

THE DUTCH AND THEIR POLICE

- Experiences, Attitudes and Demands -

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Research and Documentation Centre of the Ministry of Justice

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*"The police are citizens that have put
on a uniform: many of their obligations
are shared by all citizens"*

Michael Banton

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I. INTRODUCTION

If one considers criminology mostly as an applied science, studying the relationship between the public and the police certainly is an important issue. The issue is important for several reasons.

1. The viewpoint of the community

Together with the Police Act (of 1959), civil administration and judicial authorities, the public defines to a large extent the role of the police. This is done by filing complaints or reporting offenses, and by calling the police for assistance or information. Especially the latter forms a growing part of the work of patrol officers, as is shown by different foreign and Dutch studies: a limited study in one of our biggest cities showed that 41% of all calls to the central police station were calls for assistance (1); in an observation study of police patrol work in one big, one middle-sized and 6 rural communities, 20% of all observed events were related to information and assistance rendering (2).

Thus the first starting point of this study is the fact that ordinary citizens give shape and content to much of the policeman's work by constituting the principal consumers of police services.

2. The viewpoint of the police

But the public also plays an important role as far as crime fighting and order maintenance are concerned. An American study on the investigation process showed how much the police depend on the public in clearing criminal cases. First of all the extent to which the public is prepared to report offenses is crucial; second, the ability for the police to clear a case is based on the willingness of people to inform and collaborate with the police (3).

Even in the field of order maintenance the police cannot adequately handle problems of demonstration control, disturbing behavior or traffic control without some form of understanding and support from the public. The police are very much aware that their relations with the public often constitute a sore spot. The city policemen that were interviewed by Skolnick, claimed that one of the hardest problems they had to face

in their work was relations with the public (4).

In another study of police community relations in a ghetto community, the police saw crime and poor relations with the public as the worst problems they had to face (5).

This means that our second starting point is the consideration that the police cannot fulfill their role with some efficacy and efficiency, unless the policed population is willing to support and cooperate with them:

3. Main objective of the study

The main problem we want to examine is what experiences, attitudes and expectations the ordinary Dutch citizens have with respect to the police.

More specifically we want an answer to the following questions:

- what concrete experiences with the police did respondents have during the 3 years preceding the interview;
- how are these experiences evaluated in terms of police efficiency and police behavior;
- what opinions do respondents express with respect to necessity, frequency and efficacy of specific task performances;
- what expectations and demands are formulated with respect to police work and police behavior;
- to what extent is the Dutch public willing to collaborate with the police.

4. Research Design

Most of the studies comparable to our own examine general attitudes and beliefs in relation to the police. This leads to questions such as 'how much respect/trust/liking do you have for the police' (6); or 'how good a job the police do in being respectful' (7); some also asked if people had experienced rude and abusive behavior (8). Now if one puts very general, almost abstract and stereotyped questions to people, one should not be surprised to get very general, stereotyped answers.

This certainly is one of the reasons these studies invariably come up with very high percentages of citizens being satisfied with the police.

Thus in a victimization study in Stuttgart, 95% of the respondents had a good opinion of the work of the police (9). In a nationwide Swedish study, 94% claimed the police do a good job and 91% had a good opinion of the police; in a Norwegian study 73% of respondents felt the relationship with the police was very to fairly good; and only 4% expressed clear dissatisfaction (10).

It is our feeling that -if one wants to get closer to public concerns and expectations with respect to the police- one should take as a baseline peoples concrete experiences with the police, and relate generalizations to these experiences. Although of course belief systems can and do resist actual experiences, it nevertheless seems more reliable to relate evaluation of police behavior to concrete police contacts. Moreover this design gives us valuable insight in amount and nature of police contacts as experienced by ordinary citizens (including adolescents and young adults):

To this end a representative sample of the Dutch population -aged 16 to 70 years- was drawn by the so-called 'screening system', based on a selection of: 1) communities, 2) addresses and 3) persons. All cities of more than 100,000 inhabitants (14 in total) were included in the sample:

The instrument was a structured interview schedule making optimal quantification possible. All respondents were interviewed by experienced interviewers, who got additional training for the research, during may/juni 1977. In total 1562 respondents were approached: 11% refused, 5% could not be reached. Finally 1311 interviews were realized, a response of 84%:

II. CONTACTS WITH THE POLICE

Although 71.5% of the sample reported they 'ever' had contacts with the police, only 59% had experienced such contacts during the last 3 years. Mean number of contacts during that period was 1.5; mean number of contacts of those with police contacts was 2.3. Half of these reported only 1 contact during the last 3 years; 25% reported 2 contacts. So the average Dutchman does not experience police contacts very often. There are however some differences of which sex is the most important: 81,5% of men, against only 61% of women reported police contacts. The difference reflect the smaller involvement of women in social, public and traffic activities.

Possession of a car is related to number of police contacts: 80% of these respondents mentioned police contacts against 60% of those possessing a bike and 35,5% of those without any means of transportation. Persons aged 30 years and less reported more police contacts than persons aged 50 years or more.

Table 1 gives a review of total number and nature of police contacts during the last 3 years. The public initiates contacts in 46% of cases, the police in 54%. Most contacts have to do with traffic control. Next in frequency are calls for assistance and for information, controls by the police on the street and reported offenses. The handling of criminal offenses -adding the reporting of offenses- constitutes only 14.5% of the total number of reported police-contacts.

TABLE 1. Number and nature of policecontacts during 3 years preceding the interview.

	Abs.	%
Requests for information	373	14
Requests for assistance	313	16
Reported offenses	224	11,5
Complaints	89	4,5
Payments (tickets)	78	4
Street controls	260	13,5
Traffic accidents	131	6,5
Traffic infractions	498	25,5
Handling criminal offenses	60	3
Complaints of third parties	31	1,5
	1957	100

Men and younger persons report more street controls and traffic infractions, than do women and older persons. A very significant background variable is neighborhood: those living in poor neighborhoods are more often victim as well as suspect of a criminal offense; they report more offenses and file more complaints.

There is of course a relation between nature of contact and it's handling (see annex table 1). For instance two third of traffic infractions led to a ticket; and 18% to a mere warning. More than half of persons stopped in the street could continue their way because nothing was found, 14,5% got a warning; in 17,5% of cases a written statement was made. In 20% of accidents the police gave assistance, in half of these cases a written statement was made.

The reaction of the police to complaints and reported offenses in quite another matter: of only 10% of all complaints a written report was made, in 36,5% the police mediated, but in 43% of cases the police did nothing at all. Persons reporting an offense claimed that in only 53% of cases the police made a written report; in 21,5% of cases the police did not react. A dutch victimization study among 10.000 citizens showed that in 79% of cases of motor-bike thefts and in 69% of burglaries, a written report was made by the police, but the proportions in cases of stolen bikes and pickpocketing were only 62% and 42% (11). It should be noted that the absence of police reactions to criminal offenses reported by the public is in contradiction with explicitly stated rules of law.

III. ATTITUDES AND DEMANDS WITH RESPECT TO POLICE PERFORMANCE

Thirteen police tasks were submitted to respondents, covering order maintenance, crime fighting and assistance to the public. Three main questions were asked:

- 1) do respondents consider these tasks a specific police work;
- 2) how often do they think the police have to perform them;
- 3) how efficient are the police in performing them.

The public seems to consider order maintenance, traffic control, and crime fighting as the real police work. All tasks that have anything to do with information or assistance rendering are looked upon quite differently: nearly 25% of respondents consider these tasks in some cases only as policework, whereas half of them claim that even simple technical assistance should not be given by the police.

With respect to frequency of occurrence, respondents expect tasks related to crime fighting and traffic control to occur rather frequently. Order maintenance tasks are expected to occur regularly but not so frequently: about one third of respondents think that riots occur only rarely. Information and assistance rendering are expected to occur even less frequently: 35% and 58% consider that technical aid as well as more complex tasks of assistance to the public occur only rarely. This is a rather surprising result in view of the fact that our results show how often citizens appeal to the police for assistance in all kinds of situations. Manifestly these contacts are perceived by them as exceptional and atypical.

Expressed satisfaction about task performance is quite contrary to expectation: 30% to 40% of respondents consider tasks of order maintenance -and especially riots- to be rather poorly performed. The same is true for crime fighting. Only traffic control gives rise to more satisfaction. However, 70% to 90% of respondents are rather to highly satisfied with assistance rendering performance of the police.

Taking an optimistic view one could say that respondents are most satisfied with contacts that occur frequently (traffic, assistance, information), and least satisfied with contacts they experience rarely (crime, riots).

However, one cannot escape the somewhat paradoxical conclusion that the Dutch people are very satisfied with police efficiency in matters they

do not consider as specific police-tasks, but only moderately satisfied to fairly dissatisfied with police performance concerning tasks they consider as the "real" police work. With respect to police presence and police surveillance we got analogous results. One third of respondents wanted more police stations in the neighbourhood. The more urbanized the community, and the poorer the neighbourhood, the more police presence the population wishes (37,5% in big cities to 20% in rural communities). The same is true for police patrolling: more inhabitants of poor neighbourhoods than other respondents think the police never patrols in their area. Twice as many city-dwellers as those that live in the country want more police patrolling (33% to 16,5%) in day-time, one and a half as many want more police patrolling at night (43,5% to 31%).

IV. EVALUATION OF POLICE BEHAVIOR

Evaluation of police behavior is first analysed on the basis of concrete experiences. Next more generalized attitudes are tapped by a set of popular statements with respect to the police.

1. Evaluation of police-contacts.

In the first place police behavior was rated on scales measuring correct-, authoritarian-, cooperative-, aggressive- and just behavior; efficiency was measured by scaling on control of the situation, rapidity of reaction, handling the matter in a satisfactory manner. The majority of respondents evaluated their contacts with the police in a rather positive way. There are however some differences according to the nature of contact and to police reactions (see annex, table 1).

Contrary to our expectations, street controls or tickets for traffic infractions, did not lead to the expression of manifest negative feelings: although about one third of this subgroup was not particularly satisfied about the way the police handled the matter, and judged them fairly authoritarian in their behavior, 80% answered the police were correct and not aggressive. Rather negative were those who were suspect or victim of a criminal offense: 58,5% of suspects, and 38% of victims claimed the police did not handle the matter in a satisfactory manner, nearly half of them found police behavior not too correct, not cooperative, authoritarian and not just. Most positive in their appreciations were those that had received assistance of information from the police. But nothing appears to elicit so many frustrations and hard feelings, as the absence of police reaction in cases of offenses reported and complaints brought to the police: one third of this group of respondents claimed the police were not correct about half of them found the police were not cooperative; one fifth judged them aggressive, and about two third claimed they were inefficient. Inhabitants of poor neighborhoods (in the larger cities) give significantly more negative scores on all discussed dimensions including police efficiency.

Finally two questions were asked about police violence and about rude and abusive language. Only 4,2% of respondents mentioned undue violence: half of 54 cases occurred during demonstrations, others during bar-fights, in dancing-halls or at football-matches. Two more personalized forms of violence were mentioned: the beating of

of drunken persons, and the beating of mostly young men who were perceived as troublesome, non cooperative or suspect; 13% of respondents -again mostly young men- reported abusive language.

2. Attitudes with respect to general police behavior

Turning to more general attitudes 15 statements on the police tapping different dimensions of police behavior were presented to respondents (see for results annex table 3). The first four questions referred to protection of citizens by the police: more than one third of respondents feel only moderately protected by the police and nearly half feel the police are never there when you need them. In agreement with feelings of fear of crime and insecurity, the Dutch people tend to feel the police generally are too soft in their dealings with the disorderly or criminal and certainly not too hard. Some reservations are expressed with respect to coloured people and hippy-types: respectively 30% and 40% feel the police tend to discriminate against these groups of citizens.

Concerning corruption and the filing of complaints against the police, opinions are clearly negative: 36% of respondents don't agree that most policemen are incorruptible^x, half of them think it is useless to complain against a policeman because nothing will come out of it.

Finally most respondents tend to agree to both the statements that actual policemen are far too young for their (hard) job. (they go in the streets at age 18), and that they have nearly no normal contacts with the people because of their constant patrolling in cars.

As one would expect younger city-dwellers have on the whole a more negative view of police behavior. A striking fact is that people living in poorer neighborhoods don't mind so much the way in which the police behave (they feel the police often act too soft) as long as they protect life and property adequately. In this respect they express more doubts on police efficiency than other respondents.

A distinction was made between respondents who declared having had police contacts and those who had not. Analysis of variance showed that those who did not have any previous contacts with the police were significantly more inclined than those who did, to think that the police do not use violence, are generally incorruptible, act correctly and do

^x the percentage is probably influenced by a recent corruption-affair among the Amsterdam police, that got a lot of press attention.

adequately protect citizens. It seems then that in these respects at least, actual police contacts have negative effects on the appreciations of police behavior and police efficiency. Finally canonical correlations were used to relate the set of evaluation scales of personal experiences with the police to the generalized attitudes on the police (see annex table 4 and 5). Although interpretation is somewhat hazardous it seems justified to state the following. The first correlation ($=.56, p < 0.001$) indicates that the more satisfied respondents are about the way the police dealt with case the more they feel they are adequately protected by them; the second correlation ($=.36, p < 0.02$) suggests that the more people are satisfied about the way the police behave, the more they are inclined to think that the police generally behave as they should do, using force when necessary:

V: WILLINGNESS TO COOPERATE WITH THE POLICE

To get some insight in the willingness of people to cooperate with the police to a certain extent, we presented to respondents 8 hypothetical situations and asked them whether they would call the police. They then were asked to justify their decision. Table 2 reviews the situations and the corresponding answers. As we can see considerable differences show up in the extent to which people would get involved with the police. Simplifying somewhat the results one can say that the more people feel personally touched or threatened; the more they are inclined to call the police. Most respondents would call the police in case someone climb in his neighbors garden; 75,5% would do so when groups of adolescent boys would break the windows of a community houses, and two third would do so if there appeared a stranger in their street hanging around for hours.

TABLE 2: Willingness to call the police -in %-

Would you call the police if:	Yes	No
- you witnessed a fight and beating on the street just in front of a bar	58	42
- you saw some adolescents beating up another boy	58	42
- you saw a group of children vandalize bushes and plants of a small park near your house	13	87
- you saw a number of adolescent boys breaking the windows of a community house	75,5	24,5
- you saw some persons loading bricks from a building lot in their car	51	49
- you heard your neighbors yelling and screaming in a terrible fight	16,5	83,5
- you saw a stranger hanging in your street for hours and hours	67,5	32,5
- you noticed a man climbing over your neighbour's fence late at night; while they were gone on their holiday	86	14

But only somewhat more than half would alert the police in case of serious fights and beatings; and just half would do so in the case of a clear property offense like the stealing of bricks. People are least of all inclined to involve the police in private matters (family conflicts) or in matters that include children.

It is interesting to look at the motives given for the decision either to call the police or not to call them (see annex table 6 and 7).

In both cases of a stranger hanging around in the street; and a man climbing in their neighbours garden; people would call the police essentially because the situation seems suspect (resp. 61% and 50%). The second motive mentioned here is one's duty to assist the police. This is also very often mentioned in the cases of a street-fight; vandalism in a park; the breaking of windows of a community house; the theft of bricks. Only in three cases is seriousness of the act mentioned by a sizable proportion of "calling" respondents: in the case of the breaking of the communities house windows (40%), the theft of bricks (36,5%) and park vandalism (32,5%). Protection of the weak is given as motive in the two cases of street fights and with respect to the family conflict.

But as we have seen in table 2 in some cases people are very reluctant to call the police. In private matters and when children are involved the motive most often advanced is that respondents would try to handle the case themselves. The same motive is frequently mentioned by non-callers in the case of the breaking of windows, the man in their neighbours garden, and the beating up of a boy by a couple of adolescents. The second motive most frequently mentioned is "it is none of my business". This motive is involved by 60,5% of non-callers in the case of a down right criminal offense, by 81,5% in the case of the street fight, and by 37,5% in the case of the beating up of a boy. However in both latter cases fear might actually be the hidden motive. We did not find any relationship between sex or income with willingness to call the police. One significant exception: low income respondents are more likely to call the police in the case of a domestic conflict than middle and high income respondents. Significant relations were found with age and degree of urbanization. Respondents under 30 years of age are much less likely to call the police than older respondents; this is particularly true for real or potential offenses. In the country people tend to call the police more

often in cases that have anything to do with crime, but less often in cases concerning order maintenance. The reverse is true for city dwellers. With respect to neighbourhood, people living in the poorer sections of the large cities are less likely to call the police in case of street-fights, as well as in the case of real or potential offenses.

VI. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Before making some comments on the implications of the research I will summarize its main results.

1. Main results of the study

- of all respondents 71,5% ever had contacts with the police, 59% had one or more during the 3 years preceding the study.
- men, younger people and car-owners mentioned most frequent contacts.
- contacts initiated by the public cover mainly reporting offenses and requests for assistance and information.
- contacts initiated by the police mainly concern traffic-control, and street-controls.
- people living in poor neighbourhoods of the large cities tend to have more contacts with crime: they report more offenses, file more complaints and are more often victim as well as suspect of a criminal offense.
- 43% of complaints and 21,5% of reported offenses do not seem to lead to any police reaction.
- according to the Dutch people, the main police tasks are traffic, order maintenance and crime-fighting; assistance and information are not considered as "real" policework.
- the population seems rather satisfied with traffic security control, only moderately satisfied with order maintenance and crime fighting, but very appreciative of assistance rendering activities.
- city dwellers and people living in poor neighbourhoods want more police stations and more police patrolling.
- the majority of police contacts are positively evaluated.
- much dissatisfaction was shown by victims or suspects of an offense, by those who reported an offense and by those who filed a complaint.
- young people and large city dwellers have a more negative view of the police than older people, people living in the country and those who live in (upper) middle-class neighbourhoods.
- violence was mentioned by 4,2%, abusive language by 13% of respondents.
- more than half of respondents feel only moderately protected by the police.
- the willingness to call the police is greatest when people feel threatened in their personal integrity or property.

- in cases of order maintenance and even criminal offenses without personal threat, people are reluctant to call the police.
- people are least willing to call the police when the case is perceived as a private matter.
- invoked motives to call the police are: the situation is suspect, it is ones duty to help the police, the matter is serious.
- motives mentioned for not calling the police are: it is none of my business, I would first try to handle the case myself, it is not a serious matter.
- younger people and people living in poor neighbourhood show on the whole less inclination to call the police.

2. Conclusions and implications for policy

One of the first notable conclusions of the study is the amazing lack of knowledge about policework among the public. There is some awareness of the role of the police in traffic control and in keeping order during demonstration or riots. But this is about all. The public seems to have quite an exaggerated vision of the police as criminal hunters, whereas the assistance function of the police is mostly denied. The biased views on what really constitutes policework have some negative consequences: they result in misperceptions of what the police actually do, and in wrong expectations of what the police can and cannot do, and thus cause clear frustrations. Police departments as well as administrative authorities should devote more energy and time to realistic information on police work. Equally important in this respect is to train police officers how to behave and interact with the public on the street, as well as at the desk in the police station, or on the telephone. The goal should be to further a better police image based on a realistic understanding of what constitute the police task. Quite in line with this argument is the second conclusion concerning the dissatisfaction about police reactions in cases that are brought to the police by citizens. The dissatisfaction also shows in the opinion that the police is only moderately efficient when it comes to crime fighting. Two aspects in this respect merit special mention. First the public seems to have too high expectations as far as police-efficiency in combating crime and disorders is concerned.

There is a wide spread feeling that the community has hired the police to fulfill these tasks and consequently the police should be solely responsible. The attitude reflects a denial of citizen's own responsibility in technical matters (as for instance locking one's car) as well as in the more diffuse responsibility of maintaining a certain level of norm-respecting behavior. Second, it is very damaging to good police-public relations if people, addressing themselves directly to the police to report offenses or complaints, get the feeling that the police do not care and won't do anything. Even when the police are unable to do much, they should be trained to be polite and correct, to reassure people and to convince them their case is taken seriously. Furthermore they should clearly explain to people the reasons that prevent them to take any action. Finally it would help when, in cases where some action is undertaken, people could get some information afterwards on the proceedings of the case:

1
A third conclusion based on results is the lack of motivation to give the police a helping hand. Especially striking is the number of people that claim "it is none of my business". People do not want to get involved with the police. Reasons for this might be fear of complications (having to witness); fear of retaliation (streetfight(s)); lack of confidence in police efficiency. An earlier study of our research centre indicated that people showing more feelings of fear of crime had less confidence in the ability of the police to combat crime (12). Similar results were found by Garofalo analyzing attitude and victimization data from 13 American cities. He found that people who felt very safe tended to give the police more positive ratings - in terms of performance - and those who felt very unsafe tended to give more negative ratings (13). But the strongest motive seems to be: this is not my job, it is up to the police to sort these things out, I won't have anything to do with it. This mentality - all too common in other countries also - has led to reactions as (in the U.S.) citizen-patrols (14). But because of the difficulty of training and controlling such patrols, this type of initiative never has become popular in the Netherlands. Dutch efforts to promote better police-public relations include the institution of special precinct-officers who permanently work in a specific precinct and also have some social and preventive functions. Some departments try to integrate the police in neighborhood consultative bodies, where they cooperate with social welfare-, health-, housing- and employment agencies in creating a viable, norm-respecting community life:

Another conclusion is concerned with the relatively wide spread feelings of lack of police protection, especially in the large cities and in poorer neighborhoods. These people want more police presence in the neighborhood (police-stations) and also more police patrolling. I would like to emphasize the interrelationship between our last three conclusions: when contacts of citizens with disturbances of the peace and criminality grow in number, and people tend to think that the police do not adequately handle these matters, then feelings of insecurity, fear and dissatisfaction become widespread and willingness to collaborate with the police decline. This leads us into a vicious circle in which police-public relations can only deteriorate. Negative consequences are then all kinds of individual protection devices: the possession of watchdogs, or private arms; avoiding specific sections of town, not going out at night. Here again possible solutions lie in a better integration of the police in the community they serve (more foot- and bikepatrol) in a collaboration with other social agencies and possibly in citizen-police committees on local level.

A final conclusion concerns the global appreciation of the Dutch for their police. In most cases police-public contacts are evaluated in a positive way. However, although police brutality was rarely mentioned, rude and abusive language was far more frequent. A relatively large group of respondents felt the police would treat coloured people and hippies harder than the average Dutch man. Considering the fact that most police-public contacts are routine contacts, that is situations with a large degree of predictability, it must be possible to train officers in some social interaction techniques, better self-control, self assurance, and better situational control. This is the more urgent as the country will be facing growing ethnic-minority problems, problems that did not exist until only some years ago. Other solutions might be more minority group member and women in the police force. American studies seem to indicate that both do very well after some period of adaptation. Minority members as police officers do not harbour the discriminatory prejudices of their white colleagues with regard to coloured people (15); women-officers appear to arouse less aggression in citizens than do their male counterparts which is especially valuable in police-citizen contacts (16).

One concluding remark: studies such as these should have practical consequences that should lead to a better understanding of both police and public of their respective roles, responsibilities and need to cooperate in achieving safe communities.

TABLE 1. Police contacts and their handling - in %								
	traffic infractions	street contacts	traffic accidents	complaints	reported offenses	criminal offenses	requests for information	requests for assistance
	N=453	N=237	N=94	N=53	N=179	N=48	N=199	N=156
ticket	67,3	10,6	8	-	-	4	0,5	1,5
written statement	7	7	47,5	9,5	53	41,5	3	19
warning/order	18	14,5	1,5	5,5	1,5	18,5	0,5	3
control (nothing found)	4	56,5	10	-	-	-	2	6,5
information given	0,7	0,6	5,5	5,5	18	6	86	13,5
assistance rendered	0,7	2	18,5	36,5	6	8,5	2	40
no police reaction	2,3	8,6	9	43	21,5	21,5	6	16,5
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

* This category includes respondents taken to the station (+ 10%)

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TABLE 2. Evaluation of police behavior by handling of police-contacts - in % -

	N	Correct			Authoritarian			Agressive			Dealt with contact in satisfactory way		
		Yes	+or-	No	Yes	+or-	No	Yes	+or-	No	Yes	+or-	No
ticket	367	81	10,5	8,5	20	14	66	4	6	90	68,5	10,5	21
written statement	256	86	4	10	16	8	76	6	4,5	89,5	74,5	8,5	17
warning/order	146	86	7	7	16	13	71	6,5	3,5	90	86	5,5	8,5
control(nothing found)	184	92	5	3	18,5	15	66,5	2	4,5	93,5	94	1	5
information given	250	93,5	2,5	4	9	8,5	82,5	-	-	100	93	1	6
assistance given	131	96,5	2,5	1	1	4,5	94,5	0,5	1	98,5	97	-	2,5
no police reaction	114	67,5	10,5	22	26	17	57	13	6,5	80,5	34	13	53

TABLE 3: Opinions on police performance and behavior - in % -

	agree	agree more or less	don't agree
1: If there were no police, one would not feel safe on the streets	64	19	17
2: Citizens are well protected by the police	45	37,5	17,5
3: One never sees a policeman when one needs him	48	22,5	29,5
4: If one calls the police, they come quickly	59,5	24,5	16
5: The police is too soft in its dealings with the public	6,5	16,5	77
6: The police is too hard in its dealings with the public	41	29	30
7: The police treat coloured people harder than whites	12,5	18	69,5
8: The police treat hippy-types harder than ordinary people	20	19,5	60,5
9: Most policemen are uncorruptible	38,5	25,5	36
10: It is no use complaining about police behavior; nothing will come out of it	30,5	23,5	46
11: Police behave generally in a correct and polite manner	70	18,5	11,5
12: Police nearly never use unnecessary violence	68	16,5	15,5
13: Policemen are nowadays too young for their job	34,5	23,5	42
14: Driving around in cars they don't have any contacts with the ordinary people	71	16	13
15: The press often place the police in a bad light	46,5	20	33,5

TABLE 4. Canonical correlations of evaluation police-contacts and attitudes police performance and behavior	
Evaluation contacts	Attitudes P-performance + behavior
EFFICIENCY	PROTECTION BY POLICE
P. were correct -.54	P. are generally correct .42
P. were just .74	without P. one is not secure .32
P. handled satisfactory -.42	when called P. come quickly .28
P. were helping -.41	you never see P. when you need them -.27
	no use complaining -.21
	citizen is well protected -.20
1 st corr. = -.56 - p 0.001	
Concrete police-behavior	General view on P-behavior
P. were just .92	P. is too soft .70
P. had sit under control -.86	you never see them when you need them -.57
P. were non authoritarian .67	P. are uncorruptible -.36
P. were correct -.65	P. are harder with hippies .32
P. were non aggressive .57	P. do not use violence .29
2 nd corr. = .36 - p 0.02	

TABLE 5. Canonical correlations of evaluation police-contacts and willingness to call the police			
Evaluation P-contacts		Willingness to call the police	
EFFICIENCY		(POTENTIAL) CRIMINAL OFFENSES	
Quick response	.58	stealing bricks	.78
P. were correct	.44	man climbing over fence neighbor	.39
P. were helping	-.36	beating up boy	.36
P. had situation well under control	.34	stranger hanging in street	.35
1 st corr. = .35 - $p < 0.001$			
WAY OF POLICE BEHAVIOR		OFFENSES WITH SOCIAL ASPECTS	
P. were correct	-.82	breaking windows comm. house	.67
P. handled case satisfactory	.64	man climbing over fence neighbor	.45
P. were just	-.45	stealing bricks	.40
		domestic fight	.36
2 nd corr. = .30 $p < 0.05$			

TABLE 6. Motives for calling the police - in % -

	N	ones duty to help the P.	ones own interest	a serious matter	protection of the weak	situation is suspect
Streetfight	753	40,5	4,5	22,5	30,5	2
Beating up boy	755	17,5	2	13,5	66	1
Vandalism park	167	47,5	17	32,5	0,5	2,5
Window-breaking	983	48,5	8	40	2	1
Theft of bricks	659	44,5	2,5	36,5	3	13,5
domestic fight neighbors	216	31	3,5	7	32	16,5
stranger hanging in street	879	22	12	2	3	61
man climbing over fence	1110	31	8	8	3,5	49,5

TABLE 7. Motives for not calling the police - in % -

	N	not a serious matter	none of my business	P won't do anything	people will look upon you	first handle it myself
Street fight	545	11,5	81,5	2,5	0,5	4
Beating up boy	546	9,5	37,5	4	0,5	48,5
Vandalism park	1126	4	7,5	2,5	1,5	84,5
Window-breaking	315	2,5	27,5	2,5	4	63
Theft of bricks	630	22,5	60,5	2,5	1,5	12
Domestic fight neighbors	1076	12	65,5	2	2,5	17,5
Stranger hanging in street	417	56	36	2,5	0,5	15
Man climbing over fence	180	3	17,5	1	1	77,5

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