



Encounters Between Juveniles and the Police in Germany

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Abstract

Differences in encounters with the police between juveniles with a migration background and juveniles without a migration background were explored using a paper survey (n= 184) as well as an online survey (n=78). Participants were female and male and surveyed in the cities of Bochum, Hannover and Gronau, ranging in age from 12 to 25. The research was guided by the main question 'To what extent, and if so, why are juveniles ranging in age from 12 to 25 with a migration background having more frequent encounters with the police compared to juveniles without a migration background? The non-parametric Mann-Whitney U test revealed no significant differences with regard to the three tested variables: encounters with the police, individual delinquency and availability on the streets for juveniles with a migration background and without. Spearman's Rank correlation revealed significant relationships between individual delinquency and encounters with the police as well as between availability on the streets and encounters with the police.

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INTRODUCTION

The population of the European Union has been asked via Eurobarometer to what extent they agree with the statement ‘in our country the police stops and questions people of different ethnic origin more often’ (European Commission, 2007). Over half of the people in the Union feel that the police are stopping ethnic minorities more frequently than home country nationals. The result for Germany is below this European average. Nevertheless, almost half of the population thinking that the police are contacting ethnic minorities more often because of their ethnicity is an alarming number (European Commission, 2007). Not only do these findings have a negative impact on police legitimacy but they also limit the police’s ability to do their work. This is because the police’s main task is to guarantee a safe environment for the citizens of a country by ensuring that everyone adheres to law and order. In order to execute their task they rely heavily on the support and cooperation of the general public. To put it another way, citizens help the police by reporting crime or suspicious behaviour, which is needed to prevent and solve crimes. However, if the general public thinks that the police stop and question ethnic minorities more frequently because of their ethnicity, this could give rise to the impression that the police are discriminating against certain groups, which will decrease the public’s willingness to assist them in their work (Rosenbaum, 2005). Tyler and Fagan (2008) affirm that perceived treatment by the police and whether the encounter seems justified will impact a person’s willingness to assist the police in their work.

Bearing in mind it is important to specify what exactly encounters between the police and public can look like. Encounters between the public and the police can be of two different natures: citizen-initiated or police-initiated. As the terms imply, in the former the public approaches the police to e.g. report something or to ask for help. Whereas in the latter the police is taking the initiative to approach citizens (Black & Reiss, 1970; Skogan, 2006). On the one hand police-initiated encounters can be a helpful tool to prevent crimes, but on the other hand they run the risk of targeting innocent people. In other words, it can give the police freedom of decision to selectively target certain groups of the population that have not engaged in any kind of criminal behaviour. As a result public opinion about fair functioning of the police will decrease as well as the relationship between the general public and the police (Lukas & Gauthier, 2011).

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Possible consequences of a disordered relationship between the public and the police became apparent during youth riots in France and the UK. In these cases it was the relationship between juveniles with a migration background and the police. Youths from ethnic minorities, and their supporters, revolted for days in the streets to give voice to their complaints, because they felt they were target of police-initiated encounters more often due to their skin colour/ethnic origin. Moreover, they were complaining about the police attitude towards them during encounters, especially about a lack of respect from the police (Bridges, 2012; Murray, 2006). Not only does a negative relationship between citizens and the police hinder police work but it also impacts the social status of juveniles from different ethnic backgrounds. It can 'bring them [him] loss of social status, restriction of educational and employment opportunities, and future harassment by law-enforcement personnel' (Piliavin & Briar, 1964, p. 206). As a matter of fact, juveniles with a migration background do have more encounters with the police as statistics show.

In the light of the problem discussed above, criminal statistics in the US and Europe show that juveniles belonging to ethnic minorities are indeed overrepresented in the criminal justice system (Leiber, Bishop, & Chamlin, 2010; Miller, 2010). First of all, the term overrepresentation needs to be defined. In literature, overrepresentation exists when there is a disparity between 'the share of minority youth in the juveniles justice system with their share in the general population' (Piquero, 2008, p. 61). For example if 20% of the German population is of Turkish origin and 25% of all inmates in Germany are Turkish, this group is overrepresented compared to their share in the general population. Seeing such statistics surely motivated scholars to investigate why juveniles with a migration background are overrepresented in criminal statistics.

There are various theories that attempt to explain why juveniles with a migration background are overrepresented in criminal statistics and encounters with the police. On the one hand, the 'differential involvement theory', also referred to as 'differential behaviour hypothesis', claims that juveniles with a migration background are more prone to criminal behaviour and thus responsible for entering the criminal justice system (Piquero, 2008). The differential treatment hypothesis, on the other hand, is built upon the assumption that the police and the criminal justice system discriminate against ethnic minorities by treating them differently to any other person in a similar situation, without suspicion for criminal behaviour (Fitzgerald & Carrington, 2011). In contrast to the differential treatment and differential behaviour hypothesis, Waddington, Stenson and Don (2004) argue that ethnic minorities, especially young men, spend more time in public

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places or places of general interest to the police. Consequently, spending time on the streets leads to an increase in the frequency of encounters with the police (Waddington, Stenson, & Don, 2004). Even though the topic of overrepresentation is discussed in the literature there seems to be little research within the European context.

After reviewing the literature it becomes apparent that most studies in this field focus on the situation in the UK and US (Albrecht, 1997; Bishop & Frazier, 1996; Leiber et al., 2010). Especially analyzing ‘four major decision points in the juvenile justice system - intake, detention, adjudication, and disposition’ (Pope & Synder, 2003, p. 2) instead of looking at the nature of police-juvenile encounters (Miller et al., 2008; Norris, Fielding, Kemp, & Fielding, 1992; Piquero, 2008). In order to widen the debate about overrepresented youths from minority groups to the European context, this study conducts a survey among juveniles ranging in age from 12 to 25 in three German cities: Bochum, Gronau and Hannover. The aim of this survey is to answer the main research question *‘To what extent, and if so why, are juveniles ranging in age from 12 to 25 with a migration background having more frequent encounters with the police compared to juveniles without a migration background?’*

The results of this study are that juveniles with a migration background do not have more frequent encounters with the police compared to juveniles without a migration background. Moreover, juveniles with a migration background neither spend more time in the street nor are they more delinquent. However, the expected positive relationship between being available on the street, as well as being more delinquent, and the frequency of encounters with the police is confirmed.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Germany is a country with a long history of migration. Beginning in the 1950s, people from all over Europe moved to Germany to find work on an interim basis. Nevertheless, the majority of these migrant workers ended up staying in Germany and are now an important part of German society. However, integration of those 2nd and 3rd generation migrants into German society has been difficult and is being debated by politicians and citizens alike. One of the issues often highlighted by the media is the image of juveniles with a migration background being more criminal and thus having more frequent encounters with the police. The following literature study will outline four explanations for overrepresentation of juveniles with a migration background in police encounters as well as in the criminal justice system as discussed and studied in the literature. The first explanation is the differential treatment hypothesis.

DIFFERENTIAL TREATMENT

One explanation for the overrepresentation of ethnic minorities in the criminal justice system, as well as in encounters with the police, is the differential treatment hypothesis. The differential treatment hypothesis claims that the police, and the criminal justice system, are treating ethnic minorities differently compared to any other person in the same situation, for example due to their ethnicity. To be more specific, ethnic minorities are not treated differently by accident, rather on purpose to discriminate against them because of their ethnicity. Important to realize, the differential treatment hypothesis acts on the assumption that people are treated differently in similar situations. For example, a Turkish boy walks home after the movies with a beer in his hands. According to the law drinking in public is not allowed and the young man has to pay a fine. If in the same scenario the boy has no migration background, differential treatment implies that the young man either does not get stopped by the police at all and if, he would only receive a warning, rather than a fine for drinking in public. Furthermore, the differential treatment hypothesis states that ethnic minorities will still experience a different treatment regardless of actual crime involvement. If the Turkish boy in the scenario above would not be drinking beer, he would still be stopped by the police because he has a migration background, whereas an individual without a migration background would not be stopped by the police. Hence, ethnic minorities experience different treatment by the police and have more frequent of encounters

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with the police because of their migration background, regardless of actual crime involvement. Giving a person a less favourable treatment than another person would experience in a similar situation could indicate discrimination against the person experiencing less favourable treatment.

In their study, Norris et al. (1992) found out that black people in the US do indeed have more encounters with the police and that these encounters are on a more 'speculative basis' than encounters white people have with the police. To put it differently, police officers more often form suspicion towards black people without any indication of criminal behaviour by the person in question, due to their ethnicity. Targeting people only because of their ethnicity can be an indication of discriminatory behaviour. Hence, it becomes important to discuss the term discrimination. The official definition of discrimination, in Germany and within the EU, is reported under the General Act on Equal Treatment directive enacted in 2006 and forbids discriminating 'on grounds of race or ethnic origin, gender, religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation' (Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency, 2006, p. 4). According to the Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency (2006) direct discrimination and indirect discrimination are defined as follows:

Direct discrimination shall be taken to occur where one person is treated less favourably than another is, has been or would be treated in a comparable situation [...]' (Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency, 2006, p. 5).

Indirect discrimination shall be taken to occur where an apparently neutral provision, criterion or practice would put persons at a particular disadvantage compared with other persons [...], unless that provision, criterion or practice is objectively justified by a legitimate aim and the means of achieving that aim are appropriate and necessary. (Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency, 2006, p. 5).

For Fitzgerald and Carrington (2011) discrimination is not the reason why juveniles with a migration background experience different treatment. It is rather the agenda of the police to look for certain signals that indicate higher individual delinquency. They propose that juveniles with a migration background have such signals more often, making them look suspicious to police officers and thereby increasing their overall frequency of encounters with the police. Juveniles without a migration background on the other hand dispose of such characteristics less often (Fitzgerald & Carrington, 2011). In addition, Piquero (2008) claims if ethnic minorities commit

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similar criminal acts as non-ethnic minorities, ethnic minorities will experience harder sanctions by the police than non- ethnic minorities.

The following part will outline the differential behaviour hypothesis which is also discussed as an explanation for the higher frequency of encounters between the police and ethnic minorities.

DIFFERENTIAL BEHAVIOUR

On the other side, the differential behaviour hypothesis assumes that ethnic minorities have more encounters with the police and end up in the criminal justice system because they behave differently compared to the majority of the population. Especially juvenile's with a migration background are more criminal, consequently leading to more frequent encounters with the police. In addition, juveniles with a migration background engage in more serious crimes, whereas juveniles without a migration background engage in minor incidents such as speeding (Piquero, 2008). Because the police is focusing on serious crimes, rather than on minor misdemeanour, juveniles with a migration background get more attention from the police, consequently having a higher frequency of encounters with the police (Fitzgerald & Carrington, 2011). Next to the assumption that ethnic minorities are more delinquent Norris et al. discuss that ethnic minorities behave differently during encounters with the police. As a matter of fact, they found that ethnic minorities tend to show less respect towards members of the police compared to people without ethnic background, thus resulting in higher arrest rates (Norris et al., 1992). In addition, Piliavin and Briar (1964) extend the discussion and classify two categories of how people can behave during their encounters with the police. People can be cooperative, showing respect towards officers and remorse for possible delinquent acts, or uncooperative, which is showing of disrespectful behaviour towards the police. They also found that being black and wearing certain clothes influences the police's decision to conduct stop and search (Piliavin & Briar, 1964). Compared to the differential treatment hypothesis, differential behaviour assumes that the individual is more delinquent and it is their own responsibility that he or she has more encounters with the police, rather than because of their ethnicity. In contrast, Miller (2010) refutes this claim, because the police decree over wide discretionary powers whom to stop and search. This power can be misused to target certain groups of the population, which is the main claim of the differential treatment hypotheses, outlined in the previous section.

However, there is no consensus on which hypothesis is best suited to explain overrepresentation of juveniles with a migration background in encounters with the police. Hence, some scholars propose that both hypotheses work together to explain more frequent encounters (Piquero, 2008). The following section will outline how both hypotheses are used together in tandem to explain more frequent encounters with the police.

DIFFERENTIAL TREATMENT AND DIFFERENTIAL BEHAVIOUR

As stated above, scholars do not agree which hypothesis is better suited to explain why ethnic minorities have more encounters with the police than the majority of the population. According to Piquero (2008) the differential treatment hypothesis and the differential behaviour hypothesis are most often used together to explain why juveniles with a migration background have more encounters with the police. Yet, scholars debate over the proportional importance of each hypothesis to explain why juveniles with a migration background have more frequent encounters with the police (Piquero, 2008). The idea of an interplay between these two hypotheses is that juveniles with a migration background do indeed behave differently, but for example in the earlier stage of the criminal justice system e.g. during encounters with the police. For illustration, ethnic minorities have a more negative attitude towards the police because they have more frequent encounters with the police. To clarify, juveniles with a migration background are more relaxed during encounters compared to a person that rarely has these encounters. Consequently, being more relaxed and not showing respect in turn can be interpreted by members of the police as having a negative attitude and as being uncooperative, which leads to a different treatment by the police (Piliavin & Briar, 1964).

Not all scholars agree on these three approaches, Waddington, Stenson & Don (2004) doubt the notion that minorities have more encounters with the police because they show different behaviour (more delinquent, less respectful towards police) or that they are being treated differently by the police because of their ethnicity. Instead, they claim that availability on the streets can explain the higher frequency of encounters with the police (Waddington et al., 2004). The following part will elaborate on the idea of availability on the streets to explain more encounters with the police.

AVAILABILITY ON THE STREETS

Another explanation for the overrepresentation of juveniles with a migration background is by Waddington, Stenson & Don (2004). They claim that juveniles with a migration background spend more time on the streets compared to juveniles without a migration background. In addition, they claim that ethnic minorities are more visible to the police by spending more time on the streets, which increases their likelihood of encounters with the police (Waddington et al., 2004). Especially young men with a migration background spend more time outside, whereas elderly people and women avoid going outside once it is dark. Additionally, young men with a migration background spend more time in public places, which are of high interest to the police. Waddington, Stenson & Don's (2004) findings are contradictory to what others have found: white people tend to be contacted by the police more often and they also arouse more police suspicion, rather than ethnic minorities, as predicted before. This refutes the popular believe that overrepresentation is due to police discrimination of ethnic minorities and because ethnic minorities behave more in such a way that attracts the attention of police officers (Waddington et al., 2004). Fitzgerald and Carrington (2011) add that the place where people spend their time is also a detrimental factor explaining police suspicion. They say some places are known for criminal behaviour and are therefore observed more often. For example, neighbourhoods with a high proportion of ethnic minorities are known to the police for criminal behaviour, consequently the police conducts more of their work in places where they expect criminal activity to be high (Piquero, 2008). Bowling and Philips (2007) on the other hand regard availability on the streets as ineffective to investigate whether the police is discriminating against ethnic minorities in their stop and search practices, because of differing demographics of cities and the impact of the time of the day.

CONCEPTUALIZATION OF DEPENDENT AND INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Specialist literature gives interesting insights into possible reasons to explain the central question but it would go beyond the scope of this thesis to investigate all possible explanations. That is why it was chosen to analyze the relationship between someone's ethnicity and the frequency of police encounters, controlling for the relationship between differential behaviour and availability on the streets.

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In order to test how useful those explanations are, it is important to define the dependent and independent variables measured in this study. The following part will give an overview of the most important variables under scrutiny before concluding with the hypothesis derived from the literature.

ENCOUNTERS WITH THE POLICE

The dependent variable of this study is 'Encounters with the police'. The police have two ways to be in contact with citizens; they can either approach citizens themselves because they have a suspicion that unlawful behaviour is happening or can be contacted by citizens who register delinquent acts. When the public is seeking out the police to report or ask for help it is called citizen-initiated contact. The other way around, where the police approach citizen for their initiative is police-initiated contact (Black & Reiss, 1970; Skogan, 2006). This study focuses on the total frequency of police-initiated contacts. Police-initiated contacts will be referred to as 'encounters with the police' from here on.

ETHNICITY

Within this research ethnicity is defined as someone's affiliation with a certain cultural tradition, language, religion and other traits that link them to a certain ethnic group. Francesco Capotorti's definition is the most commonly agreed upon definition of ethnic minorities: 'A group numerically inferior to the rest of the population of a State, in a non-dominant position, whose members - being nationals of the State - possess ethnic, religious or linguistic characteristics differing from those of the rest of the population and show, if only implicitly, a sense of solidarity, directed towards preserving their culture, traditions, religion or language' (as cited in Minority Rights: International Standards and Guidance for Implementation, 2010).

INDIVIDUAL DELINQUENCY

Differential behaviour assumes that juveniles with a migration background engage in more criminal activities than juveniles without a migration background, hence showing more individual delinquency (Piquero, 2008). For example, juveniles with a migration background steal more; are more involved with drugs (consuming or selling) and their overall willingness to participate in unlawful actions is higher. From here on after differential behaviour will be referred to as 'individual delinquency'.

AVAILABILITY ON THE STREETS

The term availability is described in the literature as being more visible and available to the police by spending more time outside in public places. Juveniles with a migration background are assumed to belong to a group that make themselves more visible to the police, compared to other groups of society (Waddington et al., 2004). This study adopts the definition and measures availability on the streets. The next section will model the hypothesis investigated in this study.

HYPOTHESES

The following section will illustrate the hypotheses derived from literature by means of a model. The main assumption of this study is that juveniles with a migration background are being discriminated against by the police, therefore having more frequent encounters with the police. Within this study, discrimination is measured by a higher frequency of encounters with the police, therefore hypothesis 1 reads as follows:

H₁ Juveniles with a migration background have more frequent encounters with the police than juveniles without a migration background.

The second assumption is that juveniles with a migration background spend more time on the streets. Accordingly, hypothesis 2 reads as follows:

H₂ Juveniles with a migration background spend more time in the street than juveniles without a migration background.

An expected result of being more available on the streets is a higher frequency of encounters with the police. Consequently, hypothesis 3 states:

H₃ Spending time on the streets increases the likelihood to have encounters with the police.

As noted above, juveniles with a migration background are said to behave differently. For this reason, hypothesis 4 assumes the following:

H₄ Juveniles with a migration background are more delinquent than juveniles without a migration background.

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It is expected that being more delinquent increases the frequency of encounters with the police. Accordingly, hypothesis 5 reads as follows:

H₅ Being more delinquent leads to more frequent encounters with the police.

As can be seen in Figure 1, all the hypotheses are one-tailed, investigating one side of the outcome. Furthermore, the expected relationship between the dependent and independent variables is positive in all hypotheses.

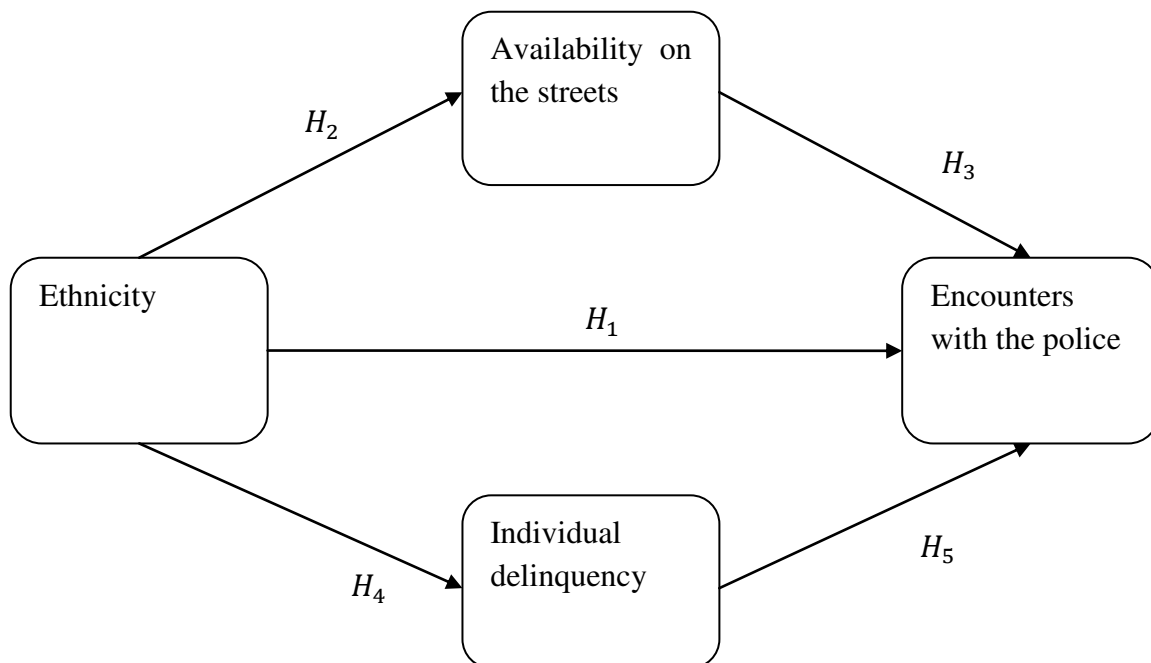


Figure 1. Hypotheses model

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

After the theoretical framework of this study is set, the next part will outline which research design is chosen to study the variables under scrutiny and how each variable is measured.

CHOICE OF RESEARCH DESIGN

The main research goal is to find out to what extent juveniles with a migration background are having more frequent encounters with the police compared to juveniles without a migration background. As discussed above, literature explains more frequent encounters between juveniles with a migration background and the police with the differential treatment hypothesis, the differential behaviour hypothesis, with a mix of both or with availability on the streets. For fear of over extending the scope of this research, the focus of the study is on the differential behaviour hypothesis and the idea that availability on the streets increases the likelihood of having encounters with the police.

For this purpose, a survey is chosen to investigate the main research goal. Surveys are a good tool to make inferences about the general population through data gathered from a sample of the population. The survey is cross- sectional, asking for the questionnaire to be filled out at one point in time as opposed to a longitudinal design, making more than one round of interviews. There are various means to conduct a survey. The initial plan was to solely conduct face- to- face interviews in youth centres and parks because face- to -face interviews have the advantage that the interviewer goes out onto the street and can establish personal contact with the respondents thus increasing the participant's willingness to participate in the survey. On the contrary, a survey can run into various obstacles that could hinder data collection. It is hard to distribute surveys in the street during a rainy time of the year. To account for possible difficulties to find participants, be it due to higher power such as the weather or sheer unwillingness to participate, the questionnaire was distributed online as well. The questionnaire was uploaded and distributed in social networks such as Facebook through Limesurvey. Limesurvey is an online questionnaire platform and gives access to the survey via a link.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The questionnaire (see appendix), paper as well as online, was taken over from a previous survey conducted in the Netherlands by Svensson, Sollie & Saharso (2012) and translated into German. In order to use the questionnaire to survey juveniles on the street it was shortened by three pages. Furthermore, the questionnaire consists out of four parts, named A-D. Part A asks about general background information of the participant, such as age and gender. Part B is interested in the friend network of the participants, asking for example how many friends the participant has. Part C is interested in the juvenile's experience with the police, asking about the frequency and kind of encounters with the police. The last part, Part D is about delinquent behaviour. The questionnaire consists mostly out of closed questions as well as five-point Likert scales, letting the participant decide to what extent they agree on a given statement. There are two open-ended questions, one to give the participant the opportunity to elaborate on his or her experiences with the police and one at the end for general comments.

CASE SELECTION AND RESPONSE

The study is focusing on juveniles ranging in age from 12 to 25 in the cities of Hannover, Gronau Westfalen and Bochum. Because of good weather conditions juveniles were surveyed in parks and swimming pools. In order to reach the target group young people (alone or in groups) were asked to indicate their age prior to filling in the questionnaire and informed that participation is voluntarily as well as anonymous. The surveys were conducted after 3pm because of the assumption that most juveniles are available during the afternoon/early evening.

As a result, the paper questionnaire was filled in by 184 participants in the cities of Bochum, Gronau and Hannover. At the same time, the online questionnaire was filled in by 78 participants via the social network site Facebook. Consequently, the overall number of participants is 262 (n). With regards to the expected response rate of the paper survey, approximately 95% of all surveyed juveniles were willing to participate. In contrast, the response rate of the online survey was lower with approximately 80% of the surveyed juveniles participating. Still, the expected response rate was higher than initially expected. On the other hand, those juveniles who were not willing to fill in the questionnaire were mostly girls, except for two boys. One of the boys only recently moved to Germany and could not speak nor read German well enough to fill in the questionnaire.

MEASUREMENT OF DEPENDENT AND INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

ENCOUNTERS WITH THE POLICE

In order to measure encounters with the police juveniles were asked questions about the frequency of encounters with the police during the past 12 months, focusing on the total frequency. As seen in Figure 2, almost half of the juveniles interviewed have zero encounters with the police. In contrast, one person is an outlier with 70 encounters with the police during the time in question. In addition, Table 1 gives an overview of encounters with the police in total numbers.

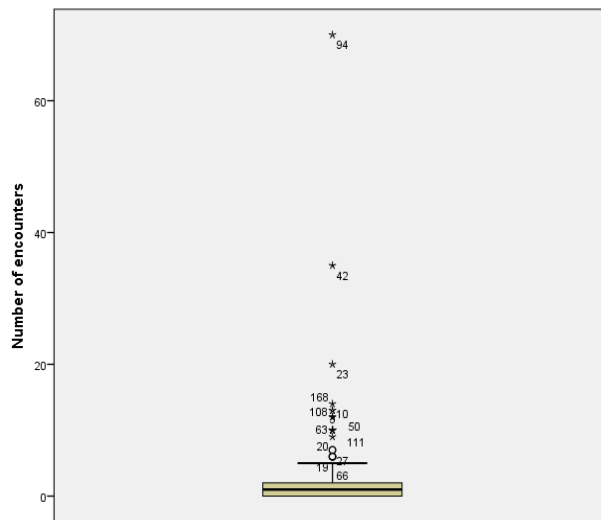


Figure 2. Box plot of frequency of encounters by ethnicity

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Frequency of encounters		Actual frequency of encounters	Percent
	0	117	44,0
	1	58	21,8
	2	32	12,0
	3	15	5,6
	4	7	2,6
	5	12	4,5
	6	4	1,5
	7	2	,8
	9	1	,4
	10	5	1,9
	12	2	,8
	13	2	,8
	14	1	,4
	20	1	,4
	35	1	,4
	70	1	,4
	Total	261	98,1
Missing	System	5	1,9
Total		266	100,0

Table 1. Total number of encounters with the police

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ETHNICITY

To measure the participants' ethnicity juveniles were asked which ethnic group they felt part of. Juveniles could choose between nine ethnic backgrounds and a blank answer opportunity. All answers other than the nine default ethnic backgrounds are summed up as 'others' in the statistical analysis. As can be seen in Figure 3, most of the respondents are German (69.1%). The second most stated ethnic background is Turkish (9.54%). All others ethnic backgrounds are represented below 5%.

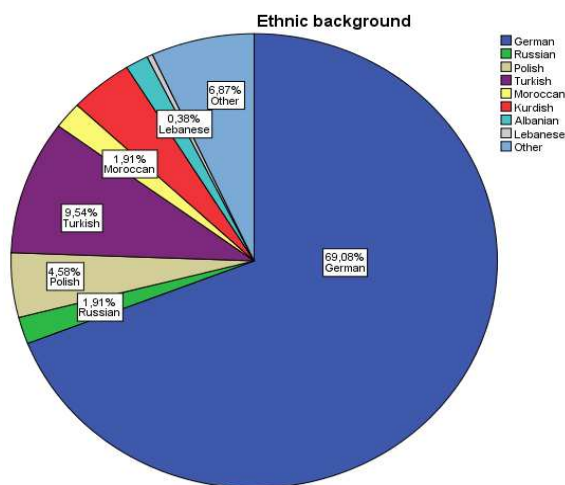


Figure 3. Pie chart showing different ethnic backgrounds

Ethnicity		Frequency	Percent
	German	183	68,8
	Russian	5	1,9
	Polish	12	4,5
	Turkish	25	9,4
	Moroccan	5	1,9
	Kurdish	11	4,1
	Albanian	4	1,5
	Lebanese	1	,4
	Other	18	6,8
	Total	264	99,2
Missing	System	2	,8
Total		266	100,0

Table 1. Ethnicity in total numbers

INDIVIDUAL DELINQUENCY

Individual delinquency, which measures differential behaviour, is measured with part D of the questionnaire. Participants were asked if they have engaged in certain delinquent behaviour during the past 12 months and whether their friends had done so and how many times.

In the light of the purpose of this study only individual delinquency is used for further analysis. As can be seen in Table 3, being drunk in public is mentioned as the most common delinquent behaviour with a mean of 0.5 and a standard deviation of 0.05. The least common delinquent behaviour is breaking and entering somewhere or attempting to do so with a mean of 0.2 and a standard deviation of 0.13. In order to measure individual delinquency in general, all items were combined into one variable for further analysis. Additionally, the box plot in Figure 4 shows three outliers. One of them is an extreme outlier, indicating more than 12.5 incidents of delinquent behaviour.

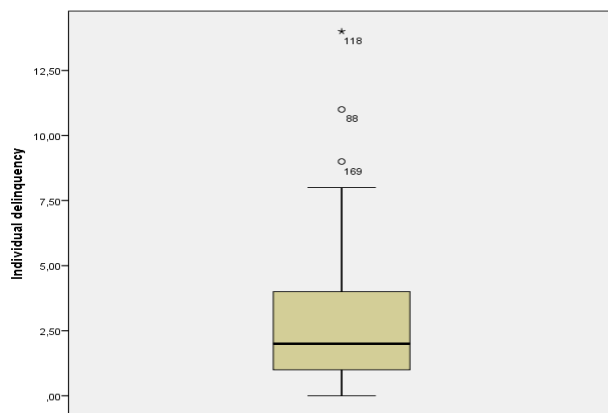


Figure 4. Box plot individual delinquency

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Individual delinquency	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
fare dodging	,39	,488	222
violating traffic rules	,47	,500	222
skipping school	,39	,488	222
purposely damaging things of others	,09	,287	222
smudging walls, fences, bus seats or alike with paint	,05	,208	222
stealing or attempting to steal	,09	,280	222
breaking in somewhere or attempting to do so	,02	,133	222
assaulting someone	,10	,305	222
lying about age to buy alcohol or cigarettes	,23	,424	222
carrying a weapon for protection	,10	,305	222
being drunk in public	,50	,501	222
using soft drugs	,23	,422	222
using hard drugs	,04	,187	222
selling drugs	,06	,235	222

Note. Answers are given on a yes/no basis.

Table 3. Individual delinquency

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AVAILABILITY ON THE STREETS

Availability on the streets is measured with the question in the questionnaire ‘How much time per week do you spend with the following activities?’. Juveniles could indicate how many hours per week they are doing these various activities. As seen in Table 4, the most time is spent at school or at university with a mean time of 22.25 hours per week and a standard deviation of 14.88. On average juveniles spent 6.58 hours on the streets with a standard deviation of 8.68. Spending time in cafes, youth centres or discotheques ranks the lowest with a mean of 4.06 hours per week and a standard deviation of 4.47. The box plot (Figure 5) shows that there are various outliers. One person has indicated to spend 80 hours per week on the streets, which makes it an extreme outlier. Given that a week has 168 hours it seems extremely unlikely that someone spends 80 hours of it on the streets. This person might have misunderstood the question or simply given an invalid answer.

Availability	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
At school/university	22,25	14,88	234
Doing homework	4,12	5,54	234
Working	9,78	14,53	234
Doing sports, hobby	8,94	8,62	234
Cafes, youth centres or discos	4,06	4,47	234
On the streets	6,58	8,68	234
<i>Note.</i> Hours spend per week			

Table 2. How many hours per week do you spend doing the following activities?

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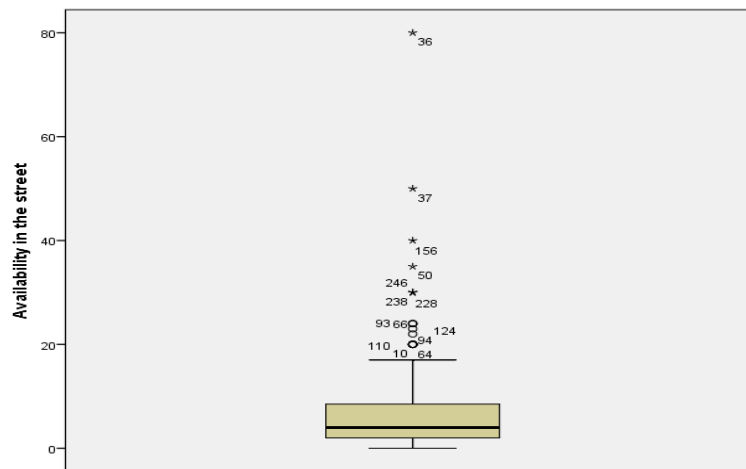


Figure 5. Box plot of hours spend on the streets

OVERVIEW OF DEPENDENT AND INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Dependent and independent variables	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean		St.Deviation	Test of normality
Total frequency of encounters with the police	259	0	70	2.08	.34	5.49	.00
Ethnicity	262	1	2	1.27	.03	.45	*1
Individual delinquency	230	.00	14.00	2.80	.15	2.32	.00
Availability in the street	252	0	80	6.50	.54	8.52	.00
Note.		n= 262					
*1 Test of normality is not applicable, because ethnicity is a dichotomous variable							

Table 5. Overview of dependent and independent variables

Table 5 gives an overview of the statistics of the most important variables under scrutiny in this study and of the test of normality for each variable. As seen in Table 5, on average juveniles have 2.08 encounters with the police with a standard deviation of 5.49. Next to that, juveniles spend an average of 6.5 hours on the streets per week with a standard deviation of 8.52. Furthermore, individual delinquency has a mean of 2.8 and a standard deviation of 2.32.

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Before starting the analysis the data needs to be tested for normal distribution. The Kolomogorov-Smirnov test assumes that the data follow a normal distribution. The results of the normality test for the variables frequency of encounters, individual delinquency and availability on the streets all show that the data does not follow a normal distribution (Table 5). That is the reason why the hypotheses have to be tested using non-parametric tests. The following part will briefly outline which statistical analysis will be used to test the various hypotheses.

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

As mentioned before, the data does not follow a normal distribution, which makes it necessary to choose non-parametric alternatives for the statistical data analysis. The first hypothesis assumes that juveniles with a migration background have more frequent encounters with the police compared to juveniles without a migration background. Since the study is interested in a difference of the total frequency of encounters between two independent groups, a Mann-Whitney U test (also referred to as Wilcoxon rank-sum test) is carried out to test the difference in medians. Hypothesis 2 assumes that juveniles with a migration background are more available on the streets than juveniles without a migration background. Hence, the Mann-Whitney U test is carried out as well to compare these groups with regard to their time being available on the streets. Hypothesis 3 assumes that being more available on the streets increases the likelihood to have encounters with the police. To test if being available on the streets is related to the frequency of encounters with the police the non-parametric Spearman's Rank correlation (also referred to as Spearman's rho or Spearman's correlation coefficient) is carried out. Hypothesis 4 assumes that juveniles with migration are more delinquent than juveniles without a migration background. To test the difference between these two groups on individual delinquency a Mann-Whitney U test is carried out. Hypothesis 5 assumes that being more delinquent leads to more frequent encounters with the police. To test if there is a relationship between being more delinquent and the frequency of encounters with the police the Spearman's Rank correlation is carried out.

The following part will reflect on the chosen research design. It will elaborate possible shortcomings of the design chosen and how those can be avoided in further research.

LIMITATIONS OF MEASUREMENT

According to Cohen, Manion & Morrison (2011) a survey faces three major threats of measuring the variables adequately. These issues are ‘the method of sampling’, ‘validity and reliability issues’, ‘over or underreporting of the real situation’ and ‘low response or non-response rate’ (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011, p. 261). Sampling bias can occur by selecting respondents with conscious criteria. With regard to this study, sampling bias occurs for example when mainly female respondents or those that looked harmless were asked to participate. To avoid sampling bias, prior to distributing the survey, certain places were chosen with the target to ask everyone to participate that looked between the age of 12-25 without incorporating gender, looks or whether juveniles were alone or in groups. Another risk is validity and reliability issues. Validity is threatened when the questionnaire is not measuring what it is intent to measure because of poor operationalization of the variables. Reliability refers to the consistency of the questionnaire to measure the same concepts over time. If the wording is wrong people would misunderstand the questionnaire and it would lack reliability. The problem of over -or- underreporting is particularly large when sensitive topics are asked as for example how often the participant engaged in delinquent behaviour during the past 12 months. To avoid this as much as possible, the respondent was informed that the questionnaire is anonymous, and the participants were given room to fill out the questionnaire. The interviewer was always close to the participants in case of arising questions, but not able to see directly what the participants answered. However, in order for the questionnaire to deliver useful data it had to be checked after the participant finished whether everything was filled in. This could threaten the anonymity right in the moment of data collection, but at the stage of data analysis anonymity is guaranteed. Low response or non-response was overcome by also distributing the questionnaire online.

During data collection it became apparent that sampling bias is indeed a problem of this questionnaire. To answer the central question it is important to reach juveniles with all a migration backgrounds. The questionnaire was in German and most of the sentences were formulated long and rather complicated to understand for someone who has only been living in Germany for a couple of years, but who should be incorporated in the study. Furthermore, respondents with a lower level of education had a hard time reading and understanding the questionnaire. Some of them stopped the questionnaire half way through because their concentration faded away. In order to reach a representative population the questionnaire needs

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to be shortened further and the wording needs to be adjusted to the target population, meaning that sentences need to be more precise and shorter. An example is that university students, or students with a higher level of education in general were rather quick at filling out the questionnaire (under 10 minutes), whereas most of the respondents with a lower level of education needed up to 15 minutes and longer. It would be ideal if the questionnaire was translated into other languages often represented in the country in which it is conducted. Another problem that occurred with regards to the questionnaire was its wide target group. Older participants indicated that the wording was colloquial and they felt that they are not the target group of this research. For example the question B1 'Do you have one or more friends with whom you hang out' seemed to be appropriate for younger respondents. Hence, next time the questionnaire should try to find wording that is appropriate for a wider age group.

The next part will present the results of the Mann-Whitney U test and the Spearman's Rank correlation.

RESULTS

The purpose of this section is to state the results of the Mann-Whitney U test for hypothesis 1, 2, 4 and the results of the Spearman's Rank correlation for hypothesis 3 and 5. The chosen level of significance for all hypotheses is $\alpha = 0.05$.

HYPOTHESIS 1

A Mann-Whitney U test was conducted to evaluate the hypothesis that juveniles with a migration background have more frequent encounters with the police than juveniles without a migration background. The results were negative and not significant, $z = -.57$, $p > 0.05$. Juveniles with a migration background have a mean rank of 116.98, while juveniles without a migration background have a mean rank of 122.39.

HYPOTHESIS 2

A Mann-Whitney U test was conducted to evaluate the hypothesis that juveniles with a migration background spend more time on the streets than juveniles without a migration background. The results were positive but not significant, $z = -1.66$, $p > 0.05$. Juveniles with a migration background have a mean rank of 130.10, while juveniles without a migration background have a mean rank of 113.25.

HYPOTHESIS 3

The Spearman's Rank correlation ($N-2$) was conducted to evaluate whether there is a relationship between being available on the streets and the frequency of encounters with the police. There was a significant relationship between being available on the streets and the frequency of encounters with the police, $r_s(247) = .156$, $p = .007$. The low correlation coefficient r_s indicated that the relationship between being available on the streets and the frequency of encounters with the police is rather weak.

HYPOTHESIS 4

A Mann-Whitney U test was conducted to evaluate the hypothesis that juveniles with a migration background are more delinquent than juveniles without a migration background. The results were negative and not significant, $z = -1.12$, $p > 0.05$. Juveniles with a migration background have a mean rank of 99.85, while juveniles without a migration background have a mean rank of 99.85.

HYPOTHESIS 5

The Spearman's Rank correlation ($N-2$) was conducted to evaluate if there is a relationship between being delinquent and the frequency of encounters with the police. There was a significant relationship between individual delinquency and the frequency of encounters with the police, $r_s(257) = .318$, $p = .00$). However, the relationship is weak as the low correlation coefficient indicates.

The next part will elaborate and interpret the overall meaning of these findings to the central research question posed in this study.

DISCUSSION

Before the findings of the study will be discussed, the research questions as well as the hypothesis will be restated. As a reminder, the following central question is investigated in this study *‘To what extent, and if so why, are juveniles ranging in age from 12 to 25 with a migration background having more frequent encounters with the police compared to juveniles without a migration background?’* And the following hypotheses are tested.

H₁ Juveniles with a migration background have more frequent encounters with the police than juveniles without a migration background.

H₂ Juveniles with a migration background spend more time on the streets than juveniles without a migration background.

H₃ Spending time on the streets increases the likelihood to have encounters with the police.

H₄ Juveniles with a migration background are more delinquent than juveniles without a migration background.

H₅ Being more delinquent leads to more frequent encounters with the police.

The results of the analysis show that juveniles with a migration background do not have more frequent encounters with the police. Instead, both groups of juveniles had roughly the same number of encounters with the police during the past 12 months. With regard to hypothesis 2, the results show that juveniles with a migration background do not spend more time on the streets. The descriptive statistics show minor differences in the average time spend on the streets, but these differences are not statistically significant. With attention to hypothesis 3, the results of the analysis confirm that availability on the streets has a weak correlation with the frequency of police encounters. Thus, if juveniles spend more time on the streets, they will be more likely to have encounters with the police. Concerning hypothesis 4, no statistically significant difference in individual delinquency between juveniles with a migration background and without was found. In contrast, hypothesis 5 was confirmed; individual delinquency correlates with the frequency of encounters with the police.

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Under those circumstances answering the main research question is only possible to a certain degree. As a reminder, the main research question reads as follows *‘To what extent, and if so why, are juveniles ranging in age from 12 to 25 with a migration background having more frequent encounters with the police compared to juveniles without a migration background?’. Based on the results the most obvious answer is that juveniles with a migration background do not have more frequent encounters with the police. Furthermore, this study was motivated by the belief that there is a disordered relationship between juveniles with a migration background and the police. Ethnic minorities are said to experience differential treatment by the police or are claimed to be more delinquent. On the contrary, our results show that juveniles with a migration background are not more delinquent than juveniles without a migration background. Even though the findings were contradictory to the expected outcome, the study carried on to investigate to what extent individual delinquency and availability in the street correlate with the frequency of encounters with the police. As a result, availability in the street as well as individual delinquency increases individual’s chances to have encounters with the police.*

There are at least two conclusions that can be drawn from these results. On the positive side, the situation of overrepresented juveniles with ethnic background in Germany might not be as pressing as in the UK and the US. On the negative side, people in Germany might exaggerate their feelings of injustice police practices vis-à-vis ethnic minorities. Although this might be true, concluding that juveniles with a migration background and the police do not have a disordered relationship might be premature because of the following reasons. First, it must be remembered that the questionnaire was supposed to target a wide population of juveniles. In contrary, those juveniles said to have a difficult relationship with the police were not able or willing to fill in the questionnaire (for example due to a lack of literacy). Second, the impression arose that juvenile’s willingness to participate in the survey was connected to the topic itself. In detail, juvenile’s often refused to participate when only asked if they could spare a few minutes to participate. But once the interviewer indicated the survey was about their experience with the police, almost all of the juveniles were willing to participate. The overall tenor was that the juveniles appreciated the chance to talk about their experience with the police.

All things considered, my recommendations for further research are that in order to avoid sampling bias (exclusion of the actual target group due to e.g. lack of literacy) the questionnaire

should be further shortened and translated into more languages. Furthermore, juveniles should be sampled with more caution. For this reason, a qualitative approach is better suited to discover why the relationship between juveniles with a migration background and the police is discussed as disrupted in literature and by the media (even though our findings did not contribute to this claim). The advantage of a qualitative approach is that juvenile's experiences can be analysed in depth; giving them an opportunity to explain how they feel during encounters with the police and reasons that lead to encounters. On the other side, a qualitative approach has the disadvantage that inferences about the general population cannot be drawn from the results of such an approach.

CONCLUSION

This study was undertaken to investigate if, and why, juveniles with a migration background have more frequent encounters with the police compared to juveniles without a migration background. In order to do so, survey research was conducted on the streets, in the cities of Bochum, Hannover and Gronau, and online via the questionnaire site Limesurvey. Surprisingly, the findings were contradictory to the common belief that juveniles with a migration background have more frequent encounters with the police. Instead, no differences in the frequency of encounters between these two groups were found. Moreover, juveniles with a migration background neither spend more time in the street nor are they more delinquent. On the other side, availability on the streets correlates with the frequency of encounters with the police as well as individual delinquency correlates with the frequency of encounters with the police.

Beginning after World War 2 people have been immigrating to Germany from all over the world. Especially in the light of current EU legislation, allowing people to move easily within the countries of the European Union, migration is an important subject to pay attention to. For instance, the financial crisis forces many young people to leave their country behind with the hope of finding more job opportunities in different European countries. Germany is a popular destination for those young immigrants trying to start a career in a foreign country, because in Germany the labour market's has a high demand for more workforces e.g. in the childcare sector. Policy makers have already given attention to the topic and made bilateral cooperation's with

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Spain to employ young Spanish people in Germany in the coming years (Spain serves as an example). Now, policy makers need to focus their attention to integrating these young people in German society. As a concluding remark, it is of utmost importance that these young people, from all sorts of migration backgrounds, can rely on the police as their contact person when it comes to safety and that they are being treated fair and equal in German society.

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APPENDIX



Vielen Dank, dass du an dieser Studie teilnimmst.

Mit diesem Fragebogen möchten wir herausfinden, wie du als Jugendlicher 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:

Interviewer: Datum:

Ort:

Bemerkungen:

.....

 ...

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
- ☐ Russisch
- ☐ Polnisch
- ☐ Türkisch
- ☐ Marokkanisch
- ☐ o Tunesisch
- ☐ oKurdisch
- ☐ oAlbanisch
- ☐ oLibanesisch
- ☐ o Sonstige (bitte eintragen).....

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

- ☐ Als einen Deutschen Jugendlichen
- ☐ Als einen nicht-Deutschen Jugendlichen

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

- | | |
|--|---------------------|
| a. Zur Schule / Unigehen |Std. pro Woche |
| b. Hausaufgabenmachen |Std. pro Woche |
| c. Arbeiten |Std. pro Woche |
| d. Sport und Hobby |Std. pro Woche |
| e. Kaffeebesuche, Jugendzentrum, Discothek, 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
- ☐ O Berufsschule
- ☐ O Universität
- ☐ O Sonstige (bitte eintragen).....

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A7 Welchen allgemeinbildenden Schulabschluss strebst du an?

- ☐ Hochschulabschluss
- ☐ Abitur, allgemeine oder fachgebundene Hochschulreife
- ☐ Fachhochschulreife, Abschluss einer Fachoberschule
- ☐ Realschulabschluss, Mittlere Reife, Fachschulreife
- ☐ Hauptschulabschluss
- ☐ Sonstige. Welchen?:

A8 Inwiefern stimmst du den folgenden Aussagen zu?

	Stimme voll zu	Stimme eher zu	neutral	Stimme eher nicht zu	Stimme gar nicht zu
a. Ich bin viel zuhause	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
b. Ich finde es schön zuhause zu sein	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
c. Ich gehe lieber irgendwo hin als zuhause zu bleiben	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

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 wievielen Freunden gleichzeitig triffst du dich meistens? (Dich selbst miteinbezogen)

Mit..... Personen

B3 Wieviele Tage pro Woche treffen sich du und deine Freunde meistens?

- ☐ Tage pro Woche (bitte Anzahl angeben)
- ☐ Weniger als einmal pro Woche

B4 Wieviele Stunden verbringt ihr ungefähr an einem Tag zusammen?

Ungefähr ... Stunden pro Tag (bitte Anzahl angeben)



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B5 An welchem Ort triffst du dich bei schönem, warmem Wetter mit deinen Freunden (maximal 3 Antworten)?

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="radio"/> Bei einem von uns zuhause | <input type="radio"/> In einem Jugendzentrum |
| <input type="radio"/> In der Schule / Schulgelände | <input type="radio"/> In einem Club oder Verein |
| <input type="radio"/> Auf der Straße | <input type="radio"/> In einer Diskothek oder Kneipe |
| <input type="radio"/> Im Einkaufszentrum | <input type="radio"/> Woanders(bitte eintragen)..... |

B6 Inwiefern stimmst du den folgenden Aussagen über deinen Freundeskreis zu?

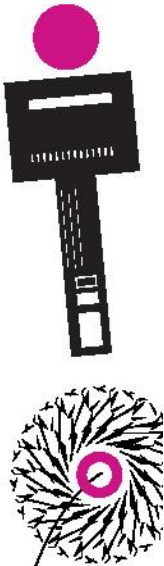
	Stimme voll zu	Stimme eher zu	neutral	Stimme eher nicht zu	Stimme gar nicht zu
a. Wir sind eine ruhige Gruppe, die mit niemandem Ärger hat	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
b. Man beschwert sich über unsere Gruppe	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
c. Andere Menschen haben Angst vor uns	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
d. Andere Menschen vertrauen uns	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

C. Fragen bezüglich deiner Erfahrungen mit der Polizei

C1 Bitte trage ein wie oft die folgenden Dinge in den letzten zwölf Monaten(ungefähr) vorgekommen sind.

Bitte eintragen

- | | |
|--|-----------|
| a. Wie oft bist du in den letzten zwölf Monaten wegen einer Verletzung der Verkehrsregeln oder aufgrund eines anderen Verstoßes von der Polizei angehalten worden? | mal |
| b. Wie oft hast du in den letzten zwölf Monaten eine Polizeikontrolle miterlebt? | mal |
| c. Wie oft ist es in den letzten zwölf Monaten vorgekommen, dass ein Polizist dich und/oder jemanden aus deiner Gruppe angesprochen hat, ohne dass es dazu einen klaren Grund gab? | mal |
| d. Wie oft wurdest du in den letzten zwölf Monaten von der Polizei angehalten weil du zu Unrecht verdächtigt wurdest? | mal |
| e. Wie oft hattest du insgesamt in den letzten 12 Monaten mit der Polizei zu tun? | mal |



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C2 Wie oft die folgenden Dinge in den <u>letzten zwölf Monaten</u> (ungefähr) vorgekommen sind.	Bitte eintragen
a. Hast du in den letzten 12 Monaten Bußgelder verhängt bekommen? Wie oft? mal
b. Hat die Polizei dir oder euch (deiner Gruppe und dir) eine Verwarnung gegeben? Wie oft? mal
c. Hast du der Polizei deinen Personalausweis zeigen müssen? Wie oft? mal
d. Bist du auf der Straße durchsucht worden? Wie oft? mal
e. Wurdest du schon einmal mit auf das Polizeipräsidium genommen? Wie oft? mal
f. Hat die Polizei etwas von dir beschlagnahmt? Wie oft? mal
g. Hat die Polizei dir oder euch (deiner Gruppe und dir) gegenüber einen Platzverweis ausgesprochen? Wie oft? mal
h. Ist die Polizei bei dir zuhause gewesen? Wie oft? mal

C3 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	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
b. Die Polizei hat mich gerecht behandelt	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
c. Die Polizei hat mich so behandelt, wie jeder andere in dieser Situation behandelt worden wäre	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
d. Die Polizei hat mich mit Respekt behandelt	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
e. Die Polizei hat mich freundlich behandelt	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

C3b Möchtest du eine Erläuterung zu deinen Antworten geben?

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C4 Inwiefern stimmst du folgenden Aussagen zu?		Stimme voll zu	Stimme eher zu	neutral	Stimme eher nicht zu	Stimme gar nicht zu
a.	Die Polizei übt eine wichtige Tätigkeit aus	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
b.	Es ist gut, dass es Polizei auf der Straße gibt	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
c.	Es muss mehr Polizisten auf den Straßen geben	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
d.	Die Polizei auf der Straße gibt mir ein sicheres Gefühl	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
e.	Polizistensindzuverlässig	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
f.	Polizisten führen ihre Tätigkeit gut aus	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
g.	Polizisten treten gut auf wenn es nötig ist	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
h.	Polizisten wissen was auf der Straße passiert	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
i.	Wenn du nichts tust, tun dir Polizisten auch nichts	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
j.	Polizistensind gerecht	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
k.	Polizisten behandeln jeden gleich gut	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
l.	Polizisten behandeln deutsche Jugendliche mit mehr Respekt als ausländische Jugendliche	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
m.	Wenn die Polizei mich als Zeuge befragen will, arbeite ich mit	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
n.	Wenn die Polizei mir einen Platzverweis erteilt, gehe ich ohne zu diskutieren	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
o.	Wenn ich sehe, dass jemand in ein Auto einbrechen will, versuche ich die Polizei zu verständigen	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

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.

	Hast du das selbst in den letzten 12 Monaten getan?		Wie oft haben deine Freunde das in den letzten 12 Monaten getan?		
	Nein	Ja	Kein mal	Einmal oder zweimal	Mehr als zweimal
a. Schwarzfahren im Bus oder Zug	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
b. Eine Verkehrsübertretung begehen	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
c. Schuleschwänzen	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
d. Absichtlich Dinge anderer beschädigen	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
e. Mauern, Zäune, Bussitze und dergleichen mit Farbe beschmieren	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
f. Etwas stehlen oder versucht zu stehlen	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
g. Einbrechen oder versuche einzubrechen	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
h. Jemanden verprügelt	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
i. Über das Alter lügen um Alkohol oder Zigaretten kaufen zu können	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
j. Eine Waffe mit sich tragen zum Schutz	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
k. In der Öffentlichkeit betrunken sein	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
l. Weiche Drogen nehmen	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
m. Harte Drogen nehmen	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
n. Drogen verkauft	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

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D2 Dies ist das Ende des Fragebogens. Hast du selbst noch Fragen oder Anmerkungen?

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Vielen Dank für deine Mitarbeit !

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