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CRIME AND DUTCH SOCIETY

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*Paper presented at the International Sociological
Association Specialized Research Symposium
Stockholm, Sweden, august 11-12, 1978.*

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INTRODUCTION

As in most Western countries the Dutch people tend to feel that crime rates are rising and that crime is becoming a real problem in society. Are these feelings based on the reality of crime-statistics or victimization-rates? Do they result from some spectacular events like terrorist activities implying hostages? Are they influenced by the way the mass-media cover the topic of crime? Is it possible that the criminal justice system itself does contribute to some extent in creating feelings of insecurity? The answers to these questions are very hard to find and it is quite probable that all assumptions contain a grain of truth. In this paper I can only try to answer some of the questions in analysing three related perspectives of the crime problem in the Netherlands.

The first perspective is that of the processing of crime in our criminal justice system. By reviewing some quantitative data, we will be able to discover certain trends that appear clearly.

This in itself is not a simple matter. Of course the criminal justice system produces quite a lot of information on the processing of crime by its different sub-systems: the police, the prosecution, and the judiciary. But as we all know this information tells us more about the functioning of the different subsystems than it does about extent and nature of criminal activities. There are several reasons for this situation: The first is that there can be no crime record without someone reporting the crime: in Holland some 90% of all crimes known to the police are reported by private citizens, and some 10% are detected by the police themselves. It follows that crime registration depends on reporting by the public and of course people are more willing to report some crimes than others. There is clearly heavy underreporting in the area of sexual criminality, or in what is called "victimless" crime. The second reason is that the police do not always define acts as criminal in the same way as the public does. There is considerable evidence that the police handle their own criteria as to what constitutes a crime, which means that not all acts reported as crimes will be recorded by the police as such. Still other factors may influence the recording of crimes by the police, such as their workload, or the possibility of clearing a case. This is also true for the other levels of the criminal justice system, the prosecution and the judiciary. All these

procedures in turn affect official statistics of processing crime.

A third reason is that changes in societies values and norms may have an immediate impact on crime statistics, whereas the acts in question may not show any variation. An example of this is the practically complete disappearance from crime statistics of acts like blasphemy, adultery, pornography or abortion, and a change in volume as well as in nature of drug- and indecency offenses. Nonetheless official criminal statistics remain very useful as an indicator of the functioning of the criminal justice system and of criminal justice policy at the different levels of the system.

And yet, to devise or modify existing criminal justice policy, there is a need to gain a better insight, or to get a better approximation of nature, volume and evolution of criminality. This is the reason why the Research and Documentation Centre of the Ministry of Justice is conducting victimization studies on a yearly basis. Of course victim studies also have their drawbacks, among which the problems of reliability and validity. But, while we must continue to ameliorate the method, I think these studies form a reasonable corrective on official statistics. Moreover they highlight some specific sensible points in criminal justice policy, or more specifically, policing-policy.

So my second perspective will be that of our latest victimization study. I will try to discover some crime trends and see to what extent they are consistent with what official statistics have learned us.

Which brings me to a third field of interest concerning the problem of crime in our society: the interactions between the public and the criminal justice authorities with respect to the defining of crime and its perception. I will try to show that these interactions have considerable consequences in terms of people's willingness to report crime to the police, as well as their willingness to collaborate with authorities in maintaining acceptable levels of norm-respecting behavior. In this analysis I will draw on our victimization study and on a study among the Dutch population concerning people's experiences with the police.

1. CRIME PROCESSING IN THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM (1)

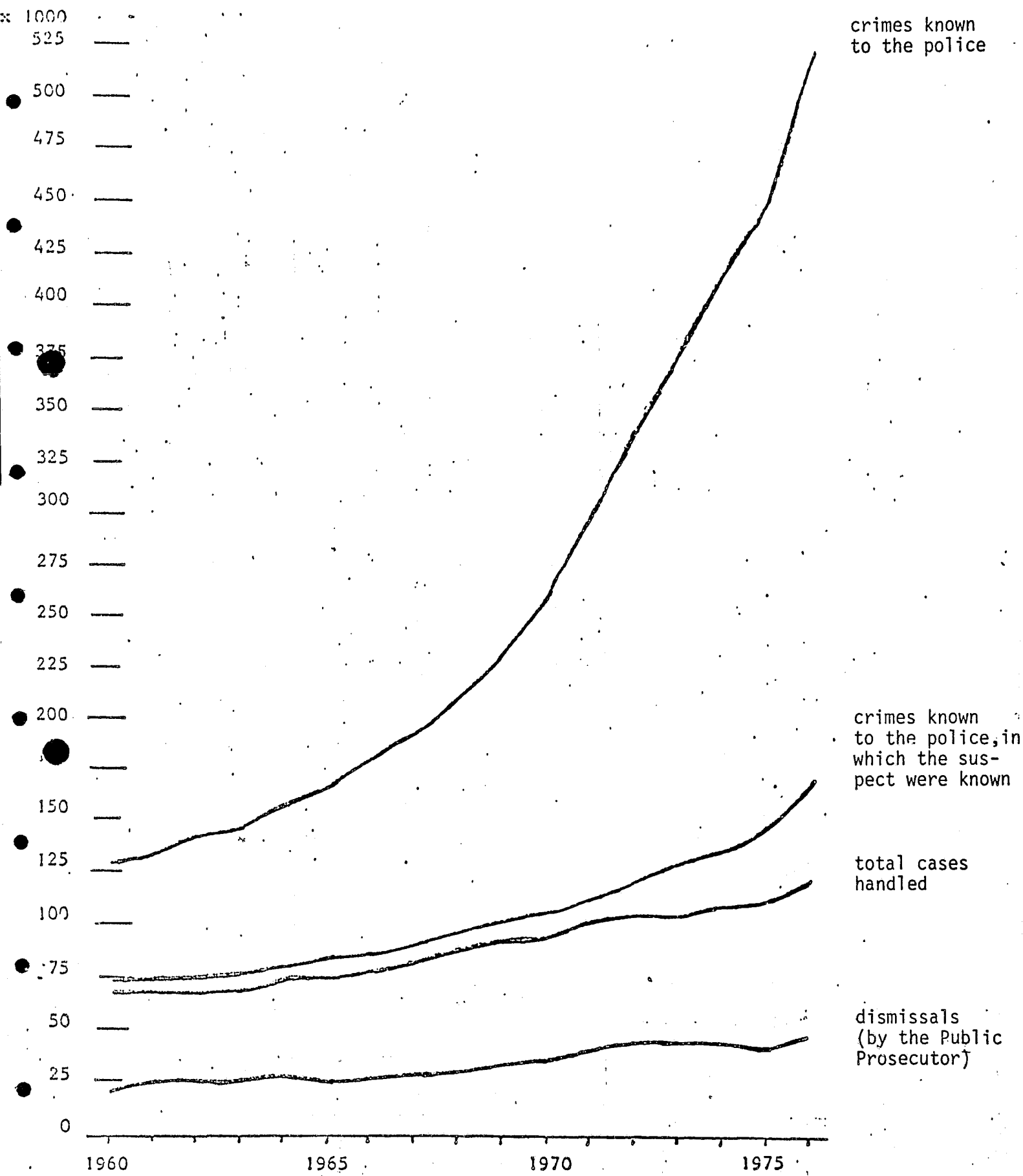
To start with an overview of the volume of crime in 1975, figure 1 shows the number of crimes known to the police, as well as those cleared and handled at the prosecuting level.

For Figure 1, see page 4.

As figure 1 shows there has been a sharp increase in the number of crimes known to the police. There is however much less increase in the handling of suspects, and in the activities of prosecutor and judge. This indicates that the system itself has a limited capacity of processing crime, which is one factor among others contributing to limited crime control. Figure 2 shows a flow-chart of the various steps taken within the criminal justice system in the processing of crime. Comparing the data of 1975 with those of 1972, it is worth noting that while the volume of crimes known to the police increased by 30%, the number of crimes cleared decreased from 35,5% to 32%. Noteworthy is also the considerable reduction of cases to be settled, into the category of convictions, a reduction of 65%.

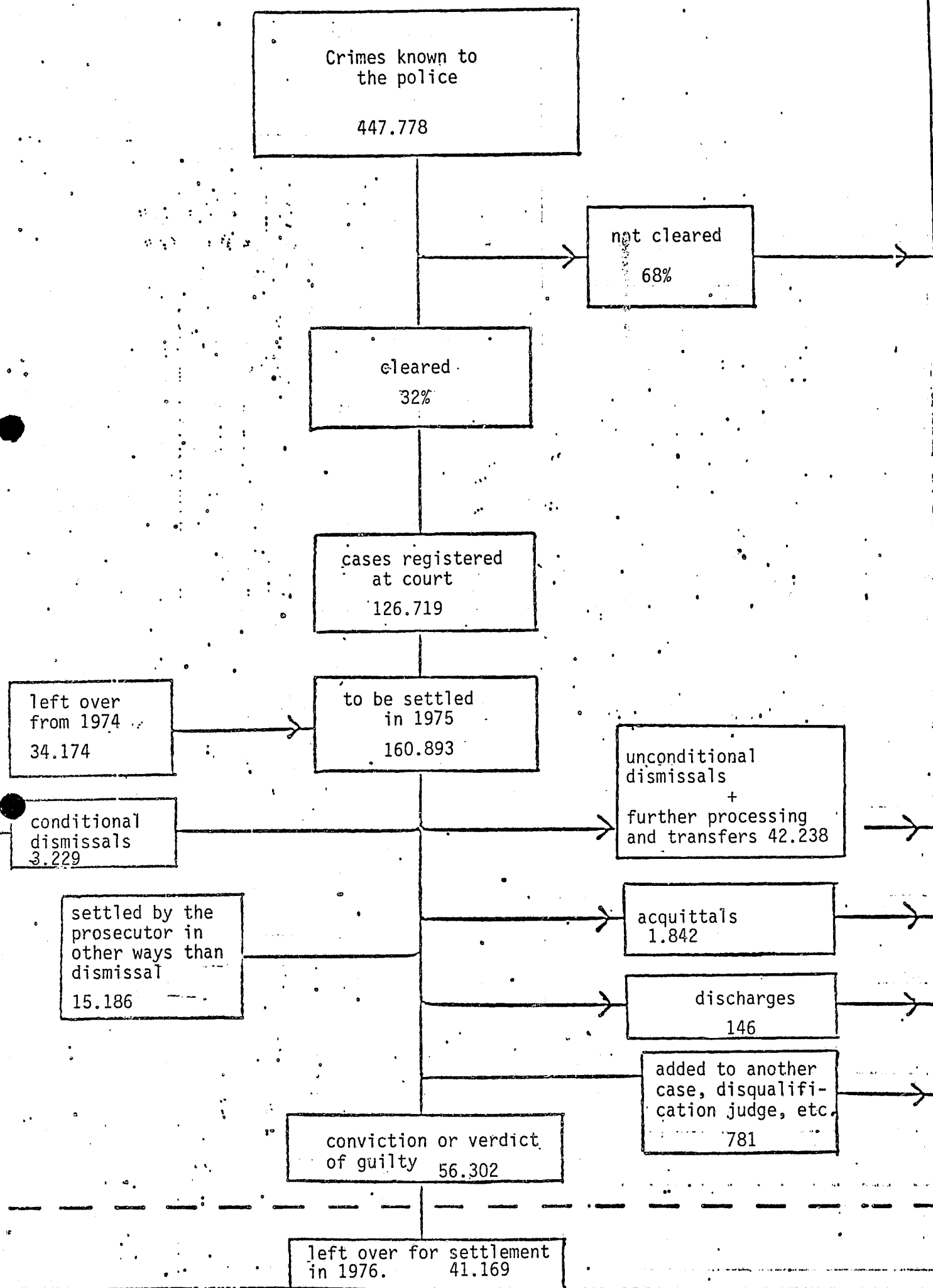
For Figure 2, see page 5.

FIGURE 1. Crimes known to the police and cleared, as well as those handled by the judiciary, ordinary criminal cases; *The Netherlands*.



Source: Netherlands Central Bureau of Statistics, Judicial Statistics, 1974/75.

FIGURE 2. Flow Chart of the Administration of Criminal Justice in 1975 in the Netherlands.



Turning to the police we have seen that the overall percentage of cases cleared is rather low. However there is much variation in cases cleared depending on the nature of the offense. The following table shows the variation.

Violation of the Narcotic Drug act	99 %	(n= 2.782)
Violation of the Weapon act	99 %	(n= 2.481)
Crimes against public law and order	96 %	(n= 4.187)
Violence against person	83 %	(n=11.780)
Felonous violation of the Road Traffic Act	73 %	(n=45.563)
Indecency	51 %	(n= 7.215)
Violence against property	31 %	(n=26.335)
Property crimes	23 %	(n=344.198)

As is apparent from table 1 the majority of crimes known to the police consist of property crimes, which are specially hard to clear. Comparing 1972 with 1975, property crimes and violence against property increased by 32% and 77%, whereas clearing percentages declined from 26,2% to 23% for property crimes, and from 39,4% to 31% for violence against property.

With respect to the second level of judicial intervention, the prosecution, figure 2 indicated that the work-load in 1975 consisted of 160.893 cases. Traditionally Holland has a rather liberal policy of dismissals: about half of cases are generally settled or dismissed by the prosecutor, with- or without conditions. In 1972, this percentage was 54,4%, in 1975 50,7%.

Concerning penalties imposed, we do distinguish between three main forms of punishment: imprisonment, custody, and fines.

Imprisonment is imposed for all serious offenses and ranges from a few months to lifelong term. Custody is imposed for minor offenses and is limited to a maximum of 1 year. Fines are imposed whenever possible, as there is a widespread feeling that they form a very useful alternate sanction for custody. Recently a project of law was introduced in parliament enlarging the possibility for the prosecutor to establish "transactions", that

is to impose fines even in the case of (less serious) criminal offenses. The advantage here lies in the fact that the offender will not get a criminal record as a transaction forms a conditional dismissal.

Reviewing the distribution of penalties from 1965 to 1976, proportions remain very stable: about 27% of all penalties imposed result in imprisonment or custody, 43,5% result in fines, and about 21% in a combination of imprisonment and fine. These measures account for 90% of all penalties. The remainder consists of conditional or other penalties. Consistent with the general character of the Dutch criminal justice system, there has been a notable change in policy with respect to length of imprisonment. As table 2 shows short term sentences increased whereas longer sentences are less frequently imposed.

TABLE 2. Length of unconditional sentences of imprisonment(in percentages)								
	up to 1 month	1-3 months	3-6 months	6 months to 1 year	1 year	over 1 year to 3 years	3 years and over	Total
1965	50.0	17.3	15.9	11.1	1.6	3.6	0.5	100 (11.872)
1966	51.1	16.9	15.4	11.6	1.5	3.1	0.5	100 (12.193)
1967	51.3	16.3	15.7	11.4	1.5	3.3	0.4	100 (13.128)
1968	53.9	15.9	15.9	10.7	1.2	2.1	0.3	100 (13.562)
1969	56.9	14.9	16.1	9.2	1.0	1.6	0.3	100 (12.773)
1970	57.6	16.7	15.5	7.5	1.0	1.4	0.3	100 (12.954)
1971	57.2	16.9	14.7	7.9	1.2	1.7	0.3	100 (14.143)
1972	58.1	17.3	14.8	7.0	0.8	1.6	0.4	100 (14.359)
1973	58.9	16.9	14.7	6.7	0.7	1.5	0.5	100 (13.792)
1975	56.7	18.8	13.7	6.6	1.1	2.3	0.8	100 (14.797)

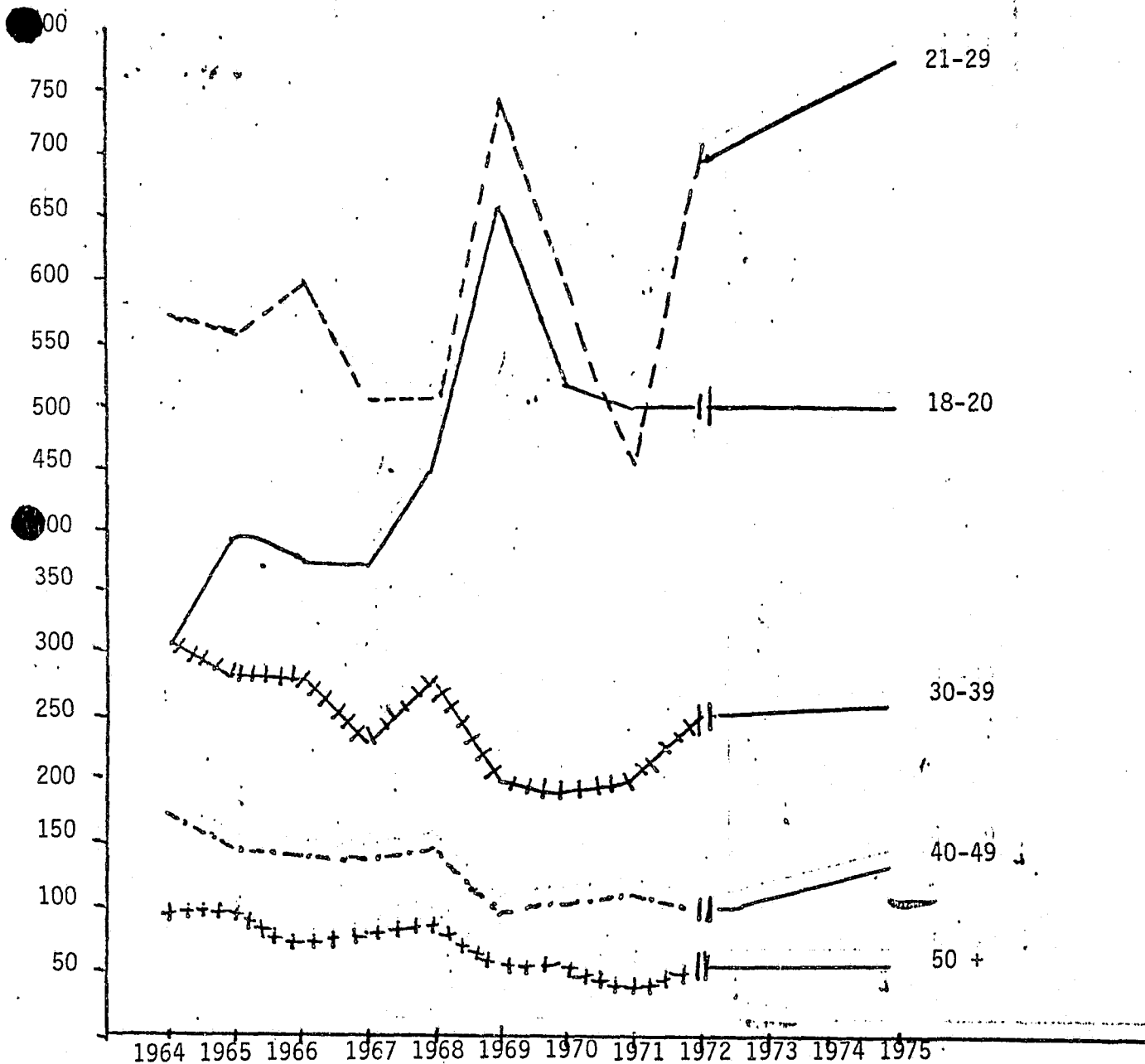
Source: Netherlands Central Bureau of Statistics, Criminal Statistics, 1975.

A complicating factor in analysing official statistics is the fact that no allowance is made for demographic changes. The post-war 'baby-boom' resulted in a very large proportion of adolescents in the sixties. Both the criminological institute of Nijmegen University and our Research and Documentation Centre have calculated conviction trends for the period 1964-1975 while keeping size of age-group constant.

Let us review 5 categories of crime:

- crimes against public law and order
- violence against the person
- property crimes
- indecency
- violence against property

FIGURE 3. Crimes against public law and order.
Number of convicts per age group if the population had remained constant since 1964.



Crimes against public law and order include a large variety of acts such as provo riots, student actions, protest campaigns and the like.

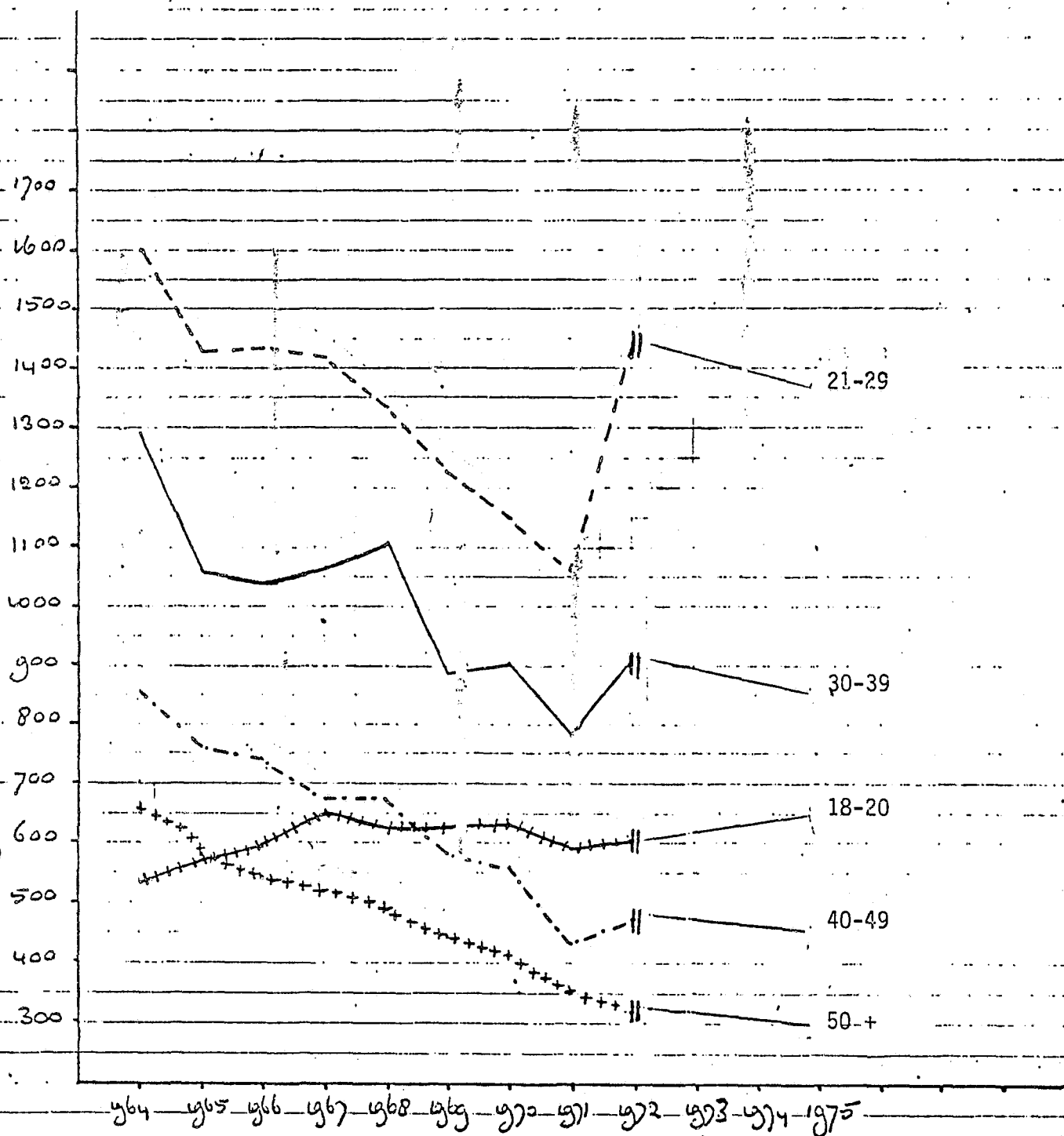
Most convictions under this heading were for: violence against persons or property in conjunction (3%), disturbance of the peace (15%), refractoriness (15%), and interference with public officials (15%). An interesting trend is that in age-category 18-20, convictions reached a peak in the years 1968 during the student actions, and then declined again to reach a stable level, which is however higher than in the beginning of the sixties. The 21-29 age-group shows the same decrease in convictions, but in the seventies there is a rather sharp increase. Unlike the younger age-group this age-group probably is the most active in all kinds of student and public demonstrations. We should note that this type of crimes showed an increase in total convictions from 1964 to 1976 of 14%.

Violence against the person

The legal definition of this category covers also a wide variety of behavior, although simple assault received by far the largest number of convictions (80%). The registration of this type of behavior depends very strongly on the willingness of the citizens to report, as well as on the willingness of the police to record it, as we will see in the following section. Moreover it appears that the prosecutor tends to dismiss an increasing number of these less serious offenses during the last years. As far as convictions are concerned, figure 4 shows a reduction for every age-group except the 18-20 years age-group. The data seem to confirm that most violence against the person occurs among adolescents, although one should keep in mind that the 18-20 years age-group is far smaller than the other age-groups. On the whole however the analysis does not indicate a spectacular rise of violence against the person in Dutch society. In this respect it is noteworthy that, over the 1964-1976 period the absolute number of convictions actually declined by 28% (from 4961 to 3605).

FIGURE 4. Violence against persons

Number of convicts per age-group if the population had remained constant since 1964

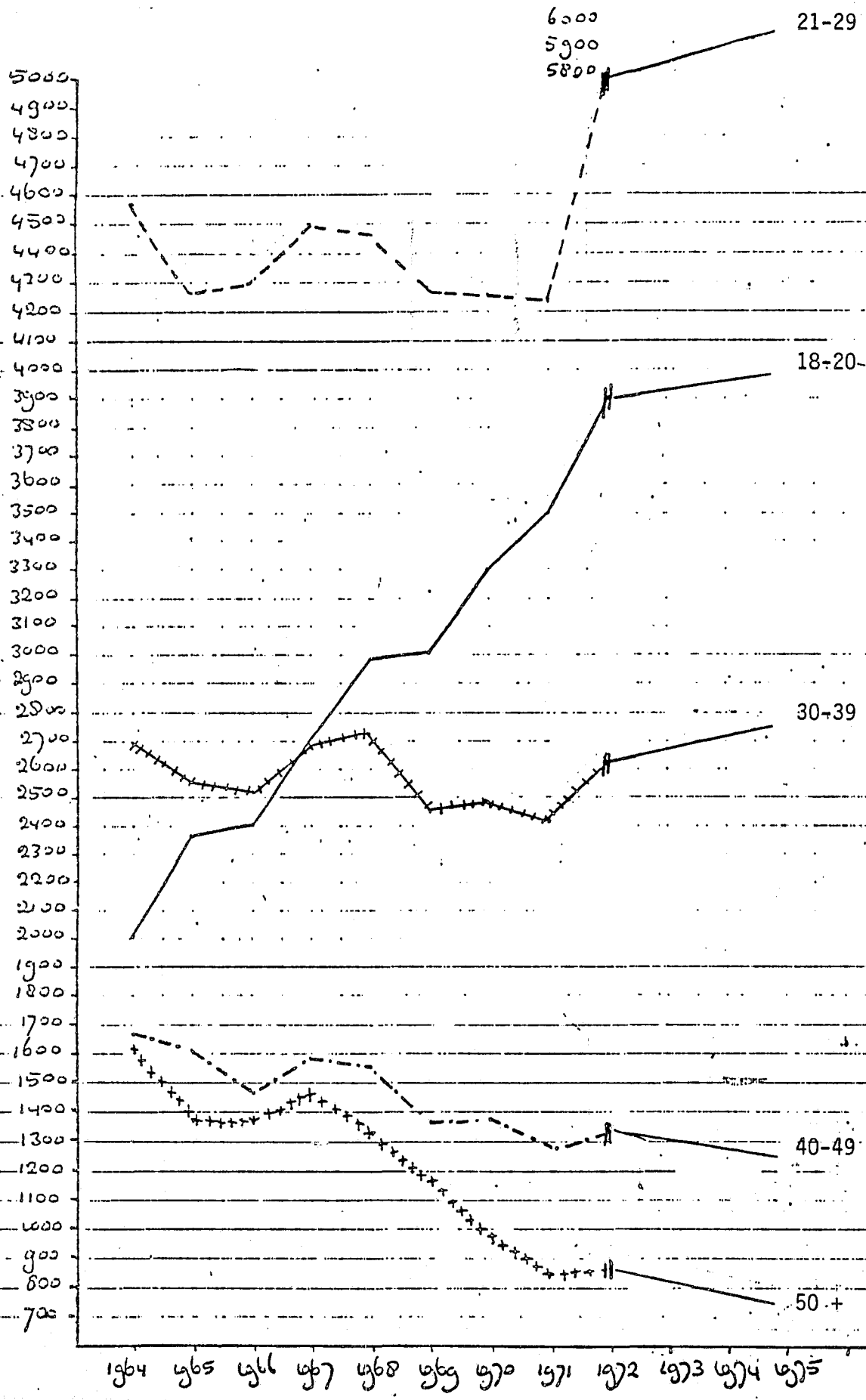


Property crimes. show an increase of convictions since 1964 of about 17%. The greatest number of convictions refer to theft, burglary and embezzlement (80%). The most striking fact of figure 5 is the enormous increase in convictions in the 18-20 age-group. Stated in other words: youth crime is essentially property crime. Although there also is an increase in convictions in the 21-29 age-group, the increase is much less marked. As far as the other age-groups are concerned, one notes a decrease (for the 40 years to 50 and over) or a stabilization (for the 30-39 years).

For Figure 5, see page 12.

FIGURE 5. Property crimes.

Number of convictions per age-group if the population had remained constant since 1964.



Indecency. In the past, criminal justice practice concerning indecency concentrated mostly on breaches of sexual morality. In the last 10 to 15 years far more tolerance developed towards all kinds of sexual behavior, and convictions dropped sharply from 1964 to 1976 for all age-groups. Most convictions were for indecent exposure (30%), for sexual abuse of children (25%), and for indecent assault (2%).

To illustrate the change in values and norms in this respect let us recall that total number of convictions for indecency declined by 69% in the 1964-1976 period (from 2171 to 689 convictions).

Violence against property shows an increase in convictions from 1964 to 1976 by 27%. And again it is the younger age-groups that account for the greatest number of convictions as well as for the nearly totality of the increase in convictions.

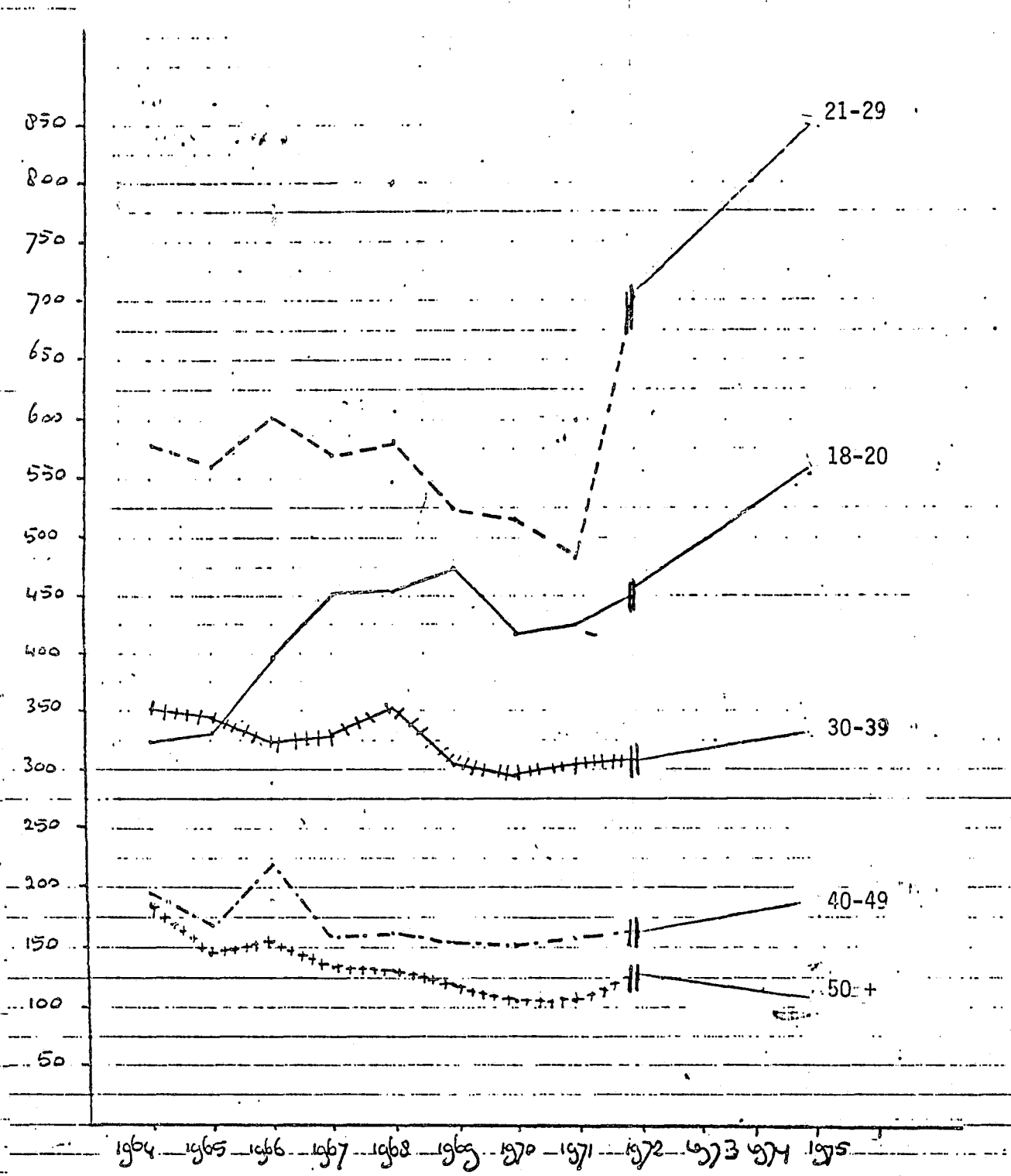
So let us state a correction on what was said before. Youth crime is in the first place property crime, and in the second place vandalism. The 18-20 years age-group is responsible for a continuous increase in conviction from 1964 to 1976, whereas the 20-29 years age-group shows an increase only from 1971 on.

For Figure 6, see page 14.

Summarizing the main findings in this section it appears that there is a widening gap between crimes known to the police and crimes cleared. Crimes not cleared include mainly property crime and vandalism. As far as convictions are concerned: in a 12 years period, we have seen a decline in convictions for indecency (69%) and violence against the person (28%), and an increase in convictions for crimes against public law and order (14%), property crime (17%) and violence against property (27%).

FIGURE 6. Violence against property

Number of convictions per age-group if the population had remained constant since 1964.



2. TRENDS IN CRIMINALITY (2)

The research center's victim studies have been conducted since 1973 on a representative sample of the Dutch population. The sample now reaches a size of 10.000 adults. Ten types of crime were chosen, whose definitions were clear and unambiguous.

Table 3 shows the percentage of the population which have been victims of these types of crimes over 5 years.

	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977
Innocent party hit by motor vehicle	3	3	4,5	7,1	6,3
Damage to property	-	-	5	5,9	6,8
Theft of bicycle ^x	4	3	4,5	5,4	5,9
Theft of moped ^x	7	10	6,5	4	4,2
Pickpocketing	1	1	1,7	3	2,4
Theft from car ^x	2	2	1,7	3	2,3
Threatening or violent behaviour in public place	-	-	1,5	2,5	2,6
Indecent assault in public place	-	-	1,1	1,3	1,5
Burglary of private house	0,9	0,7	1,1	1,1	1,2
Theft of car ^x	-	0,5	0,4	0,5	0,6

^x percentages calculated on vehicle-owners.

It is a remarkable fact that results are on the whole consistent with official statistics, that is they indicate a rise in property crime, violence against the person and vandalism. The only exception is the decline in theft of mopeds, which is probably due to the compulsory wearing of a helmet since 1975. On the main 1977 seems to indicate a certain stabilization in criminal activity, with two exceptions: pickpocketing and theft from car. Both show a significant reduction. This may be due to the reduced hard-drug use in Amsterdam, as these crimes are very much drug-related.

There are large differences in victimization between our three largest cities (Amsterdam, Rotterdam and the Hague) and the rest of the country: urban rates are twice as high as those for the rest of the country for bicycle theft, theft from cars, pickpocketing, violence against the person and vandalism. Although only about 15% of the total population live in these cities, 30% of the crimes are committed there. Among the three cities, Amsterdam has the highest percentage of victims: in 1976, 26% of Amsterdams population were victims of 1 or more of the selected crimes, against 16.6% of the total Dutch population.

Reviewing the seriousness of the crimes, it appears that according to degree of injury or the value of property-loss, the crimes are on the whole less serious than those that do appear in police statistics. The average Dutchmans risk of serious injury is still very small: only 3% of victims of indecent assault, and 7% of victims of violence against the person needed medical treatment; none needed admission to the hospital. Nor did victims of property-crimes endure heavy financial losses, although this is partly due to various forms of insurance.

There are some sociological factors that are related to a differential degree of victimization. One already mentioned is urbanization: where the victimization percentage is 26.6% in the three largest cities, it is only 7.5% in communities of less than 5000 inhabitants.

Another factor is age: 28.2% of people aged up to 24, 16.7% of the 35-45 age-group and 7.2% of those aged 65 and over have been victimized in 1976. Finally, men run higher risks than women: 19% of men against 14.3% of women have been victims of crime. Multiple regression analysis showed that the main risk-increasing factor is age, the next one is size of the municipality, and the third one is sex. Specifying a little more, age is found to be a particular significant variable in the case of vehicle-accidents, bicycle thefts, and violence against the person. Community size is most significant in the case of bicycle theft, pickpocketing and vandalism, which may be considered as typically urban crimes. Burglary and vehicle accidents are not related to community size.

Summarizing the main results, in 1976 14% of the Dutch people were victim of one of the nine selected crimes, and a further 2.5% were victim of more than one crime. In other words one Dutch person in six was the victim of one of these crimes. However, in terms of personal injury or financial losses, most victimizations were not all too serious:

3. CRIME, VICTIMS AND THE POLICE

As we stated before, not all crimes committed are reported to the police. In fact reporting rates vary considerably according to type of crime. Crimes most reported are vehicle thefts and burglary. Crimes least reported are violence against the person and vandalism, results that are confirmed by victim surveys in other countries (4).

Enquiring as to the reason for not reporting, three main reasons were put forward. The first is lack of seriousness of the offense, when the victim seemed to consider that no real crime had been committed. (one third to half of cases of not reporting). The second reason involved was that reporting seemed useless because of the remote possibility of recovering the property or discovering the suspect (one fifth to 46% of cases). A third reason that was advanced by a small minority only (+ 7%) included accusations like "the police don't do anything anyway". Finally a rather high percentage of victims of indecent assaults declared they had been reluctant to go to the police.

Analysing the factors that affect the decision to inform the police it appears that the value of the goods stolen and the seriousness of the injuries were most significant. This is very clear with respect to aggressive acts: only 23% of victims of violent behavior reported to the police, but of those who required medical treatment 76% did so. Relations of sociological variables, like sex, age or urbanization with willingness to report are weak, and so the seriousness of the offense comes out as the one most important factor determining the decision to inform the police

But here looms another problem: even when people decide to inform the police, the latter do not always record the information officially. Thus as table 4 shows, not only is there much variation in reporting crimes by the victims, but there is also considerable variation in the recording of crime by the police (5). Here too aggressive acts are least often recorded. Yet 21% of thefts from a car and 32% of bicycle thefts are not officially recorded, and the percentage in the case of pickpocketing is still higher; namely 44%.

Analyzing the factors that have an impact on the police decision to make an official report of theft from cars, pickpocketing and vandalism it appeared that women reporting one of these crimes are taken less seriously

TABLE 4. Percentages of the crimes revealed by the survey that were notified to the police and on which an official report was prepared (1977 survey).

	Number of victims	Reported to the police	Number of reported crimes	Official records made
	N	%	N	%
Theft of bicycle	486	68.1	331	68
Theft of moped	63	85.5	54	85.2
Theft from car	192	63.6	122	78.7
Theft of car	32	96.7	31	84
Pickpocketing	325	54.4	177	56
Burglary	117	80.7	94	74.5
Indecent assault	128	27.8	35	71.4
Violent threatening behaviour	254	24.5	62	29
Vehicle accident	766	49.4	378	60.3
Vandalism	628	24.1	151	43

than men: 60% of these crimes reported by women against 81% of the same crimes reported by men were officially recorded, and this result remained the same when other factors were maintained constant. Another factor is the seriousness of the crime: only 18% of acts of vandalism in which financial loss was less than 50 guilders, were recorded, but the proportion of official records increased to 50% in cases where damage exceed 250 guilders. A third factor is urbanization degree: in the big cities the police more often made official reports than in the country. This was also found in an observation study of police patrol work in two cities and 6 rural communities (6). The reason could be the greater integration of the rural police officer in the community he serves: on one hand he knows the people well, is better informed and handles many matters in an informal way; on the other hand the community also puts specific social pressures on the policeman establishing the limits within which he may operate. The same has been found in England by Cain who compared the police role in the city with that role in the country (7):

We now arrive at the important question of the relationship between the public and the police with respect to crime prevention. From the side of the public this implies different elements: the reactions of citizens to the discretionary power of the police in recording offenses and complaints; the evaluation of police efficiency in crime combating; the willingness to report offenses; and the willingness to cooperate with the police in matters of order maintenance and crime prevention. The issue is important because the police cannot adequately handle their job without the cooperation of the public. An American study of the Rand corporation on the investigation process has shown that the police depend very much on the public in clearing criminal cases (8). But even in the field of order maintenance, the police cannot properly function without the support of the public.

I am able to give some answers to the questions mentioned above, because we conducted a survey among the Dutch population, in which we enquired on their experiences with the police, their evaluation of police performance and police behavior, and their willingness to cooperate with the police (9). As far as type of police contact is concerned, 16% of all contacts consisted of complaints filed or offenses reported by members of the public. Police reactions showed considerable variation: of only 10% of complaints a written report was made, in 36,5% of cases the police mediated between parties, but in 43% of cases the police did nothing at all; with respect to offenses, only in half the cases did the police make a written statement, in 21,5% of cases there was no police reaction. Asked to evaluate police performance and police behavior this specific category of respondents expressed very negative opinions. Manifestly nothing gave rise to so many hard feelings towards the police as the absence of police reaction in cases of offenses and complaints brought to them by members of the public. One third of these respondents judged police behavior not correct, half of them found it not cooperative and one fifth declared the police were aggressive; finally, two third claimed they were inefficient.

More generally, between 30% and 40% of all respondents claimed the police were not- or only moderately efficient in combating crime.

Answers to a set of questions on police protection showed that more than one third of respondents feel only moderately protected by the police; and nearly half claimed the police are never there when you need them. A sizable propor-

tion of respondents (about one third) expressed the desire to have more police stations in the neighborhood as well as more police patrolling in daytime (28%) and at night (41%). It is worth mentioning that these concerns are significantly more often expressed by city-dwellers than by those living in the country, and also much more often by people living in poor neighborhoods than by people living in middle-class areas.

We also have indications from an earlier study that people with clear feelings of insecurity have less confidence in the police (10). In the same line the victimization study showed a negative correlation between victim percentages and reporting rate: in Amsterdam 49% of victims of bicycle theft, 42% of victims of pickpocketing and 6% of victims of vandalism notified the police, whereas the national figures are 72%, 59% and 28%. This is the more striking as the victim percentages in Amsterdam were over twice as high as in the rest of the country (11). Questioned about the reason for not reporting, the answers indicated lack of confidence in police initiative as well as in police ability to clear the case.

Reporting an offense to the police when one is victimized is one thing, calling the police in cases where offenses are actually committed or might be committed is quite another thing. Our population survey indicated that most people are very reluctant to call the police in all cases except when they feel threatened in their personal integrity or property.

A majority of respondents would call the police if a stranger climbed into their neighbor's garden, if some stranger was hanging around their street for hours and if groups of adolescent boys were breaking the windows of a community house. But only about half would call the police in cases of street fights and serious beatings, or when they witnessed a clear property crime like the stealing of bricks. In cases people consider as private matters (family conflicts) or when children are involved, willingness to involve the police is minimal. People dislike to call the police because of possible consequences like having to witness or fear of retaliation. But the motive most often advanced was: "it is none of my business, let the police sort this out, it is their job".

So in short the situation we have arrived at is the following: when victimized, people do not report every crime to the police; when they report, the police do not always take action; no action taken by the police causes frustrations

and negative feelings among the public. Added to this are widespread feelings of lack of protection by the police and the desire for more police presence in the living environment. An increase in victimization up to a certain level is accompanied by a loss of confidence in police efficiency and a decline in reporting offenses to the police. Finally willingness to collaborate with the police in crime related matters is rather low.

4: CONCLUSIONS

Let us recall the main findings in this paper. We have seen that criminality has been increasing in the Netherlands during the last decade. We have however to specify: not all crime has been increasing. It is essentially property crime and vandalism that show the greatest increase. With respect to violence against the person, there is some increase, although not in its most serious forms.

The offenders are mostly young males.

Crime rates are twice as high in the large cities than in the rest of the country.

Variables related to a high degree of victimization are: male sex, age under 24, living in an urban area. It should be stressed that most crime is petty crime, and this generalization holds also for reported crime.

Relations between the public and the police with respect to crime prevention are a matter of some concern. Many people tend to think police efficiency in combating crime as well as police protection are insufficient: they clearly want a greater police presence, and more police activity.

What should we conclude in the presence of the available data?

I think that one of the major conclusions must be that criminologists and authorities should not be satisfied telling us there is no such thing as a "crime-wave", that crime is only petty criminality, that there is no increase in serious violent crime, and that consequently there is no cause for worries. The point is that in real life experience people feel very concerned and are much affected when their bike is stolen, their purse snatched, or their house burglarized. And this is exactly the type of crime that is occurring more and more frequently. It could be argued that this is the price we have to pay for the nature and organization of our free, prosperous, consumer society. The question is however how much of this type of criminality in a given society can be tolerated without leading to disruptive effects on its quality of life. Some of these effects are well-known: deserted cities at night, all kinds of private security devices from watch-dogs to fire-arms, private security agencies as a parallel police-force. Other effects came out of our studies: the more people get in touch with (petty) criminality, the more feelings of insecurity and lack of adequate protection become widespread;

the less people address themselves to the police, either to report offenses, or to call them when offenses may be -or are- committed.

If our society wants to keep criminality within certain acceptable limits, police-, judicial-, social-, health-, housing- and welfare-agencies should reflect with the public, on state level as well as on local community level, on new ways of cooperation to achieve safe and high-quality community life. There are some signs of awareness of the problem among police authorities which have led to interesting experiments:

Many forces have reinstated the so-called "man on the beat" to re-establish contact and thus mutual confidence between the community and the police. The city of the Hague conducts an experiment with special precinct-officers, who are relieved of their repressive tasks and have an exclusively social function, cooperating with all relevant local agencies, giving assistance when needed, and signaling specific problem situations that might lead to crime or disturbance of the order. In other cities the police tries to collaborate with other social agencies in some particularly criminal areas to try to create together a better life climate. In the city of Utrecht an experiment is going on in associating social work agencies with many of the urgent tasks of assistance the police must cope with especially during the week-ends. All these experiments, whether they succeed or not, mean the police is looking for ways to get a better integration in the community they serve, so as to optimize their services to the population. On the other hand the Department of Justice has recently instituted a new section on Prevention of Criminality, with the ultimate goal of educating the public on their own responsibilities and possibilities in preventing crime. There is insufficient awareness among the public that crime prevention concerns every citizen and not just the police. The attitude "we have hired the police to fight crime, it is none of our business" of course quite erroneous, and efforts are deployed to heighten people's consciousness that simple technical prevention devices as well as informal social control will be more effective in reducing crime in the community than reactive formal social control by official authorities.

LITERATURE

- (1) The material in this section has been partly collected by the Criminological Institute of the University of Nijmegen. (J. Fiselier, J.W. Fokkens, L. Gunther Moor) (till 1973), and completed by the Research and Documentation Center of the Ministry of Justice (till 1976).
- (2) The material in this section is based on J.J.M. van Dijk and A.C. Vianen: Crime: Volume and Trends, Victim surveys 1974-1977, Research and Documentation Center of the Ministry of Justice, april 1978.
- (3) J.J.M. van Dijk and A.C. Vianen, op cit. p. 8.
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- (6) J. Junger-Tas. Basic police training and police performance in the Netherlands, W.O.D.C., january 1977.
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