Police Officers
and Biased Policing

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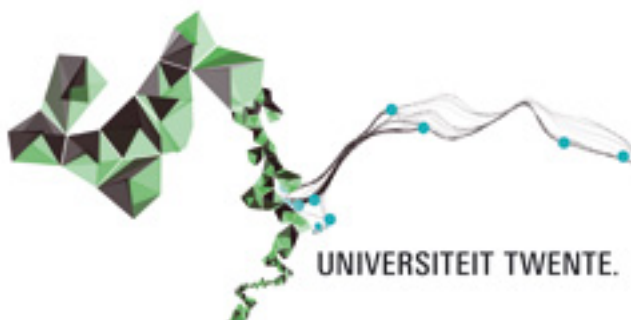
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Migrant Police Officers and Biased Policing

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Abstract

Police officers are often accused of policing in a racist manner. One measure to reducing this problem that has already been implemented in the United Kingdom is to recruit more police officers with a migration background. Nevertheless, the difference between police officers with and without a migration background with respect to discriminatory behavior, is still unknown.

In the present study we derive our conceptual framework from theories concerning the influence of familiarity on the judgment of decision-making processes. The research was steered by the main research question of: "Are police officers with a migration background and/or with high familiarity with people with migration background less racially biased when policing than police officers without a migration background and with low familiarity with people with migration background?". A quantitative online survey of 92 police officers was conducted in the cities of Münster and Cologne, NRW. We assessed variables of having a migration background, being familiar with people with a migration background, the private bias a police officer can have towards people with a migration background and if this bias can also be seen in the policing of the officers.

The results of this study suggest that officers with a migration background are generally less biased towards people with a migration background. Furthermore, police officers with migration background are more familiar with people with a migration background than officers of German nationality and that the familiar officers are less generally biased towards people with a migration background compared to the officers being less familiar with people with migration background. Most notably, we found that the more biased police officers are in general, the more they seem to be racially biased while policing. These results support attempts of the police department's diversification policies.

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1 Introduction

Anti-islam protests, arson attacks against refugee hostels and a police officer's abuse of two refugees: All these recent incidents could be symptoms of a growing German racism and discrimination kindling new debate on this topics. The Treaty of Amsterdam establishes a framework for the European Union to combat discrimination based on racial or ethnic origin (European Union, 1997). Nevertheless, in a special Eurobarometer survey from 2012, which evaluated discrimination in the EU in 2012, the most widely perceived ground of discrimination was 'ethnic origin' with 56%, thus, considering discrimination on grounds of ethnic origin as widespread. The report states that Europeans who belong to an ethnic minority reported most likely the experience of discrimination (European Commission, 2012). When asked where to preferably go in case of an experienced discrimination, "just above a third of Europeans (34%) would prefer to report their case to the police should they become a victim of discrimination" (European Commission, 2012, p. 10).

These findings are not only indicating an alarming number of perceived discrimination of ethnic minorities within the European Union but are also pointing to the importance of the police departments in this context, as they seem to be the trusted institution for citizens of the European Union. The fair functioning of the police is a premise and a requirement when trying to build on this base of trust and when trying to diminish discrimination on basis of ethnic origin. How officers react to ethnic minorities, their crime rates and if they translate their own principles into police action are important issues, as the answer is important for the democratic stability of our society. Fridell et al. describe this reasonably clear: "Policing in a democratic society requires that law enforcement personnel be accountable for their actions based on the principles of legality, subsidiarity and proportionality" (Fridell, Lunney, Diamond, & Kubu, 2001, p.36). The authors show the importance of the officers objectivity, be it with locals or with migrants.

Bearing in mind it is important to outline the term of *racial bias* or *racial profiling*, a bias against migrants/ethnic minorities. In a testimony before the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorder in 1968, a commissioner of the Detroit Police Department, namely George Edwards, outlined the term *racial profiling* as followed: The practice of stopping and inspecting people who are passing through public places- such as drivers on public highways or pedestrians in airports or urban areas- where the reason for the stop is a statistical profile of the detainee's race or ethnicity (Kerner, 1968).

In Germany, after the attacks against New York in 2011, a so-called 'Rasterfahndung' was affiliated. This method included the screening of personal data on a set of characteristics such as being a man with scholarly background, Muslim and domestic of or native from an indexed country but yet a rightful citizen in Germany. This search for internal sleepers turned out to be unconstitutional. According to Article 1(I) and Article 2(I) of the Grundgesetz this 'Rasterfahndung' is conflicting with the fundamental right of informational autonomy and in April of 2006 the Bundesverfassungsgericht banned such procedures without a solid threat to central bodies of legal safeguard, thus trying to keep the accountable actions of the police departments on a proportionate level without having the racial connotation to it (Schmitz, 2006; Volkmann, 2006). Repeated mistakes done by the police when conducting innocent people on hands of racial bias can challenge the citizens trust in the local police and also in the long-run increases crime as the actual offender is not convicted (Taslitz, 2010). Police legitimacy and police effectiveness is believed to rely mainly on citizens believes and support (Tyler, 2004). Furthermore, citizens, when confronted with authority, will feel responsible for obeying the commands of such only if they regard this authority as legitimate (French Jr & Raven, 1959). In 1999, Sir William Macpherson issued a report in the UK with regards to the handlings of the murder of a black pupil- Stephen Lawrence, called the 'Stephen Lawrence Inquiry'. This report suggested to recruit more black and Asian officers and to improve racism awareness training in order to prepare the police officers for a multi-racial society (Macpherson of Cluny, 1999). A valid study on the hoped positive effects of such recruitments was never successfully completed. Thus, the question arises what outcomes and positive effects the diversification of police departments brings along. An interview with the chief of police of the third biggest city within the land of Baden-Württemberg, Germany, showed the appreciation of a police department with a racially diverse composition. The chief officer states that colleagues with a migration background help as a link between the police and migrants - be it with language barriers, cultural peculiarities or other difficulties (Gewerkschaft der Polizei BW, 2011). Nevertheless, another study analyzed data from around 3000 LA patrol officers with the conclusion that neither race nor gender did predict to which degree a police officer will support or counter contact with citizens but rather "occupational socialization" (Lasley, 1994, p.95-96). So again, a true statement about the difference between native police officers and migrant police officers in policing and the positive effects of a more diverse department are yet to find.

Police officers are frequently challenged to order the strength of their training over the strength of their beliefs. For example, in deciding which person to stop and search, a police

officer may ask himself which person is more likely to break the law. Weitzer and Tuch (2002) as well as Sunshine and Tyler (2003) present evidence that migrants frequently are under the impression that they are victimized by the police even after statistically regulating other possible motives like, contact with media channels, individual involvements with the law and regional community difficulties. Thus, 'being biased towards immigrants' is not an overall feature of the police as the above does not stigmatize the stated motives but it is rather an individual trait. Stephen K. Rice and Michael D. White (2010) point out that police officers develop individual and "distinct ways of perceiving the world around them" (Stephen K. Rice & Michael D. White, 2010, p. 11). This individual orientation is facilitating the every day life of a police officer when it is needed to make quick and classified decisions in uncertain situations. However, these classified decisions should be made with an educated and differentiated view and not with a personalized and individual ruling. Tversky and Kahneman (1974) describe the decision making process in uncertain situations by revealing some heuristics that influence the beliefs concerning uncertain events. As police officers are usually confronted with uncertain situations, i.e. when conducting and searching people, these heuristics would indicate that police officers do not regulate and patrol in a racially biased manner on grounds of racism but rather because of different influences regarding representativeness and availability of migrants. The difference between migrant police officers and native police officers could then come from the differently influenced heuristics of each officer thus resulting in different judgments. The racial bias results from a different familiarity with migrants, a different salience with migrants and a different stereotype with migrants.

In order to extend to the discussion about the relationship between migrant officers and biased policing, this thesis concentrates on the familiarity aspect and conducts a survey among police officers in North Rhine-Westphalia (NRW). The aim of this research is to answer the main research question of:

Are police officers with a migration background and/or with high familiarity with people with migration background less racially biased when policing than police officers without a migration background and with low familiarity with people with migration background?

The first part of the thesis gives an overview of the literature on the relationship between familiarity with people with migration background and racially biased policing. Then, the current study will be introduced in detail describing methods of developing the questionnaire

and data analyzing as well as corresponding results. The thesis concludes with a discussion of the given results and an outline on open areas within this specific research field.

2 Theoretical Framework

In a study conducted in 2001 an African Caribbean police officer got interviewed on his believes about the recruitment of more ethnic minority officers. His answer was the following:

"It's one of the greatest myths ever perpetrated: get more black Bobbies and everything's going to be all right. Why? What makes everybody think that a few more black police officers will make that much difference?" (Cashmore, 2001, p.654).

Up until now there is a lack of theory that specifically connects police officers with a migration background to different influences. The research on cardinal judgment of probability (see for example Tversky & Kahneman, 1983) and the underlying process of it has been widely studied. What is missing are studies on the process of ordinal judgment. The root of all behavioral studies in the fields of decision making with judgment probability is found in the support theory. Support theory differentiates between logical proposals and their descriptions, i.e. "different descriptions of the same event can give rise to different judgments" (Tversky & Koehler, 1994, p.547). Thus, the theory assumes that subjective probability should not be associated to events but to portrayals of events. Support theory assumes that when a police officer is on duty and gets a call in for burglary in his area, the description of this burglary is important regarding the outcome, as different descriptions of the event might influence his subjective probability when assessing whom to stop and search. However, this theory lacks an explanation of the factors, which influence the description and its development process itself. Here, external characteristics such as having a migration background or being familiar with people with a migration background might have an impact on the description of a given situation.

The following literature study will try to outline why police officers with a migration background are less racially bias when policing. The research connects the ethnic background of police officers with the familiarity with migrants by stating that migrant police officers are differently influenced by the effect of familiarity with migrants. The suggested explanation is the familiarity approach.

2.1 Familiarity

An explanation for the racial bias police officers might have towards citizens with a migrant background is the different familiarity the officers have with migrants. Rudimental research on the impact of familiarity was done by Tversky and Kahneman (1974). The authors found that the influence of familiarity derives due to the availability heuristic and they call it the *familiarity bias*. The availability heuristic states the "ease with which instances or occurrences can be brought to mind. […] Availability is a useful clue for assessing frequency of probability, because instances of large classes are usually recalled better and faster than instances of less frequent classes. However, availability is affected by factors other than frequency and probability. Consequently, the reliance on availability leads to predictable biases, […]. " (Tversky & Kahneman, 1974, p.1127). The heuristic is "employed when people are asked to assess the frequency of a class or the plausibility of a particular development" (Tversky & Kahneman, 1974, p. 1131). Familiarity states that the officer knows the ways of migrants, i.e. the culture, traditions and personal contact. Well-known classes are judged more numerous than less 'famous' classes because they are recalled better.

In 1957, Hovland et al. investigated that familiarity, i.e. prior experience with and/or knowledge of a subject may have effects on the winning conclusions of judgments, Moreover, Hovland et al. and later Insko found that, without prior knowledge, subjects acknowledged existing facts without significant contrasting opinions but prior familiarisation with the topic discussed has given the subjects chance to question the existing facts (Hovland u. a., 1957; Insko, 1962). This suggests that existing prejudices/biases towards migrants among police officers could diminish in lights of familiarisation with migrants by for example the recruitment of more migrant officers. So if a particular police officer knows nothing about migrants but the stereotypes they are stigmatized with, prior familiarisation would lead the officers to question these stereotypes and then to react differently when confronted with a situation where people with a migration background are involved.

Fox and Levav (2000) observed that respondents from several surveys are biased to view more familiar events as more likely than less familiar events. As Fox and Levav state: "The familiarity bias in relative likelihood judgment is motivated by the conjecture that support for the focal hypothesis looms larger than support for the alternative hypothesis when making ordinal comparisons between events. As noted earlier, this contrasts sharply with support theory, which assumes that focal and alternative evidence receive equal (and opposite) weight" (Fox & Levav, 2000, p.281). Furthermore, Fox and Levav note that: "Moreover, the

notion that the focal hypothesis looms larger than the alternative hypothesis in relative likelihood judgment compared to probability judgment implies that the tendency to order high familiarity events over low familiarity events will be more pronounced for judgments of which event is 'more likely' than for judgments of probability" (Fox & Levav, 2000, p. 281–282). In this case, it is important to define what is meant when someone judges the likelihood of an event and when someone judges the probability of an event, as both terms seem to be linked. So why even separate the terms? Probability reasoning is always bound to quantitative values and numerical notion. The problem with reasoning with probability is that in many situations a statement cannot be matched with realistic probabilities. Mc Carthy and Hayes state, "[…] attaching probabilities to all statements has the following objections:

1. It is not clear how to attach probabilities to statements containing quantifiers in a way that corresponds to the amount of conviction people have.

2. The information necessary to assign numerical probabilities is not ordinarily available. Therefore, a formalism that required numerical probabilities would be epistemologically inadequate." (McCarthy & Hayes, 1968, p.35)

One might say that it is not likely that a third world war will break out, but there is simply no model to give this proclamation a probability. Some situations allow attaching probabilities beforehand but in practice may not be practical and/or realistic, as in many medical purposes. Halpern and Rabin thus define the likelihood logic as a "qualitative, nonnumerical notion" (Halpern & Rabin, 1987, p.380). The familiarity bias now states that the reasoning in unsure and unclear situations is influenced by the degree of familiarity and leads people to choose the familiar option over the unfamiliar option, thus using qualitative logic/reasoning. In case of the present study, this would not mean that familiar officers will favour people with a migration background but that they would move away from quantitative reasoning and thus away from existing stereotypes towards own reasoning by using a qualitative decision-making process without the influence of pre-given stereotypes. Within this study the quantitative decision-making is not based on data but based on stereotypes given by society and the qualitative decision-making is based on the own questioning of these given stereotypes. So in a crime related situation were it is clear that the citizen with the migration background has nothing to do with it based on pre-given probabilities, the quantitative decision-making process (without familiarity) would lead the police officer to question the citizen with the migration background because of set stereotypes and the qualitative decision-making process (with familiarity) would lead the officers to question the set stereotype and evaluate the situation on the pre-given probabilities. Within this study we are aware that familiarity can

also go in a negative direction, for example when the police officer had a lot of negative encounters, thus introducing two scales for familiarity: the work related familiarity and the private familiarity. Nevertheless in order to stay in line with the scope of the thesis we concentrate on the private and thus rather positive familiarity a police officer can have. Furth Tversky and Kahneman present evidence that people struggle with probabilistic reasoning and even though people state likelihood with ease they are reluctant to give a statistical probability to the same event. Furthermore, the authors found that biases have an intuitive effect on decision-making and that decision-making under the influence of bias further decreases the quality of the decision (Tversky & Kahneman, 1983). Thus, according to the theories described familiarity leads away from quantitative logic but towards qualitative logic and this qualitative logic is influenced by familiarity. For police officers this means that when they are familiar with people with a migration background they are equally influenced by familiarity in matters of being familiar with Germans and being familiar with migrants. The matter with people with a migration background is that they are often stigmatized with stereotypes. Police officers who are familiar with migrants and their cultures are more likely to question these stereotypes.

2.2 Other Factors

The literature study already gives many options for factors that influence police officer's policing. In case that familiarity proves to be a significant factor in diminishing racial bias among police officers, the other presented heuristics by Tversky and Kahneman (1974), like for example the representativeness heuristic that states that people assess probability by the degree for which the subject is representative of the situation, need to be evaluated as well. In a more general context, police departments need to value the diversity of our society and be aware of the diversity of their district in order to be able to choose the right action plan when confronting citizens. The factor of familiarity is surely only one measure of evaluation. The report "Racially biased policing - A principled response" (Fridell u. a., 2001) addresses other factors that might explain racial bias by addressing six key response areas within the police departments: "Accountability and supervision, policies prohibiting biased policing, recruitment and hiring, education and training, minority community outreach and data collection and analysis" (Fridell et al., 2001).
These response areas expand to other factors of influence on racial bias and give guidance to agencies that want to address the issues of racially biased policing within their department

directly in order to "ensure a culture of openness and external partnerships" (Fridell et al., 2001, S. 40) of a police department.

3 Model development

To answer the central question of this study, there is plenty of literature that gives reasons for explanations of a bias in policing. In order to stay align with the scope of this thesis I will concentrate on the relationship between an officers ethnicity and his familiarity with migrant citizens, thus, examining the relationships between *perceptional bias* (in general as well as in policing), *familiarity with migrants* and *ethnicity of an officer*.

The following section will give an outline of the most significant variables under inspection and the consequential hypotheses.

3.1 Migration Background

In this study the independent variable of *migration background* will be conceptualized as the association someone has to traditions, religions, linguistics and other cultural or personal attributes that connects them to an ethnic group, thus being distinctive from the majority population (Šmihula, 2009). With police officers the outer appearance is of little matter but we are interested in their self-perceived connection to an ethnic group. The attributes controlling for a migration background are taken from Thomas Kemper (2010) where already one of the attributes is sufficient for a migration background:

1. Citizenship not German

2. Country of birth/Origin not Germany

3.2 Familiarity

Within this study the dependent as well as independent variable of *familiarity* is supposed to influence the degree of bias towards migrants by influencing the perceptional bias. An officer can have familiarity with migrants in meaning of friends, family and the knowledge of other cultures and traditions apart from the own culture and own traditions. This assures prior experience and knowledge about citizens with a migration background thus indicating familiarity (Hovland et al., 1957).

3.3 Perceptional Bias towards Migrants

The *perceptional bias towards migrants* is the dependent variable. We suppose it to depend on the influence of the familiarity. Bias leads to the effect that officers assess the probability

of an event wrongly. Racial bias is described in the literature as the racist behavior and the resulting mistreatment of citizens with a migration background (Correll et al., 2007). Thus, within this study the bias towards migrants will be the negative bias a police officer may have. It will be tested by probabilistic reasoning, that is, by comparing the actual probability with the probabilistic reasoning of the individual police officers. The bias itself will be split into two components. The first component is the general bias a police officer can have towards people with a migration background and the other component is if this bias is then translated into police action. Thus, a police officer can have a bias but not necessarily translate this bias into police action.

3.4 Hypotheses

The main goal of this thesis is the examination of the question if police officers being more familiar with people with a migration background (which counts the most for people having a migration background themselves) are less biased towards migrant citizens than officers being less familiar and further to connect this bias a police officer can have to the police action. Literature already gives reason to assume that police officers with and without a migration background are differently affected by familiarity. The focus of this research will be on the idea that the familiarity influences the perceptional bias of police officers and that migrant police officers react differently to people with a migration background and are more aware of them.

In the following, I will outline the hypotheses that descend from the previous literature study. The first hypothesis of this research is that officers with a migration background are less biased towards migrant citizens.

H1: Officers with a migration background are less general biased towards migrants than white (native) officers.

My second hypothesis states that officers with a migration background are more familiar with migrants.

H2: Officers with a migration background are more familiar with migrant citizens than white (native) officers.

This hypothesis leads to the assumption that more familiar officers are less biased towards migrants.

H3: Police officers with high familiarity are less general biased towards migrants than police officers with low familiarity.

The next hypothesis contains the effect of general bias for police action.

H4: Officers with a higher general bias will show more bias in their police action than officers with a lower general bias.

4 Research Methodology

After setting the theoretical framework for this research, the next section will outline the research design as well as the measurements of the variables.

4.1 Choice of Research Design

The question of this research will be examined by an online survey. The survey is filled out at one point in time thus being a cross-sectional survey and contrasting a longitudinal design, which observes over more than one round of dialogues. The cross-sectional survey is a suitable instrument to make implications about the population of interest by conducting data from a sample of the noted population.

The initial plan was to distribute the questionnaire vis-à-vis to police officers directly in the departments, thus coordinating the participation of the questionnaire. On the downside, the personal contact could induce that the officers will not answer truthfully, as they might fear that anonymity is not given. Furthermore, as the subject is of delicate nature and no police department wants to be associated with racial bias, the distribution of the questionnaire was solely given online. To give police officers and departments full anonymity, the questionnaire was provided via Qualtrics, a platform for online questionnaires, and distributed via Email to the police officers to assure anonymity. Further befriended police officers send the link of the survey to police officers within the cities of Münster and Cologne. Due to low response, officer's email addresses were additionally collected in front of the departments and the survey then distributed.

4.2 The Questionnaire

The questionnaire (see appendix) was newly developed in close association with the before mentioned definitions of familiarity (Hovland at al., 1957), the influence of familiarity on decision-making processes (Fox & Levav, 2000; Hovland et al., 1957; Tversky & Kahneman, 1974) and the resulting perceptional bias towards people with a migration background (Correll et al., 2007). It was distributed online via a link to the survey. The questionnaire consists of several blocks. The first block asks about the background information of the participant i.e. age, gender, nationality and the migration background. The second block is concerned with the familiarity the participants has with migrants, i.e. social surroundings in meaning of friends, the friends of friends, the attitude towards encounters with people with a

migration background and the knowledge of other cultures and traditions. Within the second block a scale was inserted, which measures the degree of social desirability. The so called SDS-17 scale (social desirability scale, Stöber 2001) contains 16 items that intend to measure the degree to which the respondents answer in socially desirable way rather than being honest. The third block is about the bias of the participant and the resulting police action.

4.3 Case Selection and Response

All together the police in Germany employs over 300,000 people. The police department of NRW counts over 42,000 police officers within the 47 local departments (Polizei NRW, n. y.). In order to get a big enough sample the questionnaire was contributed to the press office of the NRW police department. From there it was expected to be contributed via email to the police departments within NRW, admitting me to have a random sample. Unfortunately, the questionnaire was not permitted for official distribution with the reasoning of too much economic effort and a shortcoming of staff for this manner. Nonetheless, the press office of the NRW police department indicated that every officer is allowed to answer the questionnaire in a private environment. Thus, this questionnaire was distributed among befriended police officers and police officers were approached when they left the department after duty in the cities of Münster, NRW and Cologne, NRW.

The online questionnaire was completed a total of 93 times. Mostly police officers that were approached in front of the police departments were not willing to participate in the study with over 70% of the police officers rejecting to participate. The officers that were approached in front of the departments and who were willing to participate in the study with 32 out of 50 or 64% were mainly women and only women offered to distribute the questionnaire via email to other colleagues. However, 62 of the respondents are male and 31 of the respondents are female. The average age of all respondents is 42 years (8,502 Standard deviation), with the youngest respondents being 27 years old (two respondents) and the oldest respondent being over 60 years old (one respondent). The initial expected response rate was not met but the expected response rate after limitations were set and only police officers out of two cities within NRW were observed, the response rate of 93n was expected. So when drawing conclusions from this research, one has to be careful to generalize the results as the 93 respondents might not be representative enough and the sample is not fully random.

5 Measurement of Dependent and Independent Variables

5.1 Limitations of measurement

According to Babbie (2010) survey research "has several weaknesses: It is somewhat artificial, potentially superficial, and relatively inflexible. Using surveys to gain a full sense of social processes in their natural settings is difficult. In general, survey research is comparatively weak on validity and strong on reliability" (Babbie, 2010, p. 293). Superficiality occurs with the standardization of questionnaire items. Often questionnaires miss to include "people's attitudes, orientations, circumstances, and experiences" (Babbie, 2010, p.287).

Furthermore, in order to avoid sampling bias, that is "that those selected are not typical nor representative of the larger populations they have been chosen from" (Babbie, 2010, p.197), the questionnaire was available for everyone online and everyone regardless of gender or looks was approached when drafting for participants in front of the police departments, thus ruling out personal favouritisms. On the downside this detained us from controlling that only police officers respond to the questionnaire. The threat of the survey being artificial within this study is that the topic of the questionnaire is rather delicate as no police officer wants to show racism and the questions within the questionnaire may result in a formation of attitude, which can have an affect on the study. To counter bait this problem within the questionnaire the topic of racially biased policing is never mentioned. Furthermore, the questions are not asking directly to give their opinion about people with a migration background but instead ask for social surroundings, demographics and the evaluation of a scenario where they play no part in. Additionally, as it was expected that the police officers would answer in a socially acceptable way, this survey includes the 'Social-desirability scale', also called SDS-17 scale. The SDS-17 scale includes 16 items as one was removed in 2001 because it asks about drug consumption and showed to be adverse in metric values (Stöber, 2001). The 16 items measure the tendency of the participant to define himself as being socially acceptable/desirable (Stöber, 1999, 2001). The SDS-17 score was included in the regression to see if social desirability influenced the study and to control for it. This also increased the consistency of the questionnaire and thus its reliability.

The inflexibility of the survey became apparent within the study when the scale for familiarity was split into two components of 'private familiarity' and 'work familiarity' and thus some items had to be excluded from further analysis. Because 'private familiarity' correlated

stronger with 'migration background' we continued with the component of 'private familiarity'. Nevertheless, the removal of the component increased the level of validity, as the component of work related familiarity would have measured a different construct and the few items included in the familiarity score turned out to be sufficient for testing our hypotheses. During the process of data collection it was deceptive that nonresponse bias is a difficulty of the survey. The nonresponse bias is serious but quite common as "no survey succeeds in getting responses from everyone. The problem for those who don't respond may differ from those who do. And they may differ on just the variables we care about" (De Veaux, Velleman, & Bock, 2008, p.303). For the main research question of this thesis it is critical to reach as many police officers as possible. Since regions within NRW differ and thus experiences of the police officers differ it is important to get a portion of every part of NRW in order to be able to draw general conclusions. This survey sampled from the two cities of Münster and Cologne. Ideal would be if the questionnaire were affiliated by the 'Ministerium für Inneres und Komunales' and then distributed to all press offices within NRW. This would guarantee a stratified response rate. As we wanted to stay in line with the scope of a bachelor thesis we did not include other factors that might play a role as well. Thus we suggest that in the future other factors need to be included when controlling for the relationships, like for example the intelligence of the officers.

5.2 Migration Background

For the measurement of the migration background police officers were asked to state their nationality. Out of thirteen presented nationalities only seven were chosen by a total of 92 respondents. Shown in Figure 1, most respondents are German with 59 respondents. Other respondents are Turkish (19), Kurdish (7), Italian (2), Romanian (2), Polish (2) and Russian (1). Responses other than German will be identified as police officers with a migration background.
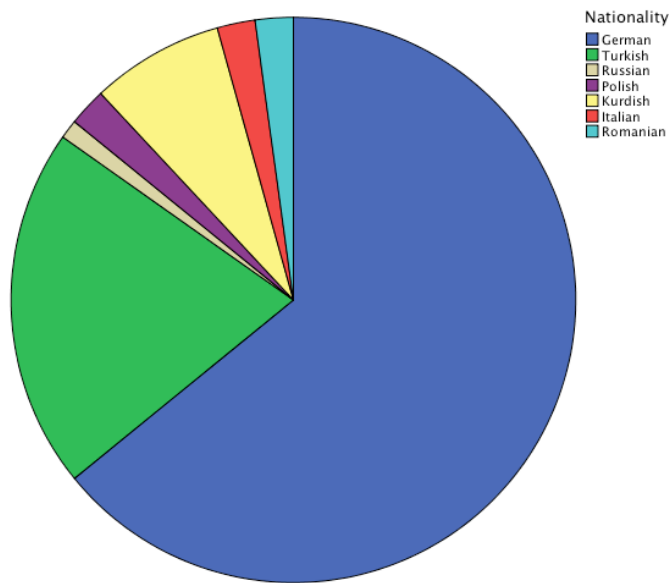
Figure 1: Nationalities of respondents

In the second part, the participants were presented with the features of a migration background, adopted from Thomas Kemper (2010):

1. Citizenship not German

2. Country of birth/Origin not Germany

Already one of the features is considered to be sufficient for a migration background.

Out of 92 responses, 65% do not have a migration background and 35% have a migration background. Further 64% state that neither father, mother nor grandmother or grandfather have a migration background. This is consistent with the nationality responses, were 64% state to be German. Only one response within the 'own migration background' question does not match with the 'own nationality' question, so we count this one as an outlier by assuming that 64% of the participants are German without a migration background and 36% of the participants have a migration background and a non-German nationality.

5.3 Familiarity

In order to set up a scale that indicates the familiarity of the police officer a new set of questions was developed with initially nine items:

Q1: How many of your friends have a migration background?

Q2: How many of your German friends themselves have friends with a migration background?

Q3: Are there people with a migration background in your wider surroundings (colleagues, acquaintances)?

Q4: Do you have contact to people with a migration background in your daily working routine?

Q5: Are you familiar with cultures and traditions other than your own culture and traditions?

Q6: How far do you agree with the following statements?

Q6.1: In my private time I have a lot to do with people with a migration background.

Q6.2: In my private time I like to have a lot to do with people with a migration background.

Q6.3: In my working environment I have a lot to do with people with a migration background.

Q6.4: In my working environment I like to have a lot to do with people with a migration background

Police officers could indicate the degree of their answer by using a 5-point bipolar scale ranging from 'not at all' to 'a lot'.

'Not at all' is given the value one and 'a lot' is given the value five. So we have five values ranging from one to five. Q6.1 to Q6.4 are answered using a 5-point Likert scale and the values are recoded to fit to the other items so that all items have the same values and the same direction.

Before starting with the descriptive analysis for familiarity the items of the constructed scale were tested in a factor analysis. The factor analysis revealed that items that are related to the work environment, namely items Q3, Q4, Q6.3 and Q6.4, build their own component and thus are dismissed from the scale for an increase of construct validity. We did not continue with the work related familiarity, as the items are not formulated specific enough (acquaintances and colleagues are not distinguished). Further research could formulate items for a scale that asks specifically about the work related familiarity. Items Q1, Q2, Q5, Q6, Q6.1 and Q6.2 form the scale for 'private familiarity'. As all items have the same values they are combined into the new variable of 'Familiarity' by creating combined means from the responses with low to high values indicate low to high familiarity.

In Figure 2 we can see that the mean of 3,169 shows neutral to a slight familiarity with a minimum of 1,25, a maximum of 5,00 and a standard deviation of 1,166.
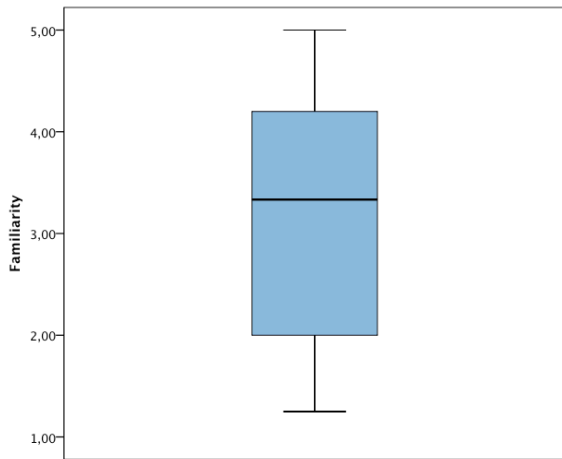
Figure 2: Familiarity: Whole sample

5.4 Bias

The bias within this survey was tested with three questions. First, two questions ask about the real situation in NRW. Respondents are asked to estimate the percentage of people with a migration background within NRW at the beginning of 2014 and the percentage of suspects with a migration background compared to all suspects within NRW in 2014. The answers are used to indicate the variable of 'bias' by the difference between estimated percentages in the two questions with the actual data. Respondents were able to choose from six different answers showing different percentages. As this research is interested in the negative perception of people with a migration background, only the overestimations of the respondents are counted as bias. Of course the consequence of this limitation could be that we do not get a clear idea of whether there is favourable bias or not, because we limit this study to non-favourable bias. Answers one to three could indicate a bias that shows favours towards migrants and further research should include this alternative to the negative bias as well. For this study then answers one to three indicate no bias (value zero), with no overestimation and the correct answer to the situation. Answer four indicates low bias (value one), with little overestimation of the real situation, answer five indicates mediate bias (value two) and answer six indicates high bias (value three) with a very high overestimation of the real situation. By recoding the two items according to values zero to three and taking the means of the responses we combined the items into the new variable 'Bias'.

The descriptive statistics for the whole sample show a mean of 0,652, which indicates an overall low bias with a minimum of 0,00, a maximum of 2,50 and a standard deviation of 0,785.

Table 1. Frequency Table. General bias: Whole sample

General Bias

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	,00	45	48,4	50,6	50,6
	,50	10	10,8	11,2	61,8
	1,00	10	10,8	11,2	73,0
	1,50	12	12,9	13,5	86,5
	2,00	10	10,8	11,2	97,8
	2,50	2	2,2	2,2	100,0
	Total	89	95,7	100,0	
Missing	System	4	4,3		
Total		93	100,0		

Next, a question is posed measuring if bias can also be detected in the police work. The respondents are presented with a work related situation and asked to evaluate their own believes into police action. Within the question a picture was used. The picture shows seven people and one of them has a migration background. Before using the picture within the questionnaire 50 people, randomly selected out on the street, were presented with the characteristics of a person with a migration background adopted from Kemper (2010) as outlined above, and asked to indicate every person within the picture with a migration background. Every respondent indicated the person on the far left to have a migration background. Thus, the picture showed to be reliable for use.

The situation says as follows: A police officer is on duty. In the area of duty 10% of the population has a migration background and the crime rate for the population with a migration background is 5%. The probability for a citizen with a migration background to be involved in a crime for the area is intentionally pictured as very low.

After the situation is outlined, the following picture is shown to the respondents with the text: The police officer parked in a parking lot and this is the view out of his car's window:

Picture 1. Photograph presented within the survey. Subjects had to estimate the probability of the involvement of either the man on the left or third left in a crime.

Subsequent to the picture presentation, the questionnaire was divided into two equally divided response groups.

Group 1 was presented with the following situation:

Suddenly, the officer gets a call in that the market around the corner was robbed. The officer steps out of his car and questions the man who can be seen on the far left of the picture regarding the robbery.

How likely you believe it is that the man on the far left has something to do with the incident?

Group 2 was presented with the following situation:

Suddenly the officer gets a call in that the market around the corner was robbed. The officer steps out of his car and questions the man who can be seen third from the left in the picture regarding the robbery.

How likely is it for you that the man third from left has something to do with the incident?

Both groups were then able to state the likelihood of that situation in percentages.

Group 1 has a mean of 17,1364, a minimum of 1,00, a maximum of 62,00 and a standard deviation of 20,117. Group 2 has a minimum of 0,00, a maximum of 87,00, a mean of 26,844 and a standard deviation of 23,514. So on average the overall likelihood that the white guy is involved in the crime is higher than the overall likelihood for the guy with the migration background.
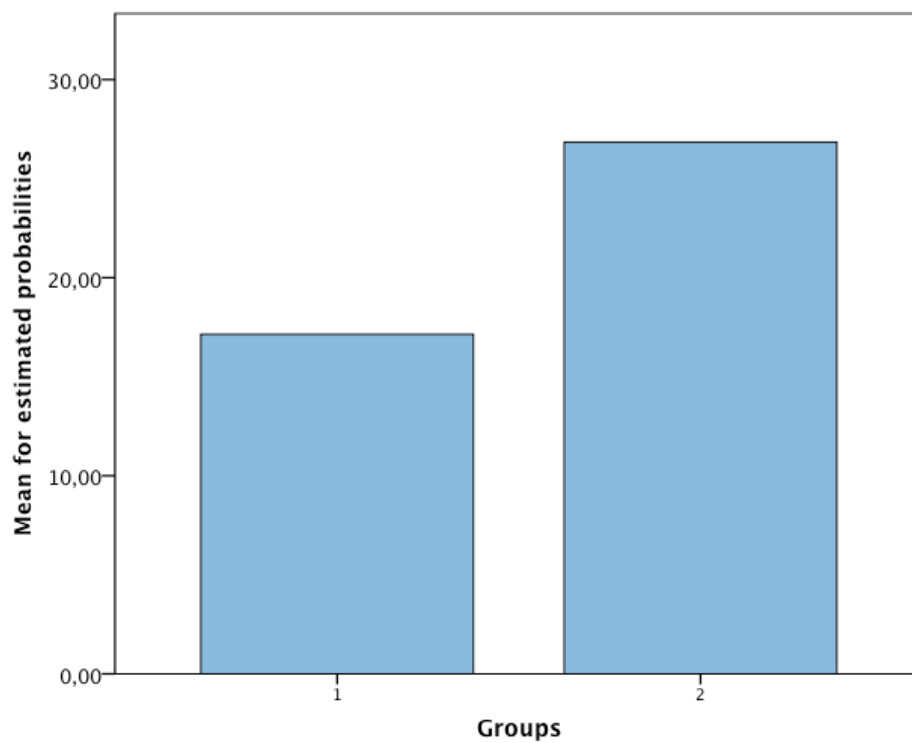

Figure 3: Whole sample. Group 1 and 2 estimated probability of involvement of man with and man without migration background

Before we began with the statistical analysis the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test was conducted to determine whether the variables are normally distributed. Being significant with a significance level of α= 0.05 the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test revealed that the data is not normally distributed, as can be seen in Table 1.

Table 2: Kolmogorov-Smirnov Test

One-Sample Kolmogorov-Smirnov Test

		Familiarity	Bias general	Bias Policing
N		91	89	89
Normal Parameters[a,b]	Mean	3,234	,652	22,045
	Std. Deviation	1,084	,7848	22,316
Most Extreme Differences	Absolute	,160	,302	,264
	Positive	,160	,302	,264
	Negative	-,123	-,203	-,162
Kolmogorov-Smirnov Z		1,528	2,853	2,486
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)		,019	,000	,000

a. Test distribution is Normal.

b. Calculated from data.

5.5 Statistical Analysis

As the data is not normally distributed Hypothesis 1 and 2 will be tested with non-parametric tests. However, as the variance is normally distributed, Hypothesis 3 will be tested with linear regression and Hypothesis 4 with an ANOVA. Hypothesis 1 is interested in the difference between officers with a migration background and officers without a migration background regarding biased policing. Thus, a Mann-Whitney test is carried out in order to test the different medians. Hypothesis 2 assumes that police officers with a migration background are more familiar with people without a migration background. In order to test the theory that more familiar police officers will have a migration background the Mann-Whitney test is applied. Hypothesis 3 states that officers with more familiarity are less biased towards people with a migration background. To test this hypothesis, we calculate a linear regression with the general bias as dependent and familiarity, migration background and the SDS-17 score as independent variables. In this way, we are able to calculate the proportion of variance explained by each variable by controlling the effect of the respective others. Finally, hypothesis 4 will be analyzed with the ANOVA test. All analyses were performed using IBM SPSS Statistics 20.

5.6 Results

The next part will outline the results of the statistical test. For all tests the significance level is set at α= 0.05.

Hypothesis 1

A Mann-Whitney test was conducted to assess the hypothesis if officers with a migration background are less biased towards people with a migration background. The results revealed a significant effect of migration background on bias, $z = -3,619$, $p<0,05$ (see Figure 14).
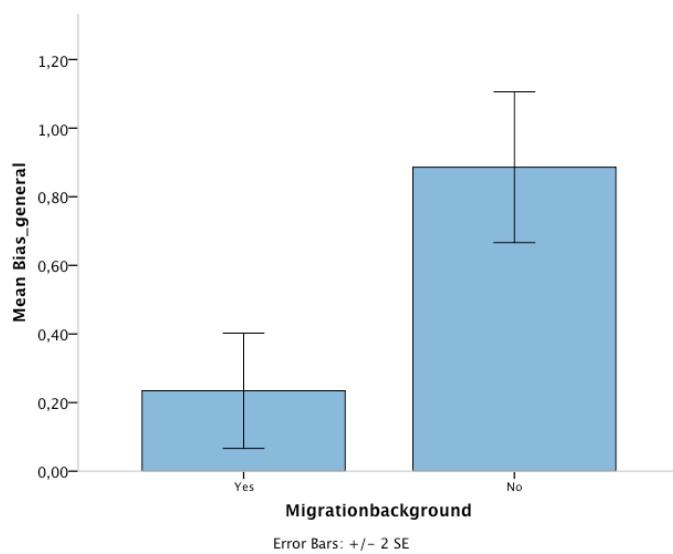

Figure 4: Results Mann-Whitney Test for H1 showing the effect of having a migration background on the general bias.

Hypothesis 2

To assess if officers with a migration background are more familiar with people with a migration background the Mann-Whitney test was conducted. The results show a significant effect of migration background on the familiarity with people with a migration background $z = -6,051$, $p<0,05$ (see Figure 15).
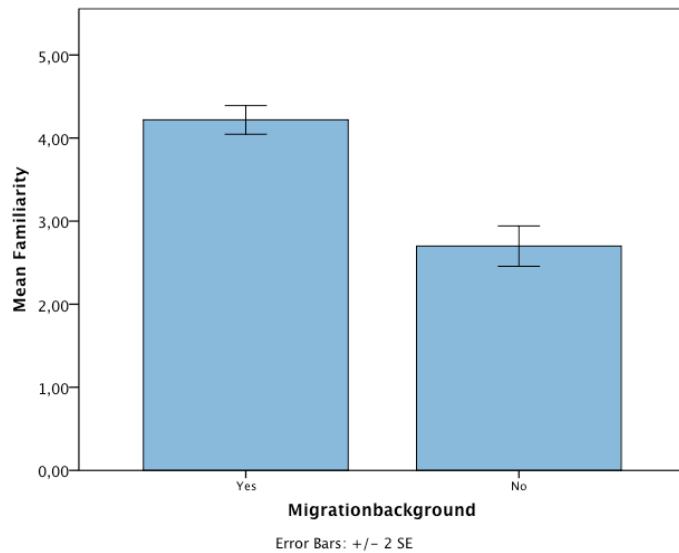
Figure 5: Results Mann- Whitney Test for H2 showing the effect of having a migration background on familiarity.

Hypothesis 3

The hypothesis that officers with familiarity are less biased towards migrants than officers without familiarity can be verified in matters that familiarity can have an effect on the general bias, $p<0,001$. The results of the linear regression show that as soon as we take the factor of familiarity into our model the factor of having a migration background diminishes and has no effect anymore on the bias with $p<0,495$. The social desirability score has an effect on the reporting of general bias, $p<0,034$ inasmuch as people with a higher social desirability score tend to report a lower bias, which might in these cases thus be underestimated. Nevertheless, when controlling for this factor the familiarity still has high significance. The overall model fit was $R^2 = 0.64$. Nevertheless, we have a multicollinearity issue. The regression shows that familiarity and migration background are heavily correlated themselves. Thus we cannot be sure anymore about the size of the coefficience, whether they truly represent the effect, and we cannot conclude that it is familiarity rather than the migration background.

Table 3: Results linear Regression

Coefficients[a]

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
1 (Constant)	3,369	,769		4,380	,000
Familiarity	-,479	,083	-,664	-5,750	,000
Migrationbackground	-,131	,191	-,080	-,685	,495
Social_Desirability_Sum	-,108	,050	-,186	-2,155	,034

a. Dependent Variable: Bias_general

Hypothesis 4

First we checked for the homogeneity of variances in order to be able to compute the ANOVA. As Leven's test shows no significance ($p = 0{,}163$) we can assume a homogeneity of variances. Within the descriptive analysis we already saw that people without a migration background reported higher probabilities for the person with the migration background within the picture to be involved in the crime. Looking at Table 3, it becomes clear that the general bias predicts the bias when policing, $p = 0{,}031$. Furthermore, we can see that it also significant to which group the respondents were administered to, $p = 0{,}014$. A significant interaction of the two main effects ($F(1,4) = 51{,}683$, $p<0{,}001$) reveals that the more bias the police officer has the more he or she is likely to overestimate the probability of the person with the migration background to be involved in the crime and to underestimate the probability that the person without the migration background is involved. Vice versa the police officers that show low bias estimate realistic probabilities for both the person with the migration background and the person without a migration background (Figure 16).

Table 4: ANOVA Table

Tests of Between-Subjects Effects

Dependent Variable: Bias_Policing

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	33912,106[a]	10	3391,211	26,682	,000
Intercept	37344,275	1	37344,275	293,821	,000
Bias_general	1656,010	5	331,202	2,606	,031
Bias_both_Groups	809,606	1	809,606	6,370	,014
Bias_general * Bias_both_Groups	26275,231	4	6568,808	51,683	,000
Error	9913,714	78	127,099		
Total	87078,000	89			
Corrected Total	43825,820	88			

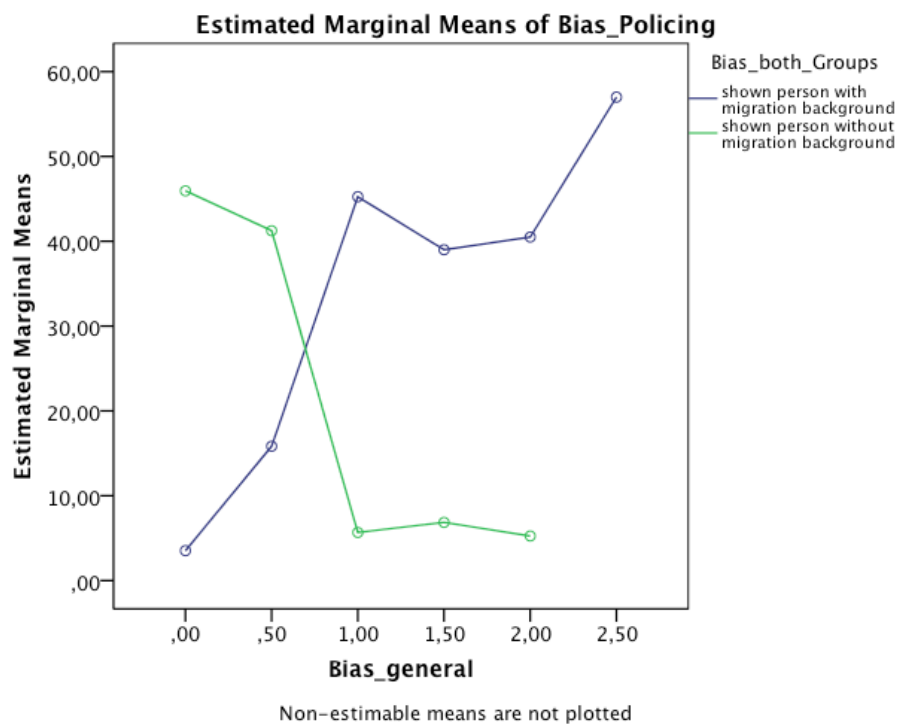a. R Squared =, 774 (Adjusted R Squared =, 745)

Figure 6: Profile Plots

6   Discussion

Before starting with the discussion of outcomes of this study we will firstly state the main research questions and the hypotheses as a reminder.

The main research question of this study is:

"Are police officers with a migration background and/or with high familiarity with people with migration background less racially biased when policing than police officers without a migration background and/or with low familiarity with people with migration background?"

The hypotheses of this study are:

> H1: Officers with a migration background are less general biased towards migrants.
> H2: Officers with a migration background are more familiar with migrant citizens than white (native) officers.
> H3: Police officers with familiarity are less general biased towards migrants than police officers with no familiarity.
> H4: Officers with a general bias translate this bias into police action.

6.1   Discussion of Results

The results of our analysis clearly give reason to believe that police officers with a migration background are generally less biased towards people with a migration background than are police officers of German nationality. Furthermore, police officers with a migration background proved to be more familiar with people with a migration background compared to German police officers. Hypothesis 3 proved also to be correct as familiar police officers showed less general bias towards migrants than police officers with no familiarity. Finally, hypothesis 4 also showed to be truthful as we saw that the less general bias a police officer has, the less likely he or she is going to translate this bias into police action.

Nevertheless, it has to be noted that even though the hypotheses that officers with a migration background are less biased and that officers with less biased are less likely to translate this bias into police action were confirmed, the variable of familiarity has the real influence. The linear regression showed that as soon as we introduced the familiarity factor, the factor of having a migration background diminishes. So we can say that the result of hypothesis 1 only

stands because of the familiarity that results from the migration background. Thus, the conclusion that can be sketched based on these results is that, unfortunately, police officers who are negatively biased toward people with a migration background, which is probably due to the fact that they are less familiar with them, will translate this belief into police action. Nevertheless, it would be impulsive to generalize that all police officers with a migration background (or which are familiar with those) are automatically the better police officers. Speaking in terms of support theory (see above) the degree of familiarity with something influences the individual description of a given scene in general and in this way determines an officer's decision regarding a specific police action. Thus, also a positive bias would influence policing, or more generally, each explicit as well as implicit attitude or assumption that a police officer has constitutes his or her work. That is why education and training where individual attitudes are openly discussed and called into question by given facts are all the more important.

Furthermore, there are certain threats to the validity of the present results, which thus have to be validated in further independent studies. Firstly, the measure of racial bias within this study is limited to the overestimation of migrants and their crime rates and the overestimation of the migrant being involved in a crime. This leaves out a whole other range of types or scenarios of racial biases that can be included in the concept and is a main threat to the content validity because our measurement does not include all types of racial bias (Babbie, 2010, p.155). Secondly, the questionnaire was intended to aim a whole bigger sample of police officers and the cities of Münster and Cologne might not be representative enough to draw a generalized conclusion.

In future research it would be interesting not only to ask if the private familiarity has an influence on the bias towards people with a migration background but also if the work environment and thus the work related familiarity influences the bias. In the present study, we did not clearly differentiate between colleagues and clients of the officers when asking for familiarity within working environment. Thus, it was not possible to decide what kind of familiarity the corresponding items actually assessed. This should be taken into account in further studies. Furthermore, this research concentrated on the negative bias a police officer can have and its corresponding implications. For future research a positive bias should be investigated as well considering the question if this leads to favoritisms that might just be as dangerous as discrimination. Also, a qualitative approach would be interesting in order to see in depth influence of personal experiences of the police officers and the follow-on feelings that might influence future encounters with migrants.

6.2 Conclusion

Based on these results we can answer that the research question of: *"Are police officers with a migration background and/or with high familiarity with people with migration background less racially biased when policing than police officers without a migration background and with low familiarity with people with migration background?"* can be confirmed in ways that police officers with a migration background are less racially biased when policing but only because they tend to show higher familiarity with people with a migration background. This research was interested in what affects the racial bias of a police officer and the roots of it. After some literature study it was found that the factor of *familiarity* has an effect in the decision-making processes and more interesting that it will bring a person to overthink pre-given values such as stereotypes. So, not being familiar a person will acknowledge pre-given facts and the same person will re-evaluate these pre-given facts when it becomes familiar. Thus, within this research we wanted to address if the factor of familiarity also plays a role in the decision-making process of police officers and if the factor also influences the factor of racially biased policing. We derived our results by conducting an online survey. The results showed a negative relationship between the familiarity of the individual police officers and the racial bias of the police officers. Being familiar with migrants diminishes the general bias towards migrants. Furthermore, the less general biased an officer is, the less likely he or she is going to misjudge the likelihood of a migrant being involved in a crime and overestimate the likelihood.

Since the formation of the European Union (EU) in 1993, one main goal was the demolishment of boarders and the freedom of its citizens to choose where to life and where to work. Because of Germany's good economic conditions and work prospects many foreign people and families decide to come to Germany and many decide to stay. Furthermore, with current crises and the many refugees that come along a united belief in shared values needs to be promoted and endorsed. The appreciation of diversity and thus the fight against racial bias needs to find its basis in the institutions that represent Germany, like for example the police departments, in order to assure the safeguard of the EU values.

This study was limited to research on only two cities within Germany and therefore a small set of respondents. For future research directions it should be studied if a bias that favours migrants has an impact on the bias while policing as well as the impact of familiarity within the police departments and what other factors have inferences on racial bias (for example, the

intelligence, age or gender) and what measures can be taken to guarantee a consistent police work.

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Appendix

Default Question Block

Vielen Dank, dass Sie sich für eine Teilnahme an dieser Studie zum Thema „soziale Vertrautheit und Beurteilung" entschieden haben. Die Erhebung findet im Rahmen meiner Bachelorarbeit im Studiengang „Europäische Studien" an der Universität Twente statt.

Im Folgenden werden Ihnen mehrere Fragen gestellt, die Sie wahrheitsgemäß beantworten sollen.

Die Datenerhebung sowie -auswertung erfolgt **strikt anonym** und es sind keine Rückschlüsse auf Ihre Person möglich. Es steht Ihnen frei, die Teilnahme zu jedem Zeitpunkt zu beenden.

Alle Angaben werden vertraulich behandelt und nur für wissenschaftliche Zwecke ausgewertet.
Eine Weitergabe an Dritte ist ausgeschlossen.

Die Befragung dauert insgesamt ca. **8 Minuten**.

Hinweise:
- Bitte klicken Sie sich durch die Umfrage, bis Sie am Ende angekommen sind.
- Bitte benutzen Sie hierfür die ' >> ' Schaltfläche am Ende der jeweiligen Seite.
- Bitte benutzen Sie **nicht** die Vor- und Zurückpfeile in Ihrem Browser

Um mit der Befragung zu beginnen, klicken Sie bitte auf den Weiter-Button am Ende der Seite.

Caroline Schneider

Faculty of Behavioural, Management and Social sciences
Universität Twente

Wie alt sind Sie? (bitte auswählen)

Geschlecht:
- ○ männlich
- ○ weiblich

Nationalität (bitte auswählen)

Im Folgenden wird der Begriff "Migrationshintergrund" häufiger verwendet.

Dieser ist durch die folgenden Merkmale definiert:

1. Staatsangehörigkeit **nicht** deutsch
2. Geburtsland/Herkunft **nicht** Deutschland

Bereits **eines** dieser Merkmale ist also ausreichend um einen Migrationshintergrund aufzuweisen.

Weisen Sie nach der genannten Definition einen Migrationshintergrund auf?
- ○ Ja
- ○ Nein

Weist jemand aus Ihrer direkten Verwandtschaft (Vater, Mutter, Großmutter, Großvater) einen Migrationshintergrund auf?
- ○ Ja
- ○ Nein

Block 1

Wie viele Ihrer Freunde haben einen Migrationshintergrund?

Gar keiner ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ Sehr viele

Wie viele von Ihren deutschen Freunden wiederum haben Freunde mit Migrationshintergrund?

Gar keiner ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ Sehr viele

Gibt es Personen mit Migrationshintergrund in Ihrem weiteren Umfeld (Kollegen, Bekannte)?

Gar keine ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ Sehr viele

Haben Sie in Ihrem täglichen Arbeitsablauf Kontakt zu Personen mit Migrationshintergrund?

Nie ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ Sehr häufig

Sind Sie vertraut mit anderen Kulturen und Traditionen, außer Ihrer eigenen Kultur und Ihren eigenen Traditionen?

Gar keine Anderen ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ Sehr viele Andere

Im Folgenden finden Sie eine Liste von Aussagen. Lesen Sie bitte jeden Satz und bestimmen Sie, ob die jeweilige Aussage auf Sie zutrifft oder nicht. Trifft sie zu, klicken Sie bitte auf „richtig", ansonsten auf „falsch".

	Richtig	Falsch
1. Manchmal werfe ich Müll einfach in die Landschaft oder auf die Straße.	○	○
2. Eigene Fehler gebe ich stets offen zu und ertrage gelassen etwaige negative Konsequenzen.	○	○
3. Im Straßenverkehr nehme ich stets Rücksicht auf die anderen Verkehrsteilnehmer.	○	○
4. Ich akzeptiere alle anderen Meinungen, auch wenn sie mit meiner eigenen nicht übereinstimmen.	○	○
5. Meine Wut oder schlechte Laune lasse ich hin und wieder an unschuldigen oder schwächeren Leuten aus.	○	○
6. Ich habe schon einmal jemanden ausgenutzt oder übers Ohr gehauen.	○	○
7. In einem Gespräch lasse ich den anderen stets ausreden und höre aufmerksam zu.	○	○
8. Ich zögere niemals, jemandem in einer Notlage beizustehen.	○	○
9. Wenn ich etwas versprochen habe, halte ich es ohne Wenn und Aber.	○	○
10. Ich lästere gelegentlich über andere hinter deren Rücken.	○	○
11. Ich würde niemals auf Kosten der Allgemeinheit leben.	○	○
12. Ich bleibe immer freundlich und zuvorkommend anderen Leuten gegenüber, auch wenn ich gestresst bin.	○	○
13. Im Streit bleibe ich stets sachlich und objektiv.	○	○
14. Ich habe schon einmal geliehene Sachen nicht zurück gegeben.	○	○
15. Ich ernähre mich stets gesund.	○	○
16. Manchmal helfe ich nur, weil ich eine Gegenleistung erwarte.	○	○

In wiefern stimmen Sie folgenden Aussagen zu?

	Ich stimme voll zu	Ich stimme zu	Neutral	Ich stimme nicht zu	Ich stimme gar nicht zu
Ich habe privat viel mit Personen mit Migrationshintergrund zu tun.	○	○	○	○	○
Ich habe während meines Arbeitsalltags viel mit Personen mit Migrationshintergrund zu tun.	○	○	○	○	○
Ich habe privat gerne mit Personen mit Migrationshintergrund zu tun.	○	○	○	○	○
Ich habe während meines Arbeitsalltags gerne mit Personen mit Migrationshintergrund zu tun.	○	○	○	○	○

Block 2

Was glauben Sie, war Anfang des Jahres 2014 der prozentuale Anteil von Einwohnern mit Migrationshintergrund in NRW?

○ 0-5%

○ 5-10%

○ 10-15%

○ 15-20%

○ 20-25%

○ über 25%

Was glauben Sie war im Jahr 2014 der prozentuale Anteil von Tatverdächtigen mit Migrationshintergrund an der Gesamtzahl der Tatverdächtigen in NRW?

○ 0-10%

○ 10-20%

○ 20-30%

○ 30-40%

○ 40-50%

○ über 50%

Ein Polizist ist auf Streife in einem Gebiet. In diesem Gebiet haben 10% der Einwohner einen Migrationshintergrund und die Kriminalitätsrate für die Einwohner mit Migrationshintergrund liegt bei 5%.

Der Kollege sitzt in seinem Streifenwagen auf einem Parkplatz und dies ist der Blick aus seinem Wagenfenster:
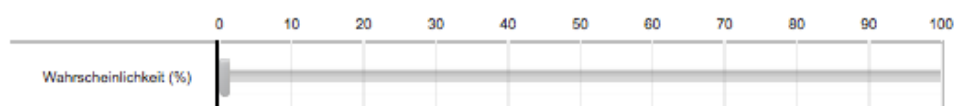

Plötzlich wird dem Polizisten per Funk durchgesagt, dass der Kiosk um die Ecke eben beklaut wurde.

Der Kollege steigt aus seinem Wagen und befragt den Mann, welcher auf dem Bild ganz links außen zu sehen ist, zu dem Überfall.

Wie hoch ist die Wahrscheinlichkeit für Sie, dass der Mann ganz links außes etwas mit dem Vorfall zu tun hat?

Bitte wählen Sie aus (Angabe in Prozent):

	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
Wahrscheinlichkeit (%)											

Ein Polizist ist auf Streife in einem Gebiet. In diesem Gebiet haben 10% der Einwohner einen Migrationshintergrund und die Kriminalitätsrate für die Einwohner mit Migrationshintergrund liegt bei 5%.

Der Kollege sitzt in seinem Streifenwagen auf einem Parkplatz und dies ist der Blick aus seinem Wagenfenster:


Plötzlich wird dem Polizisten per Funk durchgesagt, dass der Kiosk um die Ecke eben beklaut wurde.

Der Kollege steigt aus seinem Wagen und befragt den dritten Mann von links zu dem Überfall.

Wie hoch ist die Wahrscheinlichkeit für Sie, dass der dritte Mann von links etwas mit dem Vorfall zu tun hat?

Bitte wählen Sie aus (Angabe in Prozent):

	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
Wahrscheinlichkeit (%)											
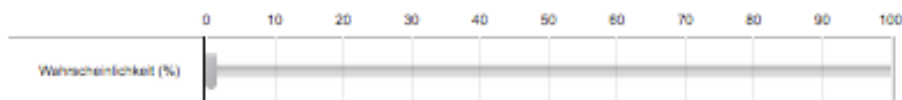
Block 4- End of Survey

Wenn Sie die Ergebnisse dieser Bachelorarbeit gerne lesen möchten, tragen Sie bitte ihre Email-Adresse ein. Ich werde Ihnen die Arbeit dann nach Ihrer Fertigstellung zusenden.

Bei Fragen wenden Sie sich bitte an c.schneider@student.utwente.nl

Vielen Dank für Ihre Teilnahme!