

BACHELOR THESIS

THE POLICING STYLES AND  
UNEQUAL TREATMENT OF  
MINORITIES IN THE NETHERLANDS  
AND GERMANY

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## **ABSTRACT**

Adolescents with an ethnic minority background are assumed to be more likely to be stopped by the police than those of the ethnic majority population. This unequal treatment is especially at risk in the Netherlands, due to the proactive policing style applied while less likely in Germany with the reactive policing style applied. This thesis aims to present whether the likelihood of being stopped is due to the ethnicity of the individual at stake or due to other justifiable variables. These justifiable variables are gender, region, availability on the streets and individual delinquency. A survey was conducted with 299 participants in Germany in the city centres of Bochum, Gronau, Hannover and Münster; and with 231 participants in the Netherlands in Enschede and Amsterdam. The outcome is based on a logistic regression analysis, which introduces three models. The first model includes ethnicity, the second model gender and region, and the third model availability on the streets and individual delinquency. The first model confirms that being stopped by the police is significantly influenced by ethnicity in the Netherlands and non-significantly influenced in Germany. After the introduction of the second model no significant impact is visible for ethnicity but gender becomes a significant predictor in the Netherlands and Germany. Region has an impact in the Netherlands and is non-significant in Germany. After the introduction of the third model gender, region and individual delinquency are significant predictors for being stopped by the police in the Netherlands and in Germany. Availability on the streets has a significant impact in Germany, but cannot be proven to have an impact in the Netherlands. Ethnicity is not significant; therefore it may or may not have an impact on the likelihood of being stopped by the police in the Netherlands and in Germany.

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## **1. INTRODUCTION**

Different policing styles are applied in different countries. The Netherlands follows a proactive policing style while Germany follows a reactive policing style. Proactive policing is preventive and based on the initiative of police officers to counter crimes while reactive policing is repressive and based on obeying the rule to solve a crime after it already occurred (National Crime Prevention Council, 2006). According to Amnesty International (2014) proactive policing as it is conducted in the Netherlands is seen to be at risk of ethnic profiling. This is due to the social and political shift and the wide ranging discretionary power of the individual police officers which are assumed to lead to biased policing techniques (Amnesty International, 2014). Reactive policing is at a rather limited risk of ethnic profiling due to the wide array of rules and laws applied within the system and the limited decision making among the police officers themselves.

Proactive policing becomes more common in Europe and has been fully implemented in Denmark, Sweden, the UK and other countries since the 1980s and partly introduced in Germany (Jaschke, 2007). The proactive policing style applied in the Netherlands can be explained by the community policing model; it focuses on the contact with citizens and the check for identity cards to increase the feeling of security within the country (Kelling & Coles, 1997). The reactive style applied in Germany can be explained by the reform model and is based on rules, laws and obligations which have to be fulfilled before an officer may work proactive (Kelling & Coles, 1997).

Police contacts in the German and the Dutch policing style can be either citizen-initiated or police-initiated. This paper focuses on police-initiated police contacts. This type of contact can be entered either voluntary or involuntary by the citizen. Generally police contacts are based on the assumption that the person stopped is involved in any criminal activity (Skogan, 2006).

Positive, voluntarily entered police encounters help to provide a more favourable picture of the police and increase the reliance in the police (Skogan, 2006). Whereas negative experiences with the police, especially among ethnic minority adolescents increase the rate of people who believe in ethnic profiling. The European Commission presented in the outcome of the Eurobarometer 2006 that 64 percent of the adolescents in the European Union agree that police discrimination is very widespread (European Commission, 2007). The rate in the

Netherlands is higher than the European average with 79 percent of the people who agreed and lower in Germany with 44 percent of the people who agreed on the assumption that police discrimination is widespread (European Commission, 2007). The higher rate in the Netherlands may be influenced by the policing style applied.

A study by Weitzer and Tuch (1999) in the US shows that 44.5 percent of the black population and only 10.5 percent of the white population believe in police racism. The subjective perception of adolescents with a visible migration background indicates that identity checks are perceived as ethnic profiling (Lukas & Gauthier, 2011). This feeling of unequal treatment is due to the subjective decision making of police officers. Unequal treatment of people with an ethnic minority background is ethnic/racial profiling and unlawful under national law (Art. 3 Basic Law) as well as under European law (Council Directive 2000/43/EC).

Several statistics show that the minority population is overrepresented in the juvenile justice system (Piquero, 2008, Bostaph, 2007). According to several scholars the disproportionate rate could be elucidated by other factors and is not due to ethnic profiling (Piquero, 2008; Waddington, Stenson & Don, 2004). Being stopped by the police may be influenced by individual delinquency which is defined by the different involvement theory (Piquero, 2008). Individual delinquency, the socio-economic status and the neighbourhood one lives in are factors which influence the likelihood of being stopped by the police (Piquero, 2008). The time one spends on the street is another factor which is considered to influence the odds of being stopped by the police (Waddington et al., 2004). Especially young men of all ethnic backgrounds are overrepresented in the criminal justice system therefore gender is another factor to consider (Waddington et al., 2004).

Researchers agree that future studies on the treatment by the police should focus on adolescents in Europe. Several studies are conducted in the United States and in the United Kingdom. The studies focus usually on adults and do not consider the special need of youngsters (Hurst & Nation, 2009; Weitzer & Tuch, 1999; Brick, Taylor & Esbensen, 2009). Most studies available for European countries are rather limited and usually focused on adults (Salentin, 2007). Those studies on adolescents focus on the juvenile justice system rather than focusing on the reasons for the overrepresentation (Norris, Fielding, Kemp, Fielding, 1992). It is necessary to focus on adolescents, due to the fact that this group has the highest criminal activity among all age groups (BPB, 2013).

The focus of this study is on the policing styles in the Netherlands and Germany and the odds for adolescents to be stopped by the police. The unequal treatment of ethnic minority adolescents is under study to close the above discussed research gap. This thesis aims to analyse the treatment of minorities in the Netherlands and Germany. The following research question is the main subject of this paper:

To what extent does the policing style in the Netherlands and Germany associate with unequal treatment of ethnic minority adolescents?

In order to answer this question, the paper is structured as follows. First the theoretical framework is presented, focusing on the policing styles in Germany and in the Netherlands, unequal treatment, police contacts, ethnic minorities and the hypothesis. Furthermore the above mentioned control variables are presented and applied on the research. In the following section the research design, the data collection and the case selection are discussed and the variables and their measurement are presented. In the fourth section the results are presented, which are gathered from the analysis. The paper closes with a discussion, a recommendation and a final conclusion.

## **2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

The integral function of the police from the early nineteenth century onwards was preventive and aimed to maintain order. The police system shifted in the early twentieth century with the introduction of bureaucratic burdens, the police worked less preventive and less proactive and became a body that provided services on basis of criminal apprehension and became therefore reactive. The reactive style is called the reform model and was used to decrease the violence used by police officers. The reactive policing style was the most common policing style, but was assumed to be not effective enough to counter crimes. From the 1970s onwards some states started to reintroduce the proactive policing style. The style is perceived to be more effective. Furthermore it was assumed to decrease the number of crimes, and to increase the collaboration of the police and citizens. The risk of biased decision making on the side of police officers, for instance ethnic profiling, has not been treated as a threat to police work, among others due to the selection procedure to become a police officer. (Kelling & Coles, 1997)

Wilson (1978) studied the policing techniques in eight communities. He identified three different policing styles, which became known as the classical typology of policing styles. These policing styles are defined as the 'watchman style', the 'legalistic style' and the 'service style' (Wilson, 1978). Even though the typology is several years old, the main factors of the different styles are still present in the policing styles nowadays. Two policing models which are similar to the models identified by Wilson (1978) were defined by Kelling and Coles (1997). The reform model based on the legality principle is similar to the legalistic style and the community policing model based on the opportunity principle is similar to the watchman style (Kelling & Coles, 1997). As the focus of this paper is on the Netherlands and Germany, the analysis focuses on the watchman style typical in the Netherlands with its proactive policing style, and the legalistic style which is typical for the Germany with the reactive policing style.

## **2.1 THE GERMAN POLICING STYLE**

A reactive, repressive policing style is applied in Germany and is repressive. The responsibilities of German police officers are primarily based on rules, laws and obligations. The work is restricted by a centralistic model which is coordinated by the upper police management and the government (Lukas & Gauthier, 2011). The police act mainly after a crime has been committed rather than preventing crimes from occurring in the first place.

Since 1995 police officers receive more power to investigate on individual initiative (acting proactive) in order to increase the direct contact with citizens, especially between police and adolescents. The police system initiated the removal of bureaucratic structures since 2005 (Liedenbaum, 2011). This is necessary as the subjective feeling of security of citizens decreases and consequently asks for more prevention and a bond between citizens and the police (Jaschke, 1997). The police however face a shortage of manpower; which hinders them to act proactively (Lukas & Gauthier, 2011). The success of the proactive policing style in the Netherlands, Denmark and the United Kingdom triggers the gradual implementation of the proactive policing style in Germany (Jaschke, 1997).

The reactive policing style applied in Germany is very similar to the reform model and the legalistic style. A legal basis is used to solve minor as well as major crimes. Meetings in a police station are focused on rules and laws rather than on the flexible approach which focuses on personal and problem related issues. (Liedenbaum, 2011; Kelling & Coles, 1997)



## **2.2 THE DUTCH POLICING STYLE**

Proactive policing is preventive and based on the initiative of police officers. It aims to counter severe crimes, to maintain public order and to reduce the general fear of crime. Officers have wide ranging discretionary power which allows them to act based on subjective decisions rather than on rules and laws.

The proactive policing style was introduced in the 1970s and is since then practiced in the whole country. The proactive approach becomes more influential through the contact between citizens and the police. It can be stated that the general outline of the tasks of officers is assigned by the upper management but the individual initiative is incorporated and demanded. The use of reactive policing tools is only used in restricted circumstances. The actions taken by the police are mainly personal and problem related rather than only rule and law based. (Liedenbaum, 2011)

Police officers do not separate their work from the work of other officers. An informal interchange of information is used to increase the success rate of the police. The information flow is based on accurate and reliable information, individual experience and social processes (Borglund & Nulden, 2008). Police officers spend generally more than 70 percent of the working time on the streets. Subjective decisions based on personal experiences are used in most circumstances on the streets. (Liedenbaum, 2011)

The proactive policing style applied in the Netherlands is very similar to the community policing model and to the opportunity principle. The focus lies on solving major crimes and increasing the contact between police officers and citizens while offenses with a low level of priority may or may not remain unsolved. (Kelling & Coles, 1997)

## **2.3 UNEQUAL TREATMENT**

Unequal treatment is an effect that takes place when a person discriminates another person on rationally irrelevant reasons in terms of the situation (Salentin, 2007). Discrimination is a “process by which a member of a socially defined group is treated differently (especially unfair) because of her/his membership in that group” (Brüss, 2008, p.877). A common aspect is the ethnicity or the nationality of a person.

According to a survey by the European Commission (2007) 64 percent of the youngest respondents reported they feel that discrimination on ground of ethnic origin is widespread. Discrimination against minorities takes place in several cases, usually in the context of the socio-economic aspects of the person. This is also visible in the treatment of police officers as the actions taken are influenced by possible language barriers between the police and the person with a migration background, and the disrespectful and aggressive behaviour of some. Additionally the crime rate is correlated with the socio-economic status, the lower the socio-economic level the higher is the crime rate (Piquero, 2008). As the aspects above influence the mind-set of people, including police officers, in a subjective manner, it is difficult to process unequal treatment based on an objective foundation. (Weitzer, 1996)

## **2.4 POLICE CONTACTS**

Police contacts can be of two types, either citizen-initiated contacts or police-initiated contacts (Skogan, 2006). In this paper the focus is on police-initiated contacts. Police-initiated contacts “may not be entered voluntarily and are more likely to be of a suspicious, inquisitorial and potentially adversarial nature” (Skogan, 2006, p. 104). Police-initiated contacts are used in the different policing styles. The proactive style aims to inform or have a quick stop and search, while in the reactive style it is based on the possibility to arrest a suspect (Skogan, 2006).

Members of minority groups are more likely to be dissatisfied with the police and believe in discrimination and prejudice than any other member of society (Weitzer, 1996; Weitzer & Tuch; 1999; Hurst & Nation, 2009). This can be explained by the fact that male, black people under the age of 30, belong to the grouping with the highest frequency of police contacts (Waddington et al., 2004). The overall outcome of Skogan’s study presents that police-initiated contacts which are entered voluntarily have a positive impact on the perception of the police (Skogan, 2006). Additionally, those who have been in contact with the police are less likely to be involved in criminal activities (Elsner & Molnar, 2001).

## **2.5 MINORITY GROUPS IN THE NETHERLANDS AND GERMANY**

The composition of minority groupings in the Netherlands and Germany differ. The choice of people to move to a specific country is influenced among others by the economic possibilities, family bonds and language barriers (Zimmermann, 1996). The largest ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands are Surinamese, Moroccan, Antillean, Turkish, and Indonesian (Alders,

2001). The largest ethnic minority groups in Germany are Turkish, Polish, Russian, Greek and Croatian (Statista, 2014; HWWI, 2007).

The higher crime rate of some minority groups increases the crime statistics for people with a migration background. In many statistics, the different ethnic backgrounds are grouped as being member of the minority group or the ethnic majority group (Piliavin & Briar, 1978). This is especially the case in the Netherlands, where ethnicity and/or nationality is generally not recorded in courts or by the police (Tonry, 1997). In Germany the recording of the ethnicity and/or the nationality is used for several statistical systems (Tonry, 1997). Furthermore the high crime rates of some members of specific minority groups lead to stereotyping of all minority groups and therefore to a higher rate of crime suspects (Statistics Netherlands, 2012; Federal Ministry of the Interior, 2012; Piliavin & Briar, 1978). The generalisation of ethnic groups leads to a more negative picture of minority groups, due to the overrepresentation of some in the criminal justice system. In this paper the minority cohort is not divided into different minority groups.

## **2.7 HYPOTHESIS**

The following paragraph introduces the hypothesis. The hypothesis is used to answer the research question under study: To what extent does the policing style in the Netherlands and Germany associate with unequal treatment of ethnic minority adolescents?

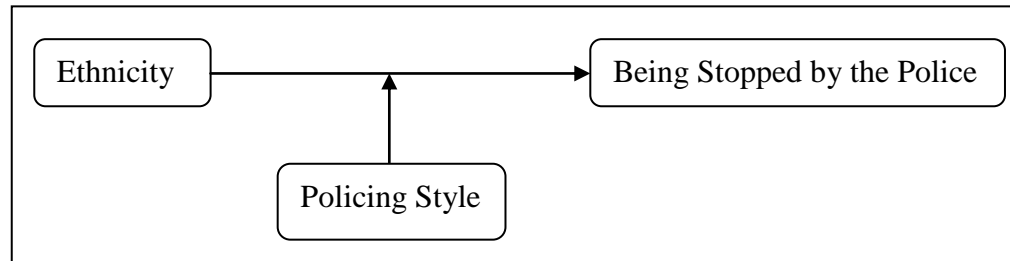
The policing styles are represented by the Netherlands and Germany. Proactive policing is mainly performed in the Netherlands while the reactive style is mainly performed in Germany. In the following the countries are used instead of the policing styles. The proactive policing style applied in the Netherlands is assumed to be discriminatory in regard to ethnic minorities while the reactive style in Germany is assumed to be by far less discriminatory because police stops are based on rules and regulations and the discretionary power is rather limited (Amnesty International, 2014).

The hypothesis: The overrepresentation of ethnic minority adolescents for being stopped by the police is higher in the Netherlands than in Germany.

In order to study the likelihood of being stopped by the police in the proactive policing style (Netherlands) and in the reactive policing style (Germany) control variables are introduced. These control variables are gender, region, availability on the streets and individual

delinquency. These are factors that influence the likelihood of being stopped by the police; this is further explained in the section research methodology.

*FIGURE 1: Concept of the Hypothesis*



### **3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.1 RESEARCH DESIGN**

The purpose of the study is to lay out the odds of being stopped by the police due to one's ethnicity. It is assumed that people with a migration background are more likely to be stopped by the police, especially in the Netherlands, due to the policing style applied. A quantitative research approach is chosen, a questionnaire is used to ask adolescents in the Netherlands and in Germany about their experience with the police, the frequency of their stops by the police, their individual delinquency and their availability on the streets.

The survey is a cross-sectional study. Respondents are asked at one point in time to fill in a questionnaire. The data is gathered in face-to-face interviews and through an online survey. This is a more suitable design than any other type of investigation or survey. As for instance police officers may be biased in their decision making, when accompanied by a researcher (Weitzer, 1996).

#### **3.2 QUESTIONNAIRE**

The questionnaire used for this study was developed by Saharso & Svensson (2014) and was used in their study. A translation of the document is provided by Yasmina Philippsen (2013) and Julius Leube (2013). The questionnaire is divided into four parts. The first section (A) focuses on the background information of the respondents, the second part (B) on the network of friends, the third section (C) on the experience with the police as well as the

frequency and the kind of encounters, while the last section (D) emphasises on the delinquency of the individual as well as on the delinquency of the network of friends.

The majority of the questions are closed questions and are either based on a Likert scale with answer options ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree or a box is provided to fill in a number or an alternative of answer possibilities is provided. Questions are for instance ‘how many hours per week do you spend with the following activities?’. Only two of the questions are open ended with the possibility to provide a statement on the answers given. The questionnaire is included in the appendix for further information.

### **3.3 CASE SELECTION & DATA COLLECTION**

Adolescents between 12 and 25 years have been asked in the city centres of Bochum, Gronau, Hannover and Münster in Germany and in Enschede and Amsterdam in the Netherlands. The data was mainly gathered in previous studies by Yasmina Philippsen (2013) in Gronau and Bochum and by Julius Leube (2013) in Hannover in Germany and by the team of Svensson and Saharso (2014) in the Netherlands. Additional data was gathered through an online questionnaire, distributed via Facebook. I gathered additional data in a survey conducted in the city centre of Münster.

In Germany 299 partakers filled in the questionnaire and 231 in the Netherlands. The participation rate in Germany is 90 percent while the participation rate in the Netherlands is 70 percent. Those who participated were asked on the streets and received a short introduction to the topic. While filling in the questionnaire, the participants had the chance to ask questions to clear misunderstandings.

### **3.4 DEPENDENT VARIABLES AND MEASUREMENT**

#### **POLICING STYLES**

The policing styles under study are the reactive policing style and the proactive policing style. In the following Germany is used to represent the reactive policing style, the Netherlands is used to represent the proactive policing style. These two countries are typical cases of each style.

The proactive policing style is more likely than the reactive style to act discriminatory. Amnesty International (2014) stated that ethnic profiling is at risk in the Netherlands due the

social and political shift which influences the police work. The wide ranging discretionary power of officers is assumed to be used in a discriminatory manner (Amnesty International, 2014). It is suspected that ethnic minorities in the Netherlands are more likely to be stopped by the police than in Germany, due to the policing style applied.

## ENCOUNTERS WITH THE POLICE

Police stops have been under study in the questionnaire. The variable ‘police encounters’ is an aggregated variable composed of the answers provided for the questions C1a to C1e. These questions ask about the frequency of different police contacts. The variable was transformed into having had police encounters due to the large variety of the number of encounters. 63.6 percent of the participants in the Netherlands and 64.3 percent of the participants in Germany recorded to have been stopped by the police (see table 1). This finding indicates that the overall stop rate is similar in both countries.

*TABLE1: Police Encounters*

Have you been stopped by the police on the streets?						
			Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Dutch	Valid	Yes	157	63.6	63.6	63.6
		No	90	36.4	36.4	100.0
		Total	247	100.0	100.0	
	Missing	System				
	Total		247	100.0	100.0	
German	Valid	Yes	191	63.9	64.3	64.3
		No	106	35.5	35.7	100.0
		Total	297	99.3	100.0	
	Missing	System	2	0.7		
	Total		299	100.0		

## 3.5 INDEPENDENT VARIABLES AND MEASUREMENT

### ETHNICITY

The appearance of the individuals under study is the independent variable. The ethnicity of the participants is measured on basis of their appearance. In the following ethnicity is used for the term ethnic appearance. The question asked is ‘how do you think a police officer will perceive you when he/she sees you on the streets?’ with the answer possibilities Dutch or non-Dutch and German or non-German (Question A4).

In the Dutch sample 39 percent of the participants were sure to appear as Dutch, while 61 percent of the participants think that they appear as non-Dutch. In the German sample 73.2 percent of the participants think that officers perceive them as German while 26.8 percent of the participants were sure to have a non-German appearance.

*TABLE 2: Ethnic Appearance*

<b>How do you think a police officer will perceive you, when he/she sees you on the streets?</b>		Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Dutch	96	38.9	39.0	39.0
	Non-Dutch	150	60.7	61.0	100.0
	Total	246	99.6	100.0	
Missing	System	1	.4		
Total		247	100.0		
Valid	German	219	73.2	73.2	73.2
	Non-German	80	26.8	26.8	100.0
	Total	299	100.0	100.0	
Missing	System				
Total		299	100.0		

### 3.5.1 CONTROL VARIABLES

To analyse unequal treatment of minorities by the police, the following variables are used to control for the justifiable explanations. According to the studies by Weitzer (1996), Piquero (2008) and Fitzgerald and Carrington (2011) gender, region, availability on the streets and individual delinquency are variables that influence the likelihood of being stopped by the police. Among others these variables are under study in the questionnaire used in the Netherlands and Germany.

It is necessary to control for gender and the region next to availability on the streets and individual delinquency, because these factors are known to be related to the likelihood of being stopped by the police. Girls are generally underrepresented in the survey, especially girls with an ethnic minority background, which is related to factors such as religious and cultural bonds. Furthermore regions influence the likelihood of being stopped by the police because regions are structured differently, the police presence and the percentage of ethnic minority groups differs largely. Different outcomes can be expected due to the different socio-economic circumstances in the different regions. It is not necessary to control for age due to the focus on the age group 12 to 25-year-olds.

## **AVAILABILITY ON THE STREETS**

Availability on the streets refers to the amount of time people spend on the streets. 36 percent of all people available on the streets are adolescents and the majority of these people are members of minority groups (Waddington et al., 2004). A higher availability on the streets increases the likelihood of being stopped and searched by the police. Waddington et al. (2004) assumes that adolescents with a different migration background spend more time on the streets than those without a migration background therefore the odds of being stopped by the police increase. This counters the assumption that ethnic minority people are stopped more often because of their migration background.

Availability on the streets is provided by the number of hours one 'is outside on the streets or in a shopping centre' per week (Question A5f). The maximum for the Netherlands is 72 hours and the minimum 0 hours per week. For Germany the maximum is 80 hours and the minimum 0 hours. The mean time adolescents in the Netherlands spend on the streets is 9.42 hours with a standard deviation of 12.83. The mean time for adolescents in Germany is 6.48 with a standard deviation of 8.26.

## **INDIVIDUAL DELINQUENCY**

Individual delinquency is the last control variable. People with a migration background have a higher individual delinquency than people without a migration background. This can be explained by the different involvement theory. The theory explains the overrepresentation of minority youth in the criminal justice system. The higher rate is influenced by socio-economic aspects and the different behaviour of these youngsters. Furthermore individuals with a criminal history have a four times greater chance of being stopped by the police (McAra & McVie, 2005). (Piquero, 2008)

The individual delinquency of one is measured on basis of different offenses committed during the previous twelve month, ranging from 'fare evasions' over 'beating someone up' to 'selling drugs'. The participants are asked to provide an answer on whether they had committed the offense at stake or not during the previous twelve months for each of the fourteen items (D1a – D1n). To create a single variable which sums up the delinquent behaviour of the participants, the fourteen variables were aggregated to the single variable 'individual delinquency'.



For the Netherlands an aggregated mean of .2107 is calculated with a standard deviation of .4087. For Germany the aggregated mean is .1190 with a standard deviation of .3244. These numbers indicate that the individual delinquency of adolescents in the Netherlands is higher than for German adolescents. The rate of Dutch adolescents lies within one standard deviation of individual delinquency of German adolescents.

### 3.6 SUMMARY OF VARIABLES

*TABLE 3 Review of the Measurement of the Variables*

<b>Netherlands</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Min.</b>	<b>Max.</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>SD</b>
Dependent Variable					
Police contacts	247	0	1	.6275	.4834
Independent Variable					
Non-Dutch appearance	246	0	1	.3902	.489
Male (Yes/No)	247	0	1	.4994	.4984
Availability (hours per week)	244	0	72	9.42	12.825
Individual Delinquency (0 – 1)	242	0	1	.2107	.4087
Number of respondents per area					
Twente	97				
Amsterdam 1	72				
Amsterdam 2	50				
Amsterdam 3	28				
Total	247				
<b>Germany</b>					
Dependent Variable					
Police contacts	297	0	1	.6431	.4799
Independent Variable					
Non-German appearance	299	0	1	.2676	.4434
Male (Yes/No)	298	0	1	.500	.5008
Availability (hours per week)	289	0	80	6.488	8.261
Individual Delinquency (0 – 1)	294	0	1	.1190	.3244
Number of respondents per area					
Hannover	49				
Bochum	114				
Gronau Westphalia	21				
Online	80				
Münster	35				
Total	299				

### 3.7 ANALYSIS

The analyses for the hypothesis are performed using SPSS 22. A cross table is used for the first analysis. The table compares the police contacts of adolescents between Germany (reactive policing) and the Netherlands (proactive policing) and within the countries between the ethnic minority and the ethnic majority population. The second analysis is executed on

basis of two logistic regression analyses, one for the Netherlands and one for Germany. This test is performed to evaluate the stop rate in both countries with the dependent variable police contacts, the independent variable ethnicity and the control variables gender, region, availability on the streets and individual delinquency. A logistic regression analysis is a good tool to reveal the significant influence of the variables on being stopped by the police. This analytical tool is used to explain the relationship between being stopped by the police and ethnicity and the impact of the control variables. This is done by introducing the models gradually to present the odds of being stopped by the police.

## **4. RESULTS**

The policing style in the Netherlands and Germany differ. The style in the Netherlands is proactive and preventive while the German model is mainly reactive and repressive (Liedenbaum, 2011). The style used in the Netherlands is problem and personal related while in Germany it is based on rules and laws, therefore only to a limited extent problem related (Liedenbaum, 2011). Due to the wide ranging discretionary power is unequal treatment of ethnic minority adolescents in the Netherlands more likely than in Germany.

### **4.1 HYPOTHESIS**

In the following table the police encounters of adolescents with and without an ethnic minority background in the Netherlands and Germany are presented. First of all it can be stated that the stop rate for adolescents with a migration background in Germany is lower than in the Netherlands. A difference in the rate of police encounters is visible for both countries. In the Netherlands 51 percent of the adolescents without a migration background were stopped compared to 71.3 percent of those with a migration background (table 4). In Germany, 62.8 percent of the adolescents without a migration background were involved in police encounters compared to 68.4 percent of those with a migration background (table 4).

It can be stated that a partial association is present. A significant difference in the stop rate of adolescents in Germany is not present. But this partial association states that a difference in the stop rate is visible in the Netherlands. Adolescents with a migration background are stopped more frequently than adolescents without a visible migration background. Unequal

treatment of minority adolescents is greater in the proactive policing style (in the Netherlands) than in the reactive policing style (in Germany).

TABLE 4: *Being Stopped by the Police by Appearance, n = 246; n = 297*

<b>Being Stopped by the Police</b>				
<b>Ethnicity</b>		No	Yes	Total
<b>Dutch</b>	Count	47	49	96
	Percent	49.0%	51.0%	100%
<b>Non-Dutch</b>	Count	43	107	150
	Percent	28.7%	71.3%	100%
<b>German</b>	Count	81	137	218
	Percent	37.2%	62.8%	100%
<b>Non-German</b>	Count	25	54	79
	Percent	31.6%	68.4%	100%
<b>Total</b>	Count	196	347	543
	Percent	36.1%	63.9%	100%

The second part of the analysis focuses on the introduction of the control variables and their impact on being stopped by the police. These control variables are gender, region, availability on the streets and individual delinquency.

Table 5 presents the logistic regression between being stopped by the police and ethnicity of adolescents (Model 1). Model 2 introduces gender and region. Model 3 introduces availability on the streets and individual delinquency.

In the first model, ethnicity is a significant predictor for experiencing more frequent police encounters in the Netherlands. Ethnicity is not significant in Germany; it may or may not have an impact on the odds of being stopped by the police. After introducing the second model ethnicity has no longer a significant impact in the Netherlands and remains non-significant in Germany. An impact of ethnicity may or may not be present. Gender contributes significantly to the odds of being stopped by the police (2.408 in the Netherlands and 2.772 in Germany; see table 5), being male increases the rate of police encounters. Region contributes to the likelihood of police encounters as well. Living in Amsterdam 1 contributes significantly to the odds of being stopped by the police. Amsterdam 2 and 3 may or may not contribute to the likelihood of being stopped by the police. The same undefined impact is visible for the regions under study in Germany. The third model introduces availability on the streets and individual delinquency. Availability on the streets contributes to the odds of being stopped by the police. The odds of being stopped are non-significantly in the Netherlands (1.030) and significantly in Germany (1.765; see table 5). Individual

delinquency adds significantly to the odds of being stopped by the police in the Netherlands (1.905) and in Germany (1.715; see table 5). Region remains a significant predictor in the Netherlands (Amsterdam 1: 6.390) and becomes significant in Germany (Online: 4.553; see table 5).

TABLE 5: Logistic Regression, Has experienced police contact, yes/no (dependent),  $n = 238$ ,  $n = 281$ , unstandardized coefficients

Variable	Model 1 odds ratio	Model 2 odds ratio	Model 3 odds ratio
<i>Netherlands</i>			
Constant	.404*	.128*	.086*
Non-Dutch (Ref. Dutch)	2.173*	1.648	1.75
Male (Ref. Female)		2.408*	2.422*
Area (Ref. Twente)			
Amsterdam 1		4.127*	6.390*
Amsterdam 2		1.402	1.842
Amsterdam 3		2.145	3.006
Availability (Z-score)			1.030
Individual Delinquency (Z-score)			1.905*
<i>Germany</i>			
Constant	.622*	.253*	.224*
Non-German (Ref. German)	1.564	1.591	1.587
Male (Ref. Female)		2.722*	2.544*
Area (Ref. Gronau Westphalia)			
Online		3.863	4.553*
Münster		1.623	1.930
Bochum		2.507	2.514
Hannover		1.117	1.443
Availability (Z-score)			1.765*
Individual Delinquency (Z-score)			1.715*

\*\* Significant at .05 level (two tailed)

\* Significant at .01 level (two tailed)

A person who is male, spends a lot of times on the streets, has been delinquent before and lives in a lower socio-economic area is significantly more likely to be stopped. This outcome is ascertained by other scholars who used some of the control variables in other countries with similar outcomes (Weitzer, 1996; Piquero, 2008; Brown et al., 2009). Ethnicity has no significant impact on being stopped by the police. It can neither be confirmed nor refuted that ethnicity has an impact on the odds of being stopped by the police after the introduction of the control variables. Therefore the hypothesis cannot be confirmed.

## **5. DISCUSSION**

Under study was the research question: To what extent does the policing style in the Netherlands and Germany associate with unequal treatment of ethnic minority adolescents?

The reactive policing style and the proactive policing style are researched. The Netherlands stands for the proactive policing style, while Germany stands for the reactive policing style. The following hypothesis was introduced: The overrepresentation of ethnic minority adolescents for being stopped by the police is higher in the Netherlands than in Germany.

According to table 4 the chances of being stopped by the police due to an ethnic minority appearance in the Netherlands is higher than in Germany. In Germany the stop rate of ethnic minority youth (68.4 %) is similar to the stop rate of the majority population (62.8 %). The difference is not significant, but adolescents with a non-German appearance are more likely to be stopped (see table 4). The difference in the Netherlands is greater with a stop rate of 71.3 percent of the ethnic minority population compared to 51 percent of the ethnic majority population (see table 4). The difference in the stop rate is significant in the Netherlands. As long as no control variables are introduced, unequal treatment of minorities exists in the Netherlands.

The logistic regression analysis introduces the control variables. The first model presents ethnic appearance and as stated above is ethnicity a significant predictor for being stopped in the Netherlands. An explicit impact is not visible in Germany; the impact can neither be confirmed nor refuted. It is visible that ethnicity has no significant impact after the other two models have been introduced. Gender, region, availability on the streets and individual delinquency contribute significantly to the odds of being stopped by the police in Germany. Availability on the streets and ethnicity do not contribute significantly in the Netherlands. An impact can neither be confirmed nor rejected. It is visible that being male and living in a lower socio-economic region, such as Amsterdam 1, contributes significantly to the odds of being stopped by the police. The third model indicates that a male youngster in the Netherlands who lives in Amsterdam 1 and has been delinquent before is significantly more likely to be stopped than other adolescents. Having a non-Dutch appearance and spending a lot of time on the streets can neither be confirmed nor rejected to have an impact on the odds of being stopped by the police. A similar effect takes place in Germany after introducing the third model. Male adolescents who answered the questionnaire online, who spend a lot of

time on the streets and have been delinquent before are more likely to be stopped than other adolescents. Ethnicity is not a significant predictor. To sum up, the likelihood of being stopped by the police is explained by control variables; the impact of ethnicity can neither be confirmed nor rejected in the Netherlands and in Germany.

The research question cannot be confirmed on the basis of the outcomes of the logistic regression analysis. The policing style applied does not result in unequal treatment. Being stopped by the police may or may not be influenced by ethnicity in the Netherlands and in Germany. The influence of ethnicity is similar in both countries with 1.75 in the Netherlands and 1.587 in Germany (table 5). The justifiable variables explain the stops rate. Therefore it can be stated that the impact of the control variables overlap with the studies by Waddington et al. (2004), Piquero (2006) and Fitzgerald and Carrington (2011). It cannot be ruled out that the proactive policing style applied in the Netherlands lead to unequal treatment of ethnic minority adolescents. Some overlapping policing techniques applied in the Netherlands and in Germany may influence the outcome.

Even though the impact of ethnicity is not as high as in the US or in the UK but should not be underestimated. Neither in Germany nor in the Netherlands is being stopped by the police confirmed to be influenced by ethnicity. Proactive policing increases the contact between citizens and the police. As stated earlier it may or may not have a positive impact on trust in the police.

Regardless that about two-third of the adolescents in the European Union believe that police discrimination takes place, this study cannot conclude that ethnic minority adolescents are treated differently due to their ethnic appearance. Having a different ethnic appearance cannot be confirmed neither be refused to contribute to the odds of being stopped by the police. But it is visible that adolescents in lower socio-economic areas, who spend a lot of time on the streets and have been delinquent before are more likely to be stopped by the police. Further studies on the correlation between the control variables and ethnicity may clarify if these factors influence separately the odds of being stopped by the police or whether they are typical characteristics of minority adolescents.

This study contributes to the existing data pool on this topic. The data shows that the higher stop rate is significantly influenced by region and may or may not be influenced by the ethnicity of a person. It is important to consider these differences and to address this issue in

the regions at stake. Unequal treatment should not be an issue in any of the member states of the European Union and the Directives (for instance Council Directive 2000/43/EC) dealing with unequal treatment and racial profiling should be further implemented and executed.

It is necessary to continue research on this topic, especially the factor region should be considered. Region has a strong significant impact on being stopped by the police. Living in a lower socio-economic area is in correlation with a higher police occurrence. The higher appearance of police officers may lead to over controlling. The focus of police officer lies on specific neighbourhoods, as higher authorities designate officers to investigate in specific neighbourhoods. This may lead to unequal treatment based on the decisions made by higher authorities rather than by individual police officers. It may be reasonable to study the impact of the higher levels of the policing system and to include a greater variety of neighbourhoods. (Svensson & Saharso, 2014)

A concluding point is that the proactive policing approach leads to a higher frequency of police encounters but this rate is higher for delinquent as well as non-delinquent adolescents. It cannot be stated that the style is a plausible tool to explain the extent of unequal treatment. Rather other factors should be considered, such as the control variables and the higher police authorities. These authorities decide how, where and when police officers work. The impact of ethnicity on the probability of being stopped by the police may or may not be present in the proactive policing style in the Netherlands or in the reactive policing style in Germany. Therefor further research is needed, that includes the factors introduced and additional factors.

## **6. CONCLUSION**

This paper started with the hypothesis that adolescents with a visible migration background are more likely to be stopped by the police in the Netherlands than in Germany. A difference is present due to the policing style applied. The Netherlands follows a proactive approach while Germany follows a reactive approach.

A survey was conducted in the Netherlands and in Germany. Adolescents were asked to fill in a questionnaire regarding their experience with the police, their background information and their criminal history. The appearance of one was studied rather than the ethnicity to provide the basis that unequal treatment is based on the visible appearance of the participants.

Furthermore the questionnaire provided data for the control variables gender, region, availability on the streets and individual delinquency.

Before the control variables were introduced, ethnicity of the individual influences the probability of being stopped by the police significantly in the Netherlands and non-significantly in Germany. As soon as justifiable variables for the stop are introduced, the impact of ethnicity is no longer significant, but remains a factor which may or may not influence the likelihood of being stopped by the police.

The outcome of the regression analysis shows that gender, region, availability on the streets and individual delinquency contribute to the odds of being stopped by the police. Except for availability on the streets, which has a non-significant impact in the Netherlands, all the other factor have a significant contribution for being stopped by the police in the Netherlands and in Germany.



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## **8. APPENDIX**

### **APPENDIX 1 - QUESTIONNAIRE**

UNIVERSITEIT TWENTE.

#### **Studie: Jugend und Polizei**

*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: .....*

.....  
.....

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Dieser Fragebogen wurde im Rahmen des Forschungsprojekts Proaktive Durchsetzung, Gleichbehandlung entwickelt. Kontakt: Dr. J. S. Svensson (j.s.svensson @ utwente.nl).

## 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 die 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 im Shoppingzentrum 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****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** Wieviele Tage pro Woche treffen sich du und deine Freunde meistens?

- ☐ 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 welchen Ort triffst du dich bei schönem, warmem Wetter mit deinen Freunden (maximal 3 Antworten)?

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <input type="radio"/> Bei einem von uns zuhause    | <input type="radio"/> In einem Jugendzentrum         |
| <input type="radio"/> In der Schule / Schulgelände | <input type="radio"/> In einem Club oder Verein      |
| <input type="radio"/> Auf der Straße               | <input type="radio"/> In einer Diskothek oder Kneipe |
| <input type="radio"/> Im Einkaufszentrum           | <input type="radio"/> Woanders (bitte<br>gen) .....  |

**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 die folgenden Dinge in den letzten zwölf Monaten (ungefähr) vorgekommen sind. Bitte eintragen

a. Hast du in den letzten 12 Monaten Bußgelder verhängt bekommen? 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"/>

**C3b** Möchtest du eine Erläuterung zu deinen Aussagen bezüglich deiner Begegnungen mit der Polizei geben?

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**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. Eine Verkehrsübertretung begehen	<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 versprügelt	<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 !**