Ethnicity of adolescents and equal treatment by the police in Düsseldorf

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STUDY PROGRAMME

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June 2016

Abstract

Summary

The main interest of this paper is whether adolescents with a non-German ethnic appearance are treated differently by the police than adolescents with a German ethnic appearance. To investigate whether that is the case two research questions have been asked. The first research question is: "To what extent are adolescents with a non-German ethnic appearance more likely to experience police contacts than adolescents with a German ethnic appearance?" The second research question is: "To what extent is the effect of ethnic appearance of adolescents on police contact moderated by the socioeconomic status of the city district?" Both questions are empirical research questions with an explanatory character. To answer them a cross-sectional research design has been used. As the focus of the research is set on equal treatment of adolescents by the police the units of observation have been adolescents. A survey has been conducted in which quantitative data have been gathered. The originated data have been analyzed to test the hypotheses stated and to answer the research questions.

Results

The analysis of the data has been done using multiple regression analyses. A binary logistic regression and linear regression models have been conducted. The results of the logistic regression model show that ethnic appearance is no significant predictor of the independent variable police contact. Further a significant effect of the socioeconomic status of a city district on the relationship between ethnic appearance and police contact has not been found. All hypotheses stated have been rejected.

Conclusion

There is no evidence to state that ethnic minority adolescents experience significantly more police contacts than German adolescents. Further the socioeconomic status of a city district did not affect the relationship between ethnicity and police contacts. Unequal treatment of ethnic minority adolescents by the police could not be found. Further research on the topic is recommended.

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1. Introduction

European societies are getting increasingly more diverse. Countries like France, Belgium and Germany and most of the big cities are melting pots of people from different countries with different ethnic appearances. The current so called refugee crisis is leading to even more cultural diverse societies. The increasing number of refugees as well as the increasing diversity of European countries is however not desired by all European citizens.

The desire of parts of the European citizens to stop further immigration as well as the claim for more measures against criminal minorities grows especially in the light of media reports about migrant criminality or crime committed by ethnic minority members. In Germany there has been a discussion about stricter police controls for migrants against the background of the happenings at new year's evening 2015 in Cologne, at which a mob of mainly young migrant men could almost uninterrupted by the police harass women and riot in front of Cologne cathedral.

Furthermore media reports about criminality are nowadays frequently connected to the refugee crisis and terrorism, causing a growing anti-immigrant rhetoric within Europe. Right-wing political parties like the AFD in Germany which base their political agenda on assertions about refugees, ethnic minorities and the Islam are gaining the reception of large parts of the majority populations.

Anti-immigrant rhetoric and populism have led to a growing fear of and distrust in ethnic minorities in European societies. Hooghe and de Vroome (2016) assume that the "presence of immigrant groups in a local community could contribute to fear of crime among the majority population"(Hooghe & de Vroome, 2016, p.66). The desire of some political leaders and parts of the society to implement more and stricter police controls of criminal immigrants comes along with the risk of fostering unequal treatment and discrimination of ethnic minorities. More concentrated controls of ethnic minorities to proactively fight terrorism and criminal migrants could promote unequal treatment and discrimination of ethnic minorities.

The problem of unequal treatment of minorities by the police is well known in European politics. The ECRI, the Council of Europe´s Commission again Racism and Intolerance did criticize discriminatory police practices in several European countries including Germany (Duval, Rostas, Hayes, & Humphreys, 2005). By criticizing discriminatory police practices the ECRI addresses member states in which the police is not working according to the law and in the interest of the people. Article 3 of the German constitution puts it as following "All persons shall be equal before the law" (German Constitution, art. 3). Unequal treatment of ethnic minorities by the police is violating this article.

In times in which European societies are changing to multinational and multicultural melting pots it will be an important task of politicians, society and the police to resist nationalistic thoughts, not to judge people on behalf of their ethnic appearance. Research on the topic of unequal treatment of ethnic minorities by the police in the United States shows that racially biased behavior has led to a mistrust of ethnic minorities in the police and the government, as discriminated people tend to see the police as an extension or proxy of the government (Schuck, Rosenbaum, & Hawkins, 2008, p.498). Far less people from ethnic minorities report to have trust in the police compared to people from the majority population (Schuck et al., 2008, p.479). Additionally Reisig and Parks (2000) report that especially the relationship between neighborhood disadvantage and negative attitudes towards the police is strong in the United States. Svensson and Saharso (2015) who did a study about unequal treatment and proactive policing in Europe did also recognize that place can affect the number of police contacts.

In recent times where the proactive fight against Islamic terrorism is considered to be one of the most important tasks of the police, disadvantaged districts with a great proportion of ethnic minority citizens become the target of frequent police controls. Districts like Moleenbek in Belgium stand as a proxy for failed integration and are labeled as safe havens for terrorists and criminals. The desire of politicians and the public to regain authority in such disadvantaged districts comes along with the risk of unequal treatment and false suspicion by the police. Further stigmatization of minorities by parts of the majority population and unequal treatment of ethnic minorities by the police could lead to a wider gap within European societies. It will be an important task of European leaders to handle the demand for a more proactive police as well as to fight discrimination and inequality which is a matter influencing the communal life of European citizens (Duval et al., 2005).

The overall aim of this study is to enlarge the already existing literature. A lot of research has been made on the topic of equal treatment of ethnic minorities by the police. However the role of disadvantaged districts and its association with equal treatment by the police has not been the midpoint in many studies. It is tested whether unequal treatment of ethnic minority adolescents is taking place and whether the socioeconomic status of a city district has an influence on possible unequal treatment of ethnic minority adolescents. Furthermore the variables availability, involvement in a delinquent group and individual delinquency are regarded as control variables. These variables are important to conclude whether unequal treatment is taking place of discriminatory reasons or if it is caused by factors justifying police actions.

The city of interest is the German city Düsseldorf. Düsseldorf is a city which has a great gap between rich districts and more disadvantaged ones. Since there is not much similar research focusing on city districts the scientific relevance of this study is noteworthy. This study should be seen as a starting point for further research. As the study is conducted in a single city potential findings cannot be generalized yet. Therefore

similar research in other cities would provide the opportunity to develop a database large enough to make conclusions which would have overall relevance.

1.1. Research questions

The topic of ethnicity of adolescents and equal treatment by the police in Düsseldorf already gives the direction of the research questions. The main interest is whether ethnic minority adolescents are treated differently by the police and whether the district they live in has an effect on the treatment. According to that, two explanatory research questions have been developed for this study. The first research question addressing the relationship between ethnicity and police behavior is following:

1. "To what extent are adolescents with a non-German ethnic appearance more likely to experience police contacts than adolescent with a German ethnic appearance?"

The second research question brings the influence of the socioeconomic status of a city district into account. The research question asked to find out whether the relation between ethnicity and police contact is affected by the city district is following:

2. "To what extent is the effect of ethnic appearance of adolescents on police contact moderated by the socioeconomic status of the city district?"

Next to the main research questions eight hypotheses are stated.

2. Theory and concepts

2.1 Ethnicity and police contact

Unequal treatment by the police is a concept which is described in many studies using different terms. Racial profiling, ethnic profiling, discrimination, misconduct and abuse are a few of the conventional terms used to describe similar concepts (Miller et al., 2008). Some of these concepts differ in detail, but all of them have in common, that they describe situations in which unequal treatment on the basis of criteria for which no objective justification exists, is taking place (Salentin, 2007, p.33). Unequal treatment of ethnic minorities by the police is well known in many countries. In Europe the concept gained attention after the terroristic attacks on the World Trade Center in 2001 (Goldston, 2005, p.6) . In the aftermath of it especially Muslim minorities in Europe became the target of discriminatory police practices (Duval et al., 2005, p.16). In Europe unequal treatment by the police is legally addressed by the European Convention on Human Rights which prohibits racial discrimination in the enjoyment of civil and political rights. However, a European-wide norm defining and outlawing the practice has not been established (Goldston, 2005, p.9).

In the United States researchers do frequently denounce that ethnic minorities are significantly more likely than the majority population to report fear of unwarranted harassment by the police (Schuck et al., 2008). Many studies on the topic of unequal treatment of ethnic minorities by the police have been conducted in the United States in which the concept is more familiar than in continental Europe (Goldston, 2005, p.8).

Nevertheless there are also studies which have been conducted in Europe. One of those studies focusing on Europe has been made by Miller et al. (2008). The intention of the authors was to find evidence for disproportionality in police stops and thus for ethnic profiling. They collected data from Bulgaria, Hungary and Spain focusing mainly on the Roma population. Using multiple data collection methods and research designs Miller et al. (2008) contested that disproportionality in police stops could be seen and that ethnic profiling is taking place (Miller et al., 2008, pp.182-185).

A study related to the same topic but showing a different result has been done by Svensson and Saharso (2015). The study focuses on proactive policing and unequal treatment of ethnic minority youths. Thereby the concept of proactive policing is central to their study. The authors suspect proactive policing to be a possible source of discrimination as police officers might decide on the basis of ethnicity who is checked and who not. Besides just measuring a possible disproportional outcome in the number of police contacts it was tested whether police contacts for ethnic minorities could also be explained by factors other than the ethnic appearance. In the analysis of their data Svensson and Saharso (2015) statistically controlled for

factors other than ethnic appearance to test whether unequal treatment is taking place on the basis of ethnic appearance. They conclude that even though there are differences in the number of proactive policing contacts between ethnic minority adolescents and native Dutch adolescents, the extent of unequal treatment of ethnic minority youths is limited thus showing that a disproportionality in the number of police contacts can be explained by factors other than ethnicity and that a disproportionality does not directly equal discrimination (Svensson & Saharso, 2015, p.406).

2.2 Status of district and other factors

Considering this research to show a possible effect of the socioeconomic status of a city district on the relation between ethnicity and police contacts, the variable socioeconomic status of a city district is highly relevant. Unequal treatment by the police could be explained by the socioeconomic status of a city district. In various studies the effect of the condition of city districts on police behavior has been discussed using different notations. The most common notation is neighborhood effect.

Svensson and Saharso (2015) concluded that they were worried about the strength of the neighborhood (Svensson & Saharso, 2015, p.406). Nonetheless they also gave a possible explanation for it. The focus of the police on disadvantaged neighborhoods and the strong availability of youngsters on the street could cause police contacts. In other words the decision of the police to control ethnic minority youngsters could rather be caused by justifiable distinctions than for ethnic reasons.

Smith and Holmes (2014) who also tested the neighborhood effect concluded that a relatively large minority population in certain districts may not be enough to explain unequal treatment by the police in total. They state that an interplay of psychological dynamics of the police and the circumstances in disadvantaged neighborhoods may be the reason for police discrimination. (Smith & Holmes, 2014, pp.86-87).

Even though Smith and Holmes (2014) have analyzed neighborhoods in the United States where crime, exposure to violence and disobedient behavior is stronger than in Europe, the place hypothesis they tested, can be transferred to Europe as well. However implicitly on a different level. Disadvantaged city districts give the police several reasons to be more present and to undertake more controls. Social isolation, poverty, crime, drugs, weapon availability, violence and social disorder are common circumstances in disadvantaged neighborhoods (Smith & Holmes, 2014, p.86). Police officers working in such conditions may become conditioned to associate people from these neighborhoods as well as a particular types of people, with criminality and danger (Smith & Holmes, 2014, pp.86-87). As a result, being an individual living in a disadvantaged neighborhood might be enough to constitute a potential suspect for the police. Thereof

resulting disproportionality in police contacts generates conflicts and creates rifts between the police and citizens from poor districts. On one side are the citizens who are likely to evade or resist because of the experiences they have made with the police and on the other side is the police who demands respect for their authority and expects citizens to obey (Smith & Holmes, 2014).

Schuck et al. (2008) explain this conflict with a gap in the expectations of residents for the police and the ability of the police to meet those expectations in the circumstances of disadvantaged districts. People living in disadvantaged neighborhoods are said to be likely to expect the police to work like they do in advantaged neighborhoods, forgetting about the fact that the circumstances in their neighborhood are probably the cause for a more offensive police behavior (Schuck et al., 2008, p.513).

Besides the socioeconomic status of a district there are other factors which are possible determinants for the number of police contacts. Disproportionality in police contacts can often be explained by justifiable means of an interplay of experiences of the police officer and variables like availability, neighborhood and delinquency. There are studies in which unequal treatment by the police has been validated while in other studies there has not been enough evidence to confirm unequal treatment by the police on the basis of ethnic appearance. Regardless of the result most of the authors agree about the fact that although ethnicity might be the reason for certain police behavior, other factors might cause it as well.

Miller et al. (2008) conclude that "socioeconomic, demographic and lifestyle factors, along with variations in police deployment, can profoundly affect the attention given to different ethnic groups, when these factors are correlated with ethnicity" (Miller et al., 2008, p.174). Factors which could cause special attention on ethnic minorities are named differently throughout the existing literature. However the notation of "risk of exposure" is often used as synonym for the different factors (Salentin, 2007, p.39). Also the notation of "availability" is commonly used to describe the behavior of people who are spending a lot of time in the public sphere and therefor expose themselves to the risk of more frequent police contacts. Besides availability, delinquent behavior is also considered to be have an influence on the number of police contacts (Svensson & Saharso, 2015, p.397).

Because of these factors an objective and direct way of measurement of unequal treatment is difficult if not impossible. Police officers who search for suspects may use certain stereotypes of people along with other factors such as age, location and time to decide who to control for (Miller et al., 2008, p.163). Delinquent action whether committed in a group or by an individual enhances the chance to be contacted by the police. Furthermore is a population which is available for police controls because of their presence on the street more likely to report more police contacts. A problematic issue existing because of these factors is that individuals from ethnic minorities as well as researcher may not recognize that the factors could be determining for police contact and therefore perceive police contacts to be unjustified and discriminating.

Therefore the variables availability and delinquency have to be taken into account to make scientific relevant conclusions about unequal treatment in policing.

2.3 Hypotheses and model

To answer the research questions eight hypotheses concerning the variables explained in the theory part are tested. The first hypothesis H1 assumes a direct relationship between ethnicity and police contacts and is thereby connected to the first research question.

Hypothesis 1, (H1)

Adolescents with a non-German ethnic appearance experience more frequent police contact than adolescents with a German ethnic- appearance

The second hypothesis is strongly connected to the second research question. It is an assumption about the effect of the status of district variable on the relationship between ethnicity and police contact.

Hypothesis 2, (H2):

Adolescents with a non- German ethnic appearance living in a disadvantaged district are more likely to experience police contacts than adolescents living in an advantaged district

The remaining hypotheses are dealing with the influence of the variables availability, individual delinquency and group delinquency.

Hypothesis 3, (H3):

Adolescents with a non-German ethnic appearance do spend more hours on the streets than adolescents with a German ethnic appearance

Hypothesis 4, (H4):

Adolescent spending high numbers of hours on the streets are more likely to experience police contacts than adolescents spending low numbers of hours on the street

Hypothesis 5, (H5):

Adolescents with a non-German ethnic appearance are more likely to have a higher level of individual delinquency than adolescents with a German ethnic appearance

Hypothesis 6, (H6):

Adolescents with a higher level of individual delinquency are more likely to experience police contacts than adolescents without a high level of individual delinquency

Hypothesis 7, (H7):

Adolescents with a non-German ethnic appearance are more likely to have friends that have a high level of delinquency than adolescents with a German ethnic appearance

Hypothesis 8, (H8):

Adolescents having friends that have a high level of individual delinquency are more likely to experience police contacts than adolescents without friends that show a high level of individual delinquency
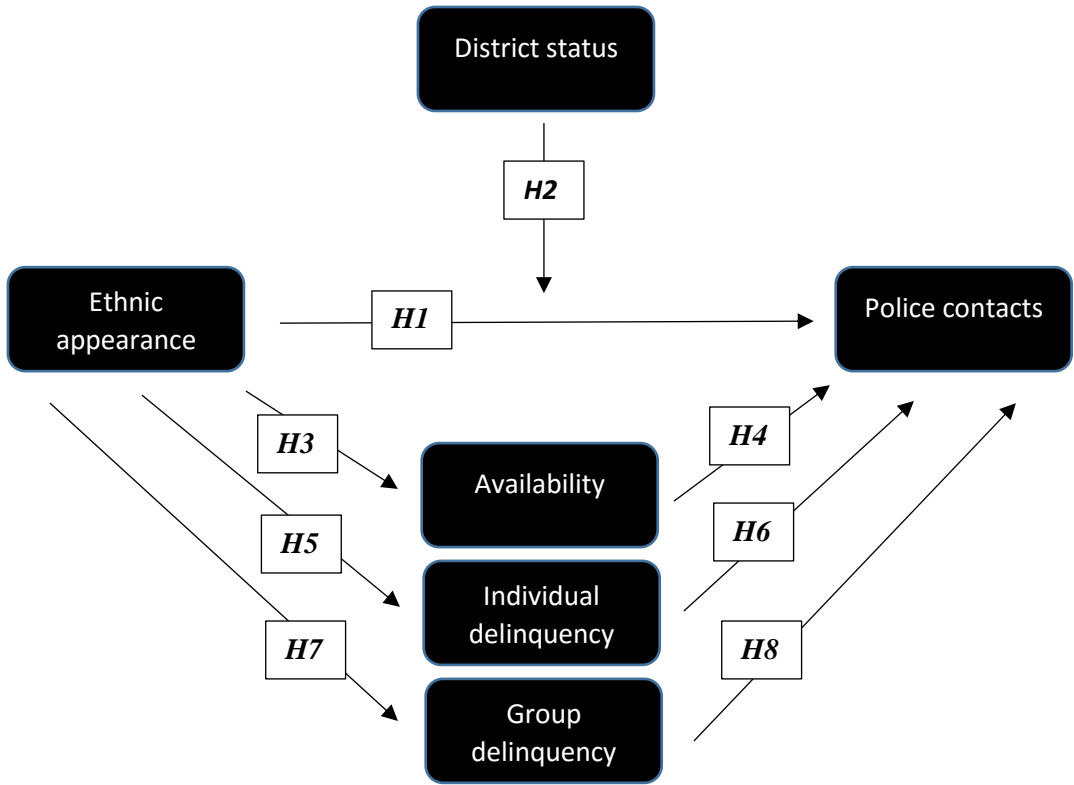
Figure 1: Concept map of the variables

3. Methodology

3. 1 Research design

The topic of this paper includes concepts and variables which cannot be measured in a simple way. Especially the concept "equal treatment by the police" can hardly be observed in an objective way. Furthermore there are several control variables introduced which have to be taken into consideration.

In the field of social science there are various possibilities to conduct research. A possibility would be to directly focus on police contacts as there would be the chance to observe contacts between ethnic minority adolescents and the police. Based on such observations it could be concluded whether unequal treatment has taken place. However this direct way of measurement includes multiple sources of error. In some cases the police could have justifiable reasons to contact a citizen which cannot be observed and thus cannot be measured correctly. Police behavior could also vary from situation to situation based on the behavior of the controlled person. Therefore a direct way of observation has not been an option for this study.

The best option for this study has been to use a cross-sectional research design. As the concept of unequal treatment is complex more than one variable had to be measured. Besides police contact, ethnic appearance and district status the variables which Svensson and Saharso (2015) have chosen in their study of unequal treatment by the police are used for this study too. The variables are availability, individual delinquency and group delinquency. A self-report survey was conducted to measure factors and variables which are having an influence on the concept "equal treatment by the police".

3.2 Questionnaire

The questionnaire used in this study is a slightly changed version of the questionnaire developed by Svensson and Saharso (2015). The questionnaire is anonymous and has already been used in various studies on the topic of equal treatment in policing. It consists of four sections (A, B, C and D) each concerning a different topic.

In section A the respondents are asked questions concerning their personal background and ethnic appearance. Section B entails questions regarding the respondents' circle of friends, section C about the respondents' experiences with the police. In section D questions about possible individual delinquent behavior as well as about possible involvement in a delinquent group are asked.

The questionnaire entails mainly closed questions but also three open-end questions. The closed questions either provided feasible answers, a box in which the respondents were expected to fill in a number or a Likert scale with answer possibilities ranging from totally disagree to totally agree.

3.3 Data

This study is based on quantitative data which have been collected via a paper-based survey. As the title of the research already defines, the units of analysis of this study are adolescents. Adolescents are also the units of observation and thus the population from which the data have been collected. In more concrete terms adolescents are youngsters in the age from 12 to 25.

The survey has been conducted at three days in May 2016 in Düsseldorf. Data have been collected at the Rhine boardwalk, in Parks and in one school. Different places in different districts were chosen to enhance the chance to get an equal number of respondents from advantaged and disadvantaged districts. Furthermore it has been regarded that male and female respondents have been in approximately the same number as well as German and non-German adolescents, to be able to form a data set representing the average population of youngsters in Düsseldorf.

From 185 filled in questionnaires 113 have been used to arrange the data set. Data of uncomplete questionnaires and data of respondents who were older than 25 or who were not living in Düsseldorf have not been added to the data set. The sample consists of 59 females (52.2 %) and 54 males (47.8 %). The mean age of all respondents is 19.3 years (SD 2.4753) while the youngest respondent is 13 years old and the oldest is 25.

Table 1: Data attributes

	n	%
Gender		
- Female	59	52.2%
- Male	54	47.8%
Ethnicity		
- German	47	41.6%
- German and other ethnicity	24	21.2%
- non German	42	37.2%
Ethnic appearance		
- German	65	57.5%
- Non- German	48	42.5%
District status		
- Advantaged	57	50.45%
- Disadvantages	56	59.55%

3.4 Measurement

Ethnicity

The main independent variable of this study is ethnic appearance as discrimination of ethnic minorities by the police implies that the police knows the ethnicity of controlled individuals (Goldston, 2005, p.7). While it might be possible to detect the ethnicity of an individual in certain cultures it is difficult if not impossible in others. Germany is a country in which ethnic categories are strongly context-dependent which means that it can be impossible to assign people to either an ethnic minority group or the ethnic majority population (Salentin, 2007, p.37). To circumvent such problems of definition according to this paper ethnic minority members are all individuals with an ethnic appearance different from the ethnic appearance of the majority population. Therefore ethnicity is measured by means of the perceived ethnic appearance of an adolescent participating in this study. To measure ethnic appearance the respondents have been asked to answer the question: "How do you think a police officer will perceive you when he/she sees you on the streets?" (Question A4). Possible answers to the question have been "as a German adolescent" or "as a non-German adolescent"

Police contact

The concept of police contact is the main dependent variable of this study. Disproportionality in police contacts would mean that unequal treatment, whether justified or not, is taking place. Police contact has been measured by asking the respondent the number of police contacts he or she has experienced in the last 12 months (Question C1). The sample data on police contacts is strongly skewed. 70 of 113 respondents report that they did not have contact with the police in the last 12 months. A single police contact is reported by 20 respondents, and two contacts by 15 respondents. The maximum number of police contacts which has been measured is 10. Figure 2 shows the distribution of the police contact variable.

District status

To test hypothesis two and to answer the second research question the variable district status had to be measured. District status means the socioeconomic condition of a certain district of Düsseldorf.

To code the variable every of the 50 districts of Düsseldorf has been assigned to either the category advantaged or disadvantaged. The criteria upon which a district has been assigned to one of the categories

have been unemployment rate and proportion of people who receive social welfare. Districts who had a higher unemployment rate and a higher social welfare receiver proportion than the average of the total city have been assigned to the group of disadvantaged districts. Due to that criteria 14 of the 50 districts have been labeled as disadvantaged. Table 11 presents a list with the relevant data of all districts.

The necessary information have been provided by the website of the Amt für Statistik und Wahlen Landeshauptstadt Düsseldorf (2014). The measurement of the district variable has been done by asking the respondents to state in which district of Düsseldorf they were living. In detail the question is: "In which district of Düsseldorf do you live in?"(Question D6). Approximately equal parts of the respondents were living in advantaged and disadvantaged districts.

Control variables

Besides ethnicity there are other variables which could provide justifiable reasons for police officers to contact certain individuals. The variables which are measured in this research are availability, individual delinquency and group delinquency.

Availability

The question to measure availability included in the questionnaire is question A5f. The question directly asks how many hours per week the respondent spends on the streets or in a shopping center. The number of hours respondents answered they would spend on the street or in a shopping center ranges from zero hours to 40 hours a week. The mean is 6.80 hours (SD 7.473).

Involvement in a delinquent group/ group delinquency

The variable involvement in a delinquent group is measured by asking 15 questions (Question D1a- D1o). All questions begin with "How many times did your friends do this (e.g. stealing) in the last 12 months" and could have been answered with "Not once", "Once or twice" and "More than twice". The 15 items have been added up to a new variable called group delinquency. The Cronbach's alpha of the constructed group delinquency variable is 0.729.

Individual delinquency

Individual delinquency is measured through asking the same 15 questions which have been used to measure group delinquency but applied to the respondent's individual engagement in forbidden activities in the last 12 months. All questions start with "Did you do this (e.g. stealing) in the last 12 months" and could have been answered with "Yes" or "No" (Questions D2a- D2o). As for group delinquency all items have been used to form a new variable. The variable is called individual delinquency and has a Cronbach's alpha of 0.669.

Table 2: Measurement of dependent and independent variables

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Dependent variable					
Police contact (Yes/No, 1=Yes)	113	0	1	.38	.49
Independent variables					
Ethnic appearance (1=non-German ethnic appearance)	113	0	1	.42	.50
Gender (1=Male)	113	0	1	.48	.50
District status (1=Disadvantaged)	113	0	1	.50	.50
Availability (Hours per week)	113	0	40	6.50	7.44
Individual delinquency (0-15)	111	0	15	3.42	2.48
Group delinquency (0-30)	111	0	21	6.58	4.38
Valid N (listwise)	110				

3.5 Data analysis

A data set made of the collected data has been used for the data analysis. The analysis has been done using SPSS version 22. Besides frequency analyses and cross tabulations used to gain an overview of the data more complex regression analyses have been performed. A binary logistic regression as well as three linear regression models constitute the midpoint of the analysis.

4. Results

In the following section the results of the analysis of the collected data are presented. Further the hypotheses introduced in section 3.4 are tested. Prior to the regression analyses a correlation test has been made to see in how far the variables are correlated to each other.

Table 3:Pearson´s correlation between measures (n=110-113)

	PC	EA	G	AV	ID	GD	DS
Police Contact	1	.027	.235*	.068	.111	.039	-.048
Ethnic appearance	.027	1	.110	-.019	.052	.075	.079
Gender	.235*	.110	1	-.320**	-.131	-.116	.044
Availability	.068	-.019	-,320**	1	.245**	.280**	-.062
Individual delinquency	.111	.052	-.131	.245**	1	.513**	.016
Group delinquency	.039	.075	-.116	.280**	.513**	1	-.241*
District status	-.048	.079	.044	-.062	.016	-.241*	1

Note: PC=Police Contact, EA=Ethnic appearance, G=Gender, AV=Availability, ID=Individual delinquency, GD=Group delinquency, DS=District status

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

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

Table 3 shows the results of the Pearson´s correlation analysis. The variables included in the correlation analysis are police contact, ethnic appearance, gender, availability, individual delinquency, group delinquency and district status.

The correlation table shows results which have not been expected. It is notable that besides gender no other variable is showing a significant correlation with the dependent variable of this study, police contact. The correlation coefficient of (.235) indicates that being male is related to a higher number of police contacts. However the strength of the correlation between gender and police controls is weak.

A correlation of moderate strength (.513) has been found between individual delinquency and group delinquency showing that adolescents who are individually delinquent are likely to be also involved in a delinquent group and vice versa. Other significant correlations of weak strength have been found between gender and availability and between availability and the delinquency variables. The correlation between gender and availability (-.320) implies that girls are more likely to spend time on the street or in a shopping center whereas the correlation between availability and individual delinquency (.245), respectively group delinquency (.280) shows that adolescents who spend a lot of time on the streets are more likely to show delinquent behavior. Another significant correlation (-.241) can be found between district status and group delinquency. As the correlation coefficient is negative the correlation insists that adolescent from a more advantaged district are more likely to be involved in group delinquent behavior.

4.1 Hypotheses review

To test the hypotheses various regression analyses haven been conducted. The logistic regression analysis with police contact as dependent variable, presented in table 5, makes it contingent to test most of the hypotheses. The remaining hypotheses have been tested using linear regression models.

The binary logistic regression analysis has been conducted in four steps each constituting a new model. In step one ethnic appearance has been added to the model. In step two gender has been introduced and in step three the variables availability, group delinquency and individual delinquency have been added. Furthermore in step four district status and the variable district status*ethnic appearance have been added.

The variable district status*ethnic appearance is introduced to explicitly test the second research question in which the effect of district status on the relationship between ethnic appearance and police contact is of interest. Therefore the merged variable rather serves as a possible moderator variable than as a control variable. The variable has been computed by multiplying the values of district status and ethnic appearance. The new values have been "non-German ethnic appearance living in a disadvantaged district" and "others". "Others" have been adolescents with a German ethnic appearance or adolescents living in an advantaged district.

Hypothesis 1 (H1)

Hypothesis 1 tests whether a disproportionality in the number of police contacts between adolescents with a non-German ethnic appearance and adolescents with a German ethnic appearance is existing. The hypothesis is important to the research as it is strongly connected to the first research question.

Table 4: Police contact by ethnic appearance, n=113

| | | | Police contact | | |
			No	Yes	Total
Ethnic appearance	As a German youth	Count	41	24	65
		% within Ethnic appearance	63.1	36.9	100.0
	As a non-German youth	Count	29	19	48
		% within Ethnic appearance	60.4	39.6	100.0
Total		Count	70	43	113
		% within Ethnic appearance	61.9	38.1	100.0

Table 4 shows the percentages of adolescents who have experienced police contacts for within the ethnic appearance groups. It can be seen that the percentages only differ very slightly between adolescents of non-German ethnic appearance and adolescents with a German ethnic appearance. 36.9 % percent of the interviewed adolescents with a German ethnic appearance have experienced police contact in the last 12 months compared to 39.6% of the adolescents with a non-German ethnic appearance. These numbers are evidence to reject hypothesis 1. The result is confirmed by the more complex logistic regression analysis presented in Table 5. Controlling for district status, availability, individual delinquency, group delinquency and gender an odds ratio of .927 for ethnic appearance in predicting police contact can be observed. The odds ratio shows that the likelihood of being stopped by the police is almost the same for both groups of ethnic appearance. Combining the results of the cross tabulation and the logistic regression analysis there is enough evidence to state that there is no disproportionality in the number of police contacts between groups of ethnic appearance as well as that ethnic appearance has no significant influence on the odds of being contacted by the police.

Table 5: Binary logistic regression, police contact, Yes/No (dependent), n=110

Variable	Model 1 Odds ratio	Model 2 Odds ratio	Model 3 Odds ratio	Model 4 Odds ratio
Non- German ethnic appearance (Ref. German ethnic appearance)	1.173	1.049	1.007	.927
Male (Ref. Female)		2.486*	3.350**	3.411**
Availability (Z- score)			1.334	1.339
Group delinquency (Z- score)			.924	1.399
Individual delinquency (Z- score)			1.363	.890
Disadvantaged district status (ref. advantaged district status)				.707
Non- German living in a disadvantaged district (Ref. Other)				1.237
Constant	.600*	.393**	.339**	.390*

Note: Significance levels *0.05 (two-tailed), **0.01(two- tailed)

Hypothesis H2

Hypothesis H2 is also of great importance for this research as it is directly related to the second research question. The extent to which the variable formed of the variables ethnic appearance and district status serves as a moderator variable for the relationship between ethnic appearance and police contacts is tested. The merged variable has been introduced in step four of the logistic regression and shows a non-significant odds ratio of 1.237. Therefore it can be concluded that there is no evidence that adolescents living in a disadvantaged district are more likely to experience police contact than adolescent living in an advantaged district. Consequently H2 has been disconfirmed.

Hypotheses H3 – H8 and gender

The remaining hypotheses address the influence of the variables availability, group delinquency, individual delinquency on the dependent variable police contact (H4, H6, H8) and the relationship between ethnic appearance and these variables (H3, H5, H7). To test whether higher levels in availability, individual delinquency and group delinquency depend on ethnic appearance, three linear regression analyses have been conducted (see tables 7, 8 and 9). Considering the results of these analyses H3, H5 and H7 have been disconfirmed. There is no significant relationship between ethnic appearance and one of the variables. The same applies for the relationship of the variables with police contact. The logistic regression table (Table 5) shows that none of the variables significantly affects the outcome of the dependent variable.

Gender has been added as another control variable in the logistic regression model as the correlation analysis spawned that gender was the only variable having a significant correlation with the dependent variable police contact. In the logistic regression model gender shows to be a significant predictor for police contact. Being male significantly increases the odds of having police contact.

5. Discussion

In this section the results originated by the data analysis are discussed against the background of the initial expectations and the main research questions. The results of the data analyses gave enough evidence to answer both research questions developed at the beginning of the research. Evidence to state that the police is treating adolescents with a non-German ethnic appearance differently than adolescents with a German ethnic appearance has not been found. Furthermore there also has been no evidence found to state that the relationship between ethnicity and police contacts is moderated by the socioeconomic status of a city district. On the basis of that it can be concluded that discrimination of ethnic minority adolescents by the police could not be observed in Düsseldorf.

The findings of this study differ to a certain degree from the findings of previous studies made on the same topic. Svensson and Saharso (2015) who used a similar questionnaire in their study found a disproportionality in the number of police contacts for ethnic minority members which later on has been explained by the influence of control variables (Svensson & Saharso, 2015, p.405). In this study such a disproportionality has not been found. Further the control variables availability and delinquency did not show a significant relation to the dependent variable. This differs from the existing literature as well as from the initial expectations.

Considering the influence of the socioeconomic status of a city district on the relationship between ethnic minorities and the police it can be concluded that district status is no significant moderator. This result varies from other studies in which the status of a neighborhood was considered to influence police behavior. A possible explanation for that could be that the disadvantaged districts of Düsseldorf do not match up to the level of disadvantage of neighborhoods described by Schuck et al. (2008) or commonly known deprived areas like Moolenbeek in Belgium.

Another outcome which is remarkable is that not even the variables individual delinquency and group delinquency showed a significant correlation with the dependent variable police contact. The expectation based on evidence of previous studies using a similar questionnaire in other cities has been that the delinquency variables are significant predictors for police contact. The reasons why these variable did not influence the dependent variable are multiple and can only be suspected. A possible explanation could be found by focusing on the police in Düsseldorf. It could be argued that there is not enough police in Düsseldorf to act on behalf of adolescents' delinquent behavior. A different explanation for the non-significant relationship between the delinquency variables and the dependent variable police contact could be that the scores of the delinquency variables are to a great proportion composed of low level delinquent behavior. Table 10 shows that great proportions of the respondents indicate to have committed low level delinquent acts which are not necessarily forbidden in Germany and therefore might not provoke the police

to act on behalf of it. 40.2% of the adolescents report to have skipped school and 61.9% have been drunk in public which is behavior which normally lies outside the range of authority of the German police. On the opposite, higher level and more criminal delinquency is only reported by small proportions of the respondents. Assuming the police not to contact adolescents because of rather low level delinquent behavior could explain that no significant relationship between delinquency and police contact could have been found.

A finding which is in accord with previous studies is that gender has a significant impact on the odds of being contacted by the police. According to Mcara and Mcvie (2005) being male is often identified as a factor by which adolescents are placed at the risk of police contact (Mcara & Mcvie, 2005, p.6). However considering criminal statistics which constantly show an overrepresentation of males it can be concluded that the police in most cases has justifiable reasons to rather suspect males than females as they are more likely to be involved in criminal action.

5.2. Limitations and recommendations

This study has been conducted on behalf of writing a bachelor thesis. Considering the circumstances of a limited time frame and limited resources the decision to use a cross-sectional research design has been appropriate and the most suitable option. Nonetheless this study has weaknesses which come along with the cross-sectional research design. The problem of cross-sectional research designs is that conclusions about processes that occur over time are made from observations done at a single point in time (Babbie, 2010, p.106) Therefore the conclusions which are made on the basis of the data analysis are rather convenient to insist that there has been no evidence to confirm the stated hypotheses instead of making assumptions about ongoing processes. On this basis it can be stated that unequal treatment has not been found but not that unequal treatment is not taking place at all.

Using a survey to gather quantitative data is a logical consequence considering the circumstances and the decision for a cross-sectional research design. The questionnaire which has been used for the survey has already been used in other studies. Nonetheless, during the data collection weaknesses of the questionnaire have been detected. A problem has been non-response bias which has led to a high rate of questionnaires which could not be integrated in the data set. Frequent causes not to include data from a respondent in the data set have been that either the questionnaire was not filled in correctly or that the respondents did not answer question D6 ("In which district of Düsseldorf do you live?"). For further research it is recommended to shorten the questionnaire in order to decrease the dropout-rate. Questions about the respondents clothing style which were included in the questionnaire but did not account for the analysis, should be left out. Furthermore future researchers should regard that only people from the city of interest are given a questionnaire.

Also sampling bias could have had an impact on the obtained results. According to Babbie (2010) sampling error is composed of the size and the diversity of the population from which data is collected and cannot be ruled out totally (Babbie, 2010, p.204).On behalf of the cross sectional-research design, the limited time frame and limited resources the data collection has been focused on three areas. A school, the Rhine boardwalk and parks in the city center of Düsseldorf have been the areas in which the data collection has been taken place. The places have been chosen as they provided the possibility to collect a sufficient amount of data in a relatively short time. Even though the sample proportions in terms of gender and district status have been approximately equal it is questionable if a representative average of the total population has been found at the mentioned places. Moreover the sample size has been small. A larger sample would have given the opportunity to rule out sampling error to a certain degree.

Further is data collection in schools often exposed to various sorts of bias like social desirability bias. The school environment and the presence of teachers could lead to respondents who do not answer the questions honestly. Such sampling error could explain the results which have been different from prior studies. Especially the questions about police contacts and delinquent behavior could have been affected by bias.

Researchers taking the approach of replicating a study on the same topic should be aware of these sources of error. It is recommendable to take more time to gather a larger sample which could minimize bias. A set of different research designs and data collection methods could also enhance the quality of the results and would therefore contribute to the discussion on the topic.

6. Conclusion

Summarizing all hypotheses of this study have been rejected. There is no evidence that ethnic minority adolescents experience significantly more police contacts than German adolescents. Thereby it can be concluded that unequal treatment by the police has not been found. Furthermore an influence of the socioeconomic status of city districts on the relationship between ethnic appearance and police contact could not have been corroborated. The introduced control variables availability, individual delinquency and group delinquency did not have a significant correlation with the dependent variable and are therefore no predictors of the outcome of the dependent variable police contact. The only variable found to significantly affect the number of police contacts is gender. Males are significantly more likely to experience police contact than females. There is no evidence for discriminatory police behavior in Düsseldorf.

The results of this study are only partly in line with prior studies. There are multiple possible explanations for the non-compliance with other studies. To investigate the reasons causing the unexpected results further research is recommended. Studies conducted on the same topic but in different cities would also contribute to a more reliable and consistent outcome. This study should be seen as a starting for researcher, students and people who are curious about the topic.

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8. Appendix

Figure 2: Distribution of police contact variable
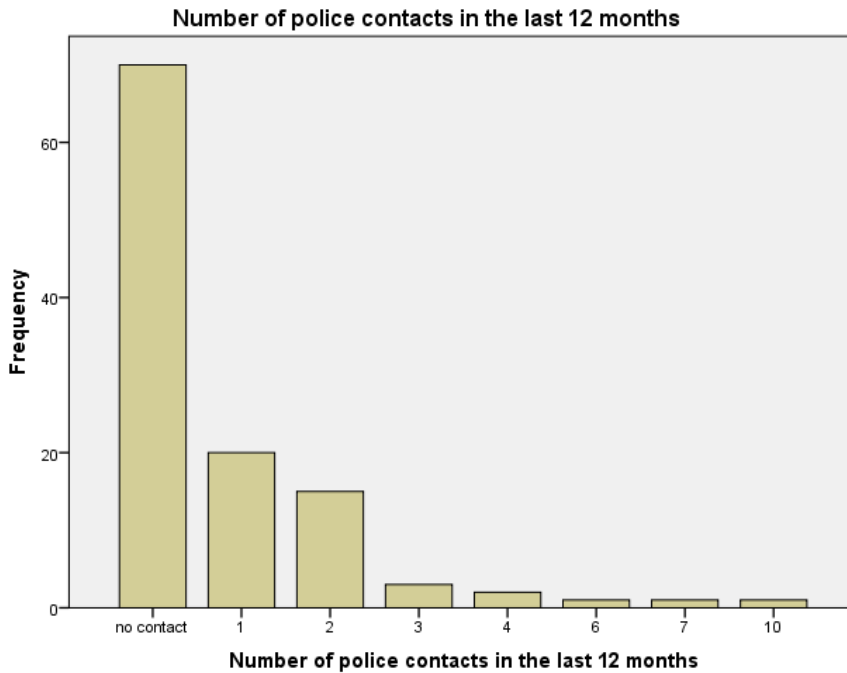
Table 6: District status by ethnic appearance

Table: District status by ethnic appearance, n=113

			District status		
			Advantaged	Disadvantaged	Total
Ethnic appearance	As a German youth	Count	35	30	65
		% within Neighborhood status	61.4	53.6	57.5
	As a non-German youth	Count	22	26	48
		% within Neighborhood status	38.6	46.4	42.5
Total		Count	57	56	113
		% within Neighborhood status	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 7: Linear regression model testing hypothesis H3

The results of the linear regression show a standardized beta coefficient of -.019 and a significance of .843. According to these numbers hypothesis H3 has been disregarded. A relationship between ethnic appearance and availability has not been found.

Table: Linear regression, availability (dependent), n= 113[a]

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
		B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig.
1	(Constant)	6.615	.927		7.140	.000
	Ethnic appearance	-.282	1.422	-.019	-.198	.843

a. Dependent Variable: Availability

Table 8: Linear regression testing hypothesis H5

The results of the linear regression show a standardized beta coefficient of .052 and a significance of .549. According to these numbers hypothesis H5 has been disregarded. A relationship between ethnic appearance and individual delinquency has not been found.

Table: Linear regression, individual delinquency (dependent), n= 113[a]

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
		B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig.
1	(Constant)	3.313	.311		10.663	.000
	Ethnic appearance	.262	.477	.052	.549	.584

a. Dependent Variable: Individual delinquency

Table 9: Linear regression testing hypothesis H7

The results of the linear regression show a standardized beta coefficient of .075 and a significance of .435. According to these numbers hypothesis H7 has been disregarded. A relationship between ethnic appearance and group delinquency has not been found.

Table: Linear regression, group delinquency (dependent), n= 113[a]

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	6.297	.548		11.490	.000
	Ethnic appearance	.661	.842	.075	.784	.435

a. Dependent Variable: Group delinquency

Table10: Frequencies of individual delinquency items, n=111-113

Item	No (%)	Yes (%)	n
(D2a)	55.4	58.9	112
(D2b)	41.1	58.9	112
(D2c)	59.8	40.2	112
(D2d)	92	8	112
(D2e)	96.4	3.6	112
(D2f)	89.3	10.7	112
(D2g)	94.6	5.4	112
(D2h)	92.9	7.1	112
(D2i)	85.6	14.4	111
(D2j)	87.5	12.5	112
(D2k)	38.1	61.9	113
(D2l)	64.3	35.7	112
(D2m)	89.3	10.7	112
(D2n)	92.9	7.1	112
(D2o)	86.8	13.4	112

Note: D2a= "Did you do not pay for the train/ bus in the last 12 month",

D2b="Did you commit a traffic violation in the last 12 month"

D2c="Did you skip school in the last 12 month"

D2d="Did you purposely damage things of others in the last 12 month"

D2e="Did you smudge things in the last 12 month"

D2f="Did you steal something in the last 12 month"

D2g="Did you break into somewhere in the last 12 month"

D2h="Did you beat somebody in the last 12 month"

D2i="Did you lie about your age to buy ...in the last 12 month"

D2j="Did you carry a weapon in the last 12 month"

D2k="Have you been drunk in public in the last 12 month"

D2l="Did you use soft drugs in the last 12 month"

D2m="Did you use hard drugs in the last 12 month"

D2n="Did you sell drugs in the last 12 month"

D2o="Did you whistle at women in the last 12 month"

Table 11: Socioeconomic status of all districts of Düsseldorf

District	Percentage of foreigners (%)	Unemployment rate (%)	Social welfare receiver rate (%)	Status
Düsseldorf total	19.2	6.5	12.8	-
Altstadt	33.4	5.9	8.2	Advantaged
Angermund	6.9	2	1.5	Advantaged
Benrath	11.3	5.1	9.1	Advantaged
Bilk	19.1	4.8	9	Advantaged
Carlstadt	14.8	2.6	3.6	Advantaged
Derendorf	21.1	6.3	11.7	Advantaged
Düsseltal	18.8	5.5	9.2	Advantaged
Flehe	8	2.7	3.7	Advantaged
Eller	20.7	8.9	18.4	Disadvantaged
Flingern Nord	19.4	8.2	15.3	Disadvantaged
Flingern Süd	34.7	11	25.8	Disadvantaged
Friedrichstadt	30	6.6	12.7	Advantaged
Garath	15.5	11.9	28.8	Disadvantaged
Gerresheim	12.6	6.3	12.7	Advantaged
Golzheim	16.8	3.3	4.4	Advantaged
Heerdt	24.9	7.3	14.7	Disadvantaged
Hassels	25.1	10.7	25.2	Disadvantaged
Hamm	7.9	2.9	3.9	Advantaged
Grafenberg	14.4	3.8	5.2	Advantaged
Hafen	3.1	8.8	11.3	Advantaged
Hellerhof	5.5	4.2	7.9	Advantaged
Himmelgeist	4.5	2.1	1.2	Advantaged
Holthausen	23.3	9.5	21.1	Disadvantaged
Hubbelrath	8.3	1.7	1.3	Advantaged
Itter	6.6	2.9	5	Advantaged
Kaiserswerth	15.7	2.2	2.3	Advantaged
Kalkum	8.1	2.7	2.8	Advantaged
Knittkuhl	6.4	4	6.5	Advantaged
Lichtenbroich	17	5.4	15	Advantaged
Lierenfeld	27.4	11.7	24.9	Disadvantaged
Lörick	23	3.6	5.1	Advantaged
Lohausen	16.1	2.7	4.7	Advantaged
Ludenberg	10.5	3	4.9	Advantaged
Mörsenbroich	19.3	7.5	16.3	Disadvantaged
Niederkassel	24.2	2	2.1	Advantaged
Oberbilk	31.6	9.3	21.2	Disadvantaged
Oberkassel	15.6	2.4	2.4	Advantaged
Pempelfort	19.3	4.8	7.3	Advantaged
Rath	26.4	10	21.5	Disadvantaged
Reisholz	27.7	9.4	22.4	Disadvantaged
Stadtmitte	38.3	7.3	15.2	Disadvantaged
Stockum	10.8	2.8	3.9	Advantaged
Unterbach	6.8	3.9	5.3	Advantaged
Unterbilk	17.9	5.7	8.9	Advantaged
Unterrath	12.9	5.1	9.2	Advantaged
Urdenbach	4.2	4.8	9.6	Advantaged
Vennhausen	10.1	5.1	9.3	Advantaged

Volmerswerth	10.5	3.2	5.8	Advantaged
Wersten	17.1	7	13.8	Disadvantaged
Wittlaer	17.2	2.9	5.1	Advantaged

Questionnaire used in survey

Studie: Jugend und Polizei

Vielen Dank, dass du an dieser Studie teilnimmst.

Mit diesem Fragebogen möchten wir herausfinden 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 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.

© Universität Twente, Niederlande April 2016. Dieser Fragebogen wurde im Rahmen des Forschungsprojekts Proaktive Durchsetzung, Gleichbehandlung entwickelt. Kontakt: Dr. J. S. Svensson (j.s.svensson @ utwente.nl).

A. Hintergrundfragen

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

A2 Geschlecht?
- ○ männlich
- ○ weiblich

A3 Welchem ethnischen Hintergrund fühlst du dich selbst zugehörig?

○ Deutsch	○ Tunesisch
○ Russisch	○ Kurdisch
○ Polnisch	○ Albanisch
○ Türkisch	○ Libanesisch
○ Marokkanisch	○ Sonstige (bitte eintragen)……………………………

A4 Wie denkst du schätzt dich ein Polizist/eine Polizistin ein, wenn er/sie dich auf der Straße sieht?
- ○ Als eine/n Deutsche/n Jugendliche/n
- ○ 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. Ausgehen (Bar,Jugendzentrum,Shishabar,Diskothek etc.)	.... Std. pro Woche
f. Draußen sein, dich auf der Straße oder im Shoppingzentrum aufhalten	.... Std. pro Woche

A6 Welche Schulform besuchst du? (Wenn du nicht mehr zur Schule gehst, bitte die letzte besuchte Schulform angeben)
- ○ Grundschule
- ○ Gymnasium
- ○ Gesamtschule
- ○ Realschule
- ○ Hauptschule
- ○ Berufsschule
- ○ Universität
- ○ Sonstige (bitte eintragen)……………………………….

A7 Sieht man die Polizei häufig in deiner Nachbarschaft?
- ○ Sehr selten
- ○ Selten
- ○ Regelmäßig
- ○ Oft
- ○ Sehr oft

A8 In welchen Farbtönen kleidest du dich meistens? (Bitte nur eine Antwort geben)
- ○ Helle Farben
- ○ Dunkle Farben
- ○ Gemischt/ Immer anders

A9 Wie würdest du deinen Kleidungsstil beschreiben? (Bitte nur eine Antwort angeben)
- ○ Normal, nichts besonderes
- ○ Modisch - Schick
- ○ Sportlich - Bequem
- ○ Wild – Provozierend
- ○ Hipster
- ○ Alternativ/Punk
- ○ Skater – Streetstyle
- ○ Klassisch/Schick
- ○ Anders, nämlich …………………………………

A10 Welche der folgenden Aussagen treffen auf dich zu (Du kannst mehrere Antworten geben)?
- ○ Ich trage sichtbare Piercings
- ○ Ich trage sichtbare Tattoos
- ○ Ich trage gerne Hoodies oder Caps

B. Fragen bezüglich deiner Freunde und deines Freundeskreises

B1 Hast du einen oder mehrere Freunde mit denen du regelmäßig "abhängst"?
- ○ Ja
- ○ Nein → Fortfahren mit Rubrik C

B2 Mit 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)?

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

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/Zeugin 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?
○ Ja
○ Nein → Gehe zu Frage D5

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

D5 In welchem Stadtteil von Düsseldorf wohnst du?

... ...

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

Dies betrifft nur den Interviewer/die Interviewerin:
Interviewer/Interviewerin: ....
Datum: ....
Ort: ....
Bemerkungen:
....
....
....
....

Vielen Dank für deine Mitarbeit !