The Riddle of Justness

Explaining regional differences in discriminatory incidents

Master's thesis

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Abstract

Discrimination is a widely discussed topic in the Dutch society and social sciences. However, little is known about regional characteristics affecting the number of discriminatory practices. This master thesis aims to explain regional differences in discriminatory incidents on the grounds of race and religion registered by the Dutch police. The mixed method design combines a quantitative analysis of external factors with a qualitative analysis of the internal factors from the police registration system in explaining regional differences in registered discrimination numbers. External neighbourhood factors derived from social scientific theories such as the ethnic competition theory and contact theory are used to explain numbers of registered discriminatory incidents of the police districts. The findings show some supporting evidence for the ethnic competition theory and the criminological theory with regard to factors influencing the willingness to report crimes. The relative number of beneficiary recipients until retirement age, the relative number of inhabitants receiving a low income and a higher average standardized income were found to explain a significant part of the variability between the percentage inhabitants of non-western origin and the number of discrimination incidents. However, most interaction variables were found to be insignificant or significant in the (unexpected) opposite direction. Internal factors of the qualitative sub-study such as differences in availability of time, expertise, cooperation with external partners, priority given to discrimination and differences in the decision criterion are useful factors for interpreting the unexplained variance of the quantitative model.

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1. Introduction

The Dutch Police provides a record of the basic forms of discrimination and for general offenses with a discriminatory aspect. It concerns both the registration of police reports as the self-reported declarations of citizens (Indication of discrimination, 13-09-2012)¹. The National Expertise Centre Diversity (LECD) is commissioned to map the nature and extent of all discriminatory incidents which are registered by the police on a national level each year. This demand is complied with the POLDIS report, in which all incidents registered by the police with a discriminatory nature are analysed and summarised. In the POLDIS report the total amount of discriminatory incidents is summarised per police region including the discrimination ground, criminal behaviour and the background characteristics of those affected. Seven grounds of discrimination were distinguished in the POLDIS report: race, religion, belief, sexual orientation, disability, anti-semitism, and gender. The Verwey-Jonker Institute has been given the task to write the POLDIS report about 2013. By contributing to the POLDIS report, this thesis gives me the opportunity to combine an internship at the Verwey-Jonker Institute and writing a master thesis on academic level.

Findings of the POLDIS reports show that discriminatory incidents registered by the Dutch police are not fairly distributed across police regions (POLDIS 2010; 2011; 2012; 2013). The central goal of this research is to explain these regional differences in recorded discriminatory incidents. Using a mixed method strategy, efforts will be made to explain regional differences in registered discriminatory incidents on the ground of race and religion by the police. Hence, this master's research will contribute to the international theorizing on explanatory mechanisms of reported racial and religious discrimination. What neighbourhood characteristics are likely to influence the amount of discriminatory incidents in a police region? Which internal factors affect reporting discriminatory incidents at the police? Or, more comprehensive: How can regional differences in the number of registered discriminatory incidents on the grounds of race and religion between police regions in the Netherlands be explained? These are the questions which will be attempted to answer in this master thesis.

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¹ In het Nederlands: Aanwijzing discriminatie, 13-09-2012

2. Research Problem

As described in the introduction, during the master's research I will contribute to the annual POLDIS report that seeks to map the nature and extent of discriminatory incidents reported to the police with the attempt to explain regional differences. The research questions and objectives described in the following paragraph will be guiding through this master's thesis.

2.1 Research objectives

The main goal of this thesis is to explain the potential regional differences in discriminatory incidents recorded in the Netherlands by analysing the discriminatory incidents as registered by the police. Based on the analysis central in this thesis, I attempt to explain possible differences in discriminatory incidents between the 25 (former) police regions. The data are collected with a concurrent embedded model, complementing the already collected quantitative data along with a qualitative data collection. By conducting qualitative interviews with police employees, insight is generated in regional differences in discriminatory incidents as observed within the quantitative data analysis by adding valuable qualitative information.

The increase in knowledge enabled by this thesis is important to the Dutch police as potential differences in the registration between police regions will become visible by this study. The Dutch police is committed to achieving a record of discriminatory incidents as complete as possible and they are therefore eager to eliminate any concern in order to maximize their potential. The POLDIS report 2012 demonstrated significant regional differences in the number of discriminatory incidents (POLDIS report 2012). By not only giving a description of the nature and extent of discriminatory incidents but rather explaining regional differences, this research contributes to a substantial increase in knowledge the police will benefit from. When differences between police regions remain unexplained by regional differences, this may indicate that the method of recording differs between police regions or that a different priority is given to the registration of discriminatory incidents by certain police regions which will be studied in a qualitative sub-study. In addition, these new insights can be used by policy makers to develop specific policies reducing discrimination in the 'problem areas' or in specific regions where much discrimination is registered. Based on deeper insight generated from this study, policy measures on local level can be implemented to reduce discrimination in certain regions.

2.2 Research Questions

In order to analyse the nature and extent of the discriminatory incidents and subsequently interpret these findings, the following question is central in this master research:

How can regional differences in the number of registered discriminatory incidents on the grounds of race and religion between police regions in the Netherlands be explained?

To answer this question, I will first describe the characteristics of discriminatory incidents as recorded by the police. This leads to the descriptive sub-question: What are the characteristics of discriminatory incidents registered by the police?

Once the nature and extent of the discriminatory incidents is mapped, I will try to find explanations for potential regional differences. Here I will focus on discrimination on grounds of race and religion to delineate the subject and to be able to substantiate the explanations for differences in a theoretically correct way. In the discrimination monitor 2007, it is argued that the division between the grounds of race and religion is difficult to maintain, because in some cases Muslims felt discriminated on both the ground of race and religion or did not know the category the discriminatory incident belonged to (Andriessen et al., 2007). On account of the ambiguous division between race and religion, in this master's thesis both grounds together could also be perceived as 'ethnic based discrimination'. Discrimination incidents on the grounds of race and religion or ethnic based discrimination form together the largest category within the previous Poldis reports and it is therefore interesting to focus on this category by explaining regional differences in registered discriminatory incidents. Data from the Central Bureau of Statistics will be used to explain possible regional differences in registered discriminatory incidents. If the possibility arises to use POLDIS data of previous years in the analysis, these data will be included to increase the sample size of police regions. The explanatory question that is central in this section is: How can the differences in the extent of discriminatory incidents on the grounds of race and religion be explained from regional characteristics?

In a master thesis conducted by the (former) master student Liset van der Vos in 2013, it is argued that a large part of regional differences could be explained by mutual registration differences affecting the quality of the data. It is important to identify possible recording differences between police regions for two reasons. On the one hand, these registration differences could possibly distort the results of the second sub-question, on the other hand to provide an explanation for the unexplained differences between police regions. Liset van der Vos recommended to carry out further research at police departments. Partly for this reason, in the third part of this study it will be examined to what extent and in what ways the police departments affect the registration of discriminatory incidents. In the third part of this study, the following explanatory sub-question is directional: What aspects influence the quality of registration of discriminatory incidents on the grounds of race and religion according to experts on discrimination? Based on qualitative interviews with experts on discrimination, such as social scientists and police employees, I will look for an explanation of possible regional differences in the registration of discriminatory incidents. See paragraph 4.2 and Annex 2 for a more detailed operationalization of this sub-question.

3. Theoretical Framework

In a recently conducted national survey, discrimination on the grounds of ethnicity, skin colour and religion were found to be widespread across the Netherlands. The findings show that a large percentage of citizens with an ethnic minority background have experienced discrimination at least once in the past twelve months due to their ethnic origin, skin colour or religion. For example, 54% of the citizens with a Moroccan and Turkish background felt discriminated against at least one time during the last year (Andriessen et al. 2014). However, only a small percentage of the Dutch citizens with a discriminatory experience mention this incident to one of the institutions registering discrimination, such as anti-discrimination services (ADV's) and the police (Andriessen & Fernee, 2012). In the following theoretical framework, factors will be derived from earlier studies that may influence the reporting of discriminatory incidents at the police. The first paragraph is focused on formulating hypotheses of which members of the white majority are likely to discriminate on the grounds of race and religion. The second paragraph will focus on willingness to report discriminatory incidents. Lastly, the internal factors of the police which are likely to influence the registration of discriminatory incidents are included in paragraph 3.

Some of the police regions are more ethnically diverse than others. Police regions characterised by a larger proportion of inhabitants with a non-western origin are expected to have a higher extent of ethnic-based discrimination. For this reason, the following general hypothesis will be tested.

1. The larger the proportion of inhabitants of non-western origin in a police region, the more reports of ethnic based discrimination.

Next, I hypothesize specific conditions influencing the relation between the proportion of ethnic minorities in police regions and the amount of discriminatory incidents.

3.1 Explaining motivation discriminatory perpetrators

- Ethnic competition

'There is always and everywhere the inevitable dichotomy between those who call each other 'we', and the outsiders whom one refers to as 'they'.' (Park, 1950, p. 231).

The main assumption of the *realistic conflict theory* is that competition over scarce resources between social groups leads to hostile intergroup attitudes. According to the realistic conflict theory, the intensity of competition for scarce goods is decisive for the attitudes from members of a specific social group to the other groups. This theory partly reflects the broader social identity theory, with the central idea that the social categorisation of complex information about the social world leads to in-group favouritism and contra-identification with the out-group in order to derive a

positive social identity from this comparison leading to an increased self-esteem (Tajfel, 1981; Eisinga & Scheepers, 1989; Coenders 2001). The *ethnic competition theory* is derived from the realistic conflict theory, and gives an explanation for anti-immigrant prejudice and ethnic exclusionism. Park (1950), one of the main founders of the ethnic competition theory, regarded prejudice as a phenomenon of status. Competition on the labour market may result in feelings of threat between ethnic groups. The more obvious differences in physical traits, the greater the presumption of distinct moral characteristics resulting in racial prejudices between competing ethnic groups on the labour market. Coser (1956) distinguishes *realistic* and *non-realistic* conflict. Realistic conflict arises from frustration of specific goals of the participants and are directed at the presumed frustrating perpetrator. Non-realistic conflict involves interaction between two or more persons by the need for tension release of at least one of them without specific goals to achieve. This conceptual abstraction is blended in the real world, because realistic conflict is often accompanied by unrealistic elements. Coser distinguishes material resources, power, and status as main forms of scarce resources over which competition may lead to hostile intergroup attitudes and stresses the influence of corresponding conflicting cultural values between groups.

In short, the ethnic competition theory assumes that there is more conflict between members of the majority group and ethnic minority groups when they experience more competition and threat. It is expected that members of the majority group experience more ethnic threat when the country is situated in poor or deteriorating economic conditions. Individuals of the majority group who are likely to feel threatened by ethnic groups are situated in the same socio-economic conditions. In this study, by following the operationalization used in the recent large-scale European study of Scheepers et al. (2002) on ethnic competition, I will derive the following hypothesis of the ethnic competition theory:

2. The relation between the proportion of inhabitants of non-western origin in police regions and the number of ethnic based discriminatory incidents is more positive if a police region is characterized by:

2a: a high level of lower educated inhabitants

2b: more persons receiving a benefit until retirement age

2c: more individuals receiving a low income

2d: districts situated in poor economic conditions

2e: districts with degrading conditions

- Ethnic contact

In contrast to the ethnic competition theory, the main idea of the intergroup contact theory is that the presence of ethnic minority groups will not necessarily lead to feelings of threat. Intergroup contact may be an efficient means to reduce prejudice (Allport, 1954). The *Intergroup contact* theory suggests that 'constructive' intergroup contact reduces feelings of threat in the majority group. Allport composed four conditions which have to be fulfilled in intergroup contact in order to reduce feelings of threat and prejudice, namely an equal status, common goals, cooperation and support of an authority. Pettigrew & Tropp (2006) confirmed Allports intergroup contact theory in a meta-analysis of 515 studies. However, there were major differences between these analysed studies. One of the outcomes was that the four conditions were not indispensable to reduce prejudice by intergroup contact, but the impact turned out to be enlarged when all conditions were satisfied.

Several studies were carried out on neighbourhood level in order to test for the contact and ethnic competition theory. Schneider (2008) combines the ethnic competition theory and the intergroup contact theory to test the influence of out-group size on feelings of ethnic threat on neighbourhood level in Europe. The ethnic competition theory suggests a positive relationship between out-group size and anti-immigrant attitudes among the majority, based on the assumption that a larger out-group may lead to more ethnic threat. The contact hypothesis however states that the effect on negative prejudices of a culturally distant out-group is smaller for individuals who have contact with out-group members than for those who do not. In this study it is shown that not economic status but the non-western origin of the out-group increased the perceived ethnic threat in European countries. The cultural unfamiliarity was thus found to be more important than competition over scarce, economically based, resources. In line with the ethnic competition theory, the size of the culturally distant out-group had a significant positive effect on prejudice against members of the minority groups, but this effect was not linear. In accordance with the intergroup contact theory, perceived threat decreased when the proportion of non-western immigrants was more than 7% of the total population. The manual workers, the unemployed, people with low incomes and low education show more anti-immigrant prejudice than others irrespective of the actual presence of potential status competitors. Tolsma et al. (2008) confirmed also both the intergroup contact theory as well as the ethnic competition theory within neighbourhoods and municipalities in the Netherlands. In line with the ethnic competition theory, an increase in relative out-group size of ethnic minority groups correlated in this study to higher levels of hostile attitudes towards members of ethnic minority groups. Under favourable economic conditions however, the relative out-group size led to a reduction in prejudice and to more tolerant attitudes which was predicted by the intergroup contact theory.

In the Netherlands, no data are available of the level of interethnic contact in the neighbourhood for all municipalities of the Netherlands. However, I found data of the broader category 'contact in the neighbourhood'. In this study I assume that contact in the neighbourhood and interethnic contact in

the neighbourhood are correlated, leading to the additional assumption: In regions where individuals have a high level of contact in their neighbourhood, the interethnic contact will subsequently be higher. The third hypothesis is derived from the contact theory:

3. The relation between the proportion of inhabitants of non-western origin in police regions and the number of ethnic based discriminatory incidents is less positive if a police region is characterised by a high level of contact.

- Social cohesion and ethnic diversity

Social cohesion has become an urgent issue due to the increased heterogeneity of urban areas (a.o. Smets, 2011; Bécares et al, 2011 & Gijsberts et al 2012). Putnam showed in the influential study 'Bowling Alone' that civic engagement is diminishing in the United States leading to lower levels of social trust. Putnam used the Social Capital Community Benchmark Survey from the United States in order to show that, in agreement with the ethnic competition theory, those Americans living in diverse neighbourhoods show higher levels of distrust towards people from other ethnic groups. Surprisingly however, he found that these residents of ethnically diverse areas did not only distrust people of other ethnic groups, but even people who were of the same ethnic and social group. Putnam argues that ethnic diversity might actually reduce both in-group and out-group solidarity, or both bonding and bridging social capital. Bonding social capital ties people who are like you in some important way, in this case having the same ethnic background. Bridging social capital ties people who are unlike you, including people having a different ethnic background than you (Putnam 2007). This theory seems to be a variation on the ethnic competition theory with one major adjustment: not only the out-group solidarity is assumed to be reduced in multi-ethnic neighbourhoods but also the in-group solidarity.

Contrary to this empirical evidence in the United States where social cohesion of both the ingroup as the out-group is lower in neighbourhoods with high ethnic diversity, findings on Putnam's hypothesis are much more mixed in Europe (a.o. Bécares et al., 2011; Gijsberts et al. 2012). Gijsberts et al. (2012) tested the Putnam hypothesis for the 50 largest cities in the Netherlands by examining the relationship between ethnic diversity and social cohesion. Social cohesion was operationalised in four dimensions, namely: trust, informal help, voluntary work, and neighbourhood contact. In this study little support was found for the Putnam hypothesis in the Dutch context, because the effect of trust in others, doing voluntary work and giving informal help were all explained by compositional features (or deprivation, as it is mentioned in Bécares et al., 2011). In spite of the mixed findings in Europe, I will test the influence of social cohesion in the fourth hypothesis. It is important to underline that the amount of contact with neighbourhood

residents is a part of the operationalization of social cohesion, but also used self-contained in the third hypothesis.

4. The relation between the proportion of inhabitants of non-western origin in police regions and the number of ethnic based discriminatory incidents is higher when neighbourhoods are characterised by lower social cohesion.

3.2 Willingness to report discrimination

As mentioned in the introduction of the theoretical framework, victims do not always feel a need to report discriminatory assaults (Andriessen & Fernee, 2012). This paragraph is focused on the question: Are some victims less likely to invoke the criminal process by going to the police (Gottfredson, 1990)? There are broadly four theoretical frameworks which can be used to explain the probability that victims of discrimination report these events to the police.

From the perspective of the *Rational Choice Theory*, it is argued that victims of crime consider the benefits and costs of reporting the crime and only report the crime to the police if the benefits outweigh the costs. Benefits of reporting include police protection, and potential costs are for example stigmatization of the victim, fear of revenge or extra inconvenience (Felson et al. 2002). This notion of rational choice should not be taken too literally, since a decision is sometimes made very impulsively due to a wide range of emotions (Goudriaan et al. 2006). The response that crime 'was not serious enough' or 'the police cannot do anything due to lack of proof' can be framed within this cost-benefit metaphor (Skogan, 1984).

Besides the individualistic rational choice theory, Goudriaan et al. (2006) argue that *social cohesion*, *confidence in the police effectiveness* and *socio-economic disadvantage* play a central role in neighbourhood characteristics. In accordance to the emphasis on neighbourhood factors, Goudriaan (2006) stressed that the social context in which a crime takes place is an important determinant of the likelihood of reporting a crime to the police by a victim. The first mentioned neighbourhood characteristic, *social cohesion*, can be shown in high levels of interpersonal trust and interactions (Putnam, 2000). Social cohesion increases cooperation and in consequence allows residents to resolve problems more easily (Hawdon & Ryan, 2009). In contrast to neighbourhoods with high levels of social cohesion, in neighbourhoods with limited social cohesion there is less access potential to institutional organization due to less social capital and collective efficacy. Less social cohesion in a neighbourhood is often thought to be related with less access of residents to formal control of the police. Several studies found that a lower social cohesion in a neighbourhood is indeed related to a lower probability that residents report crimes to the police (Goudriaan et al. 2006; Hawdon & Ryan 2009).

Besides social cohesion in a neighbourhood, Goudriaan and his colleagues assume that *confidence in police effectiveness* influences the probability that victims report crimes to the police. A lower trust in the police is assumed to be related to less crime reports by residents. The reorganisation from January 2013 on of the Dutch police is aimed at increasing the visibility of the police and possibly increase trust in the police effectiveness (Uitvoeringsprogramma Vorming Nationale Politie, 31-03-2011). An extended description is included in the following paragraph.

The third neighbourhood factor, *socio-economic disadvantage* is however found to be related to a lower probability that residents report a crime to the police (Goudriaan et al. 2006). This is in agreement with the sociological stratification hypothesis formulated by Black (1978). Black's central reasoning is that the more socio-economic stratification in a society, the more applicable national laws are expected to be. The uneven distribution of the material conditions of existence explains many kinds of behaviours. Just as stratification varies between one citizen and another, so does it between a citizen and a legal official, such as a policeman. Citizens with less wealth have less access to democratic institutions, and are less likely to call upon law in their dealings with one another, and, when they do, they are less successful. So residents of deprived neighbourhoods have less access to the democratic institutions than wealthier residents and are less likely to go to the police to solve their problem. A lower social-economic status of a neighbourhood is likely to be related to a higher probability that residents will try to solve their problems by themselves. The relation of socio-economic conditions and the willingness to report discrimination to the police is central in the seventh hypothesis, which is exactly the opposite of the earlier formulated hypothesis 2e derived from the ethnic competition theory.

From these theoretical frameworks the following hypotheses are derived which can explain differences in the willingness to report crimes to the police on neighbourhood level. Pay attention to the fact that in hypothesis 5 a high level of social cohesion is expected to correlate to the reporting of more discriminatory incidents, whereas a high level of social cohesion was expected in hypothesis 4 to correlate to a lower occurrence of discrimination and a lower level of reported discriminatory incidents.

The relation between the proportion of inhabitants of non-western origin in police regions and ethnic based discriminatory incidents is more positive if a police region is characterized by:

- 5. a high level of social cohesion
- 6. a high level of confidence in police effectiveness
- 7. prosperous socio-economic conditions

3.3 Police

The number of reported discriminatory incidents depends not only on victim's willingness to report discrimination, but is likely to be influenced by the registration methods used by the police (Andriessen et al, 2007). For this reason, the influences of two organisational changes within the police will be incorporated in this research.

- Reorganization

The reorganisation from 1 January 2013 of the Dutch police transformed the former 25 police corps, the corps national police services (KLPD) and the Facility of Cooperation Police Netherlands (vtsPN) into one national police corps. This national police corps consist of ten regional units, the National Unity and the Police Service Centres (see Annex 2). This reorganisation is aimed at improving the cooperation of the various regional services and a centralisation and standardisation of the police performance and is expected to improve the registration of discriminatory incidents in two ways. Firstly, it is expected that the centralisation will generate a faster exchange of information between the police corps and a higher level of standardisation in registering discriminatory incidents. The improved standardisation will lead to the registration of more discriminatory incidents in certain police regions and will heighten the quality of all registered discriminatory incidents. Secondly, it is expected that police officers need to spend less time on administrative and bureaucratic work. Police officers will have more time left to spend on working in their neighbourhoods and on the streets. By spending more time on the streets and the objective to provide customized training to police officers, the visibility of police officers on the street is likely to increase and this could provide more trust and confidence in police effectiveness (Uitvoeringsprogramma Vorming Nationale Politie, 31-03-2011). Goudriaan (2006) argues that confidence in police effectiveness is a factor that is likely to influence the probability that victims report crimes to the police. These two expected improvements lead to the following hypothesis:

8. The number of discriminatory reports in 2013 is higher than in 2012 and this increase is stronger than the mean average change in the past six years.

- New Case form

The police registers all discriminatory reports in a so-called case form. In the beginning of 2012 a renewed and standardised case form was implemented along with a detailed instruction in order to increase uniform registration in all police units. Half of the 25 units used the renewed case form in 2012 (POLDIS, 2012). Since the reorganisation and centralisation of the Dutch police in 2013, it is likely that the renewed case form is been implemented in almost all police units. The implementation of the new case form is likely to increase the propinquity of the registration of discriminatory incidents in all police regions. In addition, the quality of the registration of

discriminatory incidents is likely to increase due to the increased police effectiveness in registering discriminatory incidents. For this reason, the following hypotheses will be tested:

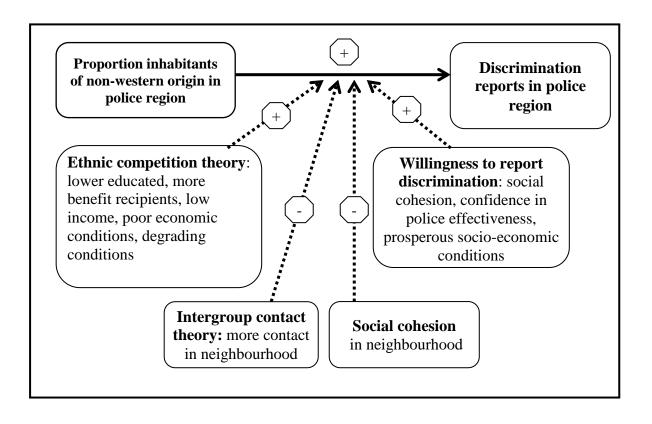
- 9. In police regions that implemented the new case form in 2012 or 2013, the increase in number of discriminatory reports from the previous year is larger than in police regions that continued to use the old case form.
- 10. Regions that implemented the new case form in 2012 or 2013 have higher numbers of discriminatory reports in 2012 and 2013 than regions where the old case form has been used.

- Other factors

Besides the reorganisation of the police and the implementation of a new case form, there are several other internal factors possibly influencing the quality of the Poldis data and the amount of registered discriminatory incidents by the police. It is assumed that time pressure influences the quality of registration, because police employees will be less precise due to a lack of time when they know they cannot accomplish the rest of their daily tasks otherwise. The given priority to the registration of discriminatory incidents is also important in explaining regional differences in discriminatory incidents registered by the police. Although these factors will be excluded from the quantitative analysis, these will be included in the qualitative sub-study by forming a part of the qualitative topic list (see Annex 2b).

3.4 Derived hypotheses

The hypotheses which will be tested are displayed in the graphic display on the next page. Pay attention to the fact that social cohesion and economic conditions are predicted to have opposite effects from the perspective of the discriminatory perpetrators of paragraph 3.1 and the theories on reporting discrimination to the police described in paragraph 3.3.



4. Methods and Results

4.1 Mixed methods

This study is an example of explanatory and comparative fundamental scientific research, because the main goal is explaining regional differences in discrimination of the Dutch society which contributes to the scientific understanding of discriminatory incidents in the Netherlands. The research is divided into three sub-studies:

- 1. Quantitative data analysis of discriminatory incidents recorded by the police in the year 2013.
- 2. Quantitative data analysis of neighbourhood characteristics recorded by CBS in relation to regional differences in discriminatory incidents based on results from the first sub-study.
- 3. Semi-structured qualitative interviews with experts on the registration of discrimination.

The theoretical framework prevailed in the formulation of a theoretical model. A form of mixed methods designs is used in which quantitative data collection is supplemented by qualitative interviews with police officers about the registration of discrimination incidents. This form of mixed methods is also known as a *concurrent embedded strategy*. The interviews are embedded in the quantitative data by adding qualitative information to the quantitative analyse. The quantitative data collection preceeds the qualitative data collection and both data are analysed separately in the same time period. This additional information will enrich the explanation for regional differences of the police registration of discriminatory incidents.

Secondary data are used in the quantitative second sub-study in order to perform the regression analysis. The Poldis data consisting of discriminatory incidents registered by all police districts in the Netherlands were provided through my internship at the Verwey-Jonker institute. Additional data regarding demographic and economic indicators for police districts and municipalities were obtained from the Dutch Central Bureau for Statistics (CBS Statline). The CBS data contain information about the Dutch population on the level of municipalities or on the level of (the former 25) Dutch police districts.

4.2 Data en measurement instruments

- Poldis data

For the analysis on the level of police districts, I use registered incidents of discrimination recorded in 2011, 2012 and 2013. For the analysis on the level of municipalities, I only use the registered incidents of discrimination recorded in 2012 and 2013 because the municipalities are registered very well since 2012. The police registers all incidents of which a statement of discrimination was reported and other incidents with a discriminatory dimension under a specific 'discrimination' code in the Basic Enforcement System of the police (BVH). The regional person who is responsible for

the registration of discrimination within the police district often runs an additional query with discrimination-related key words in order to complement these available cases with cases that were not registered under the discrimination code in the BVH system. He/she selects the relevant options that apply to the discriminatory incident in the case overview. This person is also responsible for the case screening of discriminatory-related incidents and completes the regional case overview.

There are six main categories regarding the 'ground of discrimination': race, religion, non-religious beliefs, sexual orientation, disability and gender. All of these main categories consist of several sub-categories. For example, the main category 'race' consists of the sub-categories 'native Dutch', 'Western foreign background', 'Non-western foreign background', 'Roma/Sinti' and 'other / unknown'. Furthermore, within the main category 'religion', 'Islam', 'Christianity', 'Hinduism' and 'other / unknown' are distinguished. Antisemitism is understood as a distinct main category. For a proper registration of the discriminatory incidents, information about the background of the offender and the victim need to be registered as much as possible in the case overview. Subcategories of the main category 'Criminal conduct' are distinguished in order to register the discriminatory incident as specific as possible. Eight sub-categories are distinguished: insult, discrimination, abuse, vandalism, threats, theft, robbery and other.

- Data obtained from CBS statline

Additional data on neighbourhood characteristics used in the analyses are retrieved from the database of CBS Statline (Dutch Central Bureau for Statistics). The issues at stake are: ethnicities from non-western origin, average income, lower income, lower occupations of the labour force, lower educated segment of the workforce, self-employed segment of the labour force, unemployed segment of the labour force, benefit recipients, social cohesion, contact in the neighbourhood, neighbourhood decline, and trust in the police. These data were not directly available at the level of (the former) 25 police districts, so I used for the hypotheses 1, 2 and 7 the data that were available on the municipal level. These data were aggregated to the level of 25 (former) police districts to carry out an analysis on this level. In this way, the population size of different municipalities within the same police district is taken into account so that a municipality with more inhabitants is treated as more important. Data used for testing the hypothesis 3,4, 5 and 6 were only available on the police district level. It was therefore not possible to use these data for the analysis on the municipal level. Specific information regarding the data can be found in the Annex 3.

- Qualitative data collection

The quantitative research results are supplemented by the third sub-study of this thesis, consisting of a qualitative study to enrich this research. These data were collected by conducting qualitative semi-structured interviews with specialists of discrimination and staff members of the police. In total, I managed to speak with eight participants on discrimination; one participant of the LECD

police, one of the police Staff, three social scientists and three employees of Antidiscrimination services. With purposeful selection, main experts on the registration of discrimination were selected. However, it could not be ensured that this sample is representative.

The national expertise centre of diversity of the Dutch police (LECD) was approached in order to receive more detailed and comparative information on the developments in the police registration policies. The ongoing reorganization of the national police, the new case form and goals formulated within the national police were expected to influence registration of discriminatory incidents by the police districts. Six external specialists on discrimination were interviewed about their perspective on the recording of discrimination incidents of the police. Three of these participants worked in social scientific research focused on discrimination. Three participants worked in antidiscrimination services and were interviewed on the cooperation with the police of their district. It was also attempted to involve police staff members of police districts both in districts where the recording seemed to be well organized in the sample, as well as police staff members of regions where the registration seemed to be of lower quality. Indicators of low quality are among others incomplete descriptions of discriminatory incidents in a police region and an unexplained low level of registered discriminatory incidents in a police region. Unfortunately, due to the disparities between my time schedule and those of my internship coordinators, I managed to speak to only one police officer working in a police district where the registration of discrimination seemed to be of low quality. See Annex 2a for the outline of the qualitative sample. I identified the topics listed in the Annex 2b before conducting interviews. The qualitative topic list is among other factors focused on internal factors of the police to explain regional differences in registering discrimination between police districts. For example, one topic was focused on the influence of the introduction of the standardized case form since 2012 and another topic focused on the influence of the recent reorganization of police districts.

4.3 Report of data analysis

- Qualitative part

All interviews were recorded and transcribed directly after the interview had taken place. All interviews were analysed in Nvivo, by coding and recoding all interviews. The codes were developed during the interviews with experts on discrimination and the regional differences found in the quantitative part. The results of this qualitative data analysis are described in the qualitative paragraph of this thesis.

- Quantitative part

For my internship at the Verwey-Jonker institute on the Poldis, I performed several tasks that were also essential stages to conduct a regression analysis. Excel files with the completed case overviews

were supplied by the police forces of the Netherlands. Each police force supplied its own case overview by sending it to the LECD police (national expertise centre diversity of the police). The LECD police gave these excel files to the Verwey-Jonker institute. The first step was to make all case forms uniform. In fact, all case forms had to be submitted uniformly according to the new implemented standardized case form. However, in practice this was not always the case. I adjusted all case forms in Excel to the baselines of the standardized case overview. These standardized case overviews were transported to SPSS. After this step I merged all the case overviews into one new case overview in SPSS.

The second step was to read all cases in order to check the ground of discrimination and to check in all columns if all information was entered correctly in the case overview according to the qualitative information placed in the column 'Content'.

Thirdly, I converted the 10 police districts in the former 25 police regions in order to obtain more specific information on these regions.

The fourth step to run a regression analysis was to count the number of discrimination incidents on two levels: per police region, and also per municipality. Unfortunately, municipalities within 3 police regions were excluded from the analysis because much information on the municipality was missing: Den Haag, Midden Nederland and Limburg. After inserting available information on characteristics of the 25 police districts obtained from CBS statline in one new SPSS datafile, I added the number of discrimination cases per police region. I also constructed one new SPSS file with the available information on characteristics of the municipalities obtained from CBS statline and added the number of discrimination cases per municipality.

With these two files, I was able to carry out two regression analyses: one on the level of police districts, and one on the level of municipalities. For the second analysis, it was necessary to replace the missing cases within the variables derived from CBS statline. For instance, in the variable 'lower educated segment of the workforce', there were 65 missing values (21.7% of the total). I used the regression of the known values of relevant variables to give an estimation of missing values on these numbers and to impute these estimated values instead of missing values.

The regression analyses proceeded according to the following steps. First, regression analyses were run with all single variables separately. Secondly, I run a regression analysis with each time two variables that explained a significant part of the number of discriminatory incidents in the separate regression analyses. When a variable was found to be insignificant, it was excluded from further analyses. In the model with all significant variables, the collinearity was found to be too high (above ten in the vif column) between four variables. This concerned collinearity between unemployment benefits and all persons receiving a benefit until retirement age. In addition, the collinearity between average standardised income and average disposable income was found above

the permitted maximum. For this reason, the variables of unemployment benefits and average disposable income were excluded from further analyses. The final models consisting of the remaining significant variables are shown in the result chapter. The descriptive statistics are shown in table 1, the collinearity of both analyses is shown in table 2.

Table 1 *Descriptive statistics*

		Ana	lysis on	police	distric	t level	Anal	Analysis on municipal level			
	Variable	N	Min.	Max.	Mea n	Std. Dev.	N	Min.	Max.	Mean	Std. Dev.
	Number of incidents	75	5	363	49	61.85	600	0	267	4.1	17.6
1	Inhabitants of non-western origin percentage	75	-1	3.17	0	1	600	-0.96	6.25	0	1
2a	Percentage low education	75	-2.62	1.14	0	1	600	-2.81	3.17	0	1
2 b	Percentage Unemployed	75	-1.6	2.72	0	1	600	-1.09	11.1	0	1
2c	Percentage all persons receiving benefit until retirement age	75	-1.76	2.99	0	1	600	-0.91	10.7	0	1
2d	Percentage low income	75	-1.63	1.95	0	1	600	-2.8	2.91	0	1
2e	Percentage employed in lower occupations	75	-2.36	1.63	0	1	X	X	X	X	X
2f &7	Average disposable income	75	-1.38	2.89	0	1	600	-0.6	12.1	0	1
2f &7	Average standardized income	75	-1.79	2.8	0	1	600	-0.65	11.8	0	1
2g	Score degradation judgment neighbourhood development	75	-2.08	2.61	0	1	X	X	X	X	X
3	Score much contact in neighbourhood	75	-3.09	1.5	0	1	X	X	X	X	X
4&5	Scale score social cohesion	75	-0.41	4.69	0	1	X	X	X	X	X

6	Scale score	75	-2.96	2.05	0	1	X	X	X	X	X
	confidence in the										
	police effectiveness										
	CHICCH CHICSS										

Table 2 Correlation of variables

	Analysis on police district level		Analysis on lev	_
Coefficients(a)	Tolerance	VIF	Tolerance	VIF
Inhabitants of non-western origin percentage	.561	1.784	.500	1.998
Percentage low education	.255	3.926	.899	1.112
Percentage Unemployed	.378	2.646	.085	11.832
Percentage all persons receiving benefit until retirement age	.193	5.185	.080	12.518
Percentage low income	.118	8.447	.964	1.037
Percentage employed in lower occupations	.210	4.770	X	X
Average disposable income	.019	51.888	.004	222.517
Average standardized income	.017	58.140	.004	226.923
Score degradation judgment neighbourhood development	.344	2.908	X	X
Score much contact in neighbourhood	.199	5.032	X	X
Scale score social cohesion	.170	5.886	X	X
Scale score confidence in the police effectiveness	.649	1.541	X	X

5. Data Analysis

5.1 Results of the quantitative data analysis

- Descriptive information

In this paragraph, the first research question 'What are the characteristics of discriminatory incidents registered by the police?' will be answered using the three sub-questions formulated in the research design.

Table 3 Overview cases of discrimination

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Number of cases provided	2275	2577	2777	3021	3443	3794
Number of deleted cases	37	365	239	219	160	155
Remaining number of cases	2238	2212	2538	2802	3283	3639

In total, 3639 discriminatory incidents were registered in 2013. Initially, 3794 cases were provided by the police districts. 43 cases were deleted because they were not discriminatory and 112 cases were deleted because they were found to be double registered. Overall, the number of discriminatory incidents is found to be increasing constantly from the start of registering discrimination in 2008.

Graphic display 2: Reported discrimination grounds 2013

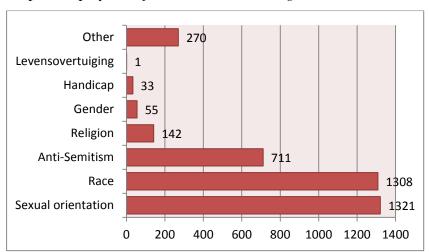


Table 4 and the graphic display 2 show the incidents registered per ground of discrimination. Some discrimination cases are entered under multiple grounds. Race, sexual orientation and anti-Semitism are the most registered grounds of discrimination. When combining race and religion together, this combined category is with 41% the biggest category of the incidents in 2013. The number of incidents on the discriminatory ground race slightly decreased in the past three years. The ground belief other than religion (in Dutch 'levensovertuiging'), shows a sharp decrease in 2012 (1.7%) and 2013 (0.28%) compared to 2011 (19.3%). This decrease can be explained by the fact that anti-

Semitism was formerly counted under this heading. This leaded to an increase of discrimination on the ground of Anti-semitism in 2012 and 2013 compared to previous years.

Table 4 Discrimination grounds of 2011, 2012 and 2013.

Discrimination ground	2011	2011%	2012	2012%	2013	2013%
Race	931	40.80%	1.157	36.80%	1.308	36.69%
Religion	18	0.80%	112	3.60%	142	3.98%
Sexual orientation	623	27.30%	1.139	36.20%	1.321	37.05%
Anti-semitism	294	12.90%	859	27.30%	711	19.94%
Belief	440	19.30%	53	1.70%	1	0.28%
(other than religion)						
Gender	15	0.70%	110	3.50%	56	1.57%
Handicap	440	0.60%	23	0.70%	26	0.73%
Other	(unknov	vn)	(unknov	wn)	(270)	(7.57%)
Total	2334		3453		3835	

Within all grounds of discrimination, subcategories are distinguished. The ground race consist of the subcategories 'native Dutch', 'Western foreign background', 'Non-western foreign background', 'Roma/Sinti' and 'other / unknown'. In table 5 these subcategories are shown. By far, the largest subcategory is 'Non-western foreign background'. The subcategory 'Other/unknown' consist of many cases of which the ethnic background was not clear in the description of the discriminatory incident.

Table 5 Subcategories of the ground race in 2013

Subcategory	Sum	Percentage
Native Dutch	28	2.14%
Western foreign background	118	9%
Non-western foreign background	1025	78.36%
Roma/Sinti	2	0.15%
Other/unknown	135	10.32%
Total	1308	100%

On the ground religion the subcategories 'Islam', 'Christianity', 'Hinduism' and 'other / unknown' are distinguished. These numbers can be read in table 6. 'Islam' is found to be the biggest subcategory on the ground of religion with 116 cases (81.69%).

Table 6 Subcategories of the ground religion in 2013

Subcategory	Sum	Percentage
Islam	116	81.69%
Christianity	14	9.86%
Hinduism	3	2.11%
Other/unknown	11	7.74%
Total	142	100%

As is shown in table 7, the number of cases registered by discriminatory grounds vary between police districts. In Amsterdam, many discriminatory incidents (525 of the 762) were counted on the ground of sexual orientation. In Oost Nederland, many discriminatory incidents were registered in the category 'other', due to the little reveiling and short description in the description of the incident (column 'content').

Table 7 *Ground of discrimination by police district*.

		•			than				
Police district	Race	Religion	Sexual orientation	Anti-semitism	Belief (other religion)	Gender	Handicap	Other	Total
Noord Nederland	95	5	26	94	0	5	1	14	240
Oost Nederland	143	8	155	89	0	8	2	101	506
Midden Nederland	34	6	37	22	0	0	0	17	116
Noord Holland	107	26	176	83	0	11	5	63	471
Amsterdam	145	5	525	46	0	14	0	27	762
Den Haag	65	7	20	10	0	1	1	13	117
Rotterdam	377	49	230	193	1	8	4	2	864
Zeeland – West Brabant	266	28	82	101	0	9	11	18	515
Oost Brabant	48	6	23	37	0	0	1	10	125
Limburg	28	2	47	36	0	0	1	5	119
Total	1308	142	1321	711	1	56	26	270	3835

5.2 Regression Analysis

As I mentioned before, I performed two regression analyses. The first regression analysis is on police district level and data of the past three years are included. The second regression analysis is on municipal level and data of the past two years are included.

- Regression analysis on the level of former police districts

To estimate the proportion of variance in discrimination numbers of police districts that can be accounted for by the percentage of inhabitants with a non-western origin (hypothesis 1) and the interaction variables (hypothesis 2-7), a standard multiple regression analysis (MRA) was performed. Prior to interpreting the results of the MRA, several assumptions were evaluated. The residuals of the dependent variable were found to be normally distributed. Scatterplots of the standardized residuals against standardized predicted values indicated that the assumptions of normality, linearity and homoscedasticity of residuals were met to a sufficient extent. The final regression model consist of three interaction variables: the interaction between the percentage inhabitants with a non-western origin and the percentage inhabitants receiving a low income, the interaction between the percentage inhabitants with a non-western origin and much contact in the neighbourhood, and the interaction between the percentage of inhabitants with a non-western origin and the scale score confidence in the police effectiveness. This model accounted for a significant 63.7% of the variability in registered discrimination numbers on the level of police districts, F (7. 67) = 16.798, p < .001. However, the second and third significant interaction have an opposite significant direction than was expected. The final model on the level of police districts is shown in table 8.

Table 8 Final model police district level

Model	Sig.	Unstandardized B
(Constant)	.000	49.860*
Inhabitants of non-western origin percentage	.016	17.457*
Percentage low income	.002	16.090*
2d Interaction low income *NWO	.000	29.067*
Much contact in neighbourhood	.294	-5.614
3 Interaction much contact in neighbourhood * NWO	.058	8.816*
Scale score confidence in police effectiveness	.001	-17.862*
6 Interaction scale score confidence in police effectiveness	.000	-32.098*

^{*} P is significant when p <0.10 due to the one-tailed test when using an alpha of 5%.

- Summary of the results of the analysis on police district level

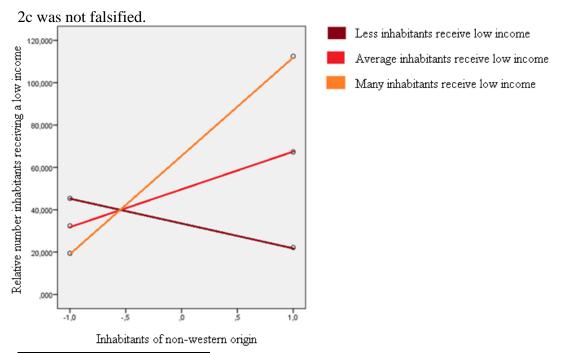
In this section, I will describe briefly whether each single hypothesis explains a significant part of the variability of the number of incidents of discrimination per region. The first hypothesis tests the direct relationship between inhabitants of non-western origin and the number of registered discrimination incidents at the police. Hypotheses 2-7 are interactions.

In line with *hypothesis 1*, the findings show that the larger the proportion of inhabitants of non-western origin in the region, the more reports of ethnic based discrimination were registered, b = 17.46, p = $.016.^2$

In contrast to *hypothesis 2a*, the relation between the proportion of inhabitants of non-western origin in police regions and the number of ethnic based discriminatory incidents was *not* found to be significantly more positive if a police region is characterized by a high level of lower educated inhabitants, b = -2.27, p = .6. Hypothesis 2a is falsified by these results.

In contrast to *hypothesis* 2b, the relation between the proportion of inhabitants of non/western origin in police regions and the number of ethnic based discriminatory incidents was *not* found to be more positive if a police region is characterized by more persons receiving a benefit until retirement age, b = 8.4, p = .61. This hypothesis is therefore falsified by the results.

In line with *hypothesis* 2c, the relation between the proportion of inhabitants of non-western origin in police regions and the number of ethnic based discriminatory incidents was found to be more positive if more individuals receive a low income, b = 29.07, p < .001. In the graphic display below, it is shown that the effect of inhabitants of non-western origin on discrimination numbers is much stronger for police districts with many inhabitants receiving a low income. Hence, hypothesis



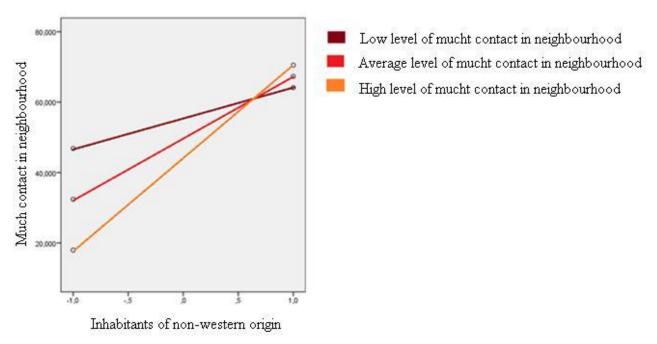
² Model as shown in Figure 8 plus this x. All non-standardized b's and p's from non-significant interaction variables are calculated in this way.

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In contrast to *hypothesis 2d*, the relation between the proportion of inhabitants of non-western origin in police regions and the number of ethnic based discriminatory incidents was *not* found to be more positive if a district is situated in poor economic conditions, b = 3.94, t = .820. Hypothesis 2d is therefore rejected.

In contrast to *hypothesis 2e*, the relation between the proportion of inhabitants of non-western origin in police regions and the number of ethnic based discriminatory incidents was *not* found to be more positive if residents judged that their neighbourhood was degraded, b = -1.59, p = .710. Hypothesis 2e is falsified by these results.

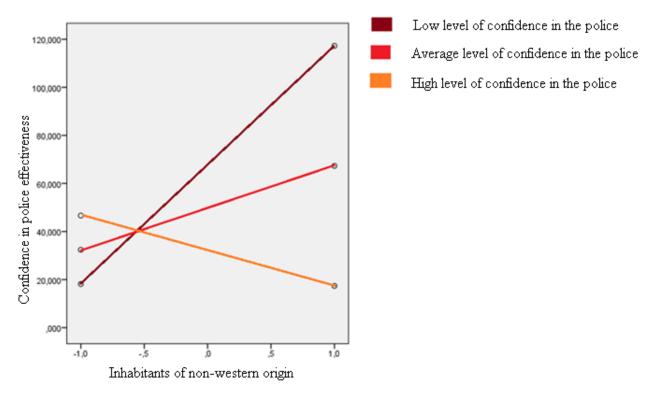
In contrast to *hypothesis 3*, the relation between the proportion of inhabitants of non-western origin in police regions and the number of ethnic based discriminatory incidents is *more* positive if a police region is characterised by a high level of contact, b = 8.82, p = .058. In the graphic display below, it is shown that the effect of inhabitants of non-western origin on reported discrimination is much stronger when there is a high level of contact in the neighbourhood. This is exactly opposite of hypothesis 3, because I expected in police districts with a high level of neighbourhood contact less discriminatory incidents. For this reason, hypothesis 3 is rejected.



In contrast to *hypothesis 4* and *hypothesis 5*, the relation between x and y is *not* found to be significantly higher when neighbourhoods are characterised by a lower or higher social cohesion, b = -3.997, p = .47. Both hypotheses are falsified by the insignificant results.

In contrast to *hypothesis* 6, the lower the level of confidence in police effectiveness, the higher the relation between the proportion of inhabitants of non-western origin in police regions and the number of ethnic based discriminatory incidents, b = -32.10, p < .001. This interaction effect is

directly the opposite of what I expected: the less confidence in police effectiveness, the more reported discrimination incidents in the police district. This is also shown in the graphic display below. For this reason, hypothesis 6 is rejected.



In contrast to *hypothesis* 7, the relation between x and y is *not* found to be significantly higher when neighbourhoods are characterised by prosperous socio-economic conditions, b = 3.94, p = .820. For this reason, hypothesis 7c is rejected.

According to *hypothesis* 8, the total number of discriminatory reports in 2013 is expected to be higher than in 2012. The growth of the total number of discriminatory incidents was expected to be extremely high compared to the growth in previous years. There is however no such peak visible in table 9. The average growth of 2008-2012 is 110%, and the number of incidents increases slightly every year. The growth of 111% in 2013 is reason to reject hypothesis 8.

Table 9: relative growth in the number of discriminatory incidents 2008-2013

Year	Total number of discrimination incidents	Number of difference previous year	Relative growth
2008	2238		
2009	2212	-26	98.84%
2010	2538	326	114.74%
2011	2802	264	110.40%
2012	3283	481	117.17%
2013	3639	356	110.84%

Hypothesis 8 predicted that in police regions that implemented the new case form in 2013, the *increase* in number of discriminatory reports from 2011 to 2012 and 2012 to 2013 is larger than in police regions that continued to use the old case form. I carried out an independent t-test on the 50 recorded numbers of all police districts in 2012 and 2013. Districts that used the new case form in 2013 showed a stronger increase in the number of incidents in 2013 than district that continued to use the old case form in 2013. The mean change in the number of registered incidents was .33 in districts that used the old case form and .55 in districts that used the new case form in 2013. A t-test showed that the mean difference was not significant, t(48) = -1.54, p = .131.

Hypothesis 9 predicted those districts that implemented the new case form in 2012 and/or 2013 have higher numbers of discriminatory reports in 2012 and 2013 than regions where the old case form has been used. I carried out an independent t-test on the 50 recorded numbers of all police districts in 2012 and 2013. Opposite to the expectations, districts that used the new case form in 2013 showed a smaller increase in the number of incidents in 2013 than district that continued to use the old case form in 2013. The mean change in the number of registered incidents was 55.52 in districts that used the old case form and 53 in districts that used the new case form in 2013. A t-test showed that the mean difference was not significant, t(48) = .12, p = .903.

- Regression analyses on the level of Dutch municipalities

Before running the regression analysis on municipal level, there had to be taken several steps. Firstly, I replaced all missing values by an estimated value using estimation regression of all other variables. In this way, I was able to estimate the missing value by the known values on other variables of the municipality. Secondly, out of range estimated values consisting of values below zero are replaced by zero. Thirdly, I standardized all values in order to run a regression analysis. Hypotheses 1, 2a-f and 7 could be tested on the level of municipalities. The other hypotheses were operationalised with data on the level of the 25 (former) police districts. For this reason, hypothesis 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9,10 were only tested on the level of police districts.

To estimate the proportion of variance in discrimination numbers in municipalities that can be accounted for by the percentage of inhabitants with a non-western origin (hypothesis 1) and the interaction variables, a standard multiple regression analysis (MRA) was performed. Prior to interpreting the results of the MRA, several assumptions were evaluated. The residuals of the dependent variable were found to be normally distributed. Scatterplots of the standardized residuals against standardized predicted values indicated that the assumptions of normality, linearity and homoscedasticity of residuals were met to a sufficient extent. The model accounted for a significant 91,7% of the variability in registered discrimination numbers on the level of municipalities, F (7,59) = 937.9 p < .001. Unstandardized b and the p-value are reported in table 10.

Table 10 Final model on municipal level

Model	P	Unstandardized B
(Constant)	.000	2.249*
1 Inhabitants of non-western origin percentage	.019	.699*
Percentage low income	.000	.886*
2d Interaction low income * NWO	.013	586*
Direct effect more persons receiving a benefit until retirement age	.000	-3.625*
2c Interaction effect of more persons receiving a benefit until retirement age * NWO	.000	2.421*
Socioeconomic conditions	.000	6.044*
2f & 7 Interaction socioeconomic conditions * NWO	.000	1.137*

^{*} P is significant when p < 0.10 due to the one-tailed test when using an alpha of 5%.

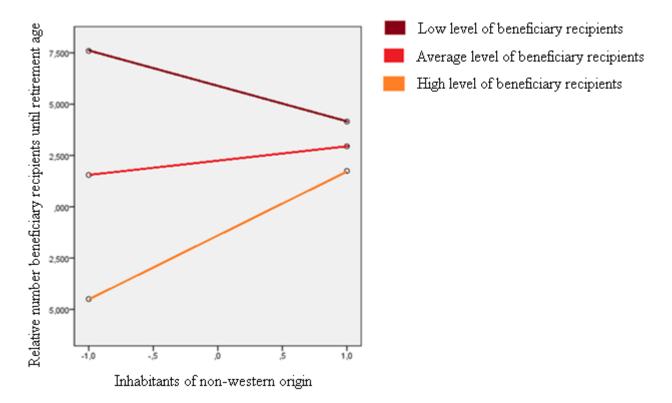
- Summary of the results of the analysis on municipal level

In the section below, I will describe briefly whether each single hypothesis explains a significant part of the variability of the number of incidents of discrimination per municipality. The first hypothesis tests the direct relationship between inhabitants of non-western origin and the number of registered discrimination incidents at the police. All other hypotheses are interactions.

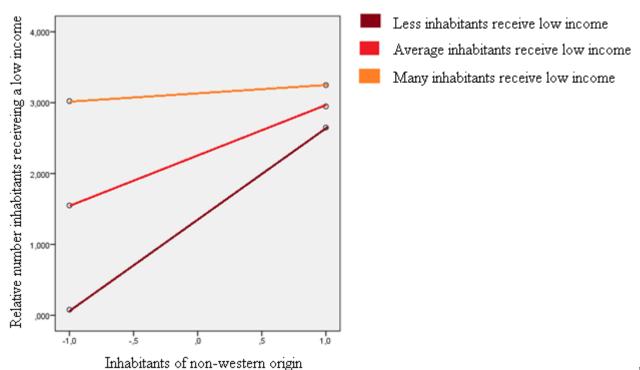
In line with *hypothesis 1*, the findings show that the larger the proportion of inhabitants of non-western origin in the region, the more reports of ethnic based discrimination were registered, b = .70, p = .019.

In contrast to *hypothesis 2a*, the relation between the proportion of inhabitants of non-western origin in police regions and the number of ethnic based discriminatory incidents was *not* found to be significantly more positive if a police region is characterized by a high level of lower educated inhabitants, b = .40, p = .131. Hypothesis 2a is falsified by these results.

In line with *hypothesis* 2b, the relation between the proportion of inhabitants of non/western origin in police regions and the number of ethnic based discriminatory incidents was found to be more positive if a police region is characterized by more persons receiving a benefit until retirement age, b = 2.42, p < .001. The effect of inhabitants of non-western origin on discrimination numbers is much stronger when there is a high level of beneficiary recipients in a municipality. Hence, hypothesis 2b was not falsified.

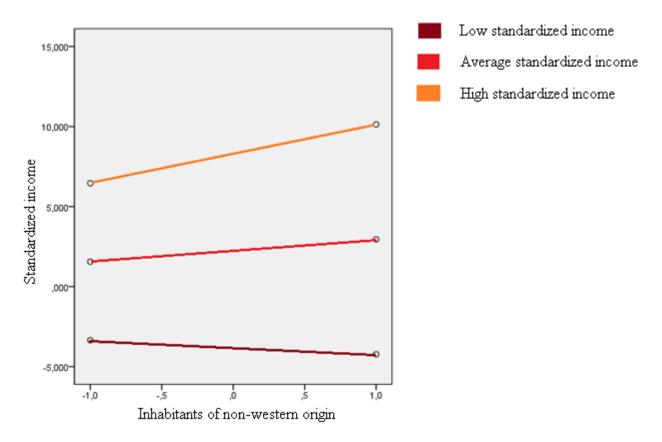


In contrast to *hypothesis* 2c, the relation between x and y the proportion of inhabitants of non-western origin in police regions and the number of ethnic based discriminatory incidents was found to be more *negative* if more individuals receive a low income, b = -.59, p = .013. The effect of inhabitants of non-western origin is much stronger in municipalities with less inhabitants receiving a low income. This is shown in the graphic display below. This interaction effect is directly the opposite of what was expected when I formulated this hypothesis: I expected the more (instead of less) individuals receiving a low income, the more reported discrimination incidents in the municipality.



In contrast with *hypothesis 2d*, the relation between x and y was *not* found to be more positive if a district is situated in poor economic conditions, b=1.14, p=<.001. In line with hypothesis 7, the opposite of hypothesis 2d was found: not poor economic conditions but prosperous socio-economic conditions are a significant interaction variable. Hypothesis 2f is therefore rejected.

In line with *hypothesis* 7, the relation between the proportion of inhabitants of non-western origin in police regions and the number of ethnic based discriminatory incidents is found to be significantly higher when neighbourhoods are characterised by prosperous socio-economic conditions, b = 1.14 p < .001. This is clearly shown in the figure below. Hence, hypothesis 7 was not falsified.



5.3 Results of the qualitative substudy

In this chapter, the results of the qualitative interviews with professionals on discrimination will be described. The explanations on regional differences within the Dutch police on discrimination numbers on the grounds of race and religion of professionals will be central in the qualitative substudy.

- Numbers of Discriminatory differences between police regions explained

By explaining regional differences in the number of discriminatory incidents registered by the police, I distinguish external and internal factors. Adding to the external factors whose are incorporated in the quantitative sub study, major (media) events that happened in the Dutch society might influence the discriminatory recordings of the police. Participants pointed out the recurring influence of public festival Saint Nicholas (Sinterklaas) on discrimination recordings. Also statements of politicians, in particular Geert Wilders of the Party of the Freedom (PVV), are mentioned to be likely to be perceived discriminatory for members of ethnic minorities in the Netherlands and especially for those with a Islamic religious background. For example, the idea generated by Geert Wilders to set up a reporting centre of disruption caused by migrants of Central and Eastern European origin was hot topic of discriminatory reports in 2012. Very recently, Wilders' statement to take care of reducing the amount of citizens with a Moroccan background on a campaign organized for the municipal elections in 2014 resulted in more than five thousand discrimination reports. However, I did not find public events in the year 2013 causing more discriminatory reports on the ground of race and religion. This is in accordance to the Trend Report Discrimination over 2011-2013 on discrimination focused discrimination registered by several agencies in Rotterdam. In this report it is mentioned that public debates influence discrimination reports at antidiscrimination services more than the discrimination registration of the police (Bon, van & Mink, 2014).

According to the participants, there are roughly 6 *internal* factors that might explain the regional differences in reporting discriminatory incidents. Most under mentioned factors explain regional differences in the reporting of discrimination by placing the uniformity and quality of the data collection at risk. Before I describe these internal factors, it is important to underline that many police officers attempt to combat discrimination with full commitment and dedication. These police employees help making the registration of discrimination work. This qualitative chapter is not meant to criticize their good work, but rather to help them tackle discrimination even better in the future.

- Priority

The priority of discrimination seems rather low in some of the police districts. More importance is simply given to other activities and other criminal offenses. Participant A tells that in some police districts, the tendency is to minimize attention given to discrimination, by only forwarding the cases which are processed by the Prosecution Counsel (OM). In other police districts, there is substantial more time set aside for running the query and screening the cases in order to find the discrimination cases in the registration system of the police. A higher registration therefore does not have to mean that discrimination in this police district is also a bigger problem. It may be exactly the opposite, because the authorities do their best to combat discrimination the best they can. Participant C tells that the priority can work at every level of the police hierarchy. Each supervisor affects the way people work in his or her team. If a police chief indicates that registering discrimination is an essential task of the police, the records of discrimination will be substantially higher. However, discrimination is a complex problem to deal with, since it is not always easy to punish the suspect for the crime. This opens the way for a lower priority in the police force: If it is not clearly punishable by law, the interest in registering discrimination is less clear to the police officer. This all affects the prioritization in a given police district.

Significant progress in priority may be given if the Dutch government will place discrimination on the list of subjects with extra priority in 2015. Participant F believes that this might generate positive effects in the future for the registration of discrimination, because not only the police employees will be convinced that they must register discrimination appropriately, but they will also convey this to potential victims of discrimination which is profitable for the willingness to report discrimination.

- Clarity protocol

The police protocol on the registration of discriminatory incidents seems to be not completely exclusive and uniformly followed in all police districts. For some police employees, it seems to be unclear what needs to be registered as 'discrimination' and what cannot be categorized under this umbrella category. Participants C tells: 'Police employees register discrimination in their own way. Due to the many police employees, there are many ways in which a discriminatory report is registered in the police system.' Two other participants give an example to show that a discriminatory incident was not reported as such. In the first example the incident was not reported as discrimination because it was perceived to be not discriminatory enough; in the second example discrimination was not mentioned to make the problem not bigger than it was already in order to solve it more efficiently. Due to the (un)clarity of the protocol on registering discrimination, it is possible that there is an unintended preliminary selection in discrimination cases which causes differences in numbers of registered discrimination between police districts. One clear example of

the registration differences between police regions on larger scale is the decision to include or exclude the hassling of police employees with invectives that have a discriminatory aspect, such as 'Gay' or 'Jew'. This does not have to be a discriminatory incident, because in many cases the concerning police officer does not belong to the category of homosexuals or Jews. In some police regions, these cases are consciously included in the case form, whether these cases were decided to be excluded from the case form in other police regions. In this example it becomes clear that it would be advantageous if the protocol would be formulated more pronounced than it is formulated on this moment.

- Centralization or reorganization of the Police

In the quantitative paragraph 5.3 it is found that the reorganization of the police did not lead to a stronger increase in the number of discriminatory incidents and more uniformity in the registration of discriminatory incidents. Participants mentioned several issues in which reorganization could counteract the expected increase in uniformity on practical level. According to several participants, it is likely that the reorganization needs several years in order to be fully implemented in the whole organization. The unrest in a reorganization may affect the progress on the performance of registering discrimination by the police. Participant F tells: 'The unrest in a reorganization may affect the progress on something. Last year the recording of discrimination threatened to stand still in this movement and stagnation means decline in this situation. So much effort was needed to counter this stagnation.' Some participants are positive on the effects of the long-term of the reorganization. One main advance is the fact that a central control body will be able to supervise the quality and uniformity of the registration of discrimination, running the queries and monitor the case screening protocol sufficiently in the future. Participant C emphasizes that a national organization without direction and supervision will still not be able to improve the uniformity of discriminatory reporting. The work of a national coordinator seems essential in order to guarantee the quality and uniformity.

- Training Police employees

The LECD police designed courses to combat discrimination. These courses provided training for police employees concerned with discrimination in their work. However, the police employees whose register criminal offences in the police system often did not have a specific discrimination training. Participant H explains:

'It all starts with the alertness of the police officer sitting at the front desk when a victim of discrimination does not immediately emphasize that he is discriminated against by asking the right questions to the victim in order to get relevant data. Subsequently the police officer has to register the discriminatory aspect in the registration system for it is not found by the query otherwise. So the training of the police officer, the attention paid to discriminatory aspects and the way to record is of substantial importance.'

To magnify essential knowledge on discrimination throughout the whole police organization, classes have been developed and given by police training programs in order to increase the awareness and alertness of signs of discrimination. When these training programs could be extended, the quality of the registration would profit of this according to several participants.

For those police employees having responsibility for running the query and for the case screening, training is of considerable importance. The query of the LECD has to be run, without the addition of extra words (which appears to be the case in some police regions at the moment). Currently, there is a lot of diversity in the extent to which these police employees are equipped for their tasks. To achieve a more uniform selection procedure, regular refresher courses and meetings with police employees responsible for these tasks are important.

- Cooperation with external partners in combating discrimination

One of the important external partners of the police in combating discrimination are the Antidiscrimination Services. The Antidiscrimination Services are concerned with the prevention against discrimination and combating discrimination on all of the legal grounds of discrimination. Antidiscrimination Services are important since they refer in their complaints procedure to the police if there is a criminal offense involved in the discrimination report. Besides that, in the (former) police districts Rotterdam Rijnmond, Zuid-Holland Zuid, Midden-West Brabant and Zeeland there is a special kind of cooperation established in order to increase the quality in the case screening of case forms of discrimination. Employees of the Antidiscrimination Services are responsible there for the case screening of the case forms coming forward from the query in the police registration system. These employees are specialized on recognizing discrimination, so the quality of the case screening can be qualified as high due to this distribution of tasks. Participant H tells:

'This cooperation has resulted in a considerable increase in the number of registrations of discrimination that were found to be relevant for the case overview. You can say that there has been made a quality improvement in these police units by this working method.'

- Implementation of the new standardized case form

As described earlier, the police registers discriminatory incidents in a so-called case form. In the beginning of 2012 a renewed and standardized case form was implemented along with a detailed instruction in order to increase uniform registration in all police units. Hypothesis 8 and 9 were falsified in paragraph 5.3: the implementation of the new case form did not lead to an increase in the number of discriminatory incidents. There are different opinions on these hypotheses among the participants on the effects of the implementation of the new standardized case form. Some believe that only the *attention* to discrimination will increase, while others believe that the uniformity is likely to increase by using the same case form in all police regions (this was not found in the

quantitative sub-study). Two participants stress the importance of an independent control unit to make the implementation of the new case form work. The LECD did never have a hierarchic role within the national police, so they could not impose sanctions on those police employees who did not perform their duties properly. When a police region chose to use their own case form or added or removed a few columns, there was no way to ensure that the standardized case form was implemented instead. According to these two participants, such a sanctioning body may increase the attention to the importance for a high-quality and uniform registration system and is therefore desirable.

- Summary

Six factors, described above, were found to be the most mentioned factors that may explain regional differences in the registration of discrimination from a internal perspective of the police organization. How great the influence of these single factors exactly is on the uniformity and quality of the registration of discrimination remains unknown in this study. The purpose of this qualitative study however was mainly to explore what factors may affect the registration. Differences in given priority to discrimination, certain freedom of choice within the national protocol, differences in training focused on discrimination of police employees on various levels, the amount of cooperation with external partners in combating discrimination and the reorganization of the police with accompanying unrest were found to be likely to influence the quality and uniformity of the registration of discrimination. The implementation of the new standardized case form was meant to increase the uniformity of registration in the Netherlands and to guarantee the quality of these registration. According to some participants, the implementation of the new standardized case form is only likely to work well when there is established an independent control unit to ensure that the recording of discrimination goes according to plan.

5.4 Explaining regional differences from an interdisciplinary perspective

In the quantitative sub-study, 63.7% of the variance was explained by the final model on the level of police districts. When comparing the registered numbers of discriminatory incidents in 2013 with the predicted numbers by the final model on (former) police district level, the qualitative results may supplement the quantitative regression analysis by interpreting some of the unexplained variance. The registered numbers of discriminatory incidents in 2013 and the predicted numbers of the final model are shown in figure 3.

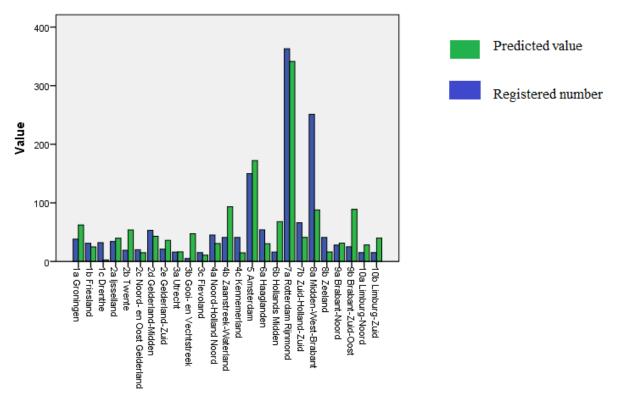
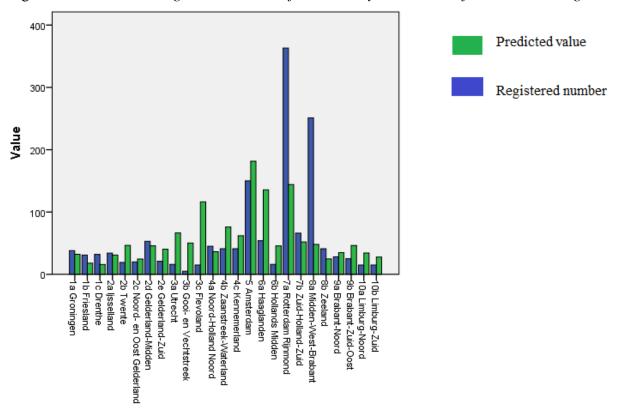


Figure 3 Predicted and registered number of incidents by final model of police districts 2013

As can be seen in figure 3, a larger number of incidents was registered in 2013 in the (former) police districts Rotterdam Rijnmond, Zuid-Holland Zuid, Midden-West Brabant, Zeeland, Friesland, Drenthe, Noord-Holland-Noord and Kennemerland than was predicted. Hence, in these districts, more incidents were registered than one would expect based on characteristics of the regions such as the percentage inhabitants of non-western origin, low income, much contact in the neighbourhood, and confidence in police effectiveness. The predicted number of incidents of figure 3 is partly based on the unexpected directions of much contact in the neighbourhood and confidence in police effectiveness. These unexpected directions cannot be explained by the theoretical framework. For this reason I use figure 4 in explaining regional differences in this paragraph, in this figure the number of discriminatory incidents is predicted by only the percentage of inhabitants of non-western origin.

Figure 4 Predicted and registered number of incidents by inhabitants of non-western origin 2013



As can be seen in figure 4, a (substantial) larger number of incidents was registered in 2013 in the (former) police districts Rotterdam Rijnmond, Zuid-Holland Zuid, Midden-West Brabant and Zeeland than was predicted. The numbers of incidents in the (former) police districts Utrecht, Gooien Vechtstreek, Flevoland, Haaglanden and Hollands Midden are considerably lower than was predicted in these police districts.

According to the insights from the qualitative sub study, the large registered number of incidents in the police districts Rotterdam Rijnmond, Zuid-Holland Zuid, Midden-West Brabant and Zeeland may be due to the close cooperation between the antidiscrimination services and the police in these police districts in order to increase the quality in the case screening of case forms of discrimination. In these four (former) police districts, employees of the antidiscrimination services are hold responsible for the case screening of the case forms coming forward from the query in the police registration system. These employees of the antidiscrimination services are specialized on recognizing discrimination, which contributes to a proper registration. The higher numbers of registered discrimination incidents in these four police districts is explained by the cooperation.

Participants explained the lower registered numbers in the police districts Utrecht, Gooi- en Vechtstreek, Flevoland, Haaglanden and Hollands Midden by the possibility that less time and expertise is available for the case screening than in the four police districts which cooperated with the antidiscrimination services. On the other hand, it is also possible that a stricter criterion for discrimination is used in these police districts. According to one participant, in one of those police

districts only cases were registered which were redirected to the Public Prosecutor. In this way, a stricter criterion might explain why in some police districts less incidents are registered. Together, the availability of time, expertise, cooperation with external partners, priority given to discrimination and the decision criterion are useful in interpreting the unexplained variance of the quantitative model.

6. Discussion

The main goal of this study is to explain regional differences in discriminatory incidents registered by the Dutch police. Based on the analysis central in this thesis, I attempt to explain differences in discriminatory incidents between the 25 (former) police districts³. A mixed method design is used in which the quantitative data are complemented with a qualitative data collection. By conducting qualitative interviews with experts on discrimination, insight is generated in unexplained regional differences of reported discriminatory incidents central to the quantitative analysis by adding valuable qualitative information.

In the first quantitative sub-study, the aim was to give a description of discriminatory incidents. More than one third of the in 2013 registered discriminatory incidents were reported on the ground of race. Of these reports, 78% concerned people with a non-western foreign background. A relatively small share of all reports in 2013 were reported on the ground of religion, with most reports concerning Islamic people.

The second sub-study consisted of two regression analyses, one on the level of (former) police districts, and the second analysis on municipal level. Neighbourhood characteristics recorded by CBS were derived in order to test hypotheses to explain the variability between the regions. The findings show that the larger the proportion of inhabitants of non-western origin in the region, the more reports of ethnic based discrimination were registered. The other tested variables are interactions on this correlation. In the attempt to answer the question 'How can regional differences in the number of registered discriminatory incidents on the grounds of race and religion between police regions in the Netherlands be explained?', only a few interaction variables were found to be significant in explaining the variability between the percentage inhabitants of non-western origin and the number of discrimination incidents. The interaction effect of the relative number of beneficiary recipients in municipalities and the relative number of inhabitants receiving a low income in a police district support the ethnic competition theory. However, the other tested hypotheses derived from the ethnic competition theory (namely a high level of lower educated inhabitants, districts situated in poor economic conditions and districts with degrading conditions) were falsified on both municipal and police district level. The interaction effect of the relative number of inhabitants receiving a low income on municipal level was found to be significant in the opposite direction of the expectation and therefore falsified. The interaction variable derived from the intergroup contact theory was falsified in this study since it had an opposite effect of what was expected according to the intergroup contact theory; higher levels of neighbourhood were correlated

³ From the 1. January 2013, the 25 police districts were centralized in one national police with 10 regions. In this thesis, the old division is used. See annex 1 for the old and new division of police regions.

with more registered discriminatory incidents. Neither was there supporting evidence for the Putnam's thesis, given the insignificant interaction variable *social cohesion*. Some evidence was found for the hypotheses of *willingness to report discrimination to the police*, because the interaction variable of prosperous socio-economic conditions was found to be significant on municipal level, the willingness to report discrimination to the police was higher in these police regions. The other two hypotheses (high level of social cohesion and a high level of confidence in police effectiveness) were falsified by the results. No support was found for the *police* factors in explaining regional differences in the quantitative study: the reorganization of the police and the implementation of the new case form did not lead to more uniformity in registering the discriminatory incidents so far.

When these results are interpreted with regard to previous studies of the social sciences, the following findings deserve some attention. Of the hypotheses derived from the *ethnic competition* theory in this study, low average income and the relative number of beneficiary recipients were related to more discriminatory incidents, whereas a low average educational level and general poor or degrading neighbourhood conditions did not. This is partly consistent with the earlier findings of Coenders (2001). In this study ethnic exclusionism was found to be higher in lower income groups and low educational strata. Poor economic conditions and declining economic conditions were not related to more exclusion of refugees (Coenders, 2001). The hypothesis derived from the *intergroup* contact theory was falsified in this thesis since the significant effect was exactly the opposite direction of what was expected according to the intergroup contact theory. This may be caused by the poor operationalization possibilities; *intergroup* contact was not measured on the level of police districts or municipalities, so I used general contact in the neighbourhood instead. In addition, the four necessary conditions composed by Allport (1954) were not fulfilled due to the inadequate operationalization. Pettigrew & Tropp (2006) showed in a meta analysis that establishing Allport's optimal conditions in contact generally enhances the positive effects of intergroup contact. For these reasons, the content validity of the operationalization of the intergroup contact hypothesis is probably low. Social cohesion was found to be insignificant in the relation between the relative number inhabitants of non-western origin and the number of registered discriminatory incidents. This insignificant result is in agreement with findings of an earlier study in 50 cities in the Netherlands carried out by Gijsberts et al. (2012) on the influence of ethnic diversity on social cohesion. In line with this study, no significant result was found for social cohesion in the Dutch context in explaining the number of discriminatory incidents. Consistent with the two earlier studies on this subject, confidence in police effectiveness was not a significant determinant in the reporting crimes (Goudriaan et al. 2006; Bennet&Wiegand, 1994). A possible explanation might be given by the fact that confidence in the police did not differ greatly between the police regions in the Netherlands.

In total, 63.7% of the variance was explained by the final model on the level of police districts. When comparing the registered numbers of discriminatory incidents in 2013 with the predicted numbers by the final model on (former) police district level, the qualitative results supplement the quantitative regression analysis by interpreting some of the unexplained variance. In the qualitative stub-study, internal factors help to explain the registration differences between police districts. Together, regional differences in availability of time, in expertise, in cooperation with external partners, in priority given to discrimination and differences in the decision criterion are useful in interpreting the unexplained variance of the quantitative model. More broadly, certain freedom of choice (or a degree of unclarity) within the national protocol leads to less uniformity within the registration. These findings are used for formulating recommendations to the police in the next paragraph.

This study shows the importance of both external factors (such as low income, beneficiary recipients and a higher average of the standardized income) and internal police factors (among others differences in priority, expertise, cooperation with external partners and differences in decision criterion) in explaining the regional differences in registered discriminatory incidents. By focusing on the explanation of regional differences, this interdisciplinary research contributes to an increase in knowledge of which the registration policy of the police might benefit. Based on the findings of this study, the Dutch police will be able to identify police regions in which more attention could be paid to the registration of discriminatory incidents. This master's research also contributes to a scientific knowledge increase on the explanation factors of regional differences in discriminatory incidents on neighbourhood level.

Each research design has its limitations. The scientific theories used in this study to explain regional differences in the number of discriminatory incidents did not explain the number of incidents sufficiently. The operationalisation of district and municipality characteristics based on the ethnic competition theory, intergroup contact theory, Putnam's thesis and the willingness to report discrimination to the police was found to be unable in explaining discrimination. More research is needed to operationalize explanatory factors of discrimination and to produce a more coherent explanation.

The police are responsible for the registration of discrimination, and the dataset of the police is one of the rare available sources of discrimination incidents on national level. In this report it is shown that discrimination is a persistent problem in the Dutch society. However, discrimination is not always clearly visible, not always recognized as such and is often not reported to the police. The

number of discrimination incidents reported in this dataset is therefore likely to underestimate the real occurrence of discrimination.

In this study, only a few police employees were interviewed about the manner of case screening and registration of discrimination. I recommend conducting further qualitative research to the way of registration and case-screening of the police in various police districts in order to create an insider's view on the case-screening by the social researcher. By 'going native' and studying everyday practices, practical limitations and considerations the employee is confronted with can be included in this research design.

Despite the limitations of this study, this mixed method research is able to give a comprehensive explanation of regional differences in registered discrimination numbers. The research complemented the quantitative study of the external municipality or district factors of discrimination with a qualitative sub-study of internal factors influencing the registration of discrimination. This interdisciplinary study provides interesting results for future policies. In the paragraph below, recommendations are made in order to enhance the quality of the recording of discrimination.

Recommendations

On the basis of the findings of this study, more uniformity in the registration of discrimination is essential to guarantee the quality of registration and case-screening of all police districts. When the uniformity will be increased, the police is able to comply with the 'Aanwijzing Discriminatie', in which an unambiguous registration of discrimination by the police on behalf of the Dutch government is recommended. Many police employees attempt to combat discrimination with full dedication. These recommendations are not meant to criticize their work, but rather to help them tackle discrimination even better in the future. From this study, five recommendations are derived that may help to achieve a more uniform registration of discrimination by the police.

- 1. It would be useful to establish an independent control unit to check the quality of registration, case-screening and the performance of the queries. The implementation of the new standardized case form was meant to increase the uniformity of registration in the Netherlands and to guarantee the quality of the registration. According to findings of the qualitative sub-study, the implementation of the new standardized case form is only likely to work well when an independent control unit is established to ensure that the recording of discrimination goes according to plan.
- 2. More training is needed in order to increase the quality of the registration of discrimination by police employees and to perform the case screening properly. Until then, a close collaboration

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⁴ Designation of discrimination

- with discrimination experts of antidiscrimination services might be established to increase the quality of the case-screening and the registration of discriminatory incidents.
- 3. The full-time availability of (at least) one police employee specialised in discrimination in every police district to carry out the case-screening properly, to answer questions from colleagues on discrimination and to alert colleagues on the importance of discrimination registration. There are large regional differences in the availability of time of the person in charge for conducting the case screening.
- 4. The clarity of the protocol should be formulated more precisely. A more extensive protocol could be formulated by experts on discrimination, such as employees of the LECD police and social scientists. The enforcement of the protocol should be checked regularly in all police districts in order to examine whether the decision criterion is maintained equally.
- 5. On the semi-annual meetings (now arranged by the LECD police) attention should be paid to doubtful incidents and the opportunity to ask questions by all persons responsible for the case screening. Periodic meetings are very important to increase the uniformity of registration, because lack of clarity of parts of the protocol can be discussed and the importance of a proper registration is underlined. These meetings have to be continued on a high standard when the LECD police is closed down.

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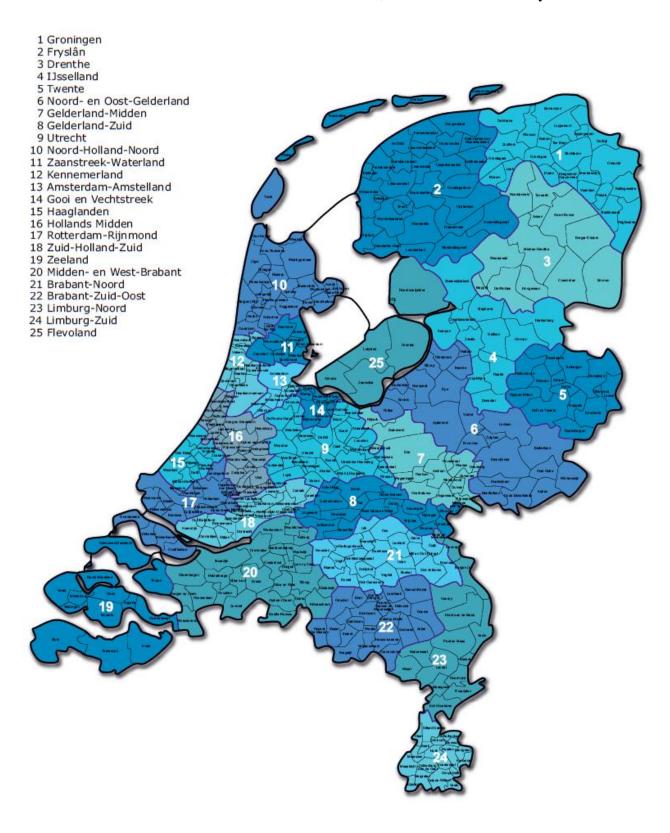
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Annex 1: Division of the police regions

Annex 1a: Situation before 2013 with 25 Police districts, retrieved from Ministery of BZK



Annex 1b: division from the 1. January 2013 onwards with 1 national police and 10 regional units, retrieved from Ministry of Security and Justice.



Annex 2 Outline of the qualitative sample and topic list

Annex 2a: outline of the qualitative sample.

Organisation	Number of participants
LECD Police	1
Police	1
Social scientists (experts on discrimination)	3
Employees of antidiscrimination services	3

Annex 2b: preliminary topic list for the third sub-question

Topic list

Background information

- Background characteristics participant
- Organizational features workplace

Quality registration police

- Priority given to registration of discrimination
- Training in the recording of discriminatory incidents
- Clarity protocol: to what extent is a unique, exclusive and exhaustive way of recording of discriminatory incidents possible?
- (if relevant) time available for case screening
- (if relevant) RDO (regional discrimination meeting)
- (if relevant) performing the query
- (if relevant) case screening

Introduction standardized case form

- Changes after introducing standardized case form
- Training and retraining over introducing standardized case form

Consequences centralization / reorganization police

- Increased attention to ...
- Decreased attention to ...

LECD

- Tasks LECD
- LECD clarity protocol
- Monitoring and control unit

Antidiscrimination services

- Cooperation between ADV and police
- Differences registration ADV and Police

Other relevant factors applicable on the expertise of the participant

Annex 3 Specific information variables retrieved from CBS Statline

Specific information regarding the data retrieved from the database of CBS Statline (Dutch Central Bureau for Statistics) are described here in more detail. The issues at stake are: ethnicities from non-western origin, average income, lower income, lower occupations of the labour force, lower educated segment of the workforce, self-employed segment of the labour force, unemployed segment of the labour force, benefit recipients, social cohesion, contact in the neighbourhood, neighbourhood decline, and trust in the police. These data were not directly available at the level of (the former) 25 police districts, so I used for the hypothesis 1,2 and 7 the data available on municipal level. These data were aggregated to the level of 25 (former) police districts to carry out a analysis on this level. In this way, a municipality with a larger population size counts heavier than a municipality having fewer inhabitants within the same police district. Data used for testing the hypothesis 3,4, 5 and 6 were only available on police district level. It was therefore not possible to use these data for the analysis on municipal level.

- Ethnicities from non-western origin

Immigrants and their children whose ethnic background is Turkish or one of the countries in the continents of Africa, Latin America and Asia (excluding Indonesia and Japan). On the basis of their socio-economic and cultural position immigrants from Indonesia and Japan are grouped among the Western immigrants.

The percentage of ethnicities from non-western origin is calculated as a percentage of the total population in the municipality.

- Lower educated segment of the workforce

The lower educated segment of the workforce is determined by the Standard educational format (SOI) of 2003 and 2006. Lower education consist of educational level 1,2 and 3 of SOI. This consists of the total primary education, the first phase of the secondary education including the first three years of the havo/vwo and the lowest level of the vocational training. The Labour Force Survey (EBB) uses from 2012 on web surveys. The proportion of lower educated persons of the workforce is calculated as part of the total amount of the labour force in every municipality.

- Self-Employed segment of the labour force

The Labour Force Survey (EBB) is also used to determine the self-employed segment of the labour force. This segment consist of those individuals working in their own business or practice; individuals working in business or practice of their partner or parents; and other self-employed persons who are not employed and not working in their own business or practice or business of their partner / parents such as freelancers. This proportion of self-employed persons is calculated as part of the total amount of the labour force in every municipality.

- Lower occupations of the labour force

From the Labour Force Survey (EBB) data are derived about the lower occupations of the labour force. The lower occupations are classified according to the Standard Occupational Classification 1992 of the CBS. Occupational level refers to the first digit of the classification. The level of a profession is determined by the level of the most appropriate training to practice the profession. Lower occupations are determined by a lower level of necessary training. This proportion of persons having lower occupations is calculated as a part of the total amount of the labour force in every municipality.

- Lower Income

The class boundaries of the distribution are determined by dividing disposable income in ten equal groups and the highest income determined in each group. Households in the 2nd, 3rd and 4th decile are in this case the group of 'low income'. The population consists of all households including students households and institutional households, but households without taxable income are disregarded. This proportion of persons situated in the lower income group is calculated as a part of the total amount of the labour force in every municipality.

- Average Income

Average income is calculated in two ways:

- Average standardized income

The standardised income is the disposable income adjusted for differences in size and composition of the household. Incomes of households of different size and composition are made comparable by standardizing income. Here, the CBS-equivalence is used, wherein the single household as standard household is chosen. This is the arithmetic average standardized income per person.

- Average disposable income

The average disposable income is the gross income minus paid income transfers, income insurance premiums, health insurance premiums and taxes on income and capital. This average disposable income is the arithmetic average disposable income per person.

For the last three variables above (lower income, average standardized income and average disposable income), data for 2013 were not available yet. For average standardized income and average disposable income, data for 2012 were also not yet released by the CBS. For this reason, I estimated these numbers by using the percentage of growth between the previous two available years. Due to the fact that the economic downturn continued in 2013, I assume that the differences between regions in 2012 and 2013 were the same as the observed change between the previous two years. In the case of lower income, I used the change between 2011 and 2012 to calculate the

estimated numbers for 2013. For the other two factors, the change between 2010 and 2011 was used in order to estimate the numbers in 2012 and 2013.

- Unemployed segment of the labour force

The unemployed segment of the labour force is operationalised by using the total amount of unemployment benefit recipients. This number includes all persons receiving a benefit under the Unemployment Act (or WW). The unemployed segment of the labour force is calculated as a part of the total amount of the labour force of its municipality.

- Beneficiaries paid to persons until the AOW age

These numbers consist of all persons until the state pension age receiving a benefit under the Unemployment Insurance Act (WW), an Assistance (related) Act (WWB, IOAW, IOAZ, WWIK, Bbz) or an Invalidity Act (WAO, WIA, WAZ, WAJONG). This proportion of persons in the age of the labour force is calculated as a part of the total amount of the labour force in every municipality.

- Social cohesion

Social cohesion is measured by the Safety Monitor (VM), an annual screening for safety, quality of life and victimization of each conducted in all the 43 police districts in the Netherlands. The confidence interval indicates with an accuracy of 95 percent between which values the actual percentage is likely to be. With this Safety Monitor of 2011, 2012 and 2013, figures are obtained in an unambiguous way over the (perception of) security at both national, regional and the local level. In the VM six statements about social aspects of their neighbourhood are presented. The respondent can indicate the extent to which he / she agrees with the statement on a five point scale from strongly agree to strongly disagree. The scale comprises the following six statements:

- 1. People hardly know each other
- 2. People are comfortable with each other
- 3. Cosy neighbourhood with lots of togetherness
- 4. Feel at home at people in this neighbourhood
- 5. Much contact with other local residents
- 6. Satisfied with population composition

High scores refer to a high score on the scale of social cohesion.

Contact in the neighbourhood

One of the above mentioned statements of the scale of social cohesion is: 'Much contact with other local residents'. This statement is also separately included in the regression analysis.

- Deterioration neighbourhood

In the Safety Monitor (VM), the deterioration of the neighbourhood is measured by the question:

"Do you think that the neighbourhood in which you live has improved in the last 12 months, has declined or remained the same?" There are three response options: improved, declined and remained the same. The percentage of the participants responding the neighbourhood has declined is included as a variable.

- Confidence in the police

In the above mentioned Safety Monitor (VM), confidence in the police is measured as well. The scale score comprises the following two statements:

- 1. When it really matters, the police will do its utmost to help you.
- 2. When it really matters, the police are ready to help you.

The respondent can indicate the extent to which he / she agrees with the statement on a five point scale from strongly agree to strongly disagree. The values are recorded to the scale score from 0 to 10. The higher the score, the greater the confidence in the police.