University of Twente **Faculty of Behavioral Management and Social Sciences** EPA European Public Administration

Bachelor Thesis

Unequal Treatment in Policing

An empirical analysis of the treatment of juveniles with an ethnic minority background by the police in Cologne, Germany.

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Abstract

Unequal treatment of ethnic minorities by the police is a current topic within the media and research. In this thesis the interaction of the police in Germany with juveniles with ethnic minority background is examined. More specifically the quality of contact of an interaction with the police is looked at. Adolescents aged between 15-25 years are in focus as early positive or negative police contacts might influence the relationship between the police and juveniles in the long run. This is connected to police legitimacy – the more negative contacts occur the more juveniles despise the police and legitimacy decreases but also to integration – the more youths feel discriminated or treated unfairly the more they display a defensive attitude towards the police and the system as a whole. This issue was examined with an online and a cross sectional paper-based survey. Juveniles in Cologne were asked how they perceived the treatment of the police. The results were analyzed with multiple regression analysis. Interestingly the data shows that gender and filing in the survey online influence the outcome of inequality. In contrast individual delinquency and participation in delinquent groups do not have a significant influence on the quality of police contacts. Ethnicity, however, does influence the behavior of police officers during a contact.

Keywords: unequal treatment, quality of police contact, ethnic minorities, juveniles, Cologne, Germany

List of Tables and Figures

Figures

Figure 1: Model of Variables 1	15
Figure 1. Model of Variables	13

Tables

Table 1: Sample Attributes	. 19
Table 2: Measurements of Dependent, Independent and Control Variables	.21
Table 3: Spearman's rho of the Variables used in the Analysis	. 24
Table 4: Summary of Hierarchical Regression	. 26
Table 5: Variance inflation Factor for all Variables.	39
Table 6: Kolmogorov-Smirnov Test	. 40

Table of Contents

1. Introduction	. 5
1.1 Aim and relevance of the study	. 5
1.2 Research Question	. 7
2. Theoretical Framework	. 9
2.1 Why Juveniles?	. 9
2.2 Quality of Contact	10
2.3 Stop and Search	12
2.4 Gender and Neighborhood	13
2.5 Individual and Group Delinquency	14
3. Research and Methodology	17
3.1 Research Design	17
3.2 Case Selection and Sampling	18
3.3 Operationalization	18
3.4 Limitations of the Study	21
4. Results	23
5. Discussion	27
6. Conclusion	30
References	32
Appendix	34

1. Introduction

1.1 Aim and relevance of the study

There have been several studies on the topic of police discrimination and unequal treatment. Most of these studies support the claim that police discrimination against ethnic minorities exists and connect this claim to racial profiling and structural racism. Juveniles with ethnic minority background in other studies are mostly defined as non-whites (Bowling & Phillips, 2007; Macpherson & Stone, 1999; Smith & Alpert, 2007). In this study juveniles with ethnic minority background does not only refer to non-whites but also to juveniles with non-German appearance¹.

The European Commission published a discrimination report in 2015 discovering that discrimination on grounds of ethnic origin in the EU has increased since 2012 (Commission, 2015). According to EU MIDIS report which is one of the biggest surveys recently conducted by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) on 'Police Stops and Minorities' several member states of the European Union discriminate against ethnic minorities as they are more often stopped or/and not treated fairly by the police. In Germany the minority population was stopped for their identity papers more often than the majority group. This leads to the conclusion that unequal treatment of ethnic minorities by the police is an ongoing issue in Germany. The report points out that the EU acknowledges the problem and treats it as a pressing issue in areas such as counter-terrorism, law enforcement, immigration, customs and border control (FRA, 2010b).

In Germany, various recent incidents involving racial profiling and discrimination have been reported. There are several people with ethnic minority background describing that not only they were stopped and searched due to their appearance, but in addition they were treated disrespectfully and degrading. This resulted in the foundation of the campaign for victims of racist police violence 'Kampagne für Opfer rassistischer Polizeigewalt' (KOP) which serves as a point of contact for victims of mistreatment by the police (KOP, 2016). Another well-known example indicating potential biases in the German police work is the

¹ Throughout the study German appearance is to be understood as perceived appearance by the police. This expression shall not support the claim that there is a certain appearance attached to the German nationality or identity.

disclosure of the terrorist attacks of the National Socialist Underground (NSU) in 2011. In this case the investigation of crimes/terrorist attacks against people with migrant background committed by the NSU where hindered due to racial profiling. Many people with ethnic background were wrongly accused of the attacks (Schicht, 2013).

The main emphasis in this thesis is on equality in policing with a focus on the relationship between the police and juveniles. The aim is to find out whether juveniles with ethnic minority background experience a more negative quality of police contacts than juveniles without such a background. It is examined whether adolescents with ethnic minority background are discriminated against by the police and which factors might influence the interaction between juveniles with ethnic minority background and the police. Thus, it is tested whether there is a link between ethnic minority background and poorer quality of police contacts. However, as the relationship between police contacts and juveniles with ethnic minority background is more complex two other variables are introduced to further explain reasons for unequal treatment. These variables are individual delinquency and participation in delinquent groups. In this study, juveniles between the ages of 15-25 living in Cologne and surroundings answered questions about their police experiences within the last 12 months. Cologne is Germany's fourth largest city with 1 million inhabitants (Oberwittler, 2007). The proportion of non-German citizens is at 19 per cent. Cologne is one of the most diverse cities in Germany. Turks are the largest ethnic minority with approximately 57 000 (Amt für Stadtentwicklung, 2016). With its degree of social and ethnic diversity Cologne is a suitable city to examine the issue of unequal treatment.

When researching unequal treatment it is important to consider the circumstances the police have to operate in. The pressure on the police to maintain order has increased considerably as a consequence of terrorist attacks starting 11th September 2001. Germany, for example, has never had more significant changes in security policies ratified in such a short period of time (Gössner, 2007). At the same time an increasing "negative and often openly xenophobic 'us versus them' discourse by national and local politicians and the media" (van der Leun & van der Woude, 2011, p. 447) accompany the recent debate about migration and integration policies in several European countries including Germany. The changing political climate in Germany together with the increasing securitization poses a challenge to the police. According to van der Leun and van der Woude (2011) the tendency towards more securitization inspired by recent terror and the belief that social problems

can be traced back to ethnicity, pressured the police to adopt more proactive methods, which in turn give way to profiling (van der Leun & van der Woude, 2011). Proactive instruments are largely based on subjective judgment of police officers and generalizations, which potentially leads to discrimination of certain groups of people.

Equality of people is regarded as one of the core values of Germany and the European Union. On the European level article 21 of the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights states: "Any discrimination based on any ground such as sex, race, color, ethnic or social origin [...] shall be prohibited". In Germany equality is defined in the constitution (Grundgesetz) as a central civil right which must not be harmed. Equality of people regardless of their race, language, religion, etc. is stated in article 3(3) of the German constitution. Thus, de jure the behavior of police needs to comply with these principles laid down in the fundamental law of Germany and the European Union.

To summarize, police work has become more challenging. But whilst applying more proactive measures, the police also have to act in a neutral way and with respect to the principle of equal treatment as required by EU and German law.

1.2 Research Question

This research assesses whether there is a link between ethnicity and different quality of police contacts among juveniles in Cologne. The main emphasis of the thesis is on the relationship between youth with ethnic minority background and the quality of police contact. Therefore, the main explanatory question is:

To what extent do juveniles with ethnic minority background experience a more negative quality of contact with the police than juveniles without such a background?

If the research shows that juveniles with ethnic minority background have more negative quality of police contact this would indicate unequal treatment. However, to not overestimate the impact of ethnicity it is important to consider other factors that might explain the relationship between juveniles with ethnic minority background and the quality of police contact. To check whether outcome inequality can be explained by other variables besides ethnicity two independent variables are included which might explain the differences in the quality of police encounters: Individual delinquency and involvement in delinquent groups. The following sub-question is derived thereof:

In how far can the difference in treatment of youth be explained by individual delinquency and involvement in delinquent groups?

In the end, the study may clarify the extent to which ethnicity is decisive for more negative quality police encounters or to what extent other variables account for differences in the quality of contact. Most studies so far were conducted in Great Britain and the U.S. There are not as many studies for the German context, even though there is rising awareness for the problem of unequal treatment (FRA, 2010b). Furthermore, it can be assumed that there is a lack of data as police crime statistics do not differentiate between ethnic group categories but only on foreigners (Geißler, 2008). These are further reasons to conduct this research and to elaborate more on the issue of unequal treatment in policing and its possible causes.

2. Theoretical Framework

To introduce the topic of ethnicity and unfair treatment a well-known incident can be pointed out. The Lawrence case in 1993 revealed the failure of the London Police to successfully comprehend the group of delinquents who were responsible for the killing of Stephen Lawrence, a young black man. It turned out that the whole investigation in this murder case was flawed and that this was partly due to institutional racism (Lea, 2000). The case prompted complaints and a public inquiry. A few years after the murder of Stephen Lawrence a report published by Sir William Macpherson of Cluny (1999) stated that ethnic minorities were subject to unequal treatment and had more contact with the police. This lead to the introduction of the idea of racial disproportionality in police stop and search (Macpherson & Stone, 1999). Several researchers followed up on Macpherson's statement. Waddington, Stenson, and Don (2004) for example refuted this statement by saying that non-whites (i.e. members of ethnic minorities) were not disproportionately more often stopped and searched by the police. However, the scholars did not negate the possibility of unfair treatment of non-whites.

When reviewing the literature on the topic of ethnic minority juveniles and disproportional police contact, two variables were most prominent for explaining different treatment, individual delinquency and participation in a delinquent group. The chosen variables discussed in the following are taken from the previous conducted study of Svensson and Saharso (2015). The variables seemed to be valid measurements to predict unequal treatment. They are backed up by other researchers as well (Bowling & Phillips, 2007; Smith & Alpert, 2007; Waddington et al., 2004). Additionally two variables related to ethnicity namely gender and neighborhood were controlled for. The sex of the respondents and the neighborhood were controlled for as the variables are known to be connected to police behavior (Svensson & Saharso, 2015).

2.1 Why Juveniles?

More recent studies focus on juveniles or children as suspects for the police (Brown, Novak, & Frank, 2009; McAra & McVie, 2005; Svensson & Saharso, 2015). "[B]eing male; having active 'street-life'; and coming from a lower class or less affluent background" (McAra & McVie, 2005, p. 6) seems to put children at risk of being stopped

by the police. Additionally, juvenile's behavior is perceived as more troublesome due to the perceived irrational behavior and lack of respect towards the police which in turn might be due to the unawareness of the consequences. Seemingly they are less respectable than older persons and pose a greater threat to officers. This might lead to more formal application of law (Brown et al., 2009). Another aspect that makes juveniles an interesting group to focus on is that early contact with the police might be decisive for future behavior of juveniles. Early involvement with the criminal justice system might affect the adult well-being and goes beyond the immediate involvement (Piquero, 2008). Looking at the relationship between juveniles and the police the theory of Bowling and Phillips (2007) can be consulted as they suggest that the police try to exercise 'social control' over juveniles committing crimes. Especially when found in a disadvantaged neighborhood police officers might feel obliged to teach juveniles appropriate behavior.

2.2 Quality of Contact

Disproportional police contact and unfair treatment are related to the term of racial (or ethnic) profiling. The term racial profiling has been the focus of several studies in recent years tackling the question of discrimination and unequal treatment by the police based on stereotyping and generalization (Goodey, 2006; Schicht, 2013; Smith & Alpert, 2007). Racial profiling means that police officers stop and search someone (consciously or unconsciously) using race or religious attributes rather than objective reasons (Smith & Alpert, 2007). Discrimination and marginalization of ethnic minorities and especially juveniles is problematic as it may have negative impacts and even promote violent and criminal behavior (FRA, 2010b). Furthermore, discrimination can lead to ethnic tensions and provoke urban riots, which already occurred to some extent as for example the riots in the UK in 2011 and in Sweden in 2013. This poses a great challenge for the police especially in regards to their legitimacy (Svensson & Saharso, 2015).

Tyler (2015) and Viki, Culmer, Eller, and Abrams (2006) focused their research on the treatment quality of the police. Viki et al. (2006) focused on the role of the quantity and quality of contact with the police with respect to the reported racial differences in the willingness to cooperate with criminal investigations. They found that Blacks reported more negative quality contact with the police and that this negatively influences the willingness to cooperate (Viki et al., 2006). In his research Tyler (2004) focuses on the subjective experience of feeling profiled since he assumes this has a major impact on how

the police is perceived i.e. when people think that ethnic profiling is widespread support for police decreases considerably. Later Tyler (2015) examined in how far the quality of contact influences the willingness to cooperate. He associated negative quality in police contacts with generating trust and legitimacy towards the police. Quality treatment according to him is one that acknowledges the needs and concerns of the people, that shows sincere effort to act on behalf of the community and that treats people with respect. People tend to believe "that members of the public especially those belonging to minority groups are treated in demeaning, discourteous, illegal and otherwise disrespectful ways."(Tyler, 2015, p. 94) and this reduces trust towards the police. Trust is especially important for the police as they are partly legitimized by it. Going one step further for many adolescents the police are the face of the government and the legal system. This aspect stresses that unequal treatment can have an impact on the perception of good governance.

Low quality of treatment by the police is hence defined as being treated in a disrespectful, demeaning and discourteous way, whereas good quality of police contact is connected to respectful behavior. As stated earlier, the quality of police contact and the level of trust towards the police go hand in hand. Tyler (2015) added that generating trust is irrespective of the frequency of the contacts but dependent on the perceived fairness of contact. If people from the minority population feel that they are stopped and searched due to their appearance or religion this promotes a lack of trust for the procedural justice of the police. Additionally, the style of policing which is based on suspicion and mistrust is "physically invasive and psychologically distressing [..]" (Tyler, 2015, p. 95). This shows that racial profiling may undermine legitimacy and respect for police in the long run (Bowling & Phillips, 2007). Connecting the findings from Viki et al. (2006) that Blacks report more negative police quality contact and the assumptions from (Tyler, 2004, 2015) that quality is a major aspect for shaping trust, this study tries to find out whether juveniles with ethnic minority background report more negative quality contact than juveniles without such a background in Germany. This emphasizes the importance to assess whether treatment of ethnic minorities is lower in quality than for the majority population.

In 2013, the radio station 'Deutschlandfunk' ran an article supporting the claim that the police treats people with different appearance differently. According to Behr (2005), a political scientist teaching for the police in Hamburg, this routinely behavior is partly due

to the 'cop culture'. This describes a culture developed by the police to better cope with the discrepancies between the legal requirements and the day-to-day experiences (Hoffmann, 2013). Cop culture according to Behr (2005) is a manual of how to act in practice simplifying complex situations. The aim of this culture is the maintenance of the individual and the group identity. Including the idea that societies well-being is menaced. Above all cop culture is a culture of homogeneity and not of diversity. This leads to routinely behavior patterns of the police. Individual experiences are processed and answered with routine behavior. He argues that in the police everybody adapts to the concept of homogeneity and everything is handled in accordance to that homogeneity even the interpretation of the professional world of the police is based on this (Behr, 2005).

2.3 Stop and Search

As argued by Tyler (2015) and Viki et al. (2006) contact is perceived as more negative if the contact is not voluntary i.e. initiated by the police. Therefore the danger of stop and search practices might be seen as not creating trust and exacerbating negative contacts with the police decreasing the willingness to cooperate. Stop and search in Germany is based on law and order -a person may be stopped and searched when there is justified suspicion (e.g. a person was seen committing an offense or there is a description of someone the police is looking for, etc.) or to prevent a criminal act (e.g. stealing something). Stop and search is an investigative measure and is used to detect or even prevent crimes (Gefahrenabwehr). The approach of stop and search is proactive and was introduced to prevent crime before it occurs thereby relying on the judgment of officers (Svensson & Saharso, 2015). The police in Germany might use the instrument of proactive policing without justifiable suspicion in designated areas which are marked as dangerous (e.g. wellknown areas for drug trafficking, dangerous neighborhoods with a high crime rate). The public often does not know about the exact location of these areas. Therefore people can only assume that this is a place where the police is allowed stop and search without justifiable suspicion after they have been stopped and searched (Friedrich & Mohrfeldt, 2013). It is difficult to assess in how far police officers base their decisions to stop and search someone on stereotyping or generalization. The practice of stop and search is therefore a double-edged sword and it raises a question that remains unanswered: is biased behavior avoidable when relying on the judgment of a person or asked differently do preventive measures in stop and search inevitably lead to discrimination in some way?

2.4 Gender and Neighborhood

The place where juveniles are available to the police seems to be of importance (McAra & McVie, 2005; Miller & MVA, 2000; Waddington et al., 2004). Very often certain areas or places are connected to incidents leading to a biased behavior on part of the police e.g. the assumption that juveniles loitering on a playground at night are probably smoking weed (Lukas & Gauthier, 2011). This is supported by the proactive measures taken by the police in German cities. Neighborhoods where the surveys were conducted are therefore included as control variables to better assess the impact on the quality of contact.

"Existing research in Europe [...] has hardly addressed the questions of social mechanisms which translate structural disadvantage into individual behavior" (Oberwittler, 2007, p. 783). Oberwittler (2007) discusses the differential impact of neighborhood disadvantages for native adolescents and those with immigrant backgrounds. The main assumption is that the spatial concentration of social disadvantages exacerbates social evils such as crime and unemployment. Crane (1991) also describes that social problems are contagious and spread through influence emphasizing the bad influence of a poorer neighborhood. This is also linked to delinquency rates as will be shown later. Contributing to bad influence is the lack of positive role models and the lack of neighborhood capital leading to problematic behavior e.g. crime. "Disadvantaged neighborhoods experience a spiral of 'disorder and decline'" (Oberwittler, 2007, p. 783). This supports the assumption that a disadvantaged neighborhood increases the possibility of biased behavior on part of the police leading to lower quality in police contact.

Piquero (2008) conducted research on disproportionate minority contacts. He introduces two hypotheses the differential involvement hypothesis and the differential selection hypothesis. The latter claims that "a combination of differential 'selection' – differing presence, patrolling, and profiling in minority and nonminority neighborhoods – and differential 'processing' – discrimination in the courts and correctional systems – leads to more minorities being arrested, convicted, and incarcerated."(Piquero, 2008, p. 65). For the purpose of this thesis the focus is more on the differential 'selection' part rather than the 'processing' part as selection might be connected to the quality of treatment. The differential involvement hypothesis on the other hand asserts that "minorities are

overrepresented at every stage of the criminal and juvenile justice system because they commit more crimes, for more extended periods of their lives, and more of the types of crime, such as violence, that lead to processing within the criminal justice system" (Piquero, 2008, p. 64). This calls attention to indicators such as individual and group delinquency.

2.5 Individual and Group Delinquency

The differential involvement hypothesis assumes that ethnic minorities do have more police contacts because they commit more crimes. According to Piquero (2008) some researchers found that disproportionate involvement in serious crimes among Blacks and Hispanics is apparent. As serious violence is more often reported to the police and more often leads to conviction it seems to explain the overrepresentation of minorities in the criminal justice system. However Piquero (2008) could not find evidence for this hypothesis in his study.

McAra and McVie (2005) chose prior police contact in their research which was a very significant predictor for outcome inequality. More precisely they state that chances for police contact are much greater for an individual with prior history of contact than for someone without prior history. Obviously this first contact might have been discriminating nonetheless discrimination continues by creating permanent suspects. This might lead to a spiral reproducing problems which are tried to be eradicated (e.g. people might react more aggressively, people are criminalized, etc.) Some people are permanent suspects i.e. even though they might have never been convicted they are regularly arrested due to prior contact with the police (McAra & McVie, 2005). Phillips and Bowling (2007) assume "that any differences in patterns of crime are reflected in differences in pattern of stop and search are simply a product of differences in involvement in crime" (p. 948). This argument explains the logic why people with high rates of offending are more frequently subject to police stop and search. They also point out that delinquency differs in terms of age, gender, and ethnic origin i.e. that it is not evenly distributed among the population (Bowling & Phillips, 2007).

Another perspective on individual delinquency and the impact on the relationship between juveniles and the police is the progression of offending. A study conducted in Australia by

Brame, Mazerolle, and Piquero (2010) shows that adults involved with the criminal justice system have committed less serious crimes in their adolescence, however as they were involved with the criminal justice system their criminal behavior progressed and more serious crimes were committed which might lead to the assumption that the rate of offending progresses with time.

The participation in delinquent groups is linked to the argumentation that social problems are contagious as described by Crane (1991). This is connected to the argument of Oberwittler (2007) who states that through peer influences the behavior of an individual is linked to that of the group she/he spends time with. If most of the friends behave aggressively and get into fights regularly, the probability for the individual is high to adopt this behavior. It can be assumed that being part of a delinquent group or committing delinquencies may have a negative impact on the quality of police contacts.

As shown in the model below (Figure 1) the main hypotheses are the following:

Figure 1. Model of variables included



Hypothesis 1

Juveniles perceived as ethnic minorities are subject to poorer quality of police contact than juveniles perceived as native Germans.

Hypothesis 2

When checking individual delinquency and group delinquency, juveniles from ethnic minorities still report more negative treatment than juveniles with native German origin.

3. Research and Methodology

3.1 Research Design

The research design is based on a cross-sectional self-report survey performed in April and May 2016. This method of data collection opens up the opportunity to gather much data within a few days. Using a survey has the advantage that the outcome has a high comparability. Given the amount of time this was the most feasible approach. The units of analysis are juveniles in Cologne.

The survey consists of four sections each with about 3-5 questions related to the variables. The different sections facilitate the separation of the topic areas. The first section (A) contains questions on general background information such as perceived ethnicity. Section B focuses on the group of friends the respondent has and where they spend time and on her/his availability. Section C relates to the variable of police contact especially the quality of contact therewith focusing on the dependent variable of the study. The last section (D) focuses on what kind of forbidden activities the respondent individually has done and what kind her/his friends have committed i.e. focusing on individual and group delinquency. Most questions are closed questions with a five point Likert-scale (see Appendix).

The survey used is mostly based on previous constructed research originally created by Svensson and Saharso (2015). It has been translated into German by Julius Leube and is used with little adaption i.e. it was shortened and some questions were exchanged (Leube, 2013). The online survey was created with the program "lime Survey" made available through the University of Twente. Thereby ensuring basic quality and security standards for the respondents but also for the analysis by making sure that the survey is not misused e.g. by respondents who try to fill in the survey more than once. This would distort the results of the survey significantly.

After conducting the research the received data was statistically analyzed with multiple regression using SPSS Version 22. In this way the impact of several independent variables on one dependent variable can be checked and the hypotheses proven or rejected.

3.2 Case Selection and Sampling

Data has been collected in collaboration with one other student by a paper-based selfreport-survey and an online survey in Cologne. Part of the survey has been conducted in schools. The sampling within the schools took place in the classroom with students ranging from the age of 15 and 25. The other sampling took place outside or in a shopping mall. All people were asked for their consent and were informed that the content of the surveys will be treated anonymously before filling out the survey. The survey was printed and handed to the respondents. The data collection for the paper-based survey proceeded on the 30.04. ,06.05., 11.05., 12.05.2016. The online survey started on the 25.04.2016 and continued until 30.05.2016. The data collection of the paper based survey took place on the campus of the University of Cologne, at the station Messe/Deutz, the shopping mall "Köln Arcaden" in Kalk, the Rhine park/Rhine Boulevard, a park in Lindenthal "Aachener Weiher" and in a vocational school in Deutz. The online survey was posted in several groups at the social network 'Facebook' with members of the target group. For this various requests for groups such as 'Osmanen Germania Köln', 'Aramäische Jugend Köln', 'Köln meine Liebe meine Sehnsucht', 'Uni Köln' etc were sent out. When approved the survey was shared. Additionally, friends coming from Cologne were asked for their help in spreading the survey to younger siblings and friends living in Cologne.

A number of 181 completed paper-based surveys and 178 online surveys were collected resulting in 359 surveys in total. However, for the analysis only complete datasets were used resulting in 208 cases (more detailed information in Table 1). The conditions for privacy and anonymity were respected while conducting the survey.

3.3 Operationalization

The following variables are included in the survey and will be operationalized as follows.

Ethnicity: Ethnicity is the main independent variable in this study. It is conceptualized within the survey in the first part where the respondent is asked whether she/he has an ethnic minority background and if yes which. More importantly the respondent is asked how she/he thinks the police perceive her/his appearance. With this question there is the possibility of including juveniles having a migration background but a German identity as they were born there. By including the question of how the police perceive the juvenile it also includes juveniles with a German identity and a non-German appearance. Knowing whether a person has an ethnic background or is perceived as such is vital for finding out if

there is a relationship between ethnicity and the quality of police contacts. Interestingly, 139 respondents indicated that they would be perceived as German whereas 69 indicated being perceived as non-German. However, there are 152 respondents with a German background which shows that several people with a German identity think they have a non-German appearance (Table 1).

		Ν	%	
Gender				
	Male	134	64,40	
	Female	74	35,60	
Age				
-	15-20	99	47,70	
	21-25	109	52,50	
Ethnic background				
	German	152	73,4	
	Russian	7	3,40	
	Polish	8	3,90	
	Turkish	24	11,60	
	Tunisian	2	1,00	
	Kurdish	5	2,40	
	Albanian	1	0,50	
	Lebanese	1	0,50	
	Other			
	background	26	12,6	
German ethnic appearance		139	66,80	
Non-German ethnic appearance		69	33,20	

Table 1.Sample attributes²

Quality of police contacts: This concept was measured in the third part of the survey by asking the respondents if they were treated with respect, fairly, in a correct manner and if they think that they were treated as any other person would have been treated in this

² Figures rounded to two decimal places

situation. The Cronbach's alpha of 0,96 indicates that this measurement is reliable³. The answers of the four questions were computed into one variable that was transformed into a second variable ranging from 0 and 1 with 1 indicating high quality and 0 indicating low quality. Quality of police contact is the dependent variable in this study and is used to answer the question whether ethnic minorities have more negative quality police contacts or not (Table 2).

Individual delinquency and Involvement in Group delinquency: Individual delinquency is measured by questions in the survey relating to different forms of delinquent behavior over the past 12 month (e.g. having used soft/hard drugs, dealing with drugs, having stolen something, having participated in a fight etc.). Group delinquency is measured with the same questions but now in relation to friends. How many of the friend's respondents were involved in delinquency is at 0,72 and therewith a satisfying construct. Group delinquency is even more satisfying with a Cronbach's alpha of 0,81 meaning that this construct has a high reliability. The variables were computed and transformed into z-scores to simplify the analysis of different variables.

Neighborhood & Gender: These will be treated as control variables to control for effects on the quality of contact e.g. does the sex of the respondents influence the contact quality negatively? Does the neighborhood where respondents hang out have a negative influence on the quality of contact? Both of these are important as they are connected to police behavior. Gender is especially important to control for as women are underrepresented in this study. Neighborhood in this context is defined as the places were the interviews took place. Thereby it is assumed that the places where the respondents hang out are also the places where they are available to the police. Many respondents live outside of Cologne but come to the city to hang out with friends. It can therefore be assumed that juveniles do not necessarily spend their leisure time near the area they live in but within the city and parks. Three neighborhoods were assessed including Lindenthal, Deutz and Kalk in order to also control for the results within the online surveys it was included as a fourth 'neighborhood'. Therefore the fourth neighborhood is called online. The neighborhoods were transformed into dummy variables and Kalk was used as a reference category as it has the least respondents.

³ Figures are henceforward rounded.

	Ν	Min.	Max.	Mean	SD
Dependent variables					
Quality of police contact (0-1)	208	0	1	0,41	0,31
Independent and control variables					
Non-German appearance (Yes/No)	208	0	1	0,33	0,47
Male (Yes/No)	208	0	1	0,64	0,48
Availability (Hours per week)	208	0	54,00	7,52	6,57
Individual delinquency (0-1)	208	0	1	0,28	0,20
Group delinquency (0-1)	208	0	1	0,35	0,25
Lindenthal	208				
Deutz	208				
Kalk	208				
Online	208				

Table 2.Measurements of dependent, independent and control variables

3.4 Limitations of the Study

This cross-sectional study using an online and paper-based survey is the most feasible approach given the amount of time. Unfortunately the problems of surveys are inherent in this approach. One example is relying on the respondent's memory which may cause recency or primacy biases. Social desirability is another aspect one needs to keep in mind when conducting a survey i.e. participants of the survey might exaggerate or understate their experience with the police adapting their answers to what they see as socially desirable. Respondents might also anticipate the underlying hypotheses and adapt their answers to it (Choi & Pak, 2005).

Another problem for both types of surveys was that some questions were not answered properly especially towards the end of the survey. This might have been due to the length of it. Most of the respondents took 10 minutes to answer it and some participants lost their concentration and started to skip questions or to not read the instructions properly. A more condensed version of the survey might have resulted in more accurate answers. Surely respondents might have also skipped questions due to the private information asked for – even when assuring that all data would be handled anonymously.

For the online survey there are advantages and limitations as well. It is easier to reach many people at once, however it is less transparent. A methodological sampling issue is self-selection i.e. people chose to fill in the survey if they feel like it or are interested in the topic. For example when a respondent fills in the survey on the street he/she feels more obliged to answer it properly whereas respondents completing the online survey do not have someone standing next to them. Another threat could be identity fraud. A 50-year-old woman could pretend to be a 17-year old male having a lot of bad police contacts because she does not like the police or has recently had bad contact. This has to be kept in mind when analyzing the data.

Another downside of this approach is sample bias which we tried to avoid by asking students with different backgrounds e.g. within schools of different districts in Cologne but also asking juveniles in the streets of the city center to get a better range of juveniles in the city. With the online survey approaching different groups in social media was tried to reach a variety of juveniles.

When using regression analysis omitted variable bias has to be considered as a threat of validity. This can lead to an over- or underestimation of the effect of the other independent variables on the dependent variable. It is important to keep threats of all kinds in mind when assessing the results. For future studies it would be sensible to conduct the survey with more people over a longer period of time. Also different cities should be in focus in order to ensure greater external validity.

4. Results

The statistical analyses are performed with SPSS Version 22. The variables discussed above in the model were analyzed with hierarchical regression in order to test the hypotheses. Before the outcome of the analyses was interpreted a few criteria were tested for: i) normal distribution of all variables, ii) Multicollinearity (i.e. is one predictor highly correlated with the other predictors and therewith distorting the results), iii) Homoscedasticity (i.e. are the variances around the regression line the same for all values of the predictor variables).

Multicollinearity could be ruled out as the variance inflation factor (VIF) is around 1,00 for all variables i.e. the variables are not correlated (see Appendix Table 5.). Homoscedasticity is checked with a scatterplot and as all residuals are evenly distributed homoscedasticity is present i.e. the variance around the regression line is the same for all values of the predictor variables.

The distribution of the residuals is not normal as the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test shows (see Appendix Table 6). This means that either the variables have to be transformed or the values are used without transformation relying on the sample size/the robustness of the sample. Transformation may improve normality but also complicates the interpretation in the end. As the sample size in this study is quite high, relying on the robustness of the model is chosen as the better option. However, if the distribution of residuals is skewed Pearson's r cannot be used to assess in how far the variables correlate as it is a parametric test. Therefore, Spearman's rho, a non-parametric test, instead of Pearson's r was used to evaluate the relation between the variables.

The correlation matrix measures the strength and direction of the relationship between quality of police contact, ethnicity, individual delinquency and group delinquency. Table 3 displays the correlation matrix of all variables included. It depicts that being male is negatively correlated with contact quality. A negative relationship between the two variables becomes apparent. 'Group delinquency' and 'individual delinquency' show the most significant correlation. Both of the variables measure a similar construct hence the correlation might be explained by the overlapping of the constructs. 'Male' is also correlated to 'group delinquency' indicating that males are more likely to participate in delinquent groups than females.

		Contact	Ethnicity	Male	GD	ID
		Quality				
Contact	Correlation	-	-,099	-,166*	-,083	-,105
Quality	Coefficient					
Ethnicity	Correlation	-	-	-,031	,052	-,033
	Coefficient					
Male	Correlation	-	-	-	,131	,159*
	Coefficient					
GD	Correlation	-	-	-	-	,560**
	Coefficient					
ID	Correlation	-	-	-	-	-
	Coefficient					

Table 3.Correlation matrix (Spearman's rho) N=208

Note: GD=Group delinquency; ID=Individual delinquency

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

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

In order to find support for the hypotheses hierarchical regression in SPSS 22 is used. This method is sensible as it allows entering each variable separately into different models. In that way the changes of values for different independent variables can be assessed using linear regression. Three models - including the variables ethnicity, gender, neighborhood, group delinquency and individual delinquency - are used to support the hypotheses, stated at the end of the theory section.

To find support for the first hypothesis the effect of ethnicity on 'contact quality' is looked at in model 1. Table 4 summarizes the results from the hierarchical regression by displaying the unstandardized and standardized coefficients for all models as well as the change in R² for each model. The first model shows no significance and therefore has no explanatory power to predict the influence 'ethnicity' has on the quality of police contact. When adding the control variables as in the second model the results support the first hypothesis. The unstandardized coefficient for 'Non-German appearance' reveals that respondents with non-German appearance have -0,09 poorer 'contact quality' compared to respondents with German appearance. The value is significant which means that juveniles with non-German appearance rate contact quality more negative. The most significant variable in the second model is the control variable 'male' followed by the neighborhood 'online'.

In the third model, the independent variables 'individual delinquency' and 'group delinquency' are added to see how much they contribute to the explanation of the model. The second hypotheses shall be tested within this step. The value for 'contact quality' remains (-,09) with a slight increase in significance. The value for being 'male' decreases slightly indicating that the added variables explain part of the model. On contrast the variable 'online' did increase its value and significance. 'Individual delinquency' and 'group delinquency' are not significant predictors in the model. This supports the second hypothesis as it indicates that juveniles with non-German appearance are still treated poorer even when controlling for other variables.

When looking at the R^2 to assess how much of the variance is explained by the models it does not seem to explain a great variance of the quality of police contacts. Nonetheless it increases in the course of the different models – in the first it only predicts 0,8% of the variance in police contact quality and is not significant. In the third model it predicts 10,7% of the variance and increases in significance. It is interesting that the change in R^2 is only significant in the second model emphasizing that adding the control variables (gender, neighborhood) explained the variance of police contact quality the best.

To sum up, it can be said that the models support both of the hypothesis stated. Interestingly, when only 'ethnicity' is tested the impact of 'non-German appearance' on police 'contact quality' is not significant questioning the first hypothesis. Only the second model including the control variables did have significance and supports the claim that juveniles with non-Germans appearance experience poorer quality of police contacts. The second hypothesis is supported as well, showing that most of the explanatory power can be attributed to ethnicity, being male and filling in the survey online.

Table 4.Contact quality reported (dependent) Linear regression, n=208, Summary of Hierarchical Regression

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	B (SE) Sig.	β	<i>B</i> (SE) Sig.	β	B (SE) Sig.	β
(Constant)	0,61 (0,00)***		0,81 (0,00)***		0,819 (0,00)***	
Non-German appearance	-0,06 (0,19)	-0,090	-0,091 (0,023)*	-0,140	-0,091 (0,022)*	-0,140
(ref. German appearance) Male (ref. female) Area (ref. Kalk)			-0,128 (0,004)**	-0,200	-0,144 (0,01)*	-0,178
Lindenthal - Cologne			-0,121 (0,25)	-0,096	-0,109 (0,29)	-0,086
Deutz - Cologne			-0,059 (0,41)	-0,092	-0,066 (0,53)	-0,103
Online - Cologne			-0,044 (0,01)*	-0,286	-0,052 (0,004)**	-0,339
Individual delinquency (z-					-0,040 (0,09)	-0,129
score) Group delinquency (z-					-0,019 (0,43)	-0,061
score)						
R ²	0,008		0,078		0,102	
F change of R ²	1,684		3,850*		2,627	

Note: For non-German appearance one-tailed significance is used.

5. Discussion

Summarizing the results from the empirical analysis for the statistical relationship between juveniles with non-German appearance and police contact quality, it can be said that contact quality is more negative for juveniles with non-German appearance.

In the first model, when only ethnicity was included the unstandardized coefficient for ethnicity was not significant therefore not supporting the first hypothesis. Interestingly, in the second model the value was significant indicating that juveniles with non-German appearance have a negative relation with police quality. It can be said that unequal treatment is apparent and that outcome inequalities do exist. In the third model, the value for non-Germans does not change indicating that even when taking into account individual delinquency and group delinquency there is still more negative treatment of juveniles with non-German appearance as has been stated in the second hypothesis.

The control variables male and online are interesting because they are highly significant in the second model suggesting that poorer quality of treatment is also dependent on the sex of the respondent as indicated by the correlation matrix and filling in the survey online. In the second and third model being male is an even more significant predictor than ethnicity even though it slightly decreases in significance in the third model. Interestingly, filling in the survey online on the other hand increases its significance from model 2 to model 3. The significance might be due to the methodological sampling issue of self-selection. In contrast to the paper-based surveys where people might participate because they are asked directly and do not want to refuse the favor, the respondents who filled out the online survey are unaffected in that regard. Therefore it might be possible that the online surveys were mostly filled in by juveniles having negative experience with the police whereas other potential respondents did not think that they could contribute to the study as they never had contact anticipating the underlying hypotheses. The control variables neighborhood did not add any explanatory power to the model suggesting that the police do not treat people differently depending on the area.

The variables individual delinquency and participating in delinquent groups are not significant in the model and do not add further explanatory power. When looking at the R^2 only the second model is significant explaining 0,7% of the variance. The change of R^2 is also

most considerable in the second model along with the significance. This shows that the change in variance of contact quality is most significant in the second model where gender and the neighborhoods were added indicating that they contribute explanatory power. Overall the models explain 10,7 % of the variance in the quality of police contact.

To sum up, both of the hypotheses are supported by the data analysis. Juveniles with ethnic minority background are treated more poorly than juveniles without such a background. Even when checking for group delinquency and individual delinquency, respondents with non-German appearance are subject to more negative quality of police contact. Two other variables namely being male and filling in the survey online did proof to be significant in the context of this study which were controlled for in the model. It is striking that being male has an even greater influence on the quality of contact than ethnicity. An attempt for explaining this might be the concept of 'cop culture' introduced earlier. Supposed 'best practices' based on generalizations and stereotypes are spread through the police giving way for behavioral patterns suggesting that juveniles with non-German appearance pose a greater threat or that male youth would have to be handled more roughly as they supposedly act more aggressive. The manifestation of 'cop culture' that might neglect the growing diversity as it is built on homogeneity stands in strong contrast to the increasing diversity of Europe.

When looking at the result of the online survey, one has to be cautious in interpreting them as outlined above. The significance of the value of online surveys might convey a general threat inherent in online surveys. People with more extreme opinions and experiences might choose to fill in online surveys or maybe more extreme answers are given as people might feel less under surveillance when completing the online survey compared to the paper-based survey. Paper-based surveys on the other hand are more dependent on the convenience and availability of the people. It can be assumed that many respondents who filled in the paper-based survey provide more valid results.

An aspect that should be considered when discussing the feeling of fair treatment is that obviously it is very subjective and often dependent on commonly agreed values. Nonetheless it is a real feeling for each respondent hence having negative effects on the trust towards the police as discussed by Tyler (2004, 2015). Overall, the analysis shows that differences in

treatment by the police become apparent in interaction with juveniles with ethnic minority background in Cologne.

6. Conclusion

In conclusion, the results show that unequal treatment of juveniles with ethnic minority background by the police in Cologne, Germany, takes place. These findings are in line with the MIDI Report mentioned in the beginning stating that people from ethnic minorities are treated differently or even more negatively (FRA, 2010a).

As mentioned in the introduction, the changing political climate and the increasing securitization pose a challenge to the police. Two contradicting movements collide. On the one hand, Europe is increasingly diverse and, on the other hand, right wing parties, all over Europe have been more successful in elections than in the last years promoting heterogeneity and nationalism. In Germany, the AfD (Alternative für Deutschland) is successfully advocating their anti-migrant agenda and wants to stop the perceived islamization of the country. This goes hand in hand with a growing tendency all over Europe to perceive everything unusual and different as a threat to society (Beck & Grande, 2007). Staying neutral and treating everyone equal might conflict with newly implemented security policies and the tendency to generalize people with different appearances.

The implications of the results point to unequal treatment of juveniles with ethnic minority background that is troublesome in several ways. Treating people differently has not only negative consequences for the people concerned but also for the police. As Taylor's (2015) research has shown the quality of treatment is a decisive aspect for building trust that constitutes the legitimacy the police is based on. For many juveniles the police represent the government implying that trust for the government is at stake in the long run (Tyler, 2015).

The instrument of proactive policing seems to be based on mistrust and generalizations. It should be considered that after all the police work is conducted by human beings and humans generalize to cope with their environment and learn form experiences. Hence, police work and proactive policing might inevitably lead to unequal treatment of people with different appearance. Connecting this to the existence of 'cop culture' as it is understood now there seems little hope for an approach embracing heterogeneity since the idea of simplifying police work is based on generalizations. Surely there are measures taken to absorb the danger of generalization, e.g. more people with ethnic minority background are hired to foster diversity

(Behr, 2005). The theory of Bowling and Philips (2007) might also be put forward when talking about juveniles and the police. They suggest that the police want to exercise 'social control' over juveniles i.e. teaching them how to behave appropriately. One possible explanation for the results of this thesis could be that the police have the urge to stop juveniles with non-German appearance to teach them how to behave as the officers might assume that they are socialized differently. However, this hypothesis would require further research in the field to be confirmed.

In order to approach the issue of unequal treatment by the police is a first step that the EU is aware of the problem of discrimination of people with ethnic minority background. As the results showed, males are even more discriminated than ethnic minorities. Hence, there is the need for further investigation to verify the results and find reasons for this phenomenon. Especially as the police represent the state and the government possibly diminishing trust in the society and in government legitimacy, the issue of unequal treatment by the police has to be dealt with. Future studies should try to find the reasons for the outcome inequality in order to tackle the issue successfully.

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Appendix

Survey



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:	

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

1

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 Tunesisch
- O Russisch o Kurdisch
- O Polnisch o Albanisch
- O Türkisch o Libanesisch
- O Marokkanisch 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)

Ο	Grundschule	o Berufsschule
Ο	Gymnasium	o Universität
Ο	Gesamtschule	o Sonstige (bitte eintragen)
0	Realschule	

O Hauptschule

1

A7 Sieht man die Polizei häufig in deiner Nachbarschaft?

O Sehr selten

O Selten

- O Regelmäßig
- O Oft

2

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 - Unauffälig

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
- $O \quad \text{Nein} \rightarrow \text{Fortfahren mit Rubrik C}$

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 der Schule / Schulgelände
- O Auf der Straße
- O Im Einkaufszentrum

o In einem Jugendzentrum o In einem Club oder Verein o In einer Diskothek oder Kneipe o Woardarz (bitta aintragen)

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 <u>letzten zwölf</u> <u>Monate</u> 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	0	0	0	0	0
b.	Die Polizei hat mich fair behandelt	0	0	о	0	0
c.	Die Polizei hat mich so behandelt, wie jeder andere in dieser Situation behandelt worden wäre	0	0	0	o	o
d.	Die Polizei hat mich mit Respekt behandelt	0	0	0	0	0

4

 $\mathbf{C4b} \ \mathsf{M\"ochtest} \ \mathsf{du} \ \mathsf{eine} \ \mathsf{Er} \mathsf{l} \mathsf{auterung} \ \mathsf{zu} \ \mathsf{deinen} \ \mathsf{Aussagen} \ \mathsf{bez} \mathsf{u} \mathsf{glich} \ \mathsf{deiner} \ \mathsf{Begegnungen} \ \mathsf{mit} \ \mathsf{der} \ \mathsf{Polizei} \ \mathsf{geben}?$

 	•••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••

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	0	0	0	0	0
b.	Wenn die Polizei mich als Zeuge befragen will, arbeite ich mit	0	о	0	о	0
c.	Wenn die Polizei mir einen Platzverweis erteilt, gehe ich ohne zu diskutieren	0	0	0	0	0
d.	Wenn ich sehe, dass jemand in ein Auto einbrechen will, versuche ich die Polizei zu verständigen	0	0	0	0	0

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 off haben deine Freunde das in den letzten 12 Monaten getan?			Hast di in den	D2 a das selbst letzten 12 ten getan?
		Keinmal	Einmal oder Zweimal	Mehr als Zweimal	Ja	nein
a.	Schwarzfahren im Bus oder Zug	о	0	0	0	0
b.	Eine Verkehrsübertretung begehen	о	0	0	0	0
c.	Schule schwänzen	о	0	0	0	0
d.	Absichtlich Dinge anderer beschädigen	о	о	0	0	0
e.	Mauern, Zäune, Bussitze und dergleichen mit Farbe beschmieren	0	0	0	0	o
f.	Etwas stehlen oder versucht zu stehlen	0	0	0	0	0
g.	Einbrechen oder versucht einzubrechen	о	о	о	0	0
h.	Jemanden verprügelt	о	о	о	0	о

5

i.	Über das Alter lügen um Alkohol oder Zigaretten kaufen zu können	0	0	0	o	o
j.	Eine Waffe mit sich tragen zum Schutz	о	0	о	0	о
k.	In der Öffentlichkeit betrunken sein	о	0	0	0	0
1.	Weiche Drogen nehmen	0	0	0	о	0
m.	Harte Drogen nehmen	0	0	0	0	0
n. o.	Drogen verkauft Unbekannten Frauen auf der Straße nachgerufen	0	0 0	0	0 0	0 0

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

o Ja o Nein \rightarrow 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?

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

Vielen Dank für deine Mitarbeit !

		Collinearity Statistics		
		Tolera		
Mo	del	nce	VIF	
1	(Constant)			
	Non-German	1,000	1,000	
2	(Constant)			
	Non-German	,942	1,061	
	Male(ref female)	,964	1,037	
	Lindenthal	,671	1,490	
	Deutz	,369	2,710	
	Online	,351	2,850	
3	(Constant)			
	Non-German	,941	1,062	
	Male(ref female)	,943	1,061	
	Lindenthal	,669	1,494	
	Deutz	,368	2,715	
	Online	,330	3,032	
	Individual delinquency (z- score)	,803	1,246	
	Group delinquency (z-score)	,750	1,334	

Table 5Variance Inflation Factor. Test for Multicollinearity

a. Dependent Variable: PQ

1	0			Linden					
	NG	Male	Deutz	t.	Kalk	Online	GD	ID	QC
N	208	208	208	208	208	208	208	208	208
Norm Mean	,3317	,6442	,3510	,0625	,0337	1,9038	,3483	,2876	2,6550
al SD Para meter s ^{a,b}	,47197	,47990				2,0025 1		,19472	1,2278 2
Most Absol Extre ute	,427	,415	,417	,539	,540	,353	,150	,143	,109
me Positiv Diffe e	,427	,266	,417	,539	,540	,353	,150	,143	,109
rence Negati s ve	-,253	-,415	-,264	-,398	-,426	-,328	-,094	-,094	-,089
Test Statistic	,427	,415	,417	,539	,540	,353	,150	,143	,109
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	,000 ^c								

One-Sample Kolmogorov-Smirnov Test

a. Test distribution is Normal.

b. Calculated from data.

c. Lilliefors Significance Correction.

Note: NG = Non-German appearance; ID = Individual delinquency; GD = Group

delinquency; PQ = Contact Quality; Lindent. = Lindenthal

SD=Standard Deviation