

Pupil's legitimacy towards the police – 'Cop4U' a successful approach?

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Abstract

This research evaluates the impact of the Cop4U program, initiated in Hamburg schools, on pupils' perception of the police. The Cop4U program represents a shift from a traditional reactive policing approach towards community policing, which seeks to build trustful relationships between police officers and the school, including the pupils. The research focuses on understanding how the program is implemented, pupils' general perception of the police, and how this perception differs within the context of the Cop4U program. Further, limitations in the project at the examined school regarding the contact between pupils and police officers are evaluated. It aims to explain high police legitimacy through positive encounters with the Cop4U, following the Procedural Justice model. The research methodology includes quantitative surveys answered by the pupils of the examined school and a qualitative interview with the headmaster. Findings suggest that while pupils generally perceive the police positively, the Cop4U program's implementation lacks effectiveness in fostering direct engagement between the officer and the pupils. The research highlights the need for better alignment of program goals between the police and school administration, leading to increased visibility of the police officer within the school.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Background

The traditional model of policing has long been characterized by a clear separation between law enforcement officers and the community. Police was seen primarily as the imposers of law and order. (Feltus, 2014) A reactive approach in which the police respond to incidents was followed. Trends in crimes and the amount of crime was estimated from data including the amount of help calls, number of arrests and the time that the police needed to respond to the help calls. However, those measurements don't reflect all factors that influence crime. Societal and economic factors are not included in this analysis. Further, the organizational structure of the police in the traditional policy model is characterized by bureaucracy and hierarchy: Each officer has clearly defined, limited responsibilities and tasks in which he is able to act and is required to communicate to his supervisor. Finally, the citizens play a minor role in the traditional policing model. Police officers get in contact with them if they committed felonies or as a witness. Citizens are expected to obey the police orders and contact the police in cases of emergencies. ('Traditional and Contemporary Policing Strategies', 2022)

However, this model is evolving as community policing approaches gain attention. Community policing intends to bridge the gap between law enforcement and community, following the assumption that citizens should be actively involved in policing and empowered to participate in crime reduction. The approach includes prevention of crime and encourages a proactive approach, such as establishing relationships with community members and learn more about the roots of crime and disorder. (Carr, 2005) Consequently, police officers must engage more actively with citizens. This necessitates a shift in police strategical, tactical and organizational structures to support shared responsibility for crime reduction and public order enforcement, which will be further elaborated in the next chapter. (Feltus, 2014)

Nevertheless, mutual willingness to cooperate is crucial for the success of this approach. Hence, also the citizens must be open to engage more closely with the police. (T. Tyler & Fagan, 2006) Police legitimacy is thus central, as people who view the police as legitimate are more likely to follow orders and cooperate with officers. (Worden & McLean, 2017) Legitimacy is built through experiences with the police in which fair, transparent and respectful procedures are being executed. Vice versa if people do not legitimize the police, mistrust and hostility against the police is reinforced. (T. Tyler & Fagan, 2006)

A specific area of interest in studying police legitimacy is its perception among pupils, who are generally more critical of the police than other societal groups. (Leroux & McShane, 2017) The number of children and adolescents suspected of crimes in Germany has increased in recent years. According to the Federal Criminal Police Office (Bundeskriminalamt), in 2023 more than 482.000 children and adolescents up to the age of 20 were suspected of crimes, marking the third highest number in the past decade. The likelihood of committing crimes rises if children experience violence, live in unfavorable conditions, or face family stress. These issues have been exacerbated by the Covid-19 pandemic and other crises. (Bundeskriminalamt, 2023) Therefore, investigating the effectiveness of community policing projects with pupils is essential to counteract this trend.

The Cop4U program, initiated in 2002 in Hamburg, is an important step in this direction. This community policing initiative assigns police officers to serve as contact persons for schools, aiming to build trustful relationships and address youth crime through collaboration and proactive engagement. (Polizei Hamburg, 2008)

The framework agreement of the project sets the regulatory framework for the project. The responsible police officer should be present at the school and act as a contact person, build trustful relationships and engage actively with the pupils, teachers and parents. (Bürgerschaft der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg, 2003) Informal discussions with a police officer revealed

that regarding the engagement with the pupils it aims to encourage pupils to approach the Cop4U officer with their problems. Moreover, this should reduce barriers to contact the police.

1.2 Research Problem

The research will focus on the Cop4U program to evaluate its success in improving pupils' perceptions of the police and their behavior towards the Cop4U officer. Additionally, the research will assess the achievement of other program goals to provide a comprehensive understanding of its implementation in school.

The central research question, which will be answered in the thesis, is: “In what way does the Cop4U project influence pupils’ perception of the police?”

The first subquestion follows a descriptive approach aiming to identify the structural context in which the project is carried out. Answering the question:

SQ 1: How is the Cop4U program implemented?

by conducting an interview with the headmaster. The second question establishes a baseline understanding of pupils’ perception of the police without considering a possible influence of the Cop4U project by answering the following:

SQ 2: Do pupils perceive the police in general as legitimate?

The pupils will conduct a survey about their perception of the police, as well as the Cop4U in order to answer:

SQ 3: How does the perception of the police in the Cop4U program differ from pupils’ general perception of the police?

This gives insights on possible relationships between the Cop4U program and the perception of the police. Finally, based on the findings from the previous questions the research evaluates whether the project is able to enhance the contact between the school and the police. Further, possible limitations are explored. Here, a special emphasis is set on the pupils, answering the question:

SQ 4: To what extent is the Cop4U program suitable for reaching its goals, especially regarding contact between pupils and the police?

The analysis of the research follows a mixed-method approach, using Excel and Atlas.ti to conduct qualitative and quantitative analyses.

1.3 Knowledge Gap and Relevance

The thesis intends to fill gaps in the existing research on police legitimacy. The body of research on police legitimacy is comprehensive, with Tom Tyler being a leading scholar. Nevertheless, in the field of police legitimacy most research focusses on adults and their police encounters with the police, often in traffic stops or community policing in certain neighborhoods. There is limited research on pupils. Therefore, my research has scientific relevance in the field of police legitimacy.

Further, the existing research on pupils mainly focusses on interaction in a negative context, for example in police stops. (see: Harris & Jones, 2020) In this thesis also positive encounters with the police, in active engagement between the Cop4U and the pupils is examined.

Research has indicated that contact with the police significantly influences perceptions of the police, particularly during adolescence. The adolescence is a formative stage in which attitudes against the police can be established, which influence long-term views on law enforcement. (Arain & Haque, 2013; Fine et al., 2017; Harris & Jones, 2020) The focus on adolescents in my thesis addresses the underrepresentation of this age group in police legitimacy research and contributes to the research on the theoretical implications of the procedural justice theory by applying it in research on adolescents.

Most of the research on police legitimacy of pupils is conducted in the United States. Further, the research often focuses on factors like race, age, and gender affecting police legitimacy. (see: Rusinko et al., 1978) This thesis contributes to a broader understanding of police legitimacy and the police-community relations because it investigates police legitimacy in Germany considering the different social, cultural and legal background.

Finally, no academic research has examined the Cop4U project comprehensively. Hence, the thesis can offer vital insights on the implementation of the program which can help improving the Cop4U program, as well as related Community Policing approaches in German schools.

Further, my research has a societal relevance. Firstly, the examined school will be provided interesting insights into the project from an outside perspective, based on scientific research. This will be of relevance not only for the headmaster, but especially for the pupils because their perspective is mainly focused on in this research. The thesis will also give advice based on the results on how to improve weaknesses and include the pupil's perspective but also their parents. Moreover, the police can benefit from the research. The Cop4U of the examined school is able to evaluate his work based on the findings. Assessing the provided recommendations for further action, the cooperation between the headmaster, and the school in general and the Cop4U might also be improved. This can also have implications for the Cop4U project in general, initiating an entire internal evaluation process.

2. Information about the Cop4U project

In the following the project will be explained further. Firstly, the Community Policing Model will be outlined, which builds the groundwork for the Cop4U program. As explained in the introduction the project doesn't follow the traditional policing model but is oriented towards the Community policing model. Further, the regulatory background of the Cop4U program will be explained. The framework agreement and the 'Fachanweisung' (Technical instruction) build the institutional framework for the project and define its goals and tasks of the police officer. Finally, the examined school will be introduced.

2.1 Community Policing

The Community Policing model is based on the importance of the behavior of the police when engaging with citizens in order to increase the legitimacy of the police. (T. R. Tyler, 2006) Community policing is based on the assumption that there should be a close cooperation between the police and neighborhood residents or civic organizations. A special emphasis should be set on the ideas and needs of the civic actors. The core idea is that those actors are being considered in decision-making of the police. Besides this philosophical assumptions, the model bases on a strategical, tactical and organizational dimension. (Reisig, 2010)

In order to provide such service, the internal structure of the police has to be adopted. The police officer has to get into contact with the citizens. This can be achieved through strategies like foot or bike patrol and the allocation of a certain officer to a certain neighborhood, who sets his focus on this neighborhood and therefore is able to understand the structural problems in this area better. Furthermore, the citizens are more likely to get into contact with that familiar officer. The tactical dimension of community policing focuses solving specific problems. Therefore, it is important that the officer listens to the citizens and takes their problems into account. This also refers back to the procedural justice concept. In this way the officer is able to find suitable solutions for the concerns of the citizens. Cooperation with local actors will facilitate their work in this. Finally, the organization of the police has to be adapted to the new approach. The patrol officers need to be given increased responsibilities and competences to be able to solve local problems in a facilitated way. A crucial factor for that is the flattening of hierarchical structures within the police. Furthermore, the police should increase their work in the systematic collection of data. The analysis of problems and evaluation of solutions can bring vital information and facilitate the police work. Important for that is also that this information is shared within the police divisions. (Reisig, 2010)

A comprehensive implementation of the Community policing approach is a prerequisite for it's success. Nevertheless, in German Policing the Community Policing approach is often neglected and its mainly used as a crime prevention tool. (Meško et al., 2014) Therefore, by answering the first subquestion, the analysis will set a special emphasis on the implementation of the project in order to identify possible weaknesses.

2.2 The Cop4U program

The Cop4U project was established in 2003 following a framework agreement between the Ministry of Education and Sport and the Ministry of the Interior on 24.10.2002. Later it was specified in a 'Fachanweisung' in 2008.

The framework agreement mentions one main goal being implementing measures at the school to curb juvenile delinquency through trustful cooperation between the school and police. To achieve this goal three tasks of the Cop4U officer are specified. Firstly, a trustful relationship between the school and the police should be established. In order to fulfill this goal, regular exchange between the police officer and the headmaster as well as teachers should take place. The Cop4U should be a contact for pupils, parents and teachers. Besides, the integration in the

regular school activities the officer could also support school events and inform parents in parents' meetings. This can be agreed on with the school if required.

The second task of the Cop4U officer is being present at the school. The specific routines will be arranged individually for each school.

Finally, the officer is a contact person in the case of required assistance through the police at the school. This duty can be exercised through consulting teachers and the headmaster, pointing out perceived areas of conflict at the school, prosecution of criminal offenses and if necessary, involving other authorities.

Further, it is agreed on, that the officer is wearing his uniform while exercising his tasks as Cop4U. (Bürgerschaft der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg, 2003)

After an increase of violence of children and adolescents, the Cop4U project was intensified. More positions were created and the tasks were enriched. Hence, the Fachanweisung was published in 2008. The project is defined as the following: "Die Cop4U sind die einer Schule fest zugewiesenen uniformierten Polizeibeamtinnen und Polizeibeamten, die durch regelmäßige Präsenz eine vertrauensvolle Zusammenarbeit zwischen Schule und Polizei fördern und der Schule als erste Ansprechpartner zur Verfügung stehen." (Polizei Hamburg, 2008, p. 1) Further, the recruiting process and training is specified. The Cop4U officers receive a specific coaching for their position. And they are district officers. Therefore, the schools in his district are within his area of responsibility.

The tasks of the Cop4U officer remain the same but are specified by concrete recommendations for measures the officer can implement in cooperation with the school. It is emphasized that the officer should actively promote offering counseling hours for pupils and participating in parents' meetings. Further measures, such as offering workshops, participating in further meetings or increased presence around the school and the school routes, are also mentioned. They can be introduced if needed at the school. (Polizei Hamburg, 2008)

At the moment 238 officers are active as Cop4U in Hamburg. (*Cop4u - Handeln gegen Jugendgewalt Hamburg.*, n.d.)

The tasks are interrelated and follow the main goal, explained above. The task aiming to build a trustful relationship between the school and the police puts an emphasize on the pupils. To facilitate the research when analyzing the impact of the project on pupils, this task will mainly be considered. It will be referred to as a goal because the tasks can be interpreted as sub-goals. An operationalization of the goal will be executed in the methodology chapter.

2.3 The school

The examined school is located in one of the most populated, central neighborhoods of Hamburg. The neighborhood is a residential and commercial area. In 2023 more than 2.800 felonies, committed in the neighborhood, were recorded by the police. The district in which the neighborhood is located has the second highest crime rates, following the central district of Hamburg. (Polizei Hamburg, 2023)

Around 650 pupils attend the school. The school is a 'Gymnasium' divided into three levels according to the age. The school claims to have a vivid school life putting special emphasis on music, sport and natural sciences.

Form these insights I expect the implementation of the Cop4U project at the examined school to follow a community policing approach because the framework agreement, as well as an informal talk with the Cop4U about his goal suggests it. Nevertheless, research showed that in Germany community policing approaches are often lacking a comprehensive implementation and are not fully recognized by the police as suitable approach. (Meško et al., 2014)

Therefore, I expect to find limitations in the implementation of the Cop4U program.

Further, I expect the pupils to be in contact with the police regularly because the neighborhood and district has relatively high crime rates.

3. Theoretical Framework

The theoretical assumptions of my thesis are based on the procedural justice model by Tom Tyler. The model provides an explanation for how legitimacy, in particular police legitimacy is established and maintained. Therefore, this chapter will start by defining the concept of legitimacy. For this also critic voices on Tyler' definition of legitimacy are discussed. Further, the broader implications of legitimacy are being enriched by discussing police legitimacy, including the benefits of legitimacy for the police work. This leads to the Procedural Justice Model, which will be defined after. The model will be applied on the interaction between pupils and the police, especially in the context of the Cop4U project. Finally, theoretical expectations of the research based on Tyler's model will be set.

3.1 Legitimacy

Legitimacy is the main concept on which the further theoretical implications will be based. Hence, the concept will be defined and explained in the following.

Tom Tyler, a leading researcher in the field of police legitimacy, defines legitimacy in the context of obedience. He states that: "Legitimacy, therefore, is a quality possessed by an authority, a law or an institution that leads others to feel obligated to obey its decisions and directives." (T. R. Tyler, 2006, p. 311) Legitimacy allows authorities to specify rules for people's behavior, which they feel obligated to follow. The research on legitimacy is based on the work of Weber, who emphasizes that the possession of power and the ability to exercise it doesn't conclude in obedience but that it also requires voluntary compliance of the citizens. (T. R. Tyler, 2006) This indicates the underlying assumption of the concept of legitimacy is that there is an interplay between citizens and authorities. Only if citizens approve an authority, it is able to create a sense of responsibility within the citizens. Therefore, it is important to consider that this value is the result of the government's ability to generate legitimacy. The ability to generate legitimacy is not legitimacy itself. (Merelman, 1966)

Being legitimized by the citizens is a desirable outcome for an authority because the risk of sanctions only shows small effects on people's behaviour while legitimacy has sustainable effects on it. (T. R. Tyler, 2006) Legitimacy is subjective and varies based on individual and collective perceptions of the authority. It can change related to the setting and time. The perception of legitimacy is enhanced, if the authority is acting in procedural just ways. This can especially fostered in personal experiences with the authorities. (Bradford et al., 2013)

Nevertheless, it has to be mentioned that the perception of legitimacy can also be effected by broader societal factors. Research suggests that media, especially social media, impacts perceptions of legitimacy. However, the effect has different characteristics depending on the personal attributes of consumers. (Intravia et al., 2017) This thesis doesn't focus on personal attributes of the citizens such as race, therefore exploring the effect of media on the pupils' perception does not seem suitable for this research.

The definition of legitimacy as explained above is broadly used in the field. Nevertheless, it has also been criticized. Hinsch argues that there needs to be a distinction between normative and empirical legitimacy. Thereby, normative legitimacy focuses on the underlying moral justifications of authorities for their decisions and orders. It follows philosophical reasoning. Empirical legitimacy being the acceptance and willingness to cooperate with the authority of citizens. This can be measured in surveys. Taylor's definition only considers the empirical legitimacy focusing on how citizens perceive authorities. (Hinsch, 2010) Including also normative legitimacy considers the risk of relativism of authorities that are highly popular and accepted by the citizens but ignore basic moral values. (Hough et al., 2013) However, these considerations base on the idea of legitimacy of regimes. My thesis will focus on legitimacy of the police; therefore consideration of these ideas would exceed the scope of my research.

3.2 Police Legitimacy

Further, the broad theoretical framework of legitimacy will be applied to police legitimacy. Personal experiences with the authority are vital for sustaining legitimacy for all authorities, nevertheless in the research of police legitimacy special focus is put on personal encounters with the police. This is because the police are an authority that is visible on the street, especially through their uniform, which symbolizes that they are capable of enforcing law-abiding behavior. (T. R. Tyler, 2006)

Legally the police is able to apply force to enforce the law and create compliance. The legal framework for this provides the 'Bundespolizeigesetz' in Germany. However, when applying force, the principle of proportionality must be considered. Therefore, the force must be proportionate to the severity of the threat or resistance. (Bundesministerium der Justiz, 1994) Nevertheless, besides legal legitimization, the police have an increasing desire to gain and maintain the voluntary consent of the citizens. Hereby, the efficiency of the police work would increase. (Bottoms & Tankebe, 2012) Without voluntarily consent the police would have to use force to achieve compliance. However, this has high social costs because coercion and force mainly result in disobedience against the police. Which as a consequence led to an increase in force of the police work. This downward spiral results in low public trust in the police. (T. Tyler & Nobo, 2023)

While coercion and force of the police have negative effects on obedience, police-legitimacy has positive implications on the police work. Firstly, people who legitimate the police are more likely to obey their authority. This results in fewer use of force by the police. (Worden & McLean, 2017) People develop self-regulating motivation to act according to the rules. Hence, there is no need for punishments. (T. R. Tyler, 2006) Another aspect is the facilitated work if citizens are more willing to cooperate. The police will be able to receive more information from citizens for example through an increased number of reporting. Lastly, people who conducted a felony are less likely to repeat that if they experienced procedural justice. (Worden & McLean, 2017)

3.3 Procedural Justice Model

Therefore, being legitimized by the citizens which results in voluntarily consent, facilitates the police work. The procedural justice model delivers an explanation how police legitimacy can be built and maintained. The model focusses on encounters between citizens and the police. (T. Tyler & Nobo, 2023)

Scholars argue that procedural justice matters even more regarding how people perceive the police than the actual outcome of the police work. (Hamm et al., 2017, p. 1186) Further, contradicting what one might think, people are more content if they are being sanctioned for incorrect behavior but it was an encounter in which they perceived the police to act fair, rather than if they encounter the police and don't get sanctioned. (Schulhofer, 2012) Hence, the procedural justice model does not suggest to not use force or sanction, if necessary. It rather aims to minimize the need of it. (Worden & McLean, 2017)

The model of procedural justice follows normative assumptions of people on how authority should be enforced. It includes four aspects. Citizens evaluate their perception of the police on how well these dimensions are being implemented in the specific police encounter. In the following they will be presented based on the research of Tyler and enriched by their implications for police officers when engaging with pupils, especially in the context of the Cop4U project (T. Tyler & Nobo, 2023):

- 1.) People want their perspective to be recognized. The police officer should give them the feeling that they have a **voice** and its heard.

Hence, the police officer should give the pupils an opportunity to express their view in situations of conflict before making a decision.

- 2.) In encounters with the police, people put importance towards the **interpersonal treatment** for example being respected by the police officer.
This includes to respect the rights of pupils. Especially, in the context of the school there is a power-imbalance between pupils and teachers, police officers. Nevertheless, the Cop4U should be able to act unbiased. Hence, the pupils should not be treated as suspects before getting a comprehensive overview of the situation.
- 3.) Police officers should make their decisions transparent. People want to see that the officer is taking their needs into account and bases his decision on **trustworthy motives**. Hence, the police officer should indicate that he is on the “same side” as the pupil. Especially, regarding the Cop4U program the officer should show the pupil that he is motivated to make right decisions and don’t favor for example the teacher’s opinion without acknowledging the pupil’s side.
- 4.) The satisfaction of the people is higher if they perceive the police work to be fair and **neutral**.
For this, the police officer should make their decision not based on prejudices of the pupils. Further, specifically the Cop4U program could foster close connections between teachers or some pupils and the police officer. However, those should not influence the decision of the Cop4U officer on pupils who have fewer close ties.

From these theoretical implications I expect to find the following results of my research:

1. I expect positive interaction with police officers to foster positive perceptions of the police.
This follows the simple implications of the procedural justice model, saying that interaction is the most important influence on the perception of the police.
2. I expect pupils, who perceive the police to act just, to be less hesitant to contact the Cop4U.
Following the results of police legitimacy on people’s cooperation with the police, pupils will be encouraged to talk to the police officer, both if they have a simple question or need help.
3. I also expect those pupils to have a general positive perception of the project.
According to the research on police legitimacy, people are more likely to obey the police orders if they legitimize the police. Therefore, the pupils will also not see the Cop4U officer as a risk at their school and might even perceive him to be helpful.
4. Finally, I don’t expect gender or age to have an influence on the perception of the police or Cop4U officer.
I expect this due to the same age difference between the pupils. Further, an influence of gender has not been found in other research.

4. Methodology

4.1 Data Collection

A mixed-methods approach was used in the research to gain comprehensive insights into the implementation and effectiveness of the Cop4U program at the school. This involved the use of structured surveys based on semi-structured interviews with key informants. Further, a semi-structured interview with the headmaster of the school was conducted. The data collection process was designed to capture both quantitative and qualitative information, providing a holistic understanding of the program's impact.

4.1.1 Survey Questionnaire

The survey consists of a mix of closed and open-ended questions divided into several sections: Firstly, the pupils are asked about demographic data (Q1+Q2), regarding their gender identification and grade.

The first question (Q3) aims to quantify how many pupils have had any interaction with the Cop4U. Hereby, the goal of a trustful relationship between the pupils and the Cop4U is operationalized. This follows the assumption that if pupils feel that they can trust the Cop4U they will approach him more often, for example also to ask a question and therefore have increased contact with him. Nevertheless, the operationalization is enriched by identifying what kind of contact the pupils have with the Cop4U (Q3.1-3.4). Understanding the context (whether it was a casual conversation, a request for help, or any other reason) helps in assessing whether it is a trustful relationship.

Pupils who had no contact with the Cop4U were asked whether a lack of awareness of the officer, accessibility issues, or a perceived lack of need was the reasoning behind it. (Q3.1a)

The next question (Q4) assesses whether the pupils believe the Cop4U project is meeting its objective of encouraging pupils to approach the police with their problems. This question further operationalizes a trustful relationship between pupils and the police. The rating scale provides a quantifiable measure of the project's perceived effectiveness and facilitates the comparison between the response of the pupils and the headmaster.

Next the personal experiences of pupils with the police were asked about (Q5), as well as the situations of contact with the police (Q6).

The questions about perceived procedural justice (Q7.1-7.4) follow the operationalization of the four criteria explained in the previous chapter, being voice, interpersonal treatment, trustworthy motives and neutrality. The pupils were asked about whether they feel treated respectful, taken seriously, trust the police to take the right decisions and treated fairly.

The next questions should help to gain insights in how pupils imagine such program, to evaluate whether the project matches the pupils needs (Q8-8.4). Pupils who indicated that they dislike such a project are asked about their reasons for that (Q8.1a).

Finally, the pupils indicate whether they think that such a project is beneficial at their school (Q9).

Before designing the survey, two key informant interviews were conducted with pupils to gather in-depth insights into their perceptions and experiences related to the Cop4U project and their interactions with police officers. These interviews were crucial for understanding the pupil's perspective and gaining first impressions on how the project was implemented at the school, ensuring that the survey addressed relevant and significant aspects.

Several aspects were considered to ensure the surveys' reliability. Firstly, the questions were put in a simple language. Some questions were adopted after the pre-interviews to avoid misunderstandings. Further, the survey was revised beforehand by a pupil in the eighth grade. Also, the questionnaire design aimed to ensure clarity. The questions were ordered logically and partly scales or pre-made answers were provided. For example, the answers about

procedural justice were put in a Likert-scale. This ensured comparability between the different values. However, this was not possible for all questions because additional information was needed to understand the pupil's perspective, for example on how expect such a project to be designed. Giving pre-made answers here might influence their answers.

During the execution of the survey the pupils were not influenced by external forces. Every pupil did the survey on their own digital device. The teacher was present in the room but couldn't see the answers of the pupils. Before conducting the survey, the pupils were informed about the research and the anonymity of their answers. This should ensure that the pupils answered freely. (Babbie, 2021)

4.1.2 Sample Population

The school in which the survey was conducted was selected randomly. I contacted the police station in the neighborhood following implications of accessibility and a comparatively high crime rate. The Cop4U officer, who was commended to answer my request was responsible for this school and therefore provided the contact with the headmaster.

The target population for the survey included pupils from three different grade levels (6th, 8th, and 10th grade) at the school. In German schools sixth graders are usually 12 years old. Accordingly, the eighth graders are 14 years old and the tenth graders are approximately 16 years old. The selection of these specific grade levels was aimed at capturing a diverse range of pupils' experiences Cop4U and perceptions with the police and the based on their age and maturity. The headmaster selected the classes due to availability. For the key-informants interviews the headmaster also selected the class. Nevertheless, the researcher selected the pupils who participate in the interview, without the presence of the headmaster, based on voluntariness. This should ensure that no pupil feels pressured to participate in the interviews.

4.1.3 Interview

The interview with the headmaster of the school was conducted to gain insights into the administrative perspective on the Cop4U program. The original approach was, to interview the Cop4U officer to be provided insights on how the police officer works. However, this wasn't possible due to authorization restrictions. Nevertheless, the headmaster was a suitable replacement because the Cop4U officer and the headmaster work very close together. Therefore, the headmaster was able to give detailed insights in how the contact between the police and the school, also the pupils look like. Nevertheless, the headmaster was not able to give insights in the internal structures of the police. However, this was only of minor importance for my research because the main focus was out on the actual interactions between the pupils and the Cop4U.

The interview questions aimed to understand the daily life of the Cop4U at the school, as well as the goals of the program and effectiveness in reaching those goals. To be able to compare those answers to responses of the survey for some questions he was asked to rate the success of the program on a scale from 1-10. Further, he was asked about routines when solving problems at the school, direct engagement between pupils and the Cop4U, evaluations of the project or potential improvements of the project.

Before the interview the headmaster was informed about his anonymity, which should encourage him to answer freely. Further, the interview followed a semi-structured approach. The questions were defined before-hand and followed closely to ensure reliability. Nevertheless, possible follow-up questions were prepared to gain further insights. This was supposed to increase the validity of the data. However, because the follow-up questions were prepared beforehand, ad-hoc questioning was prevented to provide reliability as much as possible. (Babbie, 2021)

4.2 Data Analysis

4.2.1 Quantitative analysis of survey questions

The quantitative data analysis was conducted using Microsoft Excel, focusing on identifying correlations between various variables to understand the effectiveness and perception of the Cop4U program.

The data analysis is based on simple univariate analysis of the survey questions that followed a quantitative approach. (Babbie, 2021) It is for example aimed to examine the demographic variables to give an insight into the characteristics of the survey population.

Further, means of the questions that were provided scales were calculated. Hence, the data on procedural justice is compared like this in order to gain insights on the construct validity. Standard deviations are considered if necessary.

Finally, bivariate analyses are conducted. The main implications are drawn from the correlation analyses, calculating Pearson correlation coefficients. (Babbie, 2021) According to Cohen, correlations are significant if the correlation coefficient (r) is 0,3 or above. (Cohen, 1988) The correlations to be examined were selected according to logical conclusions and theoretical assumptions.

4.2.2 Qualitative analysis of open survey questions and interview

The qualitative data from the open-ended survey questions were analyzed using Atlas.ti, a qualitative data analysis software. The content analysis was carried out by coding the manifest content. (Babbie, 2021) The coding process involved identifying recurring themes and patterns in pupils' responses. For all questions separate codes were created. These included reasons for contact with the Cop4U, feelings while being in contact with the Cop4U, situations with the police and suggestions for the program.

For the qualitative analysis of the interview with the headmaster it was transcribed. This facilitated the analysis. Nevertheless, a coding scheme when analyzing the interview was not considered helpful, because the answers are best understood in a holistic approach. Therefore, some insights might get lost in the coding process. Further, regarding the time constraints of the research project, a coding process seemed to be time consuming while not providing further insights for the analysis.

The results of the interview were put into context by comparing them with the content of the framework agreement and 'Fachanweisung' of the Cop4U project.

5. Analysis

This chapter aims to provide answers to the research questions. The analysis of the first subquestion will be based on findings from the interview with the headmaster, supported by additional findings of the framework agreement and ‘Fachanweisung’ of the Cop4U project. Further, the remaining subquestions will be answered by presenting the analytical findings of the survey.

5.1 Demographic profile of the respondents

To start the analysis the sample demographics will be taken into consideration. The sample population (N=59) is divided into three age groups. 19 pupils, who answered the survey are from 6th grade. 20 pupils from the 8th grade and 20 pupils in 10th grade. Hence, the sample population for each group is almost the same size, which prevents a biased result. The correlation between the age group and procedural justice, as well as contact with the Cop4 U has been measured. Nevertheless, no relevant correlation has been found. Hence, the age has no influence on how the pupils perceive the police or behave towards the Cop4U. This also rules out the possibility of a class having an unusually high level of contact with the Cop4U, for example due to an incident in the class.

Further, the sample population includes 30 male participants, 25 female participants, two binary participants and two people who didn’t indicate their gender. No relevant correlation between gender and other survey responses has been found, as expected in the beginning. Therefore, gender has no influence on how the pupils perceive the police or the Cop4U. Nevertheless, it would be difficult to draw conclusions from a correlation due to the underrepresentation of the non-binary pupils. Therefore, this group will not be considered further in the analysis.

5.2 Implementation of the project at the school

The first subquestion: ‘*How is the ‘Cop4U’ program implemented?*’ will be answered based on the findings from the interview of the headmaster. To enrich the analysis the implementation will be compared to the guidelines from the framework agreement as well as the ‘Fachanweisung’ of the Cop4U project.

In the interview with the headmaster, it was indicated that he has contact with the Cop4U approximately once a month. Their communication is based on email contact and phone calls. Following the explanation of the headmaster, the Cop4U is present at the school after previous request of the headmaster.

“The Cop4U only comes to us at the school when we have been in contact beforehand. These are either nice occasions, for example when we need support for a sponsored run, as will be the case soon, or at a school festival when there’s a lot going on here.”

The Cop4U, is also assisting in fire alarm trials, which are mandatory for the school. He supports the headmaster in bureaucratic procedures when registering those at the authorities.

His main task at the school is solving situations, in which it is suspected that a felony was committed. In such situations the parents will also be informed. After arriving at the school, the police officer will be informed about the what happend and afterwards decide, how to proceed. The headmaster perceived the Cop4U as being trained very well for this task. Further, he indicates:

“The Cop4U also follows his police guidelines very strictly. It’s very clear to him what he can do and in which situations he has to call in the criminal investigation department because their area of responsibility has been exceeded. That varies greatly depending on the situation.”

The police department is located closely to the school; therefore, the police officer is at the school within 20 minutes if he is needed.

The police provide posters with the picture, name and telephone number of the responsible Cop4U. They are displayed in the hallway of the school. Hence, the pupils are able to contact the officer.

In the perception of the headmaster the Cop4U officers rotate relatively often, every 2-3 years. He underlined that he was satisfied with all 3 officers he was in contact with in his time at the school.

Further, the police use the school as a contact. In cases, mostly of child abuse, which the police are unable to solve, they distribute pictures of the incident with unidentifiable faces but in front of identifiable objects. The pictures are stored in the office of the headmaster and the teachers are able to look at them and might recognize the objects, which could assist the police to solve the case.

Further, the implementation in the school will be compared to the tasks defined in the framework agreement, as well as the 'Fachanweisung' and analyzed in which ways the requirements are met by the implementation. As explained in the second chapter, the tasks of the Cop4U officer is to build a trustful relationship between the school and the police, being present and active at the school and act as a contact person for the school.

1. Trustful relationship

From informal talks with the teachers at the school it became clear that they are aware of the project and are familiar with the Cop4U officer. I cannot provide further information, in what way they would rate their relationship as trustful. Nevertheless, the headmaster indicated to be satisfied with the program in this regard. Further, the Cop4U also participates in school events such as 'Schulfest'. This shows that the Cop4U is invited at activities of the school. Besides that, the Cop4U is not engaging with the parents and pupils, besides cases in which a possible felony has been committed. According to the headmaster the posters in the hallway don't assist reaching this goal because the pupils don't call the Cop4U by themselves. Therefore, it can be said that the task of a trustful relationship between the school and the police is only partly reached. The relationship between the Cop4U and the pupils will be further focused on in later parts of the analysis.

2. Being present and active at the school

In the interview the headmaster emphasized multiple times that the Cop4U is only present at the school if the headmaster informs him that his help is required. Further, none of the possible measures mentioned in the 'Fachanweisung', such as attendance of parent's meetings, counseling hours, workshops, etc., have been established in the school. When being asked about the counseling hour the headmaster indicated that this was never considered in this school. He is unsure about how the pupils would respond to it and suggests offering it at most twice a year. Hence, the second task of being present and active in the school seems to not be met.

3. Contact person

In his function as a contact person to the authorities the Cop4U is present at the school. He is assisting in cases of possible felonies. Further, he provides contact to further authorities if needed. He seems to be consulting the headmaster in difficult situations and possibly also the teachers. However, the headmaster didn't indicate that he perceives the Cop4U as being responsible for identifying possible areas of conflict at the school. Nevertheless, the third task is mainly reached.

In conclusion, the Cop4U project lacks aspects that are mentioned in the framework agreement and 'Fachanweisung'. Especially, the contact to the pupils besides in the context of a felony and being active at the school seems to be missing. Nevertheless, the contact between the

headmaster and the Cop4U seems to fulfill the requirements and is perceived positive by the headmaster.

5.2.1 Goals of police and headmaster

Further, one aspect that is striking and should be considered in the analysis is the goal of the project. The headmaster defines the goal of the Cop4U program as the following:

"So from my point of view, the goal [...] is that we as a school operate within a legally secure framework. And when it comes to issues that may be relevant to criminal law [...] we also have a contact person to ensure that we act correctly, fairly and in accordance with the law." He also mentioned that the school has their own measures for misbehavior, such as excluding pupils from a class trip or make them change classes. However, he argues that in cases of possible felonies the Cop4U program is useful. The headmaster clearly indicated that he perceived this goal as being reached in the program at his school. Being asked, how he perceives the program in increasing the trust between the school (teacher and headmaster) and the Cop4U officer he decided for a nine on a scale from 1-10 (1=low, 10=high).

In an informal conversation with the Cop4U it became clear that his goal differs. He pointed out the importance for pupils to get into contact with the police and the goal of the program being to decrease obstacles for pupils to get in contact with the police.

This could be a possible explanation why the implementation at this school differs from the regularities of the framework agreement.

Answering the subquestion, the implementation bases mainly on the cooperation between the headmaster and the Cop4U. The Cop4U is only active at the school if informed by the headmaster that there is a case of possible felony or if bureaucratic assistance is needed. Posters in the school inform about the Cop4U officer and provide contact details. Nevertheless, the implementation fails to involve the pupils and parents. The fact, that the definition of the headmaster about the program differs from the definition of the framework agreement, might be an explanation for this implementation.

5.3 Perception of the police by pupils

The pupils' perception of the police in general could be another explanation for contact between the Cop4U and the pupils. Following the procedural justice model if the pupils perceive the police to follow just procedures, they legitimize the police and are more willingly to cooperate with them. Since the Cop4U is part of the police, lacking police legitimacy could explain limited contact between the Cop4U and the pupils. Therefore, the third subquestion: '*Do pupils perceive police in general as legitimate?*' will be answered based on the findings of the survey.

The majority of pupils perceived the police as friendly in previous interactions. 25 pupils had a neutral perception and three pupils had a hostile perception of the police. (Q5) There cannot be found a relevant correlation between the answers to this question and the perceived justice ($r < 3$). Hence, these answers might not indicate in what way the pupil legitimize the police. 16 pupils indicated that they didn't have previous contact with the police. (Q6)

	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q5	Q7.1	Q7.2	Q7.3	Q7.4	Q8
Q1	1								
Q2	0,2502918	1							
Q3	-0,2282961	0,09306843	1						
Q5	-0,175415	-0,2278578	0,0216819	1					
Q7.1	-0,1724662	0,02952484	0,07973644	0,16958703	1				
Q7.2	-0,0168429	0,00073253	0,01775138	0,16154959	0,6442017	1			
Q7.3	-0,1582564	-0,1521023	-0,0474373	0,28924024	0,48255983	0,61139271	1		
Q7.4	-0,0012787	-0,0360367	0,04358786	0,24127438	0,79367952	0,83965935	0,69531264	1	
Q8	0,2056311	0,15867159	-0,3120349	0,04330896	0,19268868	0,35201259	0,49372176	0,37153241	1

Table1: Correlation matrix Q1-Q8

5.3.1 Contact with police

In the following the kind of contact between pupils and the police will be analyzed. This illustrates, in which situations the pupils experienced the police.

Most pupils had contact with the police related to the school, for example when getting their biking license or education about thievery. 10 pupils experienced the police because of an accident. 10 pupils had contact with the police dealing with crimes, such as violence, thievery or threatening. Eight pupils experienced police controls for example in traffic. two times pupils indicated that they had contact with the police when asking them a question. 11 pupils had other reasons for engaging with the police. Some have personal connections with police officers for example in their family. The police were also contacted when they found or lost something in the streets or complained about disturbance due to loud music. Further, one pupil indicated that he took a picture with a police officer for his birthday. And one indicated that he participated in a radio show related to the police. (Q6) This indicates that the police is not only perceived as a law enforcer but also as an authority that engages with the citizens and offers help. This follows the theoretical assumptions of the community policing model. (Reisig, 2010)

In three of these interactions, it can be identified that the interaction was initiated by the police while seven interactions were self-initiated. It's difficult to draw a conclusion from this because the question was asked openly, and often it was not clearly indicated in the answers, who initiated the contact. Nevertheless, the pupils did initiate interactions themselves (sometimes accompanied by their parents). Those situations were when they asked a question, lost or found something or made the complaint about loud music.

This already could be an indicator for a tendency to be willing to interact with the police.

5.3.2 Procedural Justice

Further, it will be analyzed in what way the pupils perceived those interactions as legitimate.

The pupils were asked if they think that they are treated respectfully by the police, think that they are taken seriously, trust the police to make the right decision and feel treated fairly. The factors have a strong positive correlation. This shows the construct validity.

All questions are answered on average with agreement. The highest agreement was found for perceived respect and fairness. The standard deviation is not varying strongly between the questions. This shown that for all the questions the answer variability was consistent. However, the answers were spread out between strong agreement and neutral, which indicates that the majority of the pupils didn't give negative responses on procedural justice.

Q7.1		Q7.2		Q7.3		Q7.4	
Mean	4,30769231	Mean	3,97435897	Mean	3,94871795	Mean	4,30769231
Standard Error	0,15255872	Standard Erro	0,1620667	Standard Erro	0,14299327	Standard Erro	0,1439099
Median	5	Median	4	Median	4	Median	5
Mode	5	Mode	4	Mode	4	Mode	5
Standard Deviation	0,96486604	Standard Devi	1,0249998	Standard Devi	0,90436883	Standard Devi	0,91016612

Table 2: Mean Procedural Justice (1=low agreement, 5=strong agreement)

Further, the results will be analyzed regarding the age and gender groups.

Male respondents gave positive responses for all questions. Especially, sixth graders indicated that they feel respected and treated fairly by the police. Also, female respondents showed positive perception of all four aspects. In particular, tenth graders experienced positive encounters with the police and agreed highly with all questions.

	Mean Respect	Mean Serious	Mean Trust	Mean Fair
☑ Keine Angabe	3,00	2,50	3,00	2,00
6	3,00	2,50	3,00	2,00
☑ Männlich	4,16	3,79	3,68	4,16
6	4,50	3,25	3,75	4,75
8	3,40	3,20	3,00	3,40
10	4,40	4,30	4,00	4,30
☑ Nichtbinär	5,00	4,50	4,50	5,00
6	5,00	5,00	5,00	5,00
10	5,00	4,00	4,00	5,00
☑ Weiblich	4,56	4,31	4,31	4,69
6	4,88	4,38	4,63	4,63
8	4,25	4,50	3,75	5,00
10	4,25	4,00	4,25	4,50
Gesamtergebnis	4,31	3,97	3,95	4,31

Table 3: Mean procedural justice factors (by gender and grade)

In conclusion, the pupils have a general positive impression of the police and experienced the police to follow just procedures, as expected. Therefore, it can be said that the pupils legitimize the police in general. Further, they perceive the police do have a broader role than simply being a law enforcer. This could have implications for the way the pupils behave towards the Cop4U, which will be examined in the next chapter.

5.4 Cop4U and pupils

In the following, the analysis will answer the third question: ‘In what way differs the pupil’s perception of the police of Cop4U from how they perceive the police in general?’ Hence, possible correlations between the perception of the police and the Cop4U will be examined.

5.4.1 Contact between Cop4U and pupils

12 pupils had contact with the Cop4U officer, while 47 have never been in contact with him. (Q3) No relevant correlation between the contact with the Cop4U and perceived procedural justice could be found. Reasons for contact between pupils and the Cop4U were mostly related to random encounters in the school. Two pupils talked to the officer while eight just saw him, one of them while he was dealing with a felony. One pupil had contact with him outside of the school at the fire fighters. The pupil also made clear that the Cop4U is highly appreciated at the local fire fighters. This suggests that the Cop4U is integrated in the local community. (Q3.1, Q3.2)

Further, the reasons for no contact with the Cop4U officer will be analyzed. 37 pupils indicated that they didn’t know about the Cop4U. Five pupils didn’t know how to reach the officer. 19 pupils didn’t experience a situation in which they would have needed the Cop4U. Four pupils had other reasons. (Q3a)

5.4.2 Perception of Cop4U police officer

Three pupils indicated that the question they asked to the officer was answered well. One pupil experienced it to be a nice contact. One person had an unfriendly perception of the Cop4U. (Q3.3) Nevertheless, the majority of pupils, who indicated having contact with the Cop4U officer, didn’t have direct contact with him and saw him in the school. Two of them said that he seemed friendly. (Q3.4)

Due to the small number of pupils who had direct contact with him, the procedural justice of the Cop4U wasn’t measured because no relevant findings can be expected from the results. This was already implied in the pre-interviews.

In conclusion, the overall perception of the Cop4U officer is positive. Nevertheless, not even one fourth of the pupils, who participated in the survey, experienced contact with the Cop4U officer. Also, most of the pupils never had direct contact with the officer. Therefore, it is difficult to draw conclusion about the procedural justice of the Cop4U officer. Following the operationalization of the goal of a trustful relationship between pupils and the Cop4U, which focused on the amount and nature of the contact, it can be said that it seems not to be met. Only a small number of pupils were in contact with the Cop4U. Further, only two people talked to him, which doesn’t indicate a trustful relationship.

Further, the expectation that pupils who perceive the police to act just are less hesitant to contact the Cop4U cannot be confirmed, due to a missing correlation.

Lacking police legitimacy or a negative perception of the Cop4U don’t provide explanations for the little contact between the pupils and the Cop4U. Rather, it became evident that the pupils don’t know about the project and the Cop4U officer.

5.5. Suitability project regarding contact between police and pupils

Finally, the question (SQ4) will be answered to what extent the Cop4U program is suitable in reaching the goal regarding the contact between pupils and the police. Since it became clear that the headmaster pursues a different goal, it will also be analyzed if the goal of the police, based on the 'framework agreement', might not reflect the need of the school, especially the pupils.

When being asked about the success of the program in encouraging pupils to approach the Cop4U the headmaster pointed out the posters in the hallway which assure the technical possibility of contacting the officer. Nevertheless, he doesn't expect pupils to take advantage of this possibility. He expects the pupils to first contact the parents before approaching the police. As became clear in the beginning the headmaster sees the role of the Cop4U when interacting with the pupils exclusively for incidents involving suspected criminal offenses.

The pupils show light disagreement when being asked if the project reached the goal of encouraging pupils to get in contact with the police. On average they answered with a four on a scale from 1(low) till 10 (high). However, the standard deviation is 2, which shows that the pupils' answers show a high variability, and they seem to perceive it differently.

<i>Q4</i>	
Mean	4,307692308
Standard Error	0,350734425
Median	5
Mode	5
Standard Deviation	2,190335785

Table 4: Mean Question 4

Therefore, the project seems not suitable to enhance the contact between pupils and the police. Hence, further it will analyzed if the pupils have interest in such a project and how they expect it to be implemented.

Nevertheless, 45 pupils think that in general such a project can help to encourage pupils to engage with the police. (Q8) This indicates that a majority of the pupils don't share the same approach as the headmaster. 21 pupils think that such a project can increase the trust between pupils and the police. 12 pupils think that the project can be helpful to understand the work of the police better and learn, in which situations the police can be of assistance. Hence, a majority of the pupils perceive the project beneficial for the same reasons as it was established in the framework agreement. Further, seven pupils expect such project to increase the feeling of security at the school. One pupil indicates that a project can be helpful for prevention and one pupil suggests it can be beneficial for pupils who consider becoming a police officer in the future. (Q8.1)

When being asked about how the project should be designed the answers of the pupils mostly followed the same ideas as suggested in the 'Fachanweisung'. 10 pupils think that the Cop4U should present himself in front of the class, especially in the fifth grade. Eight pupils are in favor of a regular counselling hour. Eight pupils also endorse regular presence of the officer at the school. Four pupils think that contact at least once a year would be helpful. For this, pupils suggest workshops and activities in which topics such as thievery, consumption of drugs and the consequences of other felonies are dealt with. Further, there is a wish for explaining the job of the police officer in workshops and possibly visit the police station. (Q8.2)

Further, the pupils indicated how they wish the police officer to act in such a project. The majority (33) answered that a friendly appearance is important to them. 17 pupils expect a

respectful treatment. 11 pupils want the officer to be open. Eight pupils say that the officer should have authority but should not be fearful. Five pupils ask for him to be helpful. Three pupils said that a fair treatment is important to them. (Q8.3) It can be seen that those answers correspond with the procedural justice criteria. This indicates that just procedures are important for the pupils and influence their judgement of the police officer.

Pupils, who disliked such a project indicated seven times that they don't think that such a project will change the behavior of pupils and twice that they are not interested in such a project. (Q8.1a)

A positive correlation between pupils who think that the police take them seriously, make the right decisions and treat them respectfully and agree that such a project can be beneficial is found. The correlation between respectful treatment and positive perception of such a project is only weak. Nevertheless, it can be said that perceived procedural justice can be an explanation for a positive impression of the project, which meets the third expectation of this research, mentioned in the second chapter. However, this can also indicate that pupils with an already high level of procedural justice, might be more open to the project. Further, pupils who had no contact with the Cop4U also have a negative impression of the project.

This shows that contact with the police that is perceived just has an influence on the pupil's perception. Nevertheless, this influence does not lead to an increased contact between the Cop4U and the pupils.

Likewise, no contact with the Cop4U has also an influence on the perception of the pupils. This suggests the relevance of such a project because the absence of contact between the police and pupils has a negative influence on the pupil's perception on contact between the pupils and the police.

Finally, it can be concluded that the project is rather not suitable for achieving the project goal of a trustful relationship between the pupils and the police. The reasons for that lie in the implementation of the project. While the theoretical framework of the project follows a community policing approach, the implementation in the school follows a rather traditional policing approach, in which the police officer is only present if needed. Nevertheless, the pupils wish for an implementation, including a presentation of the officer in front of the class and active engagement with the Cop4U. These aspects are also mentioned in the 'Fachanweisung'. Therefore, it can be said that also the pupils favor a rather community-based approach for the project. Reasons for limitations in the implementation of the project will be reflected in the following chapter.

6. Reflection of the project

In the analysis it was shown that, procedural justice has an influence on pupils' perception. Nevertheless, this doesn't lead to contact between pupils and the Cop4U at this school. Reasons for this might be rooted in structural limitations of the project, which will be reflected in the following.

As indicated in the framework agreement, the implementation differs in each school. Therefore, the reflection can only focus on one school, and it might be difficult to draw conclusions from it about the whole project.

6.1 Implementation of project

6.1.1 Presence of Cop4U at school

Firstly, it should be reconsidered if the current regulation at the school that the Cop4U officer is only present at the school on demand, is the most suitable option. It appears that the demands of the pupils were not reflected in the establishment of this cooperation. From the survey it becomes evident that the pupils are interested in learning more about the police and having more contact with the Cop4U officer. The poster in the hallway doesn't seem to be suitable to achieve this. A majority of the pupils are in favor of such a project but propose alternative ways to increase the contact between the pupils and the Cop4U like a presentation in class or regular counseling hours or presence on the school ground.

For this it seems necessary that the headmaster and the police officer follow the same goal. It became clear that the headmaster currently follows a traditional policing approach when evaluating the program. Hence, his main interest in the implementation lies in the third task of the Cop4U framework agreement, defining the Cop4U to be a contact person for the school, while excluding the other tasks. The police officer should therefore initiate a discussion of the underlying objectives of the project with the headmaster and define necessary measures.

6.1.2. Responsibilities of Cop4U

Further, the responsibilities of the Cop4U should be defined and communicated to the pupils. When conducting a pre-interview, it became clear that the pupils are insecure about what kind of problems the Cop4U is responsible for. The concern was raised if the problem would be worth calling the Cop4U for. In the framework agreement it is also mentioned that it is part of the responsibility of the Cop4U to identify areas of conflict at the school. (Bürgerschaft der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg, 2003) This is not fulfilled at the school. One reason for it might be that the Cop4U works exclusively reactive.

6.2 Uniform

Additionally, the work attire of the Cop4U officer will be focused on. The framework agreement specifies that the Cop4U is required to wear a police uniform. In a pre-interview a pupil is raising the question if the uniform might also be a factor why the pupils are more hesitant to approach the Cop4U officer. The headmaster appreciates the uniform because in his perception the pupils show more respect to the officer than to the teachers, especially in situations of conflict.

It becomes clear that the uniform is not purely work attire but also a symbol. Following the social identity theory the uniform might symbolize that the police officer belongs to a different group than yourself. Research showed that police officers in civilian attire are perceived as less aggressive but also less approachable, less respectful, and less accountable. (Jenkins et al., 2021) This shows that the uniform has an effect on the perception of the police and could influence the behavior of the pupils regarding the police.

6.3 Concerns of parents

Finally, possible concerns of parents will be reflected on. While conducting the research a teacher indicated in an informal talk that parents might be irritated if the Cop4U officer would appear regularly at the school. He said that similarities with the US might be seen.

In the USA a 'School Resource officer' is an integral part of everyday school life. He should increase the feeling of safety at the school. Further, he also functions as an educator and intervenes actively in the daily school life. (Ehlert, 2021)

Research has shown that such practices might raise the concern that pupils' misbehavior is punished more strictly than if a police officer wouldn't be present at the school. Further, concerns could be related to racial profiling and the disregard of pupils' rights. Due to the imbalance of authority, not only between the teacher and the pupil but also the police officer and the pupil, parents might be concerned that the rights of the pupil and police regulations might not be respected in a situation of conflict. Especially, because there might be a trustful relationship between the teacher and the officer. (Montes et al., 2021)

Due to a lack of contact to the parents of the pupils in my research, I wasn't able to verify these concerns. Nevertheless, it is an important aspect that should be reflected in the project. The school should increase the contact between the Cop4U and the parents and explain the approach of the Cop4U to resolve concerns.

7. Conclusion

Rising concerns about juvenile delinquency in Germany, particularly exacerbated by socio-economic challenges and the COVID-19 pandemic build the reasoning for analyzing Community policing-based projects with pupils, such as the Cop4U program, on their impact on the pupils' perception of the police. The project was established 2002 in Hamburg and bases on the Community Policing approach. Through active engagement between the school and police a trustful relationship should be established. Following the procedural justice theory increased positive contact with the police can led to police legitimacy. Police legitimacy is an important precondition for the voluntarily cooperation with the police.

This thesis addressed in what way the Cop4U project at the examined school is able to work towards police legitimacy of pupils. For this purpose, correlations between the perception of the police in general and the contact with the Cop4U were analyzed. In the following, the research question and the subquestions as presented in the introduction are being answered. Later based on a critical reflection of my research advice for further research are given. Finally, practical instructions based on my findings will be presented.

The research findings answering the research question: 'In what way does the Cop4U project influence pupils' perception of the police?' indicate that there was no measurable direct influence of the project on pupils' perceptions of the police. Despite this, pupils expressed a positive impression of such programs. This suggests that the lack of observable effect may be attributed to deficiencies in the structural implementation of the program's goals within the school. In particular, miscommunication between the headmaster's objectives and the Cop4U officer's goals appears to be a significant contributing factor.

The framework agreement specified three tasks of the Cop4U that should help reach the goal of implementing suitable measure to curb juvenile delinquency.

Findings from the answer of the first subquestion: '*How is the Cop4U program implemented?*' suggest that the task of being a contact person for the school is partly reached. The relationship between the headmaster and police officer seems to be trustful. Nevertheless, the relationship between parents and especially, the pupils, who are the main group of interest in my thesis, and the Cop4U officer is not emphasized on in the implementation of the project. The second task of being presented and active at the school seems not to be fulfilled. The police officer is working in a reactive manner and is only present at the school if it is requested by the headmaster. Finally, the Cop4u acts as a contact person, especially for the headmaster. He assists in situations in which a felony is committed and provides contact to other authorities. Hence, the third task seems mainly to be fulfilled.

The analysis on how the pupils perceive the police, answering the second subquestion: '*Do pupils perceive the police in general as legitimate?*' has shown that there is a general positive perception of the police among the pupils. They encountered them in the school, but also in the streets. Responses showed that they did not only experience the police in the role of a law enforcer but also as an authority that engages with the citizens. For example, one pupils indicates that a police officer agreed to take a picture with him on his birthday. Further, the pupils experienced the police to act just in previous interactions. An effect of gender or age on those results could not be found.

This positive perception of the police was not mirrored in the perception of the Cop4U officer, as can be concluded from the analysis of the results of the third subquestion: '*How does the perception of the police in the Cop4U program differ from pupils' general perception of the police?*'. However, only one third of the pupils was in contact with the Cop4U, most of it indirectly by seeing the officer at the school.

Finally, answering the last subquestion: '*To what extent is the Cop4U program suitable for reaching its goals, especially regarding contact between pupils and the police?*' the analysis

made clear that the pupils have positive attitudes against projects between the police and schools, especially for improving the trust of pupils in the police. Nevertheless, the current implementation doesn't satisfy their ideas about such a project. They think that regular presence of the police officer, especially a presentation of the officer in each class, should be implemented. Therefore, the project might be suitable if it is implemented according to the pupils ideas, which are also mirrored in the legal regulations of the project.

Besides lacking presence of the police officer and insecurities among the pupils when to address the officer, analytical insights made clear that the uniform and concerns of parents might also be explanations for why the project does not achieve the favored results.

The research aimed to enrich the research on community policing approaches in Germany. There is hardly any scientific research on projects like the Cop4U projects, which focus on the cooperation between the school and the police in Germany. Therefore, it is difficult to discuss my findings with the results of other researchers.

However, during my research I faced with some issues that should be considered in further research.

When selecting the school for my research, the socio-economic context of the school was not considered in depth. This was reasoned by the community-policing approach followed in the framework agreement. Nevertheless, during my research it became clear that the framework agreement was not implemented as expected. Therefore, for further research it might be helpful to choose schools, that have higher crime rates. This would also ensure that the procedural justice model would be applicable due to a high amount of contact between the police (Cop4U) and the pupils.

Further, I was not able to interview the Cop4U officer due to legal regulations within the police. This was communicated to me by the police within very short notice. Therefore, I decided to interview the headmaster instead, to get further insides on the administrative side of the project. Even though this interview gave valuable insights especially regarding the different approach in which the headmaster evaluates the program, an interview with the Cop4U officer would have enriched my research. It would have especially been helpful understanding why the framework agreement is not implemented sufficiently even though the goal of the Cop4U officer suggests otherwise.

Finally, the findings suggested a correlation between positive perceptions of such a project and a high perceived procedural justice. Hence, it might be that pupils who perceive the police more positive in general are also more positive towards the project. Therefore, the project might show stronger effects on them and reversibly might have a lower impact on pupils with lower perceived procedural justice. This should be analyzed in further research.

For practical insights, it is most evident that the headmaster must be well-informed about the program's approach, which follows community policing principles. Furthermore, he needs to adjust his goal of the project so that it matches the goal-setting of the police. Furthermore, the voices of pupils should be considered by both the headmaster and the Cop4U officer, and the implementation of the project should be adapted to meet their needs. This includes, in particular, the presentation of the officer in classrooms. Active engagement by the Cop4U officer is required for this to be effective.

Additionally, it is recommended to increase contact between parents and the Cop4U officer to address any potential concerns. The headmaster can play a bridging role here, initiating the participation of the police officer in parent meetings, for example. This also necessitates more active engagement by the Cop4U officer within the school.

It may also be beneficial to introduce a position within the police force dedicated to monitoring the implementation of such programs, which could help prevent similar issues in the future.

According to my knowledge, the success of the project was only evaluated once in 2009, and this evaluation was only conducted with the headmasters of the school. (Richter & Sturzenhecker, 2010) There is an urgent need to update this evaluation, especially given the increasing crises and the particular impact of the coronavirus pandemic. It is crucial to design the survey in line with the community policing approach and to involve other stakeholders, such as the pupils. This initiative should be undertaken by the federal ministry of the interior in Hamburg.

8. References

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9. Annex

9.1 Transcript Key-Informant Interviews

9.2 Questions survey

9.3 Results quantitative data survey

9.4 Transcript Interview Headmaster

9.5 Framework agreement Cop4U

9.6 'Fachanweisung' Cop4U