



PROACTIVE POLICING OF YOUNGSTERS IN GERMANY: ETHNIC DIFFERENCES

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Abstract

Background In order to contribute to the existing literature on racial profiling, the aim of this study was to demonstrate a link between a youngster's ethnic background and the number of proactive police contacts that he or she experienced in the last 12 months. For this purpose in May 2013 an anonymous self-report survey was conducted in Bochum, Germany with 114 participants at the age between 12 and 25 years. Among the participants were 57% who indicated that a police officer would perceive them as a German youngsters, whereas 43% indicated to be perceived as a non-German youngster.

The emphasis was put on explaining why, if so, these minorities have more proactive police contact. By means of a hierarchical regression analysis the goal was to explain to what extent the relationship between ethnicity and number of proactive police contacts is explained by differences in availability on the streets, socioeconomic status, individual and group delinquency.

Results The results of the present study included two major findings concerning the relationship between the ethnicity of youngsters and the number of experienced proactive police contacts in the last 12 months. Firstly, being perceived by a police officer as non-German predicted approximately one proactive police contact more per year than being perceived as German. Secondly, availability on the streets also predicted a higher number of proactive police contacts. More precisely, being one more hour available on the streets per week, predicted about 0.1 more proactive police contacts per year. Differences in availability could not explain the relationship between ethnicity and proactive police contacts to a significant degree. Availability was shown to be an independent factor with unique explanatory power for the number of proactive police contacts. Socioeconomic status, individual and group delinquency did not prove to be significant in this model.

Conclusions The study found significant ethnic differences in the number of proactive police contacts. The results indicate that non-German youngsters experience significantly more proactive police contacts as compared to German youngsters. Even though in this model availability on the streets proved to be a stronger predictor for proactive police contacts than ethnicity, the unequal treatment on the basis of nationality is not tolerable in a democratic society. This stresses the need for policy makers and law enforcement agencies to make use of this evidence by addressing the discrimination of ethnic minorities, where it exists.

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1. Introduction

1.1. Aim and relevance of the study

Against the background that constables have discretionary powers in selecting targets for proactive police measures, the aim of this study is to test whether ethnic minority youngsters experience a disproportionate number of proactive police contacts as compared to German youngsters. More precisely, the aim of the present study is to demonstrate a link between a youngster's ethnicity and the number of proactive police contacts that he or she experienced in the last 12 months.

The goal is to show which factors, besides ethnicity, can explain increased proactive contact rates. It is of interest to show whether there is evidence for unequal treatment in the proactive policing of ethnic minority youngsters.

Proactive police measures pose a danger to equal treatment. These measures namely provide the police officers with a certain degree of discretionary power, which enables them to selectively target for example ethnic minorities in the hope to detect crime. This is problematic as ethnic minorities are solely held up by the police on the basis of their nationality. Svensson, Sollie and Saharso (2011) reasoned that since the Netherlands introduced the ID card requirement, this measure has become a popular instrument of the police that is often directed against youngsters. Because proactive policing and the associated potential for unequal treatment is especially relevant for young people, this study focuses on this age group.

As the area of law enforcement and minority groups has been under-researched in most of the Member States of the European Union, the first EU-wide survey providing evidence about minorities' experiences of policing was published in 2010. The survey was conducted by the 'European Union Agency of Fundamental Rights' (FRA) and is called EU-MIDIS, which stands for 'European Union Minorities and Discrimination survey'. It provides key evidence of the extent of discrimination of minority groups in police contacts. The results were remarkable: In six out of ten Member States minority respondents were stopped more often than majority respondents in the last 12 months (FRA, 2010). These six countries with significant differences in police contacts between majority and minority respondents are Germany, Belgium, Greece, Spain, France and Hungary (FRA, 2010).

The issue of racial profiling is a highly contemporary issue in Germany. Recently, a black student from Koblenz travelling in a train from Kassel to Frankfurt was subject of a police control merely due to his skin colour (Cremer, 2012). He complained about this at court. The issue was controversial, because first the Verwaltungsgericht Koblenz ruled that police officers are allowed to engage in enforcements on the grounds of skin-colour (VG Koblenz, 2012) But, in October 2012 a higher level of jurisdiction, the Obergerverwaltungsgericht Rheinland-Palatinate, ruled that police officers may not engage in enforcements solely on the grounds of skin-colour (Cremer, 2012). Since this decision, the Koblenz ruling is now without effect. Hence, the skin colour of an individual does not constitute an initial suspicion that legitimates the police to execute a police stop. It is not surprising that the court decided this way as racial profiling is in breach of several national and international agreements and laws: It infringes upon national German law, as racial profiling constitutes a prohibited form of discrimination according to article 3(3) of the German Basic Law. The law stipulates that “nobody may [...] experience disadvantages due to his race”. Further racial profiling is according to Art. 21 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union prohibited. In July 2000 the Council of the European Union laid down an important Directive in combating discrimination on the grounds of nationality. The purpose of the Directive was to implement in the Member States the principle of equal treatment by combating discrimination on the grounds of ethnic origin (Council Directive 2000/43/EC). According to article 2.1 there “shall be no direct or indirect discrimination based on racial or ethnic origin” (Council Directive 2000/43/EC).

As demonstrated, racial profiling is prohibited in several legislative acts and legal rulings. Therefore it is worth conducting an inquiry to find out whether there is evidence for such racial profiling. Racial profiling practices do not only constitute an unlawful act, but also have implications for society in general. As the EU-MIDIS survey found, the success of the police as a public service is linked to how different communities are and feel treated by the police (FRA, 2010). Constables may argue that the effectiveness of interdiction is jeopardised when they are forced to abolish racial profiling. Against this background it is interesting to mention the findings of Persico (2002), who came to the conclusion that fairness and effectiveness are not in contrast. By providing specific conditions under which forcing the police to behave more fairly, Persico (2002) demonstrated a reduction in the total amount of crime. These findings illustrate the importance to conduct research on the issue of racial profiling to detect these discriminatory police practices as a first step towards overcoming them.

Previous research on this topic is unambiguous about the disproportionate rate at which ethnic minorities are stopped by the police, but there are different explanations about why this is so (Norris, Fielding, Kemp, & Fielding, 1992). If the increased police contact rates for minorities are due to police prejudice, then discriminatory behaviour or ethnic profiling can be attested. Some authors argue that it is the greater availability, rather than any particular selectivity on the part of the police, that causes the overwhelming disproportionality for ethnic minorities in police stop and search (Waddington, Stenson, & Don, 2004).

Because there are different opinions among researchers about why there are disproportionate police contact rates for ethnic minorities, it is interesting to conduct research on this topic. This study aims at investigating the issue of ethnic differences in the proactive policing of youngsters in Germany. This will be achieved by means of a self-report survey where the respondents will be asked to answer questions regarding demography, SES, availability on the streets, their involvement in offending and the frequency of experienced proactive police contacts in the last 12 months.

Findings from the EU-MIDIS survey emphasize the pan-European extent of racial profiling. Law enforcement that is based on equality is a cornerstone of democratic societies (FRA, 2010). Because of the on-going immigration into and the movement within the Union, law enforcement has to increasingly work with diverse communities (FRA, 2010). Therefore governmental institutions and policy makers need to make use of such research findings by addressing the discrimination of ethnic minorities, where it exists.

By using combinations of concepts from various studies to investigate unequal treatment in the proactive policing of minority youngsters, this study will add to the existing body of knowledge. Besides ethnicity this study includes the potential explaining factors SES, availability on the streets, individual delinquency and group delinquency to examine the possibly disproportionate number of proactive police contacts.

1.2. Research Questions

The study combines descriptive and explanatory research questions. Firstly, the aim is to describe the difference in the number of proactive police contact for non-German and German youngsters, which constitutes the descriptive part of the study. Following this the study puts secondly emphasis on seeking to explain why, if so, the ethnic minorities have more proactive police contact. This could be either because of their ethnic background or because of some other factor. The related question will make up the explanatory part of the study. After controlling for some other factors, this research will be able to tell, whether proactive police contact is higher for the group of ethnic minority youngsters, which would be suggestive of unequal treatment or discrimination in proactive policing. Or it will be shown that the relationship between ethnicity and proactive police contacts is explained by for example differences in SES. This would mean that if there are ethnic differences in SES then these differences are responsible for differences in proactive police contacts and not solely the ethnic background. Ignoring the possible effects of these factors on the relation between ethnicity and proactive police contacts, could lead to an over-estimation of the effect of ethnicity. This is why the study decided for a combination of the following research questions.

The general research question is: What is the relationship between the ethnic background of youngsters in Germany at the age between 12 and 25, and their frequency of proactive police contact in the last 12 months?

This main research question is subdivided into two more specific research questions:

- I. To what extent do non-German youngsters experience more proactive police contacts than German youngsters?
- II. To what extent is the relationship between ethnicity and proactive police contact explained by differences in SES, availability on the streets, individual delinquency and group delinquency?

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1. Police contact and ethnicity

Several studies have already dealt with the relationship between ethnicity and police contact. Some scholars have found that disproportionality in police contacts for ethnic minorities results from discriminatory police behaviour (Macpherson of Cluny, 1999), whereas others have found that other factors, like offending rate, availability (Waddington, et al., 2004) and socioeconomic status (McAra & McVie, 2005) account for the differences.

In the following the main results of the literature on this topic are presented. The opinion that the racial disproportionality in police stop and search is due to officers selectively targeting minorities, has been stated in the Macpherson Report. It expresses the view that the disproportionate representation of minority groups in national figures represented a “conspicuous manifestation of institutional racism” (Macpherson of Cluny, 1999). Furthermore some years ago Norris and colleagues (1992) have dealt with the overrepresentation of black people in the criminal justice system. The article discusses the relationship between a person’s race and the process of being stopped on the street by the police. The main finding of the study is that blacks were 2.5 times more likely to be stopped than their presence in the population would suggest and young black males had an even higher disproportion (Norris et al., 1992). Over 30 years ago, some researchers were already interested in the topic of police prejudice. It was shown that British street level police officers demonstrated racist language and that racial prejudice was omnipresent (Smith & Gray, 1983). There is however a difference between showing racist attitudes and language and “demonstrating the link between those attitudes and discriminatory behaviour” (Norris et al., 1992). Therefore it is difficult to tell whether the particular police action was due to race or some other factor. This problem of identifying the causes of disproportionate police contacts for minorities is responsible for the disagreement among contemporary researchers and this makes the topic still interesting for further research.

Proactive police contacts are crucial for the analysis of racially biased policing of ethnic minorities. In this study the proactive contacts are defined as situations, where the police officers have no specific reason for approaching the subject, but rather stop him or her as a preventive measure. This means that the individual has not caused that police contact directly, for example by inappropriate behaviour. This would for example be the case, if an individual

crosses a red light and gets fined by the police. This would be a reactive police measure. In proactive policing, however, a constable uses his discretion to stop that person on the street, just because he found that person to be behaving suspiciously. According to Walsh and Taylor (2007) particularly this concept of “reasonable suspicion” is very problematic. It is “stretched beyond its limits when the police are asked to assess whether someone’s appearance is likely to arouse fear in another person” (Walsh & Taylor, 2007). According to the researchers an assessment allows for the stereotyped perceptions of certain groups to form the basis for their treatment by the criminal law, rather than their actions (Walsh & Taylor, 2007). As constables are given this discretion to proactively approach a subject, the concept of proactive police contacts seems to be suitable for analyzing unequal treatment of minorities, which might be motivated by racist prejudices.

Bowling and Philipps (2007) found that black people in England and Wales are six times more likely to be stopped and searched than would be expected based on their numbers in the general population (Bowling & Philipps, 2007). They assert that the police in Britain are empowered to stop and search people under a wide choice of legislative acts and this use of power especially against black people is disproportionate and is a sign of ethnic discrimination (Bowling & Philipps, 2007). They emphasize the deeply damaging effects on society that come along with disproportionate stop and search rates for ethnic minorities. These have a negative impact on the law-abiding population and are the “cause of a loss of public support for and de-legitimization of the police” (Bowling & Philipps, 2007). Another argument that supports the need to abolish discrimination in police measures is provided by Persico (2002), who found that if police officers are forced to behave fairly, then a decline in the total amount of crime was observed. Additionally he found evidence that limiting police behaviour may increase the “effectiveness of interdiction” (Persico, 2002). Hence, there is not a trade-off between fairness and effectiveness, but rather fairness increases the effectiveness of police interdiction (Persico, 2002).

The recently conducted EU-MIDIS survey found that in Germany ethnic minority respondents were stopped more often than German respondents in the last 12 months (FRA, 2010). These results from Germany are in line with the above mentioned findings from the English speaking countries on racial disparities in police contact.

There is a lot of evidence on the issue of racial profiling in police stops, and it is interesting to test whether such disproportionality also holds for German ethnic minority youngsters, which would confirm the findings of the EU-wide minority survey EU-MIDIS.

2.2. Police contact and individual / group delinquency

Research that seeks to explain racial differences in stop rates has shown that black people have a higher rate of offending than white people, and are therefore more likely stopped by the police (Norris et al., 1992). According to this theory, blacks are stopped more frequently due to higher rates of offending. Even though this study is not focusing on black people, but rather on ethnic minorities in general, the concept of individual delinquency (rate of offending) will be used to explain potential ethnic differences in the frequency of police contact. The researchers Philipps and Bowling (2003) describe the logic why people with high rates of offending are more frequently subject to police stop and searches. They argue that differences in stop and search result from differences in involvement in crime, because differences in suspicious behaviour are reflecting differences in patterns of crime (Phillips & Bowling, 2003). Additionally McAra and McVie (2005) found in their study that the chances for police contact are four times greater for an individual “with prior history of adversarial contact” than for someone who did not have that prior history of contact. Prior police experience was in that study by far the most powerful predictor of police contact. The presented results indicate that the offending rate of an individual might be an explaining factor for the ethnic differences in proactive police contact rates.

Also the offending rates and criminal involvement of the friends with whom the individual hangs around, appear to be predicting police contact. In this study this particular concept is labelled as group delinquency. Research has shown that “keeping the wrong company is a powerful predictor of adversarial contact” (McAra & McVie, 2005). Even though a youngster may not be involved in delinquency, hanging around with a delinquent group may cause the police to approach this youngster, not because of his ethnic background or his individual offending rate, but rather because of having much contact with a delinquent group of friends.

2.3. Role of SES and availability

Besides the above mentioned concepts for explaining police contact, also the socioeconomic status (SES) and the availability on the streets may have an impact on police contact rates. A person's material wealth, occupation and participation in educational and social institutions is defined as his socioeconomic status (Oakes & Rossi, 2003). Researchers usually measure the SES by determining education, income, occupation and/or a combination of these dimensions (Winkleby, Jatulis, Frank, & Fortmann, 1992). In the article of McAra & McVie (2005) the concept of SES was related to racial disparities in police contact. In fact the researchers were able to show that SES significantly predicts police contact rates. Similarly, Persico (2002) proposed a model in which legal earning opportunities have an effect on the decision to engage in crime. Legal earning opportunities may in turn be understood in terms of the SES of a person. Persico (2002) notes that there is a tension between "equal treatment under the law and the practical demands of the law enforcement", because those who engage in criminal activities tend to share characteristics relating to SES and ethnicity. As research results indicate a significant relation between SES and police contacts, it is worth integrating this concept as an explaining factor in this study.

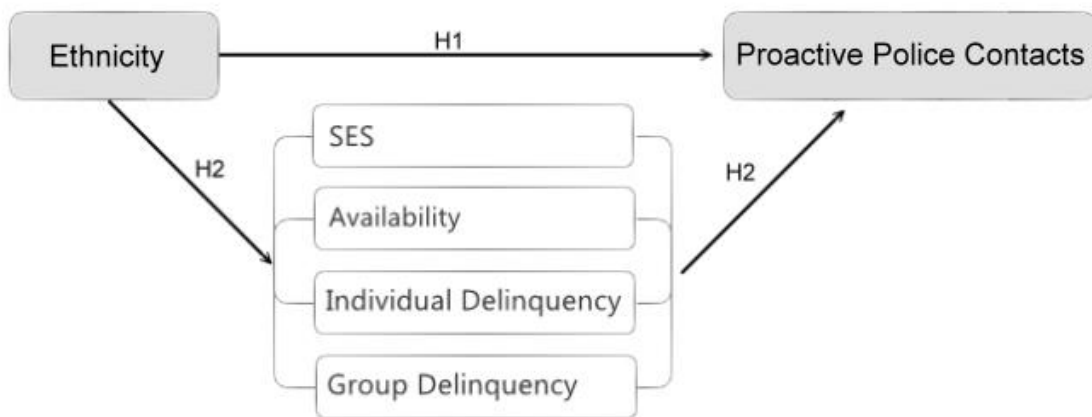
Further Waddington and colleagues (2004) argue that it is the greater availability, rather than selectivity on the part of the police, that causes the ethnic disparities in police contacts. According to Waddington and colleagues (2004) being more available in public spaces creates more opportunities for being stopped and searched by the police. MVA and Miller (2000) also claim that the disproportionality of ethnic minorities in police stop rates reflects the differential use of public spaces. The authors define availability on the streets as the "time spent in the times and places where stop and searches are most exclusively used" (MVA & Miller, 2000). According to Bowling and Philipps (2007) the availability on the streets of social groups to be stopped and searched by the police depends much on structural factors, like unemployment, exclusion from school and so on, that are all known to be associated with the ethnic origin.

Besides the suspicion of racial profiling, SES and availability could be alternative explanations for ethnic disparities in proactive police contacts.

2.4. Hypotheses

Different assumptions can now be formulated. First, it is assumed that non-German youngsters experience more proactive police contacts (H1). Another assumption is that the relationship between ethnicity and proactive police contacts can be explained by differences in SES, availability on the streets, individual and group delinquency (H2). The analysis of this study will show to what extent these potentially explaining factors have an effect on the relation between ethnicity and proactive police contacts. Figure 1 illustrates the assumed relationship of the applied variables.

Figure 1: Concept map of the variables



3. Methods

3.1 Subjects

The data was collected from 114 subjects in Bochum. 58 male and 56 female youngsters were interviewed. In the group of German youngsters were 47.7% male and 52.3% female respondents, while in the group of non-German youngsters the distribution between the sexes was 55.1% male and 44.9% female. The mean age was 18.7 years (SD 3.1). The sample population was stratified into three socioeconomic status (SES) categories: high, middle and low. The majority of respondents had a high SES (63.2%). Only 4.4% of respondents were ranked as middle SES, and 32.5% were divided in the low SES category. Further respondents were asked to which ethnic background they feel most connected to. The ethnic composition of the sample is as follows: 54.4% of the respondents stated to feel German, 16.7% felt Turkish and 8.8% indicated a Kurdish identity. Turkish and Kurdish respondents constituted the largest groups of ethnic minorities.

Table 1

Sample Attributes

Attribute	n	%
Sex		
- male	58	50.9%
- female	56	49.1%
Age		
- 12-16 years	36	31.6%
- 17-21 years	58	50.9%
- 22-25 years	20	17.5%
SES	72	63.2%
- High	5	4.4%
- Middle	37	32.5%
- Low		
Ethnic Background		
- German	62	54.4%
- Turkish	19	16.7%
- Kurdish	10	8.8%
- Polish	5	4.4%
- Moroccan	5	4.4%
- Albanian	4	3.5%
- Russian	1	0.9%
- Other	8	7.0%

3.2 Procedure

The study was conducted by means of a cross-sectional self-report survey to find the explaining factors of proactive police contacts. The data collection was performed at a particular point of time and the research design is similar to a post-test-only experimental design except for that the treatment has not been randomized (Gerring, 2012, p.283).

Quantitative data and methods were used to answer the research question. The survey was conducted in Bochum in May 2013. The unit of analysis in this research are youngsters in Germany at the age between 12 and 25. All of the subjects were recruited in the main shopping lane in the city centre of Bochum. The subjects filled out a printed questionnaire, which was handed out. The subjects were informed about the anonymous character of the survey. As this research lays particular emphasis on ethnic differences, the desired composition of the sample was half ethnic minorities and half majorities. This means that this study strived for a fixed proportion of population groups, assuring that it will be “able to talk about even small groups in the population” and that these are represented equally in the sample (Trochim, 2006). This sampling type is non-probabilistic and this study used a non-proportional quota sampling strategy, which does not rely on the representations of the groups in the population, but rather both groups in the sample were supposed to be represented in equal quotas. As the point of the study is to demonstrate the impact of ethnicity on proactive police contact, a purposive, non-probabilistic sampling strategy was pursued. Therefore, while recruiting, it was kept in mind to keep the distributions of minorities and majorities equal. This was done by keeping a list of the current composition of the sample.

3.3 Measurements

Proactive Police Contact: The concept police contact was measured by asking the respondents how often they had experienced different types of police contacts in the last 12 months. The third question “How many times were you / your group approached by a police officer without an obvious reason?” and the fourth question “How many times were you held up by the police because you were falsely accused of something?” of this set of questions were of particular relevance for the analysis of proactive police contact. The two items have a correlation coefficient of 0.56 ($\alpha=0.05$) and a Cronbach’s alpha of 0.69. Though the correlation is significant, there is not such a great overlap as to conclude that they are tapping the same construct. If this would be the case, it would be sufficient to include only one of these items in the following analysis. But the correlation coefficient led to the decision to create a new variable summing up the values of both items. The variable proactive police contacts served as the main dependent variable measuring the quantity of proactive police measures in the last 12 months. When this study mentions proactive police contacts, it always refers to the sum of the answers of the above mentioned questions. The items were already asked and measured in a very similar way in the study “Proactief handhaven en gelijk behandelen” (Svensson et al., 2011, p.51). A summary of all items measuring police contact is shown in table 2.

Table 2

Number of police contacts in the last 12 months (n=113)

	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
How often were you stopped by police?	0	17	.36	1.712
How often were you part of a police check?	0	30	1.34	3.791
How many times were you / your group approached by a police officer without an obvious reason	0	10	.87	1.975
How many times were you held up by the police because you were falsely accused of something	0	10	.49	1.632
How often were you all in all involved with the police?	0	70	2.19	7.206

Ethnicity: As this research strived for a dichotomous ethnicity variable, generating a group of German and non-German youngsters, respondents were asked to assess how a police officer would perceive their ethnicity on the streets (see table 3). This method has got the advantage that it includes those youngsters that have a migration background but have got a German identity, as their families live there since several generations. If the questionnaire would only contain a question asking which ethnic background they feel most attached to, many minority youngsters would probably indicate a German identity. But as the survey asked how they would think a police officer would perceive them on the streets, it also includes those youngsters with a German identity and an “obvious” migration background. This group may understandably also be subject to unequal police treatment on the basis of ethnicity. The point of formulating the question in this way was to find out, how a police officer would perceive the youngster’s ethnic background, which is key to identify discriminatory policing practices. A weakness of this measurement is that respondents could misjudge how their ethnicity is perceived by a police officer and wrongly indicate to be perceived as a German youngster.

Table 3

How do you think a police officer will perceive you, when he or she sees you on the streets?
(n=114)

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
as a German youngsters	65	57.0	57.0	57.0
as a non-German youngsters	49	43.0	43.0	100.0
Total	114	100.0	100.0	

SES: The subjects were asked about their desired school leaving certificate in order to measure their socioeconomic status. Because most of the subjects are still going to school and are not expected to know the job position or the annual salary of the household’s principal income recipient, which is also a way to assess a person’s SES (Hoffmeyer-Zlotnik, Glemser, & Heckel, 2010), this study instead asked for the desired school leaving certificate. This question was formulated in line with the demographic standards of the German ‘Statistisches Bundesamt’ (Hoffmeyer-Zlotnik, et al., 2010). In order to recode the different desired school leaving certificates into a new SES variable, the study referred to the International Standard Classification of Education ISCED-97. The variable was subdivided into three categories. The values were labelled as 1 for high SES, 2 for middle and 3 for low SES. The composition of the sample population with regard to socioeconomic status is described in table 1.

Availability: In line with Waddington's (2004) concept of availability, this survey asked the respondents to indicate how many hours per week they spend on different activities. Waddington (2004) also used the concept of populations available for police stop and search to explain disproportionate police contact rates for ethnic minorities. In this study the relevant item measuring the availability on the streets was labelled as "being outside, on the streets or in a shopping centre". The logic behind this concept is that if a youngster is available for a police contact, then he or she is also more likely to be subject to such an encounter. The availability item has a mean of 6.49 hours per week and a standard deviation of 7.38.

Individual Delinquency: The variable individual delinquency was measured by asking questions about committed delinquent acts in the last 12 months. There was a choice between 14 different offences ranging from minor offences, like fare evasion, to more serious offences, like selling drugs. Respondents could indicate whether (value label 1) or not (value label 0) they had committed these offences. According to Thornberry and Krohn (2000) it is necessary for the self-report scale to include a wide array of crimes including minor forms of delinquency and serious offences to get a full picture. Failure to do so would "misrepresent the domain of delinquency" (Thornberry & Krohn, 2000). To give an example from the present study, a rather minor offence is the item 'traffic rules violation' with a mean of 0.39 (SD 0.49). A more serious offence that was measured is the item 'selling drugs' with a mean of 0.09 (SD 0.29). The items that measured the individual offences were added up to a new variable, which is called individual delinquency. The Cronbach's alpha value of 0.72 is an acceptable level of internal consistency (George & Mallery, 2002, p. 231). The 14 items constituting the new variable 'individual delinquency' are labelled as D1a-n and can be reviewed in the appendix.

Group Delinquency: The concept was measured in a similar way as individual delinquency, except for that respondents had a choice between three options for each offence. Either "not even once", "once or more" or "twice or more". The values were labelled from 0 to 2. This provides for a more accurate impression of how delinquent the group is in terms of the frequency of different offences. The mean of the item 'traffic rules violation' is 0.85 (SD 0.83), and mean for 'selling drugs' is 0.27 (SD 0.58). Here again all the items measuring group offences were added up to a new variable, labelled as 'group delinquency'. The Cronbach's alpha value of 0.88 is an indicator of good internal consistency (George & Mallery, 2002, p. 231). The relevant items D2a-n can also be reviewed in the appendix.

3.4 Statistical Analysis

The statistical analyses were performed by using SPSS version 20. As a first step the distributions of the relevant variables were analyzed in order to see whether they are normally distributed. For this purpose the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test was applied. In the case of significant deviations from a normal distribution, it was analyzed whether the degree of skewness was acceptable for conducting further statistical tests. As a next step a bivariate test of correlation was performed by means of the Spearman's rank correlation as the results of the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test revealed that most variables were not normally distributed. For normally distributed variables Pearson's r can be applied, whereas for significantly skewed variables the Spearman's ρ needs to be calculated. The correlation coefficients indicate how the relevant variables of this study relate to each other, and whether the correlation is significant.

Afterwards, a hierarchical multiple regression analysis was performed with the purpose of evaluating the linear relationship between several independent and one dependent variable. Multi-level models can be used for "several inferential goals including causal inference, prediction and descriptive modelling" (Gelman & Hill, 2006, p.6). This multi-level regression analysis seemed to be an appropriate tool for this study because it can be checked how much of the relationship between ethnicity and proactive police contacts is explained by differences in the other factors. By adding one factor after the other it can be verified which of them has a significant effect on police contact rates, and whether there is an effect on the relationship between ethnicity and police contact. In this study the independent variables were ethnicity, SES, availability on the streets, individual and group delinquency. The variable sex served as a control variable in the analysis in order to avoid an over-estimation of the effects of the variables of interest. Proactive police contacts served as the dependent variable. The basic goal of this hierarchical regression analysis was to estimate treatment effects. The aim was to show how the dependent variable changes, when some independent variable is varied, with all other inputs held constant (Gelman & Hill, 2006, p.6).

4. Results

In order to test whether the relevant variables of this study are normally distributed the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test was performed. The results of the test indicated that the main variables proactive police contacts, ethnicity, SES, availability on the streets, individual and group delinquency were not normally distributed. For the variables proactive police contacts, SES, availability, and individual/group delinquency the acceptable range of twice the standard error of skewness was even exceeded. This means that these variables were skewed to a significant degree (Brown, 1997). The other variables were either normally distributed or not significantly skewed.

Thereupon a transformation of the not normally distributed variables was performed, but proactive police contacts and SES were after this still skewed to a significant degree. As a consequence, the residuals in the regression analysis were also significantly skewed. This is important to note because one assumption of the regression analysis is that the residuals are normally distributed (e.g. Schmidt, 2009). As the transformation of the variables brought about no improvement with regard to the approximation of a normal distribution, it was decided to perform the regression with the untransformed data. According to Schmidt (2009) when the assumptions of normal distributions are violated, one has the option between transforming the data, choosing a non-parametric regression analysis or performing nevertheless a classical regression analysis and trust in its robustness. The square root transformation of the data did in this case not lead to an approximation of normal distribution of neither the variables nor the residuals of interest. Given the rather large sample size, this study used the untransformed data and relied on the robustness of the classical regression model. Even though Osborne and Waters (2002) stated that for the regression analysis, the normal distribution assumption is required, the degree of skewness was, in the face of the large sample size that was used, still accepted, and the variables were applied in the regression analysis.

In order to get an impression of the relation between ethnicity, SES, availability on the streets, individual delinquency, group delinquency and proactive police contacts, the Spearman's rank correlation coefficient was calculated. This non-parametric test provides evidence about whether the variables of interest correlate to a significant degree. This correlation analysis is not dependent on normally distributed variables.

Table 4

Correlations/Spearman rho between Measures (n=101-114)

	Proactive Contacts	Ethnicity	Sex	SES	AV	ID	GD
Proactive Contacts	—	.20*	-.26**	.15	.30**	.32**	0.42**
Ethnicity	—	—	-.07	.21*	.10	.07	0.12
Sex	—	—	—	.07	.05	-.13	-.17*
SES	—	—	—	—	.12	-.07	-.08
Availability	—	—	—	—	—	.19	.31**
Individual Delinquency	—	—	—	—	—	—	.74**
Group Delinquency	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Note: AV = Availability; ID = Individual Delinquency; GD = Group Delinquency

*=Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

**=Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

The results in table 4 indicate that ethnicity, sex, availability and individual delinquency correlated with proactive police contacts to a significant degree. This means that being a non-German, being male, being more available and having a higher number of individual delinquency all related to a higher number of proactive police contacts. The correlation coefficient of the mentioned variables provides evidence to state that the strength of the correlations is rather weak. Group delinquency and proactive police contacts were also significantly correlated with a rather moderate strength of correlation. This means that hanging around with a more delinquent group of friends is related to a higher number of proactive police contacts as well. SES and proactive police contacts did not correlate significantly. Ethnicity and SES did correlate, however only with a rather weak correlation coefficient. This means that being non-German was related to a lower level of SES. A similar strength of correlation applied for availability and group delinquency. The variables group delinquency and sex also had a rather weak strength of correlation. Still being female is significantly related to a lower level of group delinquency. By far the strongest correlation was observed between individual and group delinquency, meaning the being more delinquent was related to hanging around with more delinquent friends. The two concepts are quite related, and overlap to a certain degree, which might be an explanation for such a strong correlation coefficient. In the following, the hypotheses, as illustrated in figure 1, were tested by means of a regression analysis. This analysis can determine the explanatory power of the independent variables on the dependent variable.

Table 5

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Proactive Police Contact (N = 111)

Variable	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4			Model 5			Model 6		
	B	SE(B)	β	B	SE(B)	β	B	SE(B)	β	B	SE(B)	β	B	SE(B)	β	B	SE(B)	β
Ethnicity	1.13	.49	.23*	1.04	.48	.22*	1.12	.49	.23*	.98	.46	.20*	.95	.47	.20*	.98	.46	.20*
Sex				-1.13	.47	-.24*	-1.04	.48	-.22*	-1.12	.46	-.24*	-1.06	.47	-.22*	-1.04	.46	-.22*
SES							-.26	.27	-.10	-.40	.26	-.15	-.40	.26	-.15	-.31	.26	-.12
Availability										.11	.03	.33*	.11	.04	.31*	.09	.04	.25*
Individual Delinquency													.07	.11	.07	-.13	.15	-.13
Group Delinquency																.12	.06	.27
R ²		.05			.11			.12			.22			.22			.25	
F for change in R ²		5.29*			5.67*			.91			11.50*			.43			3.3	

* $p < .05$.

The hierarchical regression analysis was performed in order to test the relation between the independent variables ethnicity, SES, availability, individual and group delinquency and the dependent variable proactive police contacts. Additionally to the main independent variables, the factor sex was added to the regression analysis in order to control for its effect on the number of proactive police contacts. The summary of the results can be found in table 5. In the first model, ethnicity led to a significant change in proactive police contacts. The standardized regression coefficient was positive, meaning that a higher value in ethnicity led to a higher number of proactive police contacts. More precisely, the unstandardized regression coefficient showed that the predicted number of proactive police contacts was 1.13 higher for non-German youngsters than for German youngsters. It can be concluded from this model that ethnicity explained 5% of the variance in number of proactive police contacts. In the second model, sex also led to a significant change in proactive police contacts. Here the standardized regression coefficient was negative, meaning that being female predicted a lower number of proactive police contacts. More precisely, the unstandardized regression coefficient showed that the predicted number of proactive police contacts was 1.13 lower for females than for males. In this model ethnicity and sex together explained 11% of variance in the number of proactive police contacts. In the third model, SES was added, but the F for change in R^2 was not significant, which means that SES had no unique explanatory power beyond ethnicity and sex. In the fourth model, availability was added as another explaining factor and led to the result that the change in R^2 was significant. The standardized regression coefficient showed a positive relation between availability and number of proactive police contacts. Thus, the more available youngsters are on the streets, the more proactive police contacts they are expected to have. The related unstandardized regression coefficient indicated that being one more hour available on the streets per week, predicted 0.1 more police contacts per year. Moreover the comparison of the standardized regression coefficients showed that availability was the strongest predictor in this model. It has more explanatory power than ethnicity and sex. All in all the factors ethnicity, sex and availability could explain 22% of the variance in the number of proactive police contacts. In model five and six, the factors individual and group delinquency were added to the model. Both models showed to be significant with ethnicity, sex and availability having a significant effect on proactive police contacts. But adding the factors individual and group delinquency to the analysis did not lead to a statistically significant improvement of the model, as the F for change in R^2 was not significant. Although in the correlation analysis these two factors proved to be significantly related to proactive police contacts, they could not add unique explanatory power in the regression analysis.

To sum up, this regression analysis led to the conclusion that the concepts of SES, individual and group delinquency could not add unique explanatory power and thus differences in these factors could not explain the relation between ethnicity and proactive police contacts. Availability was significantly related to proactive police contacts, and it was shown that ethnicity still had a significant impact on proactive police contacts, when availability was added. Thus, it cannot be concluded that differences in availability explain the relation between ethnicity and proactive police contacts. Were this is the case, the effect of ethnicity would diminish. However, the results showed that ethnicity kept its predictive power when availability was added. In fact the three variables ethnicity, sex and availability all had unique explanatory power in this model.

5. Discussion

The aim of the present study was to provide evidence for ethnic differences in the number of proactive police contacts for youngsters in Germany. By means of a self-report survey the assumption of racial profiling in the proactive policing of youngsters was examined. The results revealed significant ethnic differences in the number of proactive police contacts.

The study found significant results and the hypotheses were partly confirmed. In the following part the research questions of this study will be answered and discussed.

Ethnicity and Proactive Police Contact: The results of the regression analysis indicate that the assumptions made in the first hypothesis were confirmed. Non-German youngsters experienced more proactive police contacts than German youngsters. Hence the first research question can be answered by stating that for non-German youngsters the predicted number of proactive police contacts was 1.13 higher than for German youngsters, when no other factors were taken into account. The questionnaire measured the proactive police contacts that were experienced in the last 12 months. For this reason one can state that the predicted number of proactive police contacts in one year was 1.13 higher for non-German youngsters than for German youngsters. This is an indicator for discrimination on the basis of race, colour or ethnic background, which is unambiguously prohibited by article 21 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union (2010 O.J. C 83/02).

The results of this study are in line with the findings of Macpherson of Cluny (1999) and FRA (2010) who laid the focus of investigation on the impact of ethnicity on police contacts in general and also tested ethnic differences.

The Role of Availability, SES, Individual and Group Delinquency: The assumptions made in the second hypothesis could not be confirmed by the data analysis. The relationship between ethnicity and proactive police contacts could not be explained by differences in SES, availability, individual and group delinquency. Rather availability can be seen as an independent factor that had, besides ethnicity, a significant effect on the number of proactive police contacts. Thus being more available on the streets led to more proactive contacts, regardless of the ethnic background of the youngster. More specifically, the results indicate that being one more hour available on the streets per week predicted about 0.1 more proactive police contacts per year. Or put differently, spending ten more hours "outside, on the streets, or in a shopping centre" per week, predicted one more proactive police contact per year. And being a non-German youngster also predicted a higher number of proactive police contacts,

regardless of the availability on the streets. This is in line with the results of the correlation analysis, which showed no significant relation between availability and ethnicity. Hence, and contrary to the second hypothesis of this study, availability cannot be understood as a mediator between ethnicity and proactive police contacts.

Furthermore the correlation analysis did not show a significant relation between ethnicity and individual/group delinquency. This supports the conclusion that individual/group delinquency can neither be seen as mediators in the relationship between ethnicity and proactive police contacts. In the correlation analysis individual and group delinquency were significantly correlated with proactive police contacts, but they could not add unique explanatory power in predicting proactive police contacts in the regression analysis.

Although the correlation between ethnicity and SES was rather weak, it led to the expectation that SES could mediate the relationship between ethnicity and proactive police contacts. But this was not the case. The regression analysis led to the result that ethnic differences in SES could not explain the relation between ethnicity and proactive police contacts.

The findings of this study regarding the impact of availability on police contact rates overlap with Waddington's (2004) results. But the findings are not in line with McAra and McVie (2005) who found that not availability, but rather "risky and street-based behaviour" predicted later adversarial police contact. Furthermore the findings of the EU-wide racial profiling survey were confirmed in that for Germany also significant ethnic differences in police contacts were proved (FRA, 2010).

5.1. Implications

The present study revealed that ethnicity and availability both have unique explanatory power and have therefore both a significant impact on the number of proactive police contacts. Of these two variables, availability was the strongest predictor in this model. Even though availability was a stronger predictor, the non-German respondents still significantly experienced more proactive policing than German respondents. Such discrimination needs to be tackled and the findings of this study point to several issues that both law enforcement agencies and policy makers should consider.

Firstly, this study can contribute to the existing collection of data on this topic in several cities of Germany and the Member States of the European Union. This amplifies the body of knowledge on this subject. The aim for policy makers should be to detect the affected cities and regions and to address the ethnic differences in proactive policing where they exist. This aim has already been pursued as laid down in the Council Directive 2000/43/EC, but regarding this evidence there is a need for putting more effort into implementing the principle of equal treatment in the Member States.

Secondly, the law enforcement agencies should reconsider their own proactive policing practices with regard to considerations about the relation between equal treatment and the effectiveness of police interdictions. Persico's (2002) findings on the positive effects of fairness on the effectiveness of police interdiction stress the relevance to deal with this issue.

5.2. Limitations and Recommendations

This study was conducted by means of a quantitative cross-sectional survey. This approach is suitable because it allows obtaining the results relatively quickly and it is strong at description (de Vaus, 2001). The design was considered appropriate in comparing the two groups regarding their experienced number of proactive police contacts. Other designs are more time-consuming and not really practical in this field of study. Moorhead & Griffin (2009, p.529) state that field surveys can be a very useful tool for collecting large quantities of data and for “assessing the general relationships between variables”. As this design does not have a time dimension, it avoids the problem of bias that is introduced by sample attrition (de Vaus, 2001). But this study is not without limitations. The cross-sectional research design is subject to most threats of internal validity, which means that the design has a potential weakness “in unambiguously identifying causes” (de Vaus, 2001). In a self-report survey, the subjects might exaggerate or understate their police experiences and their offences (social desirability bias). This distortion of the exaggerated answers could be confounded with a treatment effect. Then there is another disadvantage of field surveys, namely that the variance can be created because of the measurement method and not because of the constructs the measure represents, which is called common method variance (Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Lee, & Podsakoff, 2003). In this case the respondents could deduce from the questionnaire the underlying hypothesis and adapt their answers accordingly. Regarding the regression analysis it should be remarked, that the omitted variable bias could be a problem for the validity of the analysis. Leaving out important causal factors can lead to an over- or underestimation of the effects of the other independent variables on the dependent variable (Greene, 2012, p.96).

In order to achieve more reliable results, this study should be replicated with a larger number of participants. Moreover it would be interesting to see whether the results remain constant when examining older age groups. Furthermore research on this topic should be conducted in several cities of Germany and of the European Union in order to contribute to the body of knowledge on the issue of racial profiling.

6. Conclusion

Summing up, the first proposed hypothesis of this study was corroborated. Evidence was found that non-German youngster experience significantly more proactive police contacts than German youngsters. The second proposed hypothesis, stating that the factors SES, availability and individual/group delinquency serve as mediators in the relationship between ethnicity and the number of proactive police contacts, could not be supported. Rather availability can be seen as an independent factor that explains proactive police contacts beyond ethnicity. In this model availability proved to be the strongest predictor for proactive police contacts.

The findings regarding the ethnic differences in police contacts are in line with the EU-MIDIS inquiry, which also found that in Germany minorities experience a significantly higher number of police contacts than the Germans (FRA, 2010). The discrimination survey conducted in the Netherlands did not find evidence for differences in the number of police contacts between minority and majority youngsters (Svensson et al., 2011, p.62). Therefore it is recommended to conduct further research on this topic in order to identify those cities and regions of the European Union that are particularly affected by the problem of racial profiling practices and by unequal police treatment on the basis of nationality. Governmental institutions and policy makers at national and EU-level can make use of this evidence by addressing the discrimination of minorities where it exists. Law enforcement agencies should reconsider their own proactive policing practices by bearing in mind the positive effects of fairness on the effectiveness of police interdiction (Persico, 2002).

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8. Appendix



Vielen Dank, dass du an dieser Studie teilnimmst.

Mit diesem Fragebogen möchten wir herausfinden, wie du als Jugendlicher über die Polizei denkst und was für Erfahrungen du mit der Polizei gemacht hast. Erst stellen wir einige allgemeine Fragen, danach fragen wir nach deinen Erfahrungen mit der Polizei.

Der Fragebogen ist völlig anonym, du brauchst keinen Namen einzutragen und dein Name wird auch nicht notiert.

Du kannst ohne Bedenken ehrliche Antworten geben. Sollte es dennoch Fragen geben, auf die du nicht antworten möchtest, dann brauchst du das auch nicht zu tun.

Dies betrifft nur den Interviewer:

Interviewer: Datum:

Ort:

Bemerkungen:

.....

.....

A. Hintergrundfragen

A1 Wie alt bist du? (bitte eintragen): Jahre alt

A2 Geschlecht?

- ☐ männlich
- ☐ weiblich

A3 Welchem ethnischen Hintergrund fühlst du dich selbst zugehörig ?

- ☐ Deutsch
- ☐ Russisch
- ☐ Polnisch
- ☐ Türkisch
- ☐ Marokkanisch
- ☐ Tunesisch
- ☐ Kurdisch
- ☐ Albanisch
- ☐ Libanesisch
- ☐ Sonstige (bitte eintragen).....

A4 Wie denkst du schätzt dich ein Polizist ein, wenn er dich auf der Straße sieht?

- ☐ Als einen deutschen Jugendlichen
- ☐ Als einen nicht-deutschen Jugendlichen

A5 Wieviel Zeit verbringst du pro Woche mit den folgenden Aktivitäten?

- | | |
|--|----------------------|
| a. Zur Schule / Uni gehen | Std. pro Woche |
| b. Hausaufgaben machen | Std. pro Woche |
| c. Arbeiten | Std. pro Woche |
| d. Sport und Hobby | Std. pro Woche |
| e. Kaffeebesuche, Jugendzentrum, Diskothek etc. | Std. pro Woche |
| f. Draußen sein, dich auf der Straße oder in der Fußgängerzone bzw. im Shopping Center aufhalten | Std. pro Woche |

A6 Welche Schulform besuchst du? (Wenn du nicht mehr zur Schule gehst, bitte die letzte besuchte Schulform angeben)

- ☐ Grundschule
- ☐ Gymnasium
- ☐ Gesamtschule
- ☐ Realschule
- ☐ Hauptschule
- ☐ Berufsschule
- ☐ Universität
- ☐ Sonstige (bitte eintragen).....

A7 Welchen allgemeinbildenden Schulabschluss strebst du an?

- ☐ Hochschulabschluss
- ☐ Abitur, allgemeine oder fachgebundene Hochschulreife
- ☐ Fachhochschulreife, Abschluss einer Fachoberschule
- ☐ Realschulabschluss, Mittlere Reife, Fachschulreife
- ☐ Hauptschulabschluss
- ☐ Sonstige. Welchen?:

A8 Inwiefern stimmst du den folgenden Aussagen zu?

	Stimme voll zu	Stimme eher zu	neutral	Stimme eher nicht zu	Stimme gar nicht zu
a. Ich bin viel zuhause	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
b. Ich finde es schön zuhause zu sein	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
c. Ich gehe lieber irgendwo hin als zuhause zu bleiben	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

B. Fragen bezüglich deiner Freunde und deines Freundeskreises

B1 Hast du einen oder mehrere Freunde, mit denen du regelmäßig "abhängst"?

- ☐ Ja
- ☐ Nein → Fortfahren mit Rubrik C

B2 Mit wievielen Freunden gleichzeitig triffst du dich meistens? (Dich selbst miteinbezogen)

Mit Personen (Bitte Anzahl angeben)

B3 An wie vielen Tagen pro Woche triffst du dich durchschnittlich mit deinen Freunden?

- ☐ Ungefähr Tage pro Woche (bitte Anzahl angeben)
- ☐ Weniger als einmal pro Woche

B4 Wieviele Stunden verbringt ihr ungefähr an einem Tag zusammen?

Ungefähr Stunden am Tag (Bitte Anzahl angeben)

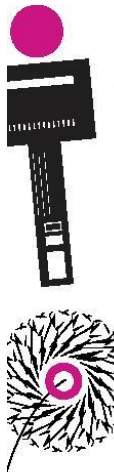
B5 An welchem Ort triffst du dich bei schönem, warmem Wetter mit deinen Freunden (maximal 3 Antworten)?

- ☐ Bei einem von uns zuhause
- ☐ In der Schule / Schulgelände
- ☐ Auf der Straße
- ☐ Im Einkaufszentrum
- ☐ In einem Jugendzentrum
- ☐ In einem Club oder Verein
- ☐ In einer Diskothek oder Kneipe
- ☐ Woanders (bitte eintragen).....

B6 Inwiefern stimmst du den folgenden Aussagen über deinen Freundeskreis zu?

	Stimme voll zu	Stimme eher zu	neutral	Stimme eher nicht zu	Stimme gar nicht zu
a. Wir sind eine ruhige Gruppe, die mit niemandem Ärger hat	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
b. Man beschwert sich über unsere Gruppe	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
c. Andere Menschen haben Angst vor uns	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
d. Andere Menschen vertrauen uns	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>





C. Fragen bezüglich deiner Erfahrungen mit der Polizei

C1 Bitte trage ein wie oft die folgenden Dinge in den letzten zwölf Monaten (ungefähr) vorgekommen sind. Bitte eintragen

a. Wie oft bist du in den letzten zwölf Monaten wegen einer Verletzung der Verkehrsregeln oder aufgrund eines anderen Verstoßes von der Polizei angehalten worden?	..... mal
b. Wie oft hast du in den letzten zwölf Monaten eine Polizeikontrolle miterlebt?	..... mal
c. Wie oft ist es in den letzten zwölf Monaten vorgekommen, dass ein Polizist dich und/oder jemanden aus deiner Gruppe angesprochen hat, ohne dass es dazu einen klaren Grund gab?	..... mal
d. Wie oft wurdest du in den letzten zwölf Monaten von der Polizei angehalten, weil du zu Unrecht verdächtigt wurdest	..... mal
e. Wie oft hattest du insgesamt in den letzten 12 Monaten mit der Polizei zu tun?	..... mal

C2 Wie oft sind die folgenden Dinge in den letzten zwölf Monaten (ungefähr) vorgekommen? Bitte eintragen

a. Sind in den letzten 12 Monaten Bußgelder gegen dich verhängt worden? Wie oft?	..... mal
b. Hat die Polizei dir oder euch (deiner Gruppe und dir) eine Verwarnung gegeben? Wie oft?	..... mal
c. Hast du der Polizei deinen Personalausweis zeigen müssen? Wie oft?	..... mal
d. Bist du auf der Straße durchsucht worden? Wie oft?	..... mal
e. Wurdest du schon einmal mit auf das Polizeipräsidium genommen? Wie oft?	..... mal
f. Hat die Polizei etwas von dir beschlagnahmt? Wie oft?	..... mal
g. Hat die Polizei dir oder euch (deiner Gruppe und dir) gegenüber einen Platzverweis ausgesprochen? Wie oft?	..... mal
h. Ist die Polizei bei dir zuhause gewesen? Wie oft?	..... mal

C3 Inwiefern stimmst du folgenden Aussagen bezüglich deiner Begegnungen mit der Polizei in den letzten zwölf Monate zu? (Wenn du keine Begegnungen mit der Polizei in den letzten 12 Monaten hattest dann Frage überspringen)

	Stimme voll zu	Stimme eher zu	neutral	Stimme eher nicht zu	Stimme gar nicht zu
a. Die Polizei hat mich korrekt behandelt	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
b. Die Polizei hat mich gerecht behandelt	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
c. Die Polizei hat mich so behandelt, wie jeder andere in dieser Situation behandelt worden wäre	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
d. Die Polizei hat mich mit Respekt behandelt	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
e. Die Polizei hat mich freundlich behandelt	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

C3f Möchtest du eine Erläuterung zu deinen Aussagen bezüglich deiner Begegnungen mit der Polizei geben?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

C4 Inwiefern stimmst du folgenden Aussagen zu?	Stimme voll zu	Stimme eher zu	neutral	Stimme eher nicht zu	Stimme gar nicht zu
a. Die Polizei übt eine wichtige Tätigkeit aus	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
b. Es ist gut, dass es Polizei auf der Straße gibt	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
c. Es muss mehr Polizisten auf den Straßen geben	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
d. Die Polizei auf der Straße gibt mir ein sicheres Gefühl	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
e. Polizisten sind zuverlässig	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
f. Polizisten führen ihre Tätigkeit gut aus	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
g. Polizisten treten gut auf, wenn es nötig ist	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
h. Polizisten wissen, was auf der Straße passiert	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
i. Wenn du nichts tust, tun dir Polizisten auch nichts	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
j. Polizisten sind gerecht	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
k. Polizisten behandeln jeden gleich gut	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
l. Ausländische Jugendliche werden schneller festgenommen als deutsche Jugendliche	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
m. Wenn die Polizei mich als Zeuge befragen will, arbeite ich mit	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
n. Wenn die Polizei mir einen Platzverweis erteilt, gehe ich ohne zu diskutieren	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
o. Wenn ich sehe, dass jemand in ein Auto einbrechen will, versuche ich die Polizei zu verständigen	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

D. Verbotene Dinge tun

Wir würden gerne wissen, ob du und deine Freunde manchmal Dinge tun, die verboten sind. Wenn du das bei manchen Dingen nicht sagen möchtest, verstehen wir das natürlich. Mach dir aber keine Sorgen, denn der Fragebogen ist anonym.

	D1 Hast du das selbst in den letzten 12 Monaten getan?		D2 Wie oft haben deine Freunde das in den letzten 12 Monaten getan?		
	Nein	Ja	Keinmal	Einmal oder zweimal	Mehr als zweimal
a. Schwarzfahren im Bus oder Zug	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
b. Gegen Verkehrsregeln verstoßen	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
c. Schule schwänzen	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
d. Absichtlich Dinge anderer beschädigen	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
e. Mauern, Zäune, Bussitze und dergleichen mit Farbe beschmieren	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
f. Etwas stehlen oder versucht zu stehlen	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
g. Einbrechen oder versucht einzubrechen	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
h. Jemanden verprügelt	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
i. Über das Alter lügen um Alkohol oder Zigaretten kaufen zu können	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
j. Eine Waffe mit sich tragen zum Schutz	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
k. In der Öffentlichkeit betrunken sein	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
l. Weiche Drogen nehmen	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
m. Harte Drogen nehmen	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
n. Drogen verkauft	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

D3 Dies ist das Ende des Fragebogens. Hast du selbst noch Fragen oder Anmerkungen?

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Vielen Dank für deine Mitarbeit !