

UNIVERSITY OF TWENTE

ETHNIC PROFILING BY THE POLICE IN THE HAGUE

SACHA BOEKELDER

FACULTY OF BEHAVIOURAL, MANAGEMENT AND SOCIAL SCIENCES (BMS)

STUDY PROGRAMME

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

EXAMINATION COMMITTEE

FIRST SUPERVISOR: DR. JÖRGEN SVENSSON

SECOND SUPERVISOR: DR. GUUS MEERSHOEK

16-06-2016

Abstract

Ethnic profiling has become an issue on public and scientific debate in the Netherlands in recent years. The aim of this study is to find if there is statistical evidence of unequal treatment of ethnic minority youths by the police in The Hague. The focus is on youths in the age of 13 to 30. To find out if there is evidence for the unequal treatment of ethnic minorities, a survey was conducted in April 2015 among both males and females from different ethnic backgrounds. The emphasis of this study was to find if and why non-Dutch youths have more proactive police contacts than Dutch youths. To examine this, the focus of this study was on the ethnic appearances of youths. Disproportionality in proactive police contact may not only result from unequal treatment based on ethnic appearance but also from justifiable distinctions made by the police. Differences in the number of proactive police contacts can for instance result from differences in socioeconomic status, availability on the streets and from individual and group delinquency. These factors might justify that youths with a non-Dutch appearance experience more proactive police contacts than youths with a Dutch appearance. On the basis of a literature review, a model has been developed that helps to distinguish the effect of ethnic appearance on proactive police contact from the effects of socioeconomic status, availability on the streets and individual and group delinquency. The logistic regression analysis showed that there is evidence of a disproportionately higher number in proactive police contacts for youths with a non-Dutch appearance. Being perceived by a stranger as a non-Dutch youth predicted a higher number of proactive police contacts than being perceived as a Dutch youth. Spending time with delinquent friends also predicted a higher number of proactive police contacts, but it could not explain the relationship between ethnic appearance and proactive police contact. The ethnic appearance of youths remained significant when the other explanatory factors were taken into account. The results of this study leads to the conclusion that disproportionality in proactive police contacts is not only a result from justifiable actions of the police but also of unequal treatment. The results raise the question of ethnic profiling in the implementation of proactive policing. Further research in the implementation of the police and policy makers is necessary to understand the situation as it is.

Table of contents

List of figures and tables

1. Introduction	5
1.1 Background	5
1.2 Aim and relevance of the study	6
1.3 Research questions	6
2. Theoretical framework	8
2.1 Study of 2014 as background information	8
2.2 Proactive policing	9
2.3 Ethnic profiling	9
2.4 Availability	10
2.5 Individual and group delinquency	11
2.6 Socioeconomic status	11
2.7 Hypotheses	12
3. Methodology	14
3.1 Choice of research design	14
3.2 Case selection and data collection	14
3.3 Sampling	15
3.4 The survey	15
3.5 Operationalization and measurement of the variables	16
3.5.1 Proactive police contact	16
3.5.2 Ethnic appearance	16
3.5.3 Availability	16
3.5.4 Individual delinquency	17
3.5.5 Group delinquency	17
3.5.6 Socioeconomic status	17
3.6 Data analysis	18
4. Results	20
5. Discussion	24
6. Conclusion	26

7. References	27
8. Appendix	29

List of figures and tables

Figure 1	Hypotheses overview
Table 1	Distribution of respondents by location (n = 109)
Table 2	Measurement of dependent, independent and control variables (n = 109)
Table 3	Gender and ethnic appearance (n = 109)
Table 4	Correlations between dependent, independent and control variables (n = 109)
Table 5	Logistic regression analysis for variable proactive police contact (n = 109)
Table 6	Logistic regression analysis for variable proactive police contact without individual delinquency (n = 109)
Table 7	Logistic regression analysis for variable proactive police contact for females only (n = 45)
Table 8	Logistic regression analysis for variable proactive police contact for males only (n = 64)

1. Introduction

1.1 Background

Looking at the Dutch government, security has become a higher priority on the political agenda since the nineties. The government has put greater emphasis on the prevention of crime which contributed to the development of a new proactive policing style. This new policing style is focused on the prevention of crime and disorder. Within this proactive policing style, discretionary powers of the police have been expanded in the last few years. The introduction of preventive body search in 2002 and the introduction of the Compulsory Identification Act in 2005 are examples of these expanding discretionary powers.

Proactive policing aims at suppressing delinquency in an early stage, before the occurrence of crimes (Svensson and Saharso, 2015). In this context, the police are expected to take action based on their own judgement about which situations need intervention. Proactive policing can be seen as a policing style which focuses on detecting criminal activities before they develop into actual crimes. However the development of this policing style can lead to more ethnic profiling by the police. In other words, the actions of the police could be based on race, ethnicity, religion or nationality of persons instead of their individual behaviour (van der Leun and van der Woude, 2011).

Ethnic profiling is a controversial and widespread topic nowadays. Ethnic minorities experience that they are selectively being stopped or checked by the police. People who feel they have been stopped or checked only because of their ethnicity might have a lower level of confidence in the police. Thus, ethnic profiling directly influences the relationship between the police and ethnic minorities. But ethnic profiling might influence not only people's trust in the police, it might also influence police legitimacy (Oi, 2013). Moreover, a lower police legitimacy might negatively influence the willingness of the people to cooperate with the police which in turn will affect police efficiency (Tyler, 2005).

These days, there are signs that ethnic profiling by the police is a problem in the Netherlands. In response to a report of Amnesty International (2013) a debate has emerged about the relationship between the police and citizens of a multi-ethnic society. Amnesty International's aim of their study was to contribute to the already existing debate about proactive policing and they outlined the risks of ethnic profiling in the Netherlands. They concluded on the basis of an analysis of existing studies that contacts between the police and citizens are more based on ethnic profiling rather than on breaking the law (Amnesty International, 2013).

In June 2015, the death of an Aruban man in The Hague was a controversial issue in the Netherlands. The man was at a party where he died most likely because of a lack of oxygen caused by the police who arrested him. The public prosecution stated that the man was unwell on the way to the police station, but camera videos showed that the man was already unconscious before he went into the police car. There is also no agreement on the grounds for the arrest. According to the official report, the man shouted that he had a weapon where after he resisted his arrest. The police had to use violence to arrest the man. However, eyewitnesses and camera videos tell a different story. The man made jokes to his friends, after which the police warned him. Shortly after this warning, he and his friends were harassed by the police. The camera videos show clearly the lifeless Aruban man lying in the grass while officers were sitting on him. The death of this man and especially the cause of death caused an overwhelming debate in The Hague and in the rest of the Netherlands. Ethnic profiling and police violence became a well-discussed topic in the Netherlands and especially in The Hague.

Not only citizens of this city, but also some ex-police officers talked about a culture of violence and racism in this police unit. In order to find out whether the police treat youths of different backgrounds differently, it seems to be interesting to do this research in The Hague. The Hague is a big city with a multi-ethnic character. It is a socially polarized and segregated city, with variations in cultures and social wealth (van Dam et al., 2010).

1.2 Aim and relevance of the study

Ethnic profiling by the police has been an issue within the Netherlands for a long period of time and this has been supported by the research of Van der Leun (2014). She found in her study that certain developments in the Netherlands have increased the possibility of ethnic profiling. However, a lot of research, and especially quantitative research, is still lacking. The present study contributes to the existing quantitative and qualitative research by exploring the relationship between a youths' ethnic appearance and the number of proactive police contacts. To investigate this relationship, this study will make use of a self-report survey in which the respondents will be asked to answer questions about the number and quality of their proactive contacts with the police, their availability on the streets and their socioeconomic status (SES).

Proactive policing is especially aimed at young people and therefore this study focuses only on youths and youth groups. This type of policing style is focused on building legitimacy and trust, which might also increase informal social control and lead to a reduction in crime and disorder (Tyler and Jackson, 2014). But the results of Tyler and colleagues (2014) suggest that proactive policing styles might increase the crime rate instead of lowering it. The present study will look into the actual effectiveness of proactive policing and the police's relationship with ethnic minority youths.

Strong evidence regarding the unequal treatment of ethnic minority youths by the police is still lacking. There are different opinions among researchers why there is a disproportionality in proactive police contacts. Some researchers argued that the availability on the streets causes the disproportionality while other researchers pointed out the individual delinquency that explains the disproportionality (Miller and Consultancy, 2000; Bowling and Phillips, 2007). It is therefore interesting to conduct research on this topic and to investigate if the disproportionality results from justifiable actions of the police or from unequal treatment by the police.

To form a basis for this thesis it was decided to take the study of Svensson and Saharso (2014) as a starting point. The main point of their study was to examine the relationship between proactive policing and the unequal treatment of ethnic minority youths. They conducted a survey which was spread among 231 youths to establish whether the proactive style of the police leads to unequal treatment of ethnic minority youths. Svensson and Saharso concluded that, based on their results, the extent of unequal treatment of ethnic minority youths in the Netherlands was limited. They developed some key concepts in their study which are also relevant for this study. Besides this, they conducted a survey to measure the perceptions and experiences of youths about ethnic profiling by the police.

1.3 Research questions

The main aim of this thesis is to find if and why the police in The Hague treat minority youths between the ages of 13 to 30 differently. Therefore, the main research question of this study is:

To what extent does the police in The Hague treat youths of different ethnic backgrounds differently and how can this be explained?

In order to answer the main research question, it was divided into two specific sub questions. These two sub questions contribute to the main research question as follows. In the first place, disproportionality in proactive police contacts might result from unequal treatment by the police based on ethnic appearances of youths in The Hague. The perception of police officers about the ethnicity of youths is often based on the ethnic appearance of youths. It is possible that the police treat youths with a non-Dutch appearance differently than youths with a Dutch appearance. Thus, the ethnic appearance of youths might be a predictor for the number in proactive contacts with the police. Therefore, the first sub question is:

'To what extent do youths in The Hague with a non-Dutch appearance report higher numbers of proactive police contacts than youths with a Dutch appearance?'

This first sub question is developed to find if there is statistical evidence for unequal treatment of ethnic minority youths by the police in The Hague. If this question reveals that youths with a non-Dutch appearance face a higher number of proactive police contacts than youths with a Dutch appearance, this could lead to the conclusion that the police in The Hague treat youths of different ethnic backgrounds differently, when this background is reflected in their appearance.

Disproportionality in proactive police contact, however may not only result from unequal treatment based on ethnic appearance but also from justifiable distinction made by the police. Differences in the number of proactive police contacts can for instance result from differences in socioeconomic status, availability on the streets and from individual and group delinquency. Therefore, the second sub question explores and explains the influence of other relevant factors regarding proactive police contact. These factors might justify why youths (appear to) belong to an ethnic minority group experience more proactive police contact than Dutch youths. Ignoring these other explanatory factors can lead to an over-estimation of the effect of ethnic appearance on proactive police contact. Therefore, the second sub question is:

To what extent do differences in availability on the streets, individual delinquency, group delinquency and socioeconomic status explain any disproportionality in proactive police contacts?

2. Theoretical framework

A lot of previous studies focused on the relationship between ethnicity and proactive police contact. This chapter starts with a short introduction of the study of Van der Leun (2014), which is used as background information for the present study. After that, the theoretical background of proactive policing will be discussed. This will be followed by a discourse on ethnic profiling and its related variables as it is found in literature.

The following has a look into the variables which might also have an impact on the number of proactive police contacts. Most of these variables have been taken from a previous study by Svensson and Saharso (2015). Based on the literature, the following four variables are taken into account as justifying factors for the disproportionality in the number of proactive police contacts. First, the section about availability gives the view of different academics on the disproportionality of proactive police contacts explained by differences in a youth's availability on the streets. The individual and group delinquency variables deal with the relationship between ethnic youths and delinquency. The socioeconomic status variable describes the impact of the economic and social position of youths on the number of proactive police contacts.

The main goal of this literature research is to come up with a causal model of combining the existing literature with evidence for the unequal treatment of ethnic minority youths. In the end, a set of hypotheses for this study is introduced. It consists of three elements, the main independent variable ethnic appearance, the dependent variable proactive police contact and the other independent variables availability, individual delinquency, group delinquency and socioeconomic status.

2.1 Study of Van der Leun (2014)

The research of Van der Leun (2014) will serve as background information, because this study was also executed in The Hague. The focus of Van der Leun's research was on decisions of the police in the streets of The Hague and on perceptions of police officers and young adults with special attention to ethnic profiling. The research was carried out in three different parts of The Hague in 2012 and focused on observing the actual actions of the police, interviewing the police and interviewing young adults on the streets. Because of this mixed method, she examined several questions in her study. Firstly, she investigated to what extent the decisions of the police are justifiable and to what extent ethnicity influences the decisions. She also examined the perception of youths and police officers about ethnic profiling. Finally, she was interested in the experiences of youths with the police.

Her main finding was that there is a strong discrepancy between the observations of the police officers and the perceptions of the youths on the streets. The results of the observations showed that many ethnic minority youths were approached by the police, but this was more a result of justifiable actions of the police than of unequal treatment by the police. However, the results of the interviews showed that the perception of ethnic profiling exists among youths and even among a number of police officers. The main conclusion of Van der Leun (2014) was that the number of proactive police contacts of ethnic minority youths was more a result of justifiable actions of the police than of unequal treatment.

2.2 Proactive policing

Fighting and detecting crime in an early stage has become very important in the Netherlands in the last few years. Within this new policing style, the police are able to stop and search any youth without having reasonable suspicion. This proactive policing style is developed to make policing more effective in keeping down crime and disorder (Svensson and Saharso 2015). In this study, proactive police contact is defined as contact between the police and youths where the police does not have a specific reason for the stop and search, but approach the youth as a preventive measure. In other words, the youth has not caused the police contact directly by breaking the law. Within this policing style, the intervention of the police is based on subjective rather than on objective reasoning and this can increase the possibility of ethnic profiling by the police (Svensson and Saharso, 2015).

The aim of proactive policing is to prevent crimes, but it has led to more non-voluntary contacts of youths with the legal system (Tyler et al., 2015). During these non-voluntary contacts are youths more likely to be seen and treated as suspects. Rather than to build trust and respect in the community, the police creates mistrust, fear and suspicion (Tyler et al., 2015). Walsh and Taylor (2007) discussed the concept of reasonable suspicion. This concept “is stretched beyond its limits when police are asked to assess whether someone’s appearance is likely to arouse fear in another person” (Walsh and Taylor, 2007, p 173). The treatment of ethnic minority groups is more based on stereotyped perceptions of these groups rather than on their actions.

Proactive policing can be crucial for the treatment of ethnic minority youths. The results of Tyler and colleagues (2014) indicate that youths who have more contact with the police evaluate their contacts more negatively. These results suggest that experiencing street stops results in lower police legitimacy. This might increase criminal behaviour and lower the willingness of youths to cooperate with the police (Tyler et al., 2014). Thus, a policing style to lower the crime rate, like proactive policing, may have the adversative effect.

2.3 Ethnic profiling

Ethnic profiling is the main concept of this study and a lot of research has been done about this concept. Reviewing these studies, it was found that different definitions of ethnic profiling were used. The European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (2007) defined ethnic profiling as follows: “The use by the police, with no objective and reasonable justification, of grounds such as race, colour, language, religion, nationality or national or ethnic origin in control, surveillance or investigation activities” (p. 4). This definition is in line with the definition that Amnesty International (2013) used in their article about proactive policing in the Netherlands. They defined ethnic profiling as: “The use of criteria or considerations by the police about race, ethnicity, nationality, language and religion upon detection and law enforcement – both operational and organizational level – while there is no objective justification” (Amnesty International, 2013, p. 5). Van der Leun (2014) used the following definition in her research: “The disproportionality of stop-related decisions of the police based on their apparent ethnic background and/or skin colour, without an objective and reasonable justification for it” (p. 6). In the present study, the definition of ethnic profiling of Van der Leun (2014) will be used, because this study serves as background information for the present study.

Stop-related decisions of the police in a disproportionate manner is a form of discrimination, because ethnicity is not a basis for unequal treatment (Van der Leun, 2014). There is no explicit prohibition of ethnic profiling in the Netherlands, but it is a form of direct discrimination and it is therefore in

contrast to the right of equal treatment and the prohibition of discrimination as included in the first article of the Dutch Constitution (Eijkman, 2010).

Contacts between police and youths become problematic when objective and reasonable justifications for stop and search-related decisions are missing. If there is no objective and reasonable justification, why is there still a stop and search? Specific actions of police officers might indeed be biased or based on discrimination, but other studies also mentioned the possibility of having general stereotypes (Smith and Alpert, 2007). Smith and Alpert (2007) argued that the police might not make decisions only because they do not like ethnic minority youths, but they might base their decisions on beliefs about group delinquency and who is most likely to be involved in crime.

The previously discussed literature has shown that ethnic profiling can contribute to the number of police contacts of ethnic minority youths. Although the literature also shows that ethnicity is not the only factor that explains the disproportionality in proactive police contacts. The following sections have a look into other factors that might explain the disproportionality in proactive police contacts among youths with different ethnic backgrounds.

2.4 Availability

A number of academics have argued that the availability on the streets of the youths may have an impact on the amount of proactive police contact. Miller and Consultancy (2000) argued that the availability of youths is determined by their use of public spaces and by the time they spend in these public spaces, given the fact that stops and searches are carried out in these public spaces. This means that the availability of youths is higher when they use public spaces where stops and searches take place than when they use public spaces where it does not take place. This is the same for using public spaces at specific times. McAra and McVie (2005) confirmed this with their results and showed that youths who spend time in public spaces, where stops and searches were carried out, were twice as likely to experience proactive police contact.

Svensson and Saharso (2014) stated that the number of proactive police contacts depends partly on the extent to which youths are available on the streets. Youths who spend more time on the streets are more likely than others to experience proactive contact with the police. Waddington and colleagues (2004) mentioned that the differences of proactive police contact of ethnic minorities are explained by the different uses of public spaces. They stated that “if different racial or ethnic groups are disproportionately present or absent in public spaces, then they offer differential opportunities for the police to stop and search them” (Waddington et al., 2004, p. 893).

Miller and Consultancy (2000) stated that ethnic minority youths have different characteristics than local youths which can lead to spending more time on the streets. This, in turn, can cause a higher risk of experiencing proactive police contacts. Bowling and Phillips (2007) mentioned the aspect of these different characteristics. They argued that factors such as spending time at home, at work or other private spaces can be specific for some demographic groups. These groups are unavailable for the police and experience less proactive police contact. Other groups who spend more time in public spaces because of their demographic characteristics and lifestyle, are available for the police which can lead to a higher number of proactive police contacts. Bowling and Phillips (2007) also mentioned that structural factors such as unemployment and homelessness can influence the availability on the streets of social groups. These factors are mostly associated with ethnic minorities (Bowling and Phillips, 2007).

2.5 Individual and group delinquency

The delinquency of youths can be divided into two different types, the individual-level and the group-level. Several researchers examined the influence of individual delinquency on proactive police contact. Peebles and Loeber (1994) concluded in their research that ethnic minority youths were more frequently and more seriously involved in crimes than white youths. Black youths are therefore more likely to be stopped and searched by the police than white youths.

Bowling and Phillips (2007) found that black people were six times more involved in proactive police contacts than would be expected based on their numbers in the general population. They also described the fact that youths who had been involved in criminal activities in the past have a higher chance of proactive police contact in the future than youths who have not been involved in a crime in the past (Bowling and Phillips, 2007). They therefore concluded that the differences in proactive police contact are the result of differences in involvement in crime, assuming that these differences in involvement in crime are the results of differences in patterns of suspicious behaviour (Bowling and Phillips, 2007).

Another study showed that prior experience with the police is a very powerful predictor of having proactive police contacts in the future (McAra and McVie, 2005). McAra and McVie (2005) found in their study that youths who had prior police contact were four times more likely to experience this again than youths who did not have prior police contact (McAra and McVie, 2005). In other words, youths who experienced proactive police contact were more likely to have a history of committing crime than those who did not experienced proactive police contact.

Some researchers argued that, besides individual delinquency, also group delinquency is an important factor in explaining the disproportionality in proactive police contacts. Youths can commit crimes because of their own intentions but they can also be influenced by others. Friends can pressure youths to commit crimes in order to stay in contact with these friends. This increases the risks of youths experiencing proactive police contact even if they are not delinquent by themselves.

McAra and McVie (2005) found that when youths have friends who have been in trouble with the police in the past, these youths are two times more likely to have had proactive police contact compared to youths who do not have delinquent friends. So even if a youth may never be involved in crime, spending time with criminal friends increases the risks of experiencing proactive police contact because of spending time with a delinquent group of friends. It seems to be logical that the police pay more attention to delinquent groups and to youths who are involved in these groups.

2.6 Socioeconomic status

Another variable that can explain the disproportionality of proactive police contacts between youths with different ethnic backgrounds is the socioeconomic status (SES) of the youths. SES is a concept with several factors. The three key factors that measure the SES are “income, education and occupation” (Grundy and Holt, 2001, p.896). Sampson and colleagues (1997) discovered that a low socioeconomic status of neighbourhoods has been associated with a higher level of violence.

When we look at the situation in the Netherlands we see that ethnic minority groups are less educated than Dutch people (Hertog et al., 2014). Also, the occupation level is lower for ethnic minority groups. This lower occupation level can be a result of the lower educational level of ethnic minorities. The report also states that ethnic minorities are likely to have a lower income than Dutch

people. Therefore, it is very likely that the ethnic minority youths of this study are more likely to have a lower SES in comparison to Dutch youths.

Police officers can treat youths of different ethnic background differently because of their socioeconomic status. In the article of McAra and McVie (2005) the SES of youths was related to disproportionality in proactive police contact. They stated in their article that the unequal treatment of ethnic minority youths can be the result of class bias in the decision making of police officers (McAra and McVie, 2005). The results of their study showed that individuals with a low SES were around 1.5 times more likely to experience proactive police contact.

2.7 Hypotheses

Based on the discussed literature in the previous sections, it can be assumed that there is a relationship between ethnicity and the number of proactive police contacts. Ethnicity might be the most influential predictor on the number of proactive police contact, but some researchers argued that disproportionality in proactive police contacts may also result from justifiable distinctions made by the police. Differences in the number of proactive police contacts can for instance result from differences in socioeconomic status, availability on the streets and from individual and group delinquency. These factors are independent and will be introduced to the existing relationship between ethnic appearance and proactive police contact to test whether or not the disproportionality in proactive police contacts result from justifiable actions of the police. Figure 1 illustrates the relationship between all variables. This model helps to distinguish the effect of ethnic appearance on proactive police contact from the effects of SES, availability on the streets, and individual and group delinquency.

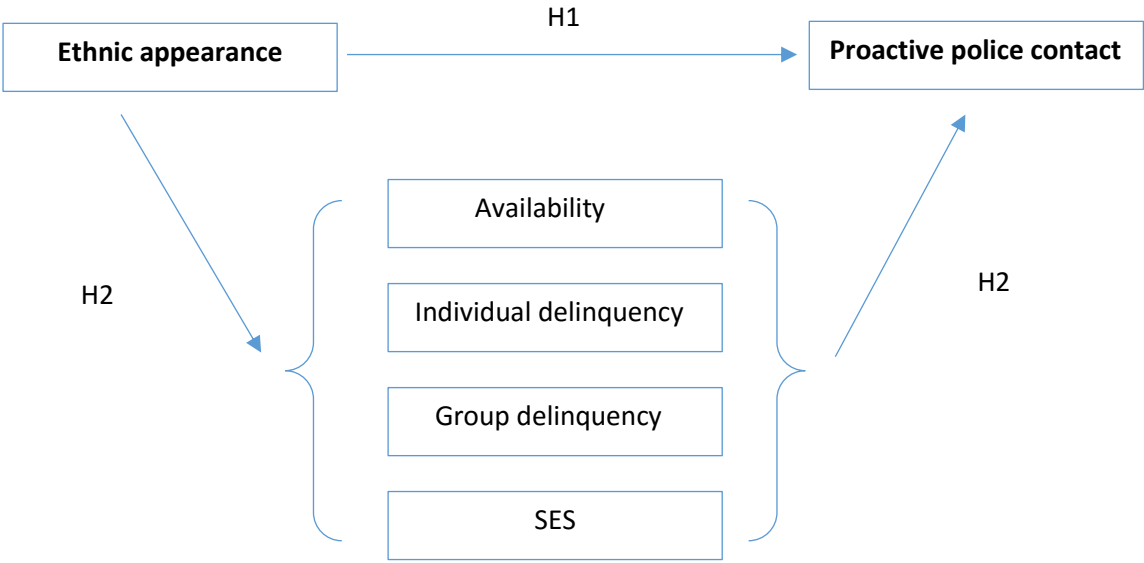
The first hypothesis concerns the relationship between ethnic appearance and proactive police contact. This hypothesis gives an answer to the first sub question. It is assumed that youths with a non-Dutch appearance report a higher number of proactive police contacts than youths with a Dutch appearance. Therefore, the first hypothesis is as follows:

H1: Youths with a non-Dutch appearance report higher numbers of proactive police contacts than youths with a Dutch appearance.

If the first hypothesis is supported by the results, the question remains whether other factors might justify the disproportionality in proactive police contacts. As said before, the disproportionality in proactive police contacts might be justified by differences in SES, availability on the streets, individual delinquency and group delinquency. The second hypothesis tests whether these factors explain the disproportionality in proactive police contacts among youths with different ethnic appearances. Therefore, hypothesis 2 is as follows:

H2: The relationship between ethnic appearance and proactive police contact can be explained by differences in availability, individual delinquency, group delinquency and socioeconomic status.

Figure 1: Hypotheses overview



3. Methodology

Chapter two provided the theoretical framework for this thesis. Chapter three describes the applied methods in this thesis in order to test the hypotheses. This chapter starts with the choice of research design where after the case selection, data collection method and the sampling method will be discussed. Then the survey, through which all data for this study is collected, will be described. Finally, the operationalization of the variables and the data analysis is addressed. An overview of how the dependent and independent variables were measured and what kind of statistical test were most appropriate to test the two hypotheses are given at the end of this chapter.

3.1 Choice of research design

It is important to choose the appropriate research design to put the theoretical aspects of the previous chapter to the test. The aim of this thesis is to show whether there is a disproportionality in proactive police contacts among youths with different ethnic appearances. The study uses empirical data to find the explanatory factors of proactive police contacts and the data will be collected through a cross-sectional self-completion survey, because variables such as availability, individual and group delinquency are not directly observable. The data collection took place on April 15th, 2016. To conclude, a cross-sectional self-completion survey in a post-test only design was used to examine the disproportionality in proactive police contacts.

3.2 Case selection and data collection

The units of analysis of this study are youths in the age of 13 to 30. 111 youths filled in the survey, but 109 surveys were complete enough to be used in the analysis. The sample consisted of 45 (41.3 %) females and 64 (58.7 %) males. The mean age of the respondents is 19 (19.07) years with a standard deviation of 3.141. The data collection took place in April 2016 and the focus of this study was on youths, both males and females, living in The Hague. The Hague has a lot of different ethnic groups which makes it easy to collect data from different ethnicities.

McAra and McVie (2005) stated that having an active street-life leads to a higher risk of getting in contact with the police. Therefore, the focus was on finding as many youths spending time on the streets. It was decided to go to different youth centres and to ask youths whether they want to fill in the survey. Youth centres are popular public places where youths with different ethnic appearances spend time together which makes it likely to find participants for the survey of this study. The Schilderswijk is also a popular public space in The Hague where a lot of ethnic youths congregate. The researcher walked through this part of The Hague and recruited some respondents here. The third public place where respondents were recruited was at the University Of Applied Sciences Of The Hague. Here, the survey was given to students who were sitting in the canteen of the school. The last public place where some respondents were recruited was at one of the secondary schools in The Hague. Here, the survey was also given to students who were sitting in the canteen of the school. A printed questionnaire was handed out to all respondents and the respondents were informed about the anonymous character of the survey. Table 1 shows the distribution of the respondents by location.

Table 1: Distribution of respondents by location (n = 109).

Location	Number of respondents
Youth centres	43
Schilderswijk	17
University of Applied Sciences	33
Secondary school	16

3.3 Sampling

The desired composition of the sample is half ethnic minorities and half ethnic majorities. Both groups, ethnic minorities and ethnic majorities, were supposed to be represented in equal quotas. Because of this lack of random sampling, a non-probability sampling method was the most appropriate method. In this study, the population is too large to include every youth of The Hague in the sampling size. Because youths were asked on the street, at school and at youth centres whether they wanted to fill in the survey, the data collection was based on a convenience sampling method. This sampling method is often used because it is fast, easy and cost effective. Because of the limited time of this study a simple and fast method was needed. Convenience sampling can be done by creating a survey and distributing it to the target group, which makes it easy to set up. This sampling method is about selecting participants for the survey based on their availability and convenience, which makes it the appropriate sampling method for this thesis. A disadvantage of this sampling method is that results cannot be generalized. The problem with this is that the results are not representative for the whole of the Netherlands. Therefore, the size of the sample is less important and the composition of the sample is more important.

3.4 The survey

The questionnaire used in this study was originally taken from the study of Svensson, Sollie and Saharso in 2012. Some aspects of the original survey were adapted to cover all variables in the present study. Since socioeconomic status was not included in the original survey a question about this variable was constructed following existing literature. Questions of the original survey which were not relevant for this study were excluded from the survey in order to make the survey shorter.

The survey consists of four parts ranging from A to D. Part A includes questions about the background of the respondent. Questions about age, gender, ethnic background and education are addressed in this part. Part A also deals with the variable availability by asking the respondent to indicate the amount of hours spent on the streets per week. Part B contains questions about the friends of the respondent and also takes into account the variable availability. Whereas part A measures the variable availability through individual hours spent on the streets, part B measures availability through the amount of hours the respondent and his friends spent on the streets. Part C regards the respondents' experiences with the police in order to measure the dependent variable proactive police contact. Part D considers both delinquency variables by asking the respondent to indicate the amount of committed criminal activities by themselves, as well as the amount of criminal activities committed by their friends within the last twelve months. The questionnaire ends with a question about the postal code to find out the socioeconomic status of the respondent.

3.5 Operationalization and measurement of the variables

3.5.1 Proactive police contact

The questions which concern proactive police contact can be found in section C of the survey. This section of the survey starts with a question that asked the respondents how often they had experienced police contact in the previous twelve months. This question covers all possible forms of police contacts the respondent experienced in the last year. The second question (C2) asks how many times the respondents experienced police contact without an obvious reason in the previous twelve months. In this study, the variable proactive police contact served as the main dependent variable. When this study mentions proactive police contacts, it always refers to the answers of question C2 which represents the number of proactive police contacts youths had within the last twelve months. The distribution of the answers was skewed. Most respondents had not experienced proactive police contact within the last twelve months, but some respondents experienced this more than 5 times. It was therefore decided to create a dichotomous variable to express whether (1) or not (0) respondents had experienced proactive police contacts within the previous twelve months.

3.5.2 Ethnic appearance

Part A of the survey addresses questions regarding the independent variable ethnic appearance. Ethnic profiling means that actions of the police officer are based on subjective grounds rather than on objective grounds. Therefore it is important to examine the perception of the police officers about the ethnicity of youths. Because of the limited time period, this study focuses only on youths and not on police officers which makes it impossible to examine the perception of the police officers. Therefore, part A of the survey includes a question on the perception of the youths about their ethnicity. Question A3 asks the respondents to which ethnic group or groups they feel they belong to. The survey offered different ethnic backgrounds such as Turkish and Moroccan. This question has the disadvantage that some youths would indicate themselves as a Dutch person, whereas other people might see them as an ethnic minority youth. This could be the case when a youth was born in the Netherlands but is not white, because his family is from somewhere outside of the Netherlands. In other words, a youths' feeling of belonging to an ethnic group can be different from the perception of other people. In order to address this problem it was decided to focus on the ethnic appearance of youths in this study. Question A4 asks the respondents how they think people on the street would perceive their ethnic background. The respondents could indicate to be perceived as a Dutch youth (0) or as a non-Dutch youth (1).

3.5.3 Availability

Svensson and Saharso (2014) argued that availability on the streets can contribute having more proactive police contact. Question 5 of part A of the survey asks the respondents to indicate how many hours per week they spend on several activities. The question first addresses some activities that youths generally engage in, in their leisure time. The last two items 'going out, visit a café, youth centre and so on' and 'being outside, on the streets or in a shopping centre' of this question are relevant to measure the variable availability. From these two items, a new variable was created which was called 'availability'. The Cronbach's alpha of these two items is 0.71 which is an acceptable level of internal consistency.

3.5.4 Individual delinquency

The variable individual delinquency was measured by using fifteen delinquency items which gave information about the delinquent behaviour of the respondent within the last twelve months. The fifteen items can be found in the survey from D2a to D2o. The respondents were asked whether or not they had committed these offences. The answer possibilities were 'no' (0) and 'yes' (1). Examples of the offences are: skipping school, stealing something, beat up someone, and using soft drugs. Section D2 of the survey starts with some minor offences and ends with more serious offences. A minor offence like skipping school has a mean of 0.44, whereas a more serious crime like selling drugs has a mean of 0.06. All fifteen items that were relevant for measuring individual delinquency were added up to create a new variable called individual delinquency. The Cronbach's alpha of these fifteen individual delinquency items is 0.75 which is an acceptable level of internal consistency.

It is possible that the respondents do not answer questions honestly. For example, youths might be ashamed about their delinquent behaviour and rate themselves as less delinquent as they really are. There is also the possibility that youths think they might be punished if the results show their real delinquent behaviour. All the respondents are informed about the anonymous character of the survey and they should be aware of this. But this thesis should keep this limitation in mind while relying on the honesty of the respondents.

3.5.5 Group delinquency

The variable group delinquency was measured with the same fifteen delinquency items as the variable individual delinquency. The respondents were asked how many of their friends committed the offences in the last twelve months. While the respondents could answer the questions about individual delinquency with 'yes' or 'no', the answer possibilities of group delinquency were slightly different. Here, the respondents had a choice between 'no one', 'one or two', 'more than two'. These values were labelled from 0 to 2. Here again, all items measuring group delinquency were added up to create a new variable, with the name 'group delinquency'. The Cronbach's alpha of the fifteen group delinquency items is 0.88 which is a good level of internal consistency.

3.5.6 Socioeconomic status

The SES of the respondents can be measured through their income, education and occupation. But most of the respondents are still going to school which makes it difficult to determine their income and to know their job position. Therefore this study uses the postal code of the respondents instead of their income, education and occupation to measure their socioeconomic status. Sampson and colleagues (1997) argued that a low socioeconomic status of a neighbourhood is linked with a higher crime rate. At the end of the survey the respondents were asked to fill in their postal code in order to know in which neighbourhood they live and to determine their SES. This study makes use of the status scores of the Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau to determine the SES of a neighbourhood. The SES of a neighbourhood is derived from three characteristics from the citizens: their income, occupation and education. The status scores range from low (-5) to high (3), where a score of 4 represents respondents who did not fill in their postal code. An overview of the measurement of the dependent, independent and control variables can be found in table 2.

Table 2. Measurement of dependent, independent and control variables (n = 109).

	Min.	Max.	Mean	SD
Dependent variable				
Proactive police contact	0	1	0.40	0.49
Independent and control variables				
Ethnic appearance	0	1	0.58	0.50
Gender	0 (Male)	1 (Female)	0.41	0.50
SES	-5	4	-0.06	2.46
Availability	0 hours per week	45 hours per week	13.36	10.61
Individual delinquency	0	0.60	0.19	0.17
Group delinquency	0	1.80	0.56	0.45

3.6 Data analysis

After the description of the theoretical framework, the hypotheses, the research design, the data collection method and the operationalization of the variables the relationship between the dependent variable and the independent variables and the hypotheses can now be statistically tested. The statistical analyses were performed using SPSS version 22. At first, the correlation coefficients were computed in order to see whether the variables relate to each other and whether the correlation is significant. For this purpose, the Spearman's rho was used. This test measures the strength of association between ranked variables. The calculated correlation coefficient is based on rank numbers of the data instead of the data itself which makes the Spearman's rho test the appropriate test for this study

After the Spearman's rho test, a logistic regression analysis was done to analyse the dataset and to test the hypotheses. A logistic regression analysis was used to describe the relationship between one or more independent variables and a dichotomous dependent variable. In this study, the dependent variable is proactive police contact which is a dichotomous variable. The independent variables are ethnic appearance, availability, SES, individual delinquency and group delinquency. Therefore, a logistic regression analysis seemed most appropriate to examine the relationship between ethnic appearance and proactive police contacts and how much of this relationship is explained by differences in other factors.

Hypothesis 1 assumed that youths with a non-Dutch appearance report higher numbers of proactive police contacts than youths with a Dutch appearance. This hypothesis is tested in model 1 of the logistic regression analysis. Hypothesis 2 assumed that the relationship between ethnic appearance and proactive police contacts can be explained by differences in availability, individual delinquency, group delinquency and SES. This hypothesis is tested in model 2 and 3 where all variables were taken into account in the logistic regression analysis. The control variable in this analysis is gender, because Dutch males are overrepresented in this study (table 3).

Table 3. Gender and ethnic appearance (n = 109).

	Male	Female	Total
Perceived as a Dutch youth	23	22	45
Perceived as a non-Dutch youth	41	23	65
Total	64	45	109

4. Results

This chapter presents the results of the logistic regression analysis. First of all, the data needed to be changed into standardized numerical values. Therefore, a codebook was created which was adjusted for the survey. This codebook includes the code definitions of the relevant variables in this study. The measurement of the dependent, independent and control variables can be found in table 3.

In order to investigate the relationship between proactive police contact, ethnic appearance, gender, SES, availability on the streets, individual delinquency and group delinquency, the Spearman's rho test was performed first. The results in table 4 indicate that ethnic appearance, gender, availability, individual delinquency and group delinquency correlate significantly with proactive police contact. This means that being perceived as a non-Dutch youth, being male, being more available on the streets and having a higher number of individual and group delinquency are all significantly related to a higher number of proactive police contacts. SES did not correlate significantly with proactive police contact. The strength of the correlations ethnic appearance, gender, availability and individual delinquency with proactive police contact was relatively weak. The strongest correlation with proactive police contact was observed for group delinquency.

SES is the only variable that did not correlate significantly with proactive police contact. This independent variable did also not correlate significantly with ethnic appearance, gender, availability and individual delinquency. Only group delinquency correlated significantly with SES, which means that a higher status score is significant related with hanging around with more delinquent friends. A part of the respondents did not fill in their postal code which was coded in this study with the number 4. Thus not filling in a postal code was coded with a higher value than the highest score a neighbourhood could have. This might be an explanation for the strange relationship between SES and group delinquency.

The strongest correlation was observed between individual and group delinquency, which means that a higher individual delinquency was related to spending time with more delinquent friends. The two variables are related, because individual and group delinquency were measured with the same fifteen delinquency items. It is likely that respondents skipped school or purposively damaged things of others with their friends. This might be an explanation for the strong correlation between these two variables.

Table 4. Correlations between dependent, independent and control variables (n = 109)

	Proactive police contact	Ethnicity	Gender	SES	Availability	Individual delinquency	Group delinquency
Proactive police contact		0.23*	-0.27**	0.05	0.24*	0.21*	0.35**
Ethnic appearance			-0.13	-0.18	0.06	-0.07	-0.08
Gender				-0.07	-0.05	-0.19*	-0.13
SES					0.10	0.15	0.22*
Availability						0.35**	0.37**
Individual delinquency							0.76**
Group delinquency							

Significance levels *0.05, **0.01, all variables tested two-sided.

In the following, the two hypotheses were tested with a logistic regression analysis. This analysis measured the relationship between the dichotomous dependent variable and the independent variables. Meaning in this study the relationship between proactive police contact and ethnic appearance, gender, SES, availability, individual and group delinquency. Gender was taken into account in order to control for its effect on the dependent variable. The results of the logistic regression analysis are presented in table 5.

Table 5. Logistic regression analysis for variable proactive police contact (n = 109).

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
	Odds ratio	Odds ratio	Odds ratio
Non-Dutch appearance	2.75**	2.62*	3.38**
Female		0.33**	0.33*
SES		1.03	0.97
Availability			1.10
Individual delinquency			0.10
Group delinquency			14.98***
Constant	0.13**	0.22*	0.04***

Significance levels *0.05, **0.01, ***0.001, all variables tested one-sided.

In all three models, ethnic appearance was a significant predictor for having proactive police contact. The odds ratios were above 1.0 which means that a higher value in ethnic appearance contributes significantly to the odds of experiencing proactive police contacts. This means that being perceived as a non-Dutch youth relates to a higher number of proactive police contacts. The odds ratio of individual delinquency is 0.10 which means that a higher individual delinquency is related with a lower number of proactive police contacts. This seems illogical, because being more delinquent is normally related with a higher number of proactive police contacts. The strong correlation between individual and group delinquency might be an explanation for the negative relationship between individual delinquency and proactive police contact. This strong correlation is called multicollinearity which means that one independent variable can be predicted from other independent variables. This means in this study that individual delinquency can be predicted from group delinquency. Therefore

it was decided to exclude the independent variable individual delinquency from the logistic regression analysis.

The results of the logistic regression analysis without the independent variable individual delinquency can be found in table 6. Considering the first hypothesis and model 1, being perceived as a non-Dutch youth contributes significantly to the odds of experiencing proactive police contacts. Thus the first hypothesis is supported by model 1.

The second hypothesis takes gender, SES, availability, individual and group delinquency as independent variables in order to test whether these variables might explain the disproportionality in proactive police contacts. If we introduce gender and SES in the model, the odd ratio for ethnic appearance still remains significant, but the explanatory power of ethnic appearance is reduced (model 2). In model 3 the variables availability and group delinquency are introduced. Ethnic appearance still remains a significant predictor for having proactive police contact and the explanatory power of ethnic appearance has increased in this model. When we look at model 3 in table 6 we see that SES and availability do not contribute significantly to the odds of experiencing proactive police contacts. This means that differences in SES and availability could not explain the disproportionality in proactive police contacts. Gender and group delinquency contribute significantly to the odds of having proactive police contacts, but ethnic appearance was still a significant predictor for proactive police contacts. Thus it cannot be concluded that group delinquency explains the relationship between ethnic appearance and proactive police contacts. Therefore, the second hypothesis is not confirmed by these results, because ethnic appearance remained significant when the other explanatory variables were taken into account.

Table 6. Logistic regression analysis for variable proactive police contact without individual delinquency (n = 109).

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
	Odds ratio	Odds ratio	Odds ratio
Non-Dutch appearance	2.75**	2.62*	3.38**
Female		0.33**	0.38*
SES		1.03	0.98
Availability			1.02
Group delinquency			7.54***
Constant	0.13**	0.22*	0.04***

Significance levels *0.05, **0.01, ***0.001, all variables tested one-sided.

It is interesting to also have a look at differences between males and females. The same logistic regression analysis has been performed once for males and once for females. The results of these analyses can be found in table 7 and 8. Ethnic appearance is not statistically significant in model 1 for both males and females. Thus hypothesis 1 is not confirmed when considering males and females separately.

When looking at the second hypothesis, which takes SES, availability and group delinquency into account as explanatory factors for the disproportionality in proactive police contacts, we see that availability and group delinquency contribute significantly to the odds of having proactive police

contact for females. The variable ethnic appearance is not significant, so the second hypothesis for females is supported by availability and group delinquency. This means that the disproportionality in proactive police contacts for females can result from differences in availability and group delinquency. When we test hypothesis 2 for males, ethnic appearance and group delinquency are significant predictors for having proactive police contact. This means that hypothesis 2 is not confirmed by the results and that other variables do not explain the relationship between ethnic appearance and proactive police contacts for males.

Table 7. Logistic regression analysis for variable proactive police contact for females only (n = 45).

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
	Odds ratio	Odds ratio	Odds ratio
Non-Dutch appearance	3.38	3.82*	5.20
SES		1.12	1.03
Availability			1.09*
Group delinquency			11.16*
Constant	0.05**	0.04**	0.00***

Significance levels *0.05, **0.01, ***0.001, all variables tested one-sided.

Table 8. Logistic regression analysis for variable proactive police contact for males only (n = 64).

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
	Odds ratio	Odds ratio	Odds ratio
Non-Dutch appearance	2.20	2.22	2.75*
SES		1.01	0.98
Availability			0.99
Group delinquency			6.79**
Constant	0.29	0.29	0.08*

Significance levels *0.05, **0.01, ***0.001, all variables tested one-sided.

5. Discussion

The aim of this study was to determine if there is statistical evidence for the unequal treatment of ethnic minority youths by the police in The Hague. In order to achieve this, the present study focused on the ethnic appearance of youths. The results of this study revealed significant disproportionality in the number of proactive police contacts experienced by youths with different ethnic appearances. Therefore, the first hypothesis was confirmed by the results. The results of the logistic regression analyses showed that youths with a non-Dutch appearance experienced more proactive police contacts than youths with a Dutch appearance. When only looking at the relationship between ethnic appearance and proactive police contact, the first sub question can be answered by stating that the chance of experiencing proactive police contact is higher for youths with a non-Dutch appearance than for youths with a Dutch appearance.

The results regarding the relationship between ethnic appearance and proactive police contacts are in line with the results of Svensson and Saharso (2015). They also found that ethnic appearance contributes significantly to the number of proactive police contacts.

The second hypothesis is not confirmed by the results of the logistic regression analysis. SES and availability had no significant effect on the number of proactive police contacts, but gender and group delinquency were significantly related to proactive police contact. Group delinquency can be seen as a significant predictor, besides ethnic appearance, for proactive police contacts. If other factors could explain the relationship between ethnic appearance and proactive police contact, the significant effect of ethnic appearance would diminish when other variables were taken into account. But in this study, the effect of ethnic appearance still remained significant after taking into account the other explanatory variables. The second sub question can be answered by stating that differences in SES, availability on the streets, individual and group delinquency could not fully explain the disproportionality in proactive police contact, because ethnic appearance remained a significant predictor for proactive police contact.

The main research question of this study examined to what extent the police in The Hague treat youths of different ethnic backgrounds differently and how this can be explained. The logistic regression analysis showed that there is evidence of a disproportionately higher number in proactive police contact for ethnic minority youths. Being perceived by a stranger as a non-Dutch youth predicted a higher number of proactive police contacts than being perceived as a Dutch youth. Spending time with delinquent friends also predicted higher number of proactive police contacts, but it could not explain the relationship between ethnic appearance and proactive police contact. The ethnic appearance of youths remained significant when other explanatory factors were taken into account.

The results of this study regarding the effect of group delinquency on proactive police contact are in line with McAra and McVie (2005) who found that having delinquent friends can contribute to the number of proactive police contacts of a youth. The results of the present study also suggested that having delinquent friends can contribute to the number of proactive police contacts of youths.

This study does have some limitations. To ensure privacy of the respondents, the surveys were put back in the bag without looking at it after the respondents filled in the survey. During the data analysis it was subsequently discovered that some critical parts of the survey of certain respondents were missing. This meant these respondents had to be excluded from the analyses.

An important limitation of this study was the reliance on the respondent's honesty and memory. It is possible that some respondents did not fill in the survey honestly because they were afraid of possible consequences for their delinquent behaviour. Even though all respondents were informed about the anonymous character of the survey.

Another limitation of this study was the lack of controlling for neighbourhood. The data collection took place in different public places in The Hague. In one of these public places, the Schilderswijk, were only ethnic minority youths at the moment of the data collection. The researcher walked through this neighbourhood for one hour and saw two police cars driving around. The absence of youths with a Dutch appearance and the presence of police in this neighbourhood could explain the over-representation of ethnic minorities having contact with the police. Therefore in the future, it would be helpful to control for neighbourhood, because the percentage of ethnic minority youths varies per neighbourhood.

The operationalization does also have a limitations. Ethnic appearance was measured by asking the respondents how they think a stranger would see them on the streets. But the ideal measurement for this variable is asking police officers how they see the respondents on the streets. As this was not possible because of the limited time and resources, it was chosen for another option. This option slightly decreases the validity of this study, because respondents could misjudge themselves.

Future research should reconsider the operationalization of SES. In this study, an unknown postal code was coded with the number 4 which was a higher value than the highest score a neighbourhood could have. Therefore a strange relationship between SES and group delinquency was observed. Future research should leave out the respondents who did not fill in their postal code in order to increase the validity of the study.

In order to conduct a more reliable study, future research should be executed with a larger number of respondents. Besides this, it is also recommended to combine quantitative with qualitative research. It is interesting to have a deeper understanding of the answers of the respondents. Finally, it would be helpful to also examine the perceptions of police officers about ethnic profiling. Within the time period of the present study it was not possible to conduct a survey for both youths and police officers. When the study will be conducted over a longer period of time, it is possible to collect data from a larger sample and to examine the perceptions and experiences of both youths and police officers.

6. Conclusion

The aim of this thesis was to determine if there is statistical evidence for the disproportionality in proactive police contacts between different ethnic youths in The Hague. Therefore the relationship between ethnic appearance and the number of proactive police contacts of youths in The Hague was examined. The data for the logistic regression analysis was collected in April 2015 by means of a self-completion survey. The results confirmed the first hypothesis which stated that youths with a non-Dutch appearance experience more proactive police contact than youths with a Dutch appearance. Hypothesis two, which stated that differences in socioeconomic status, availability, individual and group delinquency can explain any disproportionality in proactive police contact, has not been confirmed. Group delinquency predicted more proactive police contact, but it could not explain the relationship between ethnic appearance and proactive police contact. Ethnic appearance remained a significant predictor for having proactive police contact, even when other explanatory variables were taken into account. The findings of this study lead to the main conclusion that disproportionality in proactive police contacts is not only a result from justifiable actions of the police but also of unequal treatment. The absence of youths with a Dutch appearance and the presence of police in a particular neighbourhood should be taken into consideration, because this also can explain the over-representation of ethnic minorities having contact with the police.

The findings of this study regarding the relationship between ethnicity and proactive police contact are not completely in line with the findings of Van der Leun (2014). The main finding of her study was that the number of proactive police contacts of ethnic minority youths was more a result of justifiable actions of the police than of unequal treatment. The present study found more evidence for unequal treatment of ethnic minority youths by the police than Van der Leun found in her study.

The police in The Hague should reconsider their own actions when taken into account the negative effects of proactive policing. The actions of the police in The Hague are now in contrast with the first article of the Dutch Constitution which states that everyone in the Netherlands should be treated equally. The results of the present study raise the question of ethnic profiling in the implementation of proactive policing. Further research in the implementation of the police and policy makers is necessary to understand the situation as it is.

7. References

- Amnesty International (2013). *Proactief politieoptreden vormt risico voor mensenrechten. Etnisch profileren onderkennen en aanpakken*. Amsterdam: Amnesty International.
- Bowling, B., & Phillips, C. (2007). Disproportionate and discriminatory: reviewing the evidence on police stop and search. *The Modern Law Review*, 70(6), 936-961. ECRI (2007) *General Policy Recommendation No 11 on Combating racism and racial discrimination in policing*.
- Dam, F. van, Boschman S., Peeters P., Kempen van R., Bolt G., Ekamper P. (2010). *Nieuwbouw, verhuizingen en segregatie; Effecten van nieuwbouw op de bevolkingssamenstelling van stadswijken*. Den Haag: Planbureau voor de Leefomgeving (PBL).
- Eijkman, Q. (2010). Has the Genie Been Let Out of the Bottle-Ethnic Profiling in the Netherlands. *Pub. Space: JL & Soc. Just.*, 5, 1.
- European Commission against Racism and Intolerance. (2007). ECRI general policy recommendation n° 11 on combating racism and racial discrimination in policing.
- Grundy, E., & Holt, G. (2001). The socioeconomic status of older adults: How should we measure it in studies of health inequalities? *Journal of Epidemiology and Community health*, 55(12), 895-904.
- Hertog FRJ den (RIVM), Verweij A (RIVM), Mulder M (RIVM), Sanderse C (RIVM), Lucht F van der (RIVM). Sociaaleconomische status: Wat is de huidige situatie? In: Volksgezondheid Toekomst Verkenning, Nationaal Kompas Volksgezondheid. Bilthoven: RIVM, <http://www.nationaalkompas.nl>> Nationaal Kompas Volksgezondheid\Bevolking\Sociaaleconomische status, 19 maart 2014.
- McAra, L., & McVie, S. (2005). The usual suspects? Street-life, young people and the police. *Criminal justice*, 5(1), 5-36.
- Miller, J., & Consultancy, M. (2000). *Profiling populations available for stops and searches*: Home Office, Policing and Reducing Crime Unit, Research, Development and Statistics Directorate.
- Oi, A. H. (2013). *ETHNIC PROFILING, POLICE AND CONSTRAINTS: FIGHTING DISCRIMINATION*, Central European University.
- Peebles, F., & Loeber, R. (1994). Do individual factors and neighborhood context explain ethnic differences in juvenile delinquency? *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 10(2), 141-157.
- Sampson, R. J., Raudenbush, S. W., & Earls, F. (1997). Neighborhoods and violent crime: A multilevel study of collective efficacy. *Science*, 277(5328), 918-924.
- Smith, M. R., & Alpert, G. P. (2007). Explaining police bias a theory of social conditioning and illusory correlation. *Criminal justice and behavior*, 34(10), 1262-1283.
- Svensson, J. S., & Saharso, S. (2015). Proactive policing and equal treatment of ethnic-minority youths. *Policing and society*, 25(4), 393-408.
- Tyler, T. R. (2005). Policing in black and white: Ethnic group differences in trust and confidence in the police. *Police quarterly*, 8(3), 322-342.
- Tyler, T. R., Fagan, J., & Geller, A. (2014). Street Stops and Police Legitimacy: Teachable Moments in Young Urban Men's Legal Socialization. *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies*, 11(4), 751-785.

Tyler, T. R., & Jackson, J. (2014). Popular legitimacy and the exercise of legal authority: Motivating compliance, cooperation, and engagement. *Psychology, public policy, and law*, 20(1), 78.

Tyler, T. R., Jackson, J., & Mentovich, A. (2015). The Consequences of Being an Object of Suspicion: Potential Pitfalls of Proactive Police Contact. *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies*, 12(4), 602-636.

van der Leun, J. (2014). *Etnisch profileren in Den Haag? Een verkennend onderzoek naar beslissingen en opvattingen op straat*: Boom Lemma uitgevers.

van der Leun, J. P., & van der Woude, M. A. (2011). Ethnic profiling in the Netherlands? A reflection on expanding preventive powers, ethnic profiling and a changing social and political context. *Policing and society*, 21(4), 444-455.

Waddington, P. A., Stenson, K., & Don, D. (2004). In proportion race, and police stop and search. *British journal of criminology*, 44(6), 889-914.

Walsh, T., & Taylor, M. (2007). 'You're Not Welcome Here': Police Move-on Powers and Discrimination Law. *University of Queensland TC Beirne School of Law Research Paper*(15-17), 151-173.

8. Appendix



Bedankt dat je aan dit onderzoek wilt meewerken.

We doen dit onderzoek om erachter te komen wat jullie ervaringen zijn met de politie. Eerst stellen we een aantal algemene vragen en daarna vragen over je ervaringen met de politie.

De vragenlijst is helemaal anoniem, je hoeft geen naam in te vullen en je naam zal ook nergens worden genoteerd.

Je kunt dus eerlijk antwoord geven, zonder je zorgen te maken. Als er vragen zijn waarop je toch geen antwoord wilt geven, hoef je dat niet te doen.

A. Achtergrondvragen

A1 Hoe oud ben je (vul in): jaar

A2 Geslacht?

- Man
- Vrouw

A3 Tot welke etnische achtergrond vind jij jezelf behoren (je mag meer dan één achtergrond aankruisen, bijvoorbeeld Nederlands en Turks)?

- Nederlands
- Antilliaans
- Surinaams
- Turks
- Marokkaans
- Anders, namelijk (vul in):

A4 Hoe denk je dat mensen op straat jou zien?

- Als een Nederlandse jongere
- Als een niet-Nederlandse jongere

A5 Hoeveel uur per week besteed je gemiddeld aan de volgende activiteiten?

- | | |
|---|--------------------|
| a. Naar school gaan | uur per week |
| b. Huiswerk maken | uur per week |
| c. Werk | uur per week |
| d. Sport en hobby | uur per week |
| e. Uitgaan, bezoek aan café, jongerencentra, et cetera. | uur per week |
| f. Buiten zijn, op straat of in winkelcentra | uur per week |

A6 Wat is je opleidingsniveau (als je nog op school zit, mag je dat niveau aangeven, geef anders het niveau van je laatst afgeronde opleiding)

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="radio"/> Basisschool | <input type="radio"/> VMBO Gemengde leerweg (GL) |
| <input type="radio"/> Havo/VWO | <input type="radio"/> VMBO Basisberoepsgerichte leerweg (BB) |
| <input type="radio"/> MBO | <input type="radio"/> VMBO Kaderberoepsgerichte leerweg (KB) |
| <input type="radio"/> HBO/Universiteit | <input type="radio"/> VMBO Theoretische leerweg (TL) |
| <input type="radio"/> Speciaal voortgezet onderwijs | <input type="radio"/> Praktijkgericht onderwijs |

A7 Zie je vaak politie in de buurt waar je leeft?

- Zeer weinig
- Weinig
- Regelmatig
- Vaak
- Zeer vaak

B. Vragen over je vrienden en vriendengroep

B1 Heb je een of meer vrienden waarmee je regelmatig optrekt?

- Ja
- Nee → Ga door naar rubriek C

B2 Met hoeveel vrienden tegelijk komen jullie meestal bij elkaar? (jijzelf inbegrepen)

..... personen

B3 Hoeveel uur zijn jij en je vrienden **per week** bij elkaar?

..... uur

B4 Als het mooi, warm weer is, waar komen jullie dan meestal bij elkaar? (je mag maximaal drie antwoorden aankruisen)

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="radio"/> Bij een van jullie thuis | <input type="radio"/> In een jongerencentrum |
| <input type="radio"/> Op school en op het schoolplein | <input type="radio"/> In een club of vereniging |
| <input type="radio"/> Op straat | <input type="radio"/> In de disco of in de kroeg |
| <input type="radio"/> In een winkelcentrum | <input type="radio"/> Ergens anders (vul in): |

C. Vragen over je ervaringen met de politie

C1 Hoe vaak heb je in de afgelopen 12 maanden te maken gehad met de politie? keer

C2 Hoe vaak heeft politie je in de afgelopen 12 maanden op straat aangesproken zonder dat daar een duidelijke reden voor was (dus zonder dat je een overtreding maakte of zoiets)? keer

C3 Hoe vaak zijn in de contacten die je met de politie hebt gehad in de afgelopen 12 maanden de volgende dingen gebeurd? Vul in

a. Hoe vaak heb je in de afgelopen 12 maanden bekeuringen gekregen? keer

b. Hoe vaak heeft de politie jou of jullie een waarschuwing gegeven? keer

c. Hoe vaak heb je je identiteitsbewijs aan de politie moeten tonen? keer

d. Hoe vaak ben je op straat gefouilleerd? keer

e. Hoe vaak ben je meegenomen naar het politiebureau? keer

f. Hoe vaak heeft de politie iets van je in beslag genomen? keer

g. Hoe vaak ben je alleen of met vrienden, door de politie ergens weggestuurd? keer

C4 In hoeverre ben je het eens met de volgende uitspraken over jouw contacten met de politie in de afgelopen 12 maanden (als je geen enkel contact met de politie hebt gehad kan je deze vraag overslaan)

	Helemaal eens	Eens	Neutraal	Oneens	Helemaal Oneens
a. De politie heeft mij correct behandeld	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
b. De politie heeft mij eerlijk behandeld	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
c. De politie heeft mij behandeld zoals ieder ander in die situatie zou worden behandeld	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
d. De politie heeft mij met respect behandeld	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

C4b Wil je een toelichting op je antwoorden geven?

.....

.....

.....

.....

C5 In hoeverre ben je het met de volgende uitspraken eens?

	Helemaal eens	Eens	Neutraal	Oneens	Helemaal Oneens
a. Als een politieagent mij een vraag stelt zal ik die eerlijk beantwoorden	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
b. Als de politie mij vraagt te getuigen, werk ik mee	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
c. Als de politie mij ergens wegstuurt, ga ik zonder discussie weg	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
d. Als ik zie dat iemand in een auto inbreekt, probeer ik de politie te waarschuwen	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

D. Verboden dingen doen

We willen graag weten of jij en je vrienden soms dingen doen die verboden zijn. Als je dat voor bepaalde zaken niet wilt zeggen, begrijpen we dat natuurlijk, maar maak je geen zorgen, de vragenlijst is anoniem.

	1. Hoeveel van je vrienden hebben dat de afgelopen 12 maanden gedaan?			2. Heb je dat zelf in de afgelopen 12 maanden gedaan?	
	Niemand	Een of twee	Meer dan twee	Nee	Ja
a. Met bus of trein reizen zonder te betalen	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
b. Een verkeersovertreding maken	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
c. Spijbelen	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
d. Met opzet dingen van iemand anders beschadigen	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
e. Muren, schuttingen, bushokjes en dergelijke bekladden met inkt of verf	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
f. Iets stelen of geprobeerd te stelen	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
g. Inbreken of geprobeerd in te breken	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
h. Met iemand vechten	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
i. Liegen over je leeftijd om alcohol of sigaretten te kunnen kopen	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
j. Een wapen bij je dragen als bescherming	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
k. In het openbaar dronken zijn	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
l. Softdrugs gebruiken	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
m. Harddrugs gebruiken	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
n. Drugs verkopen	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
o. Onbekende meisjes/vrouwen naroeppen of nafluiten op straat	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

D3 Heb je ooit het gevoel gehad dat je door de politie staande werd gehouden alleen vanwege je etnische achtergrond?

- Ja
- Nee → Ga door naar vraag D5

D4 Zou je kunnen toelichten waarom je het gevoel kreeg dat dat was vanwege je etnische achtergrond?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

D5 Om te weten in welke buurt je woont willen we graag de vier cijfers van je postcode weten. Zou je die willen geven?

.... ..

D6 Dit is het einde van de vragenlijst. Heb je zelf nog vragen of opmerkingen?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

Bedankt voor je medewerking!

Ruimte bedoeld voor de interviewer

Interviewer: *Datum:*

Gemeente en locatie:

Opmerkingen:

.....

.....