Policing and Islamophobia in Germany: The Role of Workplace Experience

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IJCV : Vol. 2 (1) 2008, pp. 138 – 156
Heidi Mescher: Policing and Islamophobia in Germany: The Role of Workplace Experience

139

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This study starts from a recognition that the German police have a significant potential to promote integration in contemporary multiethnic Germany. It employs three measures of Islamophobic attitudes and contact quality amongst a sample of 727 German police officers, and relates these to measures of job satisfaction, political affiliation, individual responsibility, and recognition. The data reveal Islamophobia to be significantly linked to these variables. Detailed analyses indicate that the respondents' experience of policing may produce levels of dissatisfaction that impacts upon their outgroup attitudes. The implications of this for initiatives to promote police-Muslim relations are explored.

1. Introduction

This paper has its roots in an extensive study of attitudes towards Islam in Germany which was initiated and carried out under the direction of Professor Rainer Dollase.[1] This study was itself an element in a larger programme entitled *Disintegration Processes – Strengthening the Integration Potentials of Modern Society* under the direction of Professor Wilhelm Heitmeyer funded by the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research (June 2002–May 2005). The author wishes to acknowledge her indebtedness to Prof. Dollase for permission to draw on the data collected while she was a member of this research team. Additionally she wishes to acknowledge the support of Professor Charles Husband in developing this paper.

Police forces in modern European democracies continue to operate in a web of sometimes conflicting expectations held by the state, the populace and the police themselves. Given political legitimacy and a legal armoury of supportive legislation by the state, the police are mandated to secure the safety of all citizens and their property and to guarantee the formal civility in social interactions that enables a free public sphere and open daily contact between citizens. However, the changing composition of the actors negotiating the social relations of today's European countries places new demands upon the police.

In Germany, as in other European countries, the presence of minority ethnic communities has been observed to present a specific challenge to police forces as they negotiate their unique role in managing the interface between the majority society and minority ethnic communities. More particularly, in recent years Muslim communities within European nation-states have been perceived as presenting a distinct challenge to national political aspirations for the integration of minority populations (Ahmed 1992; Halliday 1996; Lewis 2003). Consequently this article will focus on police-Muslim interactions in contemporary Germany. In the current context of the "war on terror" and concerns about the long-term implications of anti-Muslim sentiments in contemporary multi-ethnic societies this is an issue that merits serious and considered attention (Modood et al. 2006).

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1 Perceptions of Islam in a Multicultural Population: An Empirical Examination of Perceptions of Islam to Determine the Conditions and Possibilities of Religious Integration and/or the Mobilization of Right-Wing Extremist Attitudes.

IJCV : Vol. 2 (1) 2008, pp. 138 – 156
Heidi Mescher: Policing and Islamophobia in Germany: The Role of Workplace Experience

140

Whilst many members of majority ethnic communities may choose to avoid contact with Muslim communities or individuals or may be demographically excluded from routine contact with them, contact with Muslim individuals is an inevitable aspect of their routine work for many police officers. This may make police officers disproportionately salient members of the majority society in shaping the Muslim communities' experience of engagement with German society. Put another way, the police have a significant potential to facilitate the integration of members of Muslim minorities into majority German society. This article seeks to acknowledge this positive potential and examine factors which may impact upon police officers' capacity to successfully fulfil it.

Clearly, police officers' attitudes towards Muslim members of their community will be one significant variable in shaping their performance, and with this in mind three measures of anti-Muslim sentiment will be presented below as dependent variables in our analysis. However, in rejecting any simplistic notion of the inherently prejudiced personality (Billig 1978) we will explore aspects of the relationship between police officers' attitudes and behavioural dispositions toward Muslim persons in Germany and their experience of their working environment. Thus, following earlier research, we will introduce below the independent variables of *job satisfaction* and *recognition*. These variables tap aspects of police officers' experience of serving under the discipline and procedures of the force and of policing per se. Our argument is that Islamophobic attitudes and dispositions are not acquired and expressed in a social vacuum, and that by engaging with individual officers' experience of the generic process of working within the institutional regime and cultural milieu of specific police forces, we may gain insights into how non-racialized, routine work-related experience may impact upon the intergroup dynamics of police officers' engagement with Muslim members of their community. Evidence of such linkages would have significant implications for future initiatives aiming to prepare the police to work equitably in multi-ethnic Germany.

In pursuing this agenda we will also introduce *political affiliation* and a sense of *individual responsibility* as independent variables shaping the emergence of anti-Muslim sentiments. Finally, reflecting its centrality in the literature on inter-group relations, we also engage with the issue of *contact* as a critical variable in the shaping of interethnic relations. Typically presented as an independent variable in relation to the expression of prejudices, we hope to show here – in addition to examining its role as a mediator – that it may also be legitimately perceived as a dependent variable.

By exploring the linkage between these variables, using a data set that provided privileged access to a large sample of serving police officers, this analysis will enable us to open up for scrutiny something of the dynamics of the relationship between the generic experiences of policing and the specific context of engaging with Muslim members of German society. Thus, this analysis locates itself within the established literature which places any understanding of individual officers' behaviour within the framing context of police services as organizations with quite distinct routines, managerial ideologies and workplace cultures (Hüttermann 2000). As the argument is developed below we will initially provide a brief European context within which we may later locate the specifically German experience of ethnic diversity. This will be followed by consideration of the concept of "integration" and its relation to framing models of state multiculturalism. Specific attention will be given to the German experience of developing multicultural policy and practices. Having sketched this context we will then review the nature of police-minority ethnic relations before moving on to introduce our variables and their operationalization.

2. Policing, the State, and the Changing Demography of Europe

Across Europe the post–Second World War processes of migration have cumulatively and significantly changed the demography of national populations, leading a new segment of society to experience the intrusive and repressive powers of policing as specifically impacting upon them both individually and collectively (Biemer and Brachear 2003). The interaction of their class and ethnic identities, and their localized concentration in specific urban areas, have rendered ethnic minority communities a critical interface between the espoused rights and values of liberal democracies and the functions of policing in the contemporary political context.

Although active recruitment of migrant labour to Europe ended in the 1970s, family reunification continued the en-

IJCV : Vol. 2 (1) 2008, pp. 138 – 156
Heidi Mescher: Policing and Islamophobia in Germany: The Role of Workplace Experience

141

try of immigrants. Since the 1980s the global movement of refugees and asylum seekers has created new sources and patterns of immigration (Castles 2000). And more recently the expansion of the European Union has prompted a significant flow of migrant labour from Eastern Europe into the more affluent West. The ethnic diversity of contemporary European states presents a distinct set of challenges to national police forces. The increasingly vehement rhetoric against refugees and asylum seekers is not confined to the ideologies of the far-right (Cheles et al. 1991) but is frequently the routine discourse of mainstream parties. As European governments line up to assert that multiculturalism was flawed in its conception and has failed in practice (Husband 2007; Modood 2007), majority populations feel legitimated in resenting the recognition and resources granted to minority ethnic communities (Hewitt 2005; Schiffauer 2006). If we then add to this the global impact of the "War on Terror" rhetoric and policies, and particularly its specific expression in the growth of Islamophobia in particular states (EUMC 2006), it becomes clear that contemporary policing in ethnically diverse states places individual police officers and particular police forces, in a political and social milieu that makes their interaction with minority ethnic communities potentially fraught. Thus in a variety of European contexts Muslim communities have become a particular focus of political anxiety and surveillance. They have come to have reason to feel particularly subject to intrusive police powers (Choudary et al. 2006; OSCE 2006).

Thus it is in this political and social climate that we wish to recognize the specific significance of individual police officers as unique agents in the integrative processes of contemporary multi-ethnic Germany.

3. Integration and Multiculturalism as a Context for Policing
In seeking to explore the relationships between police officers' experience of their work and the development and maintenance of negative or positive dispositions toward Muslim citizens and denizens* resident in Germany our concern is to recognize the police as a significant presence in shaping integration in multi-ethnic Germany. In the words of the OSCE's *Recommendations on Policing in Multi-Ethnic Societies*: "States should adopt policies which clearly recognize the importance of policing for interethnic

relations." (OSCE 2006, 4). Given that the police are routinely one institutional facet of majority society that may be expected to interact with minority ethnic communities and individuals, their capacity to promote processes of integration or to generate interethnic suspicion and conflict has been widely recognized (Charter for European Security 1999).

Integration is, however, a problematic goal and an ambiguous process in the field of ethnic relations in multi-ethnic societies. As a major review for the British Home Office expressed it: "there is no single agreed understanding of the term 'integration': Meanings vary from country to country, change over time, and depend on the interests, values and perspectives of the people concerned" (Castles et al. 2002, 112). Castles and his colleagues are clear that in order to be equitable and politically meaningful, integration must be a two-way process in which adaptation on the part of the minority ethnic community must be matched by reciprocal movement within the host community (ibid., 113).

Yet, speaking as a major European voice for minority ethnic communities, the European Network Against Racism (ENAR) suggests that in the realpolitik of European ethnic relations integration frequently takes a different form. In their words: "EU Member States have defined integration as a 'two-way process'. Nevertheless, ENAR members have identified a tendency to operationalise integration as a 'one-way process' where the migrant is expected to adapt to the majority communities, and where very little attention is paid to the role of majority communities in fostering 'integrated societies'" (ENAR 2006, 18).

Given this ambivalence regarding the de facto experience of integration within Europe it is appropriate to recognize the distinct nature of the German experience of ethnic diversity. Although more than four million people moved into the Federal Republic of Germany between 1988 and 1992 (Geddes 2003), Germany officially remained a "non-immigration country" (*kein Einwanderungsland*). As Brubaker puts it (1992, 174), this counter-factual position should be seen as a "political-cultural norm" and an aspect of national self-understanding. As Kraus and Schönwälder (2006, 203) recently phrased it: "Multiculturalism emerged late in West German debates, and it was and remains

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* In the context of Germany, where access to citizenship for the settled minority ethnic populations has been slow and difficult very many persons remain without full citizenship rights, although they are legally resident. In this sense they are denizens as defined by Hammar (1990).

IJCV : Vol. 2 (1) 2008, pp. 138 – 156
Heidi Mescher: Policing and Islamophobia in Germany: The Role of Workplace Experience

142

mostly a slogan rather than a precise policy." They go on to show that in the 1990s, in the absence of a clear federal multicultural policy, initiatives to recognize the cultural and political rights of ethnic minorities have been developing at the local and regional level. Thus if there has been a reluctance to recognize and promote ethnic plurality at the level of national policy and political discourse then we must acknowledge this as a significant element in the cultural and political context within which police personnel have developed their corporate and personal responses to engaging with the German Muslim populations.

Additionally, within this context of the late development of state policy it has been argued that the Muslim populations in Germany have in recent years been the object of state-led and populist anxiety regarding their unassimilable difference and their threat to normative German values and interests (Schiffauer 2006). As in other countries, one focus of this outgroup hostility has been the wearing of the veil by Muslim women (Oestreich 2004). In studies of discrimination in Germany, Goldberg and Sauer (2004) found people of Turkish origin reporting significant levels of perceived discrimination during the period 1999 – 2003, while Salentin (2007) found that persons of Turkish background report significantly more incidents of discrimination than ethnic German immigrants from the former Soviet Union (Aussiedler) or persons of Greek origin. Thus we have reasons to believe that within contemporary German ethnic relations the situation of persons of Muslim background is particularly problematic.

We are aware that in popular and policy discourse Turkish ethnicity and Muslim religious identification are frequently conflated. Such essentialism is misplaced since the Muslim population of Germany is not identical with the German-Turkish communities and the Turkish population itself has significant intra-group differences. However the attribution of Muslim identity to specific urban communities is a recognizable element in the contemporary social imaginary in Germany (Taylor 2004).

On the face of it, it seems to be an awkward idea to consider the police force as a mediator of integration, knowing that it – more than any other occupation – is defined by state policy and regulation. Through their occupational identity police officers express the will of the state. As

described above, if the state does not actively support multicultural policies why should the police? Nevertheless it is the police's high visibility on the intercultural interface of society that justifies a closer look at their existing inherent potential for promoting integration. In doing so we have to concentrate on the basic minimum prerequisites, or necessary conditions (rather than sufficient conditions), which need to be in place. Regarding necessary conditions this article focuses on officers' attitudes towards minorities which need to be if not positive then at least neutral in order to enable them to act as mediators of integration.

4. Police – Ethnic Minority Relations

Policing and minority relations have figured prominently in the international literature reflecting upon the nature of ethnic relations in multi-ethnic societies. Some of this literature has emerged as a concerned policy response to breakdowns in police/community relations and associated major civil disturbances such as the Watts Riots of 1965 in the United States and the subsequent Kerner Report (1968), or the Scarman Report on the 1981 riots in England (Scarman 1981). Others have addressed sustained institutional racism, perhaps revealed through specific catalytic events: for example aboriginal deaths in custody in Australia or the 1998 Lawrence Inquiry in England. It is evident that the dangers to society posed by real failings of policing in multi-ethnic societies have for a long time been a salient policing issue (Banton 1994; Byron 2001; Wortley and Homel 1995). This development has been accompanied by the cumulative development of literature and policing initiatives seeking to positively intervene in the hope of facilitating the development of a routine police practice that is equitable in its application and integrative of ethnic relations in its effect (OSCE 1996; Chan 1997; EUMC 2006).

Regarding the German context, the initial situation concerning police officers' interactions with and attitudes towards minorities seems to be problematic. At the beginning of the 1990s there were increasing indications of a deteriorating climate of relationships between the police force and different groups of immigrants (Leenen 2005). Although no study stands out as proving that there is a substantially high level of xenophobic attitudes amongst German police officers (e.g. Jaschke 1998), the police created a decidedly poor image for themselves through a large

IJCV : Vol. 2 (1) 2008, pp. 138 – 156
Heidi Mescher: Policing and Islamophobia in Germany: The Role of Workplace Experience

143

number of proven cases of discrimination (Amnesty International 1997). One political response to these alarming incidents has been to promote research projects analyzing police officers' attitudes toward foreigners (Bornewasser et al. 1996; Backes et al. 1997; Jaschke 1998; Mletzko and Weins 1999; Dollase 2000).

In developing the independent variables employed in this study we were aware of the pre-existing literature relating to policing and outgroup attitudes. In particular we are concerned to address features of routine police performance that have been identified as impacting on police officers' xenophobic attitudes. In the literature briefly summarized below it is apparent that a holistic view of police officers in relation to their workplace and their social context is necessary for any understanding of the development and expression of their inter-group behaviour.

The first widely acknowledged study was conducted by Bornewasser and colleagues in 1995 (Bornewasser et al. 1996). The qualitative research (workshops and group discussions) traced police officers' xenophobia back to inadequate coping strategies. The author identified five facets of the policing experience that may impact on their expression of xenophobia: (1) foreigners are expected to adapt to German law more than locals; (2) police officers experience their work as a Sisyphean task because the courts negate their work, causing feelings of helplessness and powerlessness; (3) street cops are often seen as the bottom of a hierarchy, they have to accept whatever decisions the authorities make and are given no space for discussion of this situation within the organization; (4) the cumulative workload may contribute to increased emotionality towards foreigners; or (5) result in resignation which is often associated with a tendency to avoid difficult situations.

The findings of the state-level parliamentary commission of inquiry into the Hamburg police (Bürgerschaft der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg 1996) were in line with the results of Bornewasser et al. (1996). The commission argued that both structural and individual factors and their interaction play an important role in motivating inappropriate behaviour amongst police officers. The report defined police officers' inclinations towards violence and their attitudes towards foreigners as individual factors,

while working in extremely troubled neighbourhoods, the absence of psychological monitoring, and the failure to rotate officers in their area of work were defined as structural factors. An additional study commissioned by the government of the city-state of Hamburg (Backes et al. 1997) describes risk constellations causing deficits in conflict resolution in police-minority relations. The factors identified include stress in daily work routines, the impact of the potential of self-regulation and its relation to creating a wide range of discretion in routine policing, and prejudices against the police held by members of the community.

Mletzko and Weins (1999) developed a survey on the basis of the qualitative research performed by Bornewasser and colleagues (1996) and added contact as a variable. The authors indicated that for the surveyed police officers high levels of stress in professional interethnic contacts are associated with higher levels of xenophobia. For the contact variable their findings verified the hypothesis – derived from previous research where positive contact quality was shown to be associated with more positive attitudes towards foreigners (e.g. Pettigrew and Troop 2000, Viki et al. 2006) – that police officers who have foreigners as friends or family (contact quality) display less xenophobic attitudes. Multivariate analyses revealed stress – in comparison to contact – to be the more influential variable in predicting xenophobic attitudes.

More recently a quantitative study by Manzoni and Eisner (2006) examined the significance of stress and workload within a more complex framework. The resulting empirical data indicated, inter alia, that high levels of stress due to workload and consequent job dissatisfaction and also the degree of job commitment were significantly correlated with the use of force against suspects. Although these bivariate results showed a significant relationship between the use of force and work stress, job satisfaction, and commitment, multivariate analyses using structural equation models indicated no influence of stress-related factors on the amount of force.

The studies reviewed above provide strong support for our focus upon the routine experience of policing and its potential impact on the inter-group behaviour of police officers. Risk constellations or combinations of different

IJCV : Vol. 2 (1) 2008, pp. 138 – 156
Heidi Mescher: Policing and Islamophobia in Germany: The Role of Workplace Experience

144

interacting mechanisms rather than just a single factor are identified as explaining the phenomenon of inappropriate inter-group behaviour. Thus in this paper we focus on significant variables emerging from previous research and integrate them in one study.

Adding to previous studies on police officers' general outgroup hostility, we locate the present study in the ongoing political discussion on diversity concepts and Islamophobia in Germany, examining job satisfaction, recognition, individual responsibility, and political affiliation as shaping police officers' Islamophobic sentiments and perceptions of the quality of contact. In the following section the dependant and independent variables analyzed in this study are outlined in relation to the relevant literature.

4.1 The Police and Muslim Communities
4.1.1 Measures of Islamophobia as Dependent Variables
The aim of this analysis is to shed some light on the relationship between police officers' experience of their working environment and their attitudes and behavioural disposition toward Muslim persons in Germany. Within a wide-ranging project (Dollase, in press), the inclusion of a specific focus on police-Muslim relations was a response to the salience of Islam and Muslim communities in contemporary Europe. As noted above, Muslim communities have become the focus of generalized Islamophobic sentiments and specific forms of racist discrimination and assault. The significant role of the police as a key interface between the ethnically German majority and Islamic citizens underlined the relevance of this focus in our analysis.

In order to access police dispositions toward Muslim people three measures were developed: (1) *a general evaluation of Muslim people*, which might be regarded as an indication of generalized Islamophobia; (2) a short scale, tapping specific expressions of *Islamophobia*, and (3) a short scale tapping the behavioural disposition of *distancing behaviour* toward Muslim people.

The long history of social psychological research has recurrently identified cognitive, affective, and behavioural dynamics as being intrinsically interwoven in the complex phenomenon that is prejudice (Brown 1995; Dovidio et al. 1996). A related but relatively autonomous body of

work has added to the understanding of stereotypes as a discursively constructed set of beliefs about all members of a social group. Whilst social psychology has continued to add to our understanding of the ways in which individuals may deploy stereotypes in negotiating intergroup relations (e.g. Brown et al. 1999; Locke and Walker 1999), an understanding of the social construction of stereotypes owes much to discourse analysis (Potter and Wetherell 1987; van Dijk 1991, 1993) and to contemporary political science. Thus, in addressing the assessment of Islamophobic tendencies amongst this substantial sample of German police officers, a degree of reflexive caution must be exercised. The literature on Islamophobia points towards a Eurocentric construction of difference in which an "Orientalist" historiography (Said 1995) has provided a complex, but consolidated, set of negative stereotypes about Islam and its followers. Such a perspective might suggest that Islamophobically informed prejudice is essentially driven by a historically derived set of rather rigid stereotypes of the outgroup. However, this historically informed perspective is itself somewhat ahistorical in that it fails to address the current socio-political dynamics that shape contemporary anti-Islamic sentiments (Halliday 1996). However, the contributions of social identity theory (Tajfel and Turner 1979) and self-categorization theory (Turner et al 1987; Turner and Reynolds 2001) continue to argue strongly for the relevance of group social identity – rather than only individual psychological dynamics – for any adequate understanding of the nature of prejudice.

The processes of recent European migration have frequently created distinct majority-minority ethnic inter-group relationships with attendant stereotypes and hostility (Modood et al. 2006). In Germany localized bitter hostility between majority autochthonous Germans and established Turkish communities has been paralleled by widespread Islamophobic sentiment (EMUC 2006). Within such national inter-group dynamics specific issues emerge as defining features of intergroup tension. Education, the construction of mosques, perceived sexual threat, association with crime, and resentment about consumption of state welfare resources are typical examples of the mediated moral panics that frame inter-group relations in multi-ethnic societies (Chritcher 2006). However, here again a complex mix of available foci for outgroup hostili-

IJCV : Vol. 2 (1) 2008, pp. 138 – 156
Heidi Mescher: Policing and Islamophobia in Germany: The Role of Workplace Experience

145

ties typically reveal the importance of specific contexts and their unique characteristics in shaping the nature and behavioural expressions of prejudice (Keith 2005; Alexander 2000; Back 1996; Eade 1997). More particularly, whilst prejudice has been understood as a phenomenon including a dynamic interplay of affective, cognitive, and behavioural elements, the affective component of prejudice has attracted recent emphasis (Fiske 2004). Thus, for example, differing facets of the outgroup community may elicit different emotional responses from majority ethnic actors (Smith 1999). Cuisine and cooking habits may elicit disgust, forms of religious practice may generate outrage and anger, or perceived machismo and overt sexuality may attract fear and resentment (Hüttermann 2006). Different emotions are likely to match quite specific elements of outgroup stereotypes and elicit correspondingly specific behavioural responses.

Thus, in a study such as this the pragmatic use of modest measures of Islamophobia and distancing behaviour should not, and cannot, be used to suggest that Islamophobia is a unitary attitudinal disposition with relatively linear predictive relations between the cognitive, affective, and behavioural components. The measures developed in this analysis provide a heuristic tool for exploring police/Muslim relations and their determinants.

4.1.2 Contact Quality as a Dependent and Mediating Variable

Contact, as a behavioural variable, is widely acknowledged as influencing prejudice and intergroup bias. Gordon Allport (1954) conceptualized the contact hypothesis which defines four basic conditions that need to be present in order for contact between members of different social groups to yield positive effects: equal status, common goals, intergroup cooperation, and institutional support. Pettigrew (1998) added a fifth key condition: the potential for the members of different groups to become friends. Obviously inter-group contact between the police and members of the public, especially when they are suspects, violates most of these conditions. In interactions there are practically always status differences, with the police holding the authority (Hüttermann 2000). Moreover the police and members of the public may not have common goals, and therefore the contact may not be cooperative (still less a basis for forming friendships). More recently

the importance of institutional support for contact has been underlined by initiatives taken by police authorities (Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung 2005).

Thus, whilst the frequency and quality of contact may influence the development and expression of prejudiced sentiments, it is also clear from Pettigrew's analysis (1998) that the perception of a contact experience and the management of frequency of contact are themselves subject to influence by other factors. Hence given the context of police-Muslim contacts noted above we may hypothesize that the personal motivations, affective states, and prior beliefs a police officer brings to an interethnic encounter may shape their perception of it. Consequently, the perception of contact quality as operationalized below is employed as a dependent variable. Additionally as Pettigrew and Tropp have shown (2006), even sub-optimal conditions of contact can reduce prejudice to a meaningful degree, thus contact, as included in our study, is also considered as a mediating variable.

The general evaluation of Muslim people, Islamophobic attitudes, distancing behaviour and contact quality are the dominant dependent variables relating to police officers' relationships towards Muslim populations that we focus on in this study. We define them as integrative potentials of the individual police officer. Following our argumentation we assume that neutral (or ideally positive) weightings on these variables are necessary preconditions for enabling the police force and its members to act as facilitators of integrative processes.

4.1.3 Independent Variables

As attitudes towards Muslim people and evaluations of contact with them develop in the context of policing and the prevailing attitudes of wider society we have identified a number of relevant independent variables.

Previous research (see above) recognized several factors in police officers' daily routines that cause discontent. The concept of *job satisfaction* is therefore an important aspect to take into account in analyzing job performance. The association of job satisfaction and job performance is a widely acknowledged finding indicating that job dissatisfaction is an antecedent of counterproductive work

IJCV : Vol. 2 (1) 2008, pp. 138 – 156
Heidi Mescher: Policing and Islamophobia in Germany: The Role of Workplace Experience

146

behaviour (Lau et al. 2003). Much of the work on counterproductive work behaviour has roots in the study of human aggression. In most theories it is linked to negative emotions, such as anger and/or frustration in response to environmental conditions in both the social psychological (e.g. Anderson et al. 1995; Berkowitz 1998) and workplace (Fox and Spector 1999; Neuman and Baron 1997) literatures. Links between stressors at work and counterproductive work behaviour directed toward others have been shown (Fox and Spector 1999, Fox et al. 2001). Thus stressful work conditions and job dissatisfaction, as increasingly experienced by police officers (Bosold and Ohlemacher 2003), might lead to abuses in settings where such behaviour is considered acceptable, or at least is not explicitly negatively sanctioned.

Most theoretical concepts on *recognition* emphasize the central significance of objective injuries to recognition (or subjective fears of them) in explaining hostile behaviour (e.g. Anhut and Heitmeyer 2000, Anhut 2005). Behaviour to defend self-esteem (Honneth 2003, Baumeister et al. 1996) and related forms of aggression which result from a threatened self have been extensively explored in social psychology from initial writing on frustration-aggression (Dollard et al. 1939, Berkowitz 1989) to contemporary social identity theory (Tajfel and Turner 1979, Capozza and Brown 2000). Thus we may argue that every human has the need to maintain and/or enhance self-esteem and that when it is diminished, hostile acts are one potential response (Albrecht 2003).

Recognition as defined in Anhut and Heitmeyer's disintegration theory (2000) is a core element influencing integrative processes and therefore inter-group contacts. They identify three dimensions of recognition: (1) positional recognition as being recognized because of the value a person has for society; (2) moral recognition is based on equality of rights for all citizens; (3) emotional recognition is described as the respect and social support of close associates. Following Anhut and Heitmeyer (2000) we measured police officers' evaluation of perceived recognition in the different dimensions described above. Focusing on workplace experience and the negotiation of individual agency we introduced a third variable: *individual responsibility*. Dollase and Koch (2007) argue that a lack of individ-

ual responsibility is closely related to xenophobic attitudes. Analyses by Zick and Küpper (2006) demonstrate the relationship between political affiliation and prejudice – the more right-wing people's self-categorization is, the more they agree with hostile attitudes (Zick 1997). Therefore *political affiliation* is also taken into account in this analysis.

5. Context and Operationalization of Concepts

The data was collected in the context of an empirical examination of different professions' perceptions of Islam in German society (Dollase 2007, Dollase and Koch forthcoming). The findings for the police, as one of the participating groups, are based on 727 returned questionnaires using five different versions of the survey which in total included over nine hundred items. Thus not all of the 727 respondents were required to address all of the items, different subsets being administered to each of the five sub-samples. A fixed set of items preface each version. It is for this reason that some of the following analyses used less than the full sample. Indications of the exact N are given where relevant.

The data was collected in Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt, and North Rhine-Westphalia and was supported by the relevant state ministry of internal affairs. The questionnaires were sent to the largest police authorities in the states, and the heads of department were in charge of distribution. Only fifty-four of the respondents worked exclusively in the office as case managers, the rest can be categorized as beat officers. The average age of the participants (122 women and 603 men; two answers were missing) was forty and the average period based at their current department was nine years. Ninety-seven percent of the surveyed police officers were born in Germany and are German citizens.

As already mentioned, in measuring police officers' *attitudes* towards Muslim people we focused on three aspects:

1. A general evaluation of Muslim people
2. Islamophobia
3. Distancing behaviour

The *general evaluation* was measured by asking participants: "How would you generally evaluate Muslim people?" Police officers answered on a 6-point scale ranging from

IJCV : Vol. 2 (1) 2008, pp. 138 – 156
Heidi Mescher: Policing and Islamophobia in Germany: The Role of Workplace Experience

147

1 = very positive to 6 = very negative. For measuring *Islamophobic attitudes* and *distancing behaviour* we constructed short scales following existing instruments (Table 1, Heimeyer 2000; Leibold and Kühnel 2003, 103). Police officers indicated their acceptance of the presented statements on a 4-point scale ranging from 1 = I totally agree to 4 = I don't agree at all, with lower scores representing higher Islamophobia and more distancing behaviour.

Table 1: Scale construction for Islamophobia and distancing behaviour

Construct	Items	Cronbach's alpha
Islamophobia	(1) With so many Muslims living in Germany, I sometimes feel like a stranger in my own country. (2) Immigration to Germany should be prohibited for Muslims.	.65
Distancing behaviour	(1) I would have a problem moving into a neighbourhood with many Muslims. (2) I do not necessarily like shopping in stores owned by Muslims.	.71

The *quality of contact* was measured by asking the participants: "How do you get along with Muslim people during your daily work?" Scaling ranged from 1 = very good to 5 = not at all.

As to the factors influencing the variables above, we examined:

1. Job satisfaction
2. Recognition: positional
      moral
      emotional
3. Individual responsibility
4. Political affiliation

Job satisfaction was assessed by an index computed from police officers' agreement or disagreement concerning five different statements on general contentment with their job (see appendix 1). Responses were scored on a five-point scale, with higher scores representing higher job satisfaction. *Individual responsibility* was assessed by a scale (α = .62) computed from eight items asking for of-

ficers' appraisal of their individual capacity to reduce tension and conflict between people of different religion, nationality, or skin colour (see Appendix 2). Scaling ranged from 1 = I totally agree to 6 = I don't agree.

For measuring *political affiliation* participants were asked for a self-categorization of their general political opinion on a five-point scale ranging from 1 = extremely left-wing to 5 = extremely right-wing.

Following Anhut and Heitmeyer's disintegration theory (2000) we constructed short scales for perceived *positional recognition* (α = .74), *moral recognition* (α = .76), and *emotional recognition* (α = .50) (see Appendix 3). Responses were scored on a six-point scale, with higher scores representing lower experience of recognition. (Table 2 summarizes the dependent and independent variables.)

In the actual analyses we were interested firstly in the descriptives of attitudes towards Muslim people and the evaluation of contact quality. We then computed correlations between the constructs measuring outgroup hostility and the contact variable to verify the existing literature on contact.

In a next step two analyses were carried out to test the predictive function of the independent variables in influencing outgroup dispositions (i.e. the general evaluation of Muslims, Islamophobia, distancing behaviour and contact quality). Using regression analyses the first case employed the independent variables of job satisfaction, individual responsibility, and political affiliation as predictors; and in the second case the predictors were positional, moral and emotional recognition. (The two groups were considered separately in order to maximize the number of cases included in the regression analyses, because not all variables could be related to each other.)

Because prior research strongly emphasizes the mediating effect of *contact quality* (e.g. Viki et al. 2006) we computed a mediation analysis using the evaluation of how police officers get along with Muslim people during their daily work as mediator. We hypothesized that the quality of contact would mediate the relationships between job satisfaction and the evaluation of Muslim people, job-

IJCV : Vol. 2 (1) 2008, pp. 138 – 156
Heidi Mescher: Policing and Islamophobia in Germany: The Role of Workplace Experience

148

Table 2: Dependent and independent variables

IV	DV
Job satisfaction	Evaluation of Muslim people
Recognition: Positional Moral Emotional	Islamophobia
Individual responsibility	Distancing behaviour
Political affiliation	Contact quality

Table 3: Means and standard deviations of orientation towards Muslim people

	M	SD	N
Evaluation of Muslim people	3.44	1.03	684
Islamophobia	2.72	0.74	119
Distancing behaviour	2.62	0.74	119
Contact quality	2.99	0.91	678

satisfaction and Islamophobia, and job satisfaction and distancing behaviour.

6. Results
6.1 Attitudes towards Muslim People and the Correlations between Constructs

Positive attitudes towards Muslim people are a precondition for police officers to deal equitably with Muslim citizens. Therefore we first explored the items *evaluation of Muslim people, Islamophobia and distancing behaviour.* Table 3 shows officers responses on the three constructs.

The results indicate that there is neither a strong rejection nor a distinct positive view of Muslim people. These findings are strengthened by examining the frequencies. For all three constructs the mid-point of the scale was chosen by most of the participants.

6.1.1 Evaluation of Muslim People
As Fig. 1 shows, 46.1 percent of the respondents evaluate Muslim people in a relatively neutral manner, scoring three on a six-point scale. A very small minority (1.6 percent) were very positive and only 5 percent were at the negative extreme.

6.1.2 Islamophobia
As Fig. 2 shows, 39.5 percent would not necessarily agree with the Islamophobic statements and only 5 percent totally agree with the statements.

The results present a view of the police force far removed from the stereotypical image of a cadre of right-wing xenophobes that some popular accounts would suggest. Given that there was almost certainly a degree of social desirability response in shaping police officers' responses

Figure 1: Evaluation of Muslim people

IJCV : Vol. 2 (1) 2008, pp. 138 – 156
Heidi Mescher: Policing and Islamophobia in Germany: The Role of Workplace Experience

149
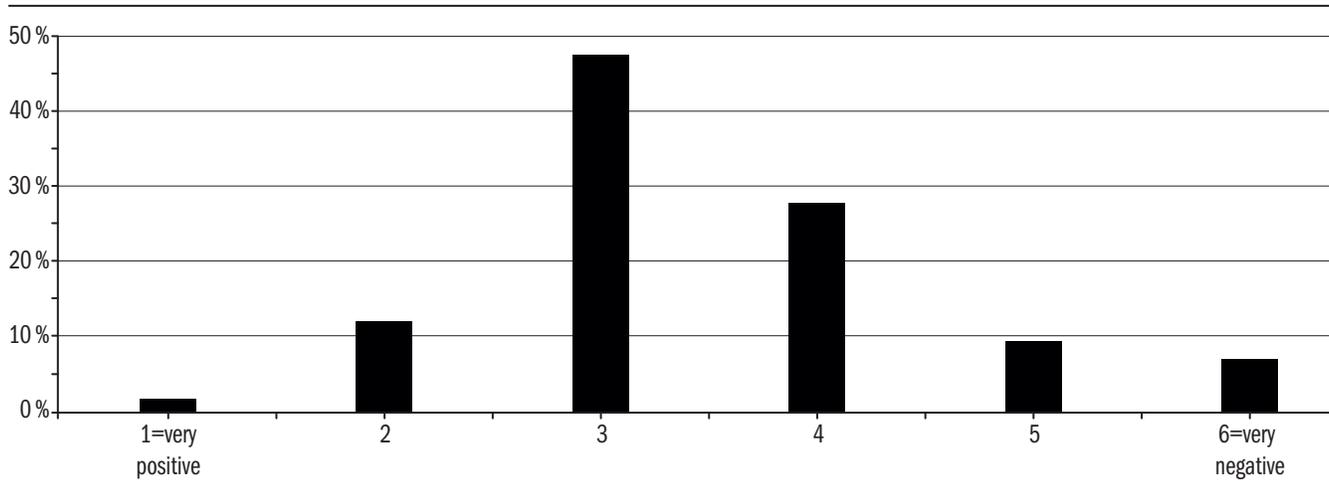
Figure 2: Islamophobia and distancing behaviour

Legend: ■ Islamophobia □ Distancing behaviour

X-axis: 1= I totally agree, 1,5, 2, 2,5, 3, 3,5, 4 = I don`t agree at all
Y-axis: 0% to 50%
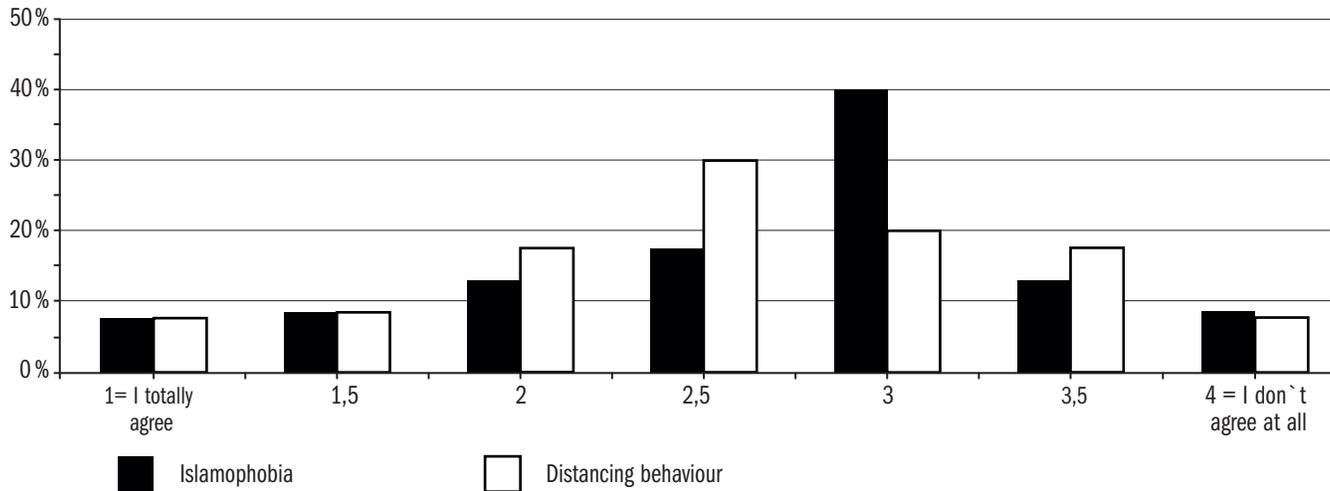
to such questions in a university-initiated survey we may speculate that this picture is somewhat optimistic, but it provides a positive platform from which to consider the future development of police-Muslim relations.

6.1.3 Distancing Behaviour

When we look at the profile of responses in Fig. 2 outlining the responses relating to distancing behaviour it is apparent that the distribution of responses is more negative than the attitudinal measures. Five percent of officers would totally agree with the statements indicating distant behaviour and 20.2 percent would not necessarily agree.

The measures of Islamophobia and the general evaluation of Muslim people present the respondent with rather generalized issues whereas the two questions addressing distancing behaviour place the respondent in a specific relationship to members of the Muslim community. Interpersonal avoidance behaviour elicits a stronger response, reminding us that the relationships between generalized beliefs and specific behaviours are complex and situationally sensitive.

The data reviewed above present a profile of the police service as being free from a collective xenophobic or Islamophobic taint. On the contrary they would appear to have less than the ten percent of bigots typically found in studies of racism. Seen from a different perspective there

is evidence here for a positive platform upon which programmes to foster better police-Muslim relations might be built.

6.1.4 Contact

Having outlined the basic profile of results on outgroup dispositions toward Muslims, we turn now to an analysis of the relationship between contact quality and the variables outlined above. On a descriptive level the police officers position themselves at the mid-point of a five-point scale (41.6 percent). A correlational analysis revealed that all correlations are close to r= .50, which according to Cohen (1992) indicates strong effect sizes.

In line with the existing literature on contact (Allport 1954; Pettigrew 1998; Pettigrew and Tropp 2006) the results indicate that a negative evaluation of contact quality is associated with a devaluation of Muslim people in general,

Table 4: Correlations between attitudes and contact quality

		1	2	3	4
1	Evaluation of Muslim people	1.00			
2	Islamophobia [a]	−0.59**	1.00		
3	Distancing behaviour [a]	−0.62**	0.68**	1.00	
4	Contact quality	0.46**	−0.50**	−0.44**	1.00

** p < 0.01
Note: **a** Version 4, N= 119

IJCV : Vol. 2 (1) 2008, pp. 138 – 156
Heidi Mescher: Policing and Islamophobia in Germany: The Role of Workplace Experience

150

higher scores on Islamophobia, and more distancing behaviour. The implications of this will be explored more fully following our discussion of the data on police workplace variables and political affiliation below.

6.2 Political Affiliation and Workplace-related Factors Impacting on Outgroup Attitudes

This study, as part of a wider examination, of police-Muslim relations, is concerned with revealing the impact of the professional context of policing on outgroup attitudes. Political affiliation is formed in the wider context of the officers' biographies, but may be reinforced or challenged by the workplace atmosphere and ethic. The stress of police work is also likely to impact upon officers' sense of job satisfaction and their sense of personal and collective professional recognition: factors identified by Anhut and Heitmeyer (2000) as having an impact upon social cohesion and conflict. These variables are now examined below in relation to their impact on the dependent Islamophobic dispositions reviewed above.

6.2.1 Political Affiliation

There is an established link between political affiliation and prejudiced attitudes toward ethnic and religious outgroups (Zick and Küpper 2006; Zick 1997). As Table 5 indicates, police officers place themselves in the centre ground of political opinion.

6.2.2 Job Satisfaction, Individual Responsibility, Recognition

On a descriptive level police officers are quite satisfied with their job. They only show a moderate feeling of individual responsibility to reduce tension and conflict between people of different religion, nationality, and complexion. Positional and emotional recognition may

be described as moderate, whereas moral recognition is slightly less positive (Table 5).

Table 5: Means and standard deviations of independent variables

	M	SD	N
Job satisfaction	3.82	0.95	723
Individual responsibility	3.24	0.69	705
Political affiliation	2.99	0.74	698
Positional recognition	2.85	0.71	118
Moral recognition	3.62	0.90	118
Emotional recognition	3.13	0.69	118

In order to measure the predictive function of the variables presented in Table 2 we then ran two regression analyses. The independent variables used in the regression analyses were considered separately in order to maximize the number of cases included, because not all variables could be related to each other. A prior correlational analysis of the independent variables revealed them to be correlated. Therefore in the subsequent regression analyses we used centred variables which allow us to address the problem of multicolinearity.

In the first analysis job satisfaction, individual responsibility, and political affiliation were entered simultaneously as predictors of *evaluation of Muslim people, Islamophobia, distancing behaviour, and contact quality* (see Table 6). Across all four analyses, the three predictors account for a significant proportion of the variance in the dependent measures (see Table 6).

Table 6: Regression analyses I

	Evaluation of Muslim people		Islamophobia		Distancing behaviour		Contact quality	
	B	Beta	B	Beta	B	Beta	B	Beta
Job satisfaction	−.15	−.14***	.25	.32***	.19	.23**	−.14	−.15***
Individual responsibility	−.29	−.19***	.28	.26**	.35	.32***	−.36	−.26***
Political affiliation	.30	.15***	−.33	−.26**	−.29	−.21*	.21	.12***
	$R^2 = 0.094$		$R^2 = 0.239$		$R^2 = 0.207$		$R^2 = 0.128$	

*** p < 0.001, ** p < 0.01, * p < 0.05

IJCV : Vol. 2 (1) 2008, pp. 138 – 156
Heidi Mescher: Policing and Islamophobia in Germany: The Role of Workplace Experience

151

Table 7: Regression analyses II

	Evaluation of Muslim people		Islamophobia		Distancing behaviour		Contact quality	
	B	Beta	B	Beta	B	Beta	B	Beta
Positional recognition	.01	.00	.07	.07	.09	.09	.45	.31*
Moral recognition	−.01	−.01	−.18	−.23	−.21	−.26*	−.07	−.06
Emotional recognition	.50	.32**	−.14	−.13	−.24	−.22*	.32	.21
	$R^2 = 0.102$		$R^2 = 0.076$		$R^2 = 0.126$		$R^2 = 0.182$	

*** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

In a second regression analysis positional, moral, and emotional recognition were entered simultaneously as predictors of the same dependent variables (see Table 7). For the evaluation of Muslim people only emotional recognition accounts for a significant proportion of variance. For distancing behaviour moral and emotional recognition account for a significant amount of variance, and contact quality is predicted significantly by positional recognition (see Table 7).

6.2.3 Contact as a Mediating Variable
To test the mediating effect of contact quality, separate mediation analyses (using regression analyses) were performed to examine the role of contact in the relationship between job satisfaction and *the evaluation of Muslim people, Islamophobia, and distancing behaviour*. The analyses revealed that the conditions for mediation were met (Baron and Kenny 1986). The independent variable significantly predicted the mediator (contact quality) and the dependent variables (*evaluation of Muslim people, Islamophobia, distancing behaviour*). Furthermore, the mediator significantly predicted the dependent variables (Fig. 3).

As expected, the direct effects between job satisfaction and *evaluation of Muslim people*, job satisfaction and *Islamophobia*, and job satisfaction and *distancing behaviour*, were significantly reduced once the potential mediator was included (as indicated in Fig. 3). These results indicate that the effects of job satisfaction on the *evaluation of Muslim people*, Islamophobia, and *distancing behaviour* are partially mediated by quality of contact. The Sobel's test significance of the indirect paths via contact quality supported this proposition. The scores for the paths were

Z= −5.28, p< .001 for job satisfaction/evaluation of Muslim people, for Z= 4.69, p< .001 for job satisfaction/Islamophobia, and Z= 4.38, p< .001 for job satisfaction/distancing behavior.

Figure 3: Contact quality as mediator

IJCV : Vol. 2 (1) 2008, pp. 138 – 156
Heidi Mescher: Policing and Islamophobia in Germany: The Role of Workplace Experience

152
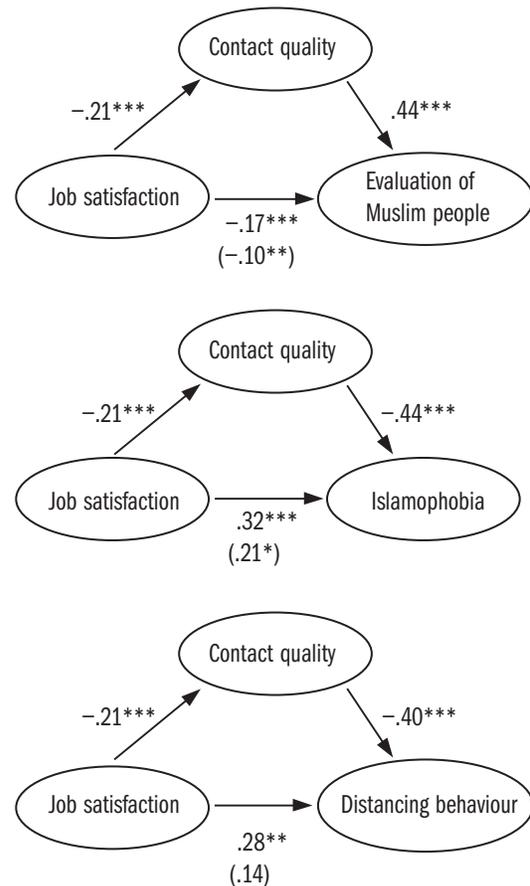
7. Discussion

The data presented in this paper does not claim to be exhaustive in providing an analysis of police-Muslim relations. However, it does provide an insight into the factors determining the development of Islamophobia that builds on the previous literature and usefully contributes to contemporary debates around policing. Whilst the scales employed in this study are relatively short, and require caution in extrapolating from them, they do offer a viable basis for developing the policy debate around the professional preparation of police officers to serve a multi-ethnic citizenry.

As noted above there is an issue related to the salience of Islam as a marker of identity. The data presented above invited serving police officers to indicate their feelings toward Muslim citizens. This they willingly did in response to the questionnaire items. However, as discussed above (section 2) there remains the question of where and under what circumstances Islam becomes salient in police interaction with the community. Part of the answer lies in the current social context, outlined in the introduction where the contemporary politicization of Islam in Germany was noted. This data points to the possibility (and in certain areas potentially the probability) that specific local communities will have a Muslim identity attributed to them by police officers, with consequent effects on the officers' attitudinal and behavioural response to members of that community.

In an analysis which aspires to contribute to the further positive development of police / Muslim relations within the context of policing in Germany there is much in this paper which is positive. The initial review of findings on the three measures of Islamophobic attitudes and distancing behaviour shows the German police not to be worryingly different from other professionals and the general population in their attitudes towards Muslims (Dollase and Koch 2007; EUMC 2006; Asbrock et al. 2007). Both in the range of their political affiliations and in their attitudes toward Muslims there is no evidence here to support the view that the German police are especially disposed toward Islamophobia. This at least provides a positive platform on which to build future initiatives in police training and intercultural practice.

Given the extensive literature on communities of practice in general (Lave and Wenger 1991; Burkitt et al. 2001; Husband 2005), and the specific literature on "cop culture" (Behr 2000) it is telling that job satisfaction should emerge as having such a strong relationship with Islamophobic tendencies. It is consistent with the arguments of Anhut and Heitmeyer (2000) that frustrations and conflicts in the workplace may be projected outward in outgroup hostility. Contrary to our expectations, which were based on existing literature, the three elements of recognition do not figure as consistently strong determinants of Islamophobic attitudes, although moral recognition and emotional recognition are linked with distancing behaviour. Since both of these variables reflect the presence or absence of a positive sense of autonomy and civility in the officers' lives, this finding at least supports the emerging picture that positive self-regard and a sense of personal and professional worth are relevant to police officers' outgroup attitudes.

However, the relationship between professional identity and outgroup attitudes becomes much clearer in the significant relationship between positional recognition and contact quality (the only significant relation for positional recognition). It is precisely in relation to the negotiation of contact between members of the police service and Muslim members of the German public that issues relating to the maintenance of the power and worth of professional identity become salient. Police contact with Muslim members of the population may not be restricted to the context of interpersonal relations, but may slip from an interpersonal to an intergroup engagement when the perceived power and status of the police force are in question. As Hüttermann so graphically indicated in his ethnographic research (2000), it is here that "face" can be lost, and intergroup dynamics may be salient.

The data on the significance of individual responsibility also remind us that all professions must negotiate the tension between the multiple responsibilities society lays upon them and their institutional capacity to fulfil them. These data suggest that where police officers are more sceptical, or possibly in some cases cynical, about their capacity to have a positive impact in society then they are also more likely to be dismissive and / or more negative to-

IJCV : Vol. 2 (1) 2008, pp. 138 – 156
Heidi Mescher: Policing and Islamophobia in Germany: The Role of Workplace Experience

153

ward the citizens they purportedly serve. In this instance, given the national context, the Muslim community are vulnerable to becoming recipients of such sentiments.

As the analysis of the quality of contact reveals, contact – as might have been anticipated from previous literature – is a highly salient variable (Fig. 3). The analysis of the relationship between job satisfaction and the dependent variables, with contact as a mediating variable, reveals that job satisfaction impacts upon the perceived quality of contact, thus underlining the subjective construction of the contact experience. Bringing negative personal work-related sentiments into the encounter with Muslim citizens increases the likelihood of a negative interpretation of the event. The perceived quality of contact then impacts upon the probability of the officer holding Islamophobic attitudes.

These data remind us that the experience of a contact situation is not some veridical reading of an encounter taking place in an ahistorical social and cultural vacuum. As the literature on intercultural behaviour repeatedly indicates, such experiences are always situationally specific; in this instance, societally specific in terms of the general late development of German multicultural thinking, and the current pervasive anxiety and xenophobia surrounding Islam. For the police, too, such encounters take place in the specific context of police authorities and minority ethnic individuals, where past relations may reasonably be expected to have engendered mutual wariness, and potentially mutually negative stereotypes.

Taken together, these findings contribute to the current initiatives to promote improved police/Muslim relations. They indicate that something as multiply determined as job satisfaction impacts upon outgroup attitudes. The salience of job satisfaction, recognition, and individual responsibility in shaping the attitudes towards Muslims of the participants in this research suggests a powerful intersection of job-related experiences, beliefs, and values as individual officers seek to sustain meaning and worth in their professional lives. It seems apparent that the psychological dynamics unleashed in this process may find negative expression in outgroup hostility. The very particular dynamics of police work, where mutual interdependence in their daily work is crucial to personal safety and well-being, as well as generating professional esprit de

corps, may amplify this generic process (Hüttermann 2000). It suggests, not for the first time, that initiatives in intercultural training that do not engage with the internal dynamics of 'cop-culture' and individual officers' experience of their workplace are always likely to be partial in their success.

There is a broad and developing commitment to training police officers in intercultural competencies to enable them to operate within ethnically diverse communities, in Germany and elsewhere (Leenen 2002, 2005). Indeed there is a degree of international networking and collaboration across European police services in sharing and developing best practice. As we have seen, there is some reason to remain cautious about the extent to which training inputs translate into change in routine practice (Chan 1997). However, our argument here makes a generic point which relates to the communities of practice in which police officers operate. Focusing on enhancing police training in intercultural competences may improve this repertoire of knowledge, but the motivation to employ this knowledge in practice will to a significant extent remain contingent upon the level of job satisfaction which frames the experience of serving police officers. Consequently, addressing the managerial and administrative institutional context that determines job satisfaction remains a necessary complement to intercultural training.

The findings further suggest that promoting contact between police and Muslim communities outside of routine policing functions may well be a fruitful strategy. However, we must note the strictures of Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) regarding the necessary conditions which must be in place in order to facilitate a positive outcome from such contact. Additionally we might propose that increasing the proportion of Muslim and ethnic minority officers within the German police services might also be an appropriate strategy. The experience of serving ethnic minority police officers does not, however, at present allow for optimism that this would be a viable option for changing attitudes within a community of practice defined by the majority (Blom 2005; Ghaffur 2006).

The data also reveal the police officers as having a range of attitudes that suggests that they could be responsive to

IJCV : Vol. 2 (1) 2008, pp. 138 – 156
Heidi Mescher: Policing and Islamophobia in Germany: The Role of Workplace Experience

154

appropriate and well planned initiatives in intercultural training. However, the data regarding job satisfaction and perceived individual responsibility powerfully remind us of the strong collective solidarity and workplace culture that bind police officers together. Where initiatives are part of a top-down programme of change that introduces new additional competences and responsibilities without additional resources and rewards for the participating officers, strong resistance may be expected. If job satisfaction is already a significant issue within German police forces then externally imposed programmes promoting the interests of Muslim communities may be seen as being tokenistic political manipulation. As one state police chief commented, when saying how he understood his officers' sentiments, the police are not the "social engineers of the republic."

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IJCV : Vol. 2 (1) 2008, pp. 138 – 156
Heidi Mescher: Policing and Islamophobia in Germany: The Role of Workplace Experience

155

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IJCV : Vol. 2 (1) 2008, pp. 138 – 156
Heidi Mescher: Policing and Islamophobia in Germany: The Role of Workplace Experience

156

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Appendix 1: Construction of the job satisfaction index

Construct	Items
Job satisfaction	(1) I like my job
	(2) I do my duty – nothing more
	(3) My job is a burden to me
	(4) If I could I'd like to do things differently
	(5) My professional work is more important to me than payment

All items coded in the same direction

Appendix 2: Scale construction for individual responsibility

Construct	Items	Cronbach's alpha
Individual responsibility	(1) I personally achieve very little	.62
	(2) Problems can only be solved by society	
	(3) The influence of the individual is mostly overestimated	
	(4) Structures in society need to change if people are to live peacefully together	
	(5) I personally achieve something only occasionally	
	(6) If many people would act like me, things would change for the better	
	(7) Achieving peaceful coexistence is the task of politics	
	(8) I believe that I can influence others	

All items coded in the same direction

Appendix 3: Scale construction for positional, moral, and emotional recognition

Construct	Items	Cronbach's alpha
Positional recognition	(1) My recognition compared to others doing the same job	.74
	(2) Recognition within society	
	(3) Recognition of my job through other professional groups	
	(4) My jobs' material returns	
Moral recognition	(1) My personal possibility to take part in political decision making	.76
	(2) The representation of my profession's interests within society	
	(3) Fair and supportive treatment by society	
Emotional recognition	(1) My personal relationship to others within my professional group	.50
	(2) The interpersonal climate within our society	

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