BACHELOR THESIS

Racial profiling in policing:
An empirical analysis of the relationship between ethnic appearance and youths' encounters with the German police

Jasmin Hungerland
(1605461)

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Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster (DE)
University of Twente, Enschede (NL)

Examination Committee:
First Supervisor: *Dr. Jörgen Svensson*
Second Supervisor: *Dr. Guus Meershoek*

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Abstract

Racial profiling in policing refers to the use of generalizations based on race, ethnicity, religion or national origin – rather than individual behavior or objective evidence as the basis for suspicion. So far, little is known about racial profiling in Germany. Therefore, the core idea of this thesis is to analyze the relationship between ethnic appearance and police contact in Germany. Some scholars argue that differences in police treatment are not necessarily proof of unjustified distinctions made by the police. In order to contribute to the existent body of knowledge, the purpose of this analysis is to identify causes of the variation in the number of police contacts of youths. I conducted an empirical investigation among 252 individuals and established the extent of unequal treatment in policing while controlling for justifiable distinctions made by police officers. The research question was: *To what extent do youths that belong to an ethnic minority have more frequent contact with the German police?* Firstly, I hypothesized that youths viewed as non-German have more frequent police contact than youths viewed as native-German. Secondly, I expected that even when controlling for availability on the streets, individual delinquent behavior, and group delinquency, youths viewed as non-German have more frequent police contact. The main finding is that although racial profiling seems to be an issue in Germany, ethnic appearance cannot explain more frequent police contact.

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1. Introduction

Europe is constituted of diverse communities where ethnic diversity is present. However, a growing concern about immigration in Europe exists. In the light of several crises, nationalist and racist movements have seen an unprecedented degree of popular support (Frantziou, Staiger, & Chaytor, 2014). This support created a societal change where many minority groups have to deal with problems such as discrimination and unequal treatment. Although, current crime statistics do not provide evidence for an overrepresentation in crime and disorder of foreigners, the media discourse in Germany has created the image of the criminal stranger (Irrgang, 2011; Renn, 2016). Nonetheless, the principle of equal treatment of individuals, independent of their ethnic background, is a core value of Germany. It has been laid down in its basic law and is also part of various international treaties (Art. 3 (3) Grundgesetz + Art. 14 EMRK, Art. 2). Yet, this does not mean that equal treatment of ethnic minorities is guaranteed in practice. In fact, discrimination in policing based on ethnic origin is often reported (KOP, 2016). Even though the police itself is not explicitly directed against ethnic minorities, it is not implausible that the current socio-political context makes them target these groups more intensively. Irrespectively of this, the delivery of services from the police should not change due to racial biases (Bowling & Phillips, 2007). Amnesty International argues that the German state fails to take control of racist forces even though there are clear indications of institutional racism in public authorities (Zeit, 2016).

This bachelor thesis deals with the issue of police discrimination of ethnic minority youths in Germany. It is crucial to discover if a relation between police contact and ethnicity exists. This would not only constitute an unlawful act but would also bring about the topic of institutional racism. The core idea of this analysis is to give insight in differences in police treatment of people from ethnic minorities and in factors that can explain these differences. For future research, it would be important to take the perspective of the police officers into consideration as well. Nonetheless, due to the tight time frame of my thesis, I laid the focus on the youths' perspective only. The central question of this bachelor thesis is:

> *To what extent do youths that belong to an ethnic minority have more frequent contact with the German police?*

So far it remains unclear to what extent and in which ways the increased risk of unequal treatment appears in practice. The topic is still under research and the data collection on discrimination against and victimization of minority groups is limited in many European Member States (FRA, 2010). As a consequence, we know very little about the extent to which differences in treatment are determined by other factors. To help fill the latter gap, I assessed the relevance of availability, individual and group delinquency for explaining more frequent police contact. The study was conducted among youths between the age of 15 and 25. As the socio-political change within Germany leads to increasing concerns about immigration and foreigners, I hypothesized that youths viewed as non-German would report more frequent police contact than youths viewed as native-German. Further, as other factors might play a role when it comes to police contact, I expected that even when controlling for availability on the streets, individual delinquent behavior, and group delinquency, youths viewed as non-German report more frequent police contact. Logistical regression analysis on data gathered in the city of Cologne (N=252) suggests that ethnic appearance cannot add to the odds of having more frequent police contact.

The set-up of the research is organized as follows: Section two describes the theory and formulates the hypotheses. In section three I discuss the methodological background .The results of this study are presented in section four. Section five discusses the results and section six gives a conclusion.

2. Theory

2.1. Police contact and ethnicity

Scholars have already dealt with the relationship between ethnicity and police contact. Research of Bowling and Phillips clearly indicates that over the past decades fixed stereotypes are commonly used by police officers in order to allocate people for reasons of their ethnic origin. They point out the intensely harmful effects on society that accompany disproportionate encounters between the police and ethnic minorities. This disproportionality is often the origin of a loss of public support for, and the de-legitimization of the police (Bowling & Phillips, 2007). In Europe, ethnic diversity is a fact of life and the success of the police is highly linked to how the community feels treated by them (FRA, 2010; Svensson & Saharso, 2015). Within this context, law enforcement on the EU level is reliant on working with diverse communities. The police as a public institution that is in constant interaction with the society should serve the community and should not be biased by racist ideas (FRA, 2010). However, evidence of institutional racism, unequal measures in policing and police discrimination are present (Bowling & Phillips, 2003; Smith & Alpert, 2007). Therefore, the practice of ethnic profiling is crucial for the analysis of biased policing of ethnic minorities. In this study ethnic profiling is compromised and defined as:

"[...] the use by the police, security, immigration or customs officials of generalizations based on race, ethnicity, religion or national origin - rather than individual behavior or objective evidence - as the basis for suspicion in directing discretionary law enforcement actions. It can also include situations where law enforcement policies and practices, although not themselves defined either wholly or in part by reference to ethnicity, race, national origin or religion, nevertheless do have a disproportionate impact on such groups within the population and where this cannot otherwise be justified in terms of legitimate law enforcement objectives and outcomes (European Network Against Racism, 2009, p. 3)*."*

Given that the ban on racial and ethnic profiling is based on the same international law against discrimination, I will use both terms as synonyms in this paper. The definitions by the relevant international bodies of 'racial profiling' and 'ethnic profiling' do not diverge in substance.

The judicial background factors of racial profiling are straightforward and largely indisputable from the angle of German basic law (Art. 3 (3) Grundgesetz + Art. 14 EMRK, Art. 2) and from the UN Convention on civic and political rights (Art. 26.; Cremer, 2009). However, it does not mean that equal treatment is guaranteed in practice. After 9/11 the interest of governments in applying ethnic profiling through their security and policing forces has increased (Goodey, 2006). In the aftermath of subsequent terrorist attacks in the past (Madrid 2004, London 2005) and several ones just recently (Paris, 2015, Istanbul, Ankara 2016), its practice seems to have intensified even further. Various cases in Germany have documented that ethnic profiling is employed frequently (BUG, 2011). However, Goodey (2006) finds that ethnic profiling is an inefficient medium for determining criminals. There seems to be no trade-off between effectiveness and fairness. Fairness rather has a positive impact on the effectiveness of polices' success (Persico, 2002). Nonetheless, the police faces an issue in maintaining legitimacy by being fair and effective at the same time (Svensson & Saharso, 2015). It is often a dilemma for the police to show effectiveness in fighting crime and disorder, while maintaining equity, fairness and non-discrimination. It is the discretion of the police to act and to behave in a fair manner, however, it is mostly noted as a component facilitating and increasing ethnic and racial discrimination (Bowling & Phillips, 2007; Walsh & Taylor, 2007). The EU-MIDIS survey found out that in Germany ethnic minority individuals were stopped more often than German respondents (FRA, 2010). Nevertheless, possible third factors have to be taken into consideration while looking at the relation between ethnicity and police contact. The literature discusses alternative phenomena that explain that more frequent police contact might not purely be based on discrimination due to ethnicity. Availability, individual delinquency, and group delinquency are factors to be taken into account. They provide elements to reveal that differences in outcome inequality may be blamed on behavioral differences among ethnic minorities. In the following, I discuss their importance in establishing the extent of outcome inequality when it comes to police contact.

2.2. Availability

Availability describes the time spent on the streets and other public spaces. It is regarded to be higher for an individual who spends more time in public spaces (Miller, 2000). Referring to Fitzgerald (1999) and Miller (2008), availability becomes an important factor for the distinctions the police makes while controlling individuals. Miller (2000) points out that

members of ethnic minorities are more available on the streets due to different preferences, which in turn causes a higher chance of getting in contact with the police. Additionally, Waddington et al. argue that different racial or ethnic groups place themselves at greater or lesser risk of being stopped by the police through their diverging use of public space (Waddington, Stenson, & Don, 2004). Hence, disproportionality in the number of police contacts may potentially be explained by a disproportionate presence of the analyzed groups. Bowling and Phillips (2007) depict that this disproportionality depends on several structural factors. Those structural factors, like unemployment, homelessness and exclusion from school, are often related to ethnic origin. Complying with the scholars' train of thought, I find it important to use availability as a control variable in my research project because the stated disproportionality might account for differences in the number of police contacts.

2.3. Individual delinquency

Scholars like Bowling and Phillips argue that differences in the number of police contacts are often a result of differences in criminal involvement. They assume that divergence in criminal involvement is shown in different patterns of suspicious behavior (Bowling & Phillips, 2007). Moreover, the researchers discovered that people with higher rates of delinquency are more often subject to police controls (Bowling & Phillips, 2003). They conclude that the rates of conspicuity and criminal involvement of friends and the surrounding of the individual predict more frequent police contact. Additionally, they remark that differences regarding delinquency can be found in terms of gender and age, but also in terms of ethnic origin. This theoretical framework takes ethnicity as a factor in explaining a youngster's individual delinquency and hence yields to the idea of including it into the explanatory model to establish the extent of outcome inequality.

2.4. Group delinquency

Supporting the approach of individual delinquency, the research of McAra and McView (2005) illustrates that having the wrong company is often a strong predictor of negative contact with the police. The possibility of encounters with the police is two times greater for a person having friends who have had a prior history of adversarial contact than for an individual not having delinquent friends. In this respect, a youngster might get in contact with

the police more often not because of his or her ethnic origin or offending rate, but rather because of hanging around with a delinquent group of friends. Therefore, the concept of group delinquency is added as an additional control variable in this study.

2.5. Relevance for explaining outcome inequalities

It can be summarized that outcome inequality between youths with an ethnic minority background and those not having one might not only be a product of direct discrimination based on ethnic appearance. Instead, it might also result from justifiable distinctions made by police officers. Due to the fact that sole figures about outcome inequality are rarely meaningful with regard to the whole extent of unequal treatment, this study takes other alternative explanations into account. Prior research found that availability, individual delinquency, and group delinquency are crucial for analyzing differences when it comes to police contact that might be connected to ethnicity. This is the reason why I want to use the mentioned concepts as control variables for testing my hypotheses in order to correct outcome inequality for justifiable distinctions.

2.6. Hypotheses and model

Derived from the studied literature, I argue that unequal treatment in policing is happening in Germany. I anticipate the following:

Hypothesis 1:

Youths viewed as an ethnic minority have more frequent police contact than youths viewed as native-German.

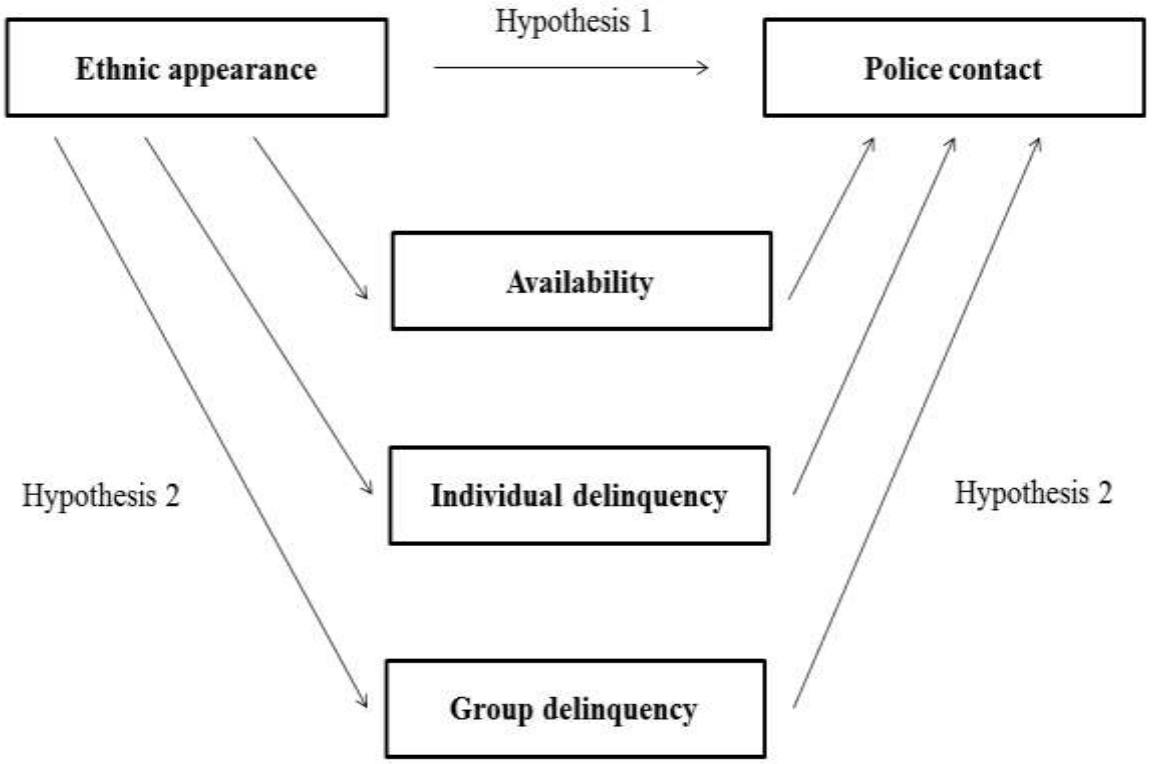
Hypothesis 2:

Even when controlling for availability on the streets, individual delinquent behavior, and group delinquency, youths viewed as non-German have more frequent police contact.

In this study, the model below (figure 1) was used to constitute the extent of unequal treatment of youths that are viewed as ethnic minorities in Germany. Because the model encompasses variables which cannot be observed directly (e.g. amount of time spent on the

streets, the extent of individual and group delinquency), I decided to take survey data as a basis for this study. The data was collected especially for this purpose. The model (figure 1) suggests that ethnic appearance has an effect on police contact (direct unequal treatment). Availability, individual delinquency, and group delinquency are used as control variables that correct for outcome inequality when it comes to police contact (justifiable distinctions).

Figure 1. Explanatory model of the variables



3. Methods

3.1. Research design

In order to report an empirical investigation, the research question was broken down into the hypotheses that are stated above.

For this thesis, a cross-sectional design was used. The starting point was the use of empirical data to test causal relationships. To accomplish this, the study was conducted by two approaches that went hand in hand for the sake of a convenient sample: a paper-based survey and an online survey. Both of them are self-report surveys. Jupp emphasizes the specific applicability of self-report surveys when the topic has to do with crime, in particular, delinquency of youths (Jupp, 2006).

3.2. Case selection and response

The data that I used to test my hypotheses was derived from a cross-sectional self-report survey. The survey was conducted paper- and online-based. As individuals were asked whether they would like to fill in a survey, this data collection was based on a convenience sample. This design was used due to reasons of time and resource restrictions in place. Nonetheless, this method allowed for a large amount of data in a short time.

For the paper-based survey, the data collection was performed at a particular point of time, namely in April and May 2016 in the city of Cologne. Cologne is the fourth-largest city in Germany and known for its cultural diversity. 31% of its inhabitants hold a migration background (Bpb, 2012). Since several sexual attacks occurred on New Year's Eve in Cologne, a massive racial backlash has taken place (Amnesty International, 2016). Therefore, Cologne served as a highly interesting setting with regard to the current socio-political context and the concerns about equal treatment. The individuals were recruited in the city center of Cologne, the 'Rhein Park', the 'Köln Arcaden', the campus of the university, the 'Aachener Weiher' and the 'Hans-Böckler Berufskolleg'. The participants were asked to fill out a printed questionnaire. The respondents were informed about the anonymous character of the survey. A sealed envelope for the survey was provided in order to ensure individuals' privacy on the one hand, and to counter missing data on the other hand. Considering the setting in which the

paper-based surveys were conducted, it was difficult to establish a precise overview of the non-response rate.

The online-based survey was accessible from April 25th to May 26th 2016. Even though it was even more difficult to establish a clear sampling frame and a non-response rate, this method saved time and money. An online survey is a good method as it enables to reach a large number of respondents. According to Wright (2005), it facilitates the access to unique populations. Moreover, online surveys might create more reliable and more trustworthy answers when it comes to sensitive topics such as possible discrimination due to ethnicity (Wright, 2005). The link to the online survey was spread via the social network 'Facebook'. It was posted in various network groups which all had a focus on inhabitants of Cologne, in specific youths. Some exemplary groups are: 'PARTYKINGZ 16+ KÖLN', 'NETT-WERK Köln', and 'Universität zu Köln'. In Germany, a third of the total population is registered on Facebook (Statista, 2016). Hence, it was likely to reach a large number of German youngsters who are willing to participate in the online survey. To get a representative random sample and to balance bias as many different groups as possible were contacted. The most important part was the description of the survey. It had to be short, precise and motivating to attract people. Moreover, a cookie was set in order to avoid replicated participation of individuals.

The survey contained questions concerning the 12 months before the point of collection and relied on respondent's memory. The first part focused on the background of the respondents and asked for information such as gender, age, and perceived ethnicity. The second part targeted the network of friends. The third section contained questions related to the dependent variable police contact. It sought information regarding experiences with the police as well as the frequencies and the kind of contact with it. The last part focused on individual delinquent behavior and association with a delinquent group of friends.

The complete sample included both native-German youngsters and German youngsters having a minority background. It was constrained to individuals between 15 and 25 years. The response was perceived as more or less fair. However, it was especially difficult to attract girls to fill in the survey, which can be recognized in the sample attributes below. From the initial sample of 425 individuals, 252 surveys were complete enough to be used in the statistical analysis. Table 1 provides an overview of the measurements and their distributions in the sample.

Table 1. Sample Attributes

		N	%
Gender			
	Male	168	66.70
	Female	84	33.30
Age			
	15-20	118	46.80
	21-25	134	53.10
Ethnic background			
	German	186	73.80
	Russian	7	2.80
	Polish	8	3.20
	Turkish	32	12.07
	Tunisian	3	1.20
	Kurdish	6	2.40
	Albanian	2	0.80
	Lebanese	1	0.40
	Other background	28	11.1
German ethnic appearance		169	67.10
Non-German ethnic appearance		83	32.8

3.3. Measures

Dependent variable: Police contact

This study focuses on the relation between ethnic appearance and police contact. Therefore the dependent variable of interest is police contact. Initially, I wanted to include more than one dependent variable in the analysis (quality of police contact and police instruments applied to the respondent). Yet, due to time restrictions, only one dependent variable was included. I would still suggest including those additional variables in further research. This would enable us to have a bigger and probably a more appropriate exposure of the association. In this study, the respondents were asked to indicate the number of all kinds of police contact they had in the past 12 months in order to constitute the extent of the contact:

- How often had they have contact with the police?
- How often had they been stopped by the police because they did something wrong (e.g. monetary fines)?
- How often had they been stopped by the police without an explicit reason?

The number of police contacts was computed as the sum of the number of contacts in the last category. That is the total number of contacts that had been experienced without the youths themselves giving direct cause for it. It was found that the distribution was highly skewed. Most of the individuals reported no contact or just a single contact. Then again some reported 45 or even 100 times. To make a statistical analysis possible, the dichotomous variable police contact was used to specify whether (1) or not (0) the respondent had reported any police contact in the past 12 months.

Independent variable: Ethnic appearance

Ethnic background was planned to be the independent variable of interest. However, establishing one's ethnic background in Germany might cause many difficulties and inadequacies with many implications and inconsistencies. In order to handle this complexity, this research took another approach by focusing on ethnic appearance instead. The use of this data was more appropriate as it was the key for identifying discriminatory policing practices. It relied on the personal experience of the respondents themselves. In the questionnaire, they were asked how they think they are viewed by police officers on the streets. Hence, this study used a dichotomous variable, generating a group of non-German (1) and German youths (0). A possible weakness of this measurement was that respondents could miss-assess how their ethnicity is being perceived by a police officer.

Control variables

In order to control for justifiable distinctions made by the police, three main control variables were measured: availability on the streets, individual delinquency, and association with a delinquent group of friends. Additionally, it was controlled for gender and neighborhood.

Availability on the streets

Following Waddington's (2004) concept of availability, the survey asked the youths to name how many hours per week they spend on distinct activities. Moreover, availability was operationalized by asking them where they spend time with friends if the weather was nice and sunny (e.g. at home, on the streets, in the shopping center, in a bar…). The logic of this concept was that if a youngster is available for police contact, then (s)he is also more likely to be exposed to such an encounter. For the statistical analysis, the number of hours per week spent on the streets and the number of hours spent going out (e.g. to a bar) was summed.

Individual delinquency

This study measured individual delinquency by 15 self-report items about committed delinquent acts in the past 12 months. The precise questions and indicators can be found in section D of the survey in the appendix. The spectrum of the cruelty of the acts was quite wide, ranging from minor offenses like taking the bus without having paid, to more serious ones like selling drugs. Respondents could indicate whether (1) or not (0) they had misconducted. Reliability analysis indicated that the 15 items measured the same concept (Cronbach's alpha: 0.736).

Involvement in a delinquent group of friends

In this study, the involvement in a delinquent youth group was measured using the same 15 items as it was done with individual delinquency but applied to the group of friends of the respondent. In this concept the respondents had to disclose if their friends had shown each form of delinquent behavior over the past 12 months – 'not even once', 'once or twice' or 'twice or more'. 'In order to run a statistical analysis, a dichotomous variable was created. 'Not even once' was counted as (0) while 'once or twice' and 'twice or more' were counted as (1). In this case, the reliability analysis computed a Cronbach's alpha of 0.816, indicating that the 15 items measured the same concept.

Gender and neighborhood

Furthermore, I controlled for two additional variables: gender of the respondent (0 = female or 1 = male) and neighborhood (neighborhood 1 = Lindenthal; neighborhood 2 = Deutz; neighborhood 3 = Kalk; neighborhood 4 = online). It was considered crucial to control for

gender of the respondent because this variable is known to be related to police contact and because females were underrepresented in the sample. This underrepresentation might be related to factors such as religious and cultural bonds. In addition, it was necessary to control for neighborhood. Neighborhoods might be structured differently, the police presence varies, and usually, the percentage of ethnic minority groups differs. In the analysis, it was controlled for the places where the interview has taken place. It can be argued that those are the places where the respondents spend time on a regular basis. Those places were three different neighborhoods of the city of Cologne while the online survey was counted as a fourth. Controlling for age was not considered relevant as the focus was on the age group from 15 to 25 years.

Table 2 displays the descriptive statistics for all the variables.

Table 2. Descriptive Statistics (All numbers are rounded up to two decimal places)

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Dependent variable					
Police contact (yes/no)	**252**	**.00**	**1.00**	**.72**	**.45**
Independent and control variables					
Non-German appearance (yes/no)	**252**	**.00**	**1.00**	**.33**	**.47**
Male (yes/no)	**252**	**.00**	**1.00**	**0.67**	**.47**
Availability (hours per week)	**252**	**.00**	**54.00**	**7.39**	**6.36**
Individual delinquency (0-1)	**252**	**.00**	**1.00**	**.28**	**.20**
Group delinquency (0-1)	**252**	**.00**	**1.00**	**.33**	**.25**
Number of respondents per area (in Cologne)					
Lindenthal	**16**				
Deutz	**99**				
Kalk	**9**				
Online	**107**				
Valid N (listwise)	**252**				

3.4. Analysis

The recording of the data and the statistical analysis were conducted using SPSS version 22. The results will be presented in section four.

3.5. Limitations

There are different aspects that limit the data at hand so they have to be treated with caution. First, a limitation occurs due to threats on validity as the study relied on respondent's memory and honesty. The time period and resources did not allow for comparing alternative resources in order to gain more accuracy. Besides that, I had to account for non-response bias, which is a major hazard in survey research. During the data analysis it turned out that many surveys were not filled in properly, hence, many missing values had to be recognized. This led to a large decrease in the original sample size as I decided to exclude those cases. However, the potential under- or overestimation of the real effect would have been an additional limitation of the findings. Further, the reader should be aware of a possible bias through the locations where the data collection has taken place. Some places might have been especially conspicuous when it comes to contact with the police, others less. Chiefly the online survey was very risky. For instance, it was difficult to take control over the persons who filled it in. It could have been the case that some people who are angry at the police used the highly anonymous character of it in order to give exaggerating answers regarding their experiences. On the other hand, it should be kept in mind that all answers, from the paper-based as well as from the online survey, might over-or underestimate the results and the effects. This was recognized by the skewness of the results. Additionally, the format of the survey was too long. Even though the non-response rate was difficult to check, it might have been less if the format would have been shorter. Yet, shortening the survey would neither have been without a risk as important information could have gone lost. Some concepts could have been covered with more items to measure in order to display a more accurate picture of the findings. More reliable results could be achieved if this study would be replicated with a larger sample size with the focus on other groups as well. But again, the time period and the resources of this research project did not allow for this. At the end, it is important to mention that the main problem might have been the measuring of the independent variable ethnic appearance. Some

youths might have had a misleading self-awareness or assessed their own appearance wrong. However, even with a larger sample size, this issue is problematic to tackle.

4. Results

At the beginning, I focus on the first hypothesis of outcome inequality. In table 3 differences between youths who reported appearing German and youths who reported appearing non-German are described and tested. As the table shows the first hypothesis of more frequent contact is not supported for the measurements. Actually, youths viewed as German reported more often to have had contact with the police. However, the difference between those two groups is not immensely big. Further, the Chi-Square test showed that the association between those variables is statistically not significant (Fisher's Exact = 0.375; 0.231).

Table 3. Outcome differences for German and non-German youths (without controls)

			Police contact (yes/no)		
			No	yes	Total
Appearance (self-reported)	German	Count	**44**	**125**	**169**
		% within Non-German appearance (ref. German appearance)	**26.0%**	**74.0%**	**100.0%**
	Non-German	Count	**26**	**57**	**83**
		% within Non-German appearance (ref. German appearance)	**31.3%**	**68.7%**	**100.0%**
Total		Count	**70**	**182**	**252**
		% within Non-German appearance (ref. German appearance)	**27.8%**	**72.2%**	**100.0%**

Next, a correlation matrix was used for the analysis. The matrix investigates the bivariate relation between multiple variables (table 4). Before checking the correlation, I tested whether the relevant variables were normally distributed. This was checked with the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test. The test indicated that both the dependent and the independent variable(s) were not normally distributed. Therefore, the next step was a bivariate test of correlation by means of the Spearman's Rank correlation. The Spearman's correlation can be used when the assumptions of the Pearson correlation are markedly violated. It is a non-parametric test measuring the degree of association between two variables. This kind of correlation analysis is not dependent on normally distributed variables. The correlation coefficients express in

how far the variables of interest relate to each other and indicate whether this correlation is significant. Due to the condensed framework of this thesis, I only examined the most significant or the most striking correlations of the matrix.

The results in table 4 indicate that individual delinquent behavior, association with a delinquent group, living in Deutz and being online correlate with police contact to a significant degree. This means that having a higher degree of individual delinquent behavior, hanging around with a delinquent group of friends and being online, all result in more frequent police contact. The correlation coefficient of police contact and Deutz has a negative augury. This demonstrates a negative correlation between the number of police contacts and this type of neighborhood. A negative correlation between those variables expresses that the average number of police contact turns out to be less if a youth is living in this neighborhood of Cologne. The correlations (or those who do not correlate) should not be seen as an absolute constraint of the results. In fact, it is central to see that there is a correlation between the dependent variable and some of the control variables at all. In addition, it is vitally important that some of the p-values are 0.000% and hence show high significance of the coefficients.

Being non-German, available, male, and living in Lindenthal or Kalk did not correlate with police contact to a significant degree. Yet it is crucial to look at the positive correlation between being non-German and living in Deutz. The more likely you are to appear non-German the more likely it is to live in this neighborhood. Moreover, being male relates to living in Deutz as well. This result is central because Deutz indicates a lesser chance of getting in contact with the police. Hence, the correlation points to a possible relationship between ethnic appearance, this kind of neighborhood and gender. Nonetheless, this result might be biased due to the relatively low number of females that took part in the survey, both online and offline. Further, it can be recognized that appearing German relates to a lower level of being online. In line with the theoretical framework of this thesis, it is not surprising that being available relates to a higher level of individual delinquency and association with a delinquent group of friends. A very strong correlation can be observed between individual and group delinquency. Being more delinquent is related to hanging around with delinquent friends. Both concepts are probably related and overlap to a certain degree, which might explain the strong correlation coefficient. Because of that, I decided to enter those two variables separately into the logistic regression.

Table 4. Correlation matrix (Spearman's rho), N = 252

		PC	NG	AV	ID	GD	M	L	D	K	O
Police contact (yes/no)	CC		**-.056**	**.048**	**.263****	**.207****	**-.025**	**-.020**	**-.172****	**.072**	**.210****
Non-German appearance (ref. German appearance)	CC			**.022**	**-.062**	**.021**	**-.042**	**-.079**	**.180****	**.093**	**-.175****
Availability	CC				**.342****	**266****	**-.065**	**.201****	**.002**	**-.059**	**-.069**
Individual delinquency	CC					**.556****	**.122**	**.179****	**.075**	**.045**	**-.195****
Group delinquency	CC						**.122**	**.182****	**.096**	**.048**	**-.235****
Male (ref. Female)	CC							**.081**	**.155***	**.000**	**-.210****
Lindenthal	CC								**-.209****	**-.050**	**-.224****
Deutz	CC									**-.155***	**-.691****
Kalk	CC										**-.165****
Online	CC										

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).
Note: CC = Correlation Coefficient; PC = Police contact; NG= Non-German appearance; AV = Availabilty; ID = Individual delinquency; GD = Group delinquency; M = Male; L = Lindenthal; D = Deutz; K = Kalk; O = Online.

Afterwards, the main statistical analysis, which is based on logistic regression models, is presented. A logistic regression enables to reveal the significant influence of the variables on being stopped by the police. The main advantage of it is to avoid confounding effects by analyzing the association of all variables together. The logistic regression explains the relationship between police contact and ethnic appearance with the impact of the control variables. I will present the results by introducing the models gradually to present the odds of being stopped by the police. This approach gives the opportunity to assess the explanatory power of the different independent and control variables.

Table 5 presents the results of the test of hypothesis 1 and hypothesis 2, while controlling for the variables which may justify differences in the number of police contacts. In order to assess the specific explanatory power of the different variables, I decided to present the regression in a few steps. I start with ethnic appearance as a single independent variable (model 1) and then subsequently enter the other variables. Model 2 introduces gender as a control variable. Model 3 adds neighborhood as a group of control variables. Model 4 and model 5 look independently at the additional explanatory power of individual delinquency and group delinquency together with availability on the streets.

As can be read from the table, the first hypothesis – concerning outcome inequality for youths being perceived as an ethnic minority – cannot be confirmed by the data. If we look at the explanatory power of ethnic appearance only (model 1), a non-German appearance does not contribute significantly to the odds of having experienced one or more police contacts. The explained variance (Nagelkerke R Square) for this model is also very small (0.004). If we control for gender, the coefficient for ethnic appearance still remains insignificant (model 2). R^2 rises minimally (0.005). When introducing neighborhood as a control variable, we can see that online alone shows statistically significant results. Being online contributes to the odds of being stopped by the police in all the models of the logistic regression. In model 3 the explained variance has increased up to 6.7. %. The fourth model introduces availability and individual delinquency. If availability is added, no changes in the significance can be noted. Availability does not contribute to the odds of being stopped by the police. However, individual delinquency adds significantly to explaining the odds of being stopped by the police in Cologne. The R^2 of this model is 0.172, thus an explained variance of 17.2% can be noted. Model 4 is the one that can explain most of the variance. When importing group delinquency instead of individual delinquency (model 5), it can be recognized that its

explanatory power is statistically significant as well. In this case, the explained variance lies at 16.6%. This outcome is ascertained by scholars who used some of the explanatory variables in other countries with similar outcomes (among them Bowling & Phillips, 2007; McAra & McView; 2005). To sum up, the data does not support hypothesis 1 that ethnic appearance has a significant impact on the odds of being stopped by the police. It neither supports hypothesis 2 that even when controlling for availability, individual delinquency and an association with a delinquent group of friends, youths viewed as non-German have more frequent police contact. Nonetheless, the variables neighborhood, in specific being online, individual delinquency and group delinquency all have unique explanatory power in this model. Those results will be further discussed in the next section.

Table 5. Logistic regression models: Police contact (yes/no), dependent variable. N = 252

	Model 1 Odds ratio Sign.	Model 2 Odds ratio Sign.	Model 3 Odds ratio Sign.	Model 4 Odds ratio Sign	Model 5 Odds ratio Sign.
Non-German appearance (ref. German)	**0.772**	**0.767**	**0.937**	**1.059**	**0.920**
Male (ref. Female)		**0.877**	**1.101**	**1.028**	**1.050**
Area (ref. Kalk, Cologne)					
Lindenthal			**1.073**	**0.837**	**0.811**
Deutz			**0.835**	**0.844**	**0.885**
Online			**2.481***	**3.318***	**3.586****
Availability (Z-score)				**0.919**	**0.943**
Individual delinquency (Z-score)				**2.257****	
Group delinquency (Z-score)					**2.069****
R^2	**0.004**	**0.005**	**0.067**	**0.172**	**0.166**
Constant	**2.841****	**3.110****	**1.921**	**1.929**	**1.851**

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

5. Discussion

The aim of this study was to analyze the relation between ethnic appearance and police contact by means of an empirical investigation among youths in Cologne. The research question was: *To what extent do youths that belong to an ethnic minority have more frequent contact with the German police?* In order to answer the question I anticipated the following:

Hypothesis 1:

Youths viewed as an ethnic minority have more frequent police contact than youths viewed as native-German.

Hypothesis 2:

Even when controlling for availability on the streets, individual delinquent behavior, and group delinquency, youths viewed as non-German have more frequent police contact.

The main findings of this study can neither support hypothesis 1 nor hypothesis 2. According to table 3, the number of police contacts of youths that appear non-German (68.7%) is less than from youths that appear German (74%). The difference is not significant and after introducing the control variables in the logistic regression ethnic appearance does not have an impact on the odds of being stopped by the police. No increase in the significance can be recognized. However, individual delinquent behavior and having association with a delinquent group have unique explanatory power (model 4 and model 5). It is not extraordinary that more individual delinquency and hanging around with a delinquent group of friends leads to more police contacts as it follows logic reasoning and confirms the findings of previously mentioned scholars.

Summing up the results, it can be concluded that the data of this thesis does not show a significant relationship between police contact and ethnic appearance. Outcome inequalities are not the result of unequal treatment, but of justifiable distinctions made by the officers in action. The research question cannot be confirmed on the basis of the outcomes of the logistic regression analysis. Some of the control variables explain police contact based on justifiable distinctions. Accordingly, the findings of this study are partly consistent with previously

published knowledge by scholars like Bowling and Phillips (2007) and McAra and McView (2005).

Further, I want to discuss unexpected findings of the study. It was found that being online had a strong effect in the data analysis. Being online continuously adds to the odds of having more frequent police contact (table 5). The impact of being online might be explained by the simple fact that people who filled in the online survey were more proactive in sharing their experiences and thus reported more extreme results. Possibly, a self-selection has taken place. Yet, it might have other explanations. Looking at the correlation coefficients again (table 4), a negative association between being online and being non-German can be determined. The results expose that being online is in association with more frequent police contact. In turn, this does not necessarily mean than individuals who spend more time online have more police contact. People who filled in the survey online probably did it with the purpose of getting their voice heard. Even though it was aimed to get a random sample, being online might lead to over-controlling of certain individuals. These findings deserve further research to spot underlying mechanisms that play a significant role.

Even though the results could not confirm the hypotheses, they are substantial and acceptable with regard to the format of this research project. The findings are important because they illustrate the complexity of the field of research. It shows that more frequent police contact is significantly influenced by individual delinquency, group delinquency and being online. Unequal treatment due to ethnic appearance seems to be much lower than expected. I was actually sure to find evidence for racial profiling in Germany, given the German media discourse and the rise of populist and racist movements. Nonetheless, my statistical findings suggest that ethnic appearance cannot explain the likelihood of getting in contact with the police and hence states that unequal treatment in policing is not happening. However, it does not mean that discrimination within the German context is not apparent. It only shows that the data cannot confirm the hypotheses.

6. Conclusion

This thesis started with the assumption that ethnic minority youths in Cologne do not perceive equal treatment in policing. Following this assumption, the focus was laid on determining the extent of unequal treatment of ethnic minority youths when it comes to police contact. To analyze this I looked at outcome inequalities between youths that appear non-German and youths that appear native-German. Further, I controlled for justifiable distinctions that might be made by police officers. Those justifiable distinctions were tested with the help of three theoretical frameworks (availability, individual delinquency, group delinquency). The empirical investigation was done by conducting a survey among youths between the age of 15 and 25. The analysis of the survey data led to the main conclusion of this thesis, namely that substantial outcome inequality does not exist and that there is no significant relationship between non-German appearance and police contact. Nonetheless, when looking at the individual survey answers and the comments of the youngsters, it occurs that certain individuals did perceive unequal treatment in policing. Although the data analysis cannot confirm evidence of racial profiling in Cologne, those results are urged to be treated with caution. Also, the smaller series of injustice that go under the radar need to be addressed. Therefore, the disparities within the power structure of the institutional system have to be implicated. The police aims at combatting crime proactively. The success of it remains unclear. Police officers have to act at one's own discretion which is often accompanied by bias. This bias can be recognized by many of us in everyday life. However, at the end of the day, it gets really difficult to proof it with quantitative data. Stereotypes, prejudices, and bias are a relative complex topic. Not each police officer acts the same, which makes generalizations dangerous. In order to improve our justice system and to strengthen democracy, we have to challenge ourselves and question our biases and preconceptions. This study cannot explain more frequent police contact by ethnicity. The results show that there are other independent factors that play a role. Probably there exist many others than those included in the study. Being at the wrong place at the wrong time might be such another approach. It is important to be aware of the fact that racism is not static and that unequal treatment is difficult to measure. This study is only a starting point. Further studies on this issue need to follow. Only when the exact reasons behind the examined relationship are found, actual and perceived discrimination in policing can be combatted.

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8. Appendix

Table 6. Chi-Square Tests

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	**.776**[a]	**1**	**.378**		
Continuity Correction[b]	**.535**	**1**	**.464**		
Likelihood Ratio	**.767**	**1**	**.381**		
Fisher's Exact Test				**.375**	**.231**
Linear-by-Linear Association	**.773**	**1**	**.379**		
N of Valid Cases	**252**				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 23.06.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Table 7. One-Sample Kolmogorov-Smirnov Test

One-Sample Kolmogorov-Smirnov Test

		NG	ID	AV	GD	PC	M	L	D	O	K
N		**252**	**252**	**252**	**252**	**252**	**252**	**252**	**252**	**252**	**252**
Normal Parameters[a,b]	Mean	**.3294**	**.2803**	**7.3972**	**.3277**	**.7222**	**.6667**	**.0635**	**.3929**	**.4246**	**.0357**
	SD	**.47092**	**.20036**	**6.36493**	**.24519**	**.44879**	**.47234**	**.24433**	**.48936**	**.49527**	**.18595**
Most Extreme Differences	Absolute	**.428**	**.146**	**.132**	**.148**	**.454**	**.426**	**.539**	**.396**	**.380**	**.540**
	Positive	**.428**	**.146**	**.132**	**.148**	**.268**	**.254**	**.539**	**.396**	**.380**	**.540**
	Negative	**-.252**	**-.089**	**-.123**	**-.091**	**-.454**	**-.426**	**-.397**	**-.285**	**-.302**	**-.424**
Test Statistic		**.428**	**.146**	**.132**	**.148**	**.454**	**.426**	**.539**	**.396**	**.380**	**.540**
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)		**.000**[c]	**.000**[c]	**.000**[c]	**.000**[c]	**.000**[c]	**.000**[c]	**.000**[c]	**.000**[c]	**.000**[c]	**.000**[c]

a. Test distribution is Normal.

b. Calculated from data.

c. Lilliefors Significance Correction.

Note: SD = Standard deviation; NG = Non-German appearance; ID = Individual delinquency; AV = Availability; GD = Group delinquency; PC = Police contact; M = Male; L = Lindenthal; D =Deutz; O = Online; K = Kalk.

Studie: Jugend und Polizei

Vielen Dank, dass du an dieser Studie teilnimmst.

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

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

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

Dies betrifft nur den Interviewer/die Interviewerin:

Interviewer/Interviewerin:..... Datum:.....

Ort: .....
Bemerkungen:
.....
.....

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

A. Hintergrundfragen

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

A2 Geschlecht?

- O männlich
- O weiblich

A3 Welchem ethnischen Hintergrund fühlst du dich selbst zugehörig?

- O Deutsch
- O Russisch
- O Polnisch
- O Türkisch
- O Marokkanisch
- o Tunesisch
- o Kurdisch
- o Albanisch
- o Libanesisch
- o Sonstige (bitte eintragen)……

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

- O Als eine/n Deutsche/n Jugendliche/n
- O Als eine/n nicht-Deutsche/n Jugendliche/n

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

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

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

- O Grundschule
- O Gymnasium
- O Gesamtschule
- O Realschule
- O Hauptschule
- o Berufsschule
- o Universität
- o Sonstige (bitte eintragen)……

A7 Sieht man die Polizei häufig in deiner Nachbarschaft?

- O Sehr selten
- O Selten
- O Regelmäßig
- O Oft

O Sehr oft

A8 In welchen Farbtönen kleidest du dich meistens? (Bitte nur eine Antwort geben)

O Helle Farben
O Dunkle Farben
O Gemischt/ Immer anders

A9 Wie würdest du deinen Kleidungsstil beschreiben? (Bitte nur eine Antwort angeben)

O Modisch - Schick
O Sportlich - Casual
O Ordentlich - Unauffällig
O Wild - Provozierend

A10 Welchem Kleidungstyp würdest du dich am ehesten selbst zuordnen? (Bitte nur eine Antwort geben)

O Hipster/in
O Alternativ/Punk
O Skater/in – Streetstyle
O Klassisch/Schick
O Nichts von all dem

A11 Welche der folgenden Aussagen treffen auf dich zu?

O Ich trage sichtbare Piercings
O Ich trage sichtbare Tattoos
O Ich trage gerne dunkle Klamotten
O Ich möchte mit meinem Kleidungsstil provozieren
O Ich trage gerne Kleidung die mich versteckt, z.B. Hoodies oder Caps
O Nichts von all dem

B. Fragen bezüglich deiner Freunde und deines Freundeskreises

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

O Ja
O Nein → Fortfahren mit Rubrik C

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

Mit ..... Personen (Bitte Anzahl angeben)

B3 Wie viele Stunden pro Woche verbringst du ca. mit deinen Freunden?

..... Stunden pro Woche

B4 An welchen Ort triffst du dich bei schönem, warmem Wetter mit deinen Freunden (maximal 3 Antworten)?

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

C. Fragen bezüglich deiner Erfahrungen mit der Polizei

C1 Wie oft hattest du in den letzten 12 Monaten Kontakt mit der Polizei? ..... mal

C2 Wie oft ist es in den letzten 12 Monaten vorgekommen, dass ein Polizist/eine Polizistin dich angesprochen hat, ohne dass es dazu einen klaren Grund gab? ..... mal

C3 Wie oft sind die folgenden Dinge passiert als du in den letzten 12 Monaten Kontakt mit der Polizei hattest?		Bitte eintragen
a.	Wie oft hast du in den letzten 12 Monaten Bußgelder verhängt bekommen?	..... mal
b.	Wie oft hat die Polizei dir oder euch (deiner Gruppe und dir) eine Verwarnung gegeben?	..... mal
c.	Wie oft hast du der Polizei deinen Personalausweis zeigen müssen?	..... mal
d.	Wie oft bist du auf der Straße durchsucht worden?	..... mal
e.	Wie oft wurdest du mit auf das Polizeipräsidium genommen?	..... mal
f.	Wie oft hat die Polizei etwas von dir beschlagnahmt?	..... mal
g.	Wie oft hat die Polizei dir oder euch (deiner Gruppe und dir) gegenüber einen Platzverweis ausgesprochen?	..... mal

C4 Inwiefern stimmst du folgenden Aussagen bezüglich deiner Begegnungen mit der Polizei in den letzten zwölf Monate zu? (Wenn du keine Begegnungen mit der Polizei in den letzten 12 Monaten hattest dann Frage überspringen)

		Stimme voll zu	Stimme eher zu	neutral	Stimme eher nicht zu	Stimme gar nicht zu
a.	Die Polizei hat mich korrekt behandelt	o	o	o	o	o
b.	Die Polizei hat mich fair behandelt	o	o	o	o	o
c.	Die Polizei hat mich so behandelt, wie jeder andere in dieser Situation behandelt worden wäre	o	o	o	o	o
d.	Die Polizei hat mich mit Respekt behandelt	o	o	o	o	o

C4b Möchtest du eine Erläuterung zu deinen Aussagen bezüglich deiner Begegnungen mit der Polizei geben?

……

……

……

C5 Inwiefern stimmst du folgenden Aussagen zu?		Stimme voll zu	Stimme eher zu	neutral	Stimme eher nicht zu	Stimme gar nicht zu
a.	Wenn mir die Polzei eine Frage stellt, beantworte ich diese ehrlich	o	o	o	o	o
b.	Wenn die Polizei mich als Zeuge befragen will, arbeite ich mit	o	o	o	o	o
c.	Wenn die Polizei mir einen Platzverweis erteilt, gehe ich ohne zu diskutieren	o	o	o	o	o
d.	Wenn ich sehe, dass jemand in ein Auto einbrechen will, versuche ich die Polizei zu verständigen	o	o	o	o	o

D. Verbotene Dinge tun

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

		D1 Wie oft haben deine Freunde das in den letzten 12 Monaten getan?			**D2** Hast du das selbst in den letzten 12 Monaten getan?	
		Keinmal	Einmal oder Zweimal	Mehr als Zweimal	Ja	nein
a.	Schwarzfahren im Bus oder Zug	o	o	o	o	o
b.	Eine Verkehrsübertretung begehen	o	o	o	o	o
c.	Schule schwänzen	o	o	o	o	o
d.	Absichtlich Dinge anderer beschädigen	o	o	o	o	o
e.	Mauern, Zäune, Bussitze und dergleichen mit Farbe beschmieren	o	o	o	o	o
f.	Etwas stehlen oder versucht zu stehlen	o	o	o	o	o
g.	Einbrechen oder versucht einzubrechen	o	o	o	o	o
h.	Jemanden verprügelt	o	o	o	o	o

i.	Über das Alter lügen um Alkohol oder Zigaretten kaufen zu können	o	o	o	o	o
j.	Eine Waffe mit sich tragen zum Schutz	o	o	o	o	o
k.	In der Öffentlichkeit betrunken sein	o	o	o	o	o
l.	Weiche Drogen nehmen	o	o	o	o	o
m.	Harte Drogen nehmen	o	o	o	o	o
n.	Drogen verkauft	o	o	o	o	o
o.	Unbekannten Frauen auf der Straße nachgerufen	o	o	o	o	o

D3 Hast du jemals das Gefühl gehabt, dass die Polizei dich nur aufgrund deines ethnischen Hintergrundes angehalten hat?

o Ja
o Nein → Gehe zu Frage D5

D4 Könntest du erklären, warum du das Gefühl hast, dass es aufgrund deines ethnischen Hintergrundes war?

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

D5 Um zu wissen, in welcher Nachbarschaft du lebst würden wir gerne deine Postleitzahl wissen. Wärst du bereit uns diese zu geben? ....

D6 Dies ist das Ende des Fragebogens. Hast du noch irgendwelche Anmerkungen?

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

Vielen Dank für deine Mitarbeit !