents are not integrated in the society, for an example they are unemployed and are not speaking Swedish".
- Respondent, R1

A socially disadvantaged area is being explained as a geographically delimited area which is characterized by low- socio-economic status where criminals have impact on the local community (Brå, 2018). Brå stated in their study in 2018 that the exposure to crime in socially disadvantaged areas have differed from year to year but that an increase has occurred over the last years. In urban areas the proportion has been more stable but with an increase in recent years. Also, the proportion of people feeling unsecure in the neighborhoods is higher in the socially disadvantaged areas than in urban areas. Also, the trust for the police and other judiciary has been reduced over the past years which points to lower trust for the police (Brå, 2016). Another respondent brings to light segregated neighborhoods as following;

"Living in segregated neighborhoods are one of the biggest risk factors for juveniles to start with deviant behavior. Often, they have rougher attitude and surroundings which lead to more struggle in life or and making the juvenile choosing a criminal life in front of a legal life with studies and work."
- Respondent, R4

Hirschi, founder of the social bond theory, has proven that many juveniles that have bad relationship to their parents and do not have many social bonds in society and are feeling as outsiders rather than a part of the society are more likely to commit crimes (Kotlaja, 2019).

Hirschi explains juvenile delinquents as being without social bonds in form of friends, neighbors, trainers, or other adults in their close surroundings (Kotlaja, 2019). The data from the interviews also suggest that the youths do not have friends outside their neighborhood. Respondents indicate that while it is common to have friends from another segregated neighborhood, many of these neighborhoods are "in fight with each other" nowadays in Malmö and because of this, it is "safer" to socialize with those living within your area or neighborhood.

Some of the respondents express strong views around the possibility of some cultures to integrate to mainstream Swedish society. These types of cultures or values are described by some respondents as being very hard to understand and, in some cases, even hard to accept in the Swedish society by the "normal population" since they differ in marked ways from Swedish culture and values. As one respondent expressed;

"They are living in segregated ghettos and in a parallel society" with own values and type of laws which are hard to break."
- Respondent, R6

"Those juveniles living in the suburbs have the lowest trust for the Police and they show is this very clearly. They have seen us before in different actions and/or contexts when we have arrested someone from their neighborhood or something different. Because of this they have a bad attitude against us since they think we are bad and mistreating them."
- Respondent, R3

This can be explained by the subcultural theory where the founder Cohen describes that most delinquent juveniles are members of a subculture. A subculture is a type of system or society with own attitudes, values and concepts which differs a lot from the major society. Since the behavior that is displayed within the subculture is very different from the major society people outside the subculture perceives the behavior as deviant and often criminal (Cohen, 2018). A juvenile becomes a member of a subculture because his status problems which are being caused by the class society (Cohen, 2016).

In 1960 the grounder of the social bond theory, Hirschi tried to identify the main reasons why male high school students were committing crime and his hypothesis was that people who are highly socially integrated should be more likely to possess a stronger bond to the society and therefore also less likely to risk the negative repercussions that results from this deviant behavior. Hirschi predicted that the four elements (commitments, connection, participation, and conviction) will individually and collectively influence deviant behavior. He found in his report in 1960s with male school students at the San Francisco Bay area, USA that students who had good communications with their parents and where the parents were aware of their activities were less likely to report delinquency (Kotlaja, 2019). Furthermore, social learning theory lifts that youths are taking after the behavior that they see male role models acting out. The juvenile is seeking for reactions and therefore is he/she observing behaviors and by this is he/she being motivated to continue this behavior.

In my data I found several respondents discussing the bad relationship to parents or other male role models around them. Many are mentioning the importance of having good role models, especially male ones in your immediate environment, as a young boy/man. Respondents' conclusion is made from experience in work situations when a juvenile is brought home to their parents after committing a crime and it is clear to the respondents that a role model is lacking.

"Many juveniles do not have good relationship towards their parents and many parents are not even included or not aware of what their kids are doing and who they are hang out with. This one can see when we knock on the door with their kid and the parent were not aware where he or she were, in what city of the town and why."
- Respondent, R1

"Many male juveniles are having bad male role models and do often see the elder siblings or relatives as good ones are therefore the juvenile following their steps and taking over their attitudes towards the Police and other authorities."
- Respondent, R7

This can be explained by the social bond theory which explains that a person who does not have social bonds to the society in form of friends, neighbors, trainers or other adults in their close surrounding is more likely to develop criminal behavior. So, when a juvenile's social bonds are weakened and he or she feels outside the society the risk for committing crime increases (Kotlaja, 2019, Sarnecki, 2010). One of the elements in the social bond theory is involvement and explains how a person who is spending time in conventional activities has less time to become involved in deviant behavior. This means if a person is busy with different activities it leads to less opportunities and ability to engage in criminal behavior (Kotlaja, 2019, Sarnecki, 2010).

The development of juvenile delinquency over the past years and the question of sentencing age

All respondents highlighted how criminal behavior has climbed down the ages and that many juveniles are now committing more violent and serious crimes than they did in previous time periods. Two respondents stood out, respondent R1 and respondent R3, who reported that he/she had not noticed any increases in juvenile delinquency. Respondent R1 did discuss that, in his/her view, the crimes that the young people are committing, however, has become more violent and they are committing more serious crimes. Earlier they were usually dealing with theft and vandalism offences, but today they are shooting at each other, committing abuse crimes and serious drug crimes. This is exemplified in the data in the following quotes;

"When comparing to my earlier workplace in another city in the southern part of Sweden I have noticed that the crimes committed by juveniles in Malmö are more serious and that the suspected often are similar group of people when comparing to the other city. Much more abuse-/ violent- and drug crimes are being reported in Malmö and more often."
- Respondent, R1

"I am unsure if I have noticed an increase of juvenile delinquency, but I have noticed a change in crime where the crimes have become more violent and dangerous, especially drug crimes. Nowadays there is a very hard jargon among juveniles in Malmö."
- Respondent, R3

"Unsure if an increase or decrease has occurred but it has changed a lot. Some crime types have surely increased and other increased. The crimes among juveniles are more organized nowadays than earlier, before it was more on individual level. Nowadays there are more focus on "gangs" and loosely assembled networks."
- Respondent, R6

One of the respondents, respondent R7, positions this increase as "catastrophic" and expresses concern that this is a continuous and ongoing growth. Those respondents that have been working at the Police Department of Malmö the longest mention the biggest differences in terms of increases when looking at juvenile delinquency rates. This is illustrated in the quote below;

"There has definitely been an increase in juvenile delinquency in Malmö. More and more young people of lower age are being found doing various crimes. The increase is quite clearly noticeable, more SOL14 (reports of concern) are being written and reported and younger people are being driven home to parents than earlier years. The increase has been catastrophic and points in the wrong direction. More young people are committing more crime and few or no measures are being taken."
- Respondent, R7

Those who have been working there under 5 years do not express the same level of increase, though still all of them do notice an increase. As some of the respondents discussed, it can depend on which police department you are working on but in one way or another they are all encountering younger criminals than before. Several respondents note the importance of them as Police officers and employees to report everything to the Swedish Social Services and in this way to prevent the child or juvenile to continue committing crime. As respondent, R2 stated;

"Even if he or she is not doing anything criminal it is very important that we report this to the social services to prevent crime and future criminal behavior, and in this way, we can maybe stop this behavior pattern. I think it is very important that do so because these juveniles are often in bad company and anytime, they will start with committing with crime."

The statements and experiences that there has been a change in crime where the crimes have become more violent and dangerous are being confirmed by the reports made by Brå showing that a total of 48 % of the juveniles answering the questionnaire state that they have been exposed to crime or been a victim of crime especially for following types of crime: theft, abuse, threat, robbery, or sexual offence during the last 12 months during the year of 2019 (Brå, 2020).

Another study made in Sweden in 2021 with the aim to explain the increase of robbery explains how this has peaked over the last years. Since the study is based on criminal statistics, register data and geographical data from the Police Authority and Statistics in Sweden, as well as surveys on vulnerability and participation in robberies it is important to not forget the hidden statistics (Brå, 2021). Furthermore, both that the number of reported offences and the self-reported exposure to robberies among young people have increased and how this a serious social problem because the development is very worrying. In many of the theft humiliation and threat is involved (Brå, 2021).

Another factor that was being discussed by several of the respondents was the sentencing age and especially the argument that it should be lowered since the nature of criminal behavior is shifting and that criminals are younger. That the criminal behavior is shifting and that the criminals are getting younger is being stated by Brå (2019) and Sarnecki (2009).

Several respondents mentioned how older friends or people from the same area or gang are using the younger ones, especially boys for running errands, and one of the biggest reasons for doing so is suggested to be that the younger ones do not get punished because of their age. In this way the real perpetrator would not expose him- or herself to danger or to get caught.

"The delinquency has declined greatly with age and nowadays there it is common that boys from 15-17 are committing plenty crimes, especially more serious crimes such as shootings or drug crimes. Often you see these younger boys working as errand boys and are being used by the elder."
- Respondent, R2

The sentencing age has for a long time been discussed in the EU since it differs from one country to another. Dünkel (2014) mentions how the age differs from 10-15 years across the EU. When looking at the upper age limits of criminal responsibility there are also differences, and the number is between 18-20 years. The younger boys are often doing jobs for the older ones, who know that if they got caught, they will not get punished since the sentence age in Sweden is from 15 years, but even then, there are special treatments and justice models with the aim to help rather than punish a juvenile. Because of this the juveniles committing crime in Sweden under 18 years, in some cases also under 21, get very small sentences or no punishment at all.

"The development of juvenile delinquency is alarming. I have noticed a certain increase of recruitment of kids and juveniles. And all types of crime have increased among juveniles in the city of Malmö, mostly drug offences where the focus and goal is money. Those under 15 years are often being used as errand boys and the reason is that they are not allowed to be punished according to the Swedish law"
- Respondent, R4

Respondent, R7 is expressing him/herself following;

"If you have committed a crime, you should be punished and sentenced regardless of your age. I, personally am for harder punishment and legal system when looking at juvenile delinquency."
- *Respondent, R7*

Most often the juvenile cases are being handed over to the social services who decides what will happen to the juvenile. The respondents are mentioning how even other juveniles, aged 17-20 years are using the younger boys to commit crimes because of their age and that they would not be punished since they are protected and would not be sentenced. The discussion around the sentencing age was a heated theme where the respondents are seeking a change and a legal system that follows the criminal development. Respondent, R3, R4, R5 and R6 and R7 all mention the importance of changing the sentencing age and how they think that this would lower the rates of juvenile delinquency in the city of Malmö. All five respondents mention one way or another that the development of juvenile delinquency has changed a lot and therefore, so should our laws and the system be focusing on juveniles committing crime.

Circle of friends and foreign background

This theme focusses on how important it is who your friends are and who you are socializing with. One of the respondents for example stated that "you become like those you deal with", which in short means that if your friends are disrespectful towards the police, then you will also start to act the same. This the respondents related to peer pressure and that one does not want to be an outsider and you want them to know that they can count on you and that you will not go against them by being nice to the police or give the police information that they need to solve a crime. This sentiment is exemplified in quotes such as;

"The most common cases are boys with foreign background, with one or two parents born in a foreign country. In many cases the boy can be born in Sweden too but has a bad circle of friends and plenty of siblings and almost always bad male role models in their life."
- Respondent, R6

According to Hirschi individuals who are not attached to delinquent peers seemed to reduce the person's level of delinquency (Kotlaja, 2019, Khan 2018, Nisar et al, 2015). Svensson and Shannon (2020) found that the association between delinquent friends and offending is stronger for both first- and second-generation immigrants than for natives. Also, Farrington (2012) highlights that several studies have stated that young minority men grown up in the Western Europe are overrepresented in court- and police statistics, especially for violent crime.

The theme foreign background was brought up by all respondents and there was a shared perspective that many of the juvenile offenders were second generation immigrants, and, in some cases, they were born in Sweden, but their parents were very segregated and not assimilated into Swedish society. The respondents expressed the view that many of the juveniles who have foreign background have other values and mindsets than the rest of the Swedish society. This can be about how you should raise your children depending on their gender or also which of your kids are expected to have good grades in school. Another difference is that there are different things expected from a daughter and from a son, which can often give the sons more space and opportunity to commit crimes.

One respondent answered following regarding juveniles with foreign background;

"Juveniles are getting their attitudes and opinions about us from their home countries and parents. They are listening to them instead of getting know us and our system in Sweden. Then there are juveniles that have experiences traumas with police involved in other countries and have not been treated for these and therefore they can act the way they are when they see us."
- Respondent, R5

The Swedish research made in 2020 by Svensson and Shannon showed that both first- and second-generations immigrants report committing more crime than native juveniles. This same result was found by Brå (2020) where juveniles with one or two foreign-born parents reported more exposure to crime than native juveniles or those with at least one native- born parent. Other interesting finding when looking at the participation in crime, juveniles with one or two foreign- born parents were overrepresented, except from theft where the native juveniles are more represented (Brå, 2020).

Furthermore, the respondents highlight how parents often carry trauma with them or experiences from their home countries where police and other uniformed state authorities are very strict and/or are also abusing their power. The parents are not trusting of the authorities in their home countries and because of this they are not trusting the Swedish authorities and, in this way, teaching their kids the same. As Bandura states in his social learning theory, children or individuals overall are learning through observation. His theory also explains how we learn from our interactions with other people in different social contexts (Kennedy, Dettullio and Millen, 2015). So, when a child or juvenile observes a violent or criminal behavior and later assimilates and imitates this behavior, he or she will behave this way, especially or he or she gets positive reactions from friends or other criminal siblings and so on. If a parent is talking bad about the Police or are being angry and not respecting the Police, the child can assimilate this behavior. This can be hard for a kid or juvenile to oppose to since he or she does not know better. When they grow up and talk about these kinds of things in the school, they feel outside

since they have another approach and perception of the police and other authorities. It can in some cases be hard for a kid or juvenile to change this opinion since their parents have told them so for years. Hirschi found in this research already in 1960s that lack of respect for the legal system was a result of weak social bonds and that both belief and other elements of social bond increased the like good to delinquency (Kotlaja, 2019).

Two respondents discussed foreign background as following;

"The juveniles in the city of Malmö are disrespectful and do not listen or show respect to authorities. This behavior goes far down in the ages and often comes from fathers, elder siblings or relatives and male role models. Many of them does not trust the police and teach the juvenile to think the same as them. Many juveniles with foreign background have poorer trust towards the Police in the city of Malmö than those with one or two parents born in Sweden."
- Respondent, R6

"I do notice a difference when talking to juveniles with foreign background where they explain that in their home countries the police are bad and not as calm as the police is Sweden and therefore, they have a negative attitude against us and for the same reason they do not trust us."
- Respondent, R4

The police legitimacy can have an effect where the juveniles do not seem to tryst the police because of several things. The police legitimacy can be explained by trust in police and willingness to cooperate and the police authorities and the police forces effectiveness (Bronitt and Stenning, 2011). According to the answers above the police legitimacy is not high in the city of Malmö and it could be seen as a problem that should be solved before the untrust and bad attitudes against the police increases even more.

Sandström (2000) argues in his research that juveniles with foreign backgrounds are overrepresented, especially in gang-related crimes in Sweden. According to the Police in the County of Skåne (the southern part of Sweden where Malmö is included and is the largest city), and the department called Kriminalunderrätttelsetjänsten, KUT (2003) in translation, the criminal intelligence service has 65% of the juvenile perpetrators foreign background.

Family constellation

This theme discusses the importance of how a family constellation looks like. According to the respondents big families with many siblings, absence of a parent or both and bad socioeconomic status are risk factors for a juvenile to commit crime. A family that consists of many children often means that the family are living very tight with not enough of bedrooms and space and this is not good for a juvenile, especially during their study time since it is important to have time and ability for a good study environment and not at least a good night's sleep. One thing that was being discussed very broadly by the respondents was the family constellation and specifically big brothers or other criminal male relatives in the family. Families, in this case with a son that also consist of elder male siblings, father or relatives that are criminal themselves, heightens the risk that the juvenile also start committing crime when comparing to a juvenile without criminal history in his family.

The respondents mention the size of the family, in short, the number of siblings, as an important aspect even in this case with many siblings is not good, and this is because then the juveniles do not get the attention needed which can lead to the juvenile seeking this attention in other ways outside the family home. It was a common view among the respondents that a juvenile who is surrounded by male role models that have a criminal behavior usually lead to a behavior where the juvenile imitates and takes after them since he does not know that this is bad. The juvenile maybe also see that this male role model gets a lot of money or/and "status" by neighbors or others and want to get the same, in the beginning not knowing how he or she got there from the beginning.

So, when a child or juvenile observes a violent or criminal behavior and later assimilates and imitates this behavior, he or she will behave this way, especially if he or she is having an older sister/brother or other family members that are already criminal then they will get positive reactions from them which will lead to a continuous criminal behavior. One of the respondents explained this scenario following;

> *"Often the siblings are the same as the juvenile, criminal and are not trusting the police, even the fathers are often the same. In these cases, the chances are big that the juvenile will follow their footstep not at least because the juvenile, who often is "a he", imitates the male role models in his surroundings and also want to become like them since he sees that they've got money and often they are living a "good life" with money and good cars. And the society or police are doing nothing, in short, they are getting away with a lot. Criminals with money is often showing off with their expensive things, which could easily attract juveniles to dream about having the same life."*
> - Respondent, R7

The social learning theory is applicable here because it states that individuals are learning though observation and that reinforcements and punishment have indirect effect on behavior and learning. Badura's Social learning theory is based on the idea that we learn from our interactions with other people in different social contexts. When observed a behavior one develops similar behaviors and after observing others one assimilates and imitate this behavior, especially if one gets positive reactions. This can be explained by the quote below explaining where the juveniles get their attitudes and behavior from;

> *"What influence or affects a kid or juvenile's trust or attitude against the Police employees are the parent's attitude against us. The parenthood means everything."*
> - Respondent, R3

The respondents also mention a risk factor in form of a single mother who struggle with work and raising children. These mums do not always work but are outside the society which leads to a struggle itself. The kids often need translator in the school since the mothers do not speak Swedish or/and are working a lot and because of this they do not have time to be involved in the juveniles' schooling or with helping them to study.

According to the respondents the lack of parent is very risky for a juvenile since they are not being "monitored". Also, the money or the economic status is being mentioned by saying that many kids and juveniles cannot afford to buy things, for an example toys, shoes or other things that is on trend. This theme is exemplified in the following data;

> *"Single mothers are often a risk for the juvenile to begin committing crimes and the reason are many. For an example a juvenile sees how the mother struggles and works and wants to help and therefore*

starts to commit crime to get money. In other cases, the response is placed on the juvenile who is a boy and he feel the responsibility to earn money and the approach is not important."
- Respondent, R1

The Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention (2021), BRÅ, stated in their self-report school survey that juveniles coming from families where parents are divorced are sticking out of juveniles that had or are committing crime. Also, juveniles with bad economies were sticking out in the results which both respondents R1 and R2 are mentioning as risk factors. This aspect was brought up by several respondent and two of them answered like this;

"Many juveniles who are committing crimes are coming from divided families with divorced parents or/and single mums and this is very common for a big part of juvenile delinquents."
- Respondent, R2

"Juvenile with parents who cannot afford a football practice or other sport activity or juveniles that are very restless and has too much time to be outdoors or being with friends are more vulnerable for committing crime."
- Respondent, R3

The social class and the daily life of some family constellations might be exposed to a higher risk of juveniles' deviant behavior. Bear in mind that the respondents often state that there are more than one underlying causes for some juveniles to choose deviant behavior. A family constellation as mentioned above does not necessarily result in juvenile choosing deviant behavior, but a combination of several circumstances might have more impact of the outcome.

One of the elements in the social bond theory is commitment which focuses on the investment a person puts towards conventional relationships, goals and activities. If a person does not have goals in life or have not been taught how criminal behavior can risk you not accomplishing these goals, this will increase his/her risk to commit crime (Kotlaja, 2019).

Brå (2021) also found in their school research for juveniles between 14 and 15 years, more correctly students in the 9th grade, that juveniles are overrepresented in the Crime statistics over suspected persons as well as the prosecution in Sweden. In this survey Brå found that 52% of the respondent's state that they have committed crime over the past 12 months (Brå, 2021). Furthermore, 48% state that they have been exposed to crime during the last 12 months and Brå (2021) states that this number have increased since 2017, where 51% of the respondents stated that they have been exposed to crime.

Activities outside the school

One theme that almost all the respondents mentioned were activities outside the school. It was a shared view that to practice a sport or other activity is one of the most important protective factors. In this way the kid or juvenile have an activity to focus on, follow times and must spend time to practice. Usually, the kid or juvenile feel a connection with the other juveniles in the group and are longing to the practice and in this way he or she also feels as a part of the society. As one respondent said, many of the football clubs are connecting the whole city of Malmö, juveniles not knowing each other are becoming one and are aiming at the same goal, that is, to

get better at the sport they are practicing. An activity outside the school also means that you do not have time or opportunity to commit crime.

"Respondent, R4 is also mentioning "juveniles are living in Broken Window areas where meaning they are living in a neighborhood that is in bad condition which affects the juvenile in a negative way and lead to an irresponsible behavior where yourself do not care about the local environment one also starts to think that the individual is not worth better or more since the neighborhood looks how it looks".
- Respondent, R4

The Broken Window theory is a criminological theory explaining that a neighborhood which is in bad shape with broken windows and buildings that are old or abandoned and are not looking good easily leads to more broken windows in the neighborhood since it is so "common" there (Van Der Weele, et al, 2017. This theory also wants to explain how annoying behavior can lead to more annoying behavior and the importance of preventing it before it is too late. When talking about the Broken windows theory one often mentions that if a window is being broken it should be repaired as soon as possible with the aim to not getting more windows broken in the neighborhood. This way the informal control is not being lost and the neighborhood will hopefully stay safe and good (Van Der Weele, et al, 2017). A common criticism of the Broken window theory is the argument that it criminalizes poor and homeless people since they often do live in these kinds of neighborhoods. Other critics are that there is little empirical evidence that when disorder causes crime if it is not being challenged. Also, the validity in the Broken Window theory is not known. One can conclude that the theory does not explain everything even though the theory is valid. To do so there is a necessary of companion theories to fully explain crime or to have a more complex model to consider many more cogent factors (McKee, 2018).

Several respondents also suggest that it is possible to reduce the supply of motivated offenders by diverting young people from offending behavior and instead engage them in sport and other physical activities and show how the environment and infrastructure in communities can help make the pro-social choices easier than the anti-social ones. The fourth element in social bond theory is involvement and Hirschi explains this element as following: an increase in the amount of time spent engaging in conventional activities the less time you must become involved in deviant behavior. A person who has not time to commit crime will therefore be less likely to commit crime (Kotlaja, 2019, Sarnecki, 2010).

My respondents common view on after school activities was that it is very important to have one or several activities after school and this way you will interact and socialize with other individuals in the society. Another important reason was that this way you will not have time to commit crime. Two respondents explained their view on after school activities like this;

"One of the most effective protection factors is activities after school and the schooling. This way you do not have time or opportunity to commit crime, in short you are too busy to consciously or unconsciously commit crimes with friends or others living in the neighborhood."
- Respondent, R4

"Many youth recreation centers are closed now during the Corona pandemic, and I find it very bad since this was a place where the juveniles could go to after school, during the afternoons or during the holidays. The youth recreation centers worked as a type of protection factor."
- Respondent, R2

As my respondents are saying more activities after school are preventing crime seem to me the exact thoughts of the founder Hirschi. Hirschi expresses following: if a juvenile is busy with different kinds of activates during the week it will lead to less opportunity and ability to engage in criminal behavior (Kotlaja, 2019), Sarnecki, 2010).

Attitude towards the Police

Another major theme in the data is the view that the juveniles of the city of Malmö overall have preconceptions about the police and that their opinions are in general based on the experience of others. In other cases, the juveniles often want to point out how the police officer in some cases are good and unique and is not like the "other officers" One respondent put forward the following;

"The juveniles are seeing the police officers as enemies and are therefore always against us instead of with us. One reason can be social media and the new kind of "influencers" such as Yassin (a Swedish rapper) who is glorifying violence and many social media and authorities are accepting this and are not doing anything to stop or prevent it."
- Respondent, R7

Many of the respondents mention that the lack of trust and the negative attitudes that the juveniles have towards the police often comes from their friends or/and others' experiences and thoughts. Often, they have a negative attitude from the start even before the police have had direct communication with them, and the youth often admit that they were acting the way they were because they have heard bad things about the police and that they should not be nice to police officers. It is not uncommon that the person in question admits and tells the police officer that he or she are good and not as his/her colleagues and as several respondents explains it, the juveniles can switch during a conversation going from angry to kind towards them.

Other causes being discussed were the importance of parents' attitude and view on the Swedish police. One described this phenomenon following;

"Many parents are not aware of what the aim is with our work, and they often do not know Swedish which makes it even harder to explain for them when we drive their kid home. They are often angry with us as their kids are disrespectful in front of the parents which shows us that the parents are on the juvenile's side and are accepting that their kid behaves bad and disrespectful towards Police employees and other authorities."
- Respondent, R5

"The juveniles have preconceptions about us and our work and want us to be accountable for things that are happening in the United States of America (USA). In this context I mean the situation around Black Lives Matters and the whole situation that occurred during that time. Even their parents do not understand what we are doing and what our focus is with our work."
- Respondent, R1

Almost every respondent mentioned the bad attitude overall but how they now and then hear how they, as individual are unique and that this is simply because they took a couple of minutes and spoke to the juvenile. In this way the juveniles often understand that not all Police officers

are bad and what they have heard maybe is not correct, and of course that they have built wrong expectations and a distorted view on police officers and their work.

"It is not that bad as in the TV-series "Tunna Blå Linjen" (in translate," The thin blue line", a Swedish police Tv-show being recorded in Malmö). In general, the attitude towards police officers is okay but there are those [youths] who cannot behave. Mostly the juvenile's perceptions are based on others' experiences with the Police. One juvenile has a friend who has been treated badly by the Police and because of this does he or she not like the Police."
- Respondent, R3

This common negative experience on attitude towards the police is being confirmed by almost all respondents, five out of seven respondents are underlying the negative attitude among juveniles in the city of Malmö. The respondents are explaining that the attitude can be caused by several different things. One underlying cause mentioned is the bad experience with the police or and their friends' experiences and therefore they are automatically having this attitude towards police employees.

If looking at the police legitimacy among juveniles in Malmö one can conclude that the results is showing that the legitimacy and trust towards the police is very low. Since the police legitimacy is measuring the citizens experience of the treatment they get from the police and other justice officials. Also, the trust towards the police, the willingness to cooperate and the police forces and authorities' effectiveness is being measured (Mesko & Eman, 2015) and the negative attitude against juveniles, this is a sign that something is wrong. It is important to listen to the citizens and to evaluate their experiences and the police work to higher the perceived legitimacy and to get better rating and higher the lever of trust from the citizens. Mesko & Eman (2015) states how young people's trust and attitudes towards legal institutions is like the one towards social institutions and is called "anti-authority syndrome" which means that the attitude overall is negative, and the juveniles are not willing to cooperate with these institutions. These can be explained by juveniles' direct experiences with police officers which later are affecting their attitude and judgement toward the police officers in the future. These negative attitudes and judgements can be explained by the first contact juveniles often gets on daily basis which are police officers which unfortunately are negative because juveniles are often staying outdoors on public places (Mesko & Eman, 2015).

5. Final discussion and further research

This research had the aim to investigate the shifts in juvenile delinquency in Malmö and my first research question got the answer that the juvenile delinquency has changed in the sense that perpetrators are becoming younger than before, and it is also states that crimes committed are more serious. Majority of the perpetrators and those police employees have the most contact with in the European city Malmö are boys. The same results are for those being exposed to crime.

The second research question highlighting the factors that impacts juvenile delinquency offers broader opinions. Segregation was sticking out a lot among the police employees I interviewed since they believe it to be a risk factor for a juvenile starting a deviant or criminal behavior. Many juveniles the police employees have daily contact with come from segregated neighborhoods also called socially disadvantaged area with bad socio-economic status which gives them less chances to success in life. Not often do they have own "societies" within the major society and own accepted attitudes, values and concepts which are deferring a lot from the rest of the society and is often seen as deviant and criminal behavior. These societies within the major society works as subcultures where the inhabitants are looking for people that are like themselves, when looking at language, culture and same socio-economic status.

Bad role models, especially for young boys, were underlined by several respondents stating that if a young boy does not a good role models around him this can be a risk factor for him to develop a deviant and criminal behavior. Juveniles with bad role models and adult men in their near or in the family who are criminal have a bad influence on young boys and can lead to imitation of their behavior from the young boy. Another risk factor that was found in the results were that juveniles with foreign background was very common among those who committed crime in the European city Malmö. Juveniles born outside Sweden or had one or two parents born in foreign countries was sticking out by those juveniles' committing crime or have daily contact with the police in Malmö. The respondents were pointing out how these juveniles had own values and mindsets than the rest of the Swedish society. Juveniles with foreign background were also more likely to have parents who has negative attitude towards the police and therefore the juvenile has it too. Parents experiences and view on the police from the home countries is brought to Sweden and transferred to their children.

Other findings were that family constellation is an important aspect of preventing a juvenile to commit deviant or criminal behavior. A juvenile living in big families or with absence of one or two parents were had the higher risk to start committing crime. Also, single mums were brought up as a risk factor because the juveniles, especially if it is a boy often feel responsible to earn money and to take care of the family and therefore, he chooses the crime path to get money fast. These single mums can also struggle with work and are therefore more absence and are not that involved in their children's live as they would like or should. The theories used have

been very applicable when looking at the subject and my research question explaining why juveniles commit crime and also the bad attitude and trust towards the police employees in Malmö.

Another finding was that activities outside school was a strong protecting factor according to my respondents stating that juveniles who does not have a lot of time after school, free time does not have opportunity or time to commit crime. This wat they will have activities to show up to and to feel as a part of something, in this case as a member in the for an example sports team.

Future researchers might combine these results with a result based on the juveniles' perspectives on my chosen and see if it differs and if so in what way. In order to compare the findings in Sweden versus other EU countries seems to be a tough wish because of the differences in definition of a juvenile and the age set. The information collected is although helpful for the understanding of the topic.

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Appendix

Appendix 1

Information letter

Who am I?

I am a qualified criminologist with focus on behavioral science since several years back. In addition to this I also studied legal psychology, law and a master's program in European studies, EU.

Previously I have worked within the Police department in Malmö as an administrator at the Police Contact Center called PKC (Polisens kontakt center). At the moment I am working as property manager in municipality of Lund and on my free time I am working extra with children and adolescents with neuropsychiatric diagnoses or psychosocial problems, such as norm- breaking behavior and psychological problems in Helsingborg.

About my master thesis:

Since I am very interested in criminology and especially juvenile delinquency, probably because I have been working with this target group for a couple of years I chose to write about the subject juvenile delinquency. To specify my study more, I chose juvenile delinquency in the city of Malmö because I lived here for almost 24 year and have been working here for a long time. And the third reason is that me myself have been working at the Police department of the city of Malmö.

The last and maybe most decisive reason is to answer my question if you as police employees in the city of Malmö have experiences an increase in juvenile delinquency during your time as employees here.

I will carry out a qualitative study, which means that the study will consist of interviews for me to conduct a deeper investigation, and hopefully my answers will also be more in-depth than if I had sent out questionnaires.

My aim and research questions are following:

To investigate police perspectives on shifts in juvenile delinquency in the European city of Malmö in Sweden. To help me to investigate this I will be using two research questions.

- **From the perspective of serving employees at the Police Department in Malmö, in what ways have juvenile delinquency changed the recent years?**
- **Which factors do employees at the Police Department in Malmö believe have impacted such changes in juvenile delinquency?**

I will interview about 7-10, max 12 people working in Malmö police department, and I have not made a systematic selection of my respondents, but they have themselves and voluntarily signed up to participate.

Appendix 1

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
Centre for European Studies (CES)

What is important for you as a respondent to be aware of?

I would like to inform you who participate in the interview that you will remain anonymous, and your name or other contact details will under no circumstances be leaked or used in a way that may harm you or reveal who you are.

It is important to know that you as a respondent at any time choose to quit the interview if desired, but also require that certain parts that you said should not be included in my survey. I would also like to inform you that I will rename you in my study using names such as:" Respondent 1", "Respondent 2" and so on.

To protect and ensure both me and you, that the study is being correct done I would like you to fill in and sign the consent form and send it back to me. Names and other information, as I mentioned above, will not leak out anywhere and I will mask your names.

Please send the consent form to my address or my email.

If you have any questions or other concerns, do not hesitate to contact me.

Enisa Muhic

Appendix 2

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
Centre for European Studies (CES)

Focus on juvenile delinquency in Malmö and investigates whether there has been an increase in this in Malmö. To be able to answer this, I will use two questions.?

- **From the perspective of serving employees at the Police Department in Malmö, in what ways have juvenile delinquency changed the recent years?**
- **Which factors do employees at the Police Department in Malmö believe have impacted such changes in juvenile delinquency?**

Background:

What is your workposition?

How long have you been working at the Police department in the city of Malmö?

How long have you been working at the Police department over all, including outside Malmö?

Are you a trined police or civilian emplye?

What is your gender? Female/ Male

1) Do you think that there has been an increase or decrease in juvenile delinquency in Malmö in general, and in such cases how?

Follow-up questions:

-Have you noticed any level of differences?

-How has the development been like during your time at the police department of Malmö?

2) Do you experience juvenile delinquency as a problem in Malmö and in such cases why?

-Follow-up questions:

-Is there a particular type of juvenile delinquency that you consider to be more of a problem than other forms, and if so, in what way?

3) How do you think juvenile delinquency in Malmö differs from other places e.g. Stockholm or Gothenburg? In terms of size / types of crime etc.

4) How often do you have cases involving young people (daily, weekly, etc.)? Would you be able to describe the difference between child and youth cases and cases involving adults?

Appendix 2

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
Centre for European Studies (CES)

5) Have you experienced that more and more perpetrators you encounter are children and young people (up to the age of 21)?

Follow-up questions:

In your experience, are the same recurring perpetrators committing crimes in Malmö?

What does this group look like? Gender / descent / background?

6) Have you ever encountered a child or young person in the service and not reported the crime he or she committed because of their age (eg by giving them a verbal warning)?

Follow-up questions:

-Have you ever thought about the risk that different police officers give the same juvenile a warning over and over again without knowing that they have already received one before and by this the crimes are never being registered anywhere?

-What was the basis for this decision?

7) Do you, as a police employee in the city of Malmö, feel that the attitude among children and young people towards police employees is and what do you think it may be due to?

8) How do you, as a police employee, feel that trust in the police is among children and young people in Malmö?

Follow-up questions:

-Is there any difference in trust depending on the child / youth's socio-economic situation and/or their origin?

-If yes, what are you doing within the department to change this attitude or/and trust?

9) Do you consider that there are risk and / or protective factors among children and young people that can prevent them from ending up in criminal circles and starting to commit crimes, and if so, which ones?

Appendix 2

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
Centre for European Studies (CES)

UNIVERSITY OF GOTHENBURG

10) When it comes to police cases concerning children and young people, do you experience that the victim usually is a boy or a girl and is there any difference in different types of crime?

Follow-up questions:

-Is the perpetrator more often a girl or a boy and in which crimes are boys/girls more overrepresented?

11) Do you experience that children and young people often volunteer to testify in various police cases?

Follow-up questions:

In which type of crimes do young people most often choose not to stand up and testify and what is the reason / reasons usually?

12) Have you discovered any trends among children and young people recently when it comes to the development of crime or different types of crime.

Follow-up questions:

What are the types of crime children and young people often commits?

13) Many different prevention programs and methods have been discussed to prevent juvenile delinquency, do you have any suggestions or examples of something that has worked well in Malmö?

Follow-up questions:

Is there anything that has worked worse, why do you think it is so?

14) If you compare Sweden with other countries, to begin with EU countries, do you think we have higher or longer juvenile delinquency and why? What does the situation look like in Malmö?

15) What do you think about the youth discount? Is it good or bad and what do you think about it being abolished?

Follow-up questions:

-Are we doing the young people a favor / service by giving them a youth discount?

Appendix 2

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
Centre for European Studies (CES)

15) What do you think about the youth discount? Is it good or bad and what do you think about it being abolished?

Follow-up questions:

-Are we doing the young people a favor / service by giving them a youth discount?

16) What kind of penalties would you like to see more of when it comes to young offenders?

Follow-up questions:

-Are you for harsher punishments or not when it comes to young criminals?

17) What would you liked more research on when discussing juvenile delinquency in Malmö and Sweden?

18) Would you like to add something?

Thank you very much for your participation!