

Elsa Saarikkomäki

TRUST IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE POLICING:

Young people's encounters with the police
and private security guards

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with the police and private security guards

Elsa Saarikkomäki

ACADEMIC DISSERTATION

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of the University of Helsinki, for public examination in the Room 5 of
the University Main building, on 3 March 2017, at 12 noon.

Helsinki 2017

Supervised by

Professor Janne Kivivuori
Institute of Criminology and Legal Policy
University of Helsinki

Professor Timo Harrikari
School of Social Sciences and Humanities
University of Tampere

Reviewed by

Research director, Adjunct Professor Leena Suurpää
Finnish Youth Research Society

Professor Tove Pettersson
Department of Criminology
Stockholm University

Opponent

Professor Barry Goldson
Department of Sociology, Social Policy and Criminology
University of Liverpool

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Etelä-Haaga, Helsinki
January 2017

Elsa Saarikkomäki

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ABSTRACT

While general trust in the police is high in Finland, young people's encounters with the police can be problematic. The starting point for the study was the observation that young people are experiencing higher levels of police control despite the lack of a corresponding rise in youth delinquency and alcohol use. Furthermore, the rapid rise of private security in many Western countries has changed the social control landscape. There is, however, a lack of research on perceptions of private security. This study examined adversarial encounters between young people, the police and private security guards. It focused on social control directed at youth delinquency, alcohol use and the free time activities of young people.

This study drew on criminological and sociological approaches, using labelling theory to study control selectivity, and procedural justice theory to study perceptions of fair treatment and trust in policing. This research used mixed methods, with sub-studies I and II drawing on a Finnish self-report delinquency survey (N=5 826, ages 15 to 16), and sub-studies III and IV drawing on nine focus group interviews with 31 young people (ages 14 to 17).

The findings of sub-studies I and II indicated that police and security guard interventions were highly prevalent among young people. Sub-study I examined which factors increased the likelihood of police interventions, and sub-study II focused on security guard interventions (the selectivity hypothesis). Delinquency and heavy drinking increased the likelihood of both types of interventions. Furthermore, police and security guard interventions were shown to disproportionately target young people from lower social classes and non-nuclear families, even when differences in delinquency were taken into account. While boys were more likely to experience police interventions, there were no gender differences in security guard interventions.

Sub-study III analysed fictional and personal stories of fair and unfair encounters where policing agents intervened in underage alcohol use. The key difference between situations perceived as fair and unfair related to how policing agents treated young people. Intervening itself did not challenge trust when the policing agents' work legitimized the intervention. Fair narratives highlighted friendly, peaceful and predictable interactions and mutual respect. Unfair narratives described aggressive, instrumental and impolite treatment. Furthermore, emotional factors, such as policing agents' ability to be empathetic and control negative emotions, enforced trust.

Sub-study IV found that young people had more trust and confidence in the police than in security guards. Perceptions of trust were formulated in face-to-face encounters and perceptions of confidence were based on general assumptions. Young people trusted the police more because they considered them better educated and more professional and their actions more legitimate and respectful. Security guards were perceived as exceeding their legal rights and acting unfairly. However, the findings also suggest that private security guards have gained some legitimacy, and they were not viewed merely as private actors.

The study emphasizes that within the context of this new form of public-private social control there is a particular need to understand the positive and negative effects of policing in a broad sense. The study demonstrated that encounters with the crime control system that are selective or perceived as unfair can have broad societal effects: they can impact young people's sense of social belonging and their trust in other people. Nevertheless, the study also revealed possibilities for developing good relations and trust between young people and policing agents.

Key words: labelling, police, private security, procedural justice, trust, young people

TIIVISTELMÄ

Yleinen luottamus poliisiin on Suomessa korkeaa; silti nuorten ja poliisien kohtaamisia leimaa usein jännitteisyys. Tutkimuksen lähtökohtana on huomio nuoriin kohdistuvan poliisikontrollin lisääntymisestä, vaikka alaikäisten rikoskäyttäytyminen tai alkoholinkäyttö ei ole lisääntynyt. Toisena lähtökohtana ovat kriminologian kansainväliset keskustelut, jotka painottavat yksityisen turvallisuusalan roolin kasvua yhtenä rikoskontrollin keskeisenä muutoksena. Aiempi tutkimus ei ole riittävästi huomioinut kansalaisten, etenkin nuorten, kokemuksia yksityisestä turvallisuusalasta. Tässä tutkimuksessa tarkasteltiin alaikäisten nuorten, poliisien ja yksityisen turvallisuusalan toimijoiden (vartijat ja järjestyksenvalvojat) kohtaamisia. Tutkimus tuo esiin nuorten kokemuksia ja näkökulmia siitä, miten poliisit ja vartijat puuttuvat nuorten alkoholin juomiseen, normirikkomuksiin ja vapaa-ajan viettoon.

Tutkimus tarkastelee sitä, mitkä tekijät vaikuttavat luottamuksen syntyyn nuorten, poliisien, vartijoiden ja järjestyksenvalvojien välillä. Tutkimuksen teoreettinen viitekehys pohjautuu prosessuaalisen oikeudenmukaisuuden teoriaan (reilu kohtelu) ja leimaamisteoriaan (kontrollin valikoivuus). Tutkimus hyödyntää mixed methods -otetta (eli määrällisiä ja laadullisia aineistoja) käyttäen koko Suomen kattavaa nuorisorikollisuuskyselyaineistoa (N=5 826, 15–16-vuotiaat nuoret) ja Helsingissä kerättyä ryhmähaastatteluaaineistoa (9 ryhmää, 31 osallistujaa, 14–17-vuotiaat nuoret).

Ensimmäisen ja toisen osatyön tulokset nostivat esiin kaksi pääkohtaa. Ensinnäkin, nuoriin kohdistuva poliisi- ja vartijakontrolli oli hyvin yleistä. Noin 40 % nuorista oli kokenut poliisin toimenpiteitä, kuten paikalta poistamisen, laukkujen tai vaatteiden tutkimisen tai kiinnijäämisen. Sama osuus oli kokenut vartijoiden tekemiä vastaavia toimenpiteitä. Toiseksi, kontrolli kohdistui osin valikoivasti. Ammattikouluun suuntaavilla nuorilla, ei-ydinperheessä asuvilla nuorilla, ja kaupungissa asuvilla havaittiin vertailuryhmää suurempi todennäköisyys poliisi- ja vartijatoimenpiteille. Tulos säilyi vaikka rikosaktiivisuus ja humalajuomisen yleisyys oli vakioitu. Nämä myös itsessään lisäsivät riskiä kokea toimenpiteitä. Poliisikontrolli kohdistui enemmän poikiin, mutta vartijakontrollin kohdistumisessa ei havaittu eroja poikien ja tyttöjen välillä.

Kolmannen ja neljännen osatutkimusten tulosten mukaan reiluksi ja kunnioittavaksi koettu kohtelu vuorovaikutustilanteissa on keskeistä luottamuksen rakentumiselle. Kolmas osatutkimus analysoi nuorten tarinoita onnistuneista ja

epäonnistuneista kohtaamisista tilanteissa, joissa kontrollitoimijat puuttuvat alkoholin käyttöön julkisessa tilassa. Tulosten mukaan puuttuminen itsessään ei haastanut luottamuksen kokemusta vaan keskeistä oli se, miten poliisi ja vartijat olivat vuorovaikutuksessa nuorten kanssa. Reiluksi kohtaamiseksi määrittyi nuoria kunnioittava, kuunteleva, empaattinen ja ystävällinen toiminta. Nuoret myös arvostivat kontrollitoimijoiden rauhallista ja tunteiltaan vakaata toimintaa. Liika aggressiivisuus, liian kovat otteet sekä välinpitämättömyys heikensivät luottamusta.

Neljännän osatutkimuksen tulokset osoittavat, että nuoret luottavat enemmän poliisiin kuin yksityisen turvallisuusalan toimijoihin. Luottamus kontrollitoimijoihin rakentuu monisyisistä seikoista, joihin liittyy muun muassa rakenteellisella tasolla luottamus julkiseen poliisi-instituutioon ja henkilökohtaisella tasolla kokemukset kohtaamisten reiluudesta. Poliisi nauttii Suomessa yleistä luottamusta myös nuorten keskuudessa. Nuoret arvostivat poliisin pidempää koulutusta ja parempaa osaamista nuorten kohtaamisessa. Nuoret kokivat luottavansa vähemmän vartijoihin, koska heidän koettiin toimivan toisinaan aggressiivisesti, epäkunnioittavasti, ylittävän toimivaltuutensa ja häätävän nuoria kauppakeskuksista liian intensiivisesti. Nuoret eivät määritelleet vartijoita ja järjestyksenvalvoja yksityisiksi toimijoiksi ja yksityisellä turvallisuusalalla näytti olevan jonkin verran legitimitettä.

Tulokset haastavat pohtimaan uudenlaista sosiaalisen kontrollin kontekstia, jossa yksityisellä turvallisuusalalla on suuri rooli. Tutkimus nosti esiin luottamusta heikentäviä piirteitä kuten kontrollin valikoivan kohdistumisen, epäreiluiksi koetut kohtaamistilanteet ja sen miten intensiivinen kontrolli vaikeuttaa nuorten mahdollisuutta käyttää kaupunkitilaa. Kohtaamisilla on merkitystä myös sen kannalta, kokevatko nuoret olevansa kunnioitettuja yhteiskunnan jäseniä. Toisaalta tulokset painottavat myös sitä, että nuorilla oli hyviä kohtaamisia poliisien, vartijoiden ja järjestyksenvalvojen kanssa. Nämä lisäävät luottamusta ja hyviä suhteita nuorten ja aikuisyhteiskunnan välillä.

Avainsanat: luottamus, nuoret, poliisi, sosiaalinen kontrolli, yksityinen turvallisuusala

LIST OF ORIGINAL PUBLICATIONS

This thesis is based on the following publications:

- I. Saarikkomäki, Elsa and Kivivuori, Janne (2013). Young People as Objects of Police Control in a Nordic Context: Who Are the Socially Visible Targets? *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research*, 19: 351–368..
- II. Saarikkomäki, Elsa and Kivivuori, Janne (2016). Encounters between security guards and young people: the extent and biases of formal social control. *Policing and Society*, 26: 824–840. (First published online 13 December 2014, doi:10.1080/10439463.2014.989160)
- III. Saarikkomäki, Elsa (2015). Perceptions of Procedural Justice Among Young People: Narratives of Fair Treatment in Young People's Stories of Police and Security Guard Interventions. *British Journal of Criminology*, 56: 1253–1271.
- IV. Saarikkomäki, Elsa (2017). Young people's conceptions of trust and confidence in the crime control system: Differences between public and private policing. Forthcoming in *Criminology & Criminal justice*.

1 INTRODUCTION

While working on this research, I visited a shopping mall where I knew young people typically spent their free time. There were around ten young people ‘hanging out’; it was rather quiet, and nothing special happened. I was ‘idly’ sitting, taking notes, when I suddenly noticed that two security guards had begun talking to the young people. It seemed the security guards were asking them to leave, and many went outside the mall, while I continued sitting there taking notes. To my surprise, the security guards also approached me and said ‘the same thing, you are not allowed to sit here’. I followed the young people and went outside. The experience was thought-provoking; it aroused emotions and raised questions. It felt strange that they had asked me to leave, and I had been unable to react quickly enough and to ask for a reason. It did not even occur to me to protest; however, afterwards I started to think about why I had complied and why we had not been allowed to sit there. It was the first time I had visited the mall for research purposes, and I immediately gained a first-hand impression of the fact that city space is indeed rather regulated. Furthermore, it underlined to me as a researcher the importance not only of studying the frequency and nature of encounters between young people, private security guards and the police, but also of trying to grasp how these encounters are regarded and experienced by the targets of policing – the young people themselves.

Scholars suggest that young people in Finland are being subjected to ever tighter social control (Koskela 2009; Pekkarinen 2010; Satka et al. 2011; Harrikari 2013; Korander 2014). There has been a notable trend towards an increase in police control, even though rates of delinquency and alcohol use among young people have remained stable (Kivivuori 2006; Salmi 2012; Raitasalo et al. 2016). There has also been another important change in policing and crime control in many Western countries: the rapid rise of private security. Finland is no exception in this regard, with security guards increasingly patrolling the urban spaces where young people typically spend their free time (Koskela 2009; Kerttula 2010). The fragmentation of the state monopoly on crime control has led to discussion of the blurring of the public and private policing and about the possible privatization and commercialization of policing and crime control (e.g. Bayley and Shearing 1996; Garland 2001; Wakefield 2003; Loader and Walker 2006; White and Gill 2013). Nevertheless, criminological research has mainly focused on the public police and the criminal justice system and has largely

overlooked the new public-private policing context. These notions of changed social control constitute the starting point and background for this research.

This study argues that there is a need for a deeper understanding of the phenomena of policing, in particular from the perspectives of young people. There are many reasons why this study focuses on young people. Firstly, some scholars have suggested that increased social control is particularly visible in young people's lives (e.g. Harrikari 2013; Korander 2014). Secondly, young people's encounters with policing agents, particularly with private policing agents, remain an under-researched topic. Furthermore, the perspectives of young people themselves in this new social control context have attracted little academic interest (also Satka et al. 2011), although some scholars have emphasized the difficulties that young people might have in getting their opinions heard (Hoikkala and Suurpää 2016; Honkatukia, forthcoming). Thirdly, it is important to focus on young people because they are the group that tends to use urban spaces in their free-time the most. However, their access to these spaces is not unproblematic (e.g. Koskela 2009). Finally, the literature suggests that a culture of increased social control might have effects on inter-generational relations and trust between young people and adults (Harrikari and Hoikkala 2008; Pekkarinen 2010; Honkatukia, forthcoming). Interactions between minors and policing agents can be challenging as they contain dimensions of both control and care. This is present for instance in situations where alcohol is being used (Leisto and Tuomikoski-Koukkula 2011; Korander 2014).

General trust in the police is high in Finland, also among young people (Honkatukia and Suurpää 2007; Kääriäinen 2007, 2008; Myllyniemi 2012; Kouvo 2014). Research indicates, however, that personal experiences often diminish trust in the police, and encounters between young people and police officers are often described as problematic (e.g. Skogan 2006; Carr et al. 2007; Bradford et al. 2009; Crawford 2009; Pettersson 2013, 2014; Korander 2014). Similar results have been found for encounters between young people and the newcomers to the control arena – private security guards (Matthews et al. 2000; Fine et al. 2003; Ruuskanen 2008).

While many studies have focused on general views of trust in policing, this study focuses on the encounters and perceptions of those young people who have had experiences of policing. According to Bradford and Jackson (2015), procedural justice theory is currently making the strongest advances in our understanding of the relationship between citizens and the police. The procedural justice approach is useful in making sense of issues around trust in the police

(e.g. Hough and Sato 2011, 13). The crucial factors affecting trust and confidence in policing are, firstly, the neutrality or selectivity of policing and, secondly, citizens' perceptions of the treatment they receive from policing agents (e.g. Tyler 1990, also Lemert 1951). Previous research suggests that it is important to study trust in policing because unfair encounters can decrease trust in and the legitimacy of the crime control system and increase conflicts between citizens and the authorities (e.g. Tyler 1990; Sunshine and Tyler 2003; Murphy 2015). Furthermore, unfair treatment can create feelings of not being valued and respected by society (Jackson et al. 2012, 1053; Pettersson 2014). This is particularly important when considering how policing agents interact with young people.

This study focuses on adversarial encounters between young people and the police and private security guards in Finland. It examines young people's experiences and their perceptions of public and private policing. The study concentrates on intervention situations, such as the policing of delinquency and young people's free time activities and alcohol use. Intervening in the illicit use of alcohol among minors is common in the Finnish context, yet policing minors' alcohol use has stirred too little research attention (see Leisto and Tuomikoski-Koukkula 2011; Korander 2014). The study focuses mainly on street-level encounters, for instance when young people spend their free time in the city space. I refer to these encounters as *police and security guard contacts*, *intervention situations* and *policing*. I refer to both police and security guards as *control agents* and *policing agents* (see also Button 2002; Wakefield 2003; Reiner 2010). The type of encounters that this study investigates are referred to in criminology as 'control agent initiated contacts' (e.g. Bradford et al. 2009, 28). This means that this study largely excludes encounters where, for instance, young people ask for help or enter airport or other security check points and encounter private security guards. The terms 'adversarial' and 'interventions' do not mean that the encounters are always negative, and social control can also be perceived as positive.

Overall, the study examines how trust is formulated between young people, the police and private security guards. This study includes four sub-studies and a summary article. The primary research aims of the sub-studies are the following: firstly, to discover if the public and private policing of young people is neutral or if policing targets some social groups selectively (whether specific social groups receive disproportionate and selective attention, increasing the likelihood of young people from these groups becoming the target of policing);

secondly, to reveal how young people perceive fair and unfair treatment by public and private policing agents and how they formulate perceptions of trust in policing. What kind of interaction situations create or challenge trust? What differences are there in young people's trust and confidence in the police compared to private security guards?

The first two sub-studies examine social selectivity in policing. The inspiration for many empirical studies, including this one, comes from labelling theory. Labelling theory suggests that lower classes and marginal groups are disproportionately, i.e. selectively, targeted in the criminal justice system (e.g. Lemert 1951, 51–53). However, even if there are studies on social selectivity in the context of young people's police contacts (e.g. McAra and McVie 2005, 2012; Enzmann 2012), there is a lack of research on their contact with private security agents. The second two sub-studies develop a procedural justice approach to the study of young people's perceptions of fairness and trust in policing (e.g. Tyler 1990; Bradford et al. 2008). The rapidly expanding research tradition on procedural justice has not, however, sufficiently focused on young people, and it has neglected the effects of the rise of private security. Furthermore there is a lack of qualitative research (see also Pettersson 2014, 103). In this summary article, I draw the findings of the four sub-studies together and revisit them, giving particular focus to the notions of trust and procedural justice (e.g. Tyler 1990; Luhmann 2000; Bradford et al. 2008; Kouvo 2014).

This study uses a mixed methods approach and quantitative and qualitative data and methods. The first two sub-studies are based on a self-report delinquency survey (young people aged 15 to 16). They examine the social selectivity of police control (sub-study I) and private security-based control (sub-study II). Sub-studies I and II also produce descriptive information on the extent of police and private security guard interventions; to date, there is no knowledge of how common these interventions are among young people. The second two sub-studies use focus group interviews (young people aged 14 to 17). Young people often share their experiences and perceptions of policing through the stories they tell. Therefore, sub-study III uses the approach of narrative criminology (e.g. Sandberg et al. 2015; Presser and Sandberg 2015) in order to study young people's perceptions of fair and unfair policing interventions in underage alcohol use. Sub-study IV compares the differences in young people's perceptions of trust and confidence between the police and private security guards.

Policing and the crime control system are usually viewed only as deterrents to crime and delinquency; however, both labelling theory and procedural justice theory highlight that along with positive outcomes, contact with policing agents

can also have various negative impacts. This study argues that both these theories can increase our understanding of how trust and good relations could be created between young people and policing agents. Accordingly, my study suggests that policing should be understood as a broad social institution that has effects on people's lives, identities, their relations with policing agents, their trust in control agents, and, more broadly, their generalized trust in society and feelings of social belonging.

To conclude, I conceptualize my research through the research framework presented in Figure 1, below. The empirical focus is on young people's encounters with the police and private security guards, which I approach from different perspectives. This study is situated within the fields of criminology and sociology. Additionally, it includes policing studies and youth studies perspectives.

The theoretical framework for studying trust is derived from sociological and criminological theories, mainly from the approaches of procedural justice and labelling theory introduced above. In sociology there has been ongoing interest in trust. It is viewed as crucial in social interactions and for keeping societies together (e.g. Giddens 1990). Furthermore, trustworthy institutions can generate trust between people in society (Kouvo 2014). The youth study perspective comes from my interest in studying social control and policing from young people's perspectives. This study was inspired by discussions in youth studies which highlight the importance of including young people's perspectives and ensuring that their voices are heard (MacDonald 2011; Gudmundsson 2013; Hoikkala and Suurpää 2016; Honkatukia, forthcoming). In public discussions young people are often labelled or viewed as a risk group, and consequently the focus is on problems (Hoikkala and Suurpää 2016). The youth research approach aims to strengthen the perspectives of young people in research and youth policy and challenge the way young people are represented in public discussions (Gudmundsson 2013; Hoikkala 2016; Hoikkala and Suurpää 2016). I consider it important to focus on policing, as policing agents are not only social control agents but also officials who use special state power; thus, it is important to gain information on the views of those who are the targets of policing.

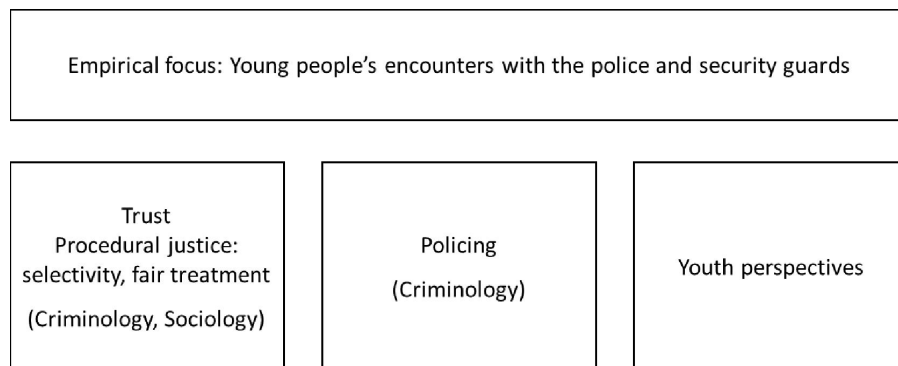


Figure 1 Empirical and theoretical research framework

In what follows, I first briefly define public and private policing. I then discuss three broad interconnected societal changes in social control and policing that provide the central background and context for this study. I discuss the rise of private security, the changed nature of public city space and its effects on young people's free time, and the increased police control of young people and its impact on inter-generational relations. After describing the context of the study, I continue to the theories and prior research related to trust. First, I discuss general trust in society and then, second, trust in the crime control system. Then I move on to describe the aims, data and methods, findings and conclusions of this research. In the discussion section, I draw together my quantitative and qualitative findings. Furthermore, I discuss my core findings in relation to changes in policing and in relation to trust. The study argues that it is important to understand the effects of policing broadly, as factors that influence both young people's trust in policing as well as their wider trust in society. The study suggests that there is currently insufficient understanding of how the changed public-private policing context affects young people, their relations with the crime control system and their perceptions of trust.

2 POLICING YOUNG PEOPLE: DEFINITIONS AND CURRENT CHANGES

In this chapter, I start by defining policing. Then I focus particularly on how the rise of private security affects the policing context. After this, I turn to current research on young people in order to discuss how the public-private context of policing is visible in their lives.

2.1 Definitions of public and private policing

This study addresses the social control of young people in the form of control exercised by police and private security guards in public, private and quasi-public places. In my study, this form of social control is termed ‘policing’, which is used to refer not only to the police but also to private security agents (also e.g. Button 2002; Wakefield 2003; Reiner 2010). I also use the term crime control system to refer to public and private policing.

Policing is one form of ‘societal reaction’, ‘social control’ and ‘governance’. In the 1950s, labelling theorists were already focusing on how society responds to deviance. Lemert (1951) developed the term ‘societal reactions’, which refers to society’s many forms of formal and informal reactions to deviancy. Pekkarinen (2010, 32–36), however, criticizes the term for being too broad, as it can mean any kind of reaction and thus it is difficult to use in empirical studies. Likewise, social control is a broad and complex term, including both social control agents and more informal control practices (e.g. Honkatukia 1998; Button 2002, 6; Reiner 2010, 4). However, Cohen (1985, 1–4) defines the concept of social control more narrowly as planned responses to expected and realized deviance. Official social control is ‘organized ways in which society responds to behavior and people it regards as deviant, problematic, worrying, threatening, troublesome or undesirable in some way or another (Cohen 1985, 1)’. The more recently used term ‘governance’ is also too broad for my empirical interests (e.g. Reiner 2010, 17; Harrikari 2008; Satka et al. 2011; White 2012). Accordingly, I mainly use the term ‘policing’, because it is a more specific term and it better defines my empirical interests compared to the related concepts of societal reactions, social control, or governance. The term does not take a stance on whether policing is perceived positively, neutrally or negatively (Reiner 2010,

4–5), and I am interested in policing as interaction and how the targets of policing view policing.

Policing is a system of surveillance coupled with the threat of sanctions. It implies a set of activities aimed at ensuring the maintenance of social order (Button 2002, 5–7; Reiner 2010, 5). On the one hand, the police are the gatekeepers of the criminal justice system, and they are usually the first agents of that system whom young people encounter (Feinstein 2015). Encounters with private security agents might also lead to encounters with the police and the criminal justice system, as private security agents are obliged to inform the police when they have apprehended someone. In this way, these encounters can have far-reaching consequences, particularly for young people. On the other hand, Reiner (2010, 19) emphasizes the fact that the gate of the criminal justice process opens rather seldom. Accordingly, many of the encounters between young people and policing agents are neither officially recorded nor lead to further action by the criminal justice system.

Policing can be performed by public or private operators (or a mix of these), by armies, by citizens or by technologies such as closed circuit television (CCTV) cameras (e.g. Kempa et al. 1999; Kerttula 2010; Reiner 2010, 5–6). The police are typically recognized as policing agents employed by the state, with a broad mandate for crime control, road traffic control and the maintenance of order (Reiner 2010, 1). Because the role of private security has grown, in this study I define private security officers as policing agents employed by the private or public sectors, guarding private, quasi-public and public places, with a public mandate to maintain order or a private mandate to secure private property. Private security officers patrol private spaces, quasi-public spaces – privately owned spaces that are used like public spaces, such as shopping malls – and public spaces, such as public transportation and metro and train stations.

In Finland, the term ‘security guard’ includes so-called stewards (‘*vartijat*’) and crowd controllers (‘*järjestyksenvalvojat*’). The so-called ‘bouncers’ at nightclubs and bars are excluded as this study focused on underage young people, and this type of encounters were not present in the data. Throughout the study, I have used the term ‘security guards’ to refer to both. In my empirical studies, it was not possible to distinguish them, as the term stewards is often used to refer to both and because it is difficult for members of the public to separate them, due to the similarity of their uniforms. Private policing can refer to broader policing activities than simply private security (Button 2002, 27); however, in my study, private policing and private security are synonymous. In this research, I have excluded policing by CCTV cameras and focus on face-to-

face interactions. I use ‘policing’ to refer collectively to public police officers, private security officers and also to the broader institution of the police and the private security industry.

Loader (2006, 204) defines policing broadly as ‘a social institution whose routine ordering and cultural work communicates authoritative meanings to individuals and groups about who they are, about whether their voices are heard and claims recognized, and about where and in what ways they belong’. Relations between policing agents and the targets of policing are by default unequal in terms of power hierarchy (e.g. Loader 2006; Crawford 2009; Reiner 2010). This does not mean, however, that the subjects of policing lack agency. Policing involves interaction situations between policing agents and the subjects of policing. However, compared to adults young people often have less power and fewer means to affect these interactions (e.g. Anttila 2010, 6–7).

2.2 The rise of private security: the blurred field of public-private policing

In this section, I introduce key studies regarding private policing in order to describe societal changes that also affect young people. Much of the criminological and policing literature has focused on the police and on the criminal justice system, neglecting the recent transformations in policing and crime control that have occurred due to the rapid rise of private security (e.g. Button 2002; McLaughlin 2007; Reiner 2010). There is, however, a growing amount of research on transformations in policing. By introducing these discussions, I wish to underline the fact that it is no longer sufficient to focus solely on public policing and the criminal justice system when studying social control or other related issues in criminology.

Policing is typically viewed as something over which the police, as agents of the state, have a monopoly. Consequently, the state has been considered to have a monopoly of violence. Scholars tend to emphasize that there was a time when the state had, at least to some extent, a monopoly on policing. What is new in Western countries today, and why changes in policing are gaining more and more attention, is that there has been a significant expansion of the private security industry. This has changed how policing – and the public-private policing distinction – is understood (e.g. Garland 2001; Bayley and Shearing 2001; Button 2002; McLaughlin 2007; Kerttula 2010; White and Gill 2013). There

are debates for instance on the extent and nature of the transformation of policing and the role of the police and the state in this new policing context (e.g. Bayley and Shearing 1996, 2001; Jones and Newburn 2002; Loader and Walker 2006; Wood and Dupont 2006; Kerttula 2010; White 2012). A paradigm shift began with Shearing and Stenning's work (1981; 1983), as they were the first to highlight radical changes in policing (White and Gill 2013). Bayley and Shearing's (1996, 585) thesis on the changed nature of policing is perhaps the most quoted in the field:

Modern democratic countries like the United States, Britain, and Canada have reached a watershed in the evolution of their systems of crime control and law enforcement. Future generations will look back on our era as a time when one system of policing ended and another took its place.

Bayley and Shearing (1996) suggest that there has been a major shift in the history of policing because of the loss of the public police's monopoly position and the subsequent pluralization of policing. However, their argument that we are entering a completely new era in policing has been criticized as hyperbole (e.g. Button 2002; Jones and Newburn 2002; White and Gill 2013). Scholars have noted that there is a long history of private security and that the police monopoly is in fact a rather recent historical development. Furthermore, Jones and Newburn (2002) suggest that the change in the ratio between the police and private security guards is not as radical as suggested. White and Gill (2013), on the other hand, point out that looking at the ratios of public-private policing is too simplistic; instead, they recommend examining the rationalities of policing. They analysed interviews with the police and private security agents and found that both the public and private sectors used market rationales as well as ideas of serving the public good. Their argument is that the two systems of policing have collided, thus creating complex and overlapping rationales for policing. The public police resemble the private and vice versa. Accordingly, the lines between public and private policing have, to some extent, become blurred (White and Gill 2013).

Button (2002, 8) notes that, at first glance, the public-private dichotomy seems clear-cut: public and private are distinguished by the sector to which they belong. If they are funded by public entities or are part of the government, they are public; if they are provided by companies for a fee, they are private (Button 2002, 8). The public-private dichotomy is unclear because the providers of security and the environment in which it occurs can be public or private (Bayley

and Shearing 2001). For instance, public entities (the state, a city) can hire private security guards to guard public spaces (e.g. stations, public transportation). Garland (2001) describes great changes in the culture of control, one of which is the expanding infrastructure of crime prevention and the commercialization of crime control. Garland (2001, 17–18) observes that:

One of the most interesting features of this new cluster of preventative practices and authorities is that it straddles the dividing line between public and private, and extends the contours of officially coordinated crime control well beyond the institutional boundaries of ‘the state’. For most of the last two centuries the state’s specialist institutions of criminal justice have dominated the fieldAt the same time we have seen the remarkable expansion of a private security industry that originally grew up in the shadow of the state but which is increasingly recognized by government as partner in the production of security and crime control. Policing has become a mixed economy of public and private provision as more and more routine security functions are undertaken by private police.

The question often raised with regard to private policing is whether it has replaced public policing. Scholars have, however, challenged earlier ‘fiscal constraint’ explanations, which state that the growth of private security could be explained simply as a consequence of a reduction in police resources (e.g. Shearing and Stenning 1981; Jones and Newburn 1999). In Finland, the number of police officers increased at the beginning of the 2000s but fell between 2006 and 2012 (Kerttula 2010, 40–42). However, Kerttula (2010, 40–42) also proposes that because the tasks of public and private policing differ, it is impossible to draw the simple conclusion that the reduction in public policing is the only reason for the rise in private security. Accordingly, scholars have mapped out other explanations for the rise of private security (for reviews of these explanations see e.g. Button 2002, 26–32; McLaughlin 2007, 87–114; Zedner 2009, 89–100; Reiner 2010; Kerttula 2010; White 2012).ⁱ

First, sociologists and criminologists have reflected upon broad changes in the societies of today, which are experiencing more changes and instabilities than traditional societies. They consider the increase in both public and private policing to be partly the result of the volatile character of postmodern societies (e.g. Young 1999, 2011; Reiner 1992; Garland 2001; Button 2002; Zedner 2009). These explanations suggest, for example, that family, religion and work are no longer stable entities, and societies are becoming pluralized (*ibid.*). Moreover, these societal changes significantly affect young people (MacDonald

2011). These unstable structures and changing conditions create feelings of insecurity among the general public and a consequent sense of threat. It has been suggested that this feeling of insecurity, in turn, is one reason why people seek more security and therefore more control and policing (Giddens 1990; Young 1999, 2011; Garland 2001; Button 2002; Zedner 2009; Kouvo 2014). According to Garland (2001), in late modern society crime and delinquency are perceived not as a problem of deprivation but as result of inadequate control. The emphasis of crime prevention has moved away from social reforms to situational crime prevention, in which private security can be included (*ibid.*; also e.g. Koskela 2009; Korander 2014; Honkatukia forthcoming). In addition, scholars suggest that crime prevention increasingly focuses on physical spaces and not on social structures (Garland 2001; Koskela 2009). Furthermore, the policing field has also shifted because of globalization; it is no longer solely state-centered, and many private security companies are multinational companies (e.g. Reiner 1992; Button 2002).

Second, scholars have suggested that the more policing agents there are, the more people are reminded of threats to their security, which might further increase the need for policing and security services (Garland 2001; Button 2002, 26–27; Zedner 2003, 2009, 114; Koskela 2009; White 2012). In addition, the commercial nature of private security has been emphasized as a reason for its growth: security industries do not only satisfy a real demand; rather, because the industry is based on market-logic, they market their services to make their existence needed (Zedner 2003, 2009, Koskela 2009).

Third, scholars of private security tend to agree that the theory of ‘mass private property’ explains, at least in part, the rise in private security. Shearing and Stenning (1981; also e.g. Kempa et al. 1999) have argued that the growth in private security is linked to the increase in ‘mass private property’ such as large shopping malls and leisure facilities. These spaces are widely used by the public, but they are policed as private property with private security agents. Kerttula (2010, 44) suggests that there is a correlation between the increased number of shopping malls and the rise of private security in Finland; accordingly, he proposes that the ‘mass private property’ explanation could be at least partly valid in Finland.

Finally, Jones and Newburn (1999, 2002) argue that the rise in private security is due to the ‘formalization of social control’. They have criticized ‘mass private property’ explanations for exaggerating the role of such spaces in Europe. Furthermore, their empirical work in the UK challenges the argument that private policing is replacing public policing. Jones and Newburn (1999, 2002)

suggest that private security agents have mostly replaced social control agents ('secondary' control agents, e.g. shop staff, ticket inspectors, railway conductors etc.). They (ibid.) define the central task of 'primary' control agents' as policing, whereas while 'secondary' control agents participate in social control, it is not their primary function. While levels of secondary social control, such as the number of shop staff, have declined, partly due to neoliberal rationalization and labour-saving technologies, primary social control, such as private security, has been used to compensate for this (Jones and Newburn 2002). Importantly, their analysis indicates that private security agents have not replaced police officers; they have replaced social control agents (ibid.). Accordingly, they suggest there has been a broad change in social control, which they conceptualize as the formalization of social control.

To summarize, the explanations for the rise in private security and the role of private security compared to the public policing are still not completely clear. However, it is clear that this rise has changed the landscape of crime control, which has traditionally been understood as the responsibility of the state. This has potential effects on the targets of policing and their views on its trustworthiness and legitimacy. Having said that, the rise in private security does not mean that the state no longer has a role; the police and the state still play a vital part in crime control. Moreover, White (2012) notes that people do not usually want private security, as they prefer public policing, and for this reason private security needs to pay special attention to how to legitimize their status. Therefore, next I discuss where and how the private sector has gained legitimacy and a mandate for crime control.

Legitimacy and its relation to trust is discussed in section 3.2.2, but I will raise a few key points here. First, a central question concerning policing is why people obey the orders of policing agents. In particular, how can the private sector gain the legitimacy to make people comply with their demands and see the private security as having a genuine role in maintaining social order? Perceived legitimacy means that people consider that the authorities in question have the right to exercise power, and people feel they are obliged to obey their policing orders (e.g. Tyler 2006; Bradford et al. 2008).

Public and private policing agents use similar 'tools' to gain legitimacy. These include institutional tools (the symbolic power of the institution they represent) and legal tools (legal rights) (Mopasa and Stenning 2001, 69). Furthermore, both the public and private policing sectors are masculine, and to gain legitimacy their agents use physical tools (uniform, batons) and personal tools (physical strength, demeanour) (Mopasa and Stenning 2001, 69, also Reiner

2010). These vary according to the personal characteristics of the policing agent and according to whether the agent is public or private (Mopasa and Stenning 2001).

The police are typically viewed as more legitimate in Western democratic countries than private security; the police have public resources at their disposal, and they have a historical legacy and symbolic power (Loader and Walker 2006, 2007; White 2012). Furthermore, mass-media images typically present the public police as important for social order, while private policing is less present in popular culture (McLaughlin 2007, 102–114; Reiner 2010). Having said that, White (2012) notes that private security should not always be seen to lose to the culturally superior police. Instead, private security has considerable power and agency. However, because the police tend to have more legitimacy, the private security industry needs to attempt to legitimize its status, for instance by using the aforementioned tools (White 2012; Thumala et al. 2011).

Thumala et al. (2011) used interviews with people working in the security industry and security magazines to study how the private security sector seeks to legitimize the industry and justify the selling of security. Professionalization is crucial in legitimizing policing work (Honkonen and Korander 2004; Reiner 2010; Thumala et al. 2011), and Thumala's findings suggest that the private security industry gains legitimacy and professionalism through training and education, regulations and licensing, and symbolic borrowing – e.g. they use uniforms and badges that resemble those used by the police and they co-operate with the police (Thumala et al. 2011; also White 2012). White (2012, 90) proposes that private security providers have made efforts to develop relations with the state through legal regulation of the industry because it creates legitimacy and the impression of 'stateness'. Thumala et al. (2011) stress that private security should not be merely defined as an industry supplying services, as it is also a set of institutions that exercise power.

I define private security actors in the Finnish context not only as private, market-based actors but also as actors who use the state's mandate for policing. Private security agents do not only operate in private spaces; they also patrol in public spaces, such as stations and public transport. In Finland, a public administrative task, such as crime control, is primarily the task of the state. In accordance with Section 124 of the Constitution of Finland, however, it may be delegated to actors other than the public authorities if this is necessary for the performance of the task and if citizens' basic rights and liberties are not endangered (Kerttula 2010). In Finland it is the police who issue permits for private security agents (Koskela 2009, 300; Kerttula 2010), and the state regulates their legal

rights – rights mainly derived from the ordinary powers of citizens – which they employ for professional use (Button 2002, 122–125, 2007; Kerttula 2010; Santonen and Paasonen 2014).ⁱⁱ

Although private security guards have fewer legal rights than the police, this does not mean that they lack power, legitimacy and powerful sanctions (Shearing and Stenning 1983; Thumala et al. 2011; White 2012). Furthermore, the public and private policing fields are not completely separate, as police officers and security agents operate together (Wakefield 2003, 193–219; Thumala et al. 2011). For instance, as previously mentioned, private security agents are obliged to inform the police when they have apprehended someone. For these reasons, I do not consider private policing to be completely distinct from the state and from public policing. However, this relationship should not be over-emphasized. Although private security uses legal rights defined by the state, this does not mean that they are always operating under state direction: private security has emerged in part because corporations have decided to hire them (Shearing 2004). This means that private security agents work with a public and/or private mandate, whilst the police operate with a public mandate.

Although I have defined both police and security guards as policing agents, it is important to keep in mind the distinction between public and private policing agents and their operating areas (Wakefield 2003, 33; Button 2002; Loader and Walker 2006; Kerttula 2010). First, although the spaces they control overlap to some extent, private security agents typically work in shopping malls and individual shops, while the police work on the roads and in the public city space. Second, although their roles are blurred, the police are fundamentally an agent of the state criminal justice system, whereas private security is related to the market. The police force is a national institution, whereas private security companies can be multi-national. Third, the legal powers of security guards are more limited than those of the police, although in quasi-public spaces they have considerable power (e.g. von Hirsch and Shearing 2000; Kerttula 2010). Fourth, the police have longer professional training, and in Finland admission standards for the Police University College, the only police training institution, are extremely high. The police typically work in state offices and are usually older than private security guards, who commonly have short-term contracts and shorter training.

To conclude, despite the large-scale changes in crime control mentioned above, research on private policing has focused relatively little on implementation, practice and empirical approaches (also Crawford and Hutchinson 2016). Moreover, there is a paucity of studies on young people as the targets of private policing, as well as a general lack of research on people's perceptions of private

policing overall (also van Steden and Nalla 2010; Moreira et al. 2015). Accordingly, Bayley and Shearing's (2001, 36) call for research on the societal impact of these policing changes is still relevant today.

2.3 Young people's encounters with the police and security guards

Next, I discuss how the aforementioned changes affect young people's lives by describing studies on young people's encounters with policing agents. Research on encounters between young people and security guards is scarce, and it is mostly based on interviews or small-scale surveys (Morey 1999; Matthews et al. 2000; Fine et al. 2003; Ruuskanen 2008; Wilson et al. 2010; Lampela 2013). Drawing on qualitative interviews with boys at a youth club, Ruuskanen (2008) found that young people encountered security guards in shopping malls, shops, on public transport and in stations. According to Ruuskanen, young people sometimes felt that the police and security guards failed to take them seriously (*ibid.* 184). Studies suggest that young people are frequently asked to move on by security guards, and many of them have had negative experiences (Morey 1999; Matthews et al. 2000; Ruuskanen 2008; Wilson et al. 2010). Fine et al. (2003) produced similar results in New York City using a street survey (N = 911) and telephone interviews (N = 36); those young people who had had many adverse encounters with the police and security guards felt they were unwelcome in public spaces and mistrusted by adults.

There are only a few studies that compare people's encounters or perceptions of the police to security guards; however, a question in the aforementioned survey suggests that young people preferred the police when asking for help: 45 % of respondents said they would be unlikely to ask the police for help, while 61 % said the same of security guards (Fine et al. 2003, 148). Ruuskanen (2008, 180–184) found that homeless people had more negative views of security guards than they had of the police; however, there were no differences in the views of young people. In contrast, Grönfors and Hirvonen (1990, 44) propose that young people view security guards as being more negative and aggressive than the police.

Studies typically suggest that when young people discuss policing at a general level, they consider it useful and effective in controlling crime; however, personal experiences with police officers and security guards are often seen as negative (e.g. Grönfors and Hirvonen 1990, 35–41; Honkatukia 1992, 45–55;

Carr et al. 2007; Honkatukia and Suurpää 2007, 125–129; Ruuskanen 2008, 182–192; Dirikx et al. 2012; Korander 2014). Relations between young people and police officers have been described as a cat-and-mouse game, and attention has been drawn to the excitement young people derive from playing and provoking the police (e.g. Korander and Törrönen 2005; Crawford 2009, 14–20; McAra and McVie 2012, 359).

Leisto and Tuomikoski-Koukkula (2011) interviewed girls who had had experiences with the police and social workers because of alcohol use in public spaces. These experiences triggered feelings of fear, rejection, anger and shame. Thus, the findings suggest that young people do not feel that they are heard and treated fairly (Leisto and Tuomikoski-Koukkula 2011). Honkatukia and Suurpää (2007, 125) interviewed young men with immigrant and Finnish Roma backgrounds about their experiences in the criminal justice system, and these men defined the police, on one hand, as the controlling authorities and, on the other hand, as helpful.

Pettersson (2013, 2014) conducted a participant observation study focusing on encounters between the police and ethnic minority youth. In particular, young men from ethnic minorities were found to have had many encounters that they considered unfair. Nevertheless, Pettersson (2013, 2014) also found that interaction between the police and young people also had the potential to promote feelings of social belonging and better relations between the two groups.

Police work with children has also been studied, and police officers have been shown to have multiple views of young people; moreover, they not only attempt to control them but they also strive to be caring or educative (Niemi 2010; also Kainulainen 2009, 330–335; Korander 2014). Similarly, security guards can have varying views of youth (Manzo 2004).

2.4 Changes in policing young people's free time in city spaces and shopping malls

Encounters between young people, the police and security guards often occur when young people spend their free time in city spaces. In particular, for my qualitative sub-studies, city spaces were the key locations where interactions between policing agents and young people took place. As discussed earlier, the new policing context is linked to the increasing number of spaces that are policed as private spaces but used as public spaces (e.g. Shearing and Stenning

1981; von Hirsch and Shearing 2000). Shopping malls are increasingly dominating public city spaces, and because they blur the distinction between public and private spaces they are defined as quasi-public spaces (Shearing and Stenning 1981; von Hirsch and Shearing 2000; Wakefield 2003; Mäenpää 2005; Koskela 2009; Hirvonen 2011).

In Finland, rapid urbanization occurred in the latter half of the twentieth century, and the young people of today are a significant part of consumer culture (Hoikkala and Suurpää 2016). In the 1980s American-style shopping malls began to appear in Finland (Mäenpää 2005). Although the change has been more dramatic in the United States than in Europe (e.g. Shearing and Stenning 1981; Jones and Newburn 1999; Atkinson 2003), new shopping malls are being continuously built in Finland. Moreover, people have ever more free time, and shopping malls are places where people, including youngsters gather either to consume or spend time with their friends (Mäenpää 2005).

It is important for young people to spend their free time outside the home and meet their friends (Mäenpää 2005; Ameel and Tani 2012; Pyyry 2015; Lampela et al. 2016). Particularly in Finland, youth culture is a peer group oriented culture (Hoikkala and Suurpää 2016, 601). ‘Hanging out’ with friends challenges the idea of purposeful action, and at the same time young people can escape the seriousness of the adult world (Pyyry 2015). Young people obviously also use public and quasi-public spaces for other uses than hanging out, for instance when they use public transport, go shopping or run errands.

Private security guards are the main control actors operating in shopping malls, and the police are less likely to be encountered there. Matthews et al. (2000) conducted a survey of 400 young people in UK shopping malls and found that nearly half (46 %) respondents had been asked to move on while spending time in the mall. Moreover, it was mainly security guards who carried out this kind of regulation (Matthews et al. 2000). However, studies have shown that the intensity of policing varies in different shopping malls, and the different practices of shopping mall managers and security managers therefore influence security guards’ work practices: some managers wish to have young people around while others do not (Wakefield 2003; Manzo 2004).

The possibilities for using these spaces are not, however, equally distributed: young people are often seen as a threat in city spaces (Wakefield 2003; Koskela 2009; Harrikari and Pekkarinen 2011; Pyyry 2015, 10–12; Saarikkomäki 2016), and hanging out is usually viewed as unacceptable ‘loitering’ (Matthews et al. 2000; Pyyry 2015). Young people are not a uniform group, and some groups of young people are more likely defined as potential threats on the basis of, for

instance, their social class, ethnicity or appearance (e.g. Suutari and Suurpää 2001; Atkinson 2003; Hautaniemi 2004; Koskela 2009; Goldson 2013). Furthermore, the possibilities for young people to use public spaces have been complicated by the privatization of urban spaces.

In public spaces, people have the right to move freely, whereas in private spaces the owner can decide who can enter. Quasi-public spaces thus represent a grey area between public and private spaces. People can visit a mall without the intention to buy anything and they are invited to walk around, to hang out and meet friends (von Hirsch and Shearing 2000). Shopping malls are used as public spaces, and they offer public services (e.g. public transportation terminals, libraries). However, shopping malls are typically less open than public spaces, and policing in quasi-public spaces is typically stricter (von Hirsch and Shearing 2000; Wakefield 2003; Mäenpää 2005; Koskela 2009; Hirvonen 2011; Saarikkomäki 2016). One reason is that the powers of private security prioritize the right of property owners to decide whom to exclude (Shearing and Stenning 1981, 238–239; 1983; von Hirsch and Shearing 2000; Stenning 2000; Button 2003, 2007; Kerttula 2010). Due to the stricter social control exercised in shopping malls, researchers have suggested that young and marginalized people are often told to move on and their access is restricted. Similar behaviour might be tolerated in other spaces, but not in shopping malls. Although scholars talk about the privatization and the changed nature of the city space, they warn against idealizing the past and public spaces, because public space has never been equally open to all social groups (von Hirsch and Shearing 2000; Wakefield 2003; Mäenpää 2005; Koskela 2009; Hirvonen 2011).

Another way in which shopping malls differ from public spaces is that non-consumption, although tolerated, can be seen as a form of deviance (von Hirsch and Shearing 2000; Atkinson 2003; Wakefield 2003). Mäenpää (2005, 114–133) suggests that shopping mall space lacks the excitement and tensions of open city space, thereby inviting people to consume. Atkinson (2003) proposes that citizens' rights to use public and city spaces are increasingly based on consumption. Young people in general, and especially those who are from less affluent families, have fewer possibilities to consume. Furthermore, hanging out is a social event for young people and does not always involve consumption (Wilson et al. 2010; Pyyry 2015). This can create tensions between young people, policing agents and other adults who use the space.

2.5 Intensified policing and its effects on young people

The policing and treatment of young people in the justice system can be indicative of societal changes and society's values and attitudes towards young people (Harrikari 2008; Goldson 2010, 171, Pekkarinen 2010). The intensification of formal social control, policing practices and intensified youth justice policies has been observed, for instance, in both the United States and Europe, particularly in Britain (e.g. Muncie 1999; Crawford 2009; James and James 2001; Young 2011; Goldson 2011, 2013, 2014). In this section, I focus on Finland, as this sets the context for my study.

There are varying trends in Europe related to how young people are treated in justice systems, including increased policing, punitiveness, the use of early intervention, the responsabilization of children, increasing rates of youth detention but also an emphasis on children's rights and human rights (Goldson 2010, 2014). The Nordic countries are characterized by an absence of punitive attitudes in the public debate on crime, knowledge-based crime policies and low prisoner rates (Lappi-Seppälä and Tonry 2011; Lappi-Seppälä 2012). These reflect Nordic exceptionalism, where the criminal justice system and prisons are viewed as unsuitable means of solving social problems among young people and social policy is viewed as the best criminal policy (Lappi-Seppälä and Tonry 2011; Lappi-Seppälä 2012; Honkatukia, forthcoming).

The sanctions imposed on young people by the criminal justice system have not been toughened in Finland (Marttunen 2008, 416–418); however, it has been suggested that other changes regarding the intensification of the social control of young people have emerged. For instance, according to Harrikari (2008; 2013, 69), Nordic welfare ideas still form the basis of the juvenile justice system and child welfare in Finland, but there are indications of intensified social control of young people in other contexts.

Although the emphasis in Finland is on keeping young people out of the criminal justice system, some similar trends to those observed in Britain are evident regarding how young people are governed (see Muncie 1999; Goldson 2002, 2010, 2011; Crawford 2009). Scholars suggest that in the 1970s and 1980s child policies reflected strong welfare policies, such as the structural prevention of social problems by raising family incomes and widening the scope of universal social services (Harrikari 2008, 2013; Pekkarinen 2010; Satka et al. 2011). The aim was to use the child welfare system to tackle problems and avoid labelling young people as criminals. From the 1990s onwards, after Finland experienced a deep economic recession, there was a shift towards tougher

and more intensified control of young people and families (Harrikari 2008, 2013; Pekkarinen 2010). Harrikari (2008, 2013) found that in the post-recession era, child and family policy was dominated by discussions about public concern, moral panic and a sense of insecurity. For instance, in national and local crime prevention programmes, young people were defined as a risk, and early intervention strategies were aimed at intensifying control over young people. In addition, there were demands to lower the age of criminal responsibility (15 in Finland).ⁱⁱⁱ

Discussions about young people, for instance in the media, often position them as a 'risk' and a 'threat' or 'at risk' and vulnerable. Scholars have noted a tendency which emphasizes early interventions and 'tough on crime' approaches (e.g. Goldson 2002, 2013; Harrikari 2008; Pekkarinen 2010; Hoikkala and Suurpää 2016). Pekkarinen (2010) revealed changes in societal reactions towards youth delinquency by analysing five child welfare cases involving boys in Helsinki from the 1940s to 2000. Pekkarinen suggests that in different decades the position of children and young people – whether defined as at risk or as a risk – varied. In the 1940s, a delinquent child was defined as a risk: as a psychopath and a criminal whose behaviour was mainly related to personal characteristics. Consequently, the community had to be protected from the delinquent child. From the 1960s to the 1980s, by contrast, the child was positioned as in need of protection, help and support. At the same time, children's rights were emphasized and structural and family reasons for delinquency were taken into account. From the 1990s onwards there has been a return to similar reactions to those in the 1940s – the need to protect the community from the deviant child. Delinquent children are once again positioned as a risk, as dangerous individuals and a threat to society (Pekkarinen 2010).

Researchers have, furthermore, described other signs of increased policing and social control in schools and public and quasi-public urban spaces. For instance, Kivivuori (2006) found that schools increasingly reported youth delinquency and student conflicts to the police (also Estrada 2001; Kivivuori et al. 2013). Holkeri (2015) makes similar remarks about changed attitudes and zero-tolerance of school threats. In urban spaces, Koskela (2009) depicts a situation of increased social control of young people: for instance, benches may be removed or classical music played to deter young people from assembling. Furthermore, new practices of policing have been introduced, such as curfews, CCTV cameras and zero-tolerance policing (Koskela 2009; Satka et al. 2011; Harrikari and Pekkarinen 2011; Harrikari 2013; Fransberg 2014; Korander 2014).

Korander (2014) studied zero tolerance policing in Tampere, Finland, in 1999–2000 and suggests that it can have negative effects on young people. The rationale of zero tolerance is to intervene in minor offences to prevent more serious crime (the broken windows theory) (Young 1999, 121–147; Korander and Törrönen 2005; Fransberg 2014; Korander 2014).^{iv} At the same time, youth alcohol use again became a central concern of politicians and the media. The zero-tolerance policing project was originally planned to target all kinds of violence, substance use and disturbances in Tampere city center; however, in practice it targeted young people and their alcohol use and disruptive behaviour. The study found that side-effects of intensive police control in city space were that young people moved on to more hidden locations to use alcohol (Korander and Törrönen 2005; Korander 2014), which in turn made it more difficult to control underage alcohol use. Nevertheless, the majority of the police officers interviewed considered zero-tolerance useful. However, some police officers felt that zero-tolerance had weakened their relations with young people (Korander and Törrönen 2005, 54–55).

Changes in public or private policing are rarely driven by the policing agents themselves; rather, they are usually due to wider structural changes (see section 2.2). Furthermore, Kivivuori (2014, also Estrada 2001) suggests that the changing sensitivity of citizens to report crime explains why there are more crimes reported to the police. In particular, in suspicions of shoplifting the increase in recorded crime is so large because businesses tend to currently report every incident to the police (Kivivuori 2014, 295–296). Citizens' readiness to report crimes to the police is also influenced by technical changes (mobile phones, the Internet), the willingness of the police to accept reports, and citizens' trust in the police (Kivivuori 2014). In addition, the increased number of security guards in shops and shopping malls is one possible reason why more crimes are reported to the police.

Consequently, one might ask whether the changes in the policing of young people are actually due to young people becoming more delinquent or criminal. Interestingly, however, Finnish self-report delinquency surveys indicate that from 1995 to 2012 delinquency among minors has decreased or remained rather stable (Salmi 2012). Furthermore, Salmi (2008) compared self-reported delinquency among young male subjects between 1962 and 2006 and found that the level of self-reported delinquency was rather stable. In addition, surveys indicate that heavy drinking among minors has not increased (Raitasalo et al. 2016). There has been an increase in youth crime becoming detected by the police (Salmi 2012). Thus, one possible trend is that police control has intensified

without a corresponding increase in youth delinquency. However, it is also possible that increased policing has partly decreased youth delinquency.

Young people's ability to use public and commercial spaces is the subject of intense debate. For instance, at one extreme, it has been suggested that young people should not use public spaces, and curfews have been introduced (Harrikari and Pekkarinen 2011). Such increased policing of young people is not, however, the only trend. The youth work approach has gained greater recognition, and, for instance, security guards and youth workers have recently begun working together so that young people can use commercial spaces (Lampela 2013, 2016; Honkatukia, forthcoming). In sum, as demonstrated above, the position of young people in society, who are often defined as a risk or at risk as well as in between childhood and adulthood, is extremely challenging (Pekkarinen 2010; Hoikkala and Suurpää 2016; Honkatukia, forthcoming).

There are concerns that a tightened culture of control might decrease trust and good relations between young people and adults, accentuate antagonistic relations between young people and policing agents and create divisions between us and them (Korander and Törrönen 2005; Harrikari 2008; Harrikari and Hoikkala 2008; Pekkarinen 2010; Korander 2014, 105; Hoikkala and Suurpää 2016; Honkatukia, forthcoming). Inter-generational mistrust can prevent positive encounters between young people and adults (Honkatukia, forthcoming). Young people are often portrayed as an unreliable group or as future adult citizens and are not valued as they are now; thus, their opinions might not be heard (Harrikari 2008, 268; Hoikkala 2016; Hoikkala and Suurpää 2016; Honkatukia, forthcoming). For young people, these encounters with policing agents reflect how they are respected in society. Furthermore, if young people are represented in the media and politics as a potential threat, tolerance declines, and policing might become even stricter (Harrikari 2008).

Harrikari (2008, 267) notes that increased control can be a desirable trend if interventions directed at children and young people increase their well-being and support their participation in society without jeopardizing their social position. It can be a positive trend if it reduces youth crime. However, if interventions that are presented as guaranteed to work (such as curfews) are brought into practice without reflecting on and studying their impact, and if welfare measures are reduced, the effect could be detrimental (*ibid.*). On the negative side, scholars suggest that tightened policing practices might restrict young people's participation, make their perspectives less valued and challenge their citizen's rights and the right to use public spaces (James and James 2001; Atkinson 2003; Harrikari 2008, 2013). In addition, more and more young people might

come into contact with the criminal justice system, which might have labelling effects (see e.g. Goldson 2010). Similarly, the police and private-security-based policing can have both positive and negative effects on young people's relations with adults and on young people's trust in policing. To conclude, despite these societal changes in the context of public-private policing, social control and urban spaces, there remains a striking paucity of research on young people's perspectives as the targets of policing (also Satka et al. 2011).

3 THEORETICAL AND EMPIRICAL FRAMEWORK

In this section, I first outline some elements of sociological definitions of trust before moving on to my central focus, criminological approaches to the study of control selectivity and trust in policing. This is because in criminology definitions of trust are mainly derived from sociological definitions. After explaining each theory and/or concept, I review prior empirical research related to that theory.

3.1 General sociological discussions of trust

In sociology, trust has been a focal theme that has inspired many theorists and empirical studies (e.g. Giddens 1990; Luhmann 2000; Ilmonen and Jokinen 2002; Kouvo 2014). Trust is one key element in social interaction and a basis for a working society. There has been ongoing interest in how societies are held together, and this has inspired sociologists to discuss how generalized trust is formulated (e.g. Giddens 1990; Putnam 2000; Simmel 2005; Kouvo 2014).

According to Giddens (1990), trust is particularly important in modern, urban societies, where people do not know each other in the way they do in traditional societies. Trust is essential for cooperation, as it assists interactions with strangers and ultimately helps keep society together (Giddens 1990). Simmel (2005) proposes that trust is important in large cities, where people need to interact with many strangers; predictability and trust allow us to go on with our daily lives. There would be no need to trust someone whose activities were always transparent: trust is needed because other people and systems cannot be fully transparent and understood (Giddens 1990, 33–36).

Trust means predictability: we assume that others act according to their expected roles; we know what to expect from each other. Scholars have stressed that trust is important in modern societies, which are considered to be more changeable and unstable, thereby creating feelings of insecurity, and where, consequently, there are higher levels of control and surveillance (Kouvo 2014, 19). However, Kouvo (2014, 19) observes that social interaction becomes difficult if it is based not on trust but on surveillance and control.

Trust is typically divided into different dimensions (Giddens 1990; Luhmann 2000; Ilmonen and Jokinen 2002; Kouvo 2014). Particularized trust is trust in close networks, such as family, friends and the people with whom we interact daily. Generalized trust means trust in strangers or people whom we

meet only occasionally, or trust in institutions (e.g. Kouvo 2014, 13–27; Näsi et al. 2015). Encounters between young people and policing agents typically represent generalized trust. Trust is a product of socialization and is dependent on the societal and historical context. On the one hand, generalized trust is rather stable over time, although changes in perceptions of generalized trust reflect long-term societal and historical changes (Kouvo 2014, 21–24). On the other hand, people's perceptions of generalized trust vary, for instance, in different societies and between different social classes (Kortteinen and Elovainio 2012; Kouvo 2014, 24).

Is there a connection between generalized trust and trust in policing agents or institutions? An institutional approach stresses that just and trustworthy institutions create generalized trust (Kouvo 2014). In other words, if people feel that they can trust institutions and the state, they also feel that they can trust other citizens and strangers. Generalized trust can be formulated through different paths. First, people make general judgements about the representatives of the institutions in question. If they do not feel that the people working for an institution, for instance police officers, are trustworthy, they might think that other people in society are not trustworthy either (Kouvo 2014). Second, people create perceptions of trust based on how procedurally just they experience the processes and representatives of different institutions to be. In direct encounters with institutions, people evaluate whether their contact was procedurally just: positive or negative, fair or unfair (e.g. Tyler 1990; Sunshine and Tyler 2003; Rothstein and Stolle 2007; Kouvo 2014). People evaluate whether they were treated similarly to other people in similar situations (Kouvo 2014, 42). For instance, if young people do not feel that they are treated as respectfully as adults, or if they are treated differently from other social groups, this can diminish trust. Finally, institutions create examples of norms and good practice (Rothstein and Stolle 2007; Kouvo 2014). Jackson et al. (2012) propose that people trust the police if they feel that they and the police share the same values.

In line with Luhmann (2000), I consider that generalized trust, such as trust in policing, can be divided into trust and confidence. Luhmann (2000) argues that although the concept of trust has been widely used in sociology, it is often a taken-for-granted concept and therefore poorly defined and theorized. Trust and confidence refer to expectations towards people or institutions. The central difference between trust and confidence is that the development of trust and distrust depends on personal experience. Trust requires an engagement or action from a person. Trust involves individuals deciding on courses of action and whether to trust another person. Because trust relates to interaction situations, it

involves a concrete risk of disappointment, whereas confidence does not carry a similar risk (cf. Giddens 1990, 32–36). For instance, if you feel you trust the police and expect them to treat you justly and fairly, there is a risk that your expectations will be disappointed if the police fail to treat you in that manner.

Confidence is more passive; it does not require personal relations, experiences or action. Confidence refers to perceptions of institutions and the performance of institutional roles (Luhmann 2000). For instance, even if you have never interacted with the police, you may have a feeling of confidence in policing agents and institutions. Furthermore, your sentiments are also based on perceptions of the structural role of the institution. Accordingly, confidence is described as rather stable, more passive and less changeable than trust (ibid; also Kouvo 2014). Nevertheless, perceptions of trust and confidence can change.

Although trust and confidence are interconnected, a lack of trust does not necessarily mean a lack of confidence (Luhmann 2000). For instance, if your personal encounters with police officers are negative, it does not automatically mean that your confidence in the institution will be shaken, although this may happen. Luhmann (2000) defines trust and confidence through a micro/macro distinction. Perceptions of trust are formulated at a micro level, in interactions, and perceptions of confidence reflect structural, macro level attitudes. Accordingly, the trust/confidence distinction can be seen to reflect the ongoing sociological interest in how societal structures (confidence in the institutions) and agency (individual actions in the encounters) affect each other and are intertwined. The relationship between confidence and trust is important, and they are both needed for an individual to have a feeling of living in a trustworthy and secure society.

Empirical surveys have found that generalized trust is higher in Nordic societies than in other European societies and the United States (Kouvo 2014). High generalized trust is partly explained by smaller differences in income – due to universal welfare policies, – which create less social distance between people (Lappi-Seppälä 2011; Kouvo 2014). There is also very high trust in the police in Finland compared to other European countries (Kääriäinen 2007, 2008; Korander 2014). High trust in the police correlates with high generalized trust, and partly represents trust in the welfare state system (ibid.).

Young people's trust in different societal institutions, including the police, has been rising in Finland according to the 1996, 2006 and 2012 Youth Barometers (Myllyniemi 2012). In contrast, young people's generalized trust has declined, measured for instance in the belief that people are willing to lie to get what they want (ibid.). In the 2012 Youth Barometer, 67 % of young people

aged 15 to 29, reported having a lot of trust in the police and 27 % claimed to have some trust. In contrast, just 6 % reported having no trust or low trust in the police (Myllyniemi 2012, 38–39). Supporting the institutional perspective, those young people who had weak trust in institutions also had weak generalized trust. Moreover, generalized trust was weaker among unemployed and less educated young people (Myllyniemi 2012, 38–46).

Using the survey data from the 2012 Youth Barometer, in which 1902 young people and 597 of their parents were interviewed, Kortteinen and Elovainio (2012) found that generalized distrust was more prevalent among young people whose parents had a low level of education and a low socioeconomic status (SES). They suggest that low generalized trust can weaken a young person's school achievements and future career and affect the processes in which marginalization is inherited. Interestingly, they found that trust and distrust can be passed down from parents to children, as attitudes and values can be carried through the generations (Kortteinen and Elovainio 2012).

3.2 Criminological discussions: trust in the crime control system

Trust in the crime control system has been comprehensively explored in criminology in studies which use a procedural justice approach. Before explaining the arguments and prior research based on procedural justice theory, I discuss how trust and confidence in the crime control system are defined. After this, I discuss the labelling theory approach and empirical studies of police neutrality and selective policing as one crucial aspect of trust.

3.2.1 *Trust and confidence in policing*

In my research, I use the concept of trust as a general concept. I separate the concepts of trust and confidence when I wish to highlight the separation between face-to-face interaction situations ('trust') and broader confidence in institutions. Although I distinguish between the concepts for analytical purposes, I wish to stress that it is not possible to separate them completely, as confidence and trust are interconnected and affect each other.

The procedural justice approach has built upon sociological discussions of trust to study citizens' trust and confidence in the police and other agents of the

criminal justice system (e.g. Tyler 1990, 172; Sunshine and Tyler 2003; Bradford et al. 2008; 2009; Jackson et al. 2012). Bradford et al. (2008) follow the work of Luhmann and separate active trust from more passive confidence. Trust involves personal, face-to-face interactions and experiences with policing agents. Confidence does not necessarily require personal experiences, although personal experiences can affect perceptions of confidence. Confidence is a 'job rating' of the police and other agents of the crime control system. It is directed towards the crime control system as an institution, and it involves accepting that the institution acts effectively, fairly, neutrally and that it represents the interests and values of society. Confidence is more stable, abstract and remote than trust; however, it, too, can change through experiences. (Bradford et al. 2008.) Furthermore, as discussed in the previous section, trust involves predictability. Trust and confidence in the criminal justice system entails the assumption that encounters with police officers and other agents will proceed predictably according to the expected role and function of the justice system (Bradford et al. 2008, 1).

Challenged and revised through the specific dynamics of the encounter, in those moments of cooperation, compliance and deference, trust is created or undermined in situations where the individual is an actor, where they are actively involved in interactions with authorities and can make their own assessments of, for example, the fairness of police officer's behaviours. Trust is immediate, changeable, and arguably more capricious: a single negative experience might severely damage trust in the fairness of the police while at the same time having much less impact on confidence (that the police are effective in dealing with serious crime, for example). (Bradford et al. 2008, 2–3.)

3.2.2 Procedural justice theory and fair treatment

The procedural justice approach stresses connections between fair treatment and the perceived legitimacy and trustworthiness of the crime control system (Tyler 1990, 2000; Sunshine and Tyler 2003; Fagan and Tyler 2005; Jackson et al. 2012; Murphy 2015; Bradford and Jackson 2015). A common view is that trust and confidence in the police is mainly related to the police's ability to control crime efficiently. This instrumental perspective suggests that the police and the justice system have legitimacy when the public feels they offer a credible threat of sanctions and effectively control crime. The procedural justice perspective, on the contrary, stresses that trust in the police and police legitimacy are linked

to citizens' perceptions of the fairness of the processes through which the police exercise authority. (Ibid.) Procedural justice theory distinguishes processes from outcomes, outcomes being less important than fair processes within the justice system. For instance, people might accept police decisions that are against their own interest (e.g. receiving a fine or other sanctions), if they consider the control agents to be legitimate and fair. In this way, perceptions of fair treatment are broader than simple self-interest. People care about the motives behind policing agents' use of power, how they are treated and whether their rights are respected (e.g. Tyler 1990; 2000; Sunshine and Tyler 2003; Bradford et al. 2008; 2009).

To define more specifically what procedural justice encompasses, Tyler (1990) suggests that citizens' perceptions of procedural justice comprise several elements. First, procedural justice includes perceptions that control agents and criminal justice processes are neutral. Neutrality refers to unbiased and unselective decision making. This means that policing does not selectively target specific groups and that people feel that control agents treat everyone equally. Second, procedural justice involves perceptions that policing agents and the justice system treat people with dignity, politeness, respect and fairness. Third, procedural justice also encompasses perceptions of trustworthy motives. Finally, citizens should feel able to participate in decision-making processes. (Tyler 1990; 2000.) Fair and respectful treatment has effects on relationships between people and authorities, citizens' identity, and perceptions of how respected they are as members of society (Jackson et al. 2012). It should be emphasized that the focus of procedural justice research is on perceptions. People can understand situations differently, and fair treatment can mean different things to different people.

Procedural justice and trust in policing are typically defined and studied as factors affecting the legitimacy of policing. Perceived legitimacy exists when people regard policing agents as legitimate – as having the right to command and expect obedience. Legitimacy is a justification for power and authority. (Tyler 1990; 2006; Bradford et al. 2008; Hough and Sato 2011, 13.) Sunshine and Tyler (2003, 515) use Weber's ideas of the legitimation of power, and they propose that the police depend upon their ability to activate feelings of obligation. In this way, the policing system is dependent on people's perceptions. Citizens' perceptions of legitimacy are important for their willingness to obey the law and norms ('compliance') and for cooperating with the police (e.g. Tyler 1990; Sunshine and Tyler 2003).

The aforementioned theoretical perspectives are derived from and are supported by empirical studies. There is a large body of survey-based research on citizens' perceptions of procedural justice. Tyler et al. developed the procedural justice theory in the United States, but the theory has also been increasingly developed and tested in other countries (see also Hough and Sato 2011; Bradford and Jackson 2015). In Finland, there has been survey-based research focusing, for instance, on crime victims' perceptions of procedural justice and trust in the criminal justice system (e.g. de Godzinsky and Aaltonen 2013; Kainulainen and Saarikkomäki 2014; also Honkatukia 2011).

Empirical studies indicate that perceptions of procedural justice are important for creating trust in and legitimizing the crime control system (e.g. Tyler 1990, 2003, 2006; Sunshine and Tyler 2003). Previous research has mainly focused on aspects of compliance and cooperation, such as asking the police for help. Feelings of procedural unfairness, for instance disrespectful treatment and unfair decision making, lead to non-cooperation, conflict situations and diminishes compliance (e.g. Tyler 1990; 2000; Sunshine and Tyler 2003; Bradford et al. 2008, 2009; Jackson et al. 2012; Bradford and Myhill 2015). A small number of surveys have focused on young people, and, similarly, compliance with the law and cooperation with the police were more prevalent among those young people who perceived the police as procedurally fair (Fagan and Tyler 2005; Hinds 2007; Murphy 2015).

There are, however, gaps in existing procedural justice research. First, previous research has mainly focused on adults, and young people's perceptions have often been neglected. Second, it has mainly focused on general perceptions and attitudes, and not on perceptions based on personal experiences. However, perceptions of trust can differ based on whether you have had a personal experience with the police. Encounters with the police been found to decrease trust in police (Skogan 2006; Bradford et al. 2009; Dirikx et al. 2012). Third, the vast majority of studies have used survey methods. The abstract concepts of trust, confidence and legitimacy have been operationalized in prior procedural justice studies into survey questions. Most of the research has, however, only focused on the effects on compliance. Furthermore, because of the use of predefined questions, there is a lack of research on how people themselves conceptualize and understand trust, procedural justice and fair treatment. Nevertheless, some qualitative research does exist.

Dirikx et al. (2012) used focus group interviews to study young people's attitudes towards the police. Their findings suggest that young people perceive the fair treatment of citizens as very important, and they expect good behaviour

from police officers. However, a single bad experience can greatly change how young people view the police. Moreover, as the findings suggest that perceptions are more complex than indicated by previous survey research, the authors stress the utility of qualitative approach (Dirikx et al. 2012). Another example of qualitative research was a participant observation study examining procedural justice among ethnic minority youths (Pettersson 2014). Pettersson's (2014) findings similarly indicate that procedural fairness is important in young people's interactions with police officers. The study emphasizes that non-verbal aspects of interaction are also important, such tone of voice, listening calmly or smiling (ibid.). Finally, previous research has focused on the public sector, on the police and on the criminal justice system. Consequently, it has neglected the rise of private security and its effects on trust in and the legitimacy of policing (see also Mopasa and Stenning 2001; Moreira et al. 2015). Accordingly, there is insufficient information on how people's perceptions of procedural fairness potentially differ between public and private policing.

3.2.3 Labelling theory and social selectivity of policing

In the previous section, I proposed that the key elements of procedural justice and trust are the neutrality and fairness of the policing system. The question of police neutrality and an unselective crime control system has interested criminologists since the 1950s when labelling theory approach drew attention to the negative effects of societal reactions, such as police interventions, on the subjects of control (e.g. Lemert 1951). In criminology, social control has traditionally been viewed as an exclusively positive phenomenon and a necessary protection against deviance. Labelling theory highlighted a different perspective and suggested that social control and societal reactions might produce deviance through labelling and stigmatization (Becker 1963; Lemert 1967; see also Pekkarinen 2010; Reiner 2010, 4–5; Goldson 2013; Wiley and Esbensen 2016).

Furthermore, the approach criticized the crime control system by suggesting that the system was biased, selectively focusing on those in less powerful positions in society, such as the lower classes and marginal groups (Lemert 1951, 51–53, 1967; Becker 1963). Lemert (1951) argues that the social visibility of deviance varies not only according to the nature and degree of the deviation but also based on the social characteristics of the person. Labelling theory's propositions of biased policing have inspired researchers to study empirically whether social control selectively targets some social groups.

Studies have used different concepts to discuss the overrepresentation of some groups in the criminal justice system: control selectivity, control biases or disproportionate policing, however, these terms refer to the same idea. In this summary article, I mainly use the term selectivity, and I refer to ‘differential selection’. The differential selection hypothesis suggests that if specific groups are overrepresented in policing, this reflects biased and selective mechanisms of control (Piquero 2008). The ‘differential involvement’ hypothesis, on the contrary, suggests that overrepresentation is due to different patterns and amounts of crime and delinquency within a certain group as compared to other groups (Piquero 2008). A mixed-model hypothesis highlights that both selectivity mechanisms and differential involvement in delinquency might operate together to explain why some groups are overrepresented in the criminal justice system (Piquero 2008). Piquero (2008) suggested that research should move on from the debate on whether selectivity mechanisms or differential involvement is the most important factor and see how they can both be intertwined. It should be stressed that possible overrepresentation is not necessarily due to the actions of policing agents. Many other factors also affect who becomes the subject of policing. For instance, public and private institutions decide the locations in which policing agents should patrol and what they should focus on, and policing decisions are affected by whom citizens’ report to the police.

Different methods have been used to study selectivity. The development of self-reported surveys enables researchers to ask respondents if they have encountered the police and if their delinquency was detected by the police (Kivivuori 2011). Furthermore, such surveys have made it possible to study hidden crime – crime that is not recorded in police data – and compare official and self-reported data (Kivivuori 2011).

Quantitative self-report delinquency surveys have typically been used to study control selectivity among young people (Christie et al. 1965; Jaakkola 1965; Kivivuori 1997; Pedersen 2000; Tapia 2011; Enzmann 2012; McAra and McVie 2005, 2007, 2012), and studies have found that police control focuses on those young people who participate actively in delinquency (*ibid.*). Furthermore, such self-report surveys have indicated class-based biases in young people’s contact with the police, suggesting that the working class are policed more intensively (e.g. Christie et al. 1965; Enzmann 2012; McAra and McVie 2005; 2007; 2012). McAra and McVie (2005) found that the usual police suspects were young working class people hanging out in public spaces. By contrast, young middle class people hanging out in these spaces were less likely policed (*ibid.*). Nevertheless, a Nordic youth study found no selectivity effect for social

class on juvenile penal sanctions (Pedersen 2000). Moreover, a Finnish study found that parental occupation had no effect on young people's contact with the police (Kivivuori 1997). Many surveys indicate that boys experience more police control than do girls (Kivivuori 1997; McAra and McVie 2007; Tapia 2011; Enzmann 2012; see also Pettersson 2013). However, Chesney-Lind and Shelden (2004, 188–203) claim that while many studies have shown boys to be overrepresented, other studies have produced mixed results (see also Pedersen 2000; McAra and McVie 2005). In addition to quantitative research, qualitative studies from Finland suggest that policing selectively targets marginalized people and lower classes (e.g. Honkatukia and Suurpää 2007; Kinnunen 2008, 50; Kainulainen 2009; Perälä 2011; Korander 2014).

Furthermore, there is extensive quantitative and qualitative research on the disproportionate policing of ethnic minorities (e.g. Holmberg and Kyvsgaard 2003; Leiber and Mack 2003; Honkatukia and Suurpää 2007; Piquero 2008; Saari 2009; Tapia 2011; Kochel et al. 2011; Löfstrand 2013; Pettersson 2013, 2014; Feinsein 2015). Salmi et al. (2014) used a recent youth delinquency survey and found that the likelihood of immigrants or second generation immigrants having contact with the police was higher among those living in rural areas. In addition, compared to native Finns, it was more likely for immigrants or second generation immigrants to have had contact with the police in relation to shoplifting. However, there were no differences in participation in the destruction of property, assault or using soft drugs. The study did not, however, distinguish between non-western and western migrants (Ibid. 161–163).

As ethnicity is a crucial factor in addressing selectivity, I must state that here my study has limitations. Unfortunately, the survey I used for studying selectivity lacked a variable for how young people defined their ethnicity. Furthermore, the number of migrants or second generation migrants who had experienced a police or security guard intervention was too small for statistical analysis and too small to separate different migrant groups by their country of origin.^v In addition, there were only a few young people participating in the research interviews who identified themselves as members of an ethnic minority. Although the number of migrants in Finland is comparatively low, scholars have emphasized that the younger generations, in particular, live in an increasingly multicultural society (e.g. Hoikkala and Suurpää 2016). Thus, it is crucial that future studies address the experiences of ethnic minority youth.

The findings of previous survey-based research are somewhat controversial regarding the effects of socio-economic status and gender; thus, there is a need

to further study social selectivity. In addition, there is a distinctive lack of research on private security. Although, to my knowledge, there have been no systematic studies concentrating on the selectivity of contact with private security, scholars suggest that private policing can easily be exclusionary and socially selective by focusing on socio-demographic characteristics such as young age, low socioeconomic status, male gender and minority ethnic status (von Hirsch and Shearing 2000; Wakefield 2003; Manzo 2004; Zedner 2009, Löfstrand 2013). Moreover, the lack of survey questions about private security is somewhat surprising given that youth delinquency surveys have incorporated questions on police encounters from the start (Kivivuori 2011).

3.3 Dimensions of trust in this study

In this section, I explain how the theories of procedural justice and labelling outlined above relate to my empirical sub-studies. Figure 2 indicates which concepts are the key focus of each sub-study. Firstly, perceptions that control agents and criminal justice processes are *neutral and unselective*, an aspect of procedural justice, is connected to labelling theory and to the differential selection hypothesis, and these theories are incorporated into sub-studies I and II, where I study differential selection quantitatively.

Secondly, another aspect of procedural justice – perceptions that policing agents treat people *politely, respectfully and fairly* – is studied qualitatively in sub-studies III and IV. Procedural justice also includes perceptions of the trustworthy motives of policing agents and citizens' ability to participate in decision-making processes, and these are also investigated in the qualitative sub-studies. According to procedural justice theory, fair and unselective policing increases trust and confidence in the system (figure 2, Outcomes A). If policing is, or is perceived as procedurally unjust, selective and unfair, it might challenge trust, which can adversely affect the legitimacy of policing, cooperation and compliance (Outcomes B). Outcomes B are not the main empirical focus in these sub-studies, but these outcomes have been found to be important in other studies, and they inform us of why it is important to study relations between young people and policing agents.

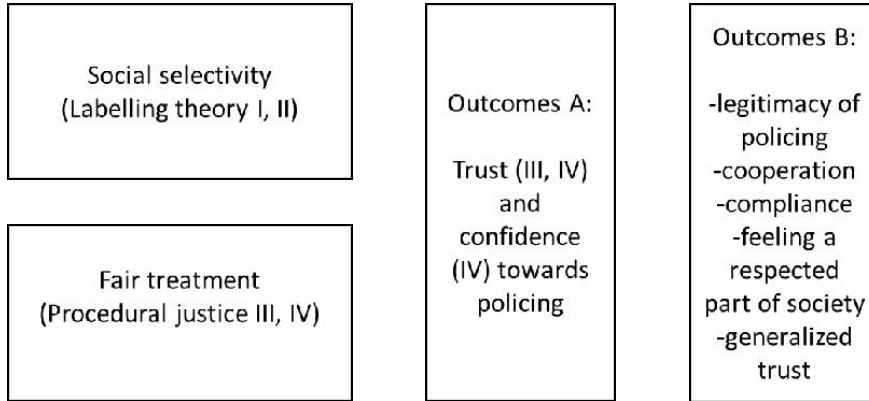


Figure 2 Dimensions of trust in public and private policing (reference to sub-studies I–IV)

Previous research on procedural justice and labelling theory covers the entire criminal justice process from police encounters to court procedures. However, private policing and youth perspectives have been insufficiently addressed. In my study the focus is narrowed to young people’s early level encounters with public and private policing agents. Encounters at this initial point are crucial. Not only do policing interactions determine whether young people will be further processed in the justice system, but they also shape perceptions of policing and young people’s relationship with society (e.g. Feinstein 2015).

4 THE AIMS OF THE STUDY

This study examines young people's encounters and relations with police officers and private security guards. It mainly focuses on young people's experiences and perceptions of contact initiated by policing agents, termed here interventions or adversarial encounters. This study approaches these encounters and issues related to trust from the perspective of young people by using quantitative and qualitative data.

The primary objective of the research is to study how trust is constituted between young people and the police and private security guards. The study's specific research questions are:

1. How common is it for young people to encounter the police and private security guards in adversarial intervention situations? In what kind of situations do such interventions take place? (sub-studies I and II, partly also III and IV)
2. Do some social groups receive disproportionate and selective attention in a way that makes young people from these groups more likely to be targets of policing? If so, which groups are over-represented as targets of police and security guard interventions? (sub-studies I and II)
3. How do young people conceptualize the notions of procedural fairness and unfairness? What kind of interaction situations with the police and private security guards create or challenge trust? (sub-study III)
4. How do young people's perceptions of procedural justice, trust and confidence differ in regard to security guards and the police? (substudy IV)

Sub-studies I and II examine the control selectivity ('differential selection'), which originates from labelling theory's hypothesis that people from lower classes are labelled delinquents and thus policed more intensively. I use a nationally representative Finnish self-report delinquency survey, which included questions about police and security guard interventions. Sub-study I focuses on police interventions and sub-study II on private security guard interventions. The rationale of the analysis is to rule out the effects of young people's delinquency to see if, after controlling for these effects, socio-demographic variables are still

relevant. In addition, as there is a lack of basic information, these sub-studies produce descriptive findings regarding the prevalence and nature of police and private security guard interventions. The research objectives for the sub-studies are similar, but they focus on different policing agents. Furthermore, there are some differences in how I theoretically build the articles. As there seemed to be a lack of previous research on young people and their interaction with security guards, sub-study II devotes more space to setting the context and discussing the findings with respect to the existing literature on private security. Additionally, sub-study II compares the results for contact with the police with those for contact with security guards.

Sub-studies III and IV use focus group interview data to examine how young people formulate perceptions of procedural fairness, trust and confidence in public and private policing. The context relates to young people hanging out in city spaces and shopping malls in Helsinki. I interviewed young people who had had experiences with the police and/or security guards, and the study details the factors which create or undermine trust in the crime control system.

The aim of sub-study III was to reveal how young people conceptualized fair versus unfair treatment by the police and private security guards. Furthermore, the study asks whether young people always experience interventions as negative or whether procedural fairness can help to increase trust even in intervention situations. Here, the data were young people's stories of intervention situations relating to underage alcohol use. Sub-study IV investigates how young people discuss trust and confidence by comparing their perceptions of the police to their perceptions of private security guards. Here, the data were based on thematic interview questions.

My research uses unconventional methods to explore the aforementioned theories and concepts. Labelling theory has often been explored in qualitative studies, whereas I use quantitative data (although the specific question of social selectivity has been explored both in qualitative and quantitative studies). Procedural justice theory, by contrast, has mainly been scrutinized in quantitative studies, whereas I use qualitative data. My aim in mixing the theoretical approaches and methods from conventionally used is to produce new, complementary insights that help us understand and explore the policing of young people from different perspectives.

5 DATA AND METHODS

This study employs a mixed methods approach involving quantitative and qualitative data and methods (table 1). Because the study uses different types of data and methods, it produces findings on the policing of young people from various angles. In sub-studies I and II, I use a self-report delinquency survey. These sub-studies produce statistically generalizable information on young people's encounters with policing agents. In sub-studies III and IV, I use focus group interviews with young people. The focus group data produce nuanced information from a local city setting on young people's perceptions of policing. The quantitative analysis of selectivity is not dependent on young people's perceptions of selectivity; the aim is to reveal whether young people from different social backgrounds are more likely to be the targets of policing than others. The qualitative analysis of how young people conceptualize fair treatment and trust is based on their perceptions.

Table 1 Data and methods

Sub-study*	Main point of interest	Data	N	Main method of analysis
I Young People as Objects of Police Control in a Nordic Context: Who Are the Socially Visible Targets?	Police interventions: 1) prevalence 2) selectivity	Self-report delinquency survey (FSRD-2008)	5826 (including open-ended responses N=350)	Quantitative: logistic regression analysis (also content analysis)
II Encounters between Security Guards and Young People: The Extent and Biases of Formal Social Control	Security guard interventions: 1) prevalence 2) selectivity	Self-report delinquency survey (FSRD-2008)	5826 (including open-ended responses N=109)	Quantitative: logistic regression analysis (also content analysis)
III Perceptions of Procedural Justice Among Young People: Narratives of Fair Treatment in Young People's Stories of Police and Security Guard Interventions	Conceptualizations of fair vs. unfair treatment and trust	Focus group interviews: narratives of fair and unfair policing interventions in alcohol use (story completion)	9 interviews with 31 young people	Qualitative: narrative analysis
IV Young people's conceptions of trust and confidence in the crime control system: Differences between public and private policing	Differences in perceptions of trust and confidence between the police and security guards	Focus group interviews: semi-structured thematic questions	9 interviews with 31 young people	Qualitative: thematic analysis

* Sub-studies I and II are co-authored with Janne Kivivuori. I conducted the statistical analysis, and I wrote the result sections. I was the first author in all the sections of the article; the second author participated in writing the introduction (theory) section and the discussion. I mainly use the passive voice when discussing the methods used in the co-authored sub-studies. I was the sole author in sub-studies III and IV, and I collected the data myself; accordingly, I use also the active voice.

5.1 The self-report delinquency survey (Sub-studies I and II)

Sub-studies I and II used the Finnish Youth Delinquency Survey (FSRD-2008). The data are derived from a nationally representative random school sample of ninth grade students between the ages of 15 and 16 in Finnish-speaking schools (the last year of compulsory education). The total number of respondents in the cross-sectional survey was 5826, and the response rate was 86 %. The Institute of Criminology and Legal Policy (ICLP)^{vi} (University of Helsinki) conducted the survey, which was anonymous. The respondents completed this paper-and-pencil survey in the classroom, and they placed the questionnaires in envelopes themselves. The data included students in special needs education but excluded young people in residential care.

In the survey, the respondents were asked about their experiences of police and security guard interventions in Finland. The advantage of the survey is that these questions focused on young people's own views of their contact with policing agents; moreover, the incidents they reported included cases which were not necessarily recorded by the police or security guards. The questionnaire included three questions about police interventions and three parallel questions about private security guard interventions and a space for the participants to openly respond. The young people were asked if the police/security guards had ever told them to move on, searched their bags or clothing, or if they had been get caught. Regarding getting caught by the police, the question was "Have the police caught you, for instance by taking you to the police station or to a police car?" Regarding security guard interventions, there was no specification. The students were asked to report whether they had experienced these interventions during the last 12 months and before (yes/no). Concerning being detained in the past year, the questionnaire included an open-ended response space where the respondents could specify the most recent circumstance in their own words.

Descriptive and multivariate analysis

Sub-studies I and II begin with a descriptive analysis of the prevalence of police and security guard interventions among young people. They then move on to a content analysis of the open-ended responses in order to describe typical situations where young people were detained by the police and security guards. Concerning the question of social selectivity, both sub-studies first investigated the

main effects of each independent variable, before conducting multivariate analysis (logistic regression, OR). The main focus is the full model, where delinquency and socio-demographic variables were controlled for. I used SPSS for all the analyses.

To explore the question of social selectivity, sub-studies I and II used multivariate analysis to study which factors predicted police intervention (sub-study I) and security guard intervention (sub-study II) among young people. The aim was to test the differential selection hypothesis (e.g. Piquero 2008) – in other words, to assess whether there were traces of social selectivity in young people's encounters with policing agents. In line with the claims of labelling theory, low socio-economic status was expected to correlate with a higher risk of encountering policing intervention.

A key task of the data modelling was to control for youth delinquency and alcohol use (differential involvement). Here, I did not focus on socioeconomic status or other differences in delinquency between social groups (see Aaltonen 2013). I was interested in delinquency for two reasons: firstly, to discover if self-reported delinquency (including alcohol use) increased young people's likelihood of experiencing public and private policing interventions and, secondly, to control for the factors that 'should' explain the likelihood of police interventions. If social factors remained significant after controlling for delinquency in the analysis, the differential selection hypothesis would gain considerable support. Similar variables to those used in the sub-studies have been employed in previous studies involving the police and young people, thereby facilitating comparative discussion (e.g. McAra and McVie 2005, 2012, Enzmann 2012). I performed binary logistic regression modelling in both sub-studies because the dependent variable was dichotomous (policing intervention yes/no).

Dependent variable: police interventions (sub-study I) and security guard interventions (sub-study II)

The first set of questions in the survey regarded police interventions and the second security guard interventions. First, the respondents were asked whether their bags or clothes had been searched. To focus on security guard initiated contacts, the question was presented so that it excluded security checks at airports and concerts/sport events. It should be noted that there are no security guards with metal detectors in Finnish schools; thus, this type of contact not included. Second, the students were asked whether the police and security

guards had told them to move on from certain areas or places. Third, the respondents were asked if the police and security guards had caught them. This reflects the most severe intervention, and the question included an open-ended response space. In the logistic analysis, the ‘getting caught’ question was used as a dependant variable.

Independent variables (sub-studies I and II)

To test the differential selection hypothesis, the analysis included the following variables: gender, socioeconomic status (SES), family structure and municipality type. In the first sub-study, SES was measured by including three variables: parents’ financial situation and occupation and young people’s educational aspirations. Parents’ occupational status was coded with ISCO-88 and recoded in one of three categories: upper white collar or entrepreneur, lower white collar, and manual work. However, there were many missing values because the young people did not know their parents’ occupation. Their parents’ financial situation was a similarly problematic variable because it was based on the subjective evaluations of the young people. Consequently, the second sub-study only used the variable of young people’s educational aspirations after comprehensive school to measure SES. The category ‘upper secondary school’ reflected those who were planning to choose the ‘academic’ track. The category ‘vocational school’ (which included those aiming to attend vocational school and those planning to go straight into working life) reflected those young people who were choosing the ‘non-academic’ track.

Although the variable concerned educational aspirations, it should be emphasized that the survey was conducted in the last year of compulsory education, around the same time when young people can apply either to upper secondary school or vocational school. Social class is difficult to measure, particularly in young adulthood, as SES is often unstable in that period (Aaltonen 2013). The variable used in the sub-study attempts to circumvent this problem by measuring educational aspirations, thereby predicting probable future education and socioeconomic status in later life.

The family structure variable was based on questions asking the respondents to indicate with whom they were currently living. Family structure was recoded in four categories: nuclear family (i.e. both parents present), single mother, single father, and not living with parents. The municipality type was based on the

three-fold classification of municipalities used by Statistics Finland: rural area, densely populated area, and city.

To control for and study the effects of crime, delinquency and heavy alcohol use in policing interventions, the study included independent variables measuring a variety of delinquency and heavy drinking factors. Delinquency included criminal offences and delinquent acts ranging in severity from minor to relatively serious. It was measured by a variety-type sum variable that included 14 offences or delinquent acts: running away from home, writing/painting graffiti, destruction of property at school and outside school, shoplifting, stealing at school, stealing at home, buying stolen goods, bullying, taking part in a fight, beating somebody up, use of soft drugs, misuse of legal medicine and drink-driving. Alcohol use was separately measured by a question referring to the frequency of heavy drinking. The delinquency measures and policing intervention measures were based on independent questions in the survey.

The self-report delinquency data have been tested in many ways, and they are generally considered a fairly reliable and valid data set (Kivivuori 2007, 20–27; Kivivuori 2011). The survey was inspired by the International Self-Reported Delinquency Study (ISRDL), and similar surveys are conducted in many countries (see e.g. Junger-Tas 2010; Kivivuori 2011). This Finnish survey (FSRD-2008) was rather unique, however, because it included questions on contact with security guards.

5.2 Focus group interviews with young people (Sub-studies III and IV)

I conducted nine in-depth focus group interviews with 31 young people aged 14 to 18 (see tables 2 and 3). I recruited the participants from a large youth club in Helsinki in winter 2012 and spring 2013. I chose this location because I wished to interview young people who spent time in a city space in their free time and potentially encountered policing agents there. The interviews were transcribed and the transcriptions were checked against the recordings (I transcribed two interviews and my colleague transcribed seven). The interviews took a little more than one hour each.

I spent around 70 hours at the youth club recruiting participants and making observations. Participant observation also included a few visits to two shopping malls in Helsinki. I wrote short reports of these observations and of each interview. Young people spend time in youth clubs, in different city spaces and in

shopping malls. However, as a stranger, I felt it was difficult to approach young people in shopping malls; thus it felt more natural to talk with them in a youth club setting. In addition, the city space proved to be rather regulated. As I reported in the introduction, the first time I made observations in a shopping mall, a place where young people typically gathered, the security guards came to ask them to leave.^{vii} At the youth club, I played cards with young people and I talked to them and the people working there. I did not use participant observation as a systematic means of analysis, but participant observation helped me find participants for the interviews and better understand young people's experiences, which facilitated interpretation of the findings. In addition, because many participants had seen me at the youth club, I was not a complete stranger to them, which it made it easier for me to recruit them and to talk to them in the interviews, for which the youth club offered us a private room.

I directly asked some of the young people to participate and I asked them to recommend other potential participants. The young people could therefore choose with whom to participate, which provided a safe environment for the discussions (Pösö et al. 2008). Some of the participants knew each other and some did not. The young people were active in helping to recruit participants, and nearly everyone I asked was willing to participate. However, some were unable to attend at the agreed time or they simply did not show up. In these situations, I usually asked some other youngsters to participate instead. It seemed easier for young people to participate right away than agree a future time. To motivate them to participate and to thank them for their time, I offered the participants a cinema ticket as well as sweets and soft drinks during the interviews.

I explained that I was interested in their views and experiences of police and private security guards, and I mainly wanted to interview those who had had personal experiences of interventions. However, I added that this was not an absolute requirement, since I was also interested in general perceptions. Nevertheless, all the participants had at least some experiences of police and/or security guards. Some had only a small number encounters, or had merely encountered the police or security guards as members of a group, whereas others reported almost daily encounters.

The 31 participants represent a very heterogeneous group, although the data obviously exclude those who do not spend their free time in city spaces and youth clubs. The data also exclude extremely marginalized young people, as all the participants were studying in comprehensive school, vocational school or upper secondary school, and some of them were waited for their entrance exam

results. Nevertheless, the participants were from a variety of backgrounds (e.g. different parental socioeconomic status, ethnicity and area of residence in the capital region). Some participants seemed to be very school-oriented, while some others said they had difficulties in their studies. Some gathered in city spaces and at the youth club on an almost daily basis, while others did so less frequently and were also engaged in many different hobbies. Many of the participants said they occasionally drank alcohol in their free time in city spaces or in private spaces; a few young people said they did not drink alcohol at all.

Each focus group usually included 3 to 5 participants (table 2), but I also offered them the option to participate alone. Consequently, one boy wished to participate alone and two boys wished to participate together. The focus groups included both mixed gender groups and groups consisting exclusively of girls or boys (total 15 boys and 16 girls, table 2).

My impression was that, perhaps surprisingly, there were no marked differences in the discussions on the participants' perceptions of the police and security guards between the mixed and segregated gender groups. A more specific analysis of gender differences could have potentially produced new insights; however, as the differences in policing perceptions seemed small, I chose not to focus on this area. However, the main gender difference that arose was that when the physical aggression of policing agents was discussed, young people typically referred to the experiences of boys. In contrast both boys and girls had had experiences of verbal aggression from policing agents and of private security agents' detention rooms. The institutional context of interviews and whether young people can choose the group composition of the interview can affect the discussion in a variety of ways (Pösö et al. 2008). In my study, the young people often asked their friends to participate (or I recruited a group of friends), thus many boys and girls knew each other and shared the same free time space – the youth club. Accordingly, there were perhaps fewer gender differences. In other contexts the meaning of gender has been greater (Pösö et al. 2008, 78).

A few focus groups were less active than the other focus groups, and the discussions were livelier in the groups where the participants knew each other. Some people were quieter than others, but I tried to listen to them and encourage them to talk. Because the young people who participated were such a heterogeneous group and because the discussions in the focus groups were jointly produced negotiations where contributions from individual participants were rather short, potential differences between young people from different backgrounds were not always visible when I analysed the data, and thus my analysis did not focus on this.

Table 2 Focus group distribution

Identification	Participants	Girls	Boys	Age
I1	5	2	3	15–17
I2	5	2	3	14–16
I3	4	3	1	14–16
I4	4	-	4	14–18
I5	3	2	1	16–17
I6	1	-	1	17
I7	4	4	-	15–16
I8	3	3	-	15–17
I9	2	-	2	15–17
Total: 9	31	16	15	

The table was published in sub-study III (Saarikkomäki 2016).

Table 3 Age distribution of the focus group interview participants

Age	14	15	16	17	18
Total (31)	7	7	10	6	1*

*There was only one person who was 18. Because most of the participants in the qualitative part of the study and all the participants in the quantitative part of the study were minors, I refer to the study participants as minors.

The interviews had characteristics typical of focus group interviews, such as lively discussions and negotiations between the participants and participants challenging each other's views (Honkatukia 1998, 44–48; Valtonen 2005; Liamputtong 2011). However, I applied the focus group interview method somewhat unconventionally. Because I conducted the interviews alone and because it was difficult to find many people to participate at the same time, I used a smaller group size than is typically used (also Honkatukia 1998, 44–48). Furthermore, for this topic, five people already seemed a rather large group, and the small group size seemed to work well. The focus group method is designed to provoke discussion between participants, and the researcher is viewed more as a distant moderator (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009). However, I quickly noticed this role was not possible or desirable. This was probably due to the smaller group size, the age difference between the researcher and the participants and because of the sensitivity of the topic. Some young people shared very personal and sensitive stories, for instance about policing agents using violence against them or their friends, or their experiences as crime victims.

Focus groups produce different kind of data from individual interviews (e.g. Pietilä 2010; Liamputtong 2011). Focus groups are considered a good method for studying the collective negotiation of perceptions, and it is possible to use stimulating material (e.g. Simonen 2013). Some disadvantages of the focus

group method are that focus groups can be difficult to moderate and themes and discussions are sometimes less coherent than in single interviews (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009; Pietilä 2010). In addition, in my focus groups it was sometimes difficult to focus on everything that had been said, and thus there were fewer possibilities for follow-up-questions. It was also more challenging to develop a particular topic, as the conversations quickly moved from one subject to another and from participant to participant.

The advantages of the focus group method were that it was easier for the young people to talk among their peers, which seemed to reduce power inequalities between young people and adults (Honkatukia et al. 2003; Alasuutari 2005). Furthermore, it seemed natural to discuss these topics in groups because young people usually encounter policing agents in groups, and they talk about their encounters with their peers. In focus group discussions, participants might present their opinions more strongly than in individual interviews. In the present study, perhaps because many knew each other, the young people were quite active and eager to ask questions and even challenge each other's views.

There were two parts to the focus group interviews. I began the interviews by asking the young people to continue a fictional story of a policing intervention situation (data used in sub-study III), after which I used semi-structured thematic questions (data used in sub-study IV). Next I describe these two data sets and analysis. Stories seemed an important way for young people to communicate their experiences and perceptions. Accordingly, in sub-study III, I used a narrative approach.

5.2.1 Narrative criminology (Sub-study III)

Narrative method and methodology

Sub-study III aims to identify typical cultural narratives of fair and unfair policing intervention situations from the perspective of young people. As my interest was perceptions and conceptualizations, the study used a qualitative narrative approach to data collection and analysis, and narrative criminology was employed to define the narrative theoretical background. There is a growing interest in narrative methods and narrative theory in criminology (e.g. Presser 2009; Tutenges and Sandberg 2013; Sandberg et al. 2015; Presser and Sandberg 2015), and because the approach is rather new in criminology, I explain it in more detail than the other methods used in this study.

Why should we study narratives and stories? One reason is that narratives are central to human experience in all societies (Presser and Sandberg 2015). Stories offer rich qualitative material, and they describe people's lives, experiences, perceptions and aspirations. Stories are not meant only to report events; they are intended to perform many kinds of work. Stories reflect past experiences, pass information to others, build identity and give meaning to experiences. (e.g. Presser 2009; Tutenges and Sandberg 2013.) In addition, narrative criminology proposes that stories may influence future action and attitudes (Tutenges and Sandberg 2013). Furthermore, people can use negative stories to warn others or deal with traumatic experiences, and positive stories can be used to entertain (Tutenges and Rod 2009; Tutenges and Sandberg 2013).

In line with narrative criminology, I consider that stories should be analysed as agency conditioned by culture (Presser 2009; Sandberg et al. 2015). This means that, on the one hand, narrators can actively choose how they tell stories, and the stories reveal the plurality and complexity of social life. On the other hand, stories reflect a limited range of narratives which depend on a cultural context and structures (Törrönen and Maunu 2007; Sandberg 2010; Sandberg et al. 2015). Discussions in focus group interviews can offer information on shared youth cultures (Honkatukia et al. 2003). Thus, this study views stories as illustrative of social structures, and stories can inform us about people's values, perceptions and aspirations.

Role-playing method for producing narrative data

Sub-study III based its findings on data gained through the role-playing method. This method of data collection is developed from non-active role-playing methods, and it is similar to the story completion method or using vignettes (e.g. Eskola 1988; Barter and Renold 2000; Valtonen 2005; Feinstein 2015). The objective is to ask the participants to continue a story and, by changing a part of the story, to see how they respond differently. I asked young people to continue an intervention situation in alcohol use in the direction of a) a fair and b) an unfair encounter. All the focus groups continued both scenarios. I instructed the participants to reflect on the scenarios from a young person's perspective.

The story and the instructions: "Petteri (boy) and Emilia (girl) are hanging out with their friends next to a shopping mall on Friday evening. They have beer cans in their hands; security guards notice this and approach them. After a while, the police also arrive. The young people have (empty

space for the participants to fill in) in their bag. The security guards / the police are unsuccessful in the actions they take. Explain how the situation went.” The instructions: Use your imagination to describe what happened in the situation and how it would proceed. You can imagine what the young people do, what the security guards and the police do and what they say. Imagine that the situation goes negatively, unjustly and unfairly. For the fair follow-up story, I asked to continue the story positively, justly and fairly.

The role-playing method produced two types of stories: fictional follow-up stories and personal stories (of the encounters of the participants or their friends). Together these stories reveal young people’s perceptions of fair and unfair policing.

The stories followed a rather typical structure from setting the scene to highlighting and evaluating the point of the story. The young people mostly focused on evaluating the fairness of the actions of control agents in the stories. Some of the advantages of collecting data through completing stories were, first, that it was a good way of studying perceptions and abstract notions, as the participants were able to use their own concepts (see also Barter and Renold 2000; Feinstein 2015) and, second, with a hypothetical story, it was perhaps easier to encourage the young people to talk about sensitive and personal topics. I wanted to begin the interviews with this story completion so that everyone had something to discuss, even if they would not want to share their personal experiences. The fact that sharing personal stories was voluntary in the focus groups was, to me, an important ethical aspect of the study. Finally, the method was useful as an icebreaker for lightening the atmosphere.

Nevertheless, there are also disadvantages of this method, as fact that stories are only narrated for research purposes has raised questions about their authenticity and link to experiences (Barter and Renold 2000). Although the method directed the discussion, my impression was that it was useful and it triggered lively stories, including also those concerning the policing experiences of the participants or their friends. Moreover, the participants spoke rather freely about their experiences, perceptions and aspirations, and the young people shared similar stories of typical encounters in the thematic part of the interviews and when I talked to them informally at the youth club. In addition, the fictional stories often resembled their stories about personal experiences.

Although stories can be narrated in many ways, there are cultural structures that limit how stories are typically narrated (e.g. Törrönen and Maunu 2007;

Sandberg et al. 2015). It is also common to exaggerate experiences and use humour (Honkatukia 1998, 47; Sandberg 2010). However, even in fictional stories fanciful narratives tended to be avoided or attracted criticism. For instance, one young person exaggerated a lot in a fictional story (a negative story that he wanted to narrate as overly violent), which caused another person in the group to attempt to narrate the events in a more realistic manner. Having said that, the purpose of narrative analysis is not to reveal what has happened in reality but to study perceptions. The story is told from a narrator's perspective and shared in a special setting.

Analysing the data: In the narrative analysis, I focused mainly on the content of the stories to discover typical narratives of fair and unfair encounters. Stories have different characters ('actants') and different goals, and thus I used an actantial model as a technical analysis tool (Greimas and Courtés 1982). A more detailed description of how I used the actantial model is presented in sub-study III and in the results section (6.3.). The data were coded using NVivo 10 software.

5.2.2 *Thematic analysis (Sub-study IV)*

The focus of sub-study IV is how young people perceive differences between police and security guards and how these perceptions relate to fair treatment, trust and confidence. Sub-study IV uses the second part of the focus group interview data. After the story completion part, I used semi-structured thematic questions, which covered young people's free-time activities, their encounters with police and private security guards and the differences between these policing agents, and I also asked the participants directly about their trust in policing agents and whether there were differences in their trust in the police and security guards. Sometimes the concept of trust was difficult for the participants to understand, and then I asked them if they felt they could ask policing agents for help or how they felt these control agents treated them. So as to encourage free talk, I did not follow a strict question order.

The questions about the differences between the police and security guards were at the end of the interviews; however, the young people discussed their views on these differences throughout the interviews, and I included these discussions in the data. I noticed that the participants were very eager to compare public and private policing agents.

I used thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke 2006) and coded the data using NVivo 10 software. I read all the transcripts several times to search for initial common themes, and I quickly noticed that the police were preferred over security guards. Thus, I first systematically coded the differences between the police and security guards. In part this involved direct comparisons made by the participants and in part it was observable in how they typically talked about these policing agents. I also paid attention to extracts where the focus group participants challenged each other's perspectives. For my analysis, I created a thematic map of the relations between the key themes and the subthemes (Braun and Clarke 2006). I then went through all the codes a second time to see if they or the thematic map needed to be modified. I then analysed how the final themes of differences between the police and security guards were connected to my theoretical approach of trust and confidence. After that I attempted to separate perceptions that reflected trust (perceptions based on face-to-face encounters) and confidence (perceptions based on more abstract notions).

5.3 Ethical considerations

When studying minors it is important, on the one hand, to consider if there are special ethical requirements, but, on the other hand, it is important not to over-protect young people (Lagström et al. 2010). Scholars have emphasized that young people have the right to be heard and participate in research, also regarding sensitive topics (Lagström et al. 2010). In all research, it is crucial to consider ethical questions throughout the research process, from designing the study to data collection and to analysis and reporting (e.g. Alasuutari 2005; Kvale and Brinkmann 2009; Kuula and Tiitinen 2010).

Survey data: The Institute of Criminology and Legal Policy collected, owns and stores the survey. Targeting ninth graders (who were 15 or 16 at the time), the survey was conducted in school classrooms as part of regular school activities. All information was collected anonymously, and I have not reported the names of the places that the respondents occasionally mentioned in their open-ended written responses.

Because some of the survey questions might provoke negative feelings, the students were informed about services they could contact if they had any concerns. The institutional setting might have created the feeling that it was compulsory to answer the survey (e.g. Ellonen & Pösö 2010), and some of the students left the questionnaire blank if they did not want to participate. I received

permission from the ICLP to use the data. The anonymized survey data have since been placed in the Finnish Social Science Data Archive (FSD2809).

Qualitative data: In order to ensure anonymity, the names and locations mentioned in the interviews have been omitted, and the name and location of the youth club will also be kept anonymous. Moreover, I did not ask the full names or contact details of the participants. Some participants were concerned about being recognized by the police or security guards, and, given this, I have also paid attention to how to cite the data. Furthermore, I decided not to provide information on the background of the participants or detailed information about the context and location of the youth club.

The youth club gave me data collection permission for the research, and I recruited the interview participants and conducted the interviews at the youth club. The Finnish Advisory Board on Research Integrity recommends informing the parents of research participants who are under 15 years old (Tutkimuseettinen neuvottelukunta 2009). I asked those who were under 15 years old to inform their parents before the interview that they would participate in the research, and I provided them with a brief written description of the study to take home. When I recruited young people for immediate participation, we called their parents, which was the idea of the young people themselves.

I informed all the participants about the interviews and the study, both when I recruited them and at the beginning of each focus group interview, and I distributed written and oral information about the study and my contact details. However, informing the participants about the project orally seemed the most effective method of helping them understand the information. I highlighted that participation was voluntary and stressed that I was a researcher and not working at the youth club. I explained that they could talk to me or to the youth club workers if they had questions or concerns; I spent time at the club before and after the interviews.

I chose group interviews to diminish the unequal power relations between the researcher and participants (Honkatukia 1998; Honkatukia et al. 2003; Pösö et al. 2008). Group interviews are often viewed as suitable for handling general topics (e.g. Valtonen 2005; Pietilä 2010). However, focus groups are also seen as an apt method of studying sensitive issues, as it might be easier to share experiences in a group that has had similar experiences (Honkatukia 1998, 44–48; Honkatukia et al. 2003; Pösö et al. 2008). I paid attention to the sensitivity of sharing personal stories in a group, and I began the interviews with the story-completion method so that sharing personal experiences was voluntary. I also offered the participants the option of participating alone (one boy wanted to

participate alone and two boys as a pair). When possible, I let the young people to decide with whom they wanted to participate. Pösö et al. (2008) stress that groups formed on the basis of participants' preferences can offer a safe and pleasant environment for interviews.

The tape-recordings will not be distributed for future research; however, all the participants gave permission to use anonymized transcripts in future studies. Some stated they that would be happy if the data were widely used. The researcher of this PhD project collected and holds the data. The data are stored at the Institute of Criminology and Legal Policy.

6 RESULTS

6.1 Social selectivity in young people's police encounters (Sub-study I)

The primary aim of the first sub-study was to investigate the control selectivity hypothesis within young people's adversarial encounters with police officers. In addition, the study looked at the prevalence of police interventions and typical situations where young people reported getting caught. In order to claim that there is social selectivity in policing, that for instance young people with a low socioeconomic status (SES) are more likely to be targets of police control, it is crucial to consider youth delinquency as a confounding factor.

Delinquency is a factor that 'should' determine the likelihood of police control, whereas social background should not. The rationale of the analysis was to study whether SES and other variables increased the likelihood of police intervention after controlling for delinquency. As the study used self-report delinquency data (FSRD-2008), delinquency was measured broadly, and it included a separate variable measuring heavy drinking.

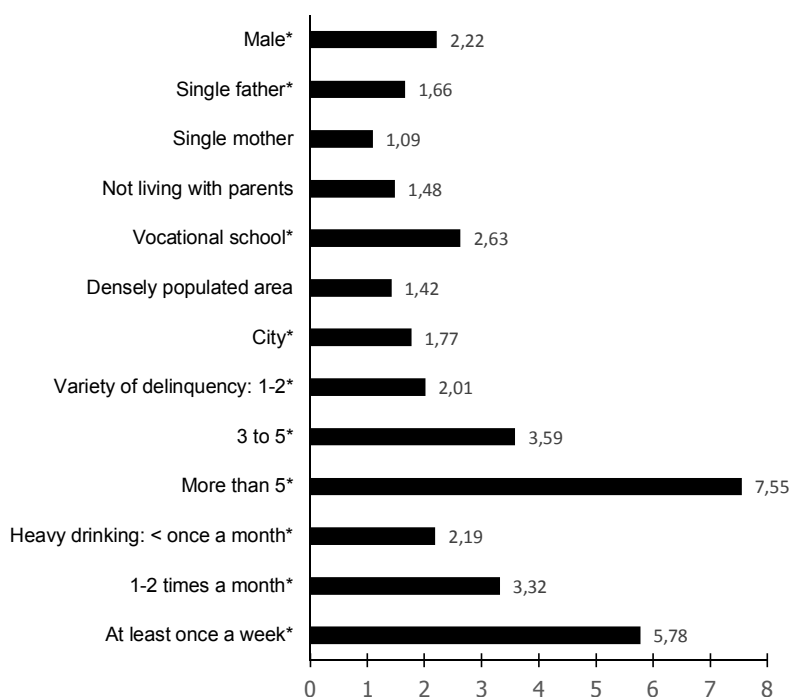
The findings indicated that 39 % of young people reported situations when the police had told them to move on, searched their bags or clothes or caught them (see figure 4, section 6.2.). Being told to move on was the most common intervention (boys 33 %, girls 26 %, at least once in their lifetime). Unlike the other interventions, which were reported more often by boys than girls, there were no large gender differences regarding searching bags or clothes (around every fourth young person, at least once in their lifetime). Eight percent reported that the police had caught them during the preceding year (boys 11 %, girls 5 %). Regarding the getting caught, the survey included a short open-ended response space (N=350). Content analysis revealed the young people's explanations for getting caught were traffic-related situations linked to mopeds (36 %), possession or consumption of alcohol (27 %), suspicion of shoplifting, vandalism or violence (19 %) and 'hanging out' in the wrong place or causing a nuisance (7 %).

For the logistic regression analysis, the dependent variable was defined as being caught at least once by the police during the previous year. The independent variables were young people's SES, family background, gender and area effects, delinquency and heavy drinking. To measure SES, the sub-study used

the family's financial situation, the parents' occupational status, and the respondent's educational aspirations after compulsory education. Data modelling was conducted in different steps. Figure 3 shows the findings for the full adjusted model, where youth delinquency and socio-demographic factors are controlled for.

Unsurprisingly, perhaps, both delinquency and heavy drinking were strong predictors of police encounters (figure 3). Out of the three measures of SES, educational aspirations after comprehensive school were the best predictor of getting caught by the police. The family's financial situation failed to predict contact with the police when the main effects of each variable were scrutinized, and parents' occupational status was no longer significant in the full model. Educational aspirations were a statistically significant predictor of contact with the police when looking at the main effects and adjusted effects. The findings showed that, when delinquency and socio-demographic variables were controlled for, those who planned to go to vocational school (OR=2.63***) had a higher likelihood of contact with the police compared to those aiming for upper secondary school (figure 3).

In addition, the study indicated that male gender (OR=2.22***), living in a city (OR=1.77***), and having a single father (OR=1.66*) increased the likelihood of police intervention, net of delinquency (figure 3). Because contact with the police and delinquency were measured separately, the study also conducted an additional analysis by using follow-up questions concerning whether the police knew about a specific self-reported offence.^{viii}



* $p < .05$ (χ^2); $N = 5261$

Reference categories for the variables are: female, nuclear family, upper secondary school, rural area, no delinquency, no heavy drinking.

Additionally adjusted for family financial situation, parents' occupational status, parents' country of origin, self-control and parents' social control.

Figure 3 Odds ratios for getting caught by the police during previous year, full model

There were signs of social class biases and biases regarding family background which support the differential selection hypothesis. In addition, the sub-study concludes that the mixed-model hypothesis was supported in that both social background and self-reported delinquency (including heavy drinking) predict contact with the police. Social biases were found even in the Nordic context, and some young people seem to be more likely to be the targets of police control than others. These young people might be more socially visible for policing agents leading them to become more easily labelled as delinquents.

6.2 Social selectivity in young people's security guard encounters (Sub-study II)

This sub-study focused on encounters between young people and private security guards. It studied, first, the extent of adversarial encounters (descriptive analysis, three measures of security guard interventions), second, the kind of situations where adversarial encounters take place (content analysis of open-ended responses) and, third, whether some groups of young people were disproportionately targeted (logistic regression analysis, main effects of each independent variable and full model with adjusted effects, getting caught question).

The descriptive analysis highlighted the fact that many young people had experienced security guard interventions (figure 4). Lifetime variables indicated that 30 % of young people had experienced security guards asking them to move on, 17 % had experienced their bags or clothes being searched and 7 % reported getting caught. 'Any of the previous' indicates whether the young person had experienced any of the three interventions at least once. Thirty-eight percent of young people had experienced at least one of these interventions (29 % last year). There were no marked differences between boys and girls.

In addition, sub-study II compared the prevalence of police interventions to security guard interventions (figure 4). Being told to move on at least once during one's lifetime was equally prevalent in police and security guard interventions. Having one's bags and clothing searched and getting caught were more prevalent in police interventions. Nearly 40 % of the participants had experienced at least one of these police interventions and similar percentage security guard interventions (figure 4). Content analysis of 109 short open-ended responses indicated that the most recent situation of getting caught by a security guard had typically taken place in one of three situations: security guards suspected them of shoplifting (40 %), of unruly behaviour or being in the wrong place (30 %), and of alcohol-related offences (21 %) (other reasons 8 %).

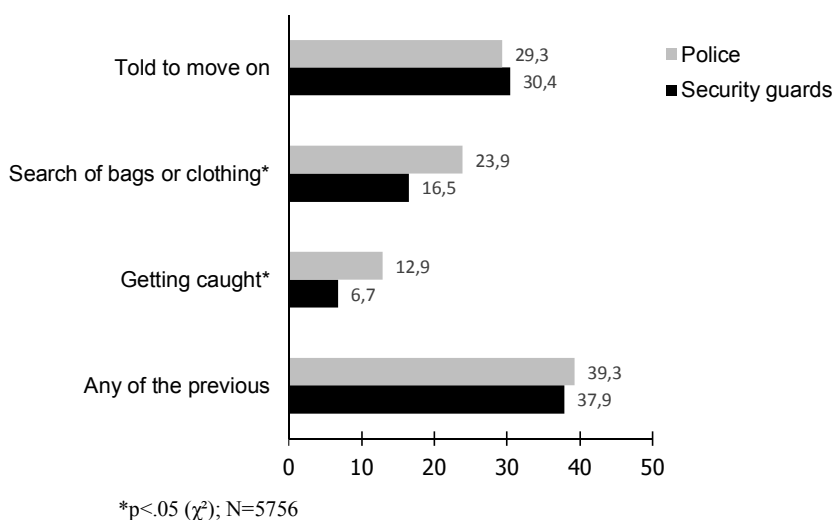
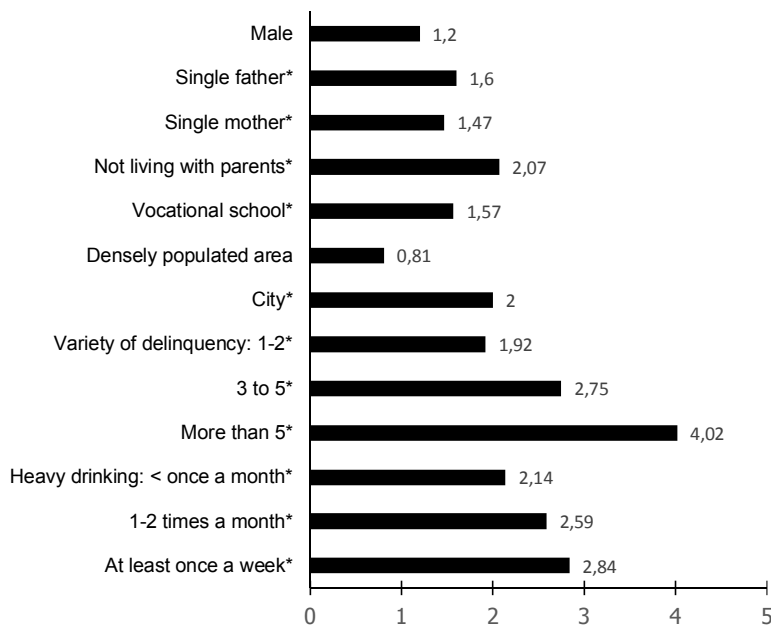


Figure 4 Percentage of young people experiencing various types of security guard and police interventions during their lifetime

To study the social selectivity hypothesis, the analysis included variables that have been used in previous studies of young people's contact with the police (including sub-study I). These were gender, family structure, educational aspirations after compulsory education and area effects. In addition, heavy drinking and delinquency were included. The findings indicated that both of these significantly increased the likelihood of contact with security guards (figure 5). When looking at the main effects, all the included variables predicted a higher likelihood of getting caught by a security guard. In the full model, when the variety of delinquency, heavy drinking and the socio-demographic variables were controlled for, some of the variables remained significant predictors of security guard intervention (figure 5).

Young people who planned to attend vocational school had a higher risk of contact with security guards compared to those aspiring to attend upper secondary school (OR 1.57**). In addition, family structure mattered: compared to young people living in nuclear families, other family types increased the likelihood of contact with security guards (single mother OR 1.47**; single father OR 1.60*; and not living with parents OR 2.07**). Finally, young people living in urban areas had a higher risk of encounters with security guards than those living in rural areas (OR 2.00***). When looking solely at the main effects, the findings

indicated that boys were more likely than girls to report being caught by security guards; however, in the full model, this small difference was no longer statistically significant (figure 5).



* $p < .05$ (χ^2); $N=5185$

Reference categories for the variables are: female, nuclear family, upper secondary school, rural area, no delinquency, no heavy drinking.

Additionally adjusted for parents' country of origin, self-control and parents' social control.

Figure 5 Odds ratios for getting caught by a security guard during one's lifetime, full model

The area effects and delinquency effects are perhaps unsurprising, as security guards often patrol in city spaces and participate in policing and order maintenance. What was more interesting was the finding that social factors increased the likelihood of encounters with security guards. Young people who planned to attend vocational school (lower socio-economic status) and who were from non-nuclear families were typical targets of security guards. This suggests the presence of social biases that might lead to some young people receiving disproportionate attention from security guards. Another important finding was that boys and girls were equally likely to become the targets of private policing.

6.3 Young people's perceptions of fair and unfair treatment (Sub-study III)

Sub-study III examined how young people conceptualized typical narratives of fair and unfair encounters between young people, the police and private security guards. Here, I used the story completion part of the focus group interview data. I asked the young people to narrate stories leading to a fair and an unfair situation of security guard and police intervention in underage drinking in a city space. The young people narrated two kinds of stories: fictional and personal. Together these stories produced information on young people's perceptions and understandings of fair treatment and trust.

I compared how the young people defined the actions and abilities of policing agents differently in fair and unfair narratives. As a technical analysis tool, I used an actantial model (Greimas and Courtés 1982; Törrönen and Maunu 2007). Accordingly, I identified the 'subject' of the narratives (who performs the main actions), the 'object' (the purpose of those actions) and the 'sender' (what legitimates the subject's action). Figure 6 presents the main findings in a format that is often used to describe the actantial model.

In the young people's narratives, the police and security guards where the main actors taking the action ('subjects') and intervening in youth activities (e.g. drinking alcohol) was the aim of their action ('object') (figure 6). I defined the object of the action as a *fair* encounter, as this was what the stories aimed for –sometimes the policing agents succeeded in fair treatment and sometimes they failed. I was particularly interested in analysing the kind of policing agent abilities that helped the encounters proceed in the desired manner (the 'helper') and what kind of abilities were narrated as undesirable, preventing fair encounters (the 'opponents').

The study found that the key difference between fair and unfair narratives was related to how the police and security guards treated young people. The young people did not define situations as fair based on whether policing agents would intervene or not in underage alcohol use. Instead, what was crucial was how the policing agents acted in the interaction situation. Many young people pointed out that intervening was part of the work of policing agents. In this way, the work task legitimized the intervention ('sender' figure 6).

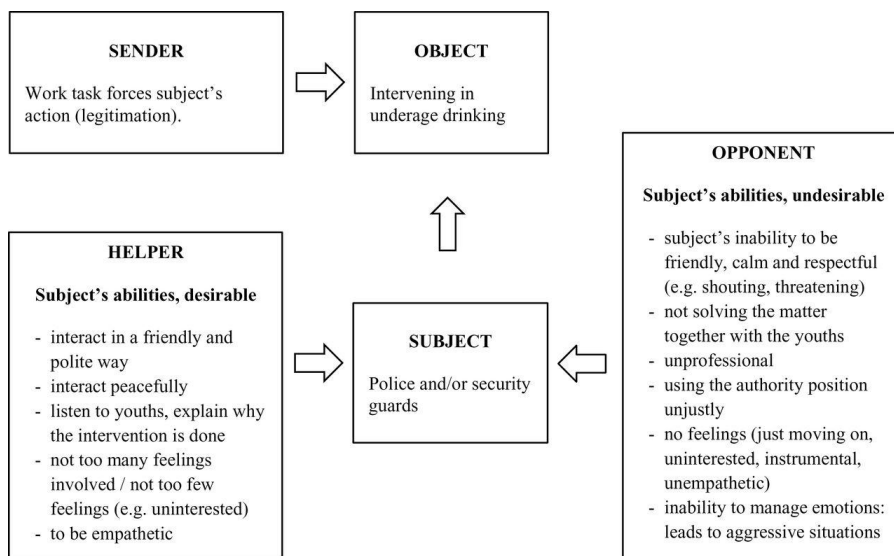


Figure 6 Young people's narratives of fair treatment by the police and security guards placed in an actantial model (The diagram was published in sub-study III, Saarikkomäki 2016)

Typical fair narratives presented control agents who were able to treat young people politely, respectfully and in a friendly manner (figure 6, 'helper'). In addition, interacting peacefully and predictably was important for good interaction situations. Furthermore, fair policing agents listened to young people and explained what they were doing and why they were doing it.

B: But just that they (the police) let the young people explain themselves, what they do and what happened. For instance ask who's been drinking and who hasn't and these sorts of things. Also, talking in a friendly and respectable way and not starting to blame or be nasty. (12).

Unfair narratives presented policing agents who lacked the ability to treat young people fairly (figure 6, 'opponent'). Typical unfair narratives were unfriendly interactions, such as labelling, name-calling, shouting or threatening young people, and unpredictable or intimidating actions. In unfair narratives, policing agents were unprofessional, aggressive, and failed to solve the matter together with young people. Narratives focusing on security guards often depicted in-

strumental interventions, for instance just moving people on. In particular, rather many young people discussed personal experiences of aggressive encounters where policing agents used unnecessary force. These situations were experienced as unfair and challenged trust. In some unfair narratives, policing agents used their power unjustly, for instance the respondents remarked on the lack of sanctions for using too much force.

T: With security guards, from what I've experienced myself or know about, security guards are usually really halfhearted or E: indifferent T: And if they see a young person they don't seem like they're trying to take care of it by taking the young person's side. They just throw them out. H: They really are pretty aggressive. E: Unempathetic. T: Mostly I believe that what's wrong with these security guards is that they don't know how to deal with young people, they only see their own side. E: Against young people T: Like, just to get them out of their sight. (15)

The sub-study suggests that it was useful to include both public and private control agents within the research, as this raised some previously neglected issues. First, young people's perceptions of fairness, trust and legitimacy differed according to the type of policing agent. Second, the analysis indicated the importance of emotions. Police officers were more eagerly viewed as professionally and peacefully doing their job, whereas security guards were typically narrated as lacking empathy and being aggressive and incapable of managing their emotions. Unemotional policing agents were narrated as intervening instrumentally (e.g. only to move young people along without explaining the reason) or as lacking empathy towards young people. Overly emotional policing agents were narrated as aggressive and unable to control their emotions. An appropriate balance of emotions and the ability of policing agents to control negative emotions were considered important for a successful interaction.

The young people in my research identified strongly with the young people's positions in the stories. However, they also identified with the policing agents in the stories, which means that they also understood the policing agents' side in the encounters. The young people understood that policing agents' work was difficult when, for instance, young people caused trouble or refused to comply with their demands. Encounters were described as interaction situations where the actions of young people were seen to affect the actions of policing agents act and vice versa. As is typical of focus group discussions, the young people also challenged each other opinions and produced multifaceted views of policing agents.

The sub-study proposes that young people can use stories to express and circulate their experiences, perceptions and hopes concerning policing agents and discuss abstract ideas of trust and legitimacy. Encounters that were experienced as unfair provoked more discussions than fair encounters. For instance, many young people talked about a situation where the security guards had taken a boy to their detention room and used violence. Such stories were shared when young people met each other and through social media. The negative stories circulating in youth culture can challenge young people's trust in policing agents. In this way, stories can also affect the trust of those who have not witnessed the situation in question or who have not had similar personal experiences. By contrast, positive stories of encounters experienced as fair can create trust. Young people's perceptions of the ability of control agents to treat people fairly affect their views of policing agents' legitimacy and thus their trust in them.

The sub-study argues that there is support for the core arguments of procedural justice; that is, fair treatment is a crucial element in creating trust in and the legitimacy of the crime control system (e.g. Tyler 1990; Murphy 2015). However, previous research has neglected the role of emotions. The sub-study concludes that it is possible to create trust between young people and policing agents even in intervention situations by focusing on fair treatment and procedural justice.

6.4 Differences in young people's perceptions of trust and confidence between public and private policing (Sub-study IV)

Utilizing focus group interview data (the semi-structured thematic questions and thematic analysis), sub-study IV studied differences in young people's perceptions of trust and confidence between the police and private security guards. This sub-study continued from the preliminary remarks of sub-study III that young people's conceptions of fair treatment differed between public and private control agents. Sub-study IV analysed more profoundly these differences and their relation to trust. Moreover, it went a step further in conceptualizing and analysing trust by using the concepts of 'trust' (young people's face-to-face encounters) and 'confidence' (job-rating policing agents, general perceptions not necessarily related to personal experiences).

The core argument of this sub-study is that young people had more trust and confidence in the police than in security guards, and the young people's perceptions of the police were generally more positive than their perceptions of private

security guards. The study found that the differences were mainly linked to perceptions of fair treatment based on personal or friends' experiences; the police were perceived to act more fairly and professionally. In addition, perceptions were linked to general views of confidence in policing which were not always based on personal experiences.

K: If me and my friends are hanging out in (a shopping mall), the security guards will always come fuck with us and tell us to move on and demean us in every possible way. Sometimes in the summer, the police come and chat with us when we sit in a park, nothing special. (12)

B: The police are calmer. K: They are in a way, but it depends. J: Yeah it depends on how you act. L: I've never seen the police really grab someone violently. Others: I have. L: I've seen security guards do it often. B: I've seen the police hold someone down and stuff, but more often you see security guards do that. (17)

Based on their own encounters and those of their friends and on what they had seen in city spaces, the young people considered that the police were friendlier and treated them more fairly, calmly and respectfully. Security guards, by contrast, were more often viewed as aggressive agents who instrumentally moved young people along and used harsh language. At the level of trust formulated in face-to face encounters, private security guards appeared, on the one hand, lazy and, on the other hand, as too intensively controlling in the case of minor disturbances. Nevertheless, some young people described their position as the targets of policing differently: for security guards they were a big nuisance, whereas for the police they were only a minor disturbance.

There were also some deviations from these main findings, however; for instance, one girl claimed to have more trust in security guards. Furthermore, the young people wanted to negotiate multifaceted views of fair and unfair police officers and fair and unfair security guards, as can be seen in the extract above (17). In addition, they sometimes challenged each other's views to highlight the fact that, for instance, there were also fair security guards.

K: The police help you, but security guards really don't sometimes, when something has happened. T: They don't care. F: I sometimes feel security guards are useless, because they just sit around watching a young person do something, smoke cigarettes, they come ask you to leave... (19)

B: If you compare, the police are much more just, the security guards are like Y: they just want to get rid of the problem. Others: yeah. B: ... if I needed help I would go to the police, I suppose that would be a matter of trust. (12)

B: I trust policemen 'cause they have education and things and more authority (19).

The young people described the police as more educated, police training more demanding and difficult to enter, and police work as more demanding and broader. The fact that police training was more demanding increased perceptions of confidence and legitimacy. The police's broader job description was alluded to by statements about the police's ability to offer help and the fact that they came to youth clubs and schools to talk with young people, which created trust.

The job description of security guards was defined more narrowly, which the participants suggested was a reason for their lack of experience in handling certain issues. The young people questioned the usefulness of security guards, because they were seen to merely move people along from the area they were policing. Furthermore, they had the perception that security guards exceeded their legal rights when trying to impose their authority, which challenged trust and legitimacy. The participants also linked some of these general perceptions to personal experiences. In addition, these perceptions were connected to fair treatment: the police's longer education and professional use of legal rights provided them with the ability to facilitate fair encounters.

Finally, a difference between public and private policing which remained undiscussed was the fact that the police are public agents and security guards are private actors. Concepts of public and private might, of course, be difficult for young people to understand, or, on the contrary, too self-evident. However, the sub-study suggests that this might also indicate that private security has partly succeeded in legitimizing its status. Although private security seems to have less power and legitimacy than the police, security guards were viewed as actors working with the police, and their status as private actors was not questioned by the young people in this research.

The study suggests that although the public-private distinction was not directly discussed, high confidence in the institution of the state was visible, as young people preferred the police. The study argues that investigating these differences in young people's perceptions of public and private policing can aid our understandings of how trust and confidence between young people and control agents is constituted at several levels.

7 DISCUSSION

This dissertation set out to study young people's encounters with the police and private security guards and the young people's perceptions of these intervention situations. The study paid special attention to how trust is formulated between young people and these policing agents. The two primary research tasks were to study control selectivity in the public and private policing of young people (sub-studies I and II) and to study young people's perceptions of fair treatment and trust in public and private policing (sub-studies III and IV).

The study was based on criminological and sociological theories of labelling, trust and procedural justice. It used both quantitative and qualitative data and methods. By using survey data, the study produced statistically generalizable information on young people's encounters with policing agents, and by using focus group interview data, the study produced more nuanced qualitative information on how young people perceive and conceptualize everyday lived experiences of policing. In this discussion section, I combine and contrast the quantitative and qualitative findings as well as my theoretical approaches.

Overall, the study argues that there is a lack of empirical research on the targets of private policing and that there is a need to pay more attention to the effects of private-security-based policing. The discussion section particularly focuses on the four key findings of the study. First, I discuss the finding of the intensive policing of young people's free time spaces, which might limit their ability to use public and quasi-public spaces. Second, I discuss the study findings of control selectivity based on young people's social status and gender in the context of previous policing research and notions of trust and labelling. Third, I argue that procedurally fair treatment in the encounters is a crucial element in building trust and good relations between young people and policing agents. Here, I highlight the fact that managing emotions as well as empathetic and peaceful interactions, which have remained largely unnoticed factors in prior research, are important when encountering young people, whereas aggressive interactions can arouse strong feelings of injustice. Finally, I discuss the differences in young people's views of public and private policing to map out how people constitute perceptions of trust on multifaceted aspects. The study suggests that based on personal experiences and more general views young people have more trust and confidence in the police compared to private security guards. The section then goes a step further and considers what this new public-

private policing context means for trust, confidence and the legitimacy of policing.

7.1 How is trust constituted between young people and policing agents?

7.1.1 Intensive public and private policing of young people's free time spaces

The first two sub-studies found that a substantial proportion of young people had experienced policing interventions. Prior to this study, the high prevalence of interventions was not known. Around 30 % of young Finns aged 15 to 16 claimed to have experienced a police intervention in the last year (being told to move on, having their bags or clothes searched, or getting caught). An equally large share reported interventions by security guards. Furthermore, the focus group interviews indicated that some young people had rather frequent encounters with policing agents and that the city space was highly regulated.

The interviews and open-ended responses in the questionnaire demonstrated that in addition to being asked to move along for hanging out by police or security guards, typical situations where the young people reported police interventions were traffic violations or the use of alcohol, whereas similar situations with security guards typically involved suspicion of shoplifting or being a nuisance. Both the quantitative and qualitative findings suggest that policing interventions often focus on young people's alcohol use, which is an important finding in the Finnish context. In this section, I consider some positive and negative sides of what this intensive policing might mean to young people, for their trust in policing and their potential to use public spaces.

In chapter 2, I discussed the significant changes that have occurred in social control and in young people's free time spaces. First, the rapid rise of private security in many Western countries has changed the social control landscape (e.g. Bayley and Shearing 2001; Jones and Newburn 2002; Kerttula 2010; White and Gill 2013). Second, the distinction between public and private space has become more blurred as people increasingly spend time in quasi-public spaces, such as shopping malls, which are typically intensively policed (e.g. von Hirsch and Shearing 2000; Wakefield 2003; Atkinson 2003; Mäenpää 2005; Pyyry 2015; Lampela et al. 2016). Finally, while the tightening social and police control of young people has been discussed in Finland and abroad (e.g. Muncie

1999; Harrikari 2008, 2013; Crawford 2009; Koskela 2009; Pekkarinen 2010; Goldson 2011, 2013, 2014; Satka et al. 2011; Korander 2014), previous research has largely neglected the perspectives of young people themselves on these changes. Furthermore, this study complements these studies by adding the private-security-based policing of young people to the picture. Due to the changes mentioned above, it is perhaps more important than ever to study the perceptions of young people and how trust could be enhanced.

Although there is an increasing amount of research on the explanations for the rise of private security and how the blurred fields of public-private policing should be understood, as discussed in chapter 2 (e.g. Shearing and Stenning 1981; Jones and Newburn 2002; White and Gill 2013), there is a lack of empirical research on the targets of policing. Similarly, Crawford and Hutchinson (2016) have recently pointed out the importance of studying the everyday lived experiences of security for understanding security governance. Furthermore, they suggest that studying experiences and how they are felt “allows us an important critical vantage point from which to expose differences and inequalities in how security is experienced by different individuals and groups within populations and across the globe” (Crawford and Hutchinson 2016, 1186).

I have suggested that private security guards are important policing and social control actors in many young people’s lives, and I have also termed this kind of social control policing (also Button 2002; Wakefield 2003; Reiner 2010). However, the rise of private security does not mean that the role of the state has necessarily declined. Nevertheless, although private security guards are not direct agents of the criminal justice system, I view that in the Finnish context they should not be understood as completely private actors either.

To study the changes in private and public policing, longitudinal data would be needed; however, in its absence, I discuss my findings to raise the question of whether private policing is replacing the public policing of young people. My findings of a high prevalence of private (and public) policing suggest that perhaps private policing is not actually replacing public policing but is simply widening the scope of the formal policing of young people (‘net-widening’, Cohen 1985). Previous Finnish research supports this suggestion, as it indicates that the police control of young people has increased although youth delinquency has remained stable (Kivivuori 2006; Salmi 2012; Korander 2014). Jones and Newburn (2002) argue that transformations in policing should not be understood only in a policing framework but rather as part of a long-term process of the ‘formalization of social control’. Their findings in the UK indicate that rather than replacing police officers, private security agents have mainly replaced

other agents of social control, such as shop staff, ticket inspectors and so on (ibid.). Private-security-based policing is a more ‘formal’ means of control compared to the above-mentioned agents. These explanations of the ‘formalization of social control’ (Jones and Newburn 2002) and the rise in privately policed quasi-public shopping mall spaces (Shearing and Stenning 1981) might also be relevant in Finland.

The effects of a possible net-widening in the policing of young people due to the rise of private security should be further considered. For instance, some scholars have proposed that the expansion of private security has enlarged rather than diminished state policing and the penal state (Garland 2001; Jones and Newburn 2002; Zedner 2003; 2009, 145–146; Loader and Walker 2006). Thus, the rise in private security might mean that more and more young people come into contact with state policing and the criminal justice system. This might be problematic given the often stated desire to keep young people out of the justice system to avoid formally labelling them delinquents (e.g. Goldson 2010, 2013; Lappi-Seppälä 2012; Honkatukia, forthcoming).

All these changes in the social control landscape potentially affect inter-generational relations between young people, policing agents and adults. There is often a risk of miscommunication between young people and adults, and young people often lack adults’ power to affect interactions (Anttila 2010, 6–7). This is particularly important in relations between young people and policing agents who have legal powers and authority status. There is the potential for conflict when young people spend their free time outside the home and if the spaces they occupy are intensively policed. However, there is also the potential for positive interactions which can enhance relations and create good communication between young people and policing authorities.

The young people whom I interviewed emphasized the importance of policing agents in controlling city spaces and reducing crime, but at the same time they also raised some negative issues. The interview participants claimed that policing agents were important for ensuring young people’s safety in city spaces and as adult role models. Interestingly, they did not see control in a purely negative light, and they suggested that the presence of policing agents could cause young people to act more calmly. Thus, they wanted adults and policing agents around so they could talk to them and feel safe. The study participants considered it positive that some security guards and police officers came to talk to them; they did not see this as negative control. In this way, control also has positive sides from the perspective of young people.

Many encounters between young people and policing agents occur in situations where young people are intoxicated or are spending time with a group of friends where alcohol is being used (also Leisto and Tuomikoski-Koukkula 2011; Korander 2014). These are challenging situations for good relations as they contain dimensions of both control and care. Here, the position of minors is difficult because they know that their drinking is illegal, but sometimes they might need to contact the police or adults for help.

One of the positive findings of this study was that young people felt that they could ask both security guards and the police for help if needed. Some defined trust as the feeling that they could ask for help. However, some were cautious about contact policing agents if they had been drinking alcohol because they were worried about possible sanctions and other consequences. For instance, some young people felt that if a violent incident occurred, they were unsure whether they would want to contact policing agents. These findings stress the importance of creating the kind of good relations between young people and adults where young people feel they can also ask for help in situations where they have done something illegal, such as drinking alcohol.

Security and policing aimed at guaranteeing security are positive; however, Zedner (2003) raises the question of whether there can be too much of a good thing – can there be too much security and control? The intensive policing of young people's free time spaces also raises concerns. Instead of deterring delinquency, excessive or unfair policing might sometimes lower young people's willingness to comply with the rules (Crawford 2009; Fransberg 2014). Encounters are interaction situations, and the young people in the present study suggested that their own behaviour affected whether policing agents intervened (also Ruuskanen 2008); however, it also seemed that policing targeted trivial behaviours or simply 'hanging out'. It might be difficult for policing agents to separate 'hanging out' from causing a nuisance (Crawford 2009; Koskela 2009). Young people felt that their presence was particularly problematic for security guards, that they were more intensively policed than adults, and that they were removed from city spaces even if they did not feel they were causing a disturbance (also Matthews et al. 2000; Fine et al. 2003; Ruuskanen 2008). During my research, I also had a similar experience myself when security guards asked me to move on from the place where I was sitting in a shopping mall. Typically, young people accepted policing if the reason was explained. Intensive policing was, however, sometimes experienced as arbitrary and unjust, and this can challenge trust in policing.

This study suggests that because of the prevalence and intensity of the policing of young people's free time, more attention should be paid to young people's possibilities to use urban spaces. Moreover, if young people's access to shopping malls is limited, it is not just a question of access to private or quasi-public spaces; it is also a question of access to public services, public transport and buying groceries (von Hirsch and Shearing 2000).

Atkinson (2003) discusses the increasing use of private security guards, CCTV cameras, curfews and zero-tolerance policing in Scotland. On the one hand, he (2003) stresses that it is overly simplistic to claim that increases in the policing of public and city spaces have only benefited the affluent or that all such measures are negative. On the other hand, he observes that these policies have tightened the control of public spaces and limited marginalized groups' and young people's access to them (ibid.; also e.g. Zedner 2003; Koskela 2009).

Similarly, Wakefield (2003, 233–236) draws attention to the need to reassess the rights of citizens regarding 'reasonable access' to sites of public life. She (ibid.) suggests that at a time when policing agents' roles and the spaces they patrol are changing and becoming blurred, it is particularly important to scrutinize policing practices in order to preserve citizens' rights. In sum, there is a continuous need to assess whether all groups have equal access to public and quasi-public spaces (e.g. von Hirsch and Shearing 2000; Suutari and Suurpää 2001; Atkinson 2003; Wakefield 2003; Koskela 2009; Hirvonen 2011; Pyyry 2015, 10–12).

7.1.2 Selective interventions potentially challenging trust

Sub-studies I and II found that low socioeconomic status (measured as low educational aspirations), untraditional family structure (non-nuclear family) and living in a city correlated with a higher likelihood of experiencing public and private policing interventions in a way which could not be explained by higher levels of delinquency. The differential selection hypothesis (e.g. Piquero 2008) suggests that if some groups experience more policing, it is partly due to selective mechanisms of policing (this is not necessarily due to the selective actions of a policing agent but can be for many other reasons as well). The competing explanation, differential involvement, suggests that the overrepresentation of certain groups is due to their higher level of delinquency. The mixed-model hypothesis suggests that both delinquency and social background (e.g. class,

age, and ethnicity) can operate together to make some people more visible targets of policing (Piquero 2008). This study discovered indications of social selectivity, thereby supporting the differential selection hypothesis. In addition, as could be expected, delinquency and heavy alcohol use were associated with adversarial contact with both the police and private security guards. Thus, the mixed-model hypothesis was also supported by the study findings, as both social background and delinquency predicted policing interventions.

The study findings on the social selectivity of policing were quite similar for both public and private policing interventions. Interestingly, however, the gender effect was different regarding these different forms of policing. While boys were more likely to be the target of police interventions, there were no gender differences in the likelihood of boys and girls experiencing security guard interventions.

Previous survey studies have also found that boys are more likely than girls to be the targets of police control (Kivivuori 1997; McAra and McVie 2007; Enzmann 2012; cf. Chesney-Lind and Shelden 2004, see also Pettersson 2014). Enzmann (2012) found that boys were typically controlled through police control, while for girls it was parents' social control. Pettersson (2013) proposes that because police culture is predominantly masculine, the police are more interested in boys' activities and boys have a greater interest in the police; consequently, police interaction with boys is more common. McAra and McVie (2012) suggest that girls may be less likely to be targeted because the police might be less inclined to label them as problematic. This study, however, observed that girls and boys were equally likely to be the targets of private security policing. Pettersson (2014, 105) found that it was boys who expressed complaints about police; nevertheless, in the present study both boys and girls discussed encounters with the police and security guards that they had experienced as unfair. However, the boys had had more experiences of physical aggression from policing agents. Nevertheless, it seems that, at least in Finland, girls are also common targets of private policing. This finding also underlines the importance of including several forms of policing in order to provide a fuller picture of the policing landscape that girls and boys experience.

The findings of this study are consistent with labelling theory's suggestion that societal reactions focus on those who are in less powerful positions, such as the lower classes (Lemert 1951; Piquero 2008) and previous studies on the police and young people (e.g. McAra and McVie 2005, 2012; Enzmann 2012). McAra and McVie (2005) found that young people of working-class origins who assembled in city spaces were 'the usual suspects'. It could be argued that

these findings are difficult to explain given that class and family structure are not necessarily visible to policing agents, particularly in the Finnish context. However, Tolonen (2013) found that young people's free-time activities and appearance were indeed class-specific in Finland, which might attract the attention of policing agents. Qualitative data can offer some explanations. For instance, some of the interview participants in the present study had noticed that if they were well dressed, they were less likely to attract the attention of the police and security guards, whereas, for instance, a tough look or scruffy appearance increased their chances of contact with policing agents (also Wakefield 2003; Ruuskanen 2008, 186; Wilson et al. 2010, 38–39; McAra and McVie 2012, 360).

A Finnish study found that education levels are also linked to many different indicators of wellbeing, such as livelihood, future employment and mental health (Ristikari et al. 2016). Furthermore, parents' educational background and financial situation is a strong predictor of their children's future level of education (Ristikari et al. 2016). In this way, young people from less affluent families are at greater risk of experiencing several marginalizing conditions, of which having policing encounters can be one. If there is excessive policing targeted at young people from less affluent backgrounds, this might cause these young people to be marginalized or labelled as delinquents (see also Goldson 2013). In the interviews, some young people highlighted feelings of injustice and being labelled by the police and security guards.

I was unable to cover issues of ethnicity in full detail in my study, and thus there remains the need for a comprehensive study of the policing of young people from ethnic minorities in Finland. However, there are studies in other countries addressing the selective policing of ethnic minorities (e.g. Holmberg and Kyvsgaard 2003; Tapia 2011; Kochel et al. 2011; Pettersson 2013, 2014). Ethnic minorities' experiences of discrimination and difficulties in using public spaces have been highlighted in youth studies in Finland, and these studies also point out that such experiences often go unrecognized (e.g. Hautaniemi 2004; Honkatukia and Suurpää 2007; Kivijärvi and Heino 2013; Souto et al. 2015).^{ix} Although the number of immigrants is lower in Finland than in many other European countries, it is constantly growing. The survey data that I used were unsuitable for studying selectivity based on ethnicity and immigrant background because the proportion of young people with immigrant background was too small to separate them into different countries of origin, and they were not asked to state their ethnicity. Ethnicity and social class might be intertwined; however, as the parents' country of origin was controlled for in the analysis and as the

proportion of these young people was small, it is unlikely that ethnicity would confound the effects of social class. This is a strength of the present study compared to research in countries where social class and ethnicity might be intertwined, making it difficult to interpret the results.

While, the number of interview participants was too small to draw conclusions about ethnicity, some signs of disproportionate policing were apparent. In the focus groups, the young people evaluated the fairness of policing agents according to whether they perceived that some groups were disproportionately targeted. Scholars have observed that young Finns live in a more multicultural society today (Hoikkala and Suurpää 2016), and this was visible in the fact that many of the young people interviewed discussed selectivity based on ethnicity. They proposed that policing agents, particularly security guards, usually suspected ethnic minorities. Some suggested that when they hung out with young people from ethnic minorities, they experienced more policing attention, especially from security guards. Furthermore, a few of the interview participants from ethnic minorities had had experiences that they felt were selective and procedurally unjust (also e.g. Honkatukia and Suurpää 2007; Pettersson 2013, 2014; Feinstein 2015). An ethnographic study of the daily lives of young male Somalis in Helsinki described how they were often stopped and searched by the police and how it was sometimes difficult for them use city spaces without experiencing police attention that they felt was discriminatory (Hautaniemi 2004, 107–112). Interestingly, some of the young people in my study claimed that police education perhaps helped the police to be less selective than security guards.

It is important to evaluate the effects of selective policing on the targets of policing and also more broadly on young people's trust in policing. I used two different theoretical perspectives in my sub-studies, and I consider that there are benefits in using these theories together.

Firstly, there is a link between the selective policing hypothesis and procedural justice and trust. Labelling theory suggests that the criminal justice system should aim to be neutral and treat individuals equally (Lemert 1951; Becker 1963); neutrality is also stressed in procedural justice theory as a crucial aspect of procedural fairness, which creates trust, legitimacy and compliance (Tyler 1990). Whether policing is, or is perceived as, selective can have effects on young people's trust in the crime control system. If policing is biased and selective, it can have an effect not only on the perceptions of those young people who are subjects of potential selective policing but also on other people who notice and hear about selective policing practices. People evaluate whether they

are treated similarly to others, and if they are not, feelings of injustice can arise (e.g. Sunshine and Tyler 2003; Kouvo 2014).

Secondly, while policing is typically viewed as a deterrent to crime and delinquency, both of the theories also highlight the negative effects of policing. Labelling theory suggests that policing encounters and encounters with the criminal justice system can label people official delinquents, which can harm their future education and employment prospects and make them feel like delinquents (Lemert 1951, 1967; see also Pekkarinen 2010; Goldson 2010, 2013). This, in turn, can further increase delinquency. In line with the claims of the labelling approach, a recent study found that contact with the police increased future delinquency and deviant attitudes (Wiley and Esbensen 2016). Policing encounters with public or private policing agents might cause some young people to enter the criminal justice system, which can have harmful consequences for them (Goldson 2010, 2013). The procedural justice approach suggests that when people experience encounters as unfair they may feel less respected as members of society, and if they do not feel respected or that the system is trustworthy, they might feel unwilling to obey social norms (e.g. Tyler 1990; Jackson et al. 2012).

Finally, both theories highlight the interactionist nature of policing encounters. Accordingly, policing has effects on people's identities and self-understanding. One of the mechanisms of labelling might indeed be unfair treatment. In the interviews, I noticed that unfair encounters, such as calling young people delinquents or marginalized, or treating them without respect, gave rise to strong negative feelings and a sense being disrespected by adults. This might marginalize or label these young people and make them feel excluded.

7.1.3 Fair, respectful and empathetic treatment of young people: the key to good relations

Sub-studies III and IV argue that there is support for procedural justice theory's emphasis on the importance of fair treatment, but new approaches and expansions to the theory are needed. While much current research focuses on citizens' general perceptions of policing, my study focuses on those young people who have experienced policing. Similar to previous Finnish studies, the young people in my study perceived the police and security guards as useful and effective; however, personal experiences in intervention situations were often viewed as

negative (Grönfors and Hirvonen 1990; Honkatukia and Suurpää 2007; Ruuskanen 2008; Myllyniemi 2012; Korander 2014). In addition, the findings suggest that there were positive personal experiences and that it was possible to promote trust and good relations between young people and policing agents even in adversarial intervention situations.

Based on the interviews, a key factor for creating trust between young people and policing agents seems to be how policing agents interact with young people. Similarly, previous survey-based procedural justice studies suggest that perceptions of unfair treatment decrease trust in and the legitimacy of policing and can increase conflicts between citizens and the police (e.g. Tyler 1990, 2000; Sunshine and Tyler 2003; Bradford et al. 2008, 2009; Hough and Sato 2011; Jackson et al. 2012; Bradford and Jackson 2015; Murphy 2015).

Although the number of procedural justice studies has grown rapidly, gaps remain, some of which this study aimed to fill. My study adds to a small body of research focusing on young people (see also Fagan and Tyler 2005; Hinds 2007; Dirikx et al. 2012; Pettersson 2014; Murphy 2015) and on private security (Mopasa and Stenning 2001; Fagan and Tyler 2005). Finally, the study provides new perspectives in a survey-dominated research field by using a qualitative approach (Crawford 2009; Dirikx et al. 2012; Pettersson 2014).

Substudy III examined young people's definitions of positive and negative encounters by using fictional and personal stories. A central argument of procedural justice is that if people perceive processes as procedurally fair, they might accept outcomes and decisions that are contrary to their self-interest (Tyler 1990; 2000, Sunshine and Tyler 2003, Bradford et al. 2008). In line with this argument, the findings suggest that intervening itself did not necessarily challenge young people's perceptions of trust in and the legitimacy of policing. For instance, the perceived fairness and success of the encounter was not based on whether policing agents controlled young people's alcohol use. They understood that the police and security guards were only doing their job (also Honkatukia and Suurpää 2007, 125; Ruuskanen 2008, 180). However, the treatment had to be fair and the intervention proportionate and justified to create trust and legitimacy. Interventions in alcohol use and youth activities which were perceived as unfair often diminished young people's trust (also Korander and Törrönen 2005; Leisto and Tuomikoski-Koukkula 2011).

Typical fair narratives about policing interventions consisted of friendly, polite, empathetic and peaceful interactions. Furthermore, mutual respect, talking with young people and listening to them was important. Typical unfair narratives consisted of impolite and aggressive treatment lacking in empathy. Studies

on young people's relations with other agents of control also stress that it is important that they feel heard and that they can influence the situations in question (Aaltonen and Berg 2015). Furthermore, the feeling that adults and the authorities cared about them created trust among the study participants; by contrast, if the authorities felt too formal or indifferent, it diminished young people's trust (also Suutari 2001, 174–176).

The importance of a calm approach was also stressed in a previous qualitative study as an important non-verbal factor which creates the feeling that police officers listen to young people (Pettersson 2014). Calm encounters, which were often linked to encounters with police officers, can perhaps create predictability in potentially intimidating interaction situations. Luhmann (2000) and Giddens (1990) remark that predictability and knowing what to expect from others are important aspects of trust. Encounters with policing agents can be scary for adolescents. Predictability, together with fair treatment, is essential for creating good encounters in situations that can be intimidating.

Furthermore, a new finding produced by the present study was that in constituting trust the ability of policing agents to manage their emotions was crucial. Murphy (2011) observes that procedural justice research has only just begun to address the role of emotions, and Karstedt (2002) remarks on a similar paucity in broader criminological research. This study suggests that the emotional state of policing agents affects perceptions of fair treatment and trust. The findings indicate that to better understand how trust is formulated criminological research would benefit from including aspects of emotions. Encounters with policing agents are emotionally tense situations, and if people feel they are treated disrespectfully, anger is a common feeling, which in turn can increase conflict situations (Karstedt 2002). In interactions with young people, it is particularly important to pay attention to how policing agents handle their emotions as well the emotions of the targets of policing.

There has been a growing interest in narrative criminology, and existing research has typically focused on narratives of crime (e.g. Sandberg et al. 2015; Presser and Sandberg 2015). Sub-study III adds to narrative criminological research by studying narratives of crime control. In line with the ideas of narrative criminology, this study suggests that stories can affect the future and have many functions (Presser 2009; Tutenges and Sandberg 2013). Stories can tell us what young people expect of control agents and adults. The findings suggest that stories can be used to share negative and positive experiences of policing and discuss the abstract concepts of trust and confidence; however, the stories young people shared were more often negative than positive. This 'negativity bias'

suggests that negative encounters are more meaningful (Skogan 2006). Negative encounters are perhaps remembered better, arouse more emotions and might be more common than positive intervention situations. However, encounters with policing agents can also be exciting stories to share (see also Tutenges and Sandberg 2013). One function of narratives of unfair, aggressive interventions could be to act as ‘warning stories’ for others or as sharing stories that can help young people deal with negative experiences (Tutenges and Sandberg 2013).

This study indicates that young people’s perceptions of policing agents and their trust in them are not only formulated in face-to-face encounters with control agents but are also based on more general views (e.g. ‘job-rating’ of the police, Bradford et al. 2008). This was particularly visible when I compared young people’s conceptions of public and private policing (sub-study IV).

In Luhmann’s (2000) terms, the former is conceptualized as trust (micro level, agency) and the latter as confidence (macro level, structure). However, trust and confidence are interconnected and are impossible to completely separate. Sociologists are interested in how agency affects structures, and thus the question arises of whether personal encounters with policing agents (agency) affect general confidence in policing institutions (structures). At an individual level, it seems obvious that encounters can also affect general perceptions of confidence, although personal negative experiences do not necessarily diminish confidence in policing institutions. However, the study suggests that the stories circulating among young people might affect trust and confidence regardless of a personal encounter. Even a single negative, unfair encounter, for instance an aggressive or violent encounter, can be rapidly circulated among young people through the stories they share in social media and when they meet. For instance, general views about security guards were very negative, and this, so the young people claimed, was because they had heard so many negative stories. The stories about control agents that circulate in youth cultures can work to create or challenge trust and good relations between young people and policing agents (see also Crawford 2009, 17).

7.1.4 Differences in trust, confidence and legitimacy between public and private policing

While the quantitative analysis did not show very large differences in the frequency with which young people encountered public or private policing, the qualitative analysis indeed highlighted differences in how young people perceived and trusted public and private policing. As a result of their experiences and more general views, the young people in the present study had more trust and confidence in the police than in private security (Sub-study IV). The finding that the participants did not challenge much the general confidence and legitimacy of the police is perhaps unsurprising in the Finnish context where confidence in the police is high. Perhaps more surprising is the fact that they made so strong distinctions between the different actors in considering that young people received better treatment from the police than from security guards.

Typically, the young people in the present study felt that the police treated people more likely in a friendly, respectful and polite manner, whereas security guards were not perceived to respect young people. The young people sometimes questioned private security guards' legitimacy because they often moved young people on from shopping malls, were perceived as exceeding their rights and because they used their legal rights unjustly. The young people presented the view that the police were better educated, more professional, had more power and legal rights than security guards. The study suggests that because the participants raised these issues in the interviews, education and the professional use of legal rights were important factors in creating trust and legitimacy.

Although not directly stated in the interviews, perhaps the structural differences between public and private policing are reflected in young people's differing perceptions of these two policing fields. In the interviews, I noticed that the participants claimed to prefer the police, but they were not always able to explain why. Security guards did not seem to enjoy similar confidence and legitimacy. The participants' high confidence in the police can be accounted for by the police's historical legacy and cultural power, the fact that they have public resources, and because they are public actors (Loader and Walker 2006; White 2012). In Finland, the police are particularly highly trusted (Kääriäinen 2007, 2008). However, it should be stressed that high trust is not only linked to how the police act. In countries where generalized trust is high, typically in welfare states, confidence in the police is also high (Kääriäinen 2007, 2008; Lappi-Seppälä 2011; Korander 2014, 205).

The police, with their higher legitimacy, perhaps benefit from this, and thus negative and unfair experiences might not damage the public's high confidence in them to the same degree. By contrast, private security agents might have difficulties in gaining more legitimacy and confidence among the public if their interactions with the targets of control are perceived as unfair. Research indicates that private security officers sometimes feel a need to exceed their legal rights (Button 2003, 2007; Santonen and Paasonen 2014), and the systematic use of private detention rooms has been documented (Hadley 2010). Similarly, rather many of the young people whom I interviewed had had experiences of security guards' detention rooms or of security guards exceeding their legal rights.

Interestingly, the young people in the present study did not conceptualize private security as private, commercial or market-based, or as a separate policing field, all of which could have been used as a challenge to its legitimacy. Accordingly, there seems to have been a blurring of the boundaries between public and private policing (White and Gill 2013). Defining private security is a complex task; the sector is private and market-based and security guards are not agents of the state. However, the private security sector should not be understood solely as private actors providing services; they have considerable power, they use legal rights defined by the state and they patrol in public spaces (Bayley and Shearing 1996; Thumala et al. 2011; White and Gill 2013). Nevertheless, the field differs from public policing because it is private and works according to market logic.

Perhaps the young people in the present study failed to separate between policing agents on the basis of the public-private distinction because the ideas of public and private were too difficult or, by contrast, too self-evident. In addition, this might reflect the findings of previous studies that the private security industry avoids emphasizing its private nature in order to increase its legitimacy as it is difficult to justify selling of security (Thumala et al. 2011; White and Gill 2013).

My findings seem to suggest that although the private security sector enjoyed less trust and confidence, it had been able to legitimize its status to some extent. Thumala et al. (2011; also White 2012) found that private security uses similar tools to the police to gain legitimacy, for instance through legal rights, educating their workforce and using similar uniforms to the police. Although the young people in the present study challenged private security guards more than the police in their encounters with policing agents, they often complied with security guards' demands, and they viewed both as important actors. The

study findings suggest that White's argument (2012) is also apt for the Finnish context: private security should be conceptualized from two different perspectives: first, as having extensive impact, power and agency in policing, and second, as still being shaped by the legacy of the state monopoly, where the police are prioritized.

There has been discussion on the advantages and disadvantages of the rise of private security and whether the growing role of the market is a positive or negative phenomenon (e.g. Koskela 2009; Kerttula 2010, 35–38; Thumala et al. 2011; White and Gill 2013, 75; Leese 2016). A few concerns are important to consider here. The function of private security is to serve the interests of its employers rather than the interests of the public. In democratic countries, the public police are accountable to every citizen. The kind of accountability offered by the market prioritizes the buyers of private security over the people who are affected (Shearing and Stenning 1981, 209; Bayley and Shearing 1996, 596). Furthermore, it has been suggested that the commercial role of private security could transform security into a private commodity and challenge its status as a public good (Loader and Walker 2006, 2007, Koskela 2009, Zedner 2009). Finally, the present study's finding of violent interactions and experiences that were considered disrespectful raises concerns about how the private security sector is controlled. There seems to be a need to address how private security agents use their legal rights and how the use of those rights is regulated.

7.2 Limitations

One limitation of this study was that it paid insufficient attention to encounters between policing agents and young people from ethnic minorities. In the survey data, the differences in parents' country of origin were too small to meaningfully study differences between those from a western and non-western background, for instance. In addition, only a small number of young people from ethnic minorities participated in the interviews. Its omission of the experiences of ethnic minority youth means that this study might overemphasize the meaning of class and gender in selective policing and underestimate the meaning of ethnicity. In future research, questions about the ethnic group(s) with which young people identify themselves would be useful, and a larger sample size would also facilitate the study of different migrant backgrounds. In addition, both the quantitative and qualitative data sets perhaps excluded the most marginalized young people, as the study focused on those who were attending

school. Thus, there is a need for more research on the experiences of policing among different groups of young people.

The survey provided cross-sectional data, and consequently it was not possible to study changes over time. It would be important to include similar questions in other youth surveys to gain comparative and longitudinal data on changes in the policing environment. Future studies would also benefit from including more questions on young people's free time activities (for instance, how often young people stay out at night and where they spend time). Finally, the socio-economic status variables were subjective questions, which can be unreliable, and many young people were unaware of their parents' employment status. Thus, it seemed a better approach to ask young people about their educational aspirations.

The qualitative data were collected in just one city location, and the experiences of young people who spend time in small towns or rural areas were not covered. Focus groups produce different information from individual interviews, and thus individual interviews could produce valuable additional knowledge about the experiences of different groups of young people (distinguished by gender, class, ethnicity etc.). Focus group discussions are commonly produced negotiations; as a result, potential differences between the participants were not always visible. Accordingly, a more thorough analysis, a larger data set, or different methods of collecting data would be useful to gain a more multifaceted picture.

Many of the interview participants had encountered security guards more often than the police, which might partly explain why their views of security guards were more negative. Police officers who patrol the streets are typically viewed more negatively than those who investigate crimes (Kainulainen 2009); accordingly, security guards might be viewed more negatively because they are usually the first policing agent young people encounter.

The targets of policing obviously view policing situations differently from policing agents (e.g. Saari 2009); thus, I have stressed that evaluating policing encounters is a question of perceptions. Consequently, there should be more ethnographic research and research on how public and private policing agents perceive encounters with young people (see e.g. Manzo 2004; Niemi 2010). Security guards, in particular, can experience difficulties in dealing with young people, as they are typically untrained for such situations (Lampela 2016, 33–35). This study indicates the importance of training police officers and security guards how to interact with young people to avoid conflicts.

My experience during this research has been that different research methods can provide more multifaceted information. However, there are also limitations when many methods are used. It is possible that the analytical depth of using a single method is lost and learning many methods and their conventional writing styles is time-consuming. Nevertheless, I feel that trying to grasp the research topic from many angles by using different approaches was worthwhile. I feel that using many methods can help researchers check, question and theoretically interpret their findings (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009, 244–265). I aimed in this conclusion to check and discuss quantitative findings against the qualitative findings and vice versa. However, I consider the findings of this mixed methods research complementary rather than fully comparable.

Quantitative methods enabled the production of country-level data on selectivity and the frequency of public and private policing, whereas more detailed information on policing situations and how young people perceived these encounters was attained through qualitative methods. The qualitative analysis helped me interpret the quantitative studies that I conducted first and revealed the full complexity of the concept of trust. However, a limitation is that the qualitative data were local and not statistically generalizable and produced information from just one city setting.

Participating in research can stimulate both positive and negative feelings. In the qualitative approach, it was easier to see how young people felt about the study, as I was in direct contact with the research participants. Perhaps future surveys could include questions about how the participants felt about participating (e.g. voluntariness, usefulness, what feelings the questions provoked) (see Ellonen and Pösö 2010). It is, however, important to allow young people to participate in studies and not to over-protect them (Lagström et al. 2010).

8 CONCLUSION

This study argues that the new policing context influences how relations and trust between policing agents and young people are constituted and that these influences are important to consider. To date, there is insufficient understanding of how the current public-private policing context affects young people, their relations with the crime control system and their perceptions of trust. The findings of this study suggest that there is a need to focus on the nature of interactions with young people in terms of intensive, common and selective policing as well as policing that young people perceive as unfair. In addition, my research illustrated that there were both similarities and differences in public and private policing. Experiences with policing agents and trust in or mistrust of the crime control system can have broader effects on how young people feel they can trust other people and on their sense of social belonging and of being respected members of society.

Young people can be in a difficult position. For instance, while adults might feel that young people are a threat in shopping malls, young people may feel that the space is a safe place for them to gather because there are friends, adults and policing agents present. If young people are frequently moved on from the spaces in which they feel safe, they may, for lack of an alternative, gather in spaces where they are more vulnerable. Consequently, youth workers and shopping mall managers have begun training security guards to interact with young people, and young people are also being included in the design of shopping malls and planning common rules, which has diminished problems (Lampela 2013, 2016). Accordingly, rather than increasing control youth delinquency could be diminished by using alternative ways, for instance by creating better relations between young people and policing agents, by participating young people and by training security guards.

While procedural justice studies essentially address the importance of fair treatment, their focus has mainly been on how procedural justice could increase the legitimacy of policing agents or the criminal justice system and how procedural fairness affects citizens' compliance with the law (e.g. Sunshine and Tyler 2003; Bradford et al. 2009; Jackson et al. 2012; Murphy 2015). This study showed that there is a need to extend the theory to better include private policing, the perspectives of the targets of policing and the effects of policing on generalized trust. In addition, in criminology, the role of emotions should be further empirically studied and theorized. My qualitative approach demonstrated the complexity of the issues

surrounding trust and confidence, which involve much more than the mere effects of these constructs on compliance and on the legitimacy of the criminal justice system. Accordingly, it is important to address more broadly the effects of unfair procedures from the perspective of the targets of policing. The findings of this study reveal the multifaceted ways in which trust, confidence and legitimacy are constituted, for instance, through fair treatment, education, the professional use of legal rights and structural general trust in the crime control system.

One practical implication of the findings is linked to current discussions on reducing police resources and transferring police tasks to the private sector: in this case, the many sides of fair treatment, trust and confidence should be considered. These issues continue to be topical. For instance the new legislation which clarifies and increases the legal rights of private security agents is implemented in Finland in 2017. A crucial point of this study is that, although there can be benefits in using private security, it seems that private security agents cannot simply replace police officers' tasks without this affecting perceptions of fair policing, generalized trust and trust in the crime control system.

Trustworthy and just institutions can create trust and confidence not only in policing agents but also generalized trust in other people in society (e.g. Kouvo 2014). If people consider that policing agents or institutions are untrustworthy, they might feel that that other people in society are untrustworthy too (Kouvo 2014). Furthermore, institutions provide examples of good practice, and the young people in the present study sometimes viewed both public and private policing agents as adult role models. If, however, young people feel that policing agents treat others unfairly, they might have less confidence in and positive expectations of the policing system and the adults around them.

These kinds of perceptions can have far-reaching consequences for young people's relationship with society and their trust in society in general. Unfair treatment might make people reluctant to respect the system and follow the law (Tyler 1990). Furthermore, attitudes and values concerning trust and distrust can be passed on from one generation to the next (Kortteinen and Elovainio 2012). The selective or aggressive policing practices highlighted by this study might marginalize or label young people as delinquents and make it difficult for them to feel valued members of society. On the one hand, the findings raise the question of whether such intensive policing of minors is always proportionate and whether the potential negative effects on trust are always fully understood. On the other hand, the study emphasizes the fact that there were also positive encounters, creating the possibility of promoting mutual respect between young people and policing agents.

Notes

ⁱ The authors have developed the concepts of ‘nodal governance’ and ‘anchored pluralism’ to describe, explain or make normative claims about the changing nature of security governance (see e.g. Wood and Dupont 2006; White 2012). These normative debates are not, however, the purview of this study. Nodal governance suggests that policing agents are nodes in a governance network and no set of nodes (e.g. police or security guards) should be given conceptual priority (e.g. Wood and Dupont 2006). Loader and Walker (2006) have criticized this and introduced the anchored pluralism model. In their model, the state should remain the anchor of collective security provision, without forgetting pluralism in providing security (Loader and Walker 2006). By contrast, White (2012) suggests that the two approaches should be combined.

ⁱⁱ In Finland, private policing agents do not have the right to search bags without the permission of the person concerned and all citizen’s arrests should be reported to the police. There are some differences between crowd controllers and security guards regarding legal rights and the spaces they patrol. Security guards only have the right to remove people, while crowd controllers can prohibit people from entering their area of operation. Crowd controllers operate in common shopping mall spaces and security guards in shops. (Kerttula 2010; Santonen & Paasonen 2014.) For more information about the legal rights during the study time see Kerttula (2010). The Ministry of the Interior has reformed legislation on the private security sector and the new legislation concerning the legal rights of private security agents in Finland is implemented from 1.1.2017. The legal rights of security agents will be extended and clarified.

ⁱⁱⁱ See Goldson (2013) for a discussion of the situation in Britain and different ages of criminal responsibility in Europe.

^{iv} The policing of people who use illegal drugs is suggested to reflect intensive zero-tolerance policing in Finland (Kinnunen 2008; Kainulainen 2009; Perälä 2011; Korander 2014).

^v In Finland, the number of migrants is still comparatively low (6.1 % in 2015). However, compared to the 1990s, when the proportion of foreigners was 0.8 %, there has been a rise in migration. The largest migrant groups in Finland are from the former Soviet Union and Estonia, and the proportion of non-western migrants is rather low (Statistics Finland 2015).

^{vi} Formerly known as the National Research Institute of Legal Policy.

^{vii} During my research, I also had another encounter with security guards in a city space. I participated in an organised event for young people where we walked around to see which places young people defined as safe and unsafe. There were three security guards with us so that young people and security guards had the chance to meet in a non-adversarial situation. When we left the metro station in Helsinki, around seven security guards started to follow us and gathered around us. They were not interested in the young people at this time but in the security guards who were with us, as they were from another company. Consequently, they were not allowed to enter to the premises policed by the other company when they were at work and wearing their uniforms. Again, this sudden event showed how regulated the city space can be and how public and private policing differs.

^{viii} The multivariate analysis used follow-up questions concerning whether the police knew about a specific self-reported offence. The findings were similar to the ones presented here. Because the survey did not include these follow-up questions regarding private security interventions, I decided to use these separate questions for delinquency and policing interventions.

^{ix} There is some Finnish research, mainly concerning adults, on relations between ethnic minorities and the police (Grönfors 1979; Egharevba 2004; Honkatukia and Suurpää 2007; Saari 2009) and on immigrants' experiences in prison (Huhta 2012). Saari (2009) conducted a review of Finnish studies on ethnic minority and police relations. Studies that focused on police perspectives perceived these relations more positively than studies conducted from the perspective of ethnic minorities (Saari 2009, 414). Although the views of the police were varied, many studies highlighted negative relations and low trust (Saari 2009, 404–414; also Egharevba 2004; Honkatukia and Suurpää 2007).

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