''*The Common Duty to Police the Police*''

A Mixed-Method Approach to Understanding the Attitudes of the Dutch Youth toward the Police

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This study exhibited a mixed-method approach in order to find and explain the relationship between ethnicity and attitudes toward the police, however many more variables are included. It was expected that the non-White Dutch youth would hold more negative attitudes toward the police than the white-Dutch youth, due to mainly racial discriminatory actions of the police, such as ethnic profiling. The expectation that the non-white Dutch youth would be more likely to hold more negative attitudes toward the police was supported and proven by the quantitative results. However, the results have shown that this is not due to the ethnic profiling, but due to the lack of procedural just policing toward ethnic minority groups. The qualitative outcomes have illustrated that the respondents understand why the police engages in ethnic profiling; it is part of their job and protocols, stereotyping belong to the human-being and the police are also human, the dilemma of maintaining order and humiliating human rights, and the importance criminality rates. Although, the non-white Dutch respondents do not agree with ethnic profiling of the police, it is not the most important factor in shaping their attitudes toward the police. The quantitative and the qualitative part of this study have shown that procedural just policing should be a must within police organizations in order to reach positive attitudes from ethnic minority groups; in accordance with the police demonstrating trustworthiness and honesty, in addition to not engaging in misconduct and providing a voice for citizens during encounters. This study has also demonstrated that the outcomes of police-citizen encounters, such as being fined or arrested, do not matter as long as the police comply with the former mentioned principles. Furthermore, this study mentions other factors that were not analyzed in detail within this study, which are valuable for further research.

KEY WORDS: *Attitudes toward the Police; Ethnicity; Ethnic Profiling; Procedural Just Policing; Police-Citizen Relationships*

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Chapter 1. Introduction

The goal of this chapter is to create a clear view of the context of this study and explain how this study was established. The beginning section focuses on the motivation for this study, whilst the latter section aims to discuss its societal and academic relevance.

1.1 MOTIVATION FOR THIS STUDY

In recent decades, the quality of policing has improved significantly in developed countries. Implying that the police are currently; better educated, more effective in controlling crime, less likely to engage in misconduct and are overall more professional (Skogan & Frydl, 2004; Braga & Weisburd, 2006). However, although there has been progression, the institution continues to face consistent contentions that must be addressed. Some of these issues are particularly evident within communities. In some countries the community-police relations can be describes as weak and strained due to overly aggressive, disrespectful, and discriminatory police practices. Existing research and its evidence on police legitimacy shows that the effects of such policing practices have a significant influence on the cooperation and compliance of the public with the police (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003).

How are the police in the Netherlands actually doing? Living together in a multi-ethnic society also provides more responsibilities and charges to police decisions in the Netherlands (KleijerKool, 2013). Criticism is mainly given to police actions, wherein citizens with a non-Dutch ethnic background, mainly Moroccans and blacks, are more often addressed and stopped by the police than Dutch natives (Amnesty International, 2013). This is then perceived or experienced as discrimination among people with a migration background and leads to negative attitudes toward the police. However, police officers may have significant reasons to pick out foreigners, for example, because their behavior fits the commission of a particular crime (Bovenkerk, 1992). Therefore, the police do not consider themselves as racist, as they think that ethnic profiling is an important aspect within their job in order to catch thieves effectively. This is due to the fact that the people that comply with their stereotypes are overrepresented in criminality rates, such as Moroccans and thus ethnicity plays an important role (Trouw, 2016). Yet that is not a sufficient or legitimate reason, because it could be possible that these crime rates have been created by extra attention from the judicial system and law enforcement (Van der Leun et al, 2011). The study 'Boeven Vangen' illustrates that the problem is not about a few incidents of ethnic profiling, but it is intertwined with the way police officers practice their profession. It should also be stated that ethnic profiling does not lead to effectively catching criminals, because statistics have shown that only in 7 percent of cases the police solves a crime (Kleijer Kool et al., 2016). The same study also demonstrated that on average 40 percent of the cases concerning stopping people based on physical appearances, the police controls could not be justified objectively and reasonably (Kleijer Kool et al., 2016)). Recently, the idea that the police selectively acts on the basis of external characteristics, against people with a migration background, has gained more attention. This is partly due the Amnesty International report, published in October 2013, indicating that the police checks immigrants more than natives, by which appearance based selection is made. The authors describe ethnic profiling as the use of criteria or considerations among the police when it comes to language, ethnicity, color, race or religion in enforcement and detection. This happens both on an organizational and operational level, whereby there is a lack of objective justification (Amnesty International, 2013). The National Ombudsman of the Netherlands added to the debate that the selective gaze of police officers is related to discrimination in the police culture (Volkskrant, 2016). However,

international organizations already published reports to warn for potential ethnic profiling in the Netherlands (OSJI, 2013 & EUAFR, 2009). Furthermore, the media also focuses more on the theme of 'ethnic profiling' (See: NOS, 2016 & Volkskrant, 2016). Existing research provides some indications, but there is still no clear and general view on the issue.

The Amnesty International report demonstrated that individuals with a migration background still perceive the police less positively than native citizens due to how the police reacts on their ethnicity (Amnesty International, 2013). This is due to the unjustified and disproportionate controlling that derives from the police, thus ethnic profiling. However, police officers have the space to intervene on the streets based on their own estimates on who poses a risk and who does not, which is their discretionary space. Nevertheless, this gray area stimulates stereotypes. Several authors indicated that police officers are challenged in their proactive attitude, because of the current social climate in which control and prevention are becoming increasingly important. Police officers underestimate the societal costs and consequences of their controls. They are hardly aware of their impact on people and see their actions as a form of temporary discomfort or annoying interruption (Ibid.). This is intertwined with a significant number of police officers who do not take the time to explain the reasons for controlling and checking individuals, because it is a complex task to be honest about it (Trouw, 2016). Cops also often get accused of discriminating, dishonest, disrespectful, distrustful, and aggressive behavior, in which the events in the news contribute to the strained relations. The idea that there is injustice increases the hostility among the non-white Dutch youth, which then led to a more authoritarian attitude exhibited by the police. This again, confirms the image of discrimination- a vicious cycle with an escalating effect (Ibid.). Regarding the factors that can shape citizen's attitudes toward policing, it could be stated that there are a lot of factors that might influence this, such as ethnicity, socio-economic status, age, and gender. As stated before, ethnicity seems to be a very important factor in shaping attitudes toward the police and this study will focus on this relationship. However, there is still little in-depth research of several factors that might influence the Dutch youth's attitudes toward the police in the Netherlands. Herein, it is important to investigate whether ethnicity, socio-demographic factors, and procedural just policing shapes the attitudes of the Dutch youth toward the police in the Netherlands and how this can be explained. Due to the former discussed, the research question that arises in this study is: *''To what extent does the white-Dutch youth and the non-White Dutch youth experience policing differently in the Netherlands and how can this be explained?''*

In this study the research question is divided in sub-questions in order to analyze the research question in its entirety. The sub-questions will be answered on the basis of the outcomes of the quantitative- and qualitative part of this study. The sub-questions of this study are:

1) *Which factors, besides ethnicity, might also shape the Dutch youth's attitude toward the police in the Netherlands?*

2) *How can the attitudes of the Dutch youth toward the police be explained?*

3) *What do the respondents think about ethnic profiling of the police?*

4) *What recommendations can be made to the police in the Netherlands?*

The goal of this study is to empirically evaluate to what extent differences in the attitudes of the Dutch youth toward the police are visible and how this can be explained, in order to finally make judgments about policing experiences in the Netherlands- and to thereby

provide recommendations. Firstly, the aim is to demonstrate whether there are differences in attitudes between the non-white Dutch youth and the white-Dutch youth toward the police. The main focus of this study is on the relationship between ethnicity and attitudes toward the police. Afterwards, an explanation for this relationship will be provided on the basis of the four aspects of procedural just policing, such as trust, voice, police misconduct, and ethnic profiling. Hereby, the theories based on ethnic profiling, the factors that shape citizen's attitudes towards the police, legitimacy and the procedural justice model will be used. These theories are applied to the Dutch youth from the age-category of 18- to 25 years old.

1.2 SOCIETAL AND THEORETICAL RELEVANCE

The *societal relevance* of this study is of great importance and significance, because the task of the police is to maintain the safety of *all* citizens, vis-a-vis ensuring the professional and appropriate treatment is equal and accessible to everyone. Police-citizens relationships are an essential aspect of the police department's efforts to fight crime effectively (Hartnett & Skogan, 1997). These relationships are about the way in which the police and the citizens communicate and interact with each other (Ibid.). However, when situations arise resulting with community member distrusting and disliking the police, this will undermine the relationship and any efforts to maintain peace and safety. The community police efforts are about working closely and building strong ties with community members, thus, when this gets disrupted it will become a more complex task for the police to tackle crime and alleviate strains with the public. As stated before, the Amnesty International and the National Ombudsman have already indicated that the Dutch police are guilty of ethnic profiling, discrimination and making unlawful decisions (Moslimomroep, 2013). Herein, the non-white Dutch youth is treated differently due to their ethnicity compared to their white counterparts. This will damage the reputation of the Netherlands as a tolerant country, which will then extend to damaging the national credibility of the Netherlands (Chua, 2009). Citizens that do not feel treated as equal experience that their differential treatment relies on the basis of their skin color or ethnicity, thereby causing detachment from the broader society. The consequences of this can be subversive for the state, because citizens eventually do not want to participate and cannot be reached, which will increase the risk of disruption within the society (Moslimomroep, 2013). Moreover, the police officer on the street represents the whole police organization and the state, on the basis of the opinions and experiences of the citizens with the police. It is therefore important for all police officers to be aware of the choices they make and its impact on citizens. Furthermore, the cooperation of the youth with the police is essential for increasing police efficiency and improving citizen's safety, because citizens possess information that can be of great value for police organizations, the state, and policy-makers. Especially, in the post- 9/11 era, the non-white Dutch youth can help the police to pick up signs of radicalization, which is why improving the cooperation of the public-police relationship has gained more attention. As we are consumers of the services of the police, the public's assessments, especially the youth's assessment, of police policies and police officers are essential to enhance the legitimacy of the police. This study aims to help the police to change negative departmental policies that are damaging good policing and bolster those policies that emphasize positive conduct by the police (Ibid.). Herein, procedurally-just policing will assist police departments to impact citizen satisfaction to cooperate with the police and to obtain more voluntary defense. Henceforth, the

attitudes of the Dutch youth and the factors that influence this must be sought, evaluated and enforced to decision-making by policymakers and police chiefs.

The *theoretical relevance* of this study attempts to provide a clear view of the Dutch youth's attitudes toward the police in the Netherlands and the factors that influence their attitudes. Until very recently, there are restricted numbers of scientific empirical research evidence on these topics in the Netherlands. However, there is a boost in the interest of scholars in appropriate legitimacy, procedural justice, police conduct, ethnic profiling, and citizen-police encounters. It is expected that evaluating immigrant's attitudes toward the police will gain more attention from different scholars in the following 20 years, because they will grow in numbers (Tran et al., 2010; Camarota, 2007). This study would make distinct contribution to existing research by investigating whether there are differences in attitudes toward the police between the non-white Dutch youth and the white-Dutch youth. As it is assumed in earlier research that the relationship between ethnicity and attitudes toward the police can be explained by ethnic profiling of the police, this study will look whether this also applies for the Dutch youth. Moreover, the aim is to try to explain the relationship between ethnicity and attitudes toward the police. To make the scope of this study broader, factors such as age, gender, and education are also included in this study in order to check for relationsthips with attitudes toward the police. This study tries to explain the relationship between ethnicity and attitudes toward the police on the basis of procedural just policing with aspects susch as police misconduct, voice, trust, and ethnic profiling. Thus, contributing to a new explanation between the relationship of 'ethnicity' and 'attitudes toward the police'. Being Moroccan or Turkish does not mean that one immediately has negative attitudes toward the police, this is explained by how the police reacts on ethnicity, race, or skin-color. The empirical literature that is fundamental to the theoretical framework of this study is a set of studies on police legitimacy, procedural justice, ethnic profiling and the factors that influence the attitudes toward the police in the United States, because there are more studies available on this topic in the United States than in the Netherlands (Tyler, 2006; 2003; 2004; Murphy, 2009; Mazerolle et al., 2013; Reisig et al., 2013; Tyler et al., 2014). The Amnesty International report (2013) indicated that there is a need of a study that will provide the perceptions of young adults concerning the police in the Netherlands (Amnesty International, 2013). This study will provide this by conducting a mixed method approach, wherein besides the comprehensive quantitative research method also more detailed and elaborate information will be provided about the topic. This will be done in order to fill the gap in the research literature on attitudes toward the police in the Netherlands. Moreover, the perceptions of the Dutch youth regarding ethnic profiling will also be evaluated through interviews. Herein, it is essential to investigate whether and how ethnic profiling of the police affect the attitudes of the Dutch youth toward the police. Moreover, it is important to note that this study topic is a socially constructed topic that may always be contested within society. Therefore academics and researchers within this field should always continue with research concerning this topic in order to continue to illustrate the possible changing attitudes towards the police organization.

Chapter 2. Theoretical Framework

Under this section of the study, the theoretical framework of this study will be discussed. First of all, the concept of ethnicity and its link to ethnic profiling will be discussed. Herein, the relationship between ethnicity and attitudes toward the police will be clarified, whereby ethnic profiling is perceived as an explanatory factor of the relationship. The concept of 'ethnic profiling' will also be discussed in-depth. Afterwards, the procedural justice model and legitimacy will be discussed. This study will focus on the four essential aspects of procedural justice, such as voice, trust, police misconduct, and unbiased policing. Theoretically, it is assumed that procedural just policing will increase police satisfaction among citizens and thus police legitimacy (Mazerolle et al., 2013). Thirdly, the factors that explain citizen's attitudes toward the police will be provided and herein the key points and the hypotheses that flow out of the theoretical framework will be discussed. Additionally, this section of the chapter will provide a comprehensive explanation of the relationship between the social demographic factors and its effect on the Dutch youth's attitudes toward the police.

2.1 ETHNICITY AND ETHNIC PROFILING

There are different ways to measure attitudes toward the police. Herein, the attitudes can range from negative to positive or somewhere in between. To start off, a clear definition needs to be given of the concept of 'attitudes'. The website of Thesaurus (2017) states that attitudes is: *'feeling, manner, position, disposition with regard to a thing or person, orientation or tendency, especially of the mind'* (Thesaurus, 2017). In this study, the concept of attitudes toward the police is investigated and the factors that might shape these attitudes. Herein, attitudes imply the feeling, manner, position, and disposition with regard to the police in the Netherlands, thus one's position or feeling toward the police in the Netherlands. Unjustified policing or negative attitudes among citizens occurs when the police behaves unjustly, such as in racial discriminatory policing, aggressive policing, or are untrustworthy which can impact one's perception of the police. Existing research has demonstrated that mainly ethnic minorities, such as blacks and Moroccans, view the police more negatively and as biased against ethnic minorities (Amnesty International, 2013). Research has also shown that race is the most persistent factor that shapes attitudes toward the police, wherein police contacts had the largest impact on negative attitudes. Herein, it is about the way the police reacts on certain skin colors, races, and ethnic minorities. Literature from the United States indicates that African-Americans are much more likely to perceive the police as negative compared to the Caucasians (Weitzer, 2000). For instance, this is due to harassment by the police, wherein African-American youths are watched, suspected, questioned, and stopped by the police more often than other groups. This contributes to the perception of being harassed by the police on the basis of ethnicity or skin color. A study showed that more than 83% of all respondents, who were African-American, have experienced police harassment (Brunson, 2007). Herein, the complaints were about physical harsh searches and abusive language of the police officers. It is not only the African-American community that has to deal with this kind of policing, but in general minority groups have claimed to be target of disproportionate verbal and physical abuse (Brunson, 2007). To make this more specific, in this study this is also referred to as 'ethnic profiling'.

As stated before, this study will focus on the relationship between 'ethnicity' and 'attitudes toward the police'. It is expected that the non-white Dutch youth will be more likely to hold negative attitudes toward the police than their white peers. Theoretically and in this study, it is expected that this can be explained by ethnic profiling of the police, in which ethnic minorities are more often checked, stopped, watched, and suspected than the white-Dutch. In the media, the terms racism, ethnic profiling and discrimination are deeply intertwined. The Amnesty International seems to be impulsive when discussing ethnic profiling and discrimination, without paying attention to the context of policing and the element of disproportionality (Amnesty International, 2013). This is due to the fact that Amnesty International does not use the word 'disproportianlety' in their definition of ethnic profiling, whilst others do, as it will be demonstrated later. This confusion also partly derives from conducting discussions and issues that happen in the United Kingdom and the United States, wherein institutional racism and racial profiling are key terms. Even though it is a complex task to differentiate the linked concepts, it is important for the focus and the clarity of the discussion to distinguish them substantively.

This section of the study aims to highlight the various definitions of ethnic profiling. In short, ethnic profiling is about stopping, standing or the holding of civilians, because of their apparent ethnic background or skin color. Henceforth, the disproportional extent and the lack of justification for it catches the eye. Bovenkerk (2014) uses a similar definition with some adjustments: ethnic profiling is about disproportionally (often) stopping or holding civilians based on their apparent skin color or ethnic origin, without a reasonable or objective justification for it. Whether this stopping or holding happens disproportionate or not, it is seen as a form of discrimination (on the basis of Article 1 of the Constitution), because ethnic origin, in principle, cannot constitute grounds of discrimination (Bovenkerk, 2014). However, this does not necessarily mean that it happens on ground of racist ideas. The police have a wide range of legal powers available in order to stop or hold citizens. Stopping or holding people is, for example, possible on the basis of suspicion of a criminal fact, but also on the ground of different proactive monitoring powers (Wegenverkeerswet, Gemeentewet en Wet Uitgebreide Identificatieplicht). In the given definition, ethnic profiling is about practicing such powers- thus stopping people- which is largely based on skin color and ethnic background. The skin color and ethnic background of citizens can play a role in stopping or holding people, when there is an objective and reasonable justification for it. This is, for example, the case when someone meets a specific description of a perpetrator, wherein the ethnic background or color plays a prominent role (Farrell et al, 2000). The report of Amnesty International (2013) also emphasizes this possibility. However, it becomes problematic when stopping or holding citizens, based on their ethnic background or skin color, misses or lacks reasonable or justified grounds- and when it happens disproportionately. If there is no reasonable and objective justification for it, the question is: why do police decide to stop certain citizens? The actions of the police may indeed be biased or indicates conscious discrimination, but the literature also points to certain stereotypes that exist among the police (Sollund, 2006; Mason et al, 2004; Alpert & Smith, 2007). It is mentioned that unconscious stereotype images during such decisions play an important role (Alpert & Smith, 2007). The authors explained that ethnic profiling may also arise from unconscious stereotypes that exist from past experiences with

immigrants or because of overestimating the negative behaviors among people with a migration background (Ibid.). Ethnic profiling can also occur because of the high criminality rates that exist among people with a migration background or because of the pressure of information-led policing (Leun & Woude, 2011). Existing research has shown that non-white citizens, compared to white citizens, are increasingly more confronted with arrests, fines and stops (Miller et al., 2010; Harris, 1999).

Ethnic profiling is also defined as the use by the police-, security-, customs- or immigration officials with regards to religion, nationality, ethnicity, and race as grounds for suspicion in directing discretionary law enforcement instead of looking at objective evidence or individual behavior (European Network Against Racism, 2013). It is most clearly reflected in the decisions of police officers to stop someone for identity checks, arrest, searches and questioning. Ethnic profiling can also be used to search databases digitally in order to find perpetrators of terrorist offenses, or in targeting anti-radicalization policies, and surveillance. Although, ethnic profiling is not a new tactic, its use appears to have increased in the aftermath of the terroristic attacks in London (2005), New York (2001) and Madrid (2004). Research has shown that the police across Europe have used generalizations based on religion, race, nationality and ethnicity for a long time, for the purpose of gathering information about minority groups (Amnesty International, 2013).

The undesired consequences of ethnic profiling should also be mentioned. The way the police deal with the public, gives a powerful signal about the shared values in the society and everyone's place in the society (Amnesty International, 2013). When the police treat people with dignity, fairness, and respect they confirm that people are equal and full members of the society. Experiences with unjustified policing and the assumed prejudices not only create distrust in the police, but also contribute to a broader sense of exclusion. Members of an ethnic minority group may perceive that no matter what they do, they will always remain second-class citizens, simply because they do not look Dutch. However, it is expected from the police, as law enforcement officials, to operate fairly and neutral. Police officers that act, consciously or unconsciously, based on stereotypes or generalizations, distance themselves from the fundamental principal of the Rule of Law: that their decision must rely on objective information about individual behavior and not on religion or skin color (Ibid.). When the public repeatedly sees how people, who visibly belong to an ethnic minority group, are stopped by the police and searched, they assume that the police are right, acting correctly, and that these individuals are criminals or dangerous. This contributes to stereotyping in a discriminatory way and stigmatizing whole groups of people, and also feeding xenophobia and racism within the society (Ibid.). In the next paragraph of this study, the procedural justice model will be explained. This model will show how the four aspects of procedural just policing impacts one's attitude toward the police and how it can contribute to police satisfaction and legitimacy. Herein, unbiased policing is also discussed as one of the four aspects and its link with ethnic profiling will also be briefly discussed.

2.2 PROCEDURAL JUSTICE MODEL

Officials and public authorities should be very careful with how they interact with the public. Existing literature suggests that the way in which citizens are treated by authorities directly influences their attitudes toward public figures. In order to make sure that the public will comply voluntarily with the police, for instance, the public needs to view authorities as legitimate, and this is why attitudes matter. Voluntary compliance is much more favored than deterrence based compliance, which is mainly founded on fear. With voluntary compliance much less resources are required in order make sure that people comply with laws, whereas deterrence based compliance is based on rewards, punishments, and is about resources (Tyler, 2014; Hough et al., 2010).

Regarding police-citizen encounters, the focus of citizens is much less on favorable outcomes, but much more on how they were treated in their interaction with the police. Herein, it is about citizen's views on what is moral and just, and not on self-interested citizens in the outcomes they receive (Tyler, 2014). When discussing the ideas about procedural justice in policing and legitimacy, it is useful to give the concepts particular definitions that go past their ordinary significance. Procedural justice is about the way legal authorities and the police interact with the public and how the characteristics of these interactions shape the public's opinion about the police, actual crime rates and willingness to obey the law. Evidence has shown that community perceptions of procedural justice can have a meaningful impact on the safety of the public (Mazerolle et al., 2013). Procedural justice can be perceived as a means to achieve legitimacy; the four principles procedural justice are based on the following (Ibid.):

1) Giving citizens voice during confrontations, because people want to get an opportunity to explain their side of the story to the police officer. The chance to make contentions and present proof ought to happen before the police make decisions about what to do. Individuals are intrigued in having a chance to recount their story or express their case; that is, they need to have a voice.
2) Treating people with respect and dignity. The issue of interpersonal treatment reliably develops as a key figure in reactions to interactions with legal authorities. Individuals believe that they are qualified for treatment with deference and respond very negatively to dismissive or belittling interpersonal treatment.
3) Being neutral in decision making. Individuals respond to evidence that the authorities with whom they are managing are unbiased. This includes officers settling on choices based upon reliably connected legal standards and the facts of an occurrence, not an officer's inclinations and personal opinions. Openness and transparency about what the procedures and rules are and how choices are being settled facilitates the conviction that decision-making procedures are impartial. This helps the police to be perceived to be acting neutrally. Moreover, racial discriminatory police actions and ethnic profiling need to eliminated, wherein the police should remain neutral in their decision-making.
4) Bringing trustworthy motives. Individuals respond positively when they believe that the authorities with whom they are associating are caring and benevolent, and are genuinely attempting to do what is best for the general population they are dealing with. Authorities impart this sort of concern when they listen to people's accounts and clarify or legitimize their activities in ways that demonstrate an awareness of and affectability to individuals' concerns and needs.

Research demonstrated that these principles contribute positively to the relationships between the community and authorities in which (Reisig et al., 2013; Tyler et al., 2014): the community feels obliged to follow the dictates of legal authorities and the law; the community has confidence and trust in the police as lawful, unbiased, honest and benevolent; and the community feels that it shares a common set of values and interests with the police. For the development of good will between communities and the police, procedurally just policing is perceived as essential. Moreover, this is also closely linked to improving perceptions of the community regarding police legitimacy, the belief that authorities have the right to command proper behavior (Tyler et al., 2014). Research has also shown that when communities perceive the police as legitimate, they are more prone to obey the law and cooperate with the police (Ibid.). Maintaining and establishing the legitimacy of the police interacts with high levels of law dependability, promotes acceptance of police decisions, and makes it more prone that communities and police will cooperate to conquer crime (Hough et al., 2010).

Moreover, it is important to note that the public is especially concerned that the administration of the authorities are fair, and this factor is of more importance to them than whether the outcomes of particular interplays favor them. During police-citizen interactions, people want to be treated fairly and they judge the police more on the interaction itself instead of on the outcome. This does not mean that outcomes do not matter, because they do. However, they matter in another sense that if someone is fined with 100 euros for crossing speeding limits, people think that everyone should be fined with the same amount of money when crossing the same speeding limits. Thus, the outcome needs to be fairly among everyone and punishments should be distributed equitably. People want to experience honesty, neutrality, politeness, fairness, and respect during interactions with authorities. Moreover, they also want their voice to be heard and want to be considered as a valuable member of the society they live in. It is expected that procedural just policing will lead to less judgments, biases, and ethnic profiling, wherein decisions and choices are perceived as honest and fair. Honesty and fairness are seen as the groundwork for quality decision-making in procedural just policing (Reisig et al., 2013). Herein, all parties have the ability to explain their side of the story and must be allowed representation. This will then affect the attitudes of the public toward the police, which are the normative aspects of procedural justice. Policing that is based on formal discouragement energizes the general population's relationship of policing principally with punitive outcomes and enforcement. Procedural just policing stresses the values that groups and the police share; shared values that are based upon a typical conception of what social order is and how it ought to be kept up; and energizes the cooperative and willful maintenance of a well behaved community. Research points out that this latter approach is much more effective at producing law-abiding nationals than the previous. This bodes well; individuals welcome being treated as equivalents with a stake in protecting their communities, as opposed to being treated as subjects of a fanciful justice system implemented by police who rebuff them for uncertain, if not arbitrary, reasons (Tyler, 2014; Hough et al., 2010).

Figure 1.

Procedural Just Policing	1) Respectful Policing (non-aggressive police)
	2) Trustworthy Policing
	3) Unbiased Policing
	4) Giving the individual a voice during encounters

Figure 1 illustrates the concept of 'procedural just policing' in a graph-form in order to get a clearer view of the concept. In this study, procedural just policing consists of respectful policing, giving the individual a voice during encounters, the police that are considered as trustworthy, and unbiased policing. These four aspects will be used individually in order to investigate what the Dutch youth thinks about procedural just policing in the Netherlands, so that an explanation can be found for the 'Dutch youth's attitudes toward the police'. Herein, it is expected that the police are rated more positively when they are non-aggressive, show trustworthy motives, give the individual a voice, and do not engage in ethnic profiling. When this is measured, statements can be made about the preferences of the Dutch youth regarding the police organization and police actions. In short, the work of Mazerolla et al. (2013) will be used to set up hypotheses and to investigate relationships in order to answer the research questions of this study. The most important concepts that will be used in this study are shown in figure 1 (also see Chapter 5: Operationalization).

2.2.1 LEGITIMACY

Regarding legitimacy, this concept mirrors the conviction that the police should be permitted to practice their power to maintain social order, oversee clashes and take care of and solve issues in their communities. Legitimacy is reflected in three judgments (Mazerolle et al., 2013):

1) Legitimacy includes the conviction that police activities are ethically defended and fit the conditions;
2) Confidence and trust in the police. Such confidence includes the conviction that the police are honest, attempt to secure the group against violence and crime, and attempt to carry out their occupations well;
3) Legitimacy mirrors the ability of inhabitants to concede the law and to police authority, i.e. their feeling of commitment and obligation to acknowledge police authority.

Max Weber started the modern discussion on legitimacy (Weber, 1968). Tyler argued, drawing from Weber's (1986) work, that 'the ability to distribute commands that will be accepted did not rest only on the ability or possession to redistribute power. Moreover, there were authorities and rules that people would accept voluntarily (Tyler, 2004). Tyler (2004) stated that authorities and rules were regarded as legitimate, which caused other people to accept them. Selznick (1969) stated that in order to assess the concept of legitimacy, in an industrial setting, the rules were expected to be legitimate and not only in the way they are framed, but also in the way in which they were redistributed throughout industry by those given the authority to do so. There are two distinct levels for examining the importance of legitimacy (Tyler, 2004): firstly, in research on everyday interplay with the police officers and secondly,

on the community level, with people that are assessing the characteristics of their community police; whether the interplay with the police was vicarious or personal. Frank et al. (2005) stressed that the last few decades have brought significant concerns about citizen attitudes towards the police, these concerns derive mainly from police administrators, policymakers and researchers (Reisig & Correia, 1997; Mastrofski, 1981).

When evaluating the effectiveness of their own police departments, some police administrators have taken the position that their own departments cannot be better than how the public considers it to be. Research has shown that legitimacy has an important effect on both cooperation and compliance (Tyler & Sunshine, 2003). Herein, it is important to assess the relationship between the public and the police and there should be a consideration on how the public affects the effectiveness of the police in their efforts to maintain the social order and to combat crime (Tyler, 2004). To make sure that the public complies with the directives of the police officers and agencies, remains a key indicator of the usefulness and practicality of the police in a society (Tyler, 2004).

It is assumed that the effectiveness of police officers as conduits and agents of formal social control cannot be easily separated from the obedience of citizens to police commands. In the United Kingdom and the United States compliance with the directives of the police, generally, is not problematic. However, a small segment of the population may defy police authority, which may test the ability of officers to cope with a certain situation (Sherman, 1993) Scholars such as Parks (1999) and Mastrofski et al. (1996) have indicated that one out of every five citizens has tried to defy police orders. Although, the police uses state-approved enforcement powers, which then may need the occasional use of deadly force (Tankebe & Bottoms, 2012). For effective policing, the police expects of the citizens to obey the law voluntarily and to accept the police decisions (Tyler, 2004; Parsons, 1967). It is stated that the notion of voluntary compliance is the defining characteristic of legitimacy (Johnson & Maguire, 2010). Formal social control institutions would be damaged, when the majority of people chooses not to voluntarily comply with legal authorities or the law.

Moreover, police legitimacy is also about the salient aspect of cooperation of the public to the police's success to fight crime by preventing disorder and crime and making offenders accountable for their wrongdoing (Tyler, 2004). Therefore, it is important that the public supports the police are eady to identify criminals and willing to report crimes. Additionally, the public can help the police by cooperating in informal efforts to tackle community problems and crime, this can be done by attending community police meetings and by working in neighborhood watch organizations. Here it is valuable to note that this compliance is largely voluntary and the police do not reward the members of the public for their help. Instead, in order to address community disorder and to control crime it is important for the police to rely on willing public cooperation (Tyler, 2004). Thus, legitimate authority implies as one that is assumed by people as entitled to have its rules and decisions accepted and followed by all (Frydl & Skogan, 2004). Legitimacy becomes an essential social manifestation into which the police can tap to gain the cooperation and compliance of the citizens.

2.3. EXPLAINING THE FACTORS THAT SHAPE ATTITUDES TOWARD THE POLICE

Since the rise of community policing a new partnership between the police and people has been promoted. Thereby citizen's attitudes toward the police has gained a lot of attention from scholars. Herein, more interest was created in investigating the factors that shape the citizen's attitudes toward the police. A lot of existing research investigates the relationship between police contact and socio-demographic characteristics and attitudes toward the police. In general, citizens show to exhibit positive attitudes toward police services and the police. However, this level of satisfaction is associated with a set of variables. Research about the factors that shape the attitudes of the citizens toward the police generally begin with personal and demographic characteristics. When looking beyond the individual level, it can be argued that there are different factors that have shown to be empirically linked with shaping the attitudes of the citizens toward policing. Most of the research that focuses on these factors have persistently shown that the attitudes toward the police are associated with demographic factors (age, gender, ethnicity, socio-economic status), trust in the police, satisfaction with police services, and personal experiences with the police (Nihart et al., 2005; Davis, 2000; Skogan, 2005). Under this section of the study, a review of findings regarding the relationship between demographic characteristics and attitudes toward the police will be discussed. Moreover, the four aspects of procedural just policing and its effect on attitudes toward the police will also be explained.

The effect of ethnicity

For a long time ethnicity has been a strong predictor of attitudes toward the police, wherein a reference is made to subgroups that have a common cultural heritage (Weitzer, 2000). Existing research has shown that ethnic minorities express less favorable attitudes toward the police than the natives, however, there are significant differences within minority groups concerning the police. In the Unites States, for example, the African-Americans express less favorable attitudes toward the police than the Asians and Hispanics, which is intertwinted with the African-American's miserable scio-economic circumstances (Chow, 2012). Nonetheless, it is not one's ethnicity that affects the attitude toward the police, but it is the treatment and the experience that affect one's attitude toward the police. For example, historically, the Blacks always have been victims of disproportional treatment from the police. Unavoidably, this has led to more negative views of the police among the Blacks (Weitzer, 2000).

Moreover, Hispanics and Blacks are more likely than Whites to believe that the police engages in disproportional treatment. When compared to the Whites, minority groups are more likely to view instances of police misconduct more disturbing and serious, which is due to the fact that the victims are disproportionately members of minority groups (Weitzer, 2000). As an example, a research of Song (1992) has shown that both the Vietnamese and the Chinese indicated that the police should be more aware of their cultural background (Song, 1992). Historically, ethnicity and police attitudes has been the subject to various studies due to heavy criticism of unfair police attitudes towards ethnic minorities (Weitzer & Tuch, 2005). In short, existing literature has shown that there is a strong relationship between respondent's ethnic

background and their attitude toward the police, with Whites being more positive than their non-White counterparts (Weitzer & Tuch, 2005; Peek et al., 1981). Webb and Marshall (1995) even indicate that ethnicity is the single most important factor in anticipating attitudes toward the police. This leads to the first hypothesis of this study:

H1: The non-White Dutch youth are more likely to hold more negative attitudes toward the police compared to the Whites.

Age also plays an important role in shaping attitudes toward the police. Herein, it is expected that young people will be more negatively and critical about the police, because they have more contact with police officers than their older counterparts (Leiber et al., 1998; Brown & Coulter, 1983; Thurman and Reisig, 1996). Young people's active lifestyles contribute to more proactive police intervention, because they have a greater inclination to engage in confronting and challenging behavior toward the police (Hopkins, 1994). In Canada for instance, the highest crime rates were among 15-22 years old. In the Netherlands, the youth of 18 years old show to be overrepresented in criminality rates. The older a young adolescent gets, the less likely they are to engage in criminality or with the police, because they buy an own house, they get a job, or a stable relationship (CBS, 2016). However, it should be noted that existing research has also indicated that age is not correlated with perceptions of the police (Davis, 1990). Moreover, a study of Larsen (1968) showed that older people evaluated the police more negatively than younger people. However, Brown and Benedict (2002) showed that age is a very important indicator in shaping attitudes towards the police. The second hypothesis of this study is:

H2: The older the Dutch youth, the greater the likelihood of positive attitudes toward the police.

The effect of Education

In terms of socio-economic status, empirical evidence has proven that people with lower socio-economic status, such as lower educational levels are more likely to display negative attitudes toward the police than higher educated people (Weitzer, 2000). This is largely linked to the fact that lower-educated people live in more chaotic neighborhoods, wherein more police are visible as compared to neightbouhoods with higher-educated persons. Moreover, it is also important to note that lower-educated people are easier threatened by media exposure (Inglehart, 1987), such as negative media exposure about the police, than higher educated people. This would imply that lower educated people are more likely to react negatively on bad police practices shown on television or social media platform. Another possible explanation could be that higher educated people have less problems with identifying different visions, perspectives and truths (Gabel, 1998). Furthermore, given that some research has shown that higher educated people have less positive attitudes toward the police (Frank et al., 2005), other research has found that less educated people have more positive attitudes toward the police (Cao, 2001), whilst another research found that there is no relationship between the two variables (Correia et al., 1996). The third hypothesis of this study is:

H3: The higher the level of education of the Dutch youth, the greater the likelihood of a positive attitude toward the police.

The effect of gender

In addition to ethnicity, age, and socio-economic status, gender is also linked to shaping attitudes toward the police (Salmi et al., 2000; Hawdon & Ryan, 2003). Existing research has shown that females, generally, hold more favorable attitudes toward the police than males (Weitzer & Tuch, 2002; O'Connor, 2008). An explanation for this derives from the frequency in which males and females come in contact with the police. Herein, it is stated that males hold less favorable attitudes toward the police, because they more often come in contact with the police than females. The Bureau of Justice Statistics (2002) has shown that the contact of males with the police was 20% higher than females. Weitzer and Tuch (2002) have also shown that, for instance, older Black males, young Black males, and young White males are more likely to report having bad encounters with police officers and to view the police negatively. Moreover, more consistent support was found when it comes to the gender difference and the chance of being a victim of crime, wherein females were less likely to be a victim compared to males (Tewksbury & West, 2001). However, there is also research that indicates that males are more favorable toward the police than females (Correia et al., 1996) and there is also a lot of research that has found that there is no relationship between the two variables (Murty et al., 1990; Davis, 1990; Cao, 2001). The fourth hypothesis of this study is:

H4: The male youth are more likely to hold more negative attitudes toward the police compared to the females.

The effect of other factors

Moreover, while the demographic characteristics appear to shape the attitudes toward the police, some other predictors are also visible. When it comes to attitudes toward the police, personal experience is not considered as an important condition in evaluating the police (Brandl et al., 1994). It is stated that people who never came in contact with police officers could still view the police as negative. For instance, a lot of people have the belief that the police physically and verbally abuse citizens more often than the numbers of incidents that are reported. Likewise, positive contact with police officers does not necessarily lead to favorable or positive attitudes. This implies that people who have had good interactions with the police can still hold very negative and critical attitudes toward the police (Brandl et al., 1994).

Based on the aspects of 'procedural justice model', several hypotheses are set up. This is done to find out what the Dutch youth thinks about procedural just policing in order to make recommendations to the police organization, at the end. First of all, it should be noted that the Dutch youth's perception regarding police respect is a very important factor in shaping attitudes toward the police. Thereby, the police should remain respectful during encounters or interactions with the public. More specifically, the police should not engage in police misconduct, such as excessive and aggressive force and verbal abuse (Taylor, 2003). However, given that that the police get no or little credit for their good performance, whilst poor or bad performance increases the negative assessments (Skogan, 2006). It is stated that citizens are

more likely to hold positive attitudes toward the police when they are viewed as respectful (Weitzer, 2000). Thus, when the police officers treat citizens in an unfair, brusque, or discourteous manner, this will lead negative overall opinions of the police. This is in accordance with the theory on procedural just policing. The fifth hypotheses of the study is:

H5: Individuals who think that the police engages in police misconduct are more likely to hold a negative attitude toward the police.

Citizens who feel that they have been treated without racial animus, fairly and courteously, and have been informed about their rights and the reasons behind the police actions are more likely to be satisfied with the police. Herein, the Dutch youth's perception regarding police neutrality is a very important factor in shaping attitudes toward the police. Herein, the police should remain neutral and unbiased in decision-making. The aspect of 'ethnic profiling' and selecting the citizens to stop on basis of their race, ethnic origin or skin color without a reasonable or objective justification for it, which happens disproportionally is also essential. This is even the case when the outcome of the encounter was not favorable for that particular citizen, such as getting arrested or receiving a ticket (Tyler & Huo, 2002; Skogan, 2005). More specifically, the police should always explain why they stop certain citizens and also give them a voice during encounters. The citizen should feel represented and as a valuable member of the society during interactions. Thereby, the kind of treatment that citizens receive from officers is a very important aspect. Moreover, it is important to note that citizens who lack confidence in the police organizations or police officers will hold more negative attitudes toward the police, such as refusing the cooperate with the police, which undermines community policing efforts. The hypotheses that flow out of the former stated are:

H6: Individuals who think that the police engages in ethnic profiling are more likely to hold negative attitudes toward the police.

H7: Individuals who think that the police are untrustworthy are more likely to hold negative attitudes toward the police.

H8: Individuals who think that the police do not give a voice to them during encounters are more likely to hold negative attitudes toward the police.

Chapter 3. Research Design, Methods and Measures

In this chapter, the research design of this study will be explained. In order to answer the research question both quantitative and qualitative research methods will be used. The focus of this study is on the quantitative method, which is completed by a qualitative method. Firstly, the comprehensive quantitative research of this study will be examined. Secondly, the qualitative research approach of this study will be discussed. The choice for qualitative research derives from the fact that it will provide a more in-depth understanding of the topic. Quantitative research is mostly numerical and in order to get a richer meaning of the subject qualitative research is also conducted (Babbie, 2012). For the quantitative part a survey was transmitted to the youth in the Netherlands, between the 18- to 25 years old, and for the qualitative part eight interviews were done with the youth that wanted to collaborate in the interviews. Thus, in this case both methods can be characterized as 'mixed methods'. There are different ways in which a mixed research method can be done (Creswell & Garrett, 2008). In this study a profoundisation model will be used, which is an explanatory design wherein first quantitative research takes place followed by qualitative research. Both research methods of this study will be discussed separately. Maxwell (2012) states that a research design is essential regarding the efficiency of the validity and reliability of this study. Furthermore, the theoretical concepts of the theoretical framework will also be operationalized. This chapter finishes with a discussion of the limitations of the quantitative and qualitative methods, wherein the possible threats to validity and reliability are examined. In this study, the attitudes of the Dutch youth toward the police in the Netherlands is surveyed. The study was limited to the Dutch youth only, because the Amnesty Report (2013) indicated that there is a need for a research that investigates the perception of the youth regarding the police. In total 244 respondents participated in the survey, however, only 154 respondents finished the survey- all these respondents are from the Netherlands. Since this study focuses on the attitudes of the Dutch youth toward the police, the questions of the survey and interviews are only focused on the Netherlands.

3.1 DATA COLLECTION FOR THE QUANTITATIVE PART

In order to answer the research question, the primary data set derives from a survey that has been conducted to the Dutch youth in May 2017. This survey was set up on the website 'SurveyMonkey' by myself, where after the survey was directed towards both women and men forming part of the Dutch youth ranging from 18 to 25 years old. The data for this study was collected among the Dutch youth from May 2017 until June 2017 and 244 respondents filled in the survey, but only 154 finished it completely. This shows that the sample is sufficient in order to do linear multiple regression analysis. Moreover, an increase in the size of the sample will lead to reducing the standard error, which then will lead to an increase in the likelihood of finding a significant relationship (Babbie, 2012). Thus, small samples will not lead to recognizing relationships. Therefore, it is essential to get at least 100 respondents in order to be able to conduct a reliable linear multiple regression analysis. The purpose of this study is to collect data about the youth's perceptions of the police and to examine the factors that might shape their attitude toward the police in the Netherlands. The choice for a written online questionnaire (see Appendix A) derives from the fact that the respondents, who were aimed to reach, are geographically found in different parts of the Netherlands. Additionally, a website-

link to the survey made it easier to reach a large number of respondents, who remained anonymous. Different analyses will be conducted to assess the data of the questionnaire in an effort to resolve these factors and the test the hypotheses of this research. The survey consists of 9 questions and these questions existed of several statements that the respondents had to fill in ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5). The survey explained the topic of the study in order to clarify the respondents what they are participating in. It was also mentioned that the survey is confidential and the data will not be provided to third parties. Approval for the survey was obtained by the thesis-supervisor.

The survey element existed of 5 sections to measure the most important concept: the attitudes of the Dutch youth toward the police in the Netherlands. Additionally, the survey took about four to six minutes to complete and no incentive was provided. In the first section of the questionnaire, the respondents were asked for their gender, ethnic background, where they were born, age, and their most recently finished education level. This can be characterized as the demographic data of the survey. The second section consisted of two statements about the respondent's satisfaction with the police department in their city and the police service in their neighborhood. A 5-point Likert scale was implemented, with the answer ranging from very dissatisfied (1) to very satisfied (5). In the third section, the respondents were asked to provide an answer to 18 statements about how procedural just policing should be in the Netherlands. Once again, a 5-point Likert scale was used, with the answer ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree. Concepts such as; how neutrality should be, whether the police should be respectable towards all, of individuals should get a voice during encounters, and whether the police should be trustworthy were asked to the respondents. The fourth section of the questionnaire asked about the general perception of the Dutch youth regarding the police in the Netherlands. In regards to this, concepts such as neutrality, respect, giving a voice during encounters, and trust related question were asked to the respondents. Herein a 5-point Likert scale was used, with the answer ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5). In the last section of the survey, the respondents were asked whether they wanted to cooperate in an interview or not, wherein the respondents that wanted to participate had to include their phone-number. All responses in the statement sections, were measured by using a 5-point Likert scale. The questions of the survey were drawn from existing research and literature on perception on the police and procedural justice. Considering the interest of this study, only the survey questions asking for the socio-demographics and attitudes toward the police, with the concepts such as police racial discrimination, police misconduct, police explanation/voice and police trust are included in this study.

As stated before, there is still no empirical research that focuses specifically on the Dutch youth. The dataset of this study makes it possible to focus on the Dutch youth and also to make distinctions between groups with different characteristics. This makes it possible to test hypotheses and makes the dataset suitable. An important point is that this dataset is not publicly available and for the reliability of this study, one can contact the research of the project to get explanation about the data. It should be noted that the results are only based on the Dutch youth's attitudes and are not representative to the entire population or other areas. The method of this study is very similar to other studies that evaluated, especially, students's opinions about the police. However, in this study the scope is much broader and it focuses on the Dutch youth, herein there could also be individuals that do not study or are done studying. Moreover, this study makes use of qualitative research data in order to fully analyse the data and to get a deeper understanding of the data.

3.1.1 SAMPLING METHOD

When it comes to trying to sample hard-to-reach, or hidden, populations most of the existing research uses one of the following two techniques: time-space sampling or targeted sampling (Salganik & Heckathorn, 2004). Time-space sampling is primarily about attempting to recruit survey respondents at places where they are likely to gather (Muhib et al., 2001). Afterwards, researchers enquire them and their experiences relevant to the topic of the survey (Ibid.). Following the targeted sampling, which can also be characterized as purposive sampling, represents a group of diverse non-probability sampling methods. This method is also known as selective, judgmental or subjective sampling, whereby the purposive sampling depends on the judgment of the research regarding selecting the unit that is examined. Thereby, the sample that is studied is quite small compared to probability sampling methods. The main goal of targeted sampling is to focus on specific characteristics of a population that is examined, which then will enable the researcher to answer the questions of the study. Another aim, similtaounesly, was to effectively gather a representative sample. The sample that is being study is not representative for the population, but in this study a mixed method research design is conducted and this is why a non-probability sampling method cannot be considered as a weakness of this study.

In this study, the survey that was established has been shared on different social-media platforms and professional websites. The aim was to reach the Dutch youth from different backgrounds, various educational levels and an equal division in gender in order to examine their perception of the police in the Netherlands. Thereby, I tried to look into the platforms that were available and the ones that fit the characteristics of the groups I wanted to investigate. It was essential to get an equal division in ethnic background, which this study succeeded in. As stated before, 244 respondents filled in the questionnaire and 92 respondents were Native Dutch, 49 were Turkish, 40 were Moroccan, and 11 were Mixed (see Chapter 5). Also an equal and representative division is reached in gender, namely 46.2% were female and 53.8% were male respondents. Moreover, there is also an equal division in educational levels. This shows that the demographic characteristics of the respondents are equally divided. However, at the end only 154 respondents succeeded in finishing the survey. Additionally, in this survey there was an exclusion of people beneath 18 years old and above 25 years old. Regardless of the age requirement, everyone could fill in the survey and it did not matter if one had ever came in contact with police officers or not, for instance. At the end, 23 respondents indicated in the survey that they wanted to participate in the interviews that will take place after the quantitative analysis.

3.1.2 POPULATION

The Dutch youth, ranging from 18 to 25 years old, consists of 1685703 individuals in the Netherlands (CBS, 2017). This group is a large part of the Dutch society, thus examining, explicitly, their attitudes toward the police will be valuable for theoretical and societal reasons. Hereby, their ethnicity, gender, age and educational level differs. It is also expected that the amount of individuals with a migration background will grow in the following years. An article that was published by the CBS also stated that almost 5.0 million individuals with a migration background will be living in the Netherlands in 2050. The current number is 1.8 million, thus

the amount of citizens in the Netherlands will increase with 3 million individuals with a migration background (CBS, 2009). Table 1 provides a clear overview of the numbers of the Dutch youth in the Netherlands, per age-category and gender-category.

Table 1. Age and Gender numbers

Age	Overall	Male	Female
18	200 001	102 098	97 903
19	201 917	103 730	98 187
20	204 819	104 103	100 716
21	212 265	107 864	104 401
22	212 818	107 947	104 871
23	216 388	109 870	106 518
24	219 656	111 236	108 420
25	220 839	111 992	108 847

3.1.3 DATA ANALYSIS

The statistical calculation in this study will be done with the assistance of the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS), which is a statistics software-program. In the first part of the quantitative analysis, a descriptive analysis will be conducted whereby the frequencies of the most essential variables are also included. This statistical approach will provide a summary and the meanings of the variables that are part of this study. Hereafter, a correlation analysis will be conducted in order to review how variables correlate to each other. The hypotheses of this study will be tested through a linear multiple regression analysis, which makes it possible to test the influence of one or more predictor variables on the dependent variable of this study (Allison, 1999). In the regression models it is decided to only include the standardized Beta-coefficients because the unstandardized Beta-coefficient are not as much reliable as the standardized Beta-coefficients (Ibid.). A linear regression model was constructed in order to identify the major determinants of the youth's perception of the police in the Netherlands.

3.2 DATA COLLECTION FOR THE QUALITATIVE PART

For this study, a qualitative methodological approach was also preferred, whereby face-to-face- and telephone interviews were conducted. This has been done to get firsthand information directly from individuals that hold knowledge about the topic. Hereby, it is important to understand how people perceive and interpreted the world around them. Interviews are preferred, because it provides in-depth information, allows probing by the interview, is good for measuring attitudes of people, it provides interpretative validity, and it can be used for confirmation or explanation (Babbie, 2012).

The research object in this study are the Dutch youth, thus there is only one research object. By means of analyzing literature that is pertinent for the research question, the important theoretical concepts will be mapped. This stresses background information about the Dutch debate on ethnic profiling, the concept of ethnic profiling and procedural justice and the factors that shape the attitudes toward the police. Meaning that the most relevant literature and theories

are analyzed in order to answer the research question of this study. Firstly, the choice for a document analysis was made, since it demonstrates advantages of getting a better understanding of the topic and gaining more in-depth information. All of these documents are found within official sites, books, and articles, all of which provide a clear view of the issue of this study. Secondly, interviews are conducted to obtain an in-depth understanding and richer information in order to answer the research question and the sub-questions. More specifically, this study conducted semi-structured interviews, which are one of the most common used techniques in research (Babbie, 2012). Semi-structured means that there is more space and flexibility for personal information. Moreover, each interview was shaped towards the characteristics and preferences of the respondent, which creates more space for the the respondents to provide more information. Thus, questions could be included or removed from the question list. Herein, it is important that the interviewer is neutral and respectful, non-threatening, should not interrupt the respondents, and is non-judgmental (Meriam, 1998). This made it also feasible for the respondents to examine or provide topics and concepts they thought were critical or meaningful. Semi-structured interviews are likewise the most utilized strategy for conducting interviews (Neuman, 2007). The interview questions derived from the operationalized concepts of this study and were in accordance with the study topic.

In this study, only one researcher managed and collected the data throughout the process of data collection. The respondents were contacted either trhough the pohone application WhatsApp or by phoning them, because the respondents that wanted to cooperate into the survey shared their phone-number online. Hereafter, an appointment was scheduled, whereby the location was also determined. However, from the 244 respondents only 23 respondents indicated that they wanted to collaborate in the interviews, but only eight people responded in the end, which made sampling infeasible. The interviews were recorded and notes were taken in order to maintain and preserve the data. However, the length of the interviews differed per respondent and there was no need for follow-up interviews. In this study, eight semi-structured interviews were conducted. The interviews were held with the youth, between the 18 and 25 years, who had participated in the survey and indicated that they wanted to participate within the interview. The respondents were asked about 15 structured questions in order to get a clear view about their attitudes toward the police in the Netherlands and the factors that shaped them. However, questions were added or left out during the conversations. Based on this, the quantitative outcomes of the study can be explained by the qualitative approach in which the factors that shape attitudes toward the police are examined. However, as stated before, these interviews were semi-structured interviews in which every interview was adapted to the participant (See Appendix B).

3.2.1 DATA ANALYSIS

The data analysis of this study will happen by examining documents that are related to the concepts of this study and by conducting eight interviews, which will be transcribed and interpreted. Babbie (2012) points out that there are seven stages of conducting interviews. In the first stage, the goal of the interview is examined. The second stage, the layout of the

interview is set up. This entials the design of the interview and the related questions. Thirdly, it is essential to do the interviews with the respondents. Hereby, the recording of the interviews is also very important. In the fourth stage, the transcription of the interviews will take place. This means that the recorded data is written on paper, thus transcribed. Stage five is about analyzing the transcripts. In the sixth stage the interviews were checked on their validity and reliability. And the last step is about reporting and discussing the results of the interview in the study (Babbie, 2012). In this study, first the coding will be prepared by sorting the data in order to find the keywords and themes that fit into the codes. Hereiby, it is important to find patterns in the data and to organize the data by grouping all question responses. The coding is done by hand and that was feasible due to the small amount of respondents that participated in the survey. Another essential point is that the anonymity of the respondents were safeguarded. The interview questions will be done in Dutch and for the transcription they will be translated into English. The transcriptions will provide summaries of the answers that are given per questions. These interviews will be done in the week of 14 June 2017 to 19 June 2017.

3.3 OPERATIONALIZATION OF CONCEPTS

In the following part of the study, the operationalization of the dependent, independent, and control variables will be discussed.

Dependent variable: *Attitudes toward the police in the Netherlands, a 14-Item scale*

Regarding the attitudes of the Dutch youth toward the police in the Netherlands, 14 items from the questionnaire are included in order to measure the general attitude toward the police among the Dutch youth. These 14 items consist of several dimensions such as trust in the police, police misconduct, racial discrimination, and police explanation and voice. All of these 14 statements could be answered with a 5-point Likert scale ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5) and derive from the theory of 'procedural justice'. Together, they measure a clear picture of the attitudes toward the police as a construct. Herein, attitude towards the police is defined as a behavioral inclination to act in a specific way toward the police, in particular (Fazio & Williams, 1986; Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980). Table 1 shows the items that are included in the variable.

Before conducting the correlation analysis it is important to investigate whether the dependent variable, namely attitude towards the police, is reliable. The scale reliability testing was employed to the following variable: 'attitudes toward the police in the Netherlands'. The Cronbach's Alpha value for the attitude toward the police in the Netherlands is 0.832 and has a 14-Item scale to measure the dependent variable of this study. Since a Cronbach's alpha value is reliable at 0.70, the dependent variable can be considered as reliable (Hair et al., 2010). Table 2 shows the items per variable and its Cronbach's alpha value.

Table 2. Dependent variable overview

Variables	Items		Values	CA
Attitudes toward the police	1)The police are trustworthy 2)The police treat ALL people with respect and dignity	9)The police more often stop individuals that have certain characteristics that fit	1. Strongly Disagree 2. Disagree 3. Neutral 4. Agree	0.832

3)The police provide same service quality to ALL people 4)The police give the individual that is stopped a voice to hear their side of the story 5)The police respect the rights of ALL people 6)The police act in line with the law in daily routines 7)The police are honest towards ALL people 8)The police more often use aggressive police practices towards certain individuals even if it is against the law	the statistics and media coverage 10)The police are unbiased and neutral in their daily activities 11)The police make decision based on facts 12)The police explain their decisions to the people they stop or deal with 13)The police consider the perceptions of the people involved before making decisions 14. The police use excessive and aggressive language towards certain individuals	5. Strongly Agree

Independent Variable: *Ethnic background of the Dutch youth*

The main independent variable of this study is 'ethnic background of the Dutch youth'. In the research question of this study, the unit of analysis will be the Dutch youth, because there will be generalizations made about this population. Moreover, the unit of observation will be the Dutch youth (from different ethnicities and in the Netherlands) that have formed part of the survey in 2017, because they are the ones that are observed and about whom knowledge is systematically collected.

In this research the independent variable that is included is 'the ethnic background of the Dutch youth'. The question used for this variable is: *'What is your ethnic background?'*. The respondents could fill in their ethnic background, and choose from categories such as: Native Dutch, Moroccan, Turkish, Surinamese, Antillean, African, Asian, Yugoslavian, Kurdish, Mixed and Other (namely…). The choice for these categories derive from the information that is gained through the Amnesty International report and reports from the Central Bureau Statistics (Amnesty International, 2013; CBS, 2008, 2016). In these reports, the 'classical' and largest ethnic minority groups are found and included in this study. Due to the fact that not all ethnic backgrounds could be included the option 'other' was provided (see Appendix D). The frequencies and descriptive will be shown in Chapter 5 of this study. It is expected that the Dutch youth with a migration background will be more negative about the police, because there is this idea that the police controls and stops immigrants more frequently than natives, in which an appearance based selection is made. Hereby, migrant groups feel that they are treated differently than their native counterparts. For the correlation and regression analysis, this variable is constructed as White-Dutch = 0 and Non-White = 1. Herein,

distinguishes are made between people with a migration background, such as the Turkish, Moroccan, Mixed, Surinamese, Antillean, African, Asian, Yugoslavian and Kurdish, and the Native Dutch.

Alternative Independent Variables: *Trust, Racial Discrimination, Police Misconduct, and Voice*

Trust- General: The trust variable, in terms of the Dutch youth's attitude toward the police, was measured by using two different questions in the survey. This variable is created on the basis of the procedural justice model theory. In these questions, the respondents were asked to rate how much they disagreed or agreed with the following statements: *'The police are trustworthy'* and *'The police are honest towards ALL people.'* This could be answered with a 5-point Likert scale ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5). The scale had a Cronbach's Alpha value of 0.811. It is expected that the people who think that the police are trustworthy will be more likely to hold positive attitudes toward the police.

Racial Discrimination- General (Ethnic Profiling): The unbiased variable, in terms of the Dutch youth's attitude toward the, measured by using a single question in the survey: *'The police more often stop individuals that have certain characteristics that fit the statistics and media coverage.'* This could be answered with a 5-point Likert scale ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5). It is expected that the people who think that the police engage in racial discrimination and select people based on their ethnicity will be more likely to hold negative attitudes toward the police.

Police Misconduct: This variable was measured by using two different questions from the survey: *'The police more often use aggressive police practices towards certain individuals even if it is against the law'* and *'The police use excessive and aggressive language towards certain individuals'*. This could be answered with a 5-point Likert scale ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5). This variable is created on the basis of the procedural justice model theory. The scale had a Cronbach's Alpha value of 0.735. It is expected that the people who think that the police engages in police misconduct will be more likely to hold negative attitudes toward the police.

Voice- General: The voice variable, in terms of the Dutch youth's attitude toward the police, was measured by using two different questions in the survey: *'The police explain their decisions to the people they stop or deal with'* and '*The police give the individual that is stopped a voice to hear their side of the story.'* This could be answered with a 5-point Likert scale ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5). This variable is created on the basis of the procedural justice model theory. The scale had a Cronbach's Alpha value of 0.700. It is expected that the people who think that the police give a voice during encounters will be more likely to hold positive attitudes toward the police.

Control Variables: *Age, Gender, and Education*

Education: Education is included in the analysis in order to find a relationship between the level of education of the respondents and its effect on the Dutch youth's attitude toward the police in the Netherlands. It is expected that the more lower-educated the respondent is, the

more likely he or she will hold negative attitudes toward the police. The question that was incorporated in the survey was: *'Please indicate the highest level of education that you have finished'*. The respondent's educational level is measured by an interval level variable ranging from (1= VMBO, 2=HAVO, 3= VWO, 4=MBO, 5= HBO, 6=WO-bachelor, 7= Master's degree, and 8= PHD). It is expected that people that have a HBO –degree or higher will be more positively towards the police than people that have a degree in VMBO, HAVO, VWO, and MBO. For the correlation and regression analysis, this variable is classified in SPP from low, middle to high levels of education. Low level of education is: VMBO and MBO. Middle education is: HAVO and VWO and high level of education is; HBO, WO-bachelor and master's degree.

Gender: The respondent's gender is measures by asking: *'What is your gender?'* The respondent could answer this with male or female. Herein, it is expected that males will be more negatively about the police than males. This variable is added in SPPS as 'Gender' and the measurement scale is nominal. For the correlation and regression analysis, this is constructed in SPSS as a dummy variable (0= female, 1=male).

Age: The respondent's age is measured by asking their age. The age-cohort in this study was from 18 to 25 years old, because this study explicitly focuses on the Dutch youth. Herein, it is expected that respondents from 18- to 22 years old are the more likely to hold negative attitudes toward the police in the Netherlands. For the correlation and regression analysis, this is constructed in SPSS as 18 to 21 = young (0) and 22 to 25 = old (1).

Table 3. Overview of the variables in the study

Overview Variables in the Study	Type	Measurement Scale	Measures
Ethnicity	Independent	Nominal	1 item
Age	Control	Ratio	1 item
Gender	Control	Nominal	1 item
Education	Control	Ordinal	1 item
Trust-General	Alternative variable	Scale	2 items
Voice-General	Alternative variable	Scale	2 items
Racial Discrimination-General	Alternative variable	Scale	1 item
Police Misconduct-General	Alternative variable	Scale	2 items
Attitudes toward the Police	Dependent variable	Scale	14 items

3.4 RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY

In this section of the study, the limitations of the mixed-method research will be discussed. The complexity of attitudes toward the police linked with ethnicity brings some threats to the validity and the reliability of this study. Reliability refers to a situation when a study is conducted in another time-frame, in the same way, and the same results are found. Meaning that when the outcomes are the same every time, the measurement is reliable (Babbie, 2012). In short, external validity is about the generalization of the study and internal validity is about measuring what the researcher intended to measure (Neuman, 2007). Internal validity has to do with how the conception and operational definitions entangle with each other. It could

be stated that in the quantitative part of this study the reliability is high, because the standard dataset can be used and will provide the same results. Meaning that the concepts are sufficiently operationalized and define explicitly where the concepts are about. Hereby, credibility is accomplished through exact data collection and analysis. Yin (2013) reported that the internal validity of a study is very strong when false relationships and the elimination of alternative explanations are shown- both for the qualitative as for the quantitative part. However, regarding the external validity the outcomes of the quantitative part can only be generalized to the Dutch youth. This makes it complex to generalize the results of this study to other areas and not to the whole Dutch population. Moreover, someone's attitude toward the police can change in years. It can be stated that if this survey would be conducted one year later it would lead to other outcomes, because attitudes and people change. For the quantitative section there are also some threats to the validity. First, the information is obtained through a survey that was set up for this research only in order to gain information about attitudes toward the police in the Netherlands among the Dutch youth. Henceforth, it is difficult to gain information about this topic, because this kind of information is sensitive and subjective. Quantitative research also complicated the process of explanation and interpretation of the SPSS results in-depth. Moreover, the results of this study and the data are not available for the public.

Regarding the qualitative part of this study there are several limitations that need to be discussed. In this study, interviews were conducted, because they are very popular and widely used means of collecting data that is of qualitative nature (Neuman, 2007). First, it is important to note that the amount of frequency and time of the interviews could impact the results of this study (Yin, 2013). This entails that some interviews were longer and more in-depth than others. Moreover, there could also be restricted generalizability, which means that the results can only be limited to the Netherlands and not to other areas. Third, due to purposive sampling the sample of the participants was not representative for the quantitative part and thus influenced the qualitative part. Fourth, there is also a degree of insecurity about the research, because different outcomes are expected when this study will be conducted one year later. However, any research bias that could impact the outcomes of the study was minimized, managed, identified and eliminated through researcher accountability and mindfulness. Hereby, suggestive questions, which could influence the opinion of the respondents, were eliminated. Thus enhancing the dependability of this study, in which the most appropriate questions were asked and herein the researcher remained flexible, an attentive listener, and had all the knowledge of the study topic. In this study, triangulation was used in order to get a diversity in the scale of sources and to enhance the credibility of this study, which created an integral view of the issue. Herein, different and additional documents are analyzed and interviews were conducted in order to gain more knowledge about the topic and to provide explanation to the respondents. The reliability for the qualitative part was considered not to be very high. This has to do with the fact that semi-structured interviews were conducted and interviews are known for their subjective character (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2007). Through the semi-structured interviews, question were asked regarding the respondent's attitude toward the police in a general sense and in more specific senses (See Appendix B). Recruiting the respondents was also a complex task, because not all respondents wanted to cooperate or did not answer at all, even though they indicated that they were able to participate in an interview. In the end, and after the quantitative method were completed, eight interviews were done with the Dutch youth that had participated in the survey. Hereafter, a location and date was chosen with the respondents in order to complete the interviews. This has caused some problems in terms of time-management, because some respondents were located in Leiden or The Hague, which was time-consuming. However, some respondents indicated that they wanted to do the interview by

Skype and this had led to some problems in terms of bad signal, incomprehensibility and not being able to create a bond of trust with the respondent. Another barrier in this study was the language that was used in the interviews by the Dutch respondents, who spoke Dutch and preferred to do the interviews in Dutch. This caused some complexities regarding translating Dutch sentences and words into English, which then sometimes did not make sense.

Regarding the ethical issue of this study, it should be stated that participation was strictly voluntary and there was no forced cooperation. Moreover, there were no promises, threats, compensation or coercion provided to any of the participants. The relations with the participants remained strictly professional and every individual was able to discontinue their participation at any time. All of the interviews were comleted individually and the personal information was safeguarded and kept confidential.

Chapter 4. Context

The debate about the relationship between individuals with a migration background and the police in the Netherlands has been significantly influenced by literature from the United States and the United Kingdom (Van der Woude et al., 2011; Harris, 2002). However, comparing the Netherlands with the former mentioned countries is not feasible, because the Netherlands is less experienced with race riots and collision between ethnic minorities and the police, in comparison to their Western counterparts. This is mainly due to community policing, which is a very important aspect within the Dutch police organization in order to maintain good relationships with migrant communities. However, since 2000, due to the changing context on the political, social and judicial terrain, the discussion and the research concerning this topic has gained more attention and ethnic profiling has become more visible. This is mainly due to the expansion of preventive control powers of the Dutch police in different areas. Hereby, its application of practices has increased within the legal space, which provides a greater chance of selective action, thus ethnic profiling (Van der Leun & Van der Woude, 2013). Moreover, the attitudes toward effective policing also gradually changed and this was mainly due to the fight against terrorism, which focused more on a repressive style of action.

4.1 BACKGROUND ON ETHNIC PROFILING

Since 2013, ethnic profiling is no longer an issue that only applies to the the United States and United Kingdom. For the past few years, this topic has presented and penetrated itself within the Netherlands, partly due to the Open Society Justice Initiative (2013), SCP (2014) and Amnesty International (2013). These reports have provided important insights into how people appreciate and experience policing (Politie Academie, 2014). Police officers regularly decide to stop and question someone on the streets, because they have varying legal powers to do so. However, when an officer is experiencing such an act as necessary and a legitimate routine operation, the person stopped could experience the situation as unfair and substantial, especially when she or he is stopped often. Feelings of unfair treatment, individually or collectively, could eventually even harm the legitimacy of the police and thus impair its effectiveness (Tyler, 2011). An increase in the questioning of the everyday decisions of the police becomes visible. Moreover, the authority between the police and the responsible citizen has changed, whereby the citizens have also become reporters. This has mainly to do with mobile phones, which are also used to record or capture images of situations in everyday police practicing. These images can be found or uploaded on online forms or in the news and provide a fair picture of whether or not the hidden decisions that were previously made are fair. Lipsky (1980) stated that this is a specific feature of these street-level bureaucrats: they were used to do their 'difficult- to-standardize' work out of the sight of the bigger public and also out of the sight of their own executives. In the meantime, this form of policing has changed and the police continue their work more in the sight of the public, a public that can be very critical.

4.2 THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE POLICE

Categorizing and stereotyping are inherent to policing (Miller, 2010): it is neither logical nor feasible to always act in a random manner- in situations where information is sought by stopping citizens on the streets and asking for information. The execution of the general police task defined as; the care for the enforcement of the legal order and the provision of assistance to those in need (Nederland article. 3 Politiewet), is also carried out in social context. Each police officer has discretionary decision-making space and this can determine, to a certain

extent, in what way he or she acted in the given situation (Lipsky, 1980; Van der Torre, 1999, 2007). This decision-making space is essential to be able to handle in various situations, but it is not a free letter to stop people randomly. There are different factors that cause police officers to suspect a person or a situation. Johnson and Morgan (2013) state that the emergence of suspicions occurs in four different ways: stereotypical ideas about who is a criminal, circumstances that differ from the 'normal' situation, existing knowledge about specific citizens, and suspicious non-verbal signals. Dekkers and van der Woude (2014) distinguish three categories of factors that can contribute to the decision to stop someone, namely characteristics of the vehicle, personal characteristics (including skin color), and characteristics of the behavior and situation. The former mentioned overview shows that people with another skin color or a foreign appearance may draw more attention, but it also indicates that there are a number of other factors in addition to skin color that can play an important role.

The valuable anthropological studies of Kleijer-Kool (2013) and Sinan Cankaya (2011) have drawn the attention of this case and more specifically on ethnic profiling within daily street policing. The studies of both authors show how complex the work of the police can be in multi-ethnic neighborhoods- and how police officers decide not to control one person and decide to control others. Herein, Cankaya (2011) puts the emphasis on issues that police officers of the 'emergency aid' perceive as out of place: gender, age, particular style of clothing, non-white skin color, their cars or scooters and certain behaviors play a significant role here. The conclusion of Cankaya (2011) is that ethnic profiling exists in the Netherlands, but just like the Amnesty International report (2013) the author does not give the element of disproportionality a role in his study. Moreover, Kleijer-Kool (2013) described how police officers are very aware of the fact that they can be accused of discriminating actions and do not want to overcome problems, thus, explicitly avoiding uncontrolled monitoring of persons with a migration background. Caillault (2011) conducted a small-scale research in a major French and Dutch city and found that the police in the Netherlands speak more openly about certain population groups, and also in general terms. The author assumes this will stimulate ethnic profiling much more in the Netherlands than in France, where the language use towards ethnic groups is more neutral. The existing research indicates that there is a possibility of ethnic profiling, but there is no clear view. An important shortcoming is that in certain concrete interactions- the considerations and decisions do not provide a concrete view of the justification for stopping someone, which is essential in the question of whether we can talk about ethnic profiling or not.

In a Norwegian study it is concluded that people with a migration background are not only stopped due to their physical appearance (Sollund, 2006), but police officers use their past experiences that lead to ethnic profiling and stereotyping. For example, some vehicles used by people with a dark skin-color are the same vehicles used by gangs, whose members often have a certain nationality. However, these considerations may lead to the termination of innocent civilians from the same groups as 'criminals'. However, the focus does not always have to be on people of certain minority groups. In another study of Glover (2007) it is also stated that the attention can also be drawn on a white person in a neighborhood wherein a lot of people with a migration background live. Hereby, the idea is created that the white individual visits the neighborhood for prostitution or drugs. A Canadian study has shown how, concerning ethnic

profiling, a difference exist between the insight of the police and the others (Shaffir & Satzewich, 2009). While police officers label their actions as 'criminal profiling', opponents see this as ethnic profiling. From the viewpoint of police officers, profiling is perceived as a necessary aspect of their work. The allegation of ethnic profiling is suppressed by pointing out that the police organization has taken steps to combat intolerance within the organization and better recruit candidates who are already used to the multicultural society, such as women with hijabs. According to the authors, police officers blame the people who blame them for ethnic profiling: they try to shift the attention from their own violent behavior, or do not know how the police works. Even though, Satzewich and Shaffir (2009) try to deny ethnic profiling another research has pointed out that that police officers with a dark skin-color also state that they are also ethnically profiled by their colleagues (Barlow, 2002). Their experiences are interesting because of the fact that these police officers themselves have a dark skin and at the same time know what it is like to be a police officer.

4.3 THE CITIZEN-POLICE RELATIONSHIP IN THE NETHERLANDS

The ideal image that citizens have about the police and the view that they have in reality on the functioning of the police diverge. In the Netherlands, citizens are least positive about the visibility, flexibility, involvement and the authority of the police, which citizens perceive as important. The citizen's image of the Dutch police exists of four dimensions: the institutional trust of the citizens in the police, the presence of the police on the streets, the societal involvement of the police officers and the prosecution of the citizen by the police. Existing research about ethnic profiling has shown that unequal treatment by the police is more present among people with a migration background than the white Dutch. Research has also indicated that people with a migration background are more often stopped or questioned than white people (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2010). This makes people believe that they are stopped or questioned due to their ethnic background, which is intertwined with unfair treatment. Research has also indicated that people with a migration background more often report unequal treatment than white citizens (Ibid.).

The perception that the police treat people on the basis of their ethnicity impacts the view that people have about the police. A British research has indicated that young people with a South-Asian or African-Caribbean background get excessive attention from the police and this leads to a lack of trust in the police from those particular groups (Atherton & Sharp, 2007). The claim that most of the police officers have racist ideas and that they selectively stop people that fit their characteristics without significant facts. Additionally, the checks that are done by the police give citizens the feeling that they are selected on basis of their skin color, thereby leading to feelings of exclusion, frustration and unequal treatment. This damages the trust and legitimacy of the police. In spite of this, research has also indicated that young adults are positive about the police when it comes to assistance, tackling criminality, helping victims and maintaining the order on the streets. The youth also indicates that the police are polite and honest, however, the white Dutch are more positive about the police than people with a migration background (Politie Academie, 2016). The youth also indicates that ethnic profiling is a real problem and happens too often, wherein the youth with a migration background is negative in their stories about the police. Moreover, there is also a large number of white

respondents that have indicated that ethnic profiling occurs. There is also a little group that thinks that ethnic profiling should happen, because of the criminality rates in certain neighborhoods and the role of people with a migration background as a legitimation. A part of the Dutch youth has experienced negative confrontations with the police, wherein the police treat them unfairly and disrespectfully- in which they are very skeptical about the explanation of the contact with the police. Another criticism is given on the ID-checks that are done by the police, wherein the youth indicates that the police have been impolite and disrespectful. Herein, the youth with a migration background grades the police varying between a 5.5 and a 6.7 (Ibid.).

Given that, a majority of the citizens in the Netherlands think that there is a lack of respect towards the police in the Dutch society. Herein, the skeptical attitudes of the citizens towards the police becomes clear. A majority of the Dutch citizens think that the police eradiate a lack of authority. Moreover, policing is also characterized as 'too soft' by a majority of the citizens. The citizens also think that the communication and the visibility of the police is bad and that the police are inaccessible. However, 40% of the Dutch citizens indicates that they think that the police is accessible (Politie Academie, 2016). Additionally, newspaper are full of skeptical articles about the functioning of government organizations, such as the police (Trouw, 2017; Volkskrant, 2017). Police officers indicate that there are feelings of disrespectfulness among the police and that citizens are less willing to cooperate with them. The police need the trust of the citizens in order to do their job in a proper way: for example, the willingness of citizens to report a crime, to provide the police information or to collaborate- the police need some extent of trust herein. In the debate about legitimacy and trust, the police can be seen as one of the most valuable players.

The police are the symbol for the state-authority as a whole, are more visible than other government organizations, and have an almost mythical status on the psychological sensitive intersection of what is evil and good, of justice and safety, fear and hope (Politie Academie, 2016). Decreasing citizen's trust in the police is a serious case, because it implies bad news for the state as a whole. Moreover, scandals that happen in police organizations have the character of a 'moral panic': fast-moving and engaging in public debate, violent in nature, but also relatively quickly forgotten and possibly without permanent consequences for the attitude of the citizens towards the police (Ibid.). When it comes to the Dutch debate about the police, statistics hardly plays a role. However, such data exists: since 1993, het Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (CBS) measures how satisfied citizens are with the functioning of the police in their neighborhood. Satisfaction and trust are not the same, but these concepts are intertwined in such a way that they are almost interchangeable. Additionally, 'de Veiligheidsmonitor' publishes reports about the trust of the citizens in the police in the Netherlands. The Dutch police seem to have great trust from its population, however, since the death of Mitch Henriquez and Els Borst, two innocent Dutch citizens, this trust has decreased. Between 1991 and 2002 there is a steady decline in the police satisfaction. In 2002 a sharp dip occurred, which could be attributed to the widespread social unrest after the Pim Fortuyn killing, who was a Dutch politician. After 2 years, the satisfaction was at the old level again and the trend of a slow decline continued until 2006. Between 2006 and 2012, the satisfaction with the police increased so much that it appeared to be on the same level as in 1993. Contrary to what might be expected,

based on the tone of the public debate, it seems that the majority of the citizens is satisfied with the functioning of the police. However, it is expected that the confidence and trust of the citizens in the Dutch police will decrease in the following years (Politie Academie, 2016).

Chapter 5. Data Analysis and Findings

In this section of the study, the outcomes of the quantitative data analysis will be discussed. The research question of this study is: *''To what extent do the white-Dutch youth and the non-white Dutch youth experience procedural just policing differently and how can this be explained?''*. Herein, it is essential to test the relationships between the main independent variable 'ethnic background' and the dependent variable 'attitudes toward the police in the Netherlands'. The variables are included into SPSS in order to conduct the quantitative analysis: the alternative independent variables are police misconduct, voice, trust and racial discrimination, and the control variables are age, gender and education. This was done to also obtain a coherent view of how the Dutch youth thinks about procedural just policing in the Netherlands. With the use of SPSS, a descriptive analysis with the frequencies, a correlation analysis, and a multivariate linear regression analysis will be conducted. This method is the usual approach when it comes to the existing literature and studies on the police and procedural just policing. Firstly, the descriptive statistics of the variables of this study, namely ethnicity, age, gender, education, police misconduct, trust, racial discrimination, voice, and the attitudes toward the police in the Netherlands will be discussed. Afterwards, a correlation analysis will be conducted in order to control how variables correlate, here the focus will be on the Pearson correlation to check for the bivariate relationships between variables. When there are relations between variables, a linear regression analysis can be conducted. Lastly, a multiple regression analysis will follow to look for significant relationships between variables. In this study the confidence level of 95% in conducted, which is that in order to get a statistically significant result the p-value must be lower than 0.05.

5.1 DESCRIPTION OF THE SAMPLE

Under this section the frequencies, means, minimum, maximum, standard deviation and the N for the dependent, independent and control variables will be provided. In addition, the frequency distribution of all survey statements and their responses concerning the perception of procedural just policing and overall their attitudes toward the police is provided in Table 5 and 6.

Table 4 reveals that the largest group that filled in the survey is the 'Native Dutch', which gives a percentage of 39.4%. Hereafter follows the Turkish (20.8%), the Moroccans (16.9%), Other (8.9%), and Mixed (4.7%). The mean of this variable is 7.21 and the N=236. In summary, 60.2% of the respondents were non-White and 39.4 were White. When it comes to 'Age', the table shows that the largest group that filled in are 25 years-old (17.8%), hereafter 19 years-old (13.1%) and the 22 years-old (12.7%). Herein, 45.8% of the respondents were between 18 and 21 and 54.2% were between 22 and 25 years old. This variable is distributed in different categories ranging from 18 to 25, wherein the N= 236 and the mean is 21.69. 'Gender' shows that 46.2% of the respondents were female and 53.8% were male and the N=236. Indicating that participating youths in this study were predominantly male. And lastly, 'Education' shows that a significant portion of the sample also consisted of the Dutch youth who have finished MBO (24.2%) and HBO (24.2%), and hereafter HAVO (16.1%) and WO-bachelor (11%). The smallest group has finished VMBO (4.7%). This variable has a mean of 3.4 and the N=236. In summary, 28.8% of the respondents were low-educated, 26.7% of the respondents were middle-educated, and 44.5% of the respondents were highly-educated. Table

4 provides a clear overview of the background characteristics of the respondents that have participated in the survey.

Table 4: Items	Frequencies (%)	Min	Max	M	SD	N
Ethnicity		1	11	7.21	1.979	236
Native Dutch	39.4					
Moroccan	16.9					
Turkish	20.8					
Mixed	4.7					
Asian	2.5					
African	2.1					
Kurdish	1.7					
Surinamese	1.3					
Yugoslavian	0.8					
Antillean	0.4					
Other	8.9					
Summary						
Non-White	60.2	0	1	0.604	0.490	142
White	39.4					93
Age		18	25	21.69	2.397	236
18	11.9					
19	13.1					
20	11.4					
21	9.3					
22	12.7					
23	12.3					
24	11.4					
25	17.8					
Summary						
18-21	45.8	0	1	0.457	0.499	108
22-25	54.2					128
Gender		1	2	1.54	0.500	236
Male	53.8	0	1	0.538	0.4996	127
Female	46.2					109
Education	4.7	1	7	3.4	1.922	236
VMBO	16.1					
HAVO	10.6					
VWO	24.2					
MBO	24.2					
HBO	11.0					
WO (bachelor)	9.3					
WO (master)						
Summary		1	3	2.16	0.843	236
Low	28.8	0	1	0.288	0.453	68
Middle	26.7					63
High	44.5					105

Notes: N: responses; *M*: Mean; *SD*: Standard Deviation; Min: Minimum; Max: Maximum

Table 5 provides the descriptive statistics for the dependent variable of this study, namely 'attitudes toward the police' and the alternative variables, such as trust, police misconduct, voice, and racial discrimination.

Table 5. Descriptive Statistics for the Dependent- and Alternative Variables (See Operationalization)

Table 3: Items	N	M	SD	Min	Max	CA	Description	
Attitudes toward the police	155	2.93	0.684	1	5	0.832(14 items)	1.	Strongly Disagree
							2.	Disagree
							3.	Neutral
							4.	Agree
							5.	Strongly Agree
Trust	155	2.912	0.990	1	5	0.811(2 items)		
Police Misconduct	153	3.114	0.977	1	5	0.735(2 items	1.	Strongly Disagree
Voice	154	3.039	0.943	1	5	0.700(2 items)	2.	Disagree
							3.	Neutral
Racial Discrimination	154	3.66	1.012	1	5	x	4.	Agree
							5.	Strongly Agree

Notes: N: responses; *M*: Mean; *SD*: Standard Deviation; Min: Minimum; Max: Maximum; CA; Cronbach's Alpha

Attitudes toward the police in the Netherlands among the Dutch youth

When it comes to the variable 'attitudes toward the police in the Netherlands', distinctions are made between quality of treatment and quality of decision making. Hereby, 18 statements were demonstrated and asked to determine how the Dutch youth thinks about the police in the Netherlands. The most striking results are that the majority of the respondents think that the police more often stop people that have certain characteristics that fit the statistics and media coverage. Herein, 30.5% of the respondents indicated that they 'agree' with the statement. When it comes to the honesty of the police, the majority of the respondents think that the police are not honest toward all individuals, namely 22.5% of the respondents disagreed with the statement. Moreover, the majority of the respondents also indicated that they think that the police express more excessive and aggressive language and practices toward certain individuals. The majority of the respondents also indicated that they do not think that the police treat all people with dignity and respect, and that the police are neither neutral nor unbiased in their daily activities. However, it is surprising to see that the majority, namely 27.1%, of the respondents indicated that they consider the police as 'trustworthy'. Table 6 provides a clear overview of the frequencies of the answers that are given per statements. Additionally, the table also shows the Mean and the Standard Deviation of the variables.

Table 6. Frequency Distribution of Responses to Attitudes towards the Police in the NL

Item	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	M & SD
Police Treatment	1	2	3	4	5	
1.The police are trustworthy (N=155)	4.2%	13.1%	18.6%	27.1%	2.5%	3.16 1.003

2.The police treat ALL people with respect and dignity (N=154)	13.1%	23.3%	12.7%	12.3%	3.8%	2.55 1.178
3.The police provide same service quality to ALL people (N=155)	10.6%	23.7%	14	12.3%	4.2	2.36 1.158
4.The police give the individual that is stopped a voice to hear their side of the story (N=154)	5.5%	19.5%	15.7%	20.8%	3.8%	2.97 1.093
5.The police respect the rights of ALL people (N=154)	7.2%	22%	14.4%	16.1%	5.5%	2.86 1.163
6.The police act in line with the law in daily routines (N=154)	3.8%	13.6%	16.1%	25.4%	6.4%	2.66 1.156
7.The police are honest towards ALL people	10.6%	22.5%	14.4%	14%	3.8%	3.26 1.077
8.The police more often use aggressive police practices towards certain individuals even if it is against the law	4.7%	14.8%	19.1%	19.9%	5.9%	3.12 1.091
9.The police use excessive and aggressive language towards certain individuals	4.2%	17.8%	15.7%	21.2%	5.9%	3.10 1.107
Police Decision-Making						
10.The police more often stop individuals that have certain characteristics that fit the statistics and media coverage (N=154)	2.5%	6.4%	14%	30.5%	11.9%	3.66 1.012
11.The police are unbiased and neutral in their daily activities (151)	7.6%	20.8%	19.5%	13.6%	2.5%	2.73 1.052
12.The police make decision based on facts (N=153)	5.1%	20.3%	17.8%	18.6%	6.3%	2.91 1.047
13.The police explain their decisions to the	5.1%	14%	18.6%	23.3%	3.8%	3.10 1.059

people they stop or deal with (N=153)						
14.The police consider the perceptions of the people involved before making decisions (n=151)	*4.7%*	*17.4%*	*28.8%*	*11.9*	*1.3%*	*2.81 0.892*

5.2 CORRELATION ANALYSIS

In order to determine the relationships between various variables and the attitudes toward the police in the Netherlands, a Pearson Correlation analysis was applied. Herein, a correlation is a number between the +1 and -1, which measures the degree of correlation between two variables. The Pearson Correlation (PC) ranging from 0.10 to 0.29 is considered to be very weak, from 0.30 to 0.49 is considered to be medium, and from 0.50 to 1.0 is considered to be very strong. Additionally, a negative value for the correlation means an inverse or negative relation and a positive value is seen as positive.

Table 7. Correlation analysis of the variables

Variables	1	2	3	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1.Trust	1.00									
2.Voice	PC: 0.661** Sig (2-tailed): 0.000	1.00								
3.Police Misconduct	PC: -0.402** Sig (2-tailed): 0.000	PC: -0.398** Sig (2-tailed): 0.000	1.00							
4.Attitudes toward the police	PC: 849** Sig (2-tailed): 0.000	PC: 0.792** Sig (2-tailed): 0.000	PC: -0.202* Sig (2-tailed): 0.012	1.00						
5.Racial Discrimination	PC: -0.170* Sig (2-tailed): 0.035	PC: -0.242** Sig (2-tailed):0.002	PC: 0.445** Sig (2-tailed): 0.000	PC: -0.073 Sig (2-tailed): 0.369	1.00					
6. Age	PC: -0.063 Sig (2-tailed): 0.438	PC: 0.055 Sig (2-tailed): 0.495	PC: 0.023 Sig (2-tailed): 0.779	PC: 0.034 Sig (2-tailed): 0.671	PC: -0.060 Sig (2-tailed): 0.457	1.00				
7. Gender	PC:0.162* Sig (2-tailed): 0.044	PC: 0.091 Sig (2-tailed): 0.260	PC: -0.057 Sig (2-tailed): 0.485	PC: 0.105 Sig (2-tailed): 0.193	PC: 0.021 Sig (2-tailed): 0.794	PC: -0.053 Sig (2-tailed): 0.461	1.00			
8.Education	PC: -0.199* Sig (2-tailed): 0.013	PC: 0.,072 Sig (2-tailed): 0.376	PC: 0.136 Sig (2-tailed): 0.094	PC: -0.101 Sig (2-tailed): 0.211	PC: -0.107 Sig (2-tailed): 0.187	PC: 0.110 Sig (2-tailed): 0.090	PC: 0.045 Sig (2-tailed): 0.490	1.00		
9. Ethnicity	PC: -0.305** Sig (2-tailed): 0.000	PC: -0.169* Sig (2-tailed): 0.036	PC: 0.296** Sig (2-tailed): 0.000	PC: -0.217** Sig (2-tailed): 0.007	PC: 0.075 Sig (2-tailed): 0.358	PC: 0.023 Sig (2-tailed): 0.720	PC: -0.170** Sig (2-tailed): 0.009	PC: -0.021 Sig (2-tailed): 0.750	1.00	

The results of the Pearson's correlation matrix between variables are presented in table 7. The Pearson's correlation analysis was conducted at a 95% confidence level. The matrix indicates the correlation between the factors (ethnicity, age, gender, education, trust, voice, police misconduct, and racial discrimination) and attitudes toward the police in the Netherlands. However, the table shows that some factors are stronger correlated with 'attitudes toward the police in the Netherlands' than others. According to the correlation matrix, the relationship between attitudes toward the police in the Netherlands and trust is (0.894), voice (0.792), police misconduct (-0.202), racial discrimination (-0.073), age (0.034), gender (0.105), education (-0.101), ethnicity (-0.217). This implies that trust and voice have the strongest positive correlations and that when the trust and voice increase the attitude toward the police will also be more positive. This is not surprising, as the theory already stated that this would be expected. However, age (0.034) and gender (0.105) exhibited to have the weakest positive correlations with attitudes toward the police. Police misconduct (-0.202), racial discrimination (-0.073), education (-0.101), and ethnicity (-0.217) produced to have negative correlations with attitudes toward the police. Moreover, there are also significant relationships between attitude toward the police and trust (p=0.000), voice (p=0.000), police misconduct (p=0.012), and ethnicity (p=0.007) respectively at 95% level of confidence. The correlation findings indicate that not all the factors are positively and significantly influence the attitude toward the police. The highest effect on attitudes toward the police in the Netherlands are by trust, followed by voice and ethnicity. The regression analysis, that will follow afterwards, will indicate the direction and significance of the causalities of the variables that are presented above, because this cannot be done with a correlation analysis.

5.3 MULTIVARIATE LINEAR REGRESSION ANALYSIS

In this section, the hypotheses of this study will be addressed one-by-one. This will be done on the basis of a linear regression model: firstly, a bivariate linear regression will be conducted in model 1, and afterwards the other explanatory and control variables will be conducted in another model in order to test the hypotheses of this research. A multivariate regression analysis investigates, on the basis of the correlation of several independent variables with the dependent variable, whether there are significant relationship in order to test hypotheses. Herein, it is also important to look whether this relationship has a negative or positive effect. The main focus of this study is on the relationship between 'ethnicity' and 'attitudes toward the police'. After this relationship is tested and predicted, the aim is to try to find answers for the main research questions and the first sub-question, namely: '*Which factors, besides ethnicity, might also shape the Dutch youth's attitude toward the police in the Netherlands?*' This is done in order to explain the relationship between ethnicity and attitudes toward the police. Besides ethnicity, the effect of other factors such as gender, age, education, voice, trust, police misconduct, and ethnic profiling on attitudes toward the police are also tested.

Hypothesis 1 predicted that the non-White Dutch youth are more likely to have a negative attitudes toward the police than the white-Dutch. Herein, the dependent variable is 'attitude toward the police' and the independent variable is 'ethnicity'. Additionally, in this model the other explanatory and control variables are left out. To test this hypothesis, a linear regression analysis is used. In table 8, the bivariate regression analysis shows that ethnicity has a statistically significant effect on attitudes toward the police. Thus, using a p=0.05 criteria, it

can be concluded that there is a statistically significant relationship between ethnicity and attitudes toward the police in the Netherlands. On the basis of this empirical evidence, hypothesis 1 is accepted in this study. Thus, the expectation that the non-White Dutch youth will be more likely to hold negative attitudes toward the police is supported by the results and is consistent with prior research in public attitudes toward the police. Based on the theory it could be expected this is due to unfair, disrespectful, and dishonest policing, however this must be elaborated and explained by interviews. The results illustrate that the standardized coefficient for 'ethnicity' is b=-0.217, t (153) = -2.750, p=0.007. Additionally, ethnicity does not account for a large percentage of the variation in the model. The explained variation when including ethnicity is R^2= 0.047. Herein, R^2 is the percentage of variance in the dependent variable that is then elucidated by the independent variable. Thus, when taking ethnicity into account, this model also explains that there is 4.7% of the variance in attitudes toward the police in the Netherlands. This model shows the standardized coefficients of the model with the Beta, t, p-value and the R-square (see Table 8).

Table 8. Bivariate Regression Analysis: Regressing Attitudes toward the Police in the Netherlands on Ethnicity (n=154)

Independent Variables	Unstandardized Coefficients	Std. Error	Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
Constant	3.141	0.094	--	33.464	0.000
Ethnicity (non-White)	-0.315	0.115	-0.217	-2.750	0.007
R^2= 0.047 R=0.217 F (1,153) = 7.564					

*confidence level of 95% = p < 0.05

Table 9. Multivariate Regression Analysis: Regressing Attitudes toward the Police on All Independent Variables (n= 152)

Independent Variables	Unstandardized Coefficient	Std. Error	Standardized Coefficient	t	Sig.
Constant	-0.012	0.149	--	-0.080	0.937
Ethnicity (non-White)	-0.024	0.048	-0.016	-0.501	0.617
Age (young)	0.054	0.044	0.039	1.241	0.217
Gender (Male)	-0.045	0.043	-0.032	-1.038	0.301
Education (Low)	0.055	0.053	0.034	1.037	0.302
Trust	0.449	0.030	0.648	14.735	0.000
Racial Discrimination	0.043	0.024	0.063	1.814	0.072
Voice	0.335	0.031	0.459	10.832	0.000
Police Misconduct	0.149	0.027	0.211	5.539	0.000

$R^2 = 0.868$
R= 0.931
F= (8, 144)=
117,956

*confidence level of 95% = $p < 0.05$

Table 9 is a multivariate regression analysis with the dependent variable 'attitude toward the police' and the key independent variable 'ethnicity' and the other variables, such as gender, age, education, trust, voice, police misconduct, and racial discrimination. The total explained variation combined, $R^2 = 0.868$, in attitudes toward the police, the dependent variable, at the multivariate level, it is clear that Trust, Voice and Police Misconduct are the most important variables in the model. Meaning that this model explains about 86.8% variance in the attitudes toward the police. When the eight predictors are added into the model, the explained variation in attitudes toward the police increases immensely. Implying that the other seven models, without ethnicity, make up for the majority of the variation in attitudes toward the police in the Netherlands. However, when the other seven variables are added into the model, the relationship between ethnicity and attitudes toward the police becomes insignificant, however, remains negative (b= -0.016, p=0.617). This illustrates that the Beta-coefficient is still negative, but decreased compared to model 1.

Hypotheses 2 predicted that the Dutch youth between the 18 and 22 years old are more likely to hold more negative attitudes toward the police compared to the Dutch youth that is older than 23. The results in table 9 shows that this hypothesis is not supported by the empirical evidence. The evidence highlights that there is a positive effect of age on the attitudes toward the police (b=0.039). This effect also shows to be statistically insignificant at p=0.217, thus, there is no effect of age on attitudes toward the police. Theoretically it was assumed that the Dutch youth between the 18 and 22 would hold more negative attitudes toward the police, because their active lifestyles leads to more challenging and confronting behavior to proactive police intervention ((Leiber et al., 1998).

Hypotheses 3 expected that individuals with higher-education degrees are more likely to hold positive attitudes toward the police compared to individuals of lower education degrees. Education shows (b=0.648, t=1.037, p=0.302), which means that there is a positive and insignificant effect of high education on attitude toward the police. This means that for every unit increase in education, a 0.648 unit increase in the positive attitudes toward the police score is expected. However, the p-value is greater than 0.05, which means that there is an insignificant relationship (p=0.302). Theoretically it was expected that people that are higher-educated would hold more positive attitudes toward the police, because of their well-developed political and cognitive skills. This means that hypotheses 3 is not confirmed.

Hypothesis 4 expected that the male youth are more likely to hold more negative attitudes toward the police compared to the females. The results from table 9 show that (b=-0.032, t=-1.038, p=0.301). This means that hypothesis 4 cannot be confirmed, because there is a negative and insignificant effect. Herein, the standardized coefficient for gender is -0.032, which means that this research is determining the effect of gender on attitudes toward the police in the Netherlands while controlling for the effect of the other variables in the model (see table 9).

Hypothesis 5 predicted that individuals who think that the police are verbally abusive or show aggressive behavior are more likely to hold negative attitudes toward the police. This shows that procedurally just policing is preferred, wherein the police remains neutral and does not engage in police misconduct. The results in table 9 show that this hypothesis has positive and significant effect, thus hypothesis 5 is confirmed. The empirical evidence show that (b=0.149, t=5.539, p=0.000), which means this impact is statistically significant at p < 0.05. This means that for every unit increase in police misconduct, a 0.149 increase there will be in negative attitudes toward the police is expected.

Hypothesis 6 predicted that the Dutch youth who thinks that the police engages in racial discrimination are more likely to hold negative attitudes toward the police. The results from table 9 shows that (b=0.043, t=1.814, p=0.072), which means that there is a positive and insignificant effect of the independent variable on the dependent variable. Moreover, it could be assumed that for every unit increase in racial discrimination of the police, a 0.043 unit increase there will be in the negative attitudes toward the police. However, hypothesis 6 is not confirmed p > 0.05, namely p=0.072. This is not in line with the theory on procedural just policing. This relationship will be elaborated and explained through the interviews (see Chapter 6).

Hypothesis 7 predicted that individuals who think that the police are untrustworthy are more likely to hold more negative attitudes toward the police. The result from table 9 show (b=0.648, t=14.735, p=0.000), which means that there is a positive and significant effect of the independent variable on the dependent variable. Moreover, for every unit increase in untrustworthiness of the police, a 0.449 unit increase in the negative attitude toward the police is expected. This means that hypothesis 7 is confirmed and is in line with the theory of procedural just policing. Thus, people who think that the police are trustworthy will be more likely to hold positive attitudes toward the police.

Hypothesis 8 predicted that individuals who think that the police do not give a voice to them during encounters are more likely to hold negative attitudes toward the police. The results from table 9 show that (b=0.335, t=10.832, p=0.000), which means there is a positive and significant effect of the independent variable on the dependent variable. Moreover, it is assumed that for every increase in not giving voice during encounters, a 0.335 unit increase in negative attitudes toward the police is expected. Hypothesis 8 is confirmed on the basis of the empirical evidence (p=0.000), which is in line with the theory.

5.3.1 KEY POINTS FOR ANALYSIS

As demonstrated above, this study focuses on the relationship between the Dutch youth's ethnicity and attitudes toward the police and predicted, theoretically, a significant relationship between being non-white Dutch and having negative attitudes toward the police. This empirical results of the analysis shows that there is indeed a significant relationship between the key independent and dependent variable when a bivariate analysis is conducted (see table 9). This means that the non-White Dutch youth is more likely to hold more negative attitudes toward the police than the white-Dutch youth, in the Netherlands. However, it is not one's ethnicity that determines the attitude toward the police, but it is the way the police reacts on certain physical characteristics, such as skin color or race. This study, firstly, tried to demonstrate the differences in the attitudes toward the police between the white-Dutch youth and the non-white Dutch youth. This study confirmed that the non-white Dutch youth is more negative toward the police, and

afterwards it will try to find an explanation for this on the basis of the procedural just policing variables and the interviews. Theoretically the explanation is to be found within how the police interact with certain groups or individuals and the treatment during encounters. Different explanations can be provided, however, in this study the explanation for the relationship between the dependent and key independent variable will be investigated in the qualitative part of this study. On the basis of the quantitative outcomes, it could already be stated that an explanation for this needs to be found within different concepts, such as the police providing an explanation and voice during encounters, the police that is trustworthy, and the police that are respectful and do not engage in police misconduct. This implies that the non-white Dutch youth is more likely to hold more positive attitudes toward the police when the police are trustworthy, respectful/non-aggressive, and give a voice during encounters. The quantitative part of this study has demonstrated that there are positive and significant relationships between the three former stated variables and the dependent variable of this study. This is in accordance with the theory on procedural just policing and the hypotheses that were set up (hypotheses 5, 7, and 8). Thus, confirming that there is lack of procedural just policng toward ethnic minorities. However, this will be further elaborated and discussed based on the interviews. Hypotheses 6 shows to be statistically insignificant, whilst it was expected that racial discriminatory actions of the police are negatively reviewed and judged among citizens, especially the non-white Dutch citizens. Herein, the relationship between ethnicity and attitudes toward the police was supposed to be explained by the racial discriminatory actions of the police, such as ethnic profiling. This is not confirmed by the quantitative analysis, which is not in accordance with the theory and therefore an explanation for this needs to be found during the interviews. Furthermore, it could be stated that all of the relationships between the dependent variable and the control variables were insignificant, thus the hypotheses were not confirmed. However, further and elaborated research, with other research methods is needed in order to find significant relationships. In short, in this study ethnicity shows to be the most important factor that shapes someone's attitude toward the police, with factors such as police trust, police voice, and police misconduct as explanations for this relationship.

Chapter 6. An In-Depth Understanding of the Quantitative Outcomes

Chapter 5 indicated that the relationship between being non-White and having negative attitudes toward the police is significant when a bivariate linear regression is conducted. However, there is still no clear and adequate answer on the 'how this can be explained' question, which this chapter will provide. In this chapter, the results of the interviews will be discussed in order to provide in-depth information in order to explain the attitudes of the Dutch youth toward the police in the Netherlands. First, the composition of the respondents will be discussed and afterwards the results of the interviews will be provided per sub-topic, namely satisfaction with the police, experiences with the police, police cooperation, police trust, ethnic profiling, and ideas and suggestions.

6.1 THE RESPONDENTS

As mentioned before, eight respondents participated in the interviews, which were all part of the Dutch youth, between the 18 to 25 years old. All of these respondents were located somewhere else in the Netherlands, such as in The Hague, Dordrecht or Rotterdam. The table provides a clear overview and an individual description of the respondent's age, gender, ethnicity, location and their educational level. The duration and the date of the interviews are also mentioned. This study holds the highest regard concerning the anonymity of the respondents and in order to safeguard this, the names of the respondents are not included in the table. Two out of the eight respondents are white-Dutch and the other six are non-white Dutch and on the basis of this division conclusions will be drawn. Table 10 shows the individual description per respondent.

Table 10. Individual description of the respondents

	Gender	Ethnicity	Age	Education	Location	Date/Duration
1	Female	Dutch	25	HBO	Dordrecht	14 July/15.03
2	Male	Turkish	24	Master's-Degree	Waddinxveen	15 July/37.37
3	Male	Moroccan	25	HBO	The Hague	15 July/34.49
4	Male	Asian	20	HBO	Alblasserdam	16 July/18.18
5	Female	Turkish	18	MBO	Amsterdam	16 July/22.09
6	Female	Russian	25	Master's-Degree	Leiden	16 July/24.08
7	Female	Dutch	25	Master's-Degree	Rotterdam	17 July/32.06

8	Female	Turkish	HBO	Gouda	19 July/28.41

6.2 RESULTS

Nearly every respondent indicated how he or she thinks about the police and which factors influenced their perception. Some respondents even became aggressive in their tone whilst discussing their experiences with the police or their views on certain topic and groups in society. In this part of the study, the two sub-questions will be tried to answer: *'How can the Dutch youth's attitude toward the police be explained'* and *'What do the respondents think about ethnic profiling of the police?'* Moreover, the results of the eight interviews will be discussed. As indicated before, the most important concepts that were discussed during the interviews were 1) satisfaction with the police, 2) experiences with the police, 3) police cooperation, 4) police treatment and trust, 5) ethnic profiling, and 6) ideas and suggestions. Each category contains several sub-categories which will be explained. Firstly, the respondent's satisfaction with the police organization and community police officers will be mapped. Afterwards, the experiences of the respondents will be demonstrated in order to show how this influenced their attitudes toward the police. Police cooperation will also be discussed, wherein the respondent's willingness to cooperate with the police is measured. Afterwards, questions are asked about the respondent's idea of police treatment and trust and discussed. Even though, in the quantitative part racial discriminatory actions of the police, such as ethnic profiling, demonstrated to have an insignificant effect on the Dutch youth's attitude toward the police, an explanation for this is tried to be found on the basis of the interviews. And as last, the respondent's ideas and suggestions regarding the improvement of the police organization is asked and mapped. Even though, only two white-Dutch respondents participated in the interviews, the division in the answers of the non-white Dutch and white-Dutch will be clearly mapped. The respondent's number will be noted when a citation is used or an example is given, so it becomes clear who stated the specific quote (See table 10).

6.2.1 SATISFACTION WITH THE POLICE

When asking about the respondent's satisfaction with the police in the Netherlands, two different themes were discussed, namely 'satisfaction with the community police officer' and 'their satisfaction with the general police organization'.

Satisfaction with the Police

Regarding the satisfaction with the police in the Netherlands and in the neighborhoods, it could be stated that the vast majority of the respondents indicated that they are satisfied with the police in the Netherlands. This accounts both for the white-Dutch and the non-white Dutch youth. Herein, they indicate that community-policing is valued and that they prefer community police above the police officers that deliver services. Only respondent 1, a white-Dutch, indicated that she wants to see more police on the streets, whilst number 4, a non-white Dutch, indicated that he does not like see the police that often. He stated that: *'I like it this way, I do not have to see the police that often. I think that more police will lead to the feeling that they are controlling me and I would not like that. I only want to see the police when something is going on.'* Respondents 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 8 indicated that they are very satisfied with the police in their neighborhood and also in the Netherlands. Only respondent 7, a white-Dutch, indicated that she wants to eliminate the whole police corps, because she does not like them.

Respondent 5, a non-white Dutch, stated that she is very satisfied with the community police officer, because he talks with the people in the neighborhood: *'He acts in a normal way towards us and he sees everyone as equal. Plus when we do something 'wrong', he warns us about it and tells us why it is wrong what we are doing. He, is transparent.'* Respondent 6, a non-white Dutch, indicated that she feels safe in her neighborhood due to community policing and that she thinks that the police are kind and helpful. Respondent 8, a non-white Dutch, also indicates that she is very satisfied with the community police officers: *'My brother knows the community police officer by name. And I think that this is positive, because it shows that the community police officer is present in the neighborhood. I live in a culturally diverse neighborhood in Gouda.'*

Respondent 3, a non-white Dutch, indicates that he does not think that the community police officers are the problem, because they know each other by name, converse often, have insight in the youth, and know who is a criminal or not. He indicates that community police officers know how to handle in certain situations and are friendly. However, respondent 3 is not happy with the police officers that deliver services and the ones that monitor. He states that: *'I am often stopped by the police, without any significant reason. And when I ask about it, they come up with very vague reasons. I am just not getting a clear answer to my question. Well, that leads to a lot of questions and what I think on that moment is that the police stops me, because I am a Moroccan and that he is biased and thinks that I am a criminal, and that is not in line with the reality.'*

General opinion of the Dutch youth about the police

Regarding the general opinion of the Dutch youth about the police in the Netherlands, the majority of the respondents indicate that they base their opinion mainly on personal experiences or the media. however, the answers of the respondents differ.

Only respondent 1, as a white-Dutch, indicated that she is very positive about the police in the Netherlands and that the police will help her out when she has a problem. Respondent 7, who is also white-Dutch, indicates that she used to have a positive image about the police until November 2016, when the 'Zwarte-Piet' demonstrations happened in Rotterdam, where she was arrested and treated badly by the police: *'I have never had bad experiences with the police, sometimes I got a fine for drinking beer on the streets, which I think is grounded. However, from the experiences of others, such as my brother who was punched by the police without a reason, I started to think that the police was indeed bad. And the event in November 2016 contributed to this.'* She also states that the police was nicer toward the women than toward the black males and that they were roughly treated, even though they cooperated with the police.

Respondent 3, a non-white Dutch, indicates that he thinks that it is indeed good that the police are present in the Netherlands, because they safeguard the public order and safety. However he indicates that: *'I have mixed feelings about the police department. From my personal experience, I realized that the police are not always your friend, mildly expressed. This is because I have experienced ethnic profiling. I have found out that the police also have a dark side and that is why I lost my sympathy in the police.'* Respondent 5 indicates that she bases her negative opinion on personal experiences, the media and the bad experiences her friends have had with the police. She indicates that: *'I have experienced some bad things with the police and also see some things in the media, however the media is not trustworthy for me.'* She also gives an example of a personal experience: *'Well, my friend was randomly picked up from home by the police at 4 o'clock in the night, because they suspected her of vandalism. She was in jail for seven days and then she had to go back home by foot because her battery was empty, this happened 3 o'clock in the night.'* Moreover, respondent 5 indicates that she thinks

that the bad experiences she have had with the police are mainly due to her ethnic background: *'My ethnic background is Turkish and in general I think they treat foreigners worse than the white Dutch.'*

Respondent 4, a non-white Dutch, indicates that his opinion of the police is mainly based on what he sees on social media. Herein, he indicates that: *'I do not have a lot of experiences with the police, I have never been in trouble. However, I see videos of the police everywhere'.* Moreover, he also shows a critical side and states: *'It is not clear what happened in these short videos and who started provoking. I think it is very context dependent when it comes to having an opinion about the police.'* Respondent 6, a non-white Dutch, indicates that her opinion is mainly based on personal experiences and that she is positive about the police in the Netherlands. However, she indicates that the media plays an important role in this: *'It is not pleasant to see that the police are tenacious and that the police do not treat everyone equally. I do not want to say that I am really positive, because I am not happy with the way they work or the way they handle things. However, I do not want to generalize. You have different kinds of police officers, they are also people doing human work.'*

However, respondent 2, a non-white Dutch, indicates that he is very happy with the police and he bases his opinion on personal experiences and on the media. He states that: *'Since I was little, I have received a certain positive image about the police; one that is trustworthy, to whom you can ask anything, and a kind of father figure. But lately with social media, I have the idea that things happen outside my environment that are not good. My own experiences have always been good. I am also stopped by the police often to ask what I do at certain places at certain times. But they have always been friendly. '* Respondent 2 also indicates that he thinks that it is really normal that the police engages in ethnic profiling and more often stops people from a certain ethnic background*: 'When you walk in a certain neighborhood and you fit into a specific profile…I understand that. It is really normal that the police stops certain people, however they have to be very clear about why they stop people, then it is okay.'* Moreover, he indicates that he thinks that the media frames things from a certain perspective and that he does not really trust it.

Moreover, respondent 8, a non-white Dutch, indicates that her opinion is influenced by her personal experiences. She states that in her daily life she has no experiences with the police, but in her activities as a social worker this changes. She gives an example of a situation wherein two clients got in a fight with another client and there was blood on the floor and they called the police to report this: *'Well two police officers came and the only thing they did was standing against a wall, looking unchallenged. They were very chill about the fact that an individual was drunk, whilst we were in danger. And the only thing I could think of was, that I was in front of someone who wanted to hit someone with a bike chain.'*

Key findings

The key findings of this paragraph are that the vast majority of the respondents are satisfied with their community police officers, they mainly base their opinions about the police on personal experiences or the experiences of others, and that they consider the media as an important factor regarding shaping attitudes toward the police. However, from their answers it becomes clear that the respondents have a critical attitude toward the media, whereby they do not consider it as a reliable source. Herein, this satisfaction derives from the community police officers in their neighborhood, who are nice, open, talkative, honest, and non-judgmental. Only one white-Dutch wants to eliminate the whole police corps and the other white-Dutch respondent likes to see more police on the streets. Regarding the general perception of the Dutch youth about the police, it could be stated that respondents who have experienced aggressive police behavior, police misconduct, unfair police treatment, laxity of the police, and

discriminating actions of the police are more negative about the police than the ones that only have positive or no experiences with the police, such as respondent 1 and respondent 2. Herein, four respondents think that their ethnic background plays an important role in the decision-making of the police officers to stop or hold someone or not. However, nearly all of them agreed that the police should be present to serve and help everyone.

6.2.2 EXPERIENCES WITH THE POLICE

When it comes to police experiences, nearly all of the respondents indicated their experiences and contact with the police and how this influenced their attitudes toward the police. This theme will be categorized in sub-themes, namely police stop without a reason, alternative police contact, and police experiences.

Police stop without a reason

Only three out of the eight respondents indicated that they were stopped by the police without any significant reason, which are all non-white Dutch. However, this did not impact their attitudes toward the police. Respondent 2 indicates that he has experienced several stops from the police: *'Once I was in the embassy neighborhood in The Hague and I was taking a picture of the American Embassy and that was when the police approached me and asked me politely what I was doing. So I told him that I was taking pictures and I had to show him. I think they would do the same thing when a white Dutch would be in my place.'* The same respondent also states that he understand why the police stop him and that he finds is really important that the police are in contact with the citizens: *'I see it more as a kind of contact.'* Respondent 3 also stated that he has been stopped often without any significant reason. He also states that he thinks that it happens because he is Moroccan. Respondent 4 indicates that he has been stopped once by the police without any significant reason: *'One time after going out in Rotterdam, the police stopped me randomly and asked for my identification card and I still do not understand why they did that.'* He also states that he'd rather wanted the police to provide him an explanation about why he was stopped and checked: *'Yes I'd rather wanted them to explain why I was stopped, but it didn't really affect my opinion about them.'*

Alternative police contact

During the interview also a question was asked about the alternative police contacts of the respondents and how they were treated during the contact. Herein, only three out of the eight respondents indicated that they have been in contact with the police due to other reasons. Only respondent 1, the white-Dutch respondent, has experienced this alternative police contact as very positive and the police as helpful. The other two respondents, namely 2 and 7 were not impressed by the police. Respondent 1 indicated that her mother's bike was stolen and they reported this to the police: *'We reported it to the police and they were really polite and helped us well. We were very satisfied with it.'* Respondent 2 gives two different situations wherein he got in contact with the police: *'My laptop was stolen once and I reported this at the police, however they did not take it seriously when you tell them your story. I was really sad when my laptop was stolen and they did not show any compassion.'* He also states that he thinks, even though the police are not going to do anything about it, the police should always show compassion: *'Compassion from the police will make me calmer in such a situation.'* He also indicates that he was stopped once in Waddinxveen by the police: *'I was going out of my apartment around 00.00 am with my hood on my head and that was when the police stopped*

me. I totally get it, because they could not see me and they thought I looked suspicious. So the police asked me what I was doing and asked for my identification card and also explained why I was stopped. I do not think it had something to do with me being a foreigner.' The respondent think that in these cases the police should be very polite: *'But if they approach you in a polite way, well then nothing should be wrong, it is just contact.'* Respondent 7 tells a story about her boyfriend, who was stabbed once at Utrecht Central Station and that the police did not do anything about it afterwards: *'My boyfriend was stabbed once by a group of boys. It started as a fight and afterwards one of the group members stabbed him and the police did not do anything with the camera images.'* She thinks this has to do with his skin color and his socio-economic status: *'As a black citizen you do not have power'*

Police experiences

Under this section of the study, the police experiences of the respondents will be discussed. The respondents provided various answers to this question, such as examples of personal experiences, the experiences of others, or what they saw on the media. Herein, a divide will be made between the positive experiences and the negative experiences.

<u>Positive experiences</u>

Seven out of the eight respondents indicated that they have had positive experiences with the police. To start off, only respondent 5 indicated that the positive things she sees about the police are on social-media and that she has never experienced something positive personally. For respondent 2 it was a very positive action of the police to join an Iftar meal during the Dialogue-Iftar in Rotterdam South*: 'It was really nice to see the police and to engage in a dialogue. We tend to forget that the police are often present at such events. They get invited and then they come and I think that is good. That is namely an opportunity for the police to share their point of view and to tell what happens on the streets.'* Respondent 3 indicated that he thinks that it is positive when the police remains nice and do not immediately hand out a fine. He thinks that the police should only do that when they have a very good reason for it: *'One month ago, I was driving really hard in the night and the police was waiting there in their buss. So, the police stopped me and came to me with a flashlight and asked for me to open my window and to show him my driver's license, so I did. He checked everything and asked why I was driving so hard, so I explained that I am in a hurry and I have to get up early. I only had to do an alcohol control and he told me that my light was broken and I should let it checked. That was it.'*
Respondent 6 indicated that she has a very positive experience with the police and that she thinks that the police are positive when they show compassion and when they are understanding: *'Once I was in a life threatening situation, so I called the police and 3 police officers came. They were very understanding, helpful and showed compassion. At that moment I considered them as my life rescuers.'* For respondent 7 the positive experience was when the police was also at a congress about street intimidation*: 'I saw that the police was also there and they showed a lot of compassion with the women and I think that that is positive.'*
Respondent 8 also indicated that she has a very positive experience with the police and this has to do with the police taking her and her colleagues seriously: *'I was at work and a colleague of mine, who is just back from a burn-out, was threatened again by a client of us. That is when we decided to call the police and I decided to call the old community police officer. When I called him, he was still at home so I apologized for interrupting him and he was fine with it and told me to set up an e-mail with all the details, so I did. Afterwards, around 14.30*

pm, the community police officer came and checked if my colleague were all right and whether his children also were.'

Negative experiences

Seven out of the eight respondents also indicated that they have had negative experiences with the police. only respondent 1, a white-Dutch, has never experienced something negative with the police. Respondent 3 thinks that his negative experiences mainly derive from the racial discriminatory actions of the police*: 'Typhoon is the first thing that comes up in my mind, because that was also national news. He was stopped, because he is black and he was driving in an expensive car and the police officers did not know that he is famous and able to buy such a car. Thus, the idea of the police must have been: look a black male in an expensive car, which is not right.'* Besides this, the respondent also gives a personal experience that is similar to Typhoon's experience: *'My friend works really hard for his money and also has an expensive car, because Moroccans love this. However, he is stopped often by the police for checks. My friend even considered to buy a less expensive car, but I think that is very unfair. I do not have an expensive car, so I am less affected by it.'* He also states that he thinks that he police should adapt to the context and not the innocent citizen. However, he also states: *'I have to admit that there is a select group of Moroccans who ruin it for the others, who really try and do their best. I judge that kind of behavior, I do. On the one hand, I think it is logical that the police focuses on criminality rates, but more in a sense that being a police officer is also human-work and people always act from their intuition. On the other hand, my experiences have taught me that intuition is not always reliable. And this is very dangerous when you serve the government, because then you have to handle from facts and ethnicity should not play a role in the decision-making of the police.'*

Respondent 7, a white-Dutch, stated that her negative experiences derive from the demonstrations against 'Zwarte Piet' in Rotterdam and how the police acted back then: *'So the police was really rough against my boyfriend and his dreadlock were pulled out of his head by the police. He just had a surgery because of his hernia and he told the police to calm down, but three different police officers punched him in the face. That is when he got aggressive and unleashed himself and punched two different officers in their face and got arrested individually. All of the protesters were stopped in a RET-buss, however the police tried to arrest him individually. And when seven police officers tried to handcuff him, they did not succeed, because my boyfriend is strong. And that is when they pulled out two dreadlocks out of his head.'* The respondent adds to this that this specific event is on camera and you can see the images on YouTube: *'On the video you can see that I yell at the police that they have to unleash him, but at that point the police officers looks at me and as a reaction acts rougher toward my boyfriend. Afterwards, they unleashed him and told him that he could go to the RET-buss too, because they punched each other and they were even. And this has changed my opinion about the police immensely.'* She thinks the police handled in such an aggressive way for several reasons: *'The police justifies their behavior by stating that Aboutaleb gave them the order to so. However, for me it was that the police were scared of a big group of black people with an opinion, even though they were not equipped with weapons.'* Respondent 5 also indicated that she has a negative experience with the police and this is a very personal experience: *'Once I was put in jail by the police for having a ball gun, which is a toy guy. A ME-team came to check my house, because they had a search warrant. Well, it was a ball gun and I did not understand*

what was going on and they did not explain to me where they got the information from and what was happening. I was in jail for 7 hours and they gave me pork, even though I indicated that I cannot eat it, because I am Muslim. Afterwards, they did not give me anything to eat.' For the respondent, the police would have been nicer when they would have explained to her what was going on and gave all the information her parents wanted, because she was only 15 at that time.

Respondent 6 indicated that she also has a negative experience with the police and this has to do with the impolite, harsh, and intimidating behavior of the police whilst she was the victim: *'I was moving from Alphen aan de Rijn to Leiden at that time. So, I found this one organization on the internet, which would help me to move my stuff to Leiden and we choose a day. However, these people acted very aggressively towards me and my mom and lied about the price, so we were in a conflict and that is when I decide to call the police, because I was really scared. The police came and one of them was really nice and the other one was really intimidating, even though I was the victim and I told him I was scared. He acted like I was the perpetrator and remained harsh.'* She also states that her opinion about the police has changed due to this particular police officer. However she stated: *'I have one very positive and one very negative experience with the police, so I cannot choose one of the extremes. I think the police should treat everyone equally, but they should treat vulnerable people, such as women and the elderly better.'* She also adds to this that the police should be better at analyzing the situation and should stop being biased. Respondent 8 stated that her negative experiences derive from the slackness and unserious attitude of the police toward victims and the people that are in danger. However, she also states that this only happens at her work, because she works as a social worker in an institution with psychiatric and homeless people.

Respondent 4 indicates that he has one negative experience with the police and that this has to do with the police handing out a fine: *'Once, I was waiting for my mother in the car, because she was buying groceries. Well, we were parked at a place where we were not supposed to park our car, but my mom came and at that moment the police stopped us and handed out a fine. They did not let us drive away and that was definitely not their best side. In principal, we did not do anything wrong.'* He also states that this specific situation has influenced his attitude toward the police in a negative sense: *'I still do think the police are positive and I respect them. They do what they have to do, but sometimes they can handle things in another way and then I ask myself why do they act like this? I'd rather wanted them to warn us instead of fining us.'*

Key Findings

In short, the police experiences of the respondents are mapped and how these experiences affected their attitude toward the police is also discussed. regarding the police stops without a reason, only the non-white Dutch youth indicates to have experienced this. Hereby, the non-white Dutch youth perceives the police contacts as more negative than the white-Dutch. First of all, it could be stated that the negative attitudes of the non-white Dutch youth toward the police derive mainly from the slackness, harsh, intimidating and the unserious attitude of the police toward the victims and citizens. Moreover, racial discriminatory actions of the police toward individuals is also considered an important factor. These racial discriminatory actions can derive from personal experiences with the police and also from what people see on social-media. Examples are aggressive behavior of the police toward certain groups and the

disproportional stopping and checking of certain groups by the police. Some respondents also indicated that the police should first warn people and afterwards hand out a fine, because they do not like to be fined for very insignificant reasons. The positive experiences also show to have some effect on the attitude of the Dutch youth toward the police, however the negative experiences weigh a lot heavier. The positive experience are, for instance, the police that takes your case seriously, joins an Iftar-meal and engages within minority groups and events, when the police shows compassion and, is helpful.

6.2.3 POLICE COOPERATION

Regarding police cooperation, seven out of the eight respondents indicated that they would call or help the police if they saw a criminal activity, such as a burglary happen. Only one respondent, namely respondent number 7, a white-Dutch, indicated that she would never call the police to report a crime. She states that: *'No I would never call the police, because criminality happens due to inequalities in the society and by calling the police I would only stimulate these inequalities. My experiences in november contributed to this, because before november I did not have a negative view about the police personally, I heard some things and stories from others. And now my negativity toward the police strengthened and I would never call the police.'* However, the other respondents indicated that they would call the police, because they do not want criminality to happen, they see it as their societal duty to do so, and they would like others to report a criminal activity to the police if something happened to them personally.

Moreover, four respondents who have had negative experiences with the police indicated that, even though they have some negative thoughts about the police, they would call the police to report a crime. All of them belong to the non-white Dutch youth. Respondent 3 indicated that: *'I see it as my societal duty to call the police and from my moral consciousness and my sense of justice of course. I do not have an aversion toward the police, because the citizens are the victim and the police need to act. And when I can make sure that an agent does his job by reporting a crime, I would'*. Respondent 6 indicated that it is a dilemma for her and that she would think twice before she calls the police to report a crime due to the fear of seeing the same cop she had a bad experience with. She indicated: *'I would call the police, but I would mentally prepare myself on the chance of seeing the same police officer again, because they are going to ask me questions. There are a lot of good police officers. On that moment I would like to get compliments form my citizenship and my societal duty. I do not want to be pointed at'*. Respondent 5 indicated that she would call the police due to her duty as a citizens to report a crime and help others. She also indicated that she hates criminality: *'I would call the police, because when something happens to me I also want someone to call the police to report it.'* Even though she has a negative attitude toward the police, she stated that she would help the police. Respondent 8 would also call the police, because of the same reason as respondent 5: *'I would call the police, because I am doing it for others and not for myself or the police.'* However, two out of the eight respondents indicated that they prefer to remain anonymous when reporting a crime. Respondent 3 indicated: *'If anonymous, I would do it anonymously, because I attach great importance to my privacy'*. And respondent 1 indicated that she would also call the police, but prefers to remain anonymous.

Three out of the eight respondents (1, 2, and 4) indicated that they have never had a bad experience with the police and that they would definitely call the police. Respondent 2 states that: *'You should always call the police, even if people threaten you not to do it. The police have the expertise and knowledge to handle during certain incidents'*. He also indicates that he

would do it for others: *'A criminal activity should be registered, the people that are victims need to get the help they need and you need the police for that'*. When sketching an imaginary situation, respondent 4 would indicated that: *'I would still call the police, a positive or negative attitude toward them has nothing to do with it'*.

Key findings

The majority of the respondents indicated that they would call the police, wherein their positive or negative experiences or attitudes are not linked with police cooperation. It should also be stated that their ethnicity does not play a role in police cooperation. They think that it is their societal duty to call the police and that they also want others to call the police when something would happen to them personally. Here it becomes clear that the respondents would call the police for the victims in order for them to get the support and help they need and not explicitly for the police. However, only respondent 7 stated that she does not like the police due to a racial incident of the police and that she would never call the police, because she think that criminality happens due to societal inequalities. She also stated that she does not want to contribute to the inequality in the society by calling the police.

6.2.4 POLICE TREATMENT AND TRUST

In this section of the study, two different aspects are measured, namely police trust and police treatment. Herein, the eight respondents explained whether they trust the police and how they think about police treatment in general.

Police Trust

Regarding police trust, one out of the eight respondents, namely respondent 7, indicated that she does not trust the police at all*: 'No, I do not trust the police and I think they work with margins.'* Two respondents indicated that police trust is context dependent. Respondent 3 stated that it is really hard to say whether he trusts the police or not: *'This is very dependent on the context you are in. When the police considers you as a suspect whilst you did not do anything, then I would not trust the police. However, when I am the victim or someone from my environment is then my trust would be very high. We need the police and I am happy they are there, but it is very context dependent'*. He also stated that you cannot generalize on police trust: *'There are enough police officers who do their job well and there are also a few that are the bad cops, for example you also have a select group of Moroccan youngsters that act in a bad way. That does not mean that you have to distrust the whole police organization or a whole minority group.'* Respondent 5 indicates that she thinks that police trust is also dependent on the context: *'Let's say that someone is murdered and I call the police, well then I would trust them. However, when I would call them in need, because something is going on in the neighborhood then I cannot trust them. I base this on my personal experiences, because one time my aunt called the police to report something in the neighborhood and it took a long time for them to come. I think the police should handle much quicker.'*
Five out of the eight respondents (1, 2, 4, 6, and 8) indicated that they trust the police. Respondent 2 says*: 'The police are trustworthy, of course. However, the police do not treat everyone equally, the white Dutch will be treated differently than the Moroccan, for instance.'* Moreover, respondent 6 indicates that: *'I still trust the police, because I have also experienced good things with the police and not only bad things. When you are in a life threatening situation*

then you have to call the police, but I will take into account the fact that there is a possibility that I could have to deal with an unprofessional police officer.'

Police Treatment

   Regarding police treatment, only respondent 6 indicated that she thinks that the police treats everyone equally, however she also stated that this could be because she has never experienced unequal treatment: *'I have never experienced or heard something from my friends about unequal treatment by the police, but this is maybe due to how my friends are. In general, I think the police treats everyone equally and not based on their skin color, for instance.'* All of the other respondents, regardless of their ethnic background, stated that the police do not treat everyone equally. However, every respondent had a different explanation for this. To start off with respondent 1, she thinks that the police treats everyone equally, but at the same time discriminates some groups: *'I think the police discriminates some groups in order to effectively catch thieves, which is important in these times of radicalization. And well, some groups are overrepresented in criminality rates'.* Moreover, she indicates that she thinks that it is justified and the police should discriminate in order to tackle crime: *'If it works why not.'* Respondent 2, a non-white Dutch, indicates that he thinks that the police do not treat everyone equally, however, he also states that this is not the fault of the police, it is the fault of the Moroccans: *'I hate the attitude of these Moroccans, they always directly start to yell and to act weird. When the police are suspicious about your behavior, you can also act in a normal way. I think Moroccans take it too personally. I am also stopped often and why do I succeed in acting in a normal way and they do not?'* Moreover, he also indicates that the police are always nice and tells what is going on, but it the Moroccan youngsters do not want to listen. He bases his opinion on a personal experience, wherein a Moroccan boy hit a biker with his car, because he was driving in a street, with a very high speed. He states that: *'The police came and the boy tried to hide and lied about the situation to the police, because he knew he could not enter that street with his car. However, the police remained very nice, noted his side of the story, treated the boy with respect, and handled it in a polite way.'*

   Furthermore, respondent 4, a non-white Dutch, indicates that the police do not treat everyone equally: *'I think that Muslims are quicker judged than the white Dutch. I do not like that, because it is racist and discriminating'.* Moreover, he does not think that there should be any justification for ethnic profiling: *'Well, with the attacks and ISIS, I understand that they try to justify it, but to randomly pick people from the street to stop, that is not right.'* He also indicates that these racist and discriminating behavior of the police somehow affects his opinion about the police: *'I think everyone would have a positive image about the police if they would not engage in ethnic profiling. However, I think the police should only act when they have proof or facts, their decisions should be based on facts.'* Respondent 3, a non-white Dutch, indicates that police treatment differs per police officer: *'One police officer can act very amical, act like nothing is going on, and that he does not work with stereotypes. And the other police officer can act in a very aggressive way, with very rough hand gestures and will try to put words in my mouth. One time when I asked why I was stopped, I have experienced that a police officer told me to shut up. That happens in the Netherlands, believe it or not. Even though, I have finished an education and work, I am still criminalized by the police due to my ethnicity and I find that*

terribly wrong.' Moreover, respondent 5 indicates that she thinks that the police do not treat everyone equally and her opinion is based on what she sees in the media and what she has experienced with friends: *'I just do not like some choices of the police. Let's say that something is stolen and a female with a hijab or a Moroccan boy is near to the situation, the police would look at them first.'* Respondent 7 indicated immediately that the police do not treat everyone equally and that she is sure about it: *'During the demonstrations you saw that black people were tackled more roughly than the whites'.*

An interesting point is that respondent 8 also indicated that the police do not treat everyone equally, however she does not base this on ethnicity, but rather on the social-economic position of citizens: *' And in my case homeless people are treated differently than me, by the police.'* The respondent also gives an example and she states that , three years ago, she called the police in a situation where she saw a client of her, with psychiatric problems under the Dom in Utrecht: *'It was very cold and rainy and he was there under the Dom, drunk and not by sense. So we called the police and stated that this person is from a GGZ institution and that he needs to go back. However, the police said that they cannot act in every situation with a drunk person and that they have to catch thieves. Afterwards, my colleague lied about his situation and stated that he has a judicial authorization and well after 10 minutes of discussion two police officers who were nearby came and helped.'*

Key Findings

In short, regarding police trust the respondents indicated several things. First of all, that they would trust the police when they are serving citizens or the respondents call to report a crime, but they would not trust them when they are seen and treated as a suspect, whilst they did not do anything. Therefore, the respondents stated that police trust is very context dependent and that generalizing is infeasible, because there are good cops and bad cops. However, the results show that the majority of the respondents trust the police, wherein ethnicity does not play a role. Regarding police treatment, the majority of the respondents think that the police do not treat everyone equally. The respondents indicate that they base their opinion on their personal experiences or on what they have seen on the media. Herein, it should be noted that respondents think that the police make decisions to stop or hold someone on the basis of someone's skin color, the importance of criminality rates, criminalization of some ethnic minority groups, and also the socio-economic status of an individual. Moreover, the respondents indicated that they do not agree with this form of decision making. However, two respondents (1 and 2) have also indicated that discrimination by the police or basing their decision on criminality rates is needed, because some ethnic minority groups are the problem in the society. Herein, the respondents think that the attitudes and behaviors of some minority groups toward the police are the problem, and that they need to be tackled harder.

6.2.5 ETHNIC PROFILING

Regarding ethnic profiling, questions were asked to the respondents about their ideas on ethnic profiling and how the police should act. This theme is categorized in sub-themes, namely definition of ethnic profiling, ethnic profiling of the police, consequences of ethnic profiling, and the dilemma's for the police.

Definition of Ethnic Profiling

All of the respondents gave a definition of ethnic profiling, based on what they believe it is or should be, thus, something with the police and basing their decision-making on stopping individuals or not based on one's ethnicity, skin color or race. The majority of the respondents indicated that ethnic profiling should not happen, but two respondents (1 and 2) think that it should happen. Respondent 1, a white-Dutch, indicates: *'Ethnic profiling is that you discriminate some groups and that the police engages in this. And I think it is good that it happens actually.'* Respondent 2, a non-white Dutch, states that he does not really care about ethnic profiling and that he does not find it interesting: *'Ethnic profiling has nothing to do with me, but I think the police stops certain people on the basis of their looks, but I think it happens in a proper way without a bias. However, when there are biases, these do not derive from the police, but from protocols. The police are not racist, but stereotypes are needed.'* Furthermore, the respondent says that: *'If you see five Moroccans guys in a beautiful car and they have loud music on, and they act weird well then you can stop them.'* He indicates that ethnic profiling should happen and that the police cannot ignore the signs: *'If there is a chance that someone drives in a BMW and you suspect him from drugs, because the police have often experienced similar situations, well then the police need to act.'* He also adds to it, that ethnic profiling should only happen if it works and it is effective: *'My opinion is if it works well do it and if certain groups feel excluded by it, well that is a shame for them.'*

Ethnic profiling of the police

During the interviews a question was asked regarding the respondent's idea of the extent to which the police are involved in ethnic profiling. All of the respondents, regardless of their ethnic background, agreed that the police are engaged in ethnic profiling, however their explanations differ. Respondent 1, a white Dutch, states that she thinks that ethnic profiling occurs: *'When you see a guy with a beard and a long dress walking, I think the police stops him in order to talk to him and if this is wrong? Well that is the question. I think ethnic profiling is a part of the police actions and it is needed to effectively catch thieves. It is the task of the police if you ask me'.* Respondent 2 indicates that he has personally experienced ethnic profiling of the police and he adds that it should happen if it is effective. He also gives an example of a personal experience: *'One time I was in a car with my friends, we were with five people in a car and I was driving. So, the police came and stopped us and out of all my friends I was the only one who was positive about it, because the police are just doing their job. All of them were like they stop us because we are foreigners, but I did not think like that. It could have been that we were dangerous.'* He adds that he has nothing to hide and so he is not scared of the police or of getting caught. Moreover, respondent 8 states that the police unconsciously engages in ethnic profiling. She adds to this that you cannot generalize about every police officer, because being a police officer is also human-work. She thinks that unconscious ethnic profiling occurs, because the police experience and see things: *'And if you experience some things more often, well than it is going to be a bit normal. I think that the police do not always create profiles, but at one point they can see through people and know exactly what type of people are linked to a certain criminal activity'.* She also thinks that stereotypes can provide structure in someone's head and that it is needed to do your job effectively: *'You can be wrong in some cases, but in some cases you can be right. I think the police have the capacities and the knowledge to know what they are doing.'*

Respondent 5 states that the police are very selective in who they stop and who they do not stop: *'When the police see a foreign boy driving an expensive car, well then they immediately will think that he is a drugs dealer and check his car and ask how he bought his car. When a white Dutch guy would drive the same car, the police will think that he works for his money.'* Moreover, respondent 3 already stated in earlier questions that he has personally experienced ethnic profiling of the police. Respondent 6 states that she is doubtful about whether ethnic profiling occurs or not: *'I have never experienced it and my friends did not either, but I have seen some things on the media. However, the media can expand some things.'*

Consequences ethnic profiling

During the interviews also a question was asked to the respondents about what they think the consequences of ethnic profiling could be. Three non-white Dutch respondents shared their ideas and personal feelings of ethnic profiling. Respondent 3 indicated that he thinks that ethnic profiling will stimulate frustration: *'Well it makes me really mad and frustrated. Look, I am highly educated so I have the skills to canalize it. But believe me that there are a lot of youngsters who cannot deal with it and that will lead to aggressive and violent behavior. Those youngsters want to fight the system and lose their trust in the police corps and the rule of law, which will lead to more chaos.'* Moreover, he states that he understand why ethnic profiling happens and that it is due to the importance of the criminality rates, wherein Moroccans are overrepresented: *'However, this is not a justification for ethnic profiling. Research has shown that the advantages do not weigh up to the disadvantages. The advantages are that you may catch more thieves, but the disadvantages are more on the societal level. People lose their sympathy and trust in the police, because they had to deal with unjustified treatment of the police due to their ethnicity. And ethnicity should never play a role in this.'* Respondent 4 also indicated that ethnic profiling has negative consequences: *'A lot of youngsters who see that happening, will think well the police think in some way about them so at the end they will act like it. More conflicts between migrant groups and the police can also occur.'* He states that putting etiquettes on people will, at the end, make them act like it. So, if you treat some groups as criminals, they will become criminals.

Respondent 5 also thinks that ethnic profiling will lead to anger among some groups: *'I think you will get mad when you are stopped without a reason. And well the police will handle in that situation, because you are mad about the fact you are stopped while you did not do anything. However, this makes you guilty, because you reacted in an aggressive way toward the police and that is a reason for the police to take you to the police station.'* She adds that ethnic profiling is a vicious circle, in which situations strengthen each other.

Dilemmas for the police

Regarding the dilemmas for the police, the respondents indicated that there are several dilemmas for the police with regards to ethnic profiling. For respondent 1: *'I think that on the one side they care about safety and on the other side they do not want to violate human rights. However, for me I think that safety is more important, especially in my neighborhood. The police should just have a harder approach.'* Respondent 6, a non-white Dutch, gives a similar

answer, she thinks that the police should treat everyone equally, but that police officers learn how to filtrate individuals in a large group of people: *'On the one hand, you have to treat everyone equally and on the other hand you have to engage in ethnic profiling to maintain the order, because the police bases their actions on criminality rates.'*

Respondent 4 indicates that ethnic profiling violates the human rights of people and that he would always choose human rights above ethnic profiling. Herein, he states that it is context dependent: *'However, when an attack has happened in the Netherlands, I would choose for safety and ethnic profiling.'* Respondent 7, a white-Dutch, indicates that she thinks that ethnic profiling stimulates and confirms stereotypes: *'However, I think that the police do not want to discriminate, but well in many cases they are right when they stop a Moroccan and they do find drugs.'* Respondent 8 states that the dilemma for the police are that they are also in a position of danger when they stop someone randomly to ask for their identification card: *'I think this will lead to more aggressive behavior toward the police. On the other hand I cannot imagine that ethnic profiling makes their job more fun.'*

Another dilemma is illustrated by respondent 2: *'Do we have to treat people nice, because they have certain complexes, such as the Moroccans and forget about our normal way of working? On the one hand, you do not want to give them the feeling that they are discriminated, but on the other hand you want to maintain the safety.'* He also states that the best way to handle in these cases is to be very honest and clear toward the individuals, society and by following the protocols: *'If you do not understand the police and that they are being honest, well then you can go back to your own country.'* He also states that he thinks that ethnic profiling is justified when there is some kind of respect toward people and people are not immediately profiled as criminal or perpetrator: *'In my case, when I am stopped I always think it is normal, because people that look like me do things that are wrong and it can be possible that I fit in some profile. It is just how the human works. It sucks that there are stereotypes, but it is just the way it is. As a migrant you are always 1-0 behind and you have to prove yourself 10 times harder and more.'* Moreover, he states that the police are just one part of the rule of law and that people should not take ethnic profiling too serious: *'As long as we have independent judges and the system is okay, well then I am not worried about some police actions. If there is a reason for aggressive police behavior and an individual does not cooperate then the police should use aggressive force.'*

Key Findings

In short, all of the respondents gave a similar definition of ethnic profiling. However, not all of them agreed that it is justified or should happen. Some respondents (1 and 2) indicated that it should happen and it is part of the police organization and protocols in order to catch thieves or criminals effectively. Even though some respondents have experienced ethnic profiling themselves, they still understand why it happens and agree that it should happen in some cases. Other respondents stated that it certainly must not happen, whereas some respondents agreed that it should happen. They indicate that if it works and it is effective it should be part of the police organization. All of the respondents indicated that ethnic profiling occurs, however the respondents were able to put themselves in the shoes of a police officer and had some level of understanding that stereotyping and biases are part of the human nature,

because policing is also human-work. They also stated the importance of criminality rates and the fear of attacks in the choices of police officers. Moreover, a majority of the respondents indicated that ethnic profiling has consequences, which are mainly on the societal level and that unjustified policing will lead to distrust and loosing sympathy toward the police among the youth. In short, while deciding whether ethnic profiling influenced the attitudes of the Dutch youth toward the police, it could be stated that ethnic profiling is not considered as a huge factor or problem. This also accounts for the attitudes of the non-white Dutch youth, who understand why it happens and agree that in some cases it should happen.

6.2.6 IDEAS AND SUGGESTIONS

Throughout each interview, the respondents offered ideas and suggestion based on their personal experiences with the police, or the experiences or someone else and what they see on the media. Herein, sub-themes are set up in order to give a clear view of the ideas and the suggestions for the police organization: cultural sensitivity, diversity in the police, easily accessibility of the police, factual performance, changing institutions, and the role of the media.

Cultural Sensitivity

Regarding cultural sensitivity, four out of the eight respondent indicated that they think that cultural sensitivity among the police corps will be effective. Respondent 2 indicated that the police should have more knowledge about the street culture*: 'The police should know what happens on the street and its psychology. I do not think that the police need to adapt to the context, but in this case it would be effectively. Herein, it is important that the white police officer Jan understands what happens on the streets, for example among Moroccans.'* Herein, the respondents thinks it is important that the police have knowledge about the different cultures in the Netherlands: *'The white Jan should learn how to handle with Ahmed, who has frustrations. As an example, if you approach Ahmed publicly he will act more aggressively, but if you approach him privately he will listen.'*
Respondent 3 also indicated that he would like to see more cultural sensitivity among police officers: 'When police officers understand the behavior of certain groups and their language use, I think that would lead to more reciprocity understanding.' However, he also states that the Moroccan youngster should not be quickly to think that they are always stopped due to their ethnicity, only when there is a legitimate reason for it. Respondent 6 also indicated that it is important that the police have more background information about the different cultures of people and what is happening on the streets and in diverse cultures. Respondent 8 indicated that cultural sensitivity will indeed lead to understanding each other better: *'If you would understand what happens among certain groups, what is really important for the other, and what happens in ones living world, for me that is half of the work. For example, let's say that police officers knows what Ramadan is, well then you will get the respect you want in Schilderswijk.'*

Diversity in the Police

Regarding the diversity in the police corps, six out of the eight respondents said something about it and its relevance. Respondent 2 indicated that diversity in the police corps would work: *'A hijab says nothing about how you work or handle in the society. Everyone has an ideology and we have to get rid of that image. But it is also the reality, islamophobia also, because we live in a country that is not ours.'* Respondent 3 indicates that he is not sure whether

diversity could work or not: *'At the end, a Moroccan officer also works for the police and they simply have to follow their orders. And my experience with Moroccan police officers is that they do their best to avoid creating the idea of being biased among their colleagues, which then leads to more ethnic profiling.'* However, he also states: *'If a headscarf among police officers would work, why not?'* Another point respondent 3 makes is that the Moroccan or Turkish police officer is also discriminated against by their white colleagues: *'For example, that people do not want to surveillance with a Moroccan police officer or do not want to sit in a car with a Moroccan police officer. The idea that a Moroccan police officers is biased.'*

Respondent 4 states that he thinks that diversity in the police corps would work: *'A Moroccan or Turkish police officer would know what happens among the youth. They can show empathy and try to avoid ethnic profiling.'* Respondent 5 has the same idea, she states: *'If you work together with a foreign colleague, I think the chance of ethnic profiling will reduce, because you will get a better understanding of his or her background. And I think ethnic profiling happens more often among white police officers.'* Respondent 6 also agrees that more diversity in the police corps is needed: *'The groups that are excluded need to be included, for example, Moroccan men who are perceived negatively need to be incorporated in the police corps. And when different police officers from different background work together, this can broaden their horizon by sharing information about each other cultures.'* Respondent 7 also thinks that more diversity in the police corps will lead to less ethnic profiling: *'A larger amount of Moroccan or Black officers will lessen ethnic profiling. I think ethnic profiling occurs mainly among the white officers and that other people do not have the biases they have. However, officers from other backgrounds can also act like the white officers, because of the law and regulations. '*

Accessibility of the Police

Regarding the accessibility of the police, three respondents indicated that this point is essential. Respondent 8 stated that she thinks that the community police officers are very important, because they are close, accessible, and people dare to talk to them: *'I think that if you put the right person in a neighborhood full of problem youngsters, this can lead to improvement.'* She indicates that accessibility is a really important aspect: *'If someone says 'fuck you' to the police, he or she does not have to write like 6000 fines or take someone to the police station. As a police officer you should ask why someone says that and that is how you come in a dialogue with someone.'* Moreover, she indicates that the police should always listen, stop judging situations from their own perspective, and should stop with rigidity: *'Okay in some cases it is needed, but you do not have to act tough all the time. Just sit down and talk with someone.'* Moreover, respondent 5 indicated that she thinks that the police should always approach someone in order to hold a conversation and that the police should treat everyone with respect: *'I think it is important that the police are nice and take everyone seriously. They should also listen to your side of the story.'* Respondent 3 also indicates that he thinks that the police should always explain why you are stopped and should always be honest: *'I would prefer when the police officers would tell me that I am stopped due to my ethnicity. Okay not that I agree with it, but at least he is honest. '*

The role of the Media

Regarding the role of the media, only respondent 3 stated that the media has a role in creating stereotypes, especially about Moroccans: *'This creates a view among the Dutch, namely that Moroccans are criminals, because they are framed like that. And this is then emphasized by a lot of media attention. And that is how people start to think that all Moroccans are criminals, which creates an unbalanced situation.'* He states that the media should always remain objective and should take its role seriously: *'The media should watch out with their media coverage and with mentioning someone's ethnicity, because that can lead to certain stereotypes.'*

Factual Performance

Regarding the factual performance of the police, three respondents indicated that the police should only act on basis of facts or risk-behavior. Respondent 5 indicated that she thinks that the police should show respect, stop with racism, and should not make decisions on the basis of someone's skin color: *'You can only stop someone, if you are sure that something is wrong. The police can get all the information it wants and when you get the information you need, you approach that one particular individual. The police should only act on the basis of facts, because that will reduce the chaos in the police organizations.'*

Moreover, respondent 3 indicated that the police should more often look to risk-behavior and less to ethnicity, because this way will be more effective in solving crimes. Herein, criminality should always be linked to facts and risk-behavior. He also states: *'Criminality rates only grow because the police focuses on a select group in the society. If you stop people of a certain ethnicity more often, then this will increase the amount of people you catch within that group, which then will contribute to stereotypes.'* He also states that he thinks that the criminality rates among the white Dutch are much lower, because they are not that quickly linked to being a criminal: *'The white Dutch are not controlled as often as other groups, whilst they are also engaged in criminal activities, such as fraud and drugs. However, if you choose to stop the migrant and let the white Dutch go, well that will lead to feelings of injustice.'* Thus, the police should only make decisions based on facts and risk-behavior, and not on skin color. The respondent thinks that this will work more effectively and that less innocent people will be stopped: *'In this way, people will trust the police again and the feelings of being discriminated will reduce. The police should always have a legitimate, concrete and justified reason to stop someone.'* He also gives an example: *'If I run really fast from a neighborhood after a robbery happened, well then I understand why the police would stop me. However, when the police stop me on the basis of vague suspicion when I am smoking a cigarette with my friends outside, I think that is unjustified.'*

Respondent 2 adds to this that the police should always act consequently, by following protocols, and should always tell what is going on: *'The police should always tell citizens that they have the right to remain silence and right on a lawyer. The police are a part of the government and that is why they always should act and show trustworthiness. You cannot act on the basis of arbitrariness, you have to make the context clear.'* Moreover, he states that the police should make clear why someone is stopped: *'The police can tell someone that they fit*

into a description. As a police officer you should say: in this kind of situation you see much often people like you that have committed a criminal crime. However, people should not feel discriminated. The police are there to help you and to maintain the order.'

Changing institutions

Regarding changing the institutions of the police organization, six out of the eight respondents said something about it. Only one respondent indicated that she likes to see more police officers on the streets and in neighborhoods, who need to show tenacious performances and have to pick up signals and react quicker (respondent 1). Respondent 2 states that reducing crime does not happen through the police, but through preventive measures: *'The youth should learn about citizenship and should have role models in order to get inspired to become a full Dutch citizen, instead of feeling as second-class citizens'*. He thinks it is the task of the government and education to spread the story that everyone is equal and that no one is less worthy, because he or she is Muslim or Moroccan. Respondent 4 indicates that he thinks that a good functioning information network of the police, wherein a lot of information is shared, is needed in the police: *'This will lead to only acting on the basis of facts instead of acting through emotions among the police'*. Respondent 6 indicates that she also thinks that new strategies and new ways of working and handling should be created: *'The police should stop labeling people, because they think that this will make their work easier. I think this works reversed and in this way discrimination will be stimulated.'* Moreover, she states that projects such as 'neighborhood watch' and 'BurgerNet' will lead to better cooperation citizen-police cooperation and that the police should invest in these kind of projects. Respondent 8 stated that she thinks that the community police officers and the youth should work together: *'The police and the youth from a certain neighborhood should come together, wherein a voice is given to the youth and they can provide a course to the police officers about their culture.'* Herein, the role of the community police officers is perceived as essential by the respondent. She states that contact and dialogue is really important, in which the role of the community police officers is to listen and to talk when needed: *'And when you reach the point of trust and familiarity, that is when you succeeded as a community police officer and that is a great opportunity to ask the youth whether they want to talk to a group of police officers about their culture and their norms an values.'* However, only one respondent indicated that she would eliminate the police if she had the power to do so: *'I do not think we need police officers, because when everyone is equal in society and has the same chances, well then there is no reason for criminal behavior. We also have enough social control by our neighbors and family. And I think that most of the big criminal activities happens because of inequalities.'* She also states that the Dutch history books needs to be changed and that the Dutch should be educated and know that the problem relies within the white Dutch groups and not within the ethnic minority groups.

Chapter 7. Conclusion and Discussion

To start off, this study originates from the interest of the link between ethnicity and attitudes toward the police. This is due to the hot-topic of ethnic profiling, which is about the way the police reacts on certain physical characteristics, such as ethnicity or skin-color, during their decision making process. However, this study attempted to investigate whether 'ethnic profiling' is a significant explanation for the link between ethnicity and attitudes toward the police among the Dutch youth. Thus, the intention of this study was to explore to what extent the non-white Dutch and the white-Dutch youth differ in their attitudes toward the police in the Netherlands and also how this can be explained. Several studies that have been conducted in the United Stated have shown that blacks and Hispanics hold a more negative attitude toward the police than the whites (Mazerolle et al., 2013; Reisig et al., 2013; Tyler et al., 2014): thus highlighting that ethnicity is an important factor. However, it is demonstrated that the negative attitudes do not derive from someone's ethnicity, but the way the police treat certain people with certain physical characteristics (Amnesty International, 2013). An explanation for this is to be found within aggressive and police misconduct and racial and ethnic profiling from the police mainly towards ethnic minority groups. The Amnesty International report (2013) stated that ethnic profiling occurs in the Netherlands and that ethnic minority groups, such as Moroccans, hold a more negative attitude toward the police than the whites due to ethnic profiling (Amnesty International, 2013). However, there is still no study conducted that analyzes the attitudes of the Dutch youth toward the police and the factors that can influence this attitude. This study attempts to build further on existing research and attempted to fill the gap in research by analyzing the relationship between ethnicity and attitudes toward the police and in order to find an explanation for this relationship. Other factors such as age, gender, education, police misconduct, racial discrimination, trust and voice are also included in the study. Therefore, the following research question was composed: *''To what extent does the white-Dutch youth and the non-white Dutch youth experience policing differently in the Netherlands and how can this be explained?''* In order to obtain rich and detailed data a mixed-method research was conducted to answer the research question of this study. This mixed-method approach consisted of both quantitative as a qualitative approach, wherein the main focus is on the quantitative approach and the qualitative approach is used to explain the relationships that derived from the quantitative part. In the qualitative part, the sub-questions of this study were attempted to answer.

This dissertation has shown that there is a positive and significant relationship between being non-white Dutch and having negative attitudes toward the police in the Netherlands. This means that being part of the non-white Dutch youth will lead to having negative attitudes toward the police. However, as stated before this is not due to someone's ethnicity or race, but the way the police treats and reacts on certain ethnic minority groups or races. This treatment and the factors that might influence the relationship are also analyzed through quantitative and qualitative research methods. It was expected, based on existing research, that ethnic profiling will be contributing to this relationship. To start off, this study will try to answer the first sub-question, namely: '*Which factors, besides ethnicity, might also influence the youth's perception of policing in the Netherlands?*' The control variables, such as gender, age, and education show to have statistically insignificant relationships with the dependent variable of this study, namely attitudes toward the police. This was not in accordance with the theory and the hypotheses that were set up. Regarding the socio-demographic characteristics, it was expected that the Dutch youth between the 18 to 22 years old would be more negative toward the police, because they are more engaged in an active lifestyle where they see the police more often (Hopkins, 1994).

Moreover, when it comes to gender it was expected that males will be more likely to hold negative attitudes toward the police, because they tend to come in contact with the police more often than females (O'Connor, 2008). And lastly, it was expected that the higher the level of education of the Dutch youth, the greater the likelihood of a positive attitude toward the police. This is expected due to the fact that lower-educated people are more likely to live in bad neighborhoods (Weitzer, 2000), more likely to be affected by media exposure (Inglehart, 1987), and because they are less likely to be able to identify different visions and truths (Gabel, 1998). However, all of these theoretical expectations have demonstrated to be insignificant among the Dutch youth.

According to researchers, procedural just policing is defined as dignity and respect, fairness and neutrality, citizen participation and trustworthiness of motives from the police organization (Tyler, 2006, 2008). Moreover, procedural just policing advances the value of citizen-police interactions, which is beneficial for both parties. Herein, it is expected that the police are more positively reviewed among citizens when they are trustworthy, give a voice to the citizens during encounters, do not engage in police misconduct, and do not discriminate and treat everyone equally. These are single aspects of procedurally just policing. It is also stated that having a negative attitude toward the police will affect the legitimacy and the effectiveness of the work of the police organization, wherein it is harder to gain cooperation from the public. Since, the relationship between being non-white and having negative attitudes toward the police has been predicted and proven, the next step is to demonstrate how this relationship can be explained. This dissertation research produced several essential findings on procedural just policing, police-citizen encounters, and ethnic profiling. First of all, positive and significant statistical relationship are found between police trust, police misconduct, and giving a voice with attitudes toward the police. Meaning that we can, on the basis of the quantitative results, state that people who find the police trustworthy are more likely to hold positive attitudes toward the police, which is in accordance with the theory on procedural just policing. Furthermore, people who think that the police engages in police misconduct are more likely to hold a negative attitude toward the police. And lastly, giving a voice during encounters will also lead to holding a positive attitude toward the police among the non-white Dutch youth. This is in accordance with the theory on procedural just policing. Thus, the statistical findings suggests that there is a lack of experience with procedural just policing among ethnic minorities and that a single procedurally just encounter could shape the general attitude of the non-white Dutch youth toward the police. Additionally, on the basis of this the police could rebuilt their representation and could gain support from the non-white Dutch youth through procedurally just policing. The statistical results demonstrate that the quality of the decision-making and the interpersonal treatment that occurs during the police-citizens encounters can improve the non-white Dutch youth's attitude toward the police. Hereby, it is important that the police shows trustworthiness of motives, give a voice to the citizens during encounters, and that they should not engage in aggressive behavior or verbal abuse. Therefore, it can be argued that single aspects of procedural just policing can improve the Dutch youth's overall perception of the police in the Netherlands if these experiences can be collected. This implies that when the Dutch youth would experience more procedurally just police interaction, their attitudes toward the police will be improved, in the long-run. However, both quantitative and qualitative findings of this study suggest that a 'quick fix' is not feasible regarding the question of the non-white Dutch youth's attitude toward the police. Furthermore, it was expected that racial discriminatory actions of the police, such as ethnic profiling would have an impact on these attitudes, but the quantitative results did not support this. Ethnic profiling was explained and discussed in-depth, because of the assumption that it would explain the relationship between the independent and dependent variable of this study. However, the outcomes have demonstrated that it is not the

racial discriminatory actions, namely ethnic profiling, of the police that explain the relationship. The focus should be on police trust, police misconduct, and getting a voice during encounters, because the quantitative outcomes have shown that these factors explain this relationship. This could mean that the police interact with or treat the non-white Dutch differently than the white-Dutch youth. Hereby, the police show more aggressive police actions and language toward the non-white Dutch youth, do not listen to them during encounters or do not treat them as valuable citizens of the society, and show untrustworthy motives toward them. On the basis of the qualitative results and the next sections of this study, these relationships are elaborated and explained from the viewpoint of the respondents.

In the following section, the two sub-questions will be answered, namely *'How can the attitudes of the Dutch youth toward the police be explained?' and 'What do the respondents think about ethnic profiling of the police?'* To start off with the *'how can the attitudes of the Dutch youth be explained?'* question*,* it can be noted that the qualitative results of this study have shown that the Dutch youths's *broader* attitudes toward the police were mainly shaped by the negative and positive police experiences (police contact) of the respondents, the way they were treated during these experiences, and what they see on the media. The qualitative part of this study also supported the results of the quantitative part. As stated before, from the eight interview respondents, six were non-white and the other two were white-Dutch respondents. This made it infeasible to explain the attitudes of the white-Dutch youth toward the police, and therefore this study focuses mainly on the attitudes of the non-white Dutch youth. Hereby, some aspects of policing are negatively reviewed by the respondents, such as aggressive police behavior, police misconduct, laxity of the police, unfair police treatment and discriminatory actions of the police. The majority of the respondents also indicated that someone's ethnicity or skin-color plays an important role in the decision-making of the police officers to stop or check someone or not. Moreover, community policing is positively reviewed due to their transparent, respectful, trustworthy, non-judgmental, and talktative attitudes toward the public.The outcomes of the interviews have also demonstrated that there are other factors that can influence the respondent's attitude toward the police in the Netherlands. It should be stated that police contact, treatment, and the experiences are very important factors. The interview results have shown that people who have had negative experiences with the police were more likely to hold negative attitudes towards the police in the Netherlands than the people who have never been in contact or only have had positive experiences with the police. Herein, the negative experiences can come in different forms. As stated before, personal experience does not have to be an important condition for evaluating the police. People who have never came in contact with the police could still view the police as negative due to the media or the experiences of others. Likewise, positive contact and experiences with the police officers does not necessarily have to lead to favorable or positive attitudes. The results of the interviews will be discussed hereunder.

First of all, from the interviews it has become clear that aggressive police behavior and verbal abuse from the police are important factors that shape the attitudes of the Dutch youth toward the police. This is in accordance with the quantitative results, wherein it was also showed that police misconduct leads to more negative attitudes toward the police among the non-white Dutch youth. Meaning that respectful policing is an important factor. Weitzer (2000) showed that respectful policing will lead to more positive attitudes toward the police. Hereby, the outcomes of the interviews have shown that respondents hold more negative attitudes toward the police, when they have had been in situations where the police officer was intimidating, brusque, harsh, unserious or verbally disrespectful. Moreover, the interviews have also demonstrated that getting a voice during encounters will positively influence the attitude

of the non-white Dutch youth toward the police. However, this can also be applied to the white-Dutch youth, which means the general Dutch youth. This is also in accordance with the quantitative results. The respondents have indicated that they do not mind getting in contact with the police as long as they get a voice, the police tell them why they are stopped, and the police listen to them. The respondents made it clear that, even though the police are not going to do anything with it, they should listen, have a serious attitude and should provide a voice. The underlying reason for this is that the respondents want to feel as valuable citizens, be listened to, and be taken seriously by the police, because the police are considered as an essential actor in the rule of law. Scholars such as Tyler and Huo (2002) and Skogan (2005) indicated that people are more likely to be satisfied with the police when they are informed about their rights and the reasons behind the police actions, because that is when citizens will feel like they are full-fledged citizens and being taken seriously. Herein, the outcome of the encounter does not matter. Some respondents indicated that they have had both negative and positive experiences with the police, however they indicate that the negative experiences weigh a lot heavier than the positive experiences. Skogan (2006) had also stated that the police get often little or no credit for their good performance, whilst bad performance gets immediate negative assessments (Skogan, 2006). The qualitative outcomes have also demonstrated this. Moreover, positive experiences derive mainly from police officers who show compassion, are understanding, honest, and participate within ethnic minority groups, whereas the negative experiences derive from intimidating, harsh, slackness, and unserious policing.

Thus, it has been clear that positive attitudes toward the police come from procedural just policing. The results also show that the respondents think the policeare positive when they have the feeling that they have been treated in a very good manner, taken seriously, and are listened to. This is in accordance with the international literature on procedural just policing and in combination with this study it can be suggested that procedural just policing will lead to more positive attitudes toward the police. Moreover, the interview results have also shown that respectful, fair, and honest treatment are perceived as more important than the outcome considerations of these interactions. Hereby, honest policing is explicitly indicated as a very important aspect within policing in the Netherlands. It is stated that the police should remain honest and that even though they have been engaging in ethnic profiling, they should tell the respondents in a polite and clear manner what they are doing and why. Herein, procedural just policing is important for both favorable and unfavorable outcomes. For example, respondents indicated that they do not care about ethnic profiling, as long as the police officers remains respectful, friendly, and honest about their actions. Hereby, it is indicated that procedurally just policing is even more important in negative decision-making of the police. The interview results have also shown that the respondents prefer that the police always explains, and very clearly, why they stop and check people and inform them about their rights. This is in accordance with the quantitative outcomes, wherein a significant and positive relationship was found between giving a voice during encounters and attitudes toward the police in the Netherlands.

Research has also shown that citizens who lack confidence in the police organizations or police officers will hold more negative attitudes toward the police, such as refusing to cooperate with the police, which undermines community policing efforts (Tyler & Huo, 2002). The outcomes have shown that trust is very context dependent and that it is impossible to generalize for the whole police organization regarding trust. The qualitative results have shown that the majority of the respondents think trust in the police are really important and that they trust the police organization, because they are the one you are going to call when you are in a threatening situation. Hereby, all of the respondents agreed that the police do not treat everyone equally and treat ethnic minorities differently than the whites, however, this does not undermine their trust in the police organization. Moreover, all of the respondents, except for one, indicated that they will help the police even though they would have or already have negative attitudes

toward the police. Herein, they state that trust in the police organizations is essential, but their negative or positive experiences with the police do not determine whether they would cooperate with the police or not. The respondents indicate that it is their societal duty as a human-being to help others and that it has nothing to do with their attitudes toward the police.

Besides police contact and treatment, the media also has an important role in shaping the attitudes of the Dutch youth toward the police. Herein, especially social-media plays an important role, wherein the respondents indicate that the short videos they see or the articles they read about police misconduct affects their attitude toward the police. However, the respondents also show to have a critical attitude toward the media as a source, especially when it comes to recorded videos, because they do not know what happened beforehand.

Regarding what the respondents think of ethnic profiling, it has become clear that all of the respondents agreed that ethnic profiling occurs in the police organizations of the Netherlands. The interview results have illustrated that the police do not treat everyone equally and that they base their decision to act or not on someone's ethnicity, skin-color, or race. However, the respondents did not agree about whether it should happen or not. The outcomes have shown that some respondents agreed that ethnic profiling is important, because it is a part of the police organization and protocols in order to catch criminals effectively and maintain the safety. Nevertheless, others did not agree and stated that the police should only act on the basis of facts and not on physical characteristics. Additionally, it was expected that the non-white Dutch youth would be more negative toward the police, because of the idea that the police stops and controls them more frequently than the white-Dutch youth, in which an appearance based selection is made. However, from the interviews it has become clear that 'ethnic profiling' is not the most important factor, but the way the police treats ethnic minorities during these encounters shapes their attitude toward the police. This does not imply that ethnic profiling is accepted, because respondents have indicated, mainly the non-whites, that it does affect their attitude toward the police. However it is intertwined with how the police treats them during the encounters. Some respondents even indicated that they understand why the police engages in ethnic profiling, even though they do not agree with it. They stated that criminality rates play an important role herein and that policing is also human-work and creating stereotypes belong to the human. It should also be mentioned that the respondents were aware of the consequences of ethnic profiling. They state that the consequences of ethnic profiling are mainly found on the societal level, such as distrust against the police, losing sympathy for the police, provoking behavior, and maintaining the inequalities in society. Even though, they know the consequences of such police actions, they still state that they understand why the police engages in it and that ethnic profiling is unavoidable. Procedural just policing is perceived as an important aspect herein, because during such interactions honesty, transparency, politeness, involvement, and getting a voice from the police are expected. However, when ethnic profiling is combined with harsh, unserious, and dishonest treatment, wherein the citizen does not get a voice during the encounter, then this is perceived as problematic. Regarding the dilemma of ethnic profiling, a majority of the respondents indicated that on the one hand the police do not want to discriminate certain groups, and on the other hand needs to maintain the order. Herein, criminality rates and stereotypes play an important role. In short, the outcomes demonstrate that the respondents do not mind 'ethnic profiling' as long as the police are honest, polite, respectful and clear about why they are stopping individuals. Herein, giving a voice and listening to the citizen should be a very serious and essential aspect of policing. It should also be mentioned that, from the qualitative results, it has become clear that the police do not only make decisions based on someone's skin color or ethnicity. Herein, it is also made clear that the media and the criminalization of some minority groups plays an important role. Moreover, it is also indicated

that the socio-economic status of an individual plays an important role in the decision-making of the police.

In sum, the quantitative findings of this study suggested that ethnicity plays an important role in shaping attitudes toward the police. Meaning that the non-white Dutch youth is more likely to hold more negative attitudes toward the police than the white-Dutch youth due to several reasons. On the basis of this study, this can be explained by the way the police treat ethnic minorities in the Netherlands. Moreover, the quantitative part also showed that single procedurally just policing encounters will improve the attitudes of the non-white Dutch youth toward the police. This is due to the finding that there is a lack of experience of procedural just policing among ethnic minority groups. Hereby, it is expected that procedural just policing will improve their satisfaction with the police that delivers services and the community police officers. The results of the quantitative part demonstrated that giving a voice during encounters, being trustworthy, and not engaging in police misconduct are important factors regarding shaping positive attitudes toward the police among the non-white Dutch youth. This positive attitude is necessary to keep the legitimacy of the police organization high and in order to reach cooperation from minority groups in the Netherlands. Regarding ethnic profiling of the police, the outcomes have shown that this is not the most important factor in shaping attitudes toward the police. Hereby, it is not solely about the issue of the police stopping people based on certain characteristics, but mainly on how the police act and treat citizens during such encounters. The respondents have indicated that getting a voice during such interactions or taken seriously by the police are more important in shaping their attitudes toward the police than being stopped randomly. This study has therefore shown that there is a link between ethnic profiling and police treatment- thus, ethnic profiling is not a problem as long as the police remain honest about their decision, is friendly, and give a voice. Moreover, this study demonstrated that media exposure, socio-economic status, police contact, and police experiences are very important factors.

It should also be mentioned that police contact, police perception, or experiences do not undermine the respondents' willingness to report a crime or help the police. The outcomes of the qualitative part have shown that the respondents would help the police through reporting a crime, even though they would have negative experiences or attitudes toward with them. The respondents state that it is their societal duty to do so and they care more about the victim's safety than their own perception of the police. It has also become clear that the Dutch youth's attitudes toward the police will not change by one simple and positive experience with the police, due to past experiences and the media. If the police will consider these influential shortcomings in their daily interactions with the Dutch youth, this will then be an opportunity to develop their relations with the youth. This implies that they can change the way the Dutch youth thinks about them, especially the non-white Dutch youth. Given the common perception of the service police as disrespectful, unfriendly and biased, these police officers should take advantage of the encounters they have with citizens in order to rebuilt their negative image. Herein, the quality of these interactions should be improved, wherein they should show the same kind of compassion, friendliness, and transparency as the community police officers. This study suggests that the perception of the non-white Dutch youth may change in the future when they repeatedly experience nondiscriminatory, neutral, respectful, transparent, non-aggressive, and friendly policing, which is in accordance with procedural just policing. Extensive and further research is required in order to obtain more information, because six non-white respondents and two white respondents are not sufficient to generalize for the whole target audience, namely the Dutch youth and to do justified statements. After having analyzed and summarized the most important outcomes of this study, the next part of this study will discuss the limitations of this study and future research recommendations will also be provided. Afterwards, suggestions for policy recommendations will be made.

7.1 LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH RECOMMENDATIONS

No study is without its limitations and weaknesses, and this study is no exception. This study provided an exclusive contribution toward the problem of negative attitudes toward the police, in a sense that the attitudes of the Dutch youth toward the police are assessed and also the factors that shape those attitudes. Herein, it has become clear that the non-white Dutch youth is more likely to hold negative attitudes toward the police than the white-Dutch youth. Moreover, the concept of ethnic profiling was also assessed on the basis of the interviews. However, some critical notes should be indicated for future researchers. It is important to mention that fundamental issues such as attitudes toward the police, trust, and legitimacy are shaped by a complex mix of fears and hopes, thoughts and emotions, and expectations and experiences. To get the thought that these psychological motions can be confiscated easily through a quantitative study is a misunderstanding. This cannot be measured on the basis of mere numbers and more in-depth information is needed. Qualitative methods are required in order to understand the mental process of individuals when they think of a police officer and when they have experiences something negative or positive, for example. Therefore, this study conducted a mixed-method approach to assessing the attitudes of the Dutch youth toward the police. However, there are still some limitations. The limitations of the empirical findings of this study are mainly about the sample of the variables, the correlational quality of the data, and the effects that have been analyzed and reported. First of all, when it comes to the correlation analysis, this study demonstrated that a majority of the variables have a very weak correlation with the dependent variable. This accounts for the variables such as age, gender, ethnicity, police misconduct, racial discrimination, and education. In contrast to this, the linear regression analysis has shown that ethnicity and police misconduct have significant relationships with the dependent variable. There is a need for caution in interpreting the findings of this study as strong evidence of some factors causing specific reactions. Further research, such as an experimental or longitudinal method is needed before very binding causal relationships can be made. On the basis of the linear regression analysis very promising results are found, but more strong data sets are required in order to get an indication strength of the effect that are reported. Future research should examine more systematically whether the attitudes of the Dutch youth toward the police derive from their global impression of unfair and fair treatment or the different components that make up the specific experiences. Future research should also add more measures and variables in the study, such as media exposure, the socio-economic status, and the negative and positive experiences should be asked in the survey in order to make generalizable judgments about it. Furthermore, social scientists should make the right decisions and choices when operationalizing variables. Choosing the right questions or statements for the right variable remains a complex task. I believe that it is essential for a social scientist not to construct variables in such a way that it will influence the outcomes, because insignificant outcomes are also interesting to discuss. Moreover, the Dutch youth consists of 1685703 individuals, ranging from 18 to 25 years old. Only 154 respondents have participated in the survey and 8 respondents participated in the interviews. The results of this study are not necessarily representative for the whole Dutch youth. Therefore, it cannot be stated with certainty that the findings go further than the respondents who formed a part of this study. This also counts for the police organizations in the Netherlands. The police organization exists of 10 regional unities, the national unity and the police service centrum. These unities exist of districts, which then exists of basis teams. These teams consists of the chief officer, the community police officer, the detective, and 1 or more team chefs (Rijksoverheid, 2017).

On the basis of the interviews it was partly infeasible to say something about the relationship between ethnicity and attitudes toward the police, especially about being white-

Dutch and their attitudes toward the police. As previously mentioned, only eight interviews were done, because from the 23 survey participants only eight wanted to cooperate, in the end. From these eight respondents only 2 were white-Dutch and the other six were non-white Dutch citizens. One of the white-Dutch respondents indicated that she has never experienced something negatively with the police and had no problems with ethnic profiling. Therefore, a larger amount of white-Dutch respondents are needed in the qualitative part in order to make judgments about their experiences with the police, their attitudes toward the police, and their thoughts on ethnic profiling. Extensive and further qualitative research with an equal distribution of white-Dutch and non-white Dutch are needed in order to make judgments about ethnicity and attitudes toward the police and to explain the relationship. When looking at the demographic characteristics of the interview respondents, it could also be stated that people that live in villages, such as Waddinxveen and Alblasserdam are more positive about the police than people that live in cities, such as Rotterdam, Amsterdam, and The Hague. However, further research is needed that will investigate this in order to generalize. Herein, it is important that a question is asked in the survey regarding someone's place of residence and more in-depth questions should asked in the interviews regarding the neighborhood and its impact on their attitudes toward the police. It is also impossible to state that all non-white Dutch hold a negative attitude toward the police, because this group consists of individuals with very specific experiences, thoughts, and characteristics. Therefore, caution is required when generalizing for a whole population, because the empirical findings have also shown that not every non-white respondent had a negative attitude toward the police. More specific and mediating variables should be included in the analyses.

Furthermore, the quantitative part of this study also showed that education had no significant effect on attitudes toward the police. The outcomes of the interviews show the same result and it has become clear that education does not play a role in shaping someone's attitude toward the police. However, with only 8 respondents it is infeasible to draw hard conclusions on this, meaning that further and extensive qualitative research is needed with a larger amount of respondents that differ in age, gender, education, and location. This was infeasible for this project due to time-management and from the 154 survey respondents only 23 indicated that they wanted to cooperate in an interview. Afterwards, from the 23 respondents only 8 indicated that they wanted to be interviewed. This made it difficult to choose the respondents on the basis of their socio-demographic characteristics in order to get an equal distribution. A second note concerns, that the models and interviews reflected the Dutch youth's attitude toward the police. However, on the basis of the results it is impossible to definitively conclude that these outcomes can be generalized to the non-white Dutch youth, the white youth, and to the people who have had direct and no experiences at all with the police. There should be urgent caution in generalizing the outcomes to other legal contexts, such as courts and jails. This also applies to people who have never experienced something with the police or live on the countryside of the Netherlands. Thirdly, this study did not evaluate the effect of other factors for cooperative behavior with the police. From the interviews it has been clear that people would cooperate with the police, even though they would have a negative attitude toward them. They indicated that this is due to their duty as a human-being to help others. However, other factors can also be of importance, such as habits, self-interested calculations, or fear. This limits the ability to generalize about police cooperation and the willingness of the Dutch youth to cooperate with the police. Herein, it is important to search for clear causalities, so longitudinal studies should be conducted in the future in order to determine causalities. Fourthly, it is also infeasible to generalize about the whole police organization. The respondents also indicated that they would never generalize about the whole police corps, because there are good and bad cops. Herein, the respondents were able to indicate the difference between the service police officers and the community police officers. A distinction should be made about the types of police officers

people deal with in order to do reasonable judgments about the police officers. It should also be mentioned that people could be biased in their answers during the survey and interviews due to the fear of being exposed or not daring to speak out about their real ideas on ethnic profiling, their attitudes toward the police or certain minority groups. From the beginning it was indicated that their privacy would be safeguarded and that they are able to ask and tell anything they want, but if this would not have convinced them, then it could possibly have affected their answers. Especially, the questions regarding police trust and ethnic profiling could have been experienced as very complex and personal questions. Nevertheless, it is believed that there is a low level of likelihood of response biases due to the timing of the interview and the survey. Moreover, causality is also an important limitation. It could be that people already have had a very positive attitude toward the police due to their upbringing and that this affects the way in which they act toward the police and perceive the police, such as respectful or friendly. There could also be a third factors that mediates between the two factors. One respondent, namely respondent 2, indicated that his positive attitude toward the police which he has gained during his childhood and in his village impacts how he gets along with the police. He states that he does not care whether the police stops him regularly or without a reason, he would still perceive them as respectful and friendly. For future research, a longitudinal-panel-design and an experimental design is needed to check for this.

This study uses the term 'attitudes toward the police', which refers to the levels of experienced trust, fairness, and respect by the Dutch youth in their dealings with police officers in the Netherlands, which can be formal and informal interactions. This paper only looks at what the Dutch youth think about the police and not the more 'objective' part of the legislation. This subjective experience of the police influences the acceptance of the legitimacy of the police. Therefore, this study does not aim to determine whether attitudes toward the police can be objective. The main aim of this research was to gain deeper insight into the Dutch youth's attitude toward the police and their experiences and ideas that are linked to it. Moreover, this study examined the factors that can influence the attitudes of the Dutch youth toward the police, and it has been clear from the quantitative and qualitative results that a person's perception can be influenced by different factors. Herein, it is important that people are clearly informed about the interpersonal treatments and the procedures that are experienced. Moreover, it has also become clear that the non-white Dutch youth wants to be treated as they think other people are treated or as they were treated in the past. This study has shown that the non-white Dutch youth want to feel that their opinions are taken seriously during police-citizen encounters and that they get a voice. The Dutch youth finds it more important that their views are taken seriously by the police, even though the police will not do anything with it. Thus, the police only need to listen.

Measuring attitudes toward the police is a complex task, therefore this concept does not have a limit and further research is always required. Another point is that research on the attitudes toward the police should be done in different time-frames and places to see whether differ in their opinion due to certain events. As indicated before, besides the quantitative and qualitative research approach another method should also be conducted. Herein, setting up an experimental setting wherein a test-group is exposed to facts, videos, and the opinions of others in order to see how this influences their attitude toward the police in the Netherlands. During these experiments creating a bond of trust is very important, and the researcher should not only be an interviewer, but also needs to be involved and a participant in the group that is examined. Moreover, further research will provide new insights in order to obtain a deeper understanding about the topic.

7.2 POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Under this section of the study, policy recommendations will be made in order to increase, especially, the non-white Dutch youth's satisfaction, trust, and overall to improve their perception of the police in the Netherlands. The study findings are essential and can be used to improve the police organization and their way of handling in certain situations. Some of these recommendations will be based on the respondent's ideas and suggestions.

The quantitative and qualitative findings of attitudes toward the police confirmed that the most important aspects of procedural justice can be easily applied to police practices. Herein, changing the institutions are important and policy makers need to know how new procedures would affect the attitudes of the Dutch youth before implementing an intervention. This research would be essential in convincing policy makers to understand that procedural just policing is a very important aspect and that it can be attained in a short police-citizen contact. Careful education and training of police officers can help to improve procedural just policing. Not all police executives will be happy with procedural just policing or will like the implemented policy changes. However, here it is important that the police officers, who engage in procedural just policing in their interactions, should be rewarded and encouraged, and mechanisms for accountability should be established. It should also be noted that procedural just policing is cheap and easy, which means that it only needs a minimal amount of direction and supervisory efforts. Herein, the police officers should be trained specifically about procedural justice by stating that they are accountable for their actions. Policy administrators and departments should make sure that field training, continuing education, and academy training of police officers will improve community-centered skills and values. Herein, the trainings and education should focus on eliminating biases, enforcing fairness and procedural justice in policing, and very appropriate and active engagement with the youth in the Netherlands. The emphasis of the police should be on building relationships with the communities and herein interaction is a very essential aspect.

The police organizations also need a good functioning information network, wherein information is shared. Herein, the importance of projects such as Burgernet and Neighborhood Watch should be taken into account. These projects focus on the improvement of the police-citizen relationship by incorporating citizens in the police work. The aim of the police officers should be to work together with the citizens and maintain good relationships. The role of community police officers is essential herein, and it is important that the citizens, especially the youth, feel part of the police corps and should not feel excluded or feel threatened by them. This can be done through procedurally just policing. Moreover, factual performance of this police is also indicated as one point of improvement. Herein, it is stated that the police should always act on the basis of facts and risk-behavior and never on the basis of their biases or emotions.

This can be enhanced by implementing 'stop forms'. The United Kingdom demonstrates to be a great example of wherein stop forms have decreased ethnic profiling. These are forms the police have to fill in when deciding to stop someone, wherein there should be very clear and factual reasons to stop someone. It is expected that the stop forms will decrease stopping people randomly on the streets due to their physical appearances. As well as an App should be created which informs citizens about ethnic profiling and victims of ethnic profiling can report such actions of unjustified policing. Herein, it is important the government raises awareness among people about this App, which can be done through advertisements on Facebook or government commercials.

Moreover, the police should get better training regarding how to handle situations and interactions. As stated before, scientific literature and this study have shown that citizens do not

mind the outcomes of such an interaction, as long as the police officers gave them a voice, recognized their rights, and provided them with detailed explanation for the stop. Moreover, it is also important that the police officers remains honest the whole time and that they take every case seriously and listen. Thus, the police should clearly and honestly indicate why they stopped a certain individual, because citizens are smart enough to know when the police speaks the truth or not. Moreover, the police should emphasize respectfulness and fairness in their interaction with the citizens. This will enhance the perceptions of the citizens toward the police. Herein, disrespectful behavior and police violence should be averted to all costs.

Another important point that should be taken into account is creating cultural sensitivity among the police officers. This can be done by careful training and education. The Netherlands is a culturally diverse country and herein it is essential that the police officers know the differences in cultures, also the street culture of the youth. The police should adapt to the context and must aquire knowledge about the cultural backgrounds of people. Especially, knowledge acquirement about the language use of the youth and their behavior is perceived as important. There should be an increase in the cultural competency and language proficiency among the police officers in order to effectively partner with ethnic minority communities. This will lead to feelings of being taken seriously and being a valuable citizen of the society among migrant groups. Furthermore, diversity in the police corps should be promoted. Meaning that the police corporation in the Netherlands should make the profession attractive for all people from different ethnic backgrounds. This entails that more Turkish, Moroccan, Antillean, or Surinamese police officers are needed in the police corps. This can be done by inviting, specifically, the youth with a migration background to certain events and give them incentives to cooperate with the police. This should happen on a neighborhood level, wherein the task of the community police officer is to maintain good relationships with the residents. This can be attained by treating everyone equally, being friendly, and transparent. Moreover, it is important for police officers to give courses, workshops, or classes at schools, which should already start from the elementary school in order to inspire the youth. Herein, the actual debate about a hijab in the police corps is something that should also be stimulated in classes or courses. When police officers of different backgrounds work together this will also lead to more cultural sensitivity among the police officers. Moreover, history and education also play an important role in this. It is important for all the Dutch youth to learn about citizenship at schools and the government should contribute to this by changing the schoolbooks, especially history books. The story that everyone is equal and no one is less worthy should be spread by the government through education, media, and campaigns, which is a preventive measure.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A. Survey Questions

Part 1. Background Characteristics

1. Your gender : male or female

2. How old are you (in years)? _____

3. What is your ethnic background?

X Turkish

X Moroccan

X Native Dutch

X Surinamese

X Antillean

X Yugoslavian

X Mixed

X Asian

X African

X Other_____

4. Where were you born?

X In The Netherlands

X Other, namely _____

5. Please indicate the highest level of education that you have finished:

X Vmbo

X Havo/VWO

X MBO

X HBO

X WO- bachelor's degree

X Master's degree

X PHD

Part 2 . Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the statements

6. In general, how satisfied are you with:

	5	4	3	2	1
The police department in your city?	Very satisfied	Satisfied	Neutral	Dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied
The police officers who serve your neighborhood?	Very satisfied	Satisfied	Neutral	Dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied

Part 3. Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the 17 statements about your view on procedural just policing

7. In general, I think that:

		5	4	3	2	1
1	The police should be unbiased/neutral in every situation	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
2	The police should be trustworthy	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
3	The police should treat ALL citizens with respect and dignity	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
4	The police should give the individual that is stopped a voice to hear their side of the story	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
5	The police should explain to individuals who are stopped what they are doing and why they are stopped	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
6	The police should provide same service quality to all people	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
7	The police should respects the rights of people	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
8	The police should be able to stop individuals that have certain	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree

	characteristics that fit the statistics					
9	It is justified that the police make decisions based on societies' perceptions on certain groups	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
10	The police should have all the power to use aggressive police practices when they think a situation is dangerous even if it is against the law	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
11	The police should be able to use excessive and aggressive language towards individuals	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
12	The police should have all the power to stop anyone on the street without any significant reason	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
13	The police should consider the perceptions of the people involved before making decisions	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
14	The police should always acts in line with the law	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
15	You should always do what the police tell you to do even though you don't like the way the police treat you	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
16	The police should have the power to do what they like and think is needed to fight crime	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
17	You should accept the decisions of the police even though you do not agree or understand	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree

The following set of questions will ask about your view on the police service in the Netherlands. Please indicate whether you disagree or agree with each statement by circling one option on each row.

 8: In general, I think that:

		5	4	3	2	1

1	The police are trustworthy	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
2	The police treat ALL people with respect and dignity	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
3	The police give the individual that is stopped a voice to hear their side of the story	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
4	The police provide same service quality to ALL people	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
5	The police more often stop individuals that have certain characteristics that fit the statistics and media coverage	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
6	The police respect the rights of ALL people	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
7	The police are honest towards ALL people	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
8	The police act in line with the law in daily routines	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
9	The police are unbiased and neutral in their daily activities	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
10	The police make decision based on facts	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
11	The police use excessive and aggressive language towards certain individuals	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
12	The police explain their decisions to the people they stop or deal with	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
13	The police more often use aggressive police practices towards certain individuals even if it is against the law	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
14	The police consider the perceptions of the people involved before making decisions	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree

9. Would you like to cooperate in an interview that will take place after the survey? Yes/No

APPENDIX B. Interview Questions

Achtergrondinformatie

1. *Kan je een korte beschrijving van jezelf geven?*
- Leeftijd
- Afkomst
- Opleidingsniveau
- Waar je woont
- Wat je momenteel doet
-

Algemene mening over de politie?

2. *Wat is jouw algemene opvatting over de politie in Nederland en in je buurt? Is je opinie gebaseerd op persoonlijke ervaringen of de ervaringen van iemand anders of de media?*
3. *Hoe tevreden ben je met de politie in Nederland en in je buurt ? Is je opinie gebaseerd op persoonlijke ervaringen of de ervaringen van iemand anders of de media?*

Politie Contact

4. *Ben je ooit door de politie staande gehouden (gestopt) op straat zonder goede reden? Evt. toelichting (hoe was dit, hoe oud was je, was de politie agent aardig, eerlijk, agressief, heeft hij of zij nader toegelicht waarom je gestopt bent op een neutrale manier) (heeft dit je mening veranderd over de politie).*
5. *Ben je ooit in aanraking geweest met de politie om een andere reden? Evt toelichting (hoe was en of dit je mening heeft veranderd over de politie)*
6. *Heeft iemand in jouw omgeving de laatste 12 maanden een goede ervaring met de politie gehad? Evt toelichting, wie is de persoon die het meemaakte? 1. Familie/kennis/vriend 2. Media 3. Van de politie zelf 4. Anders....*
7. *Heeft iemand in jouw omgeving de laatste 12 maanden een slechte ervaring met de politie gehad? Evt toelichting, wie is de persoon die het meemaakte? 1. Familie/kennis/vriend 2. Media 3. Van de politie zelf 4. Anders....*

Politie Samenwerking

8. *Zou je de politie bellen/helpen om een criminele actie te rapporteren/op te lossen waarvan je op de hoogte bent? (Waarom wel en waarom niet? Welke factoren leiden ertoe dat je het wel of niet zou doen)*

Politiebehandeling

9. *Vertrouw je de politie en hoe denk je over de manier waarop ze mensen behandelen? (behandelen ze iedereen gelijk, behandelen ze etnische minderheden anders?) Is je opinie gebaseerd op persoonlijke ervaringen of de ervaringen van iemand anders of de media?*

Etnisch Profileren

10. *Wat versta jij eigenlijk onder etnisch profileren?*
11. *In hoeverre denk je dat de politie aan etnisch profileren doet?*
12. *Hoe zou de politie volgens jou moeten optreden?*
13. *Heb je zelf ervaringen met etnisch profileren, en kun je een voorbeeld opnoemen van hoe dat in de praktijk verliep?*
14. *Wat voor dilemma's zie je voor de politie?*

Tot Slot

15. *Als je wat zou kunnen veranderen aan de politie, wat zou dat dan zijn? Heb je nog aanbevelingen?*

APPENDIX C. Questionnaire websites

https://nl.surveymonkey.com/r/B8HTNYD

http://www.mpvnederland.org/

https://outlook.live.com/- spread by e-mail

https://nl.linkedin.com/

https://www.facebook.com/sevgi.yilmaz.7503 - shared by many people

https://www.facebook.com/ICCEssalam/?fref=ts

https://www.facebook.com/MPVNederland/?fref=ts

APPENDIX D. Background: ethnicity category 'other'

Somali	Kar'ina	Colombian
Jewish	British	Bulgarian
Native American	Pakistani	Russian
Native African	Hungarian	Albanian
Italian	Afghan	